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April 23, 2007

A Chronology of LDS Thought on Book of Mormon Geography of the New World

Beginnings -----> 1920

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Statements by Church Authorities
Significant *Books*, "*Articles*," & *Events*
[Significant Theoretical or Illustrated Models, or Illustrations Related to Book of Mormon Geography]
Notes*

YEAR¹ PERSON PRIMARY SOURCE²

Note 1: The mark ^ after the YEAR is purely a research tool indicating that a copy of the article or book is on file in the author's personal library.

Note 2: The YEAR (listed on the left) for the event or quote is not always the same as the date of the PRIMARY SOURCE (listed on the right) from which the information was taken. If the source information (the later publication of the information) was significant, in and of itself, to the later time period in which it came forth, there will also be a separate listing for that later year. When appropriate, additional sources will be listed.

There were a number of books and articles that were written prior to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon concerning the geography New World (the Americas). However, the reader must realize that not all of these works were printed in America and some were not published in the English language until many years after the publication of the Book of Mormon. *Furthermore, when one considers that the Book of Mormon came forth on the western frontiers of New York where life was a struggle, one can easily see that there is a question of just how many of these works, if any, were available to the Joseph Smith family.ⁱ As to the availability of these works to the early members of the Church, the only evidence we have are those works that were mentioned in the early published LDS articles in support of Book of Mormon geography in the New World. And while we do find a few mentioned, it is hard to say just how many of these works were available or not, how many people involved in the Restoration or the early Church read them, or when they read them. Thus when one considers the amount of influence that these works might have had on the early LDS views of Book of Mormon geography, one is dealing in speculation.* While it is not the focus of this paper to solve this debate, neither is it my intent to avoid information that might have influenced views on Book of Mormon geography as many of these books have been cited by more recent LDS authors as well as some non-LDS authors in their discussions concerning the content of the Book of Mormon.ⁱⁱ So with this warning, and for the benefit of the reader, I will list a number of these works before beginning a more strictly LDS perspective on the development of ideas concerning Book of Mormon geography in the New World.

Note* For a chronological listing of pertinent articles and books that have dealt with *Indian origins* (and thus indirectly with geography) and also with the *culture* of the New World (and thus indirectly with geography) the reader is referred to the volumes on Indian Origins (geog1.iop & geog1.io) and External Evidences (geog1.ext).

1626 *The Western Hemisphere Is Mapped by John Speed*

The Western Hemisphere or "America with those known parts in that unknown world both people and manner of buildings described and enlarged" was mapped in 1626 by John Speed.

[1626 **Map: America. The Western Hemisphere in 1626.** Reproduced from a map by John Speed in the collection of Historic Urban Plans, Inc., Ithaca, New York. Alan C. Miner, Personal Collection]

1699 Lionel Wafer *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America.* London, 1699, p. 70

Dan Vogel writes the following:

The Isthmus of Panama accommodates the Book of Mormon's description since, where it connects to South America, the seas are on the east and west. Early traveler Lionel Wafer, describing the southern region of Panama, drew such a "line" as Alma 22:32 suggests, stating: "I should draw a Line also from . . . the South part of the Gulf of St. Michael, directly East, to the nearest part of the great River Darien." The River of Darien mentioned by Wafer is today's Golfo de Uraba situated on the east side of the isthmus, which allows one to draw a straight line east to west across the isthmus at precisely the location described by Mormon.

Source: Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 229.

Note* Check the geography on this statement because although the Isthmus of Panama runs in an East-West direction, this renders the Gulfs or seas to be on the north and on the south. Alma 22:32 states that "it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea . . ." Check the May 1909 article by H. A. Stebbins.

Note* See the 1916 notation. See also the 1793 notation.

1757^ Edmund Burke *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 2 vols., London: R. And J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1757, I:195-196, 198.

In "Part III: Spanish America," Edmund Burke writes the following:

America extends from the North Pole to the fifty-seventh degree of South latitude; it is upwards of eight thousand miles in length . . . it is washed by the two greatest oceans. To the East-Eastward it has the Atlantic ocean, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the West it has another ocean, the great South-Sea, by which it is disjoined from Asia. . . . It is composed of two vast continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the great kingdom of Mexico, which forms a sort of isthmus fifteen hundred miles long, and in one part, at Darien, so extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult. In the great gulph, which is formed between this isthmus and the Northern and Southern continents, lie an infinite multitude of islands, many of them large, and most of them fertile, and capable of being cultivated to very great advantage. America in general is not a mountainous country, yet it has the greatest mountains in the world. The Andes, or Cordilleras, run from North to South along the coast of the Pacific ocean. Though for the most part within the torrid zone, they are perpetually covered with snow, and in their bowels contain inexhaustible treasures. . . .

South America is, if possible, in this respect, even more fortunate. It supplies much the two largest rivers in the world, the river of Amazons, and the Rio de la Plata. The first rising in Peru, not far from the South-Sea, passes from West to East, almost quite thro' the continent of South America, navigable for some sort or other of vessels all the way, and receiving into it's bosom a prodigious number of rivers, all navigable in the same manner, and so great, that Monsieur Condamine found it often almost impossible to determine which was the main channel. The Rio de la Plata rising in the heart of the country, shapes it's course to the South-East, and pours such an immense flood into the sea, that it

makes it taste fresh a great many leagues from the shore; to say nothing of the Oronoquo, which might rank the foremost amongst any but the American rivers. The soil and products in such a variety of climates, cannot satisfactorily be treated of in a general description; we shall in their places consider them particularly.

Note* Anti-Mormon Dan Vogel cites the above statement as an example for saying the following: The terms "neck of land" and "narrow neck of land" are not original with the Book of Mormon, but were in use in Joseph Smith's day to describe an Isthmus. However, in Smith's day, it was common to view the Isthmus of Panama as part of a larger Isthmus which ran from southern Mexico, at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, to Panama which connected the two large continents. (^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), p. 24, 46 note 70, 47 note 74.)

Note* See the Oct 1, 1842 *Times and Seasons* notation in which Central America is described as generally running north and south.

Note* Interestingly, on the map included in Burke's writings we find South America surrounded by four seas: on the north by a "North Sea," on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the south by "The Southern Ocean" or the "Great South Sea."

[1757 **Map: An Accurate Map of South America.** Drawn from the Best Modern Maps & Charts and Regulated by Astron. Observal. By Eman. Bowen Geog. to his Majesty 1747. Edmund Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, 2 vols., London: R. And J. Dodsley in Pall-Mall, 1757, vol. I, front]

1793 Jedidiah Morse *The American Universal Geography*, 2 vols, Boston, 1793, vol. 1, p. 75.

According to Dan Vogel, Morse's book went through several editions before 1830 and was listed for sale at Pomeroy Tucker's bookstore in Palmyra under books "for school." (See the *Wayne Sentinel*, 5 May through 7 July 1824.) The book is also listed in the Manchester Library under accession numbers 42 and 43.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon: Religious Solutions from Columbus to Joseph Smith*, U.S.A: Signature Books, 1986, pp. 35-44, 48

According to Vogel:

The Isthmus of Panama accommodates the Book of Mormon's description since, where it connects to South America, the seas are on the east and west. Early traveler Lionel Wafer, describing the southern region of Panama, drew such a "line" as Alma 22:32 suggests, stating: "I should draw a Line also from . . . the South part of the Gulf of St. Michael, directly East, to the nearest part of the great River Darien." The River of Darien mentioned by Wafer is today's Golfo de Uraba situated on the east side of the isthmus, which allows one to draw a straight line east to west across the isthmus at precisely the location described by Mormon.

A subsequent passage, Alma 50:34, refers to the same area on the isthmus--that is, the point at which it connects with "the land southward"--and gives the geographic orientation of the seas. Attempting to prevent the Lamanites from reaching the land northward, Moroni's army will meet them "by the narrow pass which led by the sea into the land northward, yea, by the sea, on the west and on the east." In his 1793 *Ameircan Universal Geography*, Jedidiah Morse emphasized the close proximity of the two seas at this point on the isthmus:

[It is] no more than 70 miles across . . . [and] the country about the narrowest parts of the isthmus is made up of low, sickly valleys, and mountains of such stupendous height, as to incline one to imagine that nature had raised them to serve as an eternal barrier between the Atlantic and

Pacific oceans, which here approach so near each other, that from these mountains you can plainly discern the waters of both at the same time, and seemingly at a very small distance. (Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography*, 2 vols. Boston, 1793, vol. 1, page 73)

Although some have suggested a number of alternative geographies which reduce the size of Nephite lands, none fulfills the orientation requirements from the Book of Mormon's isthmus without serious manipulation of text and terrain.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 229.

Note* See the Morse notation for 1824 for a more complete set of relative quotations on geography.

1796 Jedediah Morse *Geography Made Easy*, 1796.

Note* See the Morse notation for 1824.

Note* See the Lehi's Journey volume for 1802 (geog1.leh)

1805 *Thomas Jefferson Obtains a Map of South America*

In the year 1786, while Thomas Jefferson was serving as the United States minister to France, he came across a map of South America by Don Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla and tried to have some copies made for himself and Congress. He sought the help of William Stephens Smith, John Adams's son-in-law who was then living in London, to get the London mapmaker William Faden to make these copies. In a letter to Smith, Jefferson wrote the following concerning the map which he sent him:

The government of Spain at first permitted the map, but the moment they saw one of them come out, they destroyed the plates, seized all of the few copies which had got out and on which they could lay their hands, and issued the severest injunctions to call in the rest and to prevent their going abroad. Some few copies escaped their search. A friend has by good management procured me one, and it is arrived safe through all the searches that travellers are submitted to.

Although William Faden agreed to reproduce the map, he never published anything until the year 1799. Sadly, he never sent Jefferson the copies he had requested nor did he return Jefferson's original map. Jefferson had to buy a copy from another London map dealer in 1805.

Source: *Susan R. Stein, The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, Harry N. Abrams Inc. publishers in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1993, p. 241

[1805 **Map: Mapa Geografico De America Meridional (South America) 1779.** William Faden after Don Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla engraved on 6 sheets, Library of Congress. Illustrated in Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, Harry N. Abrams Inc. publishers in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1993, p. 388]

Note* This map shows the Amazon River stretching from west to east from its tributaries near the Pacific coast to its mouth on the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Orson Pratt would later associate this area with the location of Nephi. (see the notation for 1868, 1876) Question: Could he have associated the Amazon River with the narrow strip of wilderness?

1810 *The Wars for Independence in Spanish America Begin*

The year 1810 saw almost simultaneous uprisings in the three viceroyalties of New Granada, La Plata, and New Spain (see maps below). The wars for independence, which now began, continued in one part or another of Spanish America for a decade and a half, until in 1826 the Spanish flag was lowered on the American continents. The United States followed the struggle with sympathetic eyes.

Source: Hutton Webster, *History of Latin America*, Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1924, p. 119.

[1810] **Map: Latin America At the End of the 18th Century.** Hutton Webster, *History of Latin America*, Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1924, p. 99.

[1810] **Map: Latin America After the Wars For Independence (1826).** Hutton Webster, *History of Latin America*, Boston, D.C. Heath and Company, 1924, p. 129.

1812^ **Elijah Parish** *A New System of Modern Geography*, 2nd ed. Newburyport, MA: E. Little & Co., 1812

As appears on the title page, this was "A New System of Modern Geography: or a General Description of all the Considerable Countries in the World, compiled from the Latest European and American Geographies, Voyages, and Travels. Designed for the use of the seminaries, schools and academies of the United States." Some pertinent information found in this book is as follows:

[p. 22] *Isthmus*--The Isthmus of Darien unites North and South America, and lies in about lat 8° north; its narrowest part is 37 miles in width.

Canal--Only in one place is the chain of the Andes broken in South America. At this point a Spanish priest persuaded his people in 1788 to dig a small canal, which connects a head branch of the St. John with a branch of the Atrato or Darien, that falls into the Pacific. In the rainy season boats pass across the continent, where it is 250 miles broad. (Humboldt) . . .

Mountains--In America are the highest mountains in the world. The principal chain is the Andes. From the Straits of Magellan they extend north along the Pacific ocean 4600 miles; thence they continue through New Spain into unknown countries of the north. . . .

[p. 24] North America is bounded south by the Isthmus of Darien; west by the Pacific Ocean; north it extends to the pole or Frozen Ocean, which has been visited about lat. 72°; east it is bounded by the Atlantic. . . .

[p. 134] Mexico, or New-Spain:

Boundaries--Bounded north by unexplored forests, east by Louisiana and the gulf of Mexico, south by the isthmus of Darien, and west by the Pacific ocean.

Divisions-- This country is divided into *Old Mexico* which is subdivided into three audiences, Galicia, Mexico, Guatimala; and *New Mexico*, subdivided into two audiences, Apachiera and Tonora. . . .

Curiosities--The bones of the mammoth are found in abundance near Santa Fee, and in many parts of South America (Pinkerton)

[p. 148] Peru

Lake--The lake Titicaca is the most important in S. America. It is of an oval form, about 240 miles in circuit, 70 or 80 fathoms deep. In an island of this lake, Mango Capac pretended that he was placed by his father, the sun, and here was dedicated to this deity's splendid temple, adorned with plates of gold.

[p. 149] Chili

Volcanoes and earthquakes-- In this country 14 mountains are constantly burning. Others at intervals discharge their fiery vapours. There are generally 3 or 4 earthquakes in a year, but they are very slight and attract little attention. . . .

[1812 **Map: North America.** Elijah Parish, *A New System of Modern Geography*, 2nd ed. Newburyport, MA: E. Little & Co., 1812]

1818 Caleb Atwater "On the Prairies and Barrens of the West," in *American Journal of Science*,

New Haven, Vol. I, 1818, pp. 120-124.

Vogel notes:

At one period in the Book of Mormon history the Nephites migrated to the "land northward" to settle "whatever parts it had not been rendered desolate and without timber, because of the many inhabitants who had before inherited the land" (Helaman 3:5). The idea that the Great Plains of North America were once a forest which had been removed by the aborigines was the common assumption in Joseph Smith's day. One popular theory, as discussed by Caleb Atwater, was that the aborigines had burned down the forests trying to hunt the animals. Another popular theory explained that the forests were cut down in order that the aborigines could cultivate large crops. Both theories, however, were rejected by Atwater who believed the plains were once covered by the waters of the Great Lakes.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), p. 39, n. 15.

Vogel also notes the following:

Early nineteenth-century explorer Stephen H. Long published a map that designated the region west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains as the "Great American Desert," a name which appeared in other maps until the 1860s. See Stephen H. Long, *An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains Performed in the Years 1819 to 1820*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1822-23).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 637n. 8.

1823 abt. Joseph Smith *Joseph Smith--History*, Vol. 1, page 34. [CITE OTHER SOURCES]

In 1838 Joseph Smith wroteⁱⁱⁱ an account of the angel Moroni's 1823 visitation:

He [Moroni] said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of *this continent*, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fullness of the everlasting Gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants.

Note* In 1979, Howard Clair Searle presented a 520-page Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980) at the University of California, Los Angeles. I would recommend this thesis to anyone dealing with historical authoritative quotes by Church leaders in regard to Book of Mormon geography. By permission of the author, the following contains excerpts from an extended discussion on the original records, the compilation and editing process that would eventually produce the History of Joseph Smith.

[p. 200] In terms of both quantity and content the "History of Joseph Smith" was by far the most significant pro-Mormon history written between 1830 and 1858. Almost twenty years in the process of composition and publication, the history was produced by a series of scribes, clerks, and Church Historians, who labored sporadically during a very difficult period of persecution, pioneer travel, and western colonization. The initial chapters, in what was to become a multivolume work were dictated by Joseph Smith, but most of the history was compiled by the personnel of the Church Historian's office, who wrote much of it after the Prophet's death in 1844.

Written more in the form of annals than a conventional history, the work comprises the first six volumes

(A to F) of the "Manuscript History of the Church." Although most of the history was not dictated or written by Joseph Smith himself, the writers retained the first person narrative style of his early dictation throughout the work. It was first published serially in the Church's periodicals from 1842 to 1858 and was not published until the twentieth century. . . .

[p. 201] The "History of Joseph Smith," as it was eventually written for publication, was commenced at Commerce, Illinois in June 1839, by Joseph Smith and his clerk, James Mulholland. . . .

[p. 202] Some suggestion of how this first history was compiled is indicated by the following: (1) The first page of the manuscript of Joseph Smith's history is in the handwriting of James Mulholland; (2) Mulholland affirms that the history was dictated; (3) the history contains fragments, if not all, of the 1838 history began by the First Presidency.

[pp. 190-192] George W Robinson, one of Joseph Smith's clerks, noted that in April and May 1838 the First Presidency was engaged in "writing the history of the church." (George Robinson, *Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith, Jr.*, p. 37, L.D.S. Church Archives). . . . The manuscript of this 1838 history has not survived, although fragments, if not all, of the narrative appeared in the Manuscript History of Joseph Smith which was written a little over a year later at Nauvoo. . . . It this 1838 draft was, indeed, utilized as the basis of the later 1839 narrative, it may have been discarded when the material was revised for the succeeding version. . . .

[p. 202-204] Although it is possible that Mulholland copied over the 1838 history, perhaps with some editing, and then took dictation, it would appear that the earlier history was dictated to him [by Joseph Smith] as it was revised and polished. . . . In a little over four months Mulholland had written up to page fifty-nine in the manuscript history book. (see the chart below) . . . Mulholland's writing covered a chronological period from the birth of the Prophet in 1805 up to September 26, 1830, which marked the end of his contribution to the history. He died on November 3, 1839.

[1823] **Illustration: Scribes Writing the Manuscript History of Joseph Smith.** Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California. p. 205.]

Note* The meaning of the wording "this continent" might seem ambiguous here. It seems to be clarified in the 1842 *Wentworth Letter* in which Joseph, writing the history of this same series of visitations, notes that he was informed "concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of *this country*. (see below) However as can be gleaned from the text of the Book of Mormon and from the quote above, the Savior appeared to the "ancient inhabitants" at the temple in Bountiful, which was located in the land southward.

Note* In a note to Oliver Cowdery, Eli Gilbert used the term "continent" in a more hemispheric sense: If Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, were the real authors of the bible, chiefly revealed and written on the continent of Asia, was not the book of Mormon also written by men who were divinely inspired by the Holy Spirit, on the continent of America? And did not Jesus Christ as truly appear on the continent of America, after his resurrection, and choose twelve apostles to preach his gospel; and did he not deliver his holy doctrine, and teach the same to numerous multitudes on this American continent? I say, did he not as truly do these things here, after his resurrection, as he did the same in Jerusalem before his resurrection? My heart and soul replies yes: the proof is full and clear, and has recently been confirmed by angels from heaven, and what need have we of any further witnesses? (Eli Gilbert to Oliver Cowdery, 24 September 1834, in the *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 1, October 1834, p. 10.)

Note* In an 1831 article by non-Mormon William Owen he writes the following: "The Holy Bible professes to be a history of the peopling of the old continent--the Golden Bible of the new continent." ("A Comparison between the Book of Mormon and the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, or The Golden Bible vs. The Holy Bible," in the *Free Enquirer*, New York, 10 September 1831) Source: Matthew Roper, "Limited Geography and the Book of Mormon: Historical Antecedents and Early Interpretations," in *Review of Books*, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2004.

1823^ abt. Joseph Smith

"Church History," (Wentworth Letter), *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3 no. 9

March 1, 1842, 706-710

In relating the happenings relative to the initial visit of the angel Moroni, Joseph writes:

I was also informed *concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country*, and shown who they were, and from whence they came, a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessing of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people was made known unto me. I was also told where there was deposited some plates on which were engraven an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets *that had existed on this continent*. The angel appeared to me three times the same night and unfolded the same things.

In his 1979 Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980) at the University of California, Los Angeles, Howard Searle writes the following:

[pp. 219-221] The "History of Joseph Smith" was first published in serial form in the *Times and Seasons* at Nauvoo beginning in March, 1842. (see illustration below). Joseph Smith began his editorial career with the March 1st edition in which he announced:

To Subscribers

This paper commences my editorial career, I alone stand responsible for it, and shall do for all papers having my signature henceforward. I am not responsible for the publication, or arrangement of the former paper; the matter did not come under my supervision.

Joseph Smith. (vol. III, No. 9, p. 710)

An article entitled "Church History" appeared in this same March 1st issue, but instead of starting the series with the history that had been prepared in the manuscript history book, Joseph Smith printed the well known "Wentworth Letter." This letter was written at the request of John Wentworth, editor and proprietor of the *Chicago Democrat*, who requested the information for a friend, a Mr. Bastow, who was writing an history of New Hampshire. (Ibid.) Joseph Smith apparently dictated the material to a scribe and forwarded it to Wentworth with a request that it be published without editing or commentary. (Ibid.) B. H. Roberts referred to the letter as "the earliest published document by the Prophet making any pretension to consecutive narrative of those events in which the great latter-day work had its origin." (*History of the Church*, IV, 535) . . .

In the March 15th number of the *Times and Seasons* Joseph Smith published the first installment of the history as it had been written by James Mulholland in the manuscript history book. (*Times and Seasons*, III, No. 10, March 15, 1842, 726-28). The history was published under the caption, "History of Joseph Smith."

[1823] **Illustration: The Publication of Joseph Smith's History.** Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California. p. 220.]

(See the notations for 1842)

[1823] abt. Joseph Smith
("Cumorah")

Lucy Mack Smith, "The History of Lucy Smith ca. 1845," manuscript in LDS Church Archives (Salt Lake City: ca. 1845. Compare Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853) Compare also History of Joseph Smith, Salt Lake City, 1956.

In 1845, Lucy Mack Smith dictated her history to Martha Jane Coray who wrote it down in manuscript form. It was given the name "The History of Lucy Smith." In the 1845 manuscript Lucy says the following:
~~About this~~—The 3 harvest time had now arrived since we opened our new farm and all the our sons were actively employed in assisting their Father to cut down the grain and storing it away in order, ~~for winter~~

One evening we were sitting till quite late conversing upon the subject of the diversity of churches that had risen up in the world and the many thousand opinions in existence as to the truths contained in scripture. Joseph ~~who~~ never said many words upon any subject but always seemed to reflect more deeply than common persons of his age upon everything of a religious nature.

~~This~~ After we ceased conversation he went to bed <and was pondering in his mind which of the churches were the true one. ~~an~~ but he had not laid there long till <he saw> a bright <light> entered the room where he lay he looked up and saw an angel of the Lord stood <standing> by him The angel spoke I perceive that you are enquiring in your mind which is the true church there is not a true church on Earth No not one ~~Not~~ <and> has not been since Peter took the Keys <of the Melchisedec priesthood after the order of God> into the Kingdom of Heaven The churches that are now upon the Earth are all man made churches Joseph ~~there is a record for you and you must get it one day get it~~ There is a record for you and Joseph ~~when you have learned to keep the commandments of God~~ but you cannot get it until you learn to keep the commandments of God <For it is not to get gain> But it is to bring forth that light and Intelligence which has been long lost in the Earth Now Joseph <or> beware <or> when you go to get the plates your mind will be filled with darkness and all manner of evil will rush into your mind To ~~keep~~ <prevent> you from keeping the commandments of God <that you may not succeed in doing his work> and you must tell your father of this for he will believe every word you say the record is on a side hill **on the Hill of Cumorah** 3 miles from this place remove the Grass and moss and you will find a large flat stone pry that up and you will find the record under it laying on 4 pillars--<of cement> then the angel left him.

Source: ^*Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001, pp. 335-336. See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1.

Note* In this 1845 version the angel instructed Joseph that "The record is on a side of *the hill of Cumorah*, three miles from this place. Remove the grass and moss, and you will find the record under it, lying on four pillars of cement." Thus it is possible, if Lucy was not adding information in retrospect, that Joseph knew of the name "Cumorah" in reference to the hill in New York as early as 1823.^{iv}

This 1845 version was edited and later published as *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853), however in the 1853 edited version, this reference to "the Hill of Cumorah" was removed. (see the 1853 notation)

Note* In order to give perspective to the above account, I will note the following from an article by Larry E. Morris which is very instructive on the early accounts dealing with Joseph Smith, the Angel Moroni, and the events at the hill in New York. He writes^v :

. . . the coming forth of the Book of Mormon presents some unique challenges for historians. First, not a single document related to the plates has survived from the crucial period of Moroni's visits--that is, from September 1823 to September 1827. Indeed, the written record offers no mention whatsoever of the Book of Mormon until June 1829. Second, the first accounts that are extant are brief mentions in letters or general reports in newspapers, both of which lack the detail of subsequent versions. Third, those who had in-depth discussions with Joseph Smith about the plates did not tell their stories until at least the 1830s--after Joseph had become a controversial figure and opinion about him had generally split into either the hostile or friendly camp. (In addition, by the time they related their experiences with Joseph, these individuals had had opportunities to discuss the matter among themselves.) Therefore, any given witness might be presumed to be biased for or against Joseph Smith.^{vi} (NOTE 4) Finally, those who talked to Joseph did not record their stories in the same order they heard them . . . Clearly, the whole issue of what Joseph Smith said and how his explanation possibly changed would be much simpler to analyze if letters, diaries, and other documents written on the spot were available. But since we have no such sources, we have to do the best we can with what we have. . . .

Morris lists the reminiscences of early conversations concerning the retrieval of the plates in the order the conversations occurred, with the corresponding date listed first. The date that the reminiscence was recorded or published is listed in brackets:

1823: Joseph Smith Account (1832 History)

. . . he [the angel] revealed unto me that in the Town of Manchester Ontario County N.Y. there was plates of gold upon which there was engravings which was engraven by Maroni & his fathers the servants of the living God in ancient days and deposited by the commandments of God . . . then I immediately went to the palce adn found where the plates was deposited as the angel of the Lord had commanded me . . .

1823: Joseph Smith Account (1838 History)

. . . I left the field and went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited, and owing to the distinctness of the vision whcih I had had concerning it, I knew the place the instant that I arrive there. . . .

1823: Lucy Mack Smith's account [1844-45]

"the record is on a side hill on the Hill Cumorah 3 miles from this place"

1823: William Smith's reminiscences [1883, 1884]

"All of us, therefore, believed him, and anxiously awaited the result of his visit to the hill Cumorah. . . ." (NOTE 71)

1823: Edmund L. Kelley's interview with Lorenzo Saunders [1884] (NOTE 73)

"We went there & we examined the hill all over where he claimed to got the plates & we could not find a place that was broke & there was no paltes on the ground where the hill was not broke. Robinson said he tried many times to find the hole where he took them out, that is on the west hill it was $\text{\textcircled{C}}$ cleared off." (NOTE 74)

4. 1826: Joseph Knight Sr.'s reminiscence [circa 1835-47] (NOTE 75)

". . . From thence he [Joseph Smith] went to the hill where he was informed the Record was and found no trouble . . . he opened the Box and Behold the Book was ~~gone~~ there he took hold of it to take it out again and Behold he Could not stur the Book any more then he Could the mount[a]in . . .

5. 1826: Joseph Knight Jr.'s history [1862]

[No mention of the hill]

6. 1827: Willard Chase's statement [1833]

"On the 22d of September [1823], he must repair to the place where was deposited this manuscript . . ."

7. 1827: William H. Kelley's interview with Benjamin Sasunders [1884] (NOTE 79)

". . . He [Joseph] was directed by an angel where it was."

8. Circa 1827: William H. Kelley's interview with Orlando Saunders [1881] (Note 81)

[Although William H. Kelley addresses the hill in a question: "What did you know about his finding that book, or the plates in the hill over here," no direct reference is made by Saunders to the hill.]

9. 1827 & 1828: John A. Clark's interviews with Martin harris [1840]

". . . He [this divine messenger] then disclosed to him the existence of this golden Bible, and the place where it was deposited."

10. 1828: Joseph and Hiel Lewis's statement [1879] (NOTE 84)

"[Joseph Smith] said that by a dream he was informed that at such a place in a certain hill, in an iron box, were some gold paltes with curious engravings, which he must get and translate, and write a book; that the plates were to be kept concealed from every human being for a certain time, some two or three years; that he went to the place and dug till he came to the stone that covered the box . . . And when Smith saw Miss Emma Hale, he knew that she was the persxon, and that after they were married, she went with him to near the palce, and stood with her back toward him, while he dug up the box . . ."

11. 1829: Oliver Cowdery's letters to W. W. Phelps [1835]
". . . After arriving at the repository . . . "

12 Circa 1829: Henry Harris's statement [circa 1833]
" After he pretended to have found the gold plates, I had a conversation with him, and asked him where he found them and how he come to know where they were. He said he had a revelation from God that told him they were hid in a certain hill and he looked in his sstone and saw them in the palce of deposit; . . .

13. Circa 1830: Fayette Lapham's interview with Joseph Smith Sr. [1870]
" He then told his father that, in his dream, a very large and tall man appeared to him, dressed in an ancient suit of clothes, and the clothes were bloody. And the man said to him that there was a valuable treasure, buried many years since, and not far from that place; and that he had now arrived for it to be brought to light, for the benefit of the world at large; and . . . he would direct him to the palce where it was deposited . . . The year passed . . . he went to the place of deposit . . .

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

[1823]^ (abt. Joseph Smith) "How Much Did the Prophet Know." *Newsletter and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A.*, Number 158, December 1984, pp. 2-3.

The following was part of an address delivered by Ross T. Christensen at the Thirty-third Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, held at BYU on September 28 and 29, 1984. Christensen writes:

Such questions have been asked as "How much did the prophet Joseph Smith actually know about Book of Mormon geography?" and "How much of what he knew did he feel at liberty to reveal to his followers?" Joseph Smith was first shown the plates of the Book of Mormon on September 22, 1823, but it was not until the fourth anniversary of that date, i.e., in 1827, that they actually came into his possession. What was he doing during those four years, and why that long wait before he could get on with his important assignment of translating them into English?

A recent study^{vii} documents no fewer than 22 visitations of the angel Moroni to Joseph, as well as appearances of Nephi, Alma, Mormon, and other Book of Mormon notables. Most of these visits were made, no doubt, during this four-year period, and many of them were reported by Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Prophet, who in her old age dictated a biography of her controversial son. [*Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853--dictated in 1845]

Chapter 18 of Mother Smith's biography is of particular interest. It starts with the date September 22, 1823, when young Joseph told his father of the visits of Moroni through the previous night. Then, that evening and the next, his whole family gathered about to listen to him.

From this time forth, Joseph continued to receive instructions from the Lord, and we continued to get the children together every evening for the purpose of listening while he gave us a relation of the same. I presume our family presented an aspect as singular as any that ever lived upon the face of the earth--all seated in a circle, father, mother, sons and daughters, and giving the most profound attention to a boy, eighteen years of age, who had never read the Bible through in his life: he seemed much less inclined to the perusal of books than any of the rest of our children, but far more given to meditation and deep study.

During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings,

with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with as much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life among them. (Smith, 1979, pp. 82-83)

[Note* The 1845 Manuscript reads essentially the same.]^{viii}

. . . In any case, the Prophet seems to have known a good deal about ancient Nephite civilization. Why, then did he not tell his followers more about such matters as Book of Mormon geography? Because they were not yet ready for it, and because that was not what the Church was to become involved in at that stage of development. It would seem, however, that he at least left a few clues behind, perhaps to stimulate us of the present generation to further inquiry. (Incidentally, I am not one to accept everything Joseph Smith ever said or wrote as automatically binding; he was a human being like the rest of us. But I do believe he had special insights, and whatever he may have had to say--even on a subject like Book of Mormon geography--is worthy of careful consideration.)

Note* In his book *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger* (SLC: Deseret Book, 2000)[^], H. Donl Peterson has a chart, "Moroni's Known Appearances to Joseph Smith: 1823-1829," in which is listed twenty-two visits. (see pp. 131-134). Peterson also has a chart "Personages Who Appeared to Joseph" in which 59 visitors are listed. (see pp. 148-150) Among those visitors that might have related information about Book of Mormon geography we find: Moroni,^{ix} the twelve Nephite Apostles including the Three Nephites,^x Nephi,^{xi} Zeph the Lamanite,^{xii} Mormon,^{xiii} and Alma.^{xiv}

Note* Orson Pratt wrote:

Here, then, was a reality--something great and glorious, and after having received from time to time, visits from these glorious personages, and talking with them, as one man would talk with another, face to face, beholding their glory, he was permitted to go and take these plates from their place of deposit--plates of gold--records, some of which were made nearly six hundred years before Christ" (*Journal of Discourses*, 13:66, Dec. 19, 1869)[^].

1824[^] Jedediah Morse *A New System of Geography, Ancient and Modern, for the Use of Schools,*

24th edition, Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1824, p. 228

Preface: Geography, as a science, is yet in its infancy. . . . In the following pages the world is presented under three distinct views, 1. An Introductory view of each quarter or grand division of the globe. 2. A view of each country in detail. 3. A General View, or Recapitulation. . . . The publishers have prepared an Atlas to accompany this work . . . The principal improvement [over previous editions] is the addition of a System of Ancient Geography, accompanied with an Ancient Atlas of five maps. [iii-v]

North America

Situation. North America is bounded on the E. by the Atlantic Ocean; on the S. E. it is separated from South America by the isthmus of Darien; on the W. is the Pacific Ocean. . . .

Divisions. The three great divisions of North America are,

1. British America, in the north;
2. The United States, in the middle, and
3. Spanish America, in the south [p. 32]

With respect to the country at present occupied by the Indians, comprehending about three quarters of the continent, it may be remarked, that we know very little about it. Many parts of it were never explored by a white man. We know, in general, that it is inhabited by Indians, who live entirely by hunting and fishing, and of course, that it is in a state of nature, wild and uncultivated. Even the names of the Indian tribes which inhabit this vast country are, in many instances unknown. [p. 35]

Guatemala

Situation. Guatemala extends from Mexico on the northwest, nearly to the isthmus of Darien. On the E. lies the Caribbean sea, and on the W. the Pacific ocean.

Divisions. It is divided into 6 provinces, viz Chiapa, Vera Paz, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Bay. The bay of Honduras divides this country into two peninsulas.

. . .

Mountains. . . . It abounds with volcanoes.

Productions. The productions are, grain in abundance, grapes, honey, cotton, fine wool, dyewoods, &c. . . . [pp. 145-146]

South America

Situation. On the N. is the Caribbean sea, and the Atlantic; on the E. the Atlantic; on the S. it comes to a point; on the W. is the Pacific ocean; and on the N. W. it is connected with North America by the isthmus of Darien. In shape it resembles a pear.

. . .

Mountains. The *Andes* run along the whole western coast of South America, from Cape Horn to the isthmus of Darien. They are a part of the great American range. . . .

Rivers. The three greatest rivers are the *Amazon*, the *La Plata* and the *Orinoco*.

The *Amazon* is the largest river in the world, and, except the Missouri, the longest. It enters the Atlantic under the equator, by a mouth 150 miles wide, and the tide flows up 500 miles. . . . Its most distant source is the river *Beni*, which rises in the Andes in lat. 19° S. and running north . . . The course of the Amazon is then east to the ocean. This mighty river is navigable for vessels of 500 tons, from its mouth to the very foot of the Andes, a distance of 4,000 miles.

The *La Plata* empties itself into the Atlantic on the southeast side of the continent, in about abt. 35°. . . .

The *Orinoco* empties itself on the north coast, . . . [pp. 150-151]

1824 **John Van Ness Yates** ***History of the State of New York.*** New York, 1824
Joseph White Moulton

Dan Vogel writes concerning the concept of the "narrow neck of land":

In Smith's day it was believed by some that "the Peninsula of Yucatan, in America, no doubt was once the bed of the sea" (Yates and Moulton, p. 78) This may have added to the view that the entire Central America was a "narrow neck of land" which connected North and South America.

Note* See the 1758 notation) See the September 15, 1842 *Times and Seasons* notation in which it says, " They [the Nephites] lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found."

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), pp. 24-25, 46-47

1827 abt. Joseph Smith Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853)

(Implied knowledge of "Cumorah"): In her 1853 *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards) revised from a manuscript which Lucy Mack Smith dictated in 1845, Lucy makes some remarks concerning the time period apparently just after Joseph's marriage on January 18, 1827. Lucy tells the story as follows:

[Joseph] took leave for Pennsylvania, on the same business as before mentioned, and the next January [1827] returned with his wife, in good health and fine spirits. Not long subsequent to his return, my husband had occasion to send him to Manchester on business. As he set off early in the day we

expected him home at most by six o'clock in the evening, but when six o'clock came he did not arrive. . . . He did not get home till the night was far spent. On coming in he threw himself into a chair, apparently much exhausted. . . . Presently he smiled and said in a calm tone, "I have taken the severest chastisement that I have ever had in my life." My husband, supposing that it was from some of the neighbors, was quite angry and observed, "I would like to know what business anybody has to find fault with you!" "Stop, father, stop," said Joseph, "it was the angel of the Lord. *As I passed by the hill of Cumorah*, where the plates are, the angel met me and said that I had not been engaged enough in the work of the Lord; that the time had come for the record to be brought forth; and that I must be up and doing and set myself about the things which God had commanded me to do." . . . It was also made known to him at this interview that he should make another effort to obtain the plates, on the twenty-second of the following September, but this he did not mention to us at that time.

Note* The 1845 manuscript of Lucy Smith's history ("The History of Lucy Smith") **does not** include the phrase "hill of Cumorah." It reads as follows:

But to return to the <first> circumstance which I commenced relating he did not return home till the night was considerably advanced his Father and myself were together no one else was present when he entered the house he threw himself into a chair seemingly much exhausted he was <as> pale as ashes his Father exclaimed "Joseph why have <you> staid so late has anything happened you we have been in distress about you these 3 hours [beginning of an X'ed out passage] after Joseph recovered himself a little he said Father I have had the severest chastisement that I ever had in my life Chastisement ideed! said Mr. Smith Well upon my word I would like to who has been takeing you to task and what their pretext was its pretty well too, if you are to be detained till this time of night to take lectures for your bad practises. Joseph smiled to see his Father so hasty and indignant. Father said he it was the angel of the Lord. he says I have been negligent that the time has now come when the record should be brought forth and that I [end of X'd-out passage] must be up and doing that I must set myself about the things which God has commanded me to do as to this reprimand <for> I know what course I am to pursue an all will be well.

Source: *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*, ed. Lavina Fielding Anderson Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001, 374-375. See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1.

Note* In his book, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion*, Terryl L. Givens notes that Richard L. Bushman (*Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984, p. 78) and Donna Hill (*Joseph Smith, the First Mormon*, SLC: Signature Books, 1999, p. 69) suggest that these things happened following Joseph and Emma's trip to Pennsylvania to get some of Emma's things in August of 1827.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

[1827 **Illustration: The Hill Cumorah.** Bander and Howe, 1841. (Courtesy Marriott Library, University of Utah)]

Note* This is the earliest illustration of the Hill Cumorah that I could find to date. Thus it would probably represent the condition of the hill when Joseph went through his experiences there.

1828[^] Revelation to Joseph Smith D&C 3:16-20, Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 1828

This is a revelation given to Joseph Smith at Harmony, Pennsylvania, July 1828. The revelation was given through the Urim and Thummim. (HC 1:21-23). It tends to imply that some sort of literal descent for Book of Mormon peoples had continued to exist up until the times of Joseph Smith.

16. Nevertheless, my work shall go forth, for inasmuch as the knowledge of a Savior has come unto the world, through the testimony of the Jews, even so shall the knowledge of a Savior come unto my people--

17. And to the Nephites, and the Jacobites, and the Josephites, and the Zoramites, through the testimony of their fathers--

18. And this testimony shall come to the knowledge of the Lamanites, and the Lemuelites, and the Ishmaelites, who dwindled in unbelief because of the iniquity of their fathers, whom the Lord has suffered to destroy their brethren the Nephites, because of their iniquities and their abominations.

19. And for this very purpose are these plates preserved, which contain these records--that the promises of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he made to his people;

20. And that the Lamanites might come to the knowledge of their fathers, and that they might know the promises of the Lord . . .

1828^ Frederick Butler ***Elements of Geography and History Combined***, 4th ed., Wethersfield, Conn.:

Deming and Francis, 1828.

In the preface, Frederick Butler writes the following:

In compiling this work, the Author had before him the Geographies of Morse, (both Universal and Abridgement) Cummings, Adams, Dwight, Willett, and Dana's Sketches of the Western States; from which he made the most valuable selections. The historical sketches are derived from Rollin's Ancient History, Russell's Modern Europe, Robertson's South America; and various other writers, particularly upon the United Sates. . . .

This work is accompanied with an improved Atlas, containing nine Maps, in which all the modern Geographical changes are carefully and particularly laid down . . . [p. iv]

North America

Q. What is the situation and extent of North America?

A. North America . . . is bounded on the north by the Northern ocean, on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by the isthmus of Darien and the gulf of Mexico, and on the west by the Pacific. . . . [p. 14]

Guatimala

Q. What are the situation and extent of Guatimala?

A. Guatimala is bounded on the N. by Mexico; E. by the Caribbean sea; S. by the Isthmus of Darien or S. America; and W. by the Pacific ocean. It is about 600 miles long, and 500 broad in the widest part; . . .

Q. What are its civil divisions and population?

A. Guatimala is divided into 6 provinces, viz. Chiapa, Vera Paz, Guatimala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Its population is about 2,000,000. . . . [p. 180]

1829^ Orson Pratt & Joseph F. Smith *Millennial Star* 40 (1878), p. 722.
(abt. David Whitmer, Joseph & Oliver)
("Cumorah")

In an 1878 interview with Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith, David Whitmer, one of the three witnesses to the plates, told them a story which apparently happened just prior to the translation process at the Whitmer home. Thus this incident happened about the end of May of 1829. The account goes as follows:

When I was returning to Fayette [from Harmony--see map below], with Joseph and Oliver, all of us riding in the wagon, Oliver and I on an old-fashioned, wooden spring seat, and Joseph behind us--when traveling along in a clear open space, a very pleasant, nice-looking, old man suddenly appeared by the side of the wagon, and saluted us with, "Good morning, it is very warm," at the same time wiping his face or forehead with his hand. We returned the salutation, and, by a sign from Joseph, I invited him to ride, if he was going our way; but he said very pleasantly, "No, *I am going to Cumorah.*" This name was something new to me. *I did not know what Cumorah meant.* We all gazed at him and at each other, and as I looked around inquiringly at Joseph, the old man instantly disappeared, so that I did not see him again.

Note* I don't seem to have any indication that during the years which immediately followed 1829 this incident was told to anyone else by the other participants. Joseph Smith, in his 1842 *History of the Church*, did not make any reference to this incident. The same applies to Oliver Cowdery, who had a chance to write a number of letters concerning the early days of the Restoration to W.W. Phelps, who published them in 1835 in the *Messenger and Advocate*.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings. See the 1878 David Whitmer notation and the 1928 B. H. Roberts notation.

[1829 **Illustration: The New York-Pennsylvania Area: Locations of Significance in Joseph Smith's Early Life.** H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, p. 125.]

1829[^] Brigham Young _____ Journal of Discourses (Liverpool, 1878), vol. 19:36-39.
(abt. J. Smith & O. Cowdery-Cave Story)

Just two months and twelve days before his death in 1877, Brigham Young was establishing a new stake in Farmington, Utah. In his discourse he mentioned a cave associated with Nephite records and treasures located in the hill Cumorah in New York. Although this 1877 story (along with the other supporting stories) was recorded many years after the fact, I will discuss the incident here first, because it appears to have happened in 1829, and second, because this story has been quoted often to support the idea that because Nephite records were seen in a cave in the New York hill Cumorah then the final Nephite battles must have been there also. To begin I will quote Brigham Young who stated the following:

Orrin P. Rockwell is an eyewitness to some powers of removing the treasures of the earth. He was with certain parties that lived nearby where the plates were found that contain the records of the Book of Mormon. There were a great many treasures hid up by the Nephites. Porter was with them one night when there were treasures, and they could find them easy enough, but they could not obtain them. When [Porter] tells a thing he understands, he will tell it just as he knows it; he is a man that does not lie. He said that on this night when they were engaged hunting for this old treasure, they dug around the end of a chest for some twenty inches. The chest was about three feet square. One man who was determined to have the contents of that chest took his pick and struck into the lid of it, and split through into the chest. The blow took off a piece of the lid, which a certain lady [Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph's mother] kept in her possession until she died. That chest of money went into the bank. Porter describes it so he says this is just as true as the heavens are. (19:37)^{xv}

[The] treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched, they can be moved from place to place according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them. . . . This is an incident in the life of Oliver Cowdery, but he did not take the liberty of telling such things in meeting as I take. I tell these things to you, and I have a motive for doing so. I want to carry them to the ears of my brethren and sisters, and to the children also, that they may grow to an understanding of some things that seem to be entirely hidden from the human family. **Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited [i.e., returned] these plates.** Joseph did not translate all of the plates. There was a portion of them sealed, which you can learn from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. When Joseph got the plates, the angel instructed him to carry them back to the hill Cumorah, which he did. **Oliver says that when Joseph and Oliver went there the hill opened and they walked into a cave, in which there was a large and spacious room.** He says he did not think, at the time, whether they had the sunlight or artificial light; but that it was just as light as day. They laid the plates on a table; it was a large table that stood in the room. Under this table there was a pile of plates as much as two feet high, and there were altogether in this room more plates probably than many wagon loads; they were piled up in the corners and along the walls. The first time they went there the sword of Laban hung upon the wall; but when they went again it had been taken down and laid upon the table across the gold plates; it was unsheathed, and on it was written these words: "this sword will never be sheathed again until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ! **I tell**

you this as coming not only from Oliver Cowdery, but others who were familiar with it, and who understood it just as well as we understand coming to this meeting. I relate this to you, and I want you to understand it. I take this liberty of referring to those things so that they will not be forgotten and lost. **[Don] Carlos Smith** [one of Joseph's brothers] was a young man of as much veracity as any young man we had, and he was a witness to these things. [Another brother] **Samuel Smith** saw some things [as did] **Hyrum** [who] saw a good many things. But Joseph was the[ir] leader. (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19:36-39)

Note: Let me comment here on some of the pertinent information conveyed by Brigham Young:

(1.) The Cave Story is associated with treasure that can be moved. Brigham said that the "treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched," and "they can be moved from place to place according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them." If so, then one should take care in basing any geographical map of Nephite lands or the location of final battles primarily on the supposed location of the treasure in this cave.
(See the notation for 1825. See also the 1860 Jacob Hamblin notation)

(2.) Although there are a number of accounts of the Cave Story, there are no first hand accounts. None of the various proposed participants (especially Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith) ever documented the story in writing. Brigham was not even part of Joseph's group at this time. Thus when Brigham Young notes that Oliver "says" or that he is relating this information "as coming not only from Oliver Cowdery, but others who were familiar with it," Brigham is implying oral communication and not written documentation. Moreover, this communication was not necessarily made directly to Brigham himself. So Brigham's account is not a first-hand account, and possibly not even a second-hand account. It should also be noted that at the time of Brigham's cave story (1877), both Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had been dead for many years.

(3.) As far as other people that might have been involved, Brigham says that "[Don] Carlos Smith [one of Joseph's brothers] was a young man of as much veracity as any young man we had, and he was a witness to these things. [Another brother] Samuel Smith saw some things [as did] Hyrum [who] saw a good many things. But Joseph was the[ir] leader." Brigham doesn't specifically say just how much Don Carlos, Samuel, and Hyrum saw or heard, yet a number of accounts add possible additional information.

William Dame, on January 14, 1855, recorded the following in his diary:

Attended meeting a discourse from W. W. Phelps. He related a story told him by Hyrum Smith which was as follows: **Joseph, Hyrum, Cowdery and Whitmer went to the Hill Cumorah.** As they were walking **up** the hill, **a door opened** and they walked into **a room about 16 ft. square.** In that room was an angel and a trunk. On that trunk lay a Book of Mormon and gold plates, Laban's sword, Aaron's breastplate. (William Horen Dame, *Diary*, 14 January 1855, found in LDS Church Archives)

In 1893 Edward Stevenson recalled that in his December 1877 interview with David Whitmer that the aged witness said that "**Oliver Cowdery told him that the prophet Joseph and himself had seen this room** and that it was filled with treasure, and on a table therein were the breastplate and the sword of Laban, as well as the portion of gold plates not yet translated, and that these plates were bound by three small gold rings. . . ." (Stevenson 1893, p. 14; as quoted in *Early Mormon Documents*, Volume III, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, p. 380.)

Elizabeth Kane (15 January 1873) gave an account of what she was told by Brigham Young about the cave:

I asked where the plates were now . . . I was answered that they were in a cave, that Oliver Cowdery, though now an apostate, would not deny that he had seen them. He had been to the cave. **I did not understand exactly whether Oliver Cowdery was there three times, or whether he accompanied Joseph the third time he went there.** And Brigham Young's tone was so solemn that I listened bewildered . . . Brigham Young said that when Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith were in the cave this third time, they could see its contents more distinctly than before, just as your eyes get used to the light of a dim candle, and objects in the room become plain to you. **It was about fifteen feet high**, and round its sides were hanged boxes of treasure. In the center was a large stone table, empty before,

but now piled with similar gold plates, some of which also lay scattered on the floor beneath. Formerly, the sword of Laban hung on the walls sheathed, but it was now unsheathed and lying across the plates on the table; and One that was with them said it was never to be sheathed until the reign of righteousness upon the earth. (Elizabeth Kane Journal, quoted in Dan Vogel ed. *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 3. SLC: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 407-408.)

In the "Brigham Young Manuscript History" for May 5, 1867, the following is recorded of a speech given by President Heber C. Kimball to a missionary meeting at the Church Historians' Office: "Pres. Kimball [Heber C.] related about **Father Smith, Oliver Cowdery and others walking into the Hill Cumorah** and seeing records upon records piled upon tables, **they walked from cell to cell** and saw the records that were piled up!" (Brigham Young Manuscript History, 5 May 1867).

Thus we have a number of people implicated in the stories [Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, David Whitmer, Father Smith, and "others," with Don Carlos Smith and Samuel Smith being "witnesses"] but no first-hand accounts. And the possible second-hand accounts were made many years after the fact. Additionally, while we have somewhat similar stories there are conflicting details.

(4.) This cave incident is associated with returning the plates to the Hill Cumorah. If they went a "**first time**" and then "**went again**" then they went at least twice (or possibly 3 times if Elizabeth Kane's account is to be believed). The cave incident is also associated with Laban's sword. When they "went again" the sword of Laban was unsheathed with a message written on it that it would remain unsheathed "until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ." This condition signaled a different circumstance from the first time they went. So in order to put this cave story in its proper chronological setting, one must correlate the cave story with a time or times when these visits and these conditions could have happened.

In my opinion, the unsheathing of Laban's sword (symbolizing the power of the record of Joseph) implied that the translation of the Book of Mormon was now complete and the work of the gathering had now begun and would continue "until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ." Joseph and Oliver were together for almost the entire last part of the translation process of the Book of Mormon (the first part being mostly translated-and lost-by Martin Harris). Oliver first met Joseph in Harmony, and then moved with him to Fayette to finish the translation. (see map below) So the first time they would have been together after the translation process was finished was in late June, 1829. Thus the time period for the return of the plates and the conditions implied by Laban's sword can be correlated to late June, 1829.

In this regard, Lucy Mack Smith has recorded the following insightful information:

As soon as the Book of Mormon was translated [the latter part of June, 1829], Joseph dispatched a messenger to Mr. Smith, bearing intelligence of the completion of the work, and a request that Mr. Smith and myself should come immediately to Waterloo [near Fayette--see map below]

The same evening, we conveyed this intelligence to Martin Harris, for we loved the man, although his weakness had cost us much trouble. Hearing this, he greatly rejoiced, and determined to go straightway to Waterloo [near Fayette] to congratulate Joseph upon his success. Accordingly, the next morning, we all set off together, and before sunset met Joseph and Oliver at Mr. Whitmer's.

The evening was spent in reading the manuscript, and it would be superfluous for me to say, to one who has read the foregoing pages, that we rejoiced exceedingly. It then appeared to those of us who did not realize the magnitude of the work, as if the greatest difficulty was then surmounted; but Joseph better understood the nature of the dispensation of the Gospel which was committed unto him.

The next morning, after attending to the usual services, namely, reading, singing and praying, Joseph arose from his knees, and approaching Martin Harris with a solemnity that thrills through my veins to this day, when it occurs to my recollection, said, "Martin Harris, you may obtain a forgiveness of your sins. If you do, it is the will of God that you should look upon the plates, in company with Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer."

In a few minutes after this, Joseph, Martin, Oliver and David, repaired to a grove, a short distance from the house,^{xvi} where they commenced calling upon the Lord, and continued in earnest supplication, until he permitted an angel to come down from his presence, and declare to them, that all which Joseph had testified of concerning the plates was true.^{xvii}

When they returned to the house it was between three and four o'clock p.m. Mrs. Whitmer, Mr. Smith and myself, were sitting in a bedroom at the time. On coming in, Joseph threw himself down beside

me, and exclaimed, "Father, mother, you do not know how happy I am: the Lord has now caused the plates to be shown to three more besides myself. They have seen an angel, who has testified to them, and they will have to bear witness to the truth of what I have said, for now they know for themselves, that I do not go about to deceive the people, and I feel as if I was relieved of a burden which was almost too heavy for me to bear, and it rejoices my soul, that I am not any longer to be entirely alone in the world." . . . Their written testimony, which is contained in the Book of Mormon, is as follows: [See "The Testimony of Three Witnesses" in the Book of Mormon]

The following day, we returned [to our home in Palmyra near Manchester, a cheerful, happy company.

[Note* Richard Holzapfel and Jeffery Cottle write that the Smith cabin was located just across the Manchester township line and therefore was located in Palmyra township. The site was situated on the west side of Stafford road about 250 yards north of the present Joseph Smith, Sr. house (see the maps below). They were living there when the First Vision occurred (note the location of the Sacred Grove), when Moroni visited Joseph for the first time in 1823, and when the eight witnesses saw the plates in 1829. (^Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England: Historic Photographs and Guide*. Santa Ana, CA: Fieldbrook Productions Inc., 1991, pp. 104-105.)]

[1829 **Map: Palmyra Area.** Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Palmyra and New England: Historic Photographs and Guide*. Santa Ana, CA: Fieldbrook Productions Inc., 1991, p. 105.]

[1829 **Map: Palmyra and Vicinity.** H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, p. 98]

[1829 **Illustration: Aerial view of the cabin site where the Smith family lived in 1823 at the time of Moroni's visitations.** The Smith home, which is still standing, was built in 1825. The traditional site of the Sacred Grove is across the street from the 1825 farmhouse (indicated by arrow). H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, p. 92]

In a few days, we were followed by Joseph, Oliver and the Whitmers, who came to make us a visit, and make some arrangements about getting the book printed. **Soon after they came, all the male part of the company, with my husband, Samuel and Hyrum, retired to a place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God.** *They went to this place because it had been revealed to Joseph that the plates would be carried thither by one of the ancient Nephites.* Here it was, that those eight witnesses, whose names are recorded in the Book of Mormon, looked upon them and handled them. Of which they bear record in the following words: [See "The Testimony of Eight Witnesses" in the Book of Mormon]

After these witnesses returned to the house, the angel again made his appearance to Joseph, at which time Joseph delivered up the plates into the angel's hands. That evening, we held a meeting, in which all the witnesses bore testimony to the facts, as stated above; and all of our family, even to Don Carlos, who was but fourteen years of age, testified of the truth of the Latter-day Dispensation--that it was then ushered in. In a few days, the whole company from Waterloo, went to Palmyra to make arrangements for getting the book printed; and they succeeded in making a contract with one E. B. Grandin, but did not draw the writings at that time. The next day, the company from Waterloo returned home, excepting Joseph, and Peter Whitmer, Joseph remaining to draw writings in regard to the printing of the manuscript, which was to be done on the day following. (History of Joseph Smith: By His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith, with Notes and Comments by Preston Nibley. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, pp. 151-155, italics added)

[1829 **Map: The New York-Pennsylvania Area: Locations of Significance in Joseph Smith's Early Life.** H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, p. 125.]

[1829 **Map: The Palmyra Vicinity.** Andrew H. Hedges, "Protecting the Plates in Palmyra: 22 September-December 1827. Provo: *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, vol. 8, num. 2, 1999. p. 18]

It is interesting that the three witnesses--Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer and Martin Harris--were shown the plates and other regalia by the angel Moroni just a short distance from the Whitmer home in Waterloo (near Fayette). In a September 7, 1878 interview of David Whitmer by Joseph F. Smith and Orson Pratt, we find the following:

Elder O. P. "Do you remember what time you saw the plates?"

D. W. "**It was in June, 1829--the latter part of the month, and the eight witnesses saw them, I think, the next day or the day after.** (i.e. one or two days after). Joseph showed them the plates himself, but the angel showed us (the three witnesses) the plates, as I suppose to fulfil the words of the book itself. Martin Harris was not with us at this time; he obtained a view of them afterwards, (the same day). Joseph, Oliver, and myself were together when I saw them [the plates]. We not only saw the plates of the Book of Mormon, but also the Brass plates, the plates of the Book of Ether . . . and many other plates. The fact is, it was just as though Joseph, Oliver and I were sitting just here on a log, when we were overshadowed by a light. It was not like the light of the sun nor like that of a fire, but more glorious and beautiful. It extended away round us, I cannot tell how far, but in the midst of this light about as far off as he sits (pointing to John C. Whitmer, sitting a few feet from him), **there appeared as it were, a table with many records, or plates, upon it, besides the plates of the Book of Mormon, also the sword of Laban, the directors--i.e., the ball which Lehi had, and the interpreters.** I saw them just as plainly as I see this bed (striking the bed beside him with his hand), and I heard the voice of the Lord, as distinctly as I ever heard anything in my life declaring that the records of the plates of the Book of Mormon were translated by the gift and power of God."

Elder O. P. "Did you see the Angel at this time?"

D. W. "Yes, he stood before us. Our testimony as recorded in the Book of Mormon is strictly and absolutely true, just as it is there written." (The Testimony of David Whitmer, as related in an interview with Apostles Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith, at Richmond, Missouri, on September 7, 1878. *Millennial Star* 40: 771-774)

Thus, apparently a day or two after the experience of the three witnesses at Fayette in late June, 1829, everyone then traveled from Fayette (Waterloo) to the Smith home in Manchester, about three miles from the hill Cumorah. The eight additional witnesses (Joseph Smith Sr., Hyrum Smith, Samuel Smith, four of the Whitmer brothers--Christian, Jacob, Peter, and John; and a brother-in-law to the Whitmer's--Hiram Page) were taken a short distance from the Smith home, where Joseph personally showed them the plates. (We are not told how far it was from the house to "where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God.")

One might also reason that after the experience of the three witnesses in Fayette, where Moroni was in charge of the plates and showed them the regalia, Joseph would have been required to retrieve the plates from the possession of Moroni in order to show them personally to the eight witnesses. This allows for a visit by Joseph to the hill Cumorah. Then as Lucy says, after everyone returned to the Smith house, Joseph "delivered up the plates into the angel's hands," so this possibly allows for another visit to the hill. A third physical visit is not implied unless there were repeated entrances into the cave (and exits) on the same visit.

(5) Before the reader jumps to too many conclusions about the cave story, it should be noted that the Cave Story might be the result of a vision. In an early^{xviii} recorded account of the Cave Story (from a meeting in the Bowery on Temple Square in Salt Lake City on September 28, 1856), Elder Heber C. Kimball, one of the original twelve apostles of the Church and first counselor in the First Presidency under President Brigham Young for many years, said the following:

Brother Mills mentioned in his song, that crossing the Plains with hand-carts was one of the greatest events that ever transpired in this Church. I will admit that it is an important event, successfully testing another method for gathering Israel, but its importance is small in comparison with the visitation of the angel of God to the Prophet Joseph, and with the reception of the sacred records from the hand of Moroni at the hill Cumorah.

How does it compare with the **vision** that Joseph and others had, when they went into a cave in the hill

Cumorah, and saw more records than ten men could carry? There were books piled up on tables, book upon book. Those records this people will yet have, if they accept the Book of Mormon and observe its precepts, and keep the commandments. (see *Journal History of the Church*, September 28, 1856).

In an 1884 interview of David Whitmer by Edmund C. Briggs which was published in the *Saints' Herald* (vol. 31, 21 June 1884, p. 396) we find David Whitmer saying that **the plates "were taken away by the angel to a cave, which we saw by the power of God while we were yet in the Spirit."**^{xix}

However, there is an interview of William Smith in *The Congregational Observer* (vol. 2, 3 July 1841, p. 1), in which William said that Joseph "was directed by a vision to bury the plates again in the same manner; which he accordingly did." Whether "the same manner" refers to the vision of the angel taking them back to the cave or whether it refers to where and how Joseph retrieved them from the Hill Cumorah in the first place, it is hard to tell. Nevertheless, there are "several obvious errors" in this report of what William Smith supposedly said. (see the notation for 1841).

In an account of a dream or "vision" which he had concerning his preserving a testimony of the Book of Mormon, John Young related that he was accompanied by a guide:

We arrived at a cave in the side of a hill, into which we entered . . . [My] guide went to a corner in the room, where lay a large chest, and opened it[;] there, said he, is the Plates . . . My guide handled the Plates of fine Gold . . . [A]fter We examined them, he said We could depart. As we were leaving the cave, he gave me the Box containing the Plates, and told me to preserve them. (John Young, "A Vision of John Young," abt. 1840, Manuscript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.)

Edwin Goble and Wayne May take exception to the idea of a vision and make the cave story a primary argument in defense of the New York Hill Cumorah as the place where the final battles were fought:

Clearly, the angel was indeed in the hill to meet them when he called for them to return the records. "And who is this angel? It was Moroni." "When, according to arrangements, the messenger called for them, I delivered them up to him; and he has them in his charge until this day . . ." (JS-H 1:60). After reviewing all of these accounts, there can be no doubt that this scripture is speaking of the very same incident as they are. Moroni was physically present in the hill, according to the reports. The mere mention of this being a "vision" in [the] account #6 of Heber C. Kimball is hardly proof that things weren't physically there, and that these men and the angel weren't physically in the hill, as some would have us believe. Surely, the apparition of Moroni in Joseph's room is a prime example. Moroni was physically present, yet it was a heavenly visitation, which is easily termed a "vision" (JS-H 1:30). Certainly, the First Vision in which Joseph saw the Father and the Son was referred to as a "vision" (JS-H 1:21), yet we know that this was a physical appearance of both personages (JS-H 1:17). Therefore, the historical evidence is overwhelming that the hill was Cumorah, the hill was the records' depository, and the angel was in the hill. (Edwin Goble and Wayne May, *This Land: Zarahemla and the Nephite Nation*. Published by Ancient American Archaeology Foundation. Printed by Hayriver Press, Colfax, Wisconsin, March 2002, p. 53.)

Yet it must be noted that the record of Lucy Mack Smith does not say that the angel Moroni was in the hill when Joseph returned the plates to him, only that "after these witnesses returned to the house [in Manchester], the angel again made his appearance to Joseph, at which time Joseph delivered up the plates into the angel's hands." No mention is made of Joseph making any trip to the hill either alone or accompanied by Oliver Cowdery and others. Moreover, Lucy seems to imply that Joseph turned over the plates between the time the witnesses "returned to the house" and "that evening." Yet as far as the cave story is concerned, while Lucy does not refer to it at all, the details--time frame, location, and people involved--seem to be plausibly linked with this day at the Smith home in Manchester when eight more witnesses were shown the plates along with the previous three witnesses.

As to whether the cave story was a "vision" as implied by Heber C. Kimball or whether it happened physically according to the theory of Goble and May, it should be noted that according to the interview with David Whitmer, while the three witnesses **were still in Fayette**, "there appeared as it were, a table with many

records, or plates, upon it, besides the plates of the Book of Mormon, also the sword of Laban, the directors-- i.e., the ball which Lehi had, and the interpreters." These are the same conditions which existed in the Cave Story, yet the three witnesses were in Fayette, not Manchester. Furthermore, in his 1884 interview by Edmund Briggs, David Whitmer said that the plates "were taken away by the angel to a cave, which we saw by the power of God *while we were yet in the Spirit*. If we are to define the physical aspects of visions, like Goble & May do, then it should be remembered that before Joseph ever received the plates, he had a vision in which the angel Moroni appeared to him in a large upper room where his brothers were sleeping at the time. Yet with all the light and conversation mentioned in Joseph's account of the vision, his brothers did not report seeing or hearing Moroni. If Joseph and Oliver physically walked into the cave, then the location of the cave should be a documented fact--something that has not been achieved satisfactorily, either with the Mormon accounts or with the non-Mormon accounts generated later (see number (5) below). If that cave was "opened up" (and closed) to Joseph, Oliver and possibly others through supernatural powers, then even though I am at a loss to make any conclusions concerning the physicality of the phrase "opened up" without a personal knowledge of those same supernatural powers, I can be content with the term "vision" in describing such an experience.

(6) It should be noted that there are a number of accounts containing questionable (non-Mormon, anti-Mormon) information that might be used by some in relation to the cave incident. I have assembled them in the footnotes which follow so that the reader will know of their source and perspective. (See Appendix B: Non-LDS accounts concerning a cave)

(Summary) In regards to the Cave Story, one can say that: (1) there are no first-hand reports; (2) there were differing accounts as to who and how many people visited the cave; (3) it is uncertain as to how many visits were made to the cave; (4) the Cave Story is associated with late June---the same time as the experience of the three witnesses and Eight Witnesses. (5) the Cave Story was associated by some with a vision; and (6) a number of non-Mormon accounts can be added which contain even further questionable information. Yet we should admit that we have been given sufficient authoritative assurance in order to say that the Cave Story really did happen.

If Brigham implied that the Nephite records could have been moved about according to the will of their caretaker Moroni, and if the same people were assembled in both Fayette and Manchester in late June, 1829, and if the circumstances were right for the return of the plates to Moroni at that time, and if there were no existing caves in the hill Cumorah that would satisfactorily fit the situation, and if David Whitmer and Heber C. Kimball said that the cave incident was part of a "vision," then the information (differing in detail as it does) should suffice. For someone to propose anything more (that is to base their Book of Mormon geographical theories primarily on the Cave Story--that it was "real") is to propose that which has not been substantiated. We must keep in mind that the details of the Cave Story came from second-hand (or third-hand) sources many years after the fact.

Nevertheless, for those early members of the Church who associated the New York hill with the name "Cumorah" (of which a number of authoritative corroborating circumstances can be cited), and who believed that Moroni was the guardian of that hill, and who viewed Book of Mormon geography as generally hemispheric in nature (again of which a number of authoritative corroborating circumstances can be cited), the idea that there was a repository of records in the New York Hill "Cumorah" would have been a natural deduction gleaned from the text of the Book of Mormon itself. There would have been no reason to doubt that the cave in the Cave Story was real--physically present in the hill and accessible to the individuals who were given permission by Moroni. If Joseph Smith was not in vision when he saw or retrieved the plates, then why would there be any need for one to be "in vision" to enter the cave? That is, unless the cave entrance was blocked by earth and rock. However, could not Moroni remove that debris by command revealing the entrance to the cave?

Note* For the benefit of the reader, a chronological list of references referring to the Cave Story is found in Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Sidenotes** In an 1835 letter to W. W. Phelps, Cowdery mentions that "when myself visited the place [the New York Hill Cumorah] in the year 1830, there were several trees standing." (*Messenger and Advocate* 2, October 1835). Dan Vogel incorrectly uses this source in stating that Cowdery "had not visited the hill until 1830" (Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3, p 380). However, it is hard to envision how Cowdery could

have avoided the hill until 1830 if he was at Palmyra as a teacher during the 1829 school term, at the Smith home during the experience of the eight witnesses in the latter part of June, 1829, was involved in the Cave Story, and was also instrumental in the Printers Manuscript and the printing process of the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon in Palmyra. Furthermore, in a Report published in *The Chicago Times*, 24 January 1888, it is related that before the Book of Mormon was completely translated, Joseph Smith "conducted them [Whitmer and Cowdery] to the hill and showed them the receptacle in which Mormon had in the beginning of the fifth century concealed the historical volume. (Lyndon Cook, *The David Whitmer Interviews*, 1991, p. 248)

The following might imply that Oliver had a knowledge of the treasures spoken of as being in the cave:

(1) On September 22, 1835, Joseph Smith received a Patriarchal Blessing under the hands of Oliver Cowdery which promised the following concerning Joseph Smith:

The records of past ages and generations, and the histories of ancient days shall he bring forth, *even the record of the Nephites shall he again obtain, with all those hid up by Mormon, and others who were righteous; and many others till he is overwhelmed with knowledge.* (*Patriarchal Blessings Book Vol. 2:28*, Church Historian's Office, in Fred Collier, *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City: Collier's Publishing, 1979, pp. 76-77)

(2) In an 1835 letter by Oliver Cowdery published in the *Messenger and Advocate* concerning the events of the Restoration, Cowdery wrote: "In my estimation, certain places are dearer to me for what they *now* contain than what they *have* contained" (*Messenger and Advocate*, October, 1835, 2:196-7).^{xx}

1829^A **(abt. Joseph Smith)** **Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God Son of Thunder***, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966, pp. 10, 15-16.

Orrin Porter Rockwell was born in 1813 and died in 1878. He was a boyhood friend of Joseph Smith. Of Rockwell (and also Joseph Smith), author Harold Schindler writes the following:

Evidence exists that in his later years he [Orrin Porter Rockwell] approached a friend, Mrs. Elizabeth D. E. Roundy, and asked her to chronicle his life. That history--if it was written--has never come to light. . . . It was my intention to piece together the tale Rockwell might have dictated to Mrs. Roundy in 1873. . . . In Porter's fourth year the Rockwells moved from Belcher to Manchester, New York. Two years later, in 1819, Joseph Smith, Sr., gathered his family and left Palmyra, New York; he, too, resettled in Manchester, just a mile from the Rockwells. Before long the two households became firm friends. Porter, along with his parents, was a frequent visitor to the Smith home and it was on these occasions in 1829 [at the age of abt. 16] that he begged to stay up late, if only "to keep the pine torch burning" (see Note A* below) so that he could listen to Joseph relate for the thousandth time the startling events leading to his discovery of the Golden Plates in the Hill Cumorah. Orrin sat enthralled as Joseph explained how an angel of God had appeared and directed him to the golden record of the Nephites hidden beneath Cumorah's surface. The hill, a prominent local landmark, was on the outskirts of Palmyra.

Note A* Schindler notes the following:

Parts of Mrs. Elizabeth D. E. Roundy's letter to the LDS Church Historian [undated] in which she explained that Rockwell had asked her to write his history were extracted without attribution in an article on Rockwell for the *Deseret News* "Church Section" of August 31, 1935. Several incidents in Porter's life were mentioned in the letter and subsequently incorporated in the newspaper story. This was one of them.

Note* The following is the exact quote from the article, "Ancestry of Orrin Porter Rockwell," in the Genealogical Department columns of the *Church Section, The Deseret News*, Saturday, August 31, 1935, p. 7: . . . Even before its organization, the Prophet Joseph and his father and mother were frequent visitors at the home of Porter's parents, and at such times the boy listened with deilght to all that was said. 'He even begged his mother to allow him to sit up and keep the pine torch burning, their only source of light

in the evening.

Thus this article in the "Church Section" does not contain any specific references to "Cumorah." This leaves the undated letter of Elizabeth Roundy to the LDS Church Historian to be checked. However, even if there is a reference in the undated letter or in the original dictated manuscript, it is difficult to know if this reference was an accurate depiction from 1829 or one put together from the perspective of 1873, or an undated letter.

Sources: Elizabeth D. E. Roundy, Letter to LDS Church Historian (undated), In LDS Church Historian's Library. " " , " *Church Section, Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, August 31, 1935. Harold Schindler, *Orrin Porter Rockwell: Man of God Son of Thunder*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1966, pp. 10, 15-16.

[1829] ***Palmyra (NY) Freeman***, circa August 1829 (reprinted in the *Rochester [NY] Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 31 August 1829)

. . . In the fall of 1827, a person by the name of *Joseph Smith*, of Manchester, Ontario county, reported that he had been visited in a dream by the spirit of the Almighty, and informed that in a certain hill in that town, was deposited this Golden Bible, containing an ancient record of a divine nature and origin. . .

Note* In order to give perspective to the above account, I will note the following from an article by Larry E. Morris which is very instructive on the early accounts dealing with Joseph Smith, the Angel Moroni, and the events at the hill in New York. He writes^{xxi} :

. . . the coming forth of the Book of Mormon presents some unique challenges for historians. First, not a single document related to the plates has survived from the crucial period of Moroni's visits--that is, from September 1823 to September 1827. Indeed, the written record offers no mention whatsoever of the Book of Mormon until June 1829. Second, the first accounts that are extant are brief mentions in letters or general reports in newspapers, both of which lack the detail of subsequent versions. Third, those who had in-depth discussions with Joseph Smith about the plates did not tell their stories until at least the 1830s--after Joseph had become a controversial figure and opinion about him had generally split into either the hostile or friendly camp. (In addition, by the time they related their experiences with Joseph, these individuals had had opportunities to discuss the matter among themselves.) Therefore, any given witness might be presumed to be biased for or against Joseph Smith.^{xxii} (NOTE 4) Finally, those who talked to Joseph did not record their stories in the same order they heard them . . .

Clearly, the whole issue of what Joseph Smith said and how his explanation possibly changed would be much simpler to analyze if letters, diaries, and other documents written on the spot were available. But since we have no such sources, we have to do the best we can with what we have. . . .

The first category that Morris addresses are Newspapers: He writes: "Interestingly, newspapers [from June 1829 to June 1830] offer the earliest contemporary record of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon." In Appendix A, Morris lists the articles in order of appearance:

Palmyra (NY) *Wayne Sentinel*, 26 June 1829

[No mention is made of any hill]

Palmyra (NY) Freeman, circa August 1829 (reprinted in the *Rochester [NY] Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 31 August 1829)

. . . In the fall of 1827, a person by the name of *Joseph Smith*, of Manchester, Ontario county, reported that he had been visited in a dream by the spirit of the Almighty, and informed that in a certain hill in that town, was deposited this Golden Bible, containing an ancient record of a divine nature and origin. . . .

Palmyra (NY) Reflector, 2 January 1830

[No mention of any hill]

Rochester (NY) Daily Advertiser, 2 Apr. 1830
[No mention of any hill]

Rochester (NY) Gem, 15 May 1830
[No mention of any hill]

Wayne County (PA) *Inquirer*, circa May 1830 (reprinted in the *Cincinnati Advertiser*, and *Ohio Phoenix*, 2 June 1830)
". . . The book purports to give an account of the 'Ten Tribes.' "

Palmyra (NY) *Reflector*, 3rd ser., 5, 12 June 1830, 36-37
[No mention of any hill]

[1829]^ (abt. Martin Harris)

"Letter from Stephen S. Harding to Thomas Gregg, February 1882, published in Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, pp. 34-56 (see Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 153-166)

In about early August, 1829, a 21-year-old attorney named Stephen Harding came to Palmyra to visit his relative Pomeroy Tucker, who worked in the Grandin printing office during the time just before the Book of Mormon began to be typeset (typesetting began in about mid-August 1829). Harding soon became acquainted with Martin Harris and was invited to stay overnight at the Smith home in order to hear the Book of Mormon manuscript read. During the evening of reading by candlelight, according to Harding's account, Mother Smith brought up the subject of visions and dreams. Facetiously, Harding mentioned that he also had had a dream but that it was "so strange that [he] could not tell it to [Mother Smith] or any one else." About two weeks later, Martin Harris met Harding again and asked about his dream. According to Harding, Harris said that since their last visit he had "seen fearful signs in the heavens, " and that he had seen "a fiery sword let down out of heaven, and pointing to the east, west, north, and south, then to the hill of Cumorah, where the plates of Nephi were found."

Note* Here again, it is difficult to know if this reference to "Cumorah" is an accurate depiction from 1829 or one put together from the perspective of the anti-Mormon Harding in 1882.

Source: See Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, pp. 471-473, p. 674n. 35.

1830 Hiram Page (Revelation dealing with the location of the city of Zion)

Hiram Page was born in 1800 in Vermont. He married Catherine Whitmer, a sister of David Whitmer and became one of the Eight Witnesses of the Book of Mormon. He joined the Church in 1830 just five days after it was organized. Previous to the conference of September 26, 1830, he found a stone about five inches by three inches and one-half inches in thickness. It had two holes in it and was believed to help give the person who possessed it the power of revelation. Through this stone, Hiram Page claimed, among other things, to receive revelations identifying the location of the American New Jerusalem or where the City of Zion would be built. Apparently in reading the Book of Mormon (Ether 13) it was discovered that Zion, or the New Jerusalem, was to be built upon this continent. This prediction caused some speculation among the early Church members and Hiram Page had endeavored to settle the question by means of a revelation through his stone.

This caused serious trouble with the Prophet and he prayed for an answer. Doctrine and Covenants section 28 came as a response. (see the 1830 notation). In this revelation the Lord corrected the false teaching of Hirma Page and informed the Church that the site for the New Jerusalem had not been revealed, but when it was revealed it would be "on the borders of the Lamanites."

In 1848, Hiram Page wrote a letter to William McLellin in which he explained the reasons for his separation from the Church. He wrote: "Joseph had tried to place himself above the revealed word [by] . . . presumptuously and prematurely attempting to gather the Saints to the revealed Zion." (as cited in Bruce G. Stewart, "Hiram Page: An Historical and Sociological Analysis of an Earely Mormon Prototype," M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, April 1987, p. 161)

Note* There is a reference from *Journal History* which quotes Oliver Cowdery and commanding Joseph to "remove" supposedly false information from a revelation. What that refers to I do not know right now. The question to be posed here is this: Had Joseph already mentioned the location of the city of Zion to Hiram Page?

Source: *Journal History*, September 26, 1830. See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, edited by Bruce R. McConkie, vol. 3, p. 75. See also Susan Easton Black, *Who's Who in the Doctrine and Covenants*, Salt lake City: Bookcraft, 1997, p. 210.

SOURCE CHECK

Note* I have yet to find the actual recorded details of Hiram Page's revelation--specifically the location that he proposed for the New Jerusalem.

1830^

Revelation to Joseph Smith

D&C 28:8-9, September, 1830

"You [Oliver Cowdery] shall go unto the Lamanites and preach my gospel . . . The city of Zion shall be built . . . on the borders by the Lamanites."

Note* While the concept of North American Indians being "Lamanites" tends to reflect the early idea that the Indians were descendants of Lehi, one should take care not to read too much into the phrase. However a complete listing of all statements that reflect on the origin of the Indians is found in the Appendix. One should also take care not to read too much into the phrase "on the borders by the Lamanites." Joseph Allen writes: "Certainly, no one has any argument about the American Indians being considered Lamanites. Nor does anyone debate about the western part of the United States being labeled Lamanite territory. In 1830, the western portion of the United States belonged to Mexico. Certainly, Missouri and points west must be considered the borders of the Lamanites." (*Exploring*, p. 353)

In regard to the phrase "borders by the Lamanites," Parley P. Pratt, one of the men who accompanied Oliver Cowdery on this mission, writes in his report:

We continued for several days to instruct the old chief and many of his tribe. The interest became more and more intense on their part, from day to day, until at length nearly the whole tribe began to feel a spirit of inquiry and excitement on the subject. . . . The excitement now reached the frontier settlements in Missouri, and stirred up the jealousy and envy of the Indian agents and sectarian missionaries to that degree that we were soon ordered out of the Indian country as disturbers of the peace, and even threatened with the military in case of non-compliance. We accordingly departed from the Indian country and came over the line, and commenced laboring in Jackson County, Missouri, among the whites. (*Autobiography*, p. 61)

1830^

Revelation to Joseph Smith

D&C 32:2 October, 1830

"And that which I have appointed unto him [Parley P. Pratt] is that he shall go with my servants, Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer, Jun., into the wilderness *among the Lamanites*. And Ziba Peterson also shall go with them;"

**1830^ (abt. Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery
Peter Whitmer, Jr., Ziba Peterson
& Frederick G. Williams)**

**"The Golden Bible," *Observer and Telegraph* 1 (18
Nov. 1830), Hudson, Ohio.**

In a 2000 article by H. Michael Marquardt, he writes the following:

The earliest missionaries from New York to Ohio preached concerning the Book of Mormon. They were Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson. . . . The following excerpt is from a November 1830 newspaper article that mentions their visit to Ohio:

This new Revelation [the Book of Mormon], they say is especially designed for the benefit, or rather for the christianizing of *the Aborigines of America; who, as they affirm, are a part of the tribe of Manasseh, and whose ancestors landed on the coast of Chili 600 years before the coming of Christ, and from them descended all the Indians of America.*

Source: ^H. Michael Marquardt, "Note on Early Book of Mormon Geography," <http://www.xmission.com/~research/central/resth1b.htm>, 7/17/2002.

Note* William E. Berrett writes the following:

The first extended mission and one which was destined to influence the Church for many years, followed the conference of September 26, 1830. At this conference Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer were called to go and preach the good news to the Lamanites, or American Indians.

In October Parley P Pratt and Ziba Peterson were called to accompany them. Their mission caused them to travel on foot more than fifteen hundred miles to the West [see map below] and paved the way for a rapid Church expansion. Visiting the Indian tribe of Catteraugus, near Buffalo, New York, for a few days, with meager results, they pushed on to Kirtland, Ohio. Parley P. Pratt had previously lived in that vicinity and had received a commission from the Campbellites there as a minister. He now sought out his former pastor, Sidney Rigdon, a preacher in the Church of the Disciples (Campbellites). He was well received. . . . When the missionaries departed from Kirtland to continue on to their original goal, *they took with them Dr. Frederick G. Williams, a new convert. (The Restored Church, SLC: Deseret Book, 1961, p. 77)*

[1830 **Map: Missionary Activity 1830-47.** William Edwin Berrett, *The Restored Church*, SLC: Deseret Book Company, 1961, p. 79]

Note* This is an important find by Michael Marquardt because it represents the first known mention of Lehi landing in Chile. It has previously been thought that this concept originated with a revelation written down by Frederick G. Williams in 1836. (see the 1836 and 1845 notations) But the source of this information can now be traced back to one of the four men mentioned above as early as 1830. I would probably narrow it even further to either Oliver Cowdery or Parley P. Pratt. It should be noted that Parley P. Pratt had recently been baptized by Oliver Cowdery "about the 1st of September, 1830 . . . in Seneca Lake" (*Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, SLC: Deseret Book, 1970, p. 42) Thus I would tend to look toward Oliver as the primary source. As noted above, after visiting Kirtland, Frederick G. Williams accompanied them.

As to the possibility (although unproven) that Joseph Smith was the originator of the idea that Lehi landed in Chile, in 1887 George Q. Cannon stated the following: "Joseph Smith told some of his followers, that the Magdalena River is the Book of Mormon river Sidon" and that Lehi and his family "landed near the Chilean city of Valparaiso." (see the 1887 notation)

Additionally we can say that this statement would mark the beginnings of a definitive Hemispheric Theory of Book of Mormon geography.

(See the notations for 1836, 1845, 1882, 1909, 1998)

[1830's **Theoretical Model** **HEMISPHERIC]**

Hill Cumorah = New York, Lehi's Landing = Chile, S. A., Narrow Neck = Straits of Darien?, Land of Desolation = Prairies of the U. S.

1831^ (abt. Parley P. Pratt, Oliver Cowdery *The Telegraph* 2 (15 Feb. 1831),
Peter Whitmer, Jr., Ziba Peterson & Sidney Rigdon) Painesville, Ohio, typed copy.

In a 1999 article by H. Michael Marquardt, he writes the following:

At Manchester, Ontario County, New York, four missionaries from the Church of Christ departed westward . . . They were Oliver Cowdery, Peter Whitmer, Jr., Ziba Peterson and Parley P. Pratt. They were elders of the newly established Church of Christ. They departed Manchester about 17 October 1830 with copies of the first edition of the Book of Mormon.

The missionaries arrived in Kirtland, Ohio near Mentor on Friday, 29 October according to a letter written by Oliver Cowdery. They first went to see Rev. Sidney Rigdon at his home and Parley P. Pratt gave him a copy of the Book of Mormon. Pratt was a former minister and friend of Sidney Rigdon. Rigdon was a thirty-seven years old Reformed Baptist pastor with a congregation in Mentor. An early account mentions that the missionaries asked the "brethren of the reformation" "to receive their mission and book as from Heaven, which they said *chiefly concerned the western Indians, as being an account of their origin*, and a prophecy of their final conversion to [C]hristianity, and made them a white and delightful people, and be reinstated in the possessing of their lands of which they have been despoiled by the whites.

Source: ^H. Michael Marquardt, "Conversion of Sidney Rigdon,"
<http://www.xmission.com/~research/central/resth1.htm>, p. 1, 7/16/2002.

Note* In the years before the Book of Mormon came to be, among the prevailing ideas concerning the origin of the American Indians was the theory that the American Indians were of the Lost Tribes of Israel. These ideas represented the worldview of many in the area in which Joseph Smith lived. Thus many of the early converts to the Church could have easily assumed that the Book of Mormon story spoke of the *origins* of the American Indian. In 1961 Franklin S. Harris, Jr. would write:

To many students of the Scriptures the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel appeared an attractive solution and this theory and a similar one of Jewish origin, attracted supporters early, such as Las Casas (1556) and Father Duran (1585) and have continued to do so. (note) Theories were rampant at the time Joseph Smith was translating the Book of Mormon just before 1830. An idea of some of these theories can be gained by examining J. C. Pritchard's *Researches Into the Physical History of Mankind*, second edition in three volumes, published in London, 1826. There were a number of books published during this period giving Jewish or Lost Ten Tribes evidences, such as Boudinot's *Star of the West*, in 1816; Ethan Smith's *Views of the Hebrews*, 1823; Worsley's *Views of the American Indians*, 1828; and Barbara Anne Simon's, *Hope of Israel*, 1829. By far the best of all books of this type, however was Adair's *History of the American Indians*, published in 1775. These were not unpopular views at that time, particularly for the clergy. Proponents of other theories did not agree of course, and there were such books as Jarvis' *Discourse on the Religion of the Indian Tribes of North America* of 1821, which argued against language and other Israelite similarities. . . .

The Book of Mormon in contrast merely tells its story, it doesn't argue about the origin of its peoples. It is neither a romance, nor an account of the Lost Ten Tribes, but a religious history of Old Testament peoples in ancient America, in a period about which almost nothing was known in 1830, and about which not a great deal is yet known. Practically all of the now known manuscripts were not made available to scholars and general readers until after 1830, (note) for example that of Ixtlilxochitl, published in the Spanish language in 1848 and not yet published in English; also the *Popol Vuh*, *Chilam Balam*, *Torquemada and Sahagun* (in Spanish in 1829 and English in the 7th volume of Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*, 1831-48). . . . Few scholars today can read the literature in the seven or more languages in which the American aborigines are discussed. Joseph Smith, from all accounts, had to work hard to earn a living, and even if he had had access to such limited information as was then available, which has never been proved, the Book of Mormon with its complex, intricate, consistent structure still was entirely different than the available books, in language, diction, purpose and content.

Source: ^Franklin S. Harris, Jr., *The Book of Mormon: Message and Evidences*, 2nd ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961, p. 55.

1831[^] Revelation to Joseph Smith D&C 49:24, March 1831

"But before the great day of the Lord shall come, *Jacob shall flourish in the wilderness, and the Lamanites shall blossom as the rose.*"

1831[^] Revelation to Joseph Smith D&C 54:8, June 1831

"And thus you [Newel Knight] shall take your journey [from Kirtland, Ohio] into the regions westward, unto the land of Missouri, unto the borders of the Lamanites."

1831 **Josiah Jones** **"History of the Mormonites,"** Kirtland, 1831
(non-LDS)

Milton V. Backman, Jr. writes:

Josiah Jones, a resident of Kirtland at the time of the introduction of Mormonism in Ohio, wrote in 1831 one of the earliest accounts of the rise of the Restored Church in the Western Reserve. This account was published in *The Evangelist* (June 1841), a Disciple publication edited by Walter Scott. According to Scott, Jones "was one of the faithful few belonging to the church in Kirtland, who refused to follow Rigdon when he made a surrender of himself and his flock to the Mormons."

Backman then has the following quote by Josiah Jones under the heading: "History of the Mormonites," Kirtland, 1831:

In the last part of October, 1830, four men appeared here by the names of Cowdery, Pratt, Whitmer and Peterson; they stated they were from Palmyra, Ontario county, N.Y. with a book, which they said contained what was engraven on gold plates found in a stone box . . . They pretend to give the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands . . .

About five or six weeks ago some of them [newly baptized members] began to have visions and revelations . . . While in these visions they say they are carried away in the spirit to the Lamanites, the natives of this country, which are *our Western Indians, which are the lost Jews*, and which are now to be brought in with the fulness of the Gentiles. While in these visions they say that they can see the Indians on the banks of the streams at the West waiting to be baptized; and they can hear them sing and see them perform many of the Indian manoeuvres, which they try to imitate in various ways; those that have these visions are mostly young men and girls from twelve to twenty years old.

Source: ^Milton V. Backman, Jr., "A Non-Mormon View of the Birth of Mormonism in Ohio" included in "The Historians Corner," edited by James B. Allen, *BYU Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 306-310.

1831[^] Parley P. Pratt (abt. Oliver Cowdery) Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, SLC, 1938, pp. 54-56
(month & day?)

In the fall of 1830 some missionaries from the recently organized Church of Christ were sent on a mission to the Indian tribes in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Kansas. While in Kansas, these elders of the Church were discussing the Book of Mormon with the Delaware Indians. According to Parley P. Pratt, the spokesman was Oliver Cowdery, second elder of the new church, who included in his remarks the following:

Once the red men were many; they occupied the country from sea to sea--from the rising to the setting sun; the whole land was theirs; the Great Spirit gave it to them. . . . Thousands of moons ago, when red men's forefathers dwelt in peace and possessed this whole land the Great Spirit talked with them, and revealed His law and His will and much knowledge to their wise men and prophets. This they wrote in a Book; together with their history, and the things which should befall their children in the latter days. . . . written on plates of gold and handed down from father to son for many ages and generations.

. . . This Book, which contained these things, was hid in the earth by Moroni, in a hill called by him, Cumorah, which hill is now in the state of New York, near the village of Palmyra, in Ontario County."

Note* The concept of Moroni calling the New York hill "Cumorah" could well have come from Oliver's reading of the Book of Mormon. Yet only once in the text does Moroni actually mention "Cumorah" (Mormon 8:2). It is Mormon who makes multiple references specifically to the word "Cumorah." This brings up the alternative possibility that Oliver could either have assumed this information himself, or could have gotten his information from Joseph Smith, who in turn had possibly received this knowledge directly from Moroni.

Note* According to Lucy Mack Smith, her son Samuel Smith, brother of the prophet, also referred to the Book of Mormon as "a history of the origin of the Indians" in his missionary efforts. (Lucy [Mack] Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, Liverpool, England, 1853, p. 152.)

Note* The *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* was compiled by his eldest son, Parley P. after the death of Parley P. Pratt in 1874. He as assisted by John Taylor and George Q. Cannon. Previously, Elder Pratt had written his autobiography from his birth in 1807 up to the year 1851, but he was killed before he had a chance to publish it or bring the autobiography forward. The final publication was supplemented by additional material: Pratt's published articles, his journal which was kept after 1851, and his correspondence and notes.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1831^ Revelation to Joseph Smith D&C 57, Revelation given through Joseph Smith in Zion, Jackson County, Missouri, July 20, 1831. HC 1:189-190.

In compliance with the Lord's command (Section 52), the elders had journeyed from Kirtland to Missouri with many varied experiences and some opposition. In contemplating the state of the Lamanites and the lack of civilization, refinement, and religion among the people generally, the Prophet exclaimed in yearning prayer: "When will the wilderness blossom as the rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will thy Temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?"

Subsequently he received this revelation:

Hearken, O ye elders of my church, saith the Lord your God, who have assembled yourselves together, according to my commandments, in *this land, which is the land of Missouri*, which is the land which I have appointed and consecrated for the gathering of the saints. Wherefore, *this is the land of Promise, and the place for the city of Zion*. And thus saith the Lord your God, if you will receive wisdom here is wisdom. *Behold, the place which is now called Independence is the center place*; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse. Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints, and also every tract lying westward, even unto *the line running directly between Jew and Gentile . . .* (D&C 57:1-4)

Note* The phrase "the line running directly between Jew and Gentile" refers to the boundary line between white settlers and the land set aside for the Indians. Thus the Indians are referred to as "Jews." Readers should not assume that the word "Jew" represents persons specifically of the tribe of Judah. In Book of Mormon terminology, a "Jew" was one of the residents of Jerusalem at the time of Lehi and the destruction. At this particular time there were people representing every tribe of Israel who resided at Jerusalem. The term "Jew" would be applied to people of the Dispersion. Descendants of the dispersed tribe of Joseph (as the Lamanites were considered to be) could thus be referred to as "Jews."

(See the notation for D&C 58 (1831), D&C 84 (1832); see also the Phyllis Olive notation for 2000)

1831^ Revelation to Joseph Smith D&C 58:6-7, Revelation given to Joseph Smith in Zion, Jackson

County, Missouri, August 1, 1831. HC 1:190-195.

Behold, verily I say unto you, for this cause I have sent you--that you might be obedient, and that your hearts might be prepared to bear testimony of the things which are to come; And also that you might be honored in laying the foundation, and in *bearing record of the land upon which the Zion of God shall stand*. (D&C 58:6-7)

Note* In the *History of the Church*, Joseph Smith writes the following:

On the second day of August [1831], I assisted the Colesville branch of the Church to lay the first log, for a house, as a foundation of Zion in Kaw township, twelve miles west of Independence [Missouri]. The log was carried and placed by twelve men, in honor of the twelve tribes of Israel. At the same time, through prayer, the land of Zion was consecrated and dedicated by Elder Sidney Rigdon for the gathering of the Saints. (Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols., introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints, 1932-1951, vol. 1, p. 196.)

(See the notation for D&C 57 (1831), D&C 84 (1832); see also the Phyllis Olive notation for 2000)

1831^ E. D. Howe **Mormonism," in *The Painesville Telegraph*,** January 18, 1831.
(anti-Mormon)

Mormonism-- A young gentleman by the name of Whitmer arrived here last week from Manchester, N. Y., the seat of wonders, with a new batch of revelations from God, as he pretended, which have just been communicated to Joseph Smith. As far as we have been able to learn their contents, they are a more particular description of the creation of the world, and a history of Adam and his family, and other sketches of the anti-deluvian world, which Moses neglected to record. But the more important part of the mission was to inform the brethren that the boundaries of the promised land, or the New Jerusalem, had just been made known to Smith from God -- the township of Kirtland, a few miles west of this, is the eastern line and the Pacific Ocean the western line; if the north and south lines have been described, we have not learned them. Orders were also brought to the brethren to sell no more land, but rather buy more. Joseph Smith and all his forces are to be on here soon to take possession of the promised land.

Note* This same notice appeared in the January 25th *Cleveland Advertiser*, in the January 27th issue of *The Ohio Star*, and in the January 29th issue of the *Wooster Republican Advocate*.

Source: <http://www.lavazone2.com/dbroadhu/OH/misohio.htm>

In his 1834 anti-Mormon book *Mormonism Unveiled*, E. D. Howe writes:

It seems that the spirit had not, before the arrival of Rigdon, told Smith any thing about the "promised land," or his removal to Ohio. It is therefore, very questionable, "what manner of spirit" it was which dictated most of the after movements of the Prophet. The spirit of Rigdon, it must be presumed, however, generally held sway; for *a revelation was soon had, that Kirtland, the residence of Rigdon and his brethren, was to be the eastern border of the "promised land," "and from thence to the Pacific Ocean."* On this land the "New Jerusalem, the city of Refuge," was to be built. Upon it, all true Mormons were to assemble, to escape the destruction of the world, which was so soon to take place. The width of this Mormon farm, we have not heard described. *The revelation concerning the promised land, we have not been able to obtain a copy of; it is explained, however, in the following letter from Rigdon, written to his brethren in Ohio, soon after he became acquainted with the movements and designs of the prophet.*

"I send you this letter by John Whitmer. Receive him, for he is a brother greatly beloved, and an Apostle of this church. With him we send all the revelations which we have received; for the Lord has declared unto us that you pray unto him that Joseph Smith and myself go speedily unto you; but at present it is not expedient for him to send us. He has required of us, therefore,

to send unto you our beloved brother John, and with him the revelations which he has given unto us, by which you will see the reason why we cannot come at this time. The Lord has made known unto us, some of his great things which he has laid up for them that love him, among which the fact (a glory of wonders it is) that you are living on the land of promise, and that *there* is the place of gathering, and from that place to the Pacific Ocean, God has dedicated to himself, not only in time, but through eternity, and he has given it to us and our children, not only while time lasts, but we shall have it again in eternity, as you will see by one of the commandments, received day before yesterday. Therefore, be it known to you, brethren, that you are dwelling on your eternal inheritance; for which, cease not to give ceaseless glory, praise and thanksgiving to the God of Heaven. . ." (Quoted in E. D. Howe: *Mormonism Unveiled*, 1834, pp. 110-111.)

Note* In 1946 Fawn Brodie, another anti-Mormon writer, took her cue from Howe in noting the following concerning this incident: "For several weeks Joseph patiently argued with his sixty followers, telling them that Kirtland was the eastern boundary of the promised land, which extended from there to the Pacific Ocean." (Fawn W. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946, p. 97)^. However, Rigdon mentions nothing of "eastern boundaries," but rather a place of gathering--a land of promise. In my opinion, Rigdon's words read not so much as a definition of boundaries of the promised land, but of the concept of gathering (to Zion) with respect to the general western migration of the Church. It appears that E. D. Howe is the one that interprets the message in regards to "boundaries."

1831 James Gordon Bennett
York Morning
(non-LDS)

"Mormonism-Religious Fanaticism-Church and State party," *New*

***Courier and Enquirer*, August 31, September 1, 1831.** Reprinted in various form (paraphrased, embellished, summarized, etc.) in other U.S. newspapers: *Vermont Gazette* (Sept. 13, 1831) *Cleveland [OH] Herald* (Sept. 15, 1831); *Boston Christian Register* (Sept. 24, 1831); *St. Johnsbury [OH] Farmer's Herald* (Oct. 23, 1831, Jan. 18, 1832); *Salem [MA] Gazette* (late 1831); *Philadelphia U.S. Gazette* (Jan. 1832); *New York Churchman* (Feb. 4, 1832)

Martin Raish writes:

Bennett's "brief view of the rise and progress of the Mormon Religion," based on notes taken during a short visit to the Palmyra area in August 1831, includes several errors and provides much misinformation, such as identifying Sidney Rigdon as "Henry Rangdon or Ringdon" and reporting that the gold plates were found in an iron chest. It also exhibits (and certainly helped disseminate) the attitudes of mistrust and suspicion that haunted the church for years to come. Yet it also offers a fine description of Cumorah as it appeared 170 years ago:

About the same time that this person [Sidney Rigdon] appeared among them, a splendid excavation was begun in a long narrow hill, between Manchester and Palmyra. This hill has since been called by some, the Golden Bible Hill. The road from Canandaigua to Palmyra, runs along its western base. At the northern extremity the hill is quite abrupt and narrow. It runs to the south for a half mile and then spreads out into a piece of broad table land, covered with beautiful orchards and wheat fields. On the east, the Canandaigua outlet runs past it on its way to the beautiful village of Vienna in Phelps. It is profusely covered to the top with Beech, Maple, Bass, and White-wood—the northern extremity is quite bare of trees.⁴

After this benign paragraph, Bennett embarks on a lengthy tirade against "a most powerful and ambitious religious party of zealots, and their dupes" that had long plagued western New York State and that had sown the seeds of Mormonism, a religion "run into madness by zealots and hypocrites." He then describes how the plates were found and what happened to them:

It was during this state of public feeling in which the money diggers of Ontario county, by the

suggestions of the Ex-Preacher from Ohio [Sidney Rigdon], thought of turning their digging concern into a religious plot, and thereby have a better chance of working upon the credulity and ignorance of the[ir] associates and the neighborhood. Money and a good living might be got in this way. It was given out that visions had appeared to Joe Smith—that a set of golden plates on which was engraved the "Book of Mormon," enclosed in an iron chest, was deposited somewhere in the hill I have mentioned. People laughed at the first intimation of the story, but the Smiths and Rangdon persisted in its truth. . . . They treated their own invention with the utmost religious respect. By the special interposition of God, the golden plates, on which was engraved the Book of Mormon, and other works, had been buried for ages in the hill by a wandering tribe of the children of Israel, who had found their way to western New York, before the birth of [C]hristianity itself. . . .In relation to the finding of the plates and the taking the engraving, a number of ridiculous stories are told.—Some unsanctified fellow looked out the other side of the hill. They had to follow it with humility and found it embedded beneath a beautiful grove of maples. Smith's wife, who had a little of the curiosity of her sex, peeped into the large chest in which he kept the engravings taken from the golden plates, and straightway one half the new Bible vanished, and has not been recovered to this day.⁵

Source: Martin H. Raish, "Encounters with Cumorah: A Selective, Personal Bibliography," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 1, Provo, Utah:

1832^ abt. Mormon Missionaries "Mormonism," *The Fredonia Censor* 11 (7 March 1832): [4],
 Fredonia,
 New York [From the Franklin (Pa.) Democrat.]

Mormonism

We of this place were visited on Saturday last by a couple of young men styling themselves Mormonites. They explained their doctrine to a large part of the citizens in the court house that evening. . . . After retiring to bed one night, he [Joseph Smith] was visited by an Angel and directed to proceed to a hill in the neighborhood where he would find a stone box containing a quantity of Gold plates. The plates were six or eight inches square, and as many of them as would make them six or eight inches thick, each as thick as a pane of glass. . . .

The Revelation commenced about 600 years before Christ, with a prophet of the name of Lehi, of the tribe of Joseph, and a contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah, who had also warned the inhabitants of Jerusalem of their idolatry, & becoming unsafe in the city, was ordered by God to leave Jerusalem and journey toward the Red Sea. He with another family who accompanied him, built themselves a ship and *landed on the coast of South America*, where they increased very fast, and the Lord raised up a great many prophets among them. . . . After our Savior's ascension to heaven, that he came down to this continent and appointed twelve disciples, and that Christianity flourished for three or four generations.--After that the inhabitants divided and wars ensued, in which the pagans prevailed.--*The first battle was fought nigh to the straits of Darien* [Panama], *and the last at a hill called Comoro* [sic], when all the Christians were hewn down but one prophet.* (*This prophet they say is Mormon) He was directed to hide the plates in the earth, and it was intimated to him that they would be found by a gentile people. . . .

Mr. Editor--I have compiled the foregoing from memory. If you think it worth publishing, it will probably give some outline of the doctrine of this new sect.

Source: The above newspaper article was located on a recent trip by H. Michael Marquardt to New York in May 2000. <http://www.xmission.com/~research/central/resth1b.htm>, 7/16/2002.

Note* This is the first mention of "the straits of Darien" [Panama] and the first implication that "the straits of Darien" were associated with the Narrow Neck of Land in the Book of Mormon.

1832^ B. Stokely
14,

"The Orators of Mormon," *Catholic Telegraph*, Cincinnati, Ohio 1/26, April

1832

Mr. Printer--As the press is a medium through which to communicate information for public use, I have sent the following for that purpose-- B. Stokely

On Wednesday, the 8th of this month, two strangers called at my house and stated that they were sent by God to preach the gospel to every creature and said if a number should be convened they would deliver a discourse. On the question, what is your profession? They answered, the world call us Mormonites: this excited my curiosity, and at early candle light they commenced an address to the people convened. The substance for which I took down while they were speaking, and afterwards in conversation.

. . . Smith awoke, and after due preparation and agreeably to the information given by the angel, he went into the township of Manchester, and there, on the side of a hill, found in a stone box, or a square space enclosed by a stone on every side, the plates on which the revelation was inscribed. The box in thickness was about 6 inches, and about 7 by 5 otherwise; the plates themselves were about as thick as window glass, or common tin, pure gold, and well secured by silver rings or loops in the box as an effectual defense against all weather. . . .

. . . Six hundred years before Christ a certain prophet called Lehi went out to declare and promulgate the prophecies to come; he came across the water into South America . . .

. . . The greater part of the people [of the Book of Mormon] were converted for a time, but were again divided and destroyed 400 years after Christ. The last battle that was fought among these parties was on the very ground where the plates were found, but it had been a running battle, for they commenced at the Isthmus of Darien and ended at Manchester.-- The plates state that we shall drive back the Indians to the South and West: with a promise, however, to be brought back in the fulness of time; and all the unbeliefs existing can never prevent these prophecies from fulfilment. . . .

. . . An angel brought the Mormonite Bible and laid it before him (the speaker) he therefore *knows* these things to be true. Being sent to call on all to repent--he has come to fulfil the commands of Heaven; he has cleared his skirts of our blood. . . .

One of the young men called himself Lyman Johnston, form Portage, County, Ohio. The other was called Arson [sic] Pratt; no fixed place of abode. They were going North East, intending to preach the gospel to every kindred, tongue and nation. . . . Mercer [County, Pennsylvania] Press

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007) Dale Broadhurst notes the following:

Note 1: According to H. Michael Marquardt, LDS missionaries: "Lyman E. Johnson and Orson Pratt . . . were in Franklin, Pennsylvania. Lyman and Orson started their mission on 3 February 1832 and traveled to Mercer County, Pennsylvania on 8 February and stopped at the home of Benjamin Stokely in Cool Spring Township. The missionaries then preached at the courthouse in Franklin, Venango County, northeast of Mercer County, on Saturday, 11 February."

Note 2: Mr. Marquardt cites, in addition to the 1832 report in the Mercer Pennsylvania *Western Press*, another contemporary article, as representative of "18321 Missionary Teachings." The second article came from the pages of Franklin, Pennsylvania *Venango Democrat* of late February, 1832 (as reprinted in the New York *Fredonia Censor* of Mar. 7, 1832. Three other relevant contemporary reports of early 1830s Mormon missionary preaching can be found in the Jacksonville, *Illinois Patriot* of Sept. 16, 1831, in the Hudson, *Ohio Observer and Telegraph* of Nov. 18, 1830 and in the Ravenna, Ohio *Western Courier* of May 26, 1831. Taken together, the content of these five newspaper reports enables the modern student of history to reconstruct an outline of the essential topics covered in very early Mormon proselytizing preaching.

1832^ W. W. Phelps

"The Book of Ether," in *Evening and Morning Star*, vol. I, No. 3, August, 1832, p. 22.

Beginning in the early 1830s, the Church published several periodicals for the sake of informing the members and defending Church doctrines. The first of these was *the Evening and the Morning Star* (June 1832-June 1833). The Star was printed monthly and included the text of many of the revelations given to the Prophet Joseph Smith. Originally published in Independence, Missouri, this paper lasted 14 numbers (or issues) before an angry mob ordered its editor, W. W. Phelps, to discontinue publication. When he refused they destroyed the press. The periodical's headquarters were then moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where an additional 10 numbers (December 1833-September 1834) were produced, edited by Oliver Cowdery. In October 1834 *The Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* began as a continuation of the *Star*. (Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History-1). Phelps writes:

As to the Jaredites, no more is known than is contained in The Book of Ether. Perhaps "Dighton writing Rock," in Massachusetts, may hold an unknown tale in relation to these Pioneers of the land of liberty, which can yet be revealed. God is great, and when we look abroad in the earth, and take a glimpse through the long avenue of departed years, we can not only discover the traces in artificial curiosities, and common works, and small hills, mountain caves, and extensive prairies, where the Jaredites filled the measure of their time, but, as they were a very large race of men, whenever we hear that uncommon large bones have been dug up from the earth, we may conclude, that was the skeleton of a Jaredite.

Note* Phelps seems to be linking certain antiquities that were found during that time in the United States with the Book of Mormon. It is worthy of note that he includes "extensive prairies" and "uncommon large bones" as some of the evidences. In the October, 1832 issue of his paper he would refer to the prairie as "the land of Desolation" (see notation). In an 1836 letter to Oliver Cowdery, Phelps would refer to the "vast prairies of the far west," writing that "the Book of Mormon terms them the land of desolation . . ." (see the M&A notation for July 1836). In other words, he apparently viewed the prairies to be a result of the deforestation noted in the Book of Mormon for the land of Desolation, a land in which were found many bones of the destroyed Jaredites (see Helaman 3:3-6; Ether 7:6)--thus being evidence of the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith, in an 1834 letter to Emma mentioned that the men of Zions Camp were "wandering over the plains of the Nephites" (see notation). According to an 1834 diary entry into his journal concerning Zion's Camp, Levi Hancock wrote that, Joseph addressed himself to Sylvester Smith " . . . this land was called the land of desolation. . . ." (see the Zelph incident--1834)

Dan Vogel* notes the following:

Several years before Phelps made this remark, unusually large skeletons had been discovered in eastern United States. (Palmyra Herald (October 30, 1822); Wayne Sentinel (July 24, 1829), as reported in Robert N. Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism, Why Joseph Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, Inc., 1980), p. 49.

Source: Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), .p. 13, p. 40, n. 22, n. 23.

1832^ Revelation to Joseph Smith

D&C 84:2-3, Kirtland Ohio, September 22 and 23, 1832.
HC 1:286-295.

Yea, the word of the Lord concerning his church, established in the last days for the restoration of his people, as he has spoken by the mouth of his prophets, and *for the gathering of his saints to stand upon Mount Zion, which shall be the city of New Jerusalem.*

Which city shall be built, beginning at the temple lot, which is appointed by the finger of the Lord, *in the western borders of the state of Missouri*, and dedicated by the hand of Joseph Smith, Jun., and others with whom the Lord was well pleased. (D&C 84:2-3)

(See the notation for D&C 57 (1831), D&C 58 (1831); see also the Phyllis Olive notation for 2000)

1832[^] William Wyne Phelps "The Far West." *Evening and Morning Star*, Vol. 1, October 1832, no. 5

W. W. Phelps identified the "middle of the [American] continent," "These vast prairies of the far west . . . the Book of Mormon terms them the land of desolation."

The far west, as the section of country from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains may justly be styled, is not only distant from the Atlantic States, but different. Its principal river, running rapidly from the 48th to the 39th degree of north latitude . . . It is rightly named Missouri; for in plain English, it looks like the waters of misery . . . With the exception of the skirts of timber upon the streams of water, this region of country is one continued field or prairie, (as the French have it, meaning meadows,) and there is something ancient as well as grand about it, too; . . . the mind goes back to the day, when the Jaredites were in their glory upon this choice land above all others, and comes on till they, and even the Nephites, were destroyed for their wickedness. . . .

To return: this beautiful region of country is now mostly, excepting Arkansas and Missouri, the land of Joseph or the Indians . . . and embraces three fine climates: First like that of New-York; second, like Missouri, neither northern nor southern; and third, like the Carolinas. This place may be called the centre of America; it being about an equal distance from Maine, to Nootka sound; and from the St. Lawrence to the gulf of California: yea, and about the middle of the continent from cape Horn, south, to the head land at Baffin's Bay, north. The world will never value the land of Desolation, as it is called in the book of Mormon, for any thing more than hunting ground, for want of timber and mill-seats: The Lord to the contrary notwithstanding, declares it to be the land of Zion which is the land of Joseph, blessed by him. . . .

When we consider that the land of Missouri is the land where the saints of the living God are to be gathered together and sanctified for the second coming of the Lord Jesus, we cannot help exclaiming with the prophet, O land be glad! and O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord: For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest . . . for the Lord deliteth [sic] in thee, and thy land shall be married, [joined together] so that the land of Zion, and the land of Jerusalem will be one, as they were before the days of Peleg . . .

Note* Compare the statement of Levi Ward Hancock in *The Life of Levi W. Hancock*, typescript, BYU Library, who reported that Joseph Smith called North America the "land of desolation." In a letter to Emma, Joseph writes from "the plains of the Nephites." (See the notation for 1834)

Note* See the August, 1832 Phelps notation.

1833[^] Joseph Smith Letter to N.C. Saxton, editor of *American Revivalist*, and *Rochester Observer*, Rochester, New York, January 4, 1833.

The following is part of a letter written by Joseph Smith to N. C. Saxton, a newspaper editor in Rochester, New York:

the Book of Mormon is *a record of the forefathers of our western Tribes of Indians* . . . By it we learn that our western tribes of Indians are des[c]endants from that Joseph that was sold into Egypt, and that the land of America is a promised land unto them, and unto it all the tribes of Israel will come. (Quoted in Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984, p. 273)

Note* At first, the complete letter wasn't printed. Joseph wrote a second letter in which he said the following:

"I was somewhat disappointed on receiving my paper with only a part of my letter inserted in it. The letter which I wrote you for publication I wrote by the commandment of God, and I am quite anxious to have it all laid before the public for it is of importance to them." (Ibid., 275)^{xxiii}

1833^ W. W. Phelps, Editor

"The Book of Mormon," *The Evening and Morning Star*, January, 1833, p. 1.

"In the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty seven, the plates came forth from the hill Cumorah, which is in the county of Ontario, and state of New York, by the power of God."

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1833^ William W. Phelps

"Discovery of Ancient Ruins in Central America," in *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (February 1833): pp. 71-72.

W. W. Phelps writes:

A late number of the London Literary Gazette, contains a letter from Lieut, Col: Galindo, at Peten, in Central America, giving some idea of those antiquities which rescue ancient America from the charge of barbarism. These ruins extend for more than twenty miles, and must anciently have embraced a city and its suburbs. . . .

"The whole of the ruins," says Col. G. are buried in a thick forest, and months might be delightfully employed in exploring them. I have seen sufficient to ascertain the high civilization of the former inhabitants, and that they possessed the art of representing sounds by signs, with which I have hitherto believed no Americans previous to the conquest were acquainted."--"The neighboring country for many leagues distant, contains remains of the ancient labors of its people, bridges, reservoirs, monumental inscriptions, subterraneous edifices, etc." "Every thing bears testimony that these surprising people were not physically dissimilar from the present Indians; but their civilization far surpassed that of the Mexicans and Peruvians; they must have existed long prior to the fourteenth century."

REMARKS.--We are glad to see the proof begin to come, of the original or ancient inhabitants of this continent. It is good testimony in favor of the book of Mormon, and the book of Mormon is good testimony that such things as cities and civilization, "prior to the fourteenth century," existed in America. Helaman, in the book of Mormon, gives the following very interesting account of the people who lived upon this continent, before the birth of the Savior.

And now it came to pass . . . in the forty and sixth, yea, there were much contentions and many dissensions; in the which there were an exceeding great many which departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and went forth unto the land northward, to inherit the land; and they did travel to an exceeding great distance . . . and even they did spread forth into all parts of the land, . . . And it came to pass that they did multiply and spread, and did go forth from the land southward, to the land northward, and did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth. .

. .

In addition to the above, Nephi relates what took place at the crucifixion of the Lord, and should ruins of many cities be discovered, it would be no more than a confirmation of what was once on this land of the Lord. The account of the great destruction at the crucifixion, is confirmed by the appearance of the face of the land now, and the cracks or common seams in the rocks: We give it thus:

And it came to pass in the thirty and fourth year, . . .

Note* This article reveals early knowledge of Central American ruins six years before John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood. W. W. Phelps implies the ruins in "Peten in Central America" as belonging to either the land northward or somewhere north of the land southward by his use of the scriptures cited..

Ken Godfrey notes in his 1989 article ("Joseph Smith, The Hill Cumorah, and Book of Mormon Geography: A Historical Study, 1823-1844") that when an ancient stone house, including household furniture, was found imbedded in the earth in Rowan County, North Carolina, the editor of *The Star* commented on the event: "No people that have lived on this continent, since the flood, understood many of the arts and sciences better than the Jaredites and Nephites, whose brief history is sketched in the Book of Mormon. The facts following from the *Star of the West* is not only proof of their skill but it is good proof to those that want evidence that the Book of Mormon is true." (Vol. 2, June) Again when "an artificial peach and pear tree cut out of stone with a complete imitation of the stem and blossom end," was found in another part of the United States this too was, in the same article, cited as proof of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. In those early issues of the *Star* each new archaeological discovery in either North or South America was dutifully cited as proof that the Book of Mormon was "a history of those groups who had peopled this continent" (see Vol. 1 February 1833). A Vol. 2 July 1833 article declared that the book unfolded "the history of the first inhabitants that settled this continent." When a fifty-foot fissure in a rock in Virginia was found full of bees, the editor of the *Star* reported that fact as "proof that the Jaredites brought bees with them to the American continent." Even the W. W. Phelps-authored poem, "The Red Man" *identified the American Indian as having descended from Jacob through Ephraim*.

Note* Dan Vogel writes that shortly after the Book of Mormon's publication, David Marks visited the Ohio mounds and like many wondered who had built them. When he was told that the Book of Mormon gave a history of them, and of their authors, he became anxious to get a copy even though he doubted its historicity. (Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, SLC: Signature Books, 1986, p. 32)

1833 John Miller John Miller Statement," Hurlbut Documents
(non-LDS)

Matthew Roper writes:

In 1834, relying on testimony gathered by one Doctor Philastus Hurlbut (a former Mormon who had been excommunicated from the church for immoral behavior), E. D. Howe suggested that the Book of Mormon was based on an unpublished novel called "Manuscript Found," written by a former minister named Solomon Spalding. In statements collected by Hurlbut, eight former neighbors of Spalding said they remembered elements of his story that resembled the historical portions of the Book of Mormon. . .

One of the eight statements was made in 1833 by John Miller. In that statement Miller claimed that Solomon Spalding, in explaining his unpublished novel to Miller and other associates, "landed his people near the Straits of Darien, which I am very confident he called *Zarahemla*, they were marched about the country for a length of time, in which wars and great blood shed ensued, he brought them across North America in a north east direction." [Miller, in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled (Painewville, OH: By the Author, 1834, 283.*] Since the term "Straits of Darien" [Panama] does not appear in the Book of Mormon, one might ask where this idea came from.

Roper continues:

In early 1832, a year before Hurlbut joined the church, Orson Pratt and Lyman Johnson served a mission to the eastern states during which they passed through northwestern Pennsylvania. A newspaper correspondent in Mercer County, Pennsylvania described a cottage meeting in which Johnson and Pratt preached and gave a brief description of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon and the Nephite narrative. According to this report, the missionaries said that "the last battle that was fought among these parties was on the very ground where the plates were found but it had been a running battle, for they commenced at the Isthmus of Darien and ended at Manchester." ["The Orators of Mormon," Cincinnati, Ohio, *Catholic Telegraph*, 14 April 1832, emphasis in original.] which would, obviously, have them moving in a northeast direction, just as in John Miller's statement. Significantly, Pratt visited Springfield, Erie County, Pennsylvania, a year later, in 1833, and preached to

a congregation there on 4 April 1833 [Zebedee Coltrin journal, 4 April 1833, typescript on New Mormon Studies CD-ROM (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998)] Hurlbut, then a recent convert serving a mission, was also in attendance at that meeting, although there is no record of him preaching [Zebedee Coltrin journal, 4 April 1833] Springfield is the very place where John Miller lived when he provided Hurlbut with a statement in September of that year. Did he hear Orson Pratt in Springfield or at least rumors of Pratt's preaching? While we cannot be certain, the similarity in language suggests that, later that year, in his statement to Hurlbut, Miller attributed these popularized missionary views to Spalding's "Manuscript Story." It is also highly probable that Hurlbut as a missionary would have been familiar with these ideas and themes—we know that he heard Orson Pratt speak in person at least once, and Pratt's geographical speculations would probably have been circulating in the small Mormon community of the time—and it may well be that Hurlbut himself prompted Miller to think of Darien and related matters. Either possibility could account for the geographical reference without the need to see it as evidence for a [Spalding] manuscript [claimed by Hurlbut to be the source of the Book of Mormon]. More important, attribution of this geographic view to the Book of Mormon suggests that Miller's statement is not based on careful examination of the Book of Mormon text but is, instead, based on extemporized missionary discussions, local rumor, newspaper accounts, or some combination of the three. Since Hurlbut was responsible for gathering the Spalding statements, we have to wonder about Hurlbut's possible influence on the structure, language, and content of those 1833 testimonies concerning Spalding.

Source: Matthew Roper, "The Mythical 'Manuscript Found': Review of *Who Really Wrote the Book of Mormon? The Spalding Enigma* by Wayne L. Cowdrey, Howard A. Davis, and Arthus Vanick. *FARMS Review*, vol. 17, Issue 2, 2005, pp. 7-140.

Note*

1834^ Jason Whitman "The Book of Mormon," *Unitarian*, vol. 1, Boston, 1 Jan. 1834, p. 43.
(non-LDS)

After making a brief sketch of the historical records contained in the Book of Mormon, Jason Whitman says the following:

In all this history, there is but one allusion which affords us an intelligible hint in regard to the geography of the land, in which the Nephites and Lamanites dwelt. There is, incidentally, mention made of a narrow neck of land which connects the North country with the South, which, we suppose, means the Isthmus of Darien. The preachers of this faith, we understand, endeavour to prove the truth of the history by a reference to the face of the country. They suppose the mounds throughout the western states, which have heretofore excited so much curiosity, are the remains of the cities of the Nephites and Lamanites.

Source: <http://www.olivercowdery.com/smithhome/1830s/1830Mag1.htm>

1834^ Multiple People (abt. Joseph Smith) Zelph Incident (Multiple Sources) June 2-3, 1834,

While traveling through Illinois on June 2-3, 1834, members of Zion's Camp located a few bones, including a broken femur and an arrowhead, approximately a foot below the earth's surface, and these remains became the catalyst for revelation to Joseph, regarding the skeleton's identity. (see map below)

[1834 **Map: Regarding the Zelph Incident--Map of the Zion's Camp Trail.** Courtesy Stanley B. Kimball. Kenneth A. Godfrey, "What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?" in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, p. 72.]

[1834 **Illustration: Regarding the Zelph Incident-- Photograph of one of the largest existing Adena mounds.** Minnisburg Mound in western Ohio, measured at least 68 feet high before excavators skimmed off part of the top in 1869. *Courtesy Dr. Bruce Smith.* The Zelph mound, which no longer exists, would have looked similar. *Photograph by Carson Hirschfeld.* Kenneth A. Godfrey,

"What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?" in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, p. 73.]

Joseph identified the man as "Zelph" and stated a number of things concerning him which might or might not have a bearing on Book of Mormon geography. This information was recorded in diaries or journals by a number of different men. The dilemma is that while all the accounts are generally consistent, they all have differing pieces of information. Joseph vaguely referred to the incident in a letter to his wife (see the notation for 1834). Of the men who wrote or dictated much more detailed contemporary accounts of the Zelph incident, we have the following six:

1. *Reuben McBride (Diary, Handwritten)*: McBride's account of the discovery of Zelph is shorter and less detailed than the others but may have been the first one recorded, possibly having been written on the day the find occurred, although in no case are we completely sure when the information was put down in writing. McBride recorded that Zelph was a great warrior under the prophet Omandagus, that an arrow was found in his ribs, and that he was a white Lamanite who was known from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. He writes: Tuesday 3 visited the mounds. A skeleton was dug up. Joseph, said his name was Zelph a great warrior under the Prophet Omandagus. An arrow was found in his Ribs which he said he supposed [sic] occasioned [sic] his death ~~Said~~ he was killed in battle. Said he was a man of God and the curse was taken off or in part he was a white Lamanite was known from the atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. (**Reuben McBride Diary (3 June 1834), LDS Church Archives**)

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 2

2. *Moses Martin (Diary, Handwritten)*: Martin, a 22-year old member of Zion's Camp also reported the finding of Zelph. Martin was present when the digging occurred and was impressed with the size of the skeleton and with Joseph's vision of the unnamed prophet. But he said nothing about his being a white Lamanite or his having served under a prophet chief named Omandagus or Onandagus. Instead, in the Martin account, the deceased man was "a mighty prophet." He records: This being in the Co of Pike, here we discovered a large quantity of large mounds. Being filed [sic] with curiosity we excavated the top of one so[m]e 2 feete [sic] when we came to the bones of an extraordinary large person or human being, the thigh bones being 2 inches longer from one Socket to the other than of the Prophet ~~whi~~ who is upwards of 6 feete [sic] high which would have contuted [sic] some 8 or 9 feete [sic] high. In the trunk of this skeleton near the vitals we found a large stone arrow which I suppose brought [sic] him to his end. Soon after this Joseph had a vision and the Lord shewed him that this man was once a mighty Prophet and many other things concerning his people. Thus we found those mounds to have be[en] deposits for the dead which had falen [sic] no doubt in some great Battles [sic]. In addition to this we found many large fortifications which als[o] denotes siviliseation [sic] and an innumerable [sic] population which has falen [sic] by wars and comotion [sic] and the Banks of this Beautifull River became the deposit of many hundred thousands whose graves and fortifications ~~have~~ are overgrown with the sturdy oak 4 feete [sic] in diameter. (**Moses Martin Diary, LDS Church Archives**)

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 3

3. *Wilford Woodruff (Journal, Handwritten--initial entry, 1834)*: Wilford Woodruff, who was the preeminent LDS journal keeper of the entire nineteenth century, prepared characteristically a detailed record of the events surrounding the discovery of Zelph. Woodruff's reputation and stature is further attested to by his decade of church service as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and as president of the Church. Woodruff recorded under the date May-June 1834 that while the camp traveled they visited many of the mounds which were probably "flung up" by the "Nephites & Lamanites." "We visited one of those Mounds," Woodruff writes, "and several of the brethren dug into it and took from it the bones of a man." According to Woodruff, Joseph Smith was told in an open vision that the bones were those of a white Lamanite whose name was Zelph, a warrior under the great prophet who was known from the Hill Cumorah to the Rocky Mountains. This is the

earliest source for this geographical data. (In Reuben McBride's account it is Zelph who was widely known.) A paragraph was added later to this account (date unknown) later in his life, and other manuscripts were recorded, although the wording was essentially the same (see B*, C* & D* below). He writes:

While on our travels we visited many of the mounds which were flung up by the ancient inhabitants of this continent probably by the Nephites & Lamanites. We visited one of those Mounds and several of the brethren dug into it and took from it the bones of a man. Brother Joseph had a vision [sic] respecting the person. He said he was a white Lamanite. The curs [sic] was taken from him or at least in part. He was killed in battle with an arrow. The arrow was found among his ribs. One of his thigh bones was broken. This was done by a stone flung from a sling in battle years before his death. His name was Zelph. Some of his bones were brought into the Camp and the thigh bone which was broken was put into my waggon [sic] and I carried it to Missouri. Zelph was a large thick set man and a man of God. He was a warrior under the great prophet that was known from the hill Camorah[sic] to the Rocky mountains. The above knowledge Joseph received [sic] in a vision. **(Church Archives)**

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, pp. 4.1, 4.2

4. *Levi Hancock (Journal, Handwritten)*: The longest and most detailed near-contemporaneous account of Zelph's discovery was written by Levi Hancock, later one of the Presidents of the Seventy. He makes no mention of the Hill Cumorah or of Onandagus's wide fame but does write that Zelph was a white Lamanite:

On the way to Illinois River where we camped on the west side in the morning, many went to see the big mound about a mile below the crossing, I did not go on it but saw some bones that was brought with a broken arrow, they was layed down by our camp Joseph addressed himself to Sylvester Smith. "This is what I told you and now I want to tell you that you may know what I meant; this land was called the land of desolation and Onendagus was the king and a good man was he, there in that mound did he bury his dead and did not dig holes as the people do now but they brought there dirt and covered them untill [sic] you see they have raised it to be about one hundread [sic] feet high, the last man buried was Zelf, he was a white Lamanite who fought with the people of Onendagus for freedom, when he was young he was a great warrior and had his th[igh] broken and never was set, it knited [sic] together as you see on the side, he fought after it got strength untill [sic] he lost every tooth in his head save one when the Lord said he had done enough and suffered him to be killed by that arrow you took from his brest[sic]." These words he said as the camp was moving of[f] the ground; as near as I could learn he had told them something about the mound and got them to go and see for themselves. I then remembered what he had said a few days before while passing many mounds on our way that was left of us; said he, "there are the bodies of wicked men who have died and are angry at us; if they can take the advantage of us they will, for if we live they will have no hope." I could not comprehend it but supposed it was all right. **(Levi Hancock Diary, LDS Church Archives)**

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 5.1 See also ^*The Life of Levi W. Hancock*, copied from his own journal by Clara E. H. Lloyd, great grand daughter, p. 52.

5. *Heber C. Kimball (Journal)*: In 1845 the *Times and Seasons* published Heber C. Kimball's account of finding Zelph under the title, "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal." Information concerning the Zelph incident is found under the date of "Tuesday the 3rd" (of June, 1834). Kimball states that Zelph was killed in "the last destruction among the Lamanites" but is unclear as to whether it was the final destruction of the Nephites or the last battle of Zelph's people, whoever they were. The account is as follows:

On Tuesday the 3rd, we went up, several of us, with Joseph Smith jr. to the top of a mound on the bank of the Illinois river, which was several hundred feet above the river, and from the summit of which we had a pleasant view of the surrounding country; we could overlook the tops of the trees, on to the meadow or prairie on each side the river as far as our eyes could extend, which was one of the most pleasant scenes I ever beheld. On the top of this mound there was the appearance of three altars, which had been built of stone, one above another, according to the ancient order; and the ground was strewn over

with human bones. This caused in us very peculiar feelings, to see the bones of our fellow creatures scattered in this manner, who had been slain in ages past. We felt prompted to dig down into the mound, and sending for a shovel and hoe, we proceeded to move away the earth. At about one foot deep we discovered the skeleton of a man, almost entire; and between two of his ribs we found an Indian arrow, which had evidently been the cause of his death. We took the leg and thigh bones and carried them along with us to Clay county. All four appeared sound. Elder B. Young has yet the arrow in his possession. It is a common thing to find bones thus drenching upon the earth in this country.

The same day, we pursued our journey.--While on our way we felt anxious to know who the person was who had been killed by that arrow. It was made known to Joseph that he had been an officer who fell in battle, in the last destruction among the Lamanites, and his name was Zelph. This caused us to rejoice much, to think that God was so mindful of us as to show these things to his servant. Brother Joseph had enquired of the Lord and it was made known in a vision. [**Heber C. Kimball's Journal, June 3, 1834.** Published in the *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 Feb 1845): 788.]

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 6.1

6. *George A. Smith (Journal, History)*: Smith recorded the Zelph incident in his journal; however, he included information in a history prepared in 1857 and dated to "Monday, 2 June 1834." He gives the full date, tells of the height of the mound, and indicates Joseph Smith visited the mound the following morning. Smith's church experience was similar to that of Woodruff and Kimball. He served as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve and as a counselor in the First Presidency. He is known as a reliable witness. He writes:

Monday, June 2 . . . Some of us visited a mound on a bluff about 300 feet high and dug up some bones, which excited deep interest among the brethren. The President and many others visited the mound on the following morning, a notice of which is published in the Church History. [**George A. Smith Journal (2 June 1834), LDS Church Archives**]

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 11

A*. (Willard Richards): In 1842 Willard Richards, then Church historian, was assigned the task of compiling a large number of documents and producing a history of the church from them. He worked on this material between 21 December 1842 and 27 March 1843. He himself had not joined the Church until 1836, but he would easily have learned from associates that the Prophet had kept no record of the march of Zion's Camp. Therefore, Richards presumably had to rely on the writings or recollections of Kimball and Woodruff and perhaps others for his information regarding the discovery of Zelph. He may have checked the story with the Prophet himself, for the latter was overseeing the preparation of the history. Richards drafted the story of Zelph as it appears in the "Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1." Richards unwittingly created a problem for future generations, however, because he recorded this incident in a "first person" style as if Joseph was the one writing. (see the notation for 1843)

B*. (Wilford Woodruff Journal--insertions added) At some later time, insertions were added to the original 1834 journal of Wilford Woodruff. The following is a representation:

While on our travels we visited many of the mounds which were flung up by the ancient inhabitants of this continent probably by the Nephites & Lamanites. We visited one of those Mounds* [*Note* the following was added interlinearly above the word "Mounds" (in italics) considered [sic] to be 300 feet above the level of the Illinois river. Three persons dug into the mound & found a body. Elder Milton Holmes took the arrow out of the back bones that killed Zelph & brought it with some of the bones in to the camp. I visited the same mound with Jesse J. Smith. Who the other persons were that dug in to the mound & found the body I am undecided.* several of the brethren dug into it and took from it the bones of a man.

Brother Joseph had a vision [sic] respecting the person. He said he was a white Lamanite. The curs [sic] was taken from him or at least in part. He was killed in battle with an arrow. The arrow was found among his ribs. One of his thigh bones was broken. This was done by a stone flung from a sling in battle years before his death. His name was Zelph. Some of his bones were brought into the Camp

and the thigh bone which was broken was put into my waggon [sic] and I carried it to Missouri. Zelfh was a large thick set man and a man of God. He was a warrior under the great prophet* [Note* the following is inserted (in italics)] *Onandagus* that was known from the hill Camorah[sic]* [Note* the following is inserted (in italics)] *or East sea* to the Rocky mountains. The above knowledge Joseph received [sic] in a vision.

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelfh Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 4.2. See also *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, ed. Scott G. Kenner, 9 vols. (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1988), 1:10. Original Journal in the LDS Church Archives.

C*. (Wilford Woodruff): Sometime after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Wilford Woodruff began writing his autobiography. An examination of the manuscript in his own hand, now in the Church Archives (MS 5506), reveals that when he came to that part of his life when the bones of Zelfh were found, he added information that is not found in his journal account. As this autobiography is undated, the account will be related here as follows:

During our travels we visited many mounds thrown up by the Ancient inhabitants of Nephites and Lamanites, this morning we went unto a high mound near the river Joseph & many of the Brethren went up this mound was very high from the top of it--we could overlook the tops of the trees as far as our vision could extend and the scenery was truly delightful. On the top of the mound were stones which presented the Appearance of three Alters having been erected one above the other according to the Ancient order of things & human bones were strun upon the gourn. we had taken a shovel along with us Brother Joseph wished us to dig into the mound we dug into it about one foot & came upon the skeleton of a man almost entire and an Arrow was found sticking in his back bone Elder Milton Holmes picked it out & brought it into camp with one of his leg bones which had been brocken He put the leg bones in my waggon & I carried it to Clay County Missouri. Brother Joseph feeling anxious to learn something Governing the man prayed to the Lord & the Lord gave him a vision in open day while lying in his waggon this mound & his history was placed before him His name was Zelfh He was a white Lamanite the curse had been taken off from him because of his faith and righteousness He had embraced the gospel he was a short stout thick set man He had been a great warrior Had joined the Nephites & fought for them under the direction of the great Onandagus who held sway & command over the Armies of the Nephites from the Hill Cumorah & Eastern sea to the rocky mountains though the Book of Mormon does not speak of him He was a great warrior leadler & great prophet Zelfh had his thigh bone brocken from the sling of a stone while in battle in the yr of his youth He as killed with the Arrow sticking in his back bone the vision of the great prophet at the time that Zelfh was killed was opened to the prophet Joseph & there [word unclear] were heaped upon the earth & that great Mound of near 300 Feet High placed over them. I felt impressed to bury Zelfh's thigh bone in Temple Block at Jackson County Missouri but I did not have an opportunity and I brought it to Clay County near the house owned by Colonel Arthur & occupied by Lyman Wight.

The arrow head is now in possession of his wife Emma Woodruff [written in another hand, probably at a later date]

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelfh Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 10

D*. (Wilford Woodruff): In 1881, the Juvenile Instructor Office (Salt Lake City) published Wilford Woodruff, *Leaves From My Journal, Third Book of the Faith-Promiting Series*. In this book the following appears:

The published history of Zion's Camp gives an account of the bones of a man which we dug out of a mound. His name was Zelfh. The Lord showed the Prophet the history of the man in a vision. The arrow, by which he was killed, was found among his bones. One of his thigh bones was broken by a stone slung in battle. The bone was put into my wagon, and I carried it to Clay county, Missouri, and buried it in the earth.

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelfh Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 4.3

E*. (Wilford Woodruff): On February 22, 1893, James E. Talmage visited President Wilford Woodruff who showed him "a sacred relic then in his possession in the shape of an Indian arrow head." This arrow was said to have been the cause of the death of the white Lamanite, Zelph. The arrow point had allegedly come into the president's possession through Zina Young Card, a daughter of Brigham Young who, according to the same account, had formerly had possession of it. President Woodruff, at the suggestion of George F. Gibbs, his secretary, then dictated the following account regarding the finding of Zelph:

While traveling with Zion's camp, through the State of Ohio, we came to a very high mound, to the top of which we climbed by means of steps over which xxx grass had grown. The steps were very wide, , probably about twelve feet. We found the top of the mound to be quite level and to cover a great deal of ground. After overlooking the surrounding country, and descending half way down we were halted by command of the Prophet Joseph. We had taken a shovel with us to the top of the mound, thinking we might have some use for it, and after halting, the Prophet, speaking to the man who had the shovel, told him to throw up the dirt at a certain place to which he pointed, After removing a little more than six inches of soil the skeleton of a man was discovered, from a joint in whose backbone the Prophet drew a flint arrow head which had been the means of taking his life.

The Lord showed the Prophet Joseph that this was the skeleton of a white Lamanite named Zelph, and that he fought under a great chieftain named Onandagus, whose dominion covered an immense body of country. The book of Mormon does not mention the name of this Indian Chief, Onandagus. (**Wilford Woodruff 1893**, University of Utah Special Collections Dept., Papers of the George A. Smith family, Ms. 30, Box 174, fd. 26)

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89, document section, p. 13

(See the notation for 1909)

Sources: Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S. Paper GDF-89; a shorter version of the same, without the copies of the original sources, can be seen in *BYU Studies* 29 (Spring 1989), pages 31-56. For the exact text of each different contemporary source quotation, see "The Zelph Story." For how these sources were later compiled and printed, see the notations for 1843, 1846, 1904, 1938. Don Cannon wrote an article entitled "Zelph Revisited" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History--Illinois*, Editor H. Dean Garrett, Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1995. Ken Godfrey also wrote a follow-up to his first article entitled "What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, pp. 73-74.

[1834 **Chart: Summary of the basic facts recorded in journals concerning the Zelph incident.** Don Cannon, "Zelph Revisited" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History--Illinois*, Editor H. Dean Garrett, Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1995, pp. 102-103]

Note* The 1834 Unitarian (Boston) reported that the Mormons "Suppose the mounds throughout the western states, which have heretofore excited so much curiosity, are the remains of the cities of the Nephites and Lamanites." Edward Stuart Abdey wrote in 1835 that "the mounds of earth, which, as they now exist in that part of the country, have given rise to so much interest and speculation, are referred to, by the preachers of the Mormon faith, as proofs of these theocratic tribes." (^Dan Vogel, *Indian Origins and the Book of Mormon*, SLC: Signature Books, 1986, p. 32)

Note* In 1954 Norman C. Pierce would write the following concerning the "Prophet Onandagus" mentioned in the Zelph incident:

Why were the prominent chieftain Zelph and the great Prophet Onandagus, who was known from the eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains, not mentioned at all in the Book of Mormon? Surely a prophet of such prominence would have received some notice had he been known to the historians of the Book of Mormon.

The answer is very obvious:--Because the Book of Mormon historians who were down in Central America, knew nothing at all of either the Prophet Onandagus or the Chieftain Zelph. It was more than

400 years before Mormon's time that Hagoth sailed north, and we only have a report of the first ship returning. There is no report of any ship returning after that, out of the seven or more ships that sailed northward to this land. Naturally, both Mormon and Moroni were too far removed from Onandagus and Zelph to report them;--and the same holds true for the northern city of Manti that the Prophet Joseph identified in Huntsville, Missouri.

And furthermore, the Mound Builders probably lived at a time long after the Central American Nephites had been wiped out. No one knows their exact period of existence since their history still remains shrouded in silence.

But someday the complete history of this great people known as the Mound Builders, will be restored, translated and published. No doubt the great Prophet Onandagus wrote much of it, since he was so widely known throughout North America. His name is still unknowingly commemorated to this day by the city and county of Onondaga, New York, some 56 or 60 miles due east of the Hill Cumorah. They received their name from the Onandaga Indians of that vicinity, who obviously bear the tribal name of their ancient prophet Onandagus,--a time honored custom among Indians. (^Norman C. Pierce, *Another Cumorah Another Joseph*, 1954, pp. 35-36)

Note* According to John H. Wittorf,

another possibility in elucidating the "Zelph incident" may be found in the arrowhead which is supposed to have caused Zelph's death. This artifact appears to have been taken by the Saints to Utah, as Matthias F. Cowley, who edited Wilford Woodruff's journal, remarked in 1909:

"The arrowhead referred to is now in the possession of President Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, Utah."

(Matthias F. Cowley, *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964, pp. 40-41). This is a photomechanical reprint of the 1909 edition.

. . . In only one of the three cases where Joseph Smith encountered the remains of the "Mound Builders"--the "Zelph incident"--did he even suggest a relationship between these peoples and those described in the Book of Mormon, the exact nature of which however, is still uncertain. It is nevertheless quite probable that, through migrations and inter-tribal contacts, a large proportion of the peoples of North America acquired sufficient Nephite or Lamanite ancestry to be considered Lamanites, as the Delaware tribe appears to have been.^{xxiv} Of considerable interest in this connection is the conclusion some investigators have recently reached, that on the basis of archaeological and anthropological evidence the Hopewellians are to be regarded as ancestral to the Algonquaian tribal family, of which the Delawares constitute an important segment.^{xxv}

Source: ^John H. Wittorf, "Joseph Smith and the Prehistoric Mound-Builders of Eastern North America," a paper read at the Nineteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, held at Brigham Young University on October 18, 1969; Published in the *Newsletters and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A.*, Number 123, October, 1970--see notation.

Note* Brent Metcalfe has some additional non-Mormon references to the Zelph incident. (telephone conversation 2.20/04)

1834^ Joseph Smith, Jr. Letter to Emma on 4 June, 1834 while marching with Zion's Camp

On the banks of the Mississippi,
June 4th 1834

My Dear Companion, . . .

We arrived this morning on the banks of the Mississippi . . . we left the eastern part of the state of Ohio . . . The whole of our journey, in the midst of so large a company of social honest and sincere men, wandering over the plains [sic] of the Nephites, recounting occasionally the history of the Book of Mormon, *roving over the mounds of that once beloved people of the Lord*, picking up their skulls & their bones, as a proof of its divine authenticity. . . .

From your's in the bonds of affliction.

Joseph Smith Jr

Source: ^Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1984, p. 324.

Note* Compare the statement of Levi Ward Hancock in *The Life of Levi W. Hancock*, typescript, BYU Library, who reported that Joseph Smith called North America the "land of desolation." See ^*The Life of Levi W. Hancock*, copied from his own journal by Clara E. H. Lloyd, great grand daughter.

1834^ E. D. Howe *Mormonism Unveiled*, Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834, p. 159

Dan Vogel notes the following in reference to the "Zelph Incident":

Within months of the return of Smith and his men to Kirtland, Ohio, E. D. Howe reported that after disinterment of the bones, "Smith made a speech, prophesying or declaring that they were the remains of a celebrated General among the Nephites, mentioning his name and the battle in which he was slain, some 1500 years ago." (E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834, p. 159)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Book, 2004, p. 647n. 32.

1834^ E. D. Howe *Mormonism Unveiled, Painesville, OH: By the Author, 1834*, p. 283 (non-LDS)

See the 1833 John Miller notation.

1835^ W. W. Phelps Letter to Oliver Cowdery, December 25, 1834, "Letter No. 4," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* 1 (February 1835), pp. 65-67.

In October 1834 *The Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* began as a continuation of the Evening and Morning Star. It was published in Kirtland and edited by Oliver Cowdery (two different times), John Whitmer, and Warren A Cowdery before it was suspended in September 1837. (Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History-1). In Volume 1, October 1834, then editor Oliver Cowdery would begin publication of a series of eight historical letters in the *Messenger and Advocate* addressed to W. W. Phelps, the former editor of *the Evening and the Morning Star* and designed to be "a full history of the rise of the church of the Latter Day Saints." (*Messenger and Advocate*, Vol. I, No. 1, October 1834, p. 13). Phelps contributed to this historical series by writing a few letters of his own. In his response letter #4 to Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps writes the following:

Liberty, Mo. Christmas, 1834

Dear Brother:

. . . There are some items in your letter which are great and revive old thoughts that, long since, were left to float down the gulf of departed things, into the maze of forgetfulness. The first one is where you sat day after day and wrote the history of the second race that inhabited this continent, as the words were repeated to you by the Lord's prophet, . . . I mean when you wrote the book of Mormon, containing the fulness of the gospel to the world, and the covenant to gather Israel, for the last time, as well as the history of the Indians, who, till then, had neither origin among men, nor records amid the light and knowledge of the great 19th century. (pp. 65-67)

1835^ (abt. Orson Pratt) *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 1 February, 1835

Oliver Cowdery wrote that Orson Pratt preached that the Ephraimites and the Lamanites were the "original settlers of this continent," and that "an ancient prophet caused the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated to be buried nearly two thousand years ago, in which is now called Ontario County, New York."

Note* In this same issue, W. W. Phelps wrote that it was "by that book [the Book of Mormon] I learned that the poor Indians of America were of the remnants of Israel." Many other times editor Phelps identified the land of America as being the place where at least some Book of Mormon history took place, including the last battles of both the Jaredites and the Nephites (see *Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2, October 1835, and the letter of W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery in that same issue.)

1835^ Oliver Cowdery *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 1 July, 1835 no. 10, pp. 158-159 (Reprinted *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, pp. 729-734)

Oliver Cowdery wrote a series of eight letters to W. W. Phelps which were published between October 1834 and October 1835. The information in these letters was part of "a full history of the rise of the church," however they only covered up to the year 1827 just before Joseph obtained the plates. The *Messenger and Advocate* was published with the direction and approval of Joseph Smith as noted on page 13 of volume 1:

That our narrative may be correct, and particularly the introduction, it is proper to inform our patrons, that our brother J. Smith Jr. has offered to assist us. Indeed, there are many items connected with the fore part of this subject that render his labor indispensable. With his labor and with authentic documents now in our possession, we hope to render this a pleasing and agreeable narrative.

The July article is as follows:

You are acquainted with the mail road from Palmyra, Wayne Co. to Canandaigua, Ontario Co. N.Y. and also, as you pass from the former to the latter place, before arriving at the little village of Manchester, say from three to four, or about four miles from Palmyra, you pass a large hill on the east side of the road. Why I say large, is, because it is as large perhaps, as any in that country. To a person acquainted with this road, a description would be unnecessary, as it is the largest and rises the highest of any on that route. The north end rises quite sudden until it assumes a level with the more southerly extremity, and I think I may say an elevation higher than at the south a short distance, say half or three fourths of a mile. As you pass toward Canandaigua it lessens gradually until the surface assumes its common level, or is broken by other smaller hills or ridges, water courses and ravines. I think I am justified in saying that this is the highest hill for some distance round, and I am certain that its appearance, as it rises so suddenly from a plain on the north, must attract the notice of the traveller as he passes by.

At about one mile west rises another ridge of less height, running parallel with the former . . . *between these hills, the entire power and national strength of both the Jaredites and Nephites were destroyed.* . . . By turning to the 529th and 530th pages of the Book of Mormon you will read Mormon's account of the last great struggle as they were encamped round this hill Cumorah (It is printed *Camorah* which is an error). In this valley fell the remaining strength and pride of a once powerful people, the Nephites--once so highly favored of the Lord, but at that time in darkness, doomed to suffer extermination by the hand of their barbarous and uncivilized brethren. From the top of this hill, Mormon, with a few others, after the battle, gazed with horror upon the mangled remains of those who, the day before, were filled with anxiety, hope, or doubt. A few had fled to the south, who were hunted down by the victorious party. . . .

. . . he [Mormon] deposited, as he says, on the 529th page [Mormon. 6:6], all the records in this same hill, Cumorah, and after gave his small record to his son Moroni, who, as appears from the same, finished, after witnessing the extinction of his people as a nation. . . . the land was left to the possession of the red men, who were without intelligence, only in the affairs of their wars; and having no records, only preserving their history by tradition from father to son, lost he account of their true origin, and wandered from river to river, from hill to hill, from mountain to mountain, and from sea to sea, till the land

was again peopled, in a measure, by a rude, wile, revengeful, warlike and barbarous race.--Such are our Indians.

This hill, by the Jaredites, was called Ramah; by it, or around it, pitched the famous army of Coriantumr their tents. Coriantumr was the last king of the Jaredites. The opposing army were to the west, and in this same valley, and near by, from day to day, did that mighty race spill their blood . . . In this same spot, in full view from the top of this same hill, one may gaze with astonishment upon the ground which was twice covered with the dead and dying . . .

Note* In 1841 these same letters were published in Nauvoo in the *Times and Seasons* (V. 2, p. 379). These letters were again published in *The Improvement Era* (1899, Vol. 2, pp. 729-734). In 1904, B. H. Roberts would write in his *Comprehensive History of the Church* that "Joseph Smith's association with Cowdery in the production of these letters make them, as to the facts involved, practically the personal narrative of Joseph Smith." (Vol. 1, page 78). For a publication schedule of Cowdery's letters in the various Church periodicals, see the chart below.

[1835 **Chart: Publication Schedule of Oliver Cowdery's Letters in Early Church Periodicals.** Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California. p. 187]

Dan Vogel* notes:

Cowdery claims the help of Smith in writing his "full history of the rise of the church of the Latter-day Saints" (I:13). In addition, Joseph Smith in 1835 supervised the copying of the Cowdery history into his large journal (DHC II:292). On April 15, 1841, the *Times and Seasons* published Cowdery's history without any changes (TS, II:379)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984).

1835^ Oliver Cowdery "Letter VIII," *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2
October, 1835, no. 13, p. 208.

[p. 197] You will have wondered, perhaps, that the mind of our brother should be so occupied with the thoughts of the goods of this world, *at the arriving at Cumorah*, on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1823, after having been rapt in the visions of heaven during the night, and also seeing and hearing in open day; but the mind of man is easily turned, if it is not held by the power of God through the prayer of faith, and you will remember that I have said that the two invisible powers were operating upon his mind during his walk from his residence to Cumorah, . . .

[p. 208] "I have now given sufficient on the Hill Cumorah--it has a singular and imposing appearance for that country, and must excite the curious inquiry of every lover of the Book of Mormon."

"Soon after this visit to Cumorah, a gentleman from the south part of the state, (Chenango County), employed our brother [Joseph] as a common laborer."

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1835 Edward Partridge "The Journal of Bishop Edward Partridge" (Provo), 22-23, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

From an entry in Edward Partridge's journal for 1835 we find the following: "We passed the hill Cumorah about 3 miles south of Palmyra."^{xxvi}

Source: ^Larry C. Porter, Milton V. Backman, Jr., and Susan Easton Black, eds., *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New York*. Provo: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1992.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1835^ W. W. Phelps *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* vol. 2 October, 1835, p. 193

The following words by W. W. Phelps are revealing concerning the extent of geographical knowledge of the world at the time of Joseph Smith. He writes:

The parts of the globe that are known [today] probably contain 700 millions of inhabitants, and those parts which are unknown may be supposed to contain more than four times as many more. . . . There may be a continent at the North Pole, or more than 1300 square miles, containing thousands of millions of Israelites.

1835^ W. W. Phelps *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2 November, 1835 no. 14, p. 221.

W. W. Phelps, in letter twelve to Oliver Cowdery, writing about the Hill Cumorah, said:
I want to drop an idea or two about Cumorah. Yes, Cumorah which must become as famous among the Latter-day Saints as Sinai was among the former saints . . . The law of the Lord, by the hand of Moses, was received upon Sinai, for the benefit of Israel . . . *the history of the first settlers of America*; even the book of Mormon, preparatory gathering from Cumorah: Glorious spot!--sacred depository! Out of thee came the *glad tidings* which will rejoice thousands! . . . Cumorah, *the artificial hill* ^{xxvii} of North America is well calculated to stand in this generation as a monument of marvelous works and wonder. Around that mount died millions of the Jaredites; yea, there ended one of the greatest nations of this earth. In that day her inhabitants spread from sea to sea, and enjoyed national greatness and glory, nearly fifteen hundred years . . . An angel came down from the regions of glory and told that a record was hid in Cumorah.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings. For another instance of "glad tidings" being associated with the Hill Cumorah, see the notation of 1842 for D&C 128.

1835-36 Joseph Smith *1835-36 Diary of Joseph Smith*

In his 1835-36 diary, Joseph Smith reflected that at age seventeen when in bed at night, "An angel appeared before me . . . He said the Indians were the literal descendants of Abraham."

Source: Scott Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1987, p. 51.

Note* According to a chart published by Howard Searle,^{xxviii} the 193-page Joseph Smith Diary of 1835-1836 had the following scribes writing the material down: Joseph Smith, Olliver Cowdery, Warren Parrish, Sylvester Smith, and Warren A. Cowdery.

1836^ Frederick G. Williams *Notes from the School of the Prophets*, January - March, 1836 ??? Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile?" Provo: FARMS, 1988.
(Lehi's Travels" statement)

Frederick G. Williams III (a great-great-grandson of the original Williams) writes that from the earliest days of the Church, the site of Lehi's landing in the New World has been a topic of discussion. Much of the debate has centered around the origin of a document (see copy below) from which the following is written by Frederick G. Williams:

The course that Lehi traveled from the city of Jerusalem to the place where he and his family took ship: They traveled nearly south, southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude. Then nearly east to the Sea of Arabia; then south, southeast direction and landed on the continent of South America in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude.

[1836 **Illustration: Frederick G. Williams Document.** (LDS Archive, Ms d 3408 fd 4 v, SLC, Utah). Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile?": An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement," FARMS, 1988, Document 1]

This document has four items separated by lines drawn across the page:

(1) The first item on the sheet, known today as D&C 7, is a transcript of the revelation given in 1829 to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery regarding John the Beloved (published in 1833 in the Book of Commandments).

(2) The second item is entitled "Questions in English, Answers in Hebrew." This section contains statements taken word for word from the end of Jacob 5:13 and Jacob 7:27. Below each statement are a couple of lines labeled "An[swer]" in rough Hebrew.

(3) The third item is titled "Characters on the Book of Mormon." Two phrases follow: "The Book of Mormon" on the left, and "The Interpretation of Languages" on the right. Under each phrase are two characters.

(4) The statement concerning Lehi's travels.

Unfortunately, the origin of the Lehi's Travels statement is unclear. Some traditions have held that Joseph Smith or Frederick G. Williams received it through revelation [see the 1836 Nancy Williams notation and the 1882 Franklin D. Richards notation], and on that assumption, the statement has been used to support a Chilean landing of Lehi's party. However, the relevant primary documents, particularly the page on which the original Frederick G. Williams statement is found, give no evidence of a revelatory origin.

According to Williams III, in addition to the Frederick G. Williams document, one other small paper is relevant to the question of where and why the Williams document was written. Two of the items on the front of the Frederick G. Williams sheet appear on another early document, written in what clearly appears to be the handwriting of Oliver Cowdery. (see copy below) Oliver's paper contains the four Book of Mormon characters (section 3 above) and the Questions in English--Answers in Hebrew (section 2 above). These items appear exactly as in the Williams copy, except the above two items are not separated from each other by a line and the characters have no heading labeling them as Book of Mormon characters. Oliver's page contains an additional statement which reads: "Written & Kept for profit & learning By Oliver."

[1836 **Illustration: Oliver Cowdery Document.** (LDS Archive, Ms d 3408 fd 4 v, SLC, Utah). Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile?": An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement," FARMS, 1988, Document 2]

Williams III asks, "What can we learn from the collection of items on Williams' sheet? Why would Frederick G. Williams copy a revelation which had already been published twice (D&C 7)? Why would he write the Questions and Answers, and the Book of Mormon characters? Why did Oliver Cowdery also have a copy of the most enigmatic items? . . ."

Williams III then proposes the following explanation:

It may be that on this sheet Frederick G. Williams brought together several items that were being discussed in the School of the Prophets, which was held at times in the Kirtland Temple in 1836--the same time as the dedication of the Kirtland Temple.^{xxix} They may have been part of the Hebrew lessons given from January to March 1836, or of a challenge to translate ancient languages by the power of God, if possible, or by hard work. . . . The fact that both Williams and Oliver Cowdery participated in these lessons may explain why both had a copy of the Questions and Answers section and the Book of Mormon characters. . . .

The Lehi statement, then, may have been an idea discussed or presented by Joseph Smith or another speaker at the School of the Prophets, and was an idea that Frederick G. Williams found interesting

enough to jot down on the paper he had with him as he took notes in that setting.

Source: ^Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile?": An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement," FARMS, 1988, pp. 1-3, 9-13.

Note* The idea that Joseph Smith was responsible for everything that came out of the School of the Prophets has come under scrutiny in recent years and some of the findings might relate to the Lehi's Travels statement apparently discussed in the school, recorded by Frederick G. Williams, and later attributed to Joseph Smith as a revelation. Perhaps this new perspective can best be seen in some recent commentary concerning the *Lectures on Faith*, one of the most important set of teachings to come out of the School of the Prophets. In the Preface and back-cover to a recent edition of this book we find the following:

These seven lectures were originally prepared in connection with the school of the elders in Kirtland, Ohio, and were subsequently published as part of the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants. . . . They were deemed of such doctrinal worth that they were published in Latter-day Saint scripture from 1835 to 1921 as the forepart of the Doctrine and Covenants. In fact, these lectures were considered the "doctrine" while the revelations made up the "covenants" of that inspired book. . . . Over the years, an ongoing scholarly debate has attempted to discern the lectures' author. Many have desired to attribute the writing to Joseph Smith, either directly or under his careful approval. But while it is clear that the Prophet gave his consent to the 1835 publication, it is a far more complicated matter to determine his level of involvement in or acceptance of the lectures themselves. There is strong evidence to indicate that at least the majority of the writing was undertaken by Sidney Rigdon, who was then a member of the First Presidency. (*Lectures on Faith*, American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2000, preface & back-cover)

Note* Dale Broadhurst notes that there is certain specific language in the Lehi's Travels statement that might be a clue to its origin:

Considering how specific this statement is -- giving the degree of latitude for both the location where Lehi set sail ["the nineteenth degree of north latitude"] and the place where he landed [in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude] -- it seems much more likely that it was the inspiration of Orson Pratt than of Joseph Smith. Orson was one of the original Mormon apostles, an intelligent man who was interested in mathematics, astronomy, and surveying. In his biography of Orson Pratt, Breck England says that Orson was in Kirtland, Ohio, in October 1836: "Business left Orson with some leisure for study, and he relished the winter hours with his copy of 'Day's Algebra' and his astronomy readings. . . . Spurred by his mathematical exercises and his former acquaintance with surveying, he became interested in astronomy, musing on the stars with the new measuring tools made available to him in 'Day's Algebra'" (England 1985, 49). When the Mormons later made their trek from Illinois to Utah, it was Orson who measured the longitude and latitude of the route which they used. (Dale Broadhurst, "Book of Mormon Geography: Early Interpretations," <http://Home1.gte.net/dbroadhu/rest/splinks.htm>, p. 3)

Broadhurst's theory is specifically tied to the fact that Orson was scientifically intelligent concerning longitude and latitude, and that he was in Kirtland in October, 1836. However, the dedication of the Kirtland Temple was on March 27, 1836, which is the latest date proposed for the origin of the Lehi's Travels document. Nevertheless, another possibility exists that Orson could have conveyed this longitude and latitude information to his brother Parley or to others previous to October, 1836. The reader should note that in W.W. Phelps' article, "The Far West" in *Evening and Morning Star*, vol. 1, October, 1832, he describes the Missouri river as "running rapidly from the 48th to the 39th degree of north latitude."

(See the notations for 1830, 1836, 1845, 1882, 1988)

1836 W. W. Phelps Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate vol. 2, July 1836, p. 341.

Note* Here W. W. Phelps refers to the prairies of North America as the "land desolation." See the October 1832 notation for *The Evening and The Morning Star*.

1836^ (non-LDS) "More of Imposture," *New-York Spectator*, vol. ?, New York, July 28, 1836

Mormonism

Messrs. Editors -- You will perhaps be surprised at the reception of an article on Mormonism, for the *New-York Commercial Advertiser*. . . .

It appears that Mormonism owes its origin to an individual named Solomon Spalding, who wrote the historical part of the *Book of Mormon*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Mormon Bible*. . . .

. . . The subject selected for this purpose was one well suited to his religious education. The work was to be a historical novel, containing a history of the Aborigines of America, who, according to the notion of those who refer all questions of history, science, and morals to the scriptures, were supposed to be descended from the Jews.

The title adopted was "The Manuscript Found," and the history commenced with one Lehi, who lived in the reign of Zedekiah, King of Judea, six hundred years before the Christian era. Lehi being warned by God of the dreadful calamities that were impending over Jerusalem, abandoned his possessions, and fled with his family to the wilderness. After wandering about the desert for a considerable time, they arrived upon the border of the Red Sea, and embarked on board a vessel. In this they floated about a long time on the ocean, but at last reached America, *and landed upon the shores of Darien*. From the different branches of this family were made to spring the various aboriginal nations of this continent. From time to time they rose to high degrees of civilization; but desolating wars arose in turn, by which nations were overthrown, and reduced again to barbarism. *In this the condition of the Indians, at the time of Columbus's discovery, was accounted for; and the ancient mounds, fortifications, temples, and other vestiges of former civilization, found in North and South America, were explained*. . . .

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007) Dale Broadhurst notes the following:

Note 1: This article first appeared in a late July 1836 issue of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. In the extant files of the *Canton Repository* it is preserved as an addition to the issue of Aug. 4, 1836 -- its actual appearance in that paper must have been on Sept. 1. Although the name of Solomon Spalding had previously been connected with the origin of the *Book of Mormon* in various short news reports (in the *Painesville Telegraph* and in the *Chardon Spectator*)

the 1836 article was the first report in which Ohio newspaper readers were able to peruse a detailed "history of Mormonism," in which the Spalding authorship claims were clearly spelled out. The *Commercial Advertiser* article was also reprinted in the *Lisbon, Ohio Aurora* on Sept. 24, 1836 and probably in a few other Ohio papers as well.

Note 2: This 1836 article is chronologically situated about mid-way between the appearance of Eber D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*, published in Ohio at the end of 1834 and LeRoy Sunderland's series of articles on Mormonism printed in the *Zion's Watchman* newspaper in New York City in 1838. From 1838-39 forward lengthy newspaper articles (along with tracts and pamphlets) on Mormon origins become increasingly common. In mid-1836 such reporting was still relatively rare. It may well have been this particular newspaper article which preserved the Spalding authorship claims from an early oblivion. The writer of the original article obviously made use of Howe's book, . . .

1836^ (non-LDS) "History of Mormonism," *The Ohio Repository*, vol. 22, No. 18, Canton, Ohio, Sept. 1, 1836

History of Mormonism

By a Correspondent of the N. Y. Commercial Advertiser

It appears that Mormonism owes its origin to an individual named Solomon Spalding, who wrote the historical part of the *Book of Mormon*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Mormon Bible*. . . .

. . . The subject selected for this purpose was one well suited to his religious education. The work was to be a historical novel, containing a history of the Aborigines of America, who, according to the notion of those who refer all questions of history, science, and morals to the scriptures, were supposed to be descended from the Jews.

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1836^ Nancy C. Williams (abt. Frederick G. Williams) ***Meet Dr. Frederick Granger Williams . . . After One Hundred Years*** (Independence: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1951), pp. 101-102.

According to the theory of Nancy Williams, who was the wife of a grandson of Frederick G. Williams, the origin of the Frederick G. Williams document, and more especially the statement on Lehi's Travels was the result of a revelation during the Kirtland Temple dedication on March 27, 1836. She writes:

Heber C. Kimball related it thus: "During the ceremonies of the dedication an angel appeared and sat near Joseph Smith Sen., and Frederick G. Williams, so that they had a fair view of his person. He was tall, had black eyes and white hair and stooped shoulders and his garment was whole, extending to near his ankles, on his feet he had sandals. He was sent as a messenger to accept of the dedication. (History of the Church, Vol. II, p. 427)^{xxx}

Frederick had in his pocket a piece of paper which he carried to take notes on. On this he wrote in pencil: John the Beloved"-then a space followed and a few lines written in another language. A large space followed and then at the bottom of the page he wrote the following revelation: "*The course that Lehi traveled from the city of Jerusalem to the place where he and his family took ship: They traveled nearly south, southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude. Then nearly east to the Sea of Arabia; then south, southeast direction and landed on the continent of South*

America in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude."

Returning home he transcribed the revelation in ink on another sheet of paper. Rebecca kept these papers with his other notes until her death. Their son, Ezra, loaned them to the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City in the 1860's where they have lain these many years, known only to historians, to be brought to light and published for the first time. [see note #1]

Apostle George A. Smith records that "on the first day of the dedication, President Frederick G. Williams, one of the Council of the Prophet, and who occupied the upper pulpit, bore testimony that the Savior dressed in His vesture without seam, came into the stand and accepted of the dedication of the House; that he saw Him and he gave a description of His clothing and all things pertaining to it." (Journal of Discourses, Vol. XI, p. 10; Doc. & Cov. Comm. p. 726.)

Note #1: According to Nancy Williams, the original, written in pencil was shown to the author by a Historian, in the early 1930's, and was the only one she had seen until February 29, 1949, when she was shown the film and the letter from which it was taken--and received with others a wonderful manifestation that it was indeed a revelation given to Frederick G. Williams for him and his family. The original, written in pencil, cannot be found at this writing.

Note #2: In a paper concerning the Frederick G. Williams document, Frederick G. Williams III notes the following:

Nancy Williams gives no source for the idea that the statement was received at the Kirtland Temple dedication. Moreover . . . Assistant Church Historian W. Lund, in writing to Joseph Fielding Smith after her 1949 visit, said that he had never seen a pencil copy and that the only copy is in ink. He also said that he had tried to dissuade her from believing the statement was a revelation because the text does not identify it as such. (Letter in LDS Archives) It should also be noted that pencil documents of the period such as the one Nancy Williams described are very rare. (Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile?": An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement," FARMS, 1988, pp. 8-9.)

(See the notation for 1830; see also the material about J. M. Bernhisel for the year 1845, see also the notations for 1880 and 1988.)

1837^ Parley P. Pratt "The Book of Mormon--Origin of the American Indians, Etc.," in A Voice of Warning, New York, 1837, p. 135. (Reprinted & Published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press)

PREFACE To the Second European Edition:

When the following work was first published in America, in 1837, it was but little known and seemed to meet with little or no encouragement. Months passed away, and very few copies were sold or read. But, to the astonishment of the author, it worked itself into notice more and more, by the blessing of God, and by virtue of its own real merits; till, in two years, the first edition, consisting of three thousand copies, was all sold, and many more were called for. A new edition was published in 1839, consisting of two thousand, five hundred copies: these were also disposed of. Other three editions have since been published, making in all thirteen thousand copies now disposed of, and the demand is still increasing both in America and Europe. . . . Parley P. Pratt, Manchester, England, December 4, 1846.

On page 67, Pratt writes the following concerning the hill Cumorah:

Mormon lived in that age of the world, and was a Nephite, and a prophet of the Lord. He, by the commandment of the Lord, made an abridgment of the sacred records which contained the history of his forefathers . . . Previous to his death, the abridged records fell into the hands of his son Moroni, who continued them down to A.D. 420; at which time he deposited them carefully in the earth, on a hill which was then called Cumorah, but is situated in Ontario County, township of Manchester, and state of New York, North America. This he did in order to preserve them from the Lamanites, who overran the country and south to destroy them and all the records pertaining to the Nephites.

Source: Copy in possession of Garth Norman. See also Gospelink 2000.

1838^ (abt. Joseph Smith)

Scott H. Faulring ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith*, SLC: Signature Books, 1989, p. 184.

George W. Robinson, a scribe of Joseph Smith who was with him at the time, records the following in the typical first-person style:

Tuesday, 1st May 1838 This day was Also spent in writing Church History by the First Presidency. . . .

/ 19[th], Sat[urday] . . . We next kept [traveling] up the river mostly in the timber for ten miles, until we came to Col[onel] Lyman Wight's who lives at the foot of Tower Hill. A name appropriated by President Smith in consequence of the remains of an old **Nephitish** Alter an[d] Tower where we camped for the Sab[b]ath.

In the after part of the day, Pre[siden]ts Smith and Rigdon and myself went to Wight's Ferry about a half mile from this place up the river for the purpose of selecting and laying claims to City plott near said Ferry in Davis County, Township 60, Range 27 and 28, and Sections 25, 36, 31, 30 which was called Spring Hill. A name appropriated by the bretheren present, But afterwards named by the mouth of [the] Lord and was called Adam Ondi Awmen, because Said he, "It {page 43} is the place where Adam Shall come to visit his people, or the Ancient of Days shall sit as spoken of by Daniel the Prophet."

Note* In their recent book, *Sacred Places*, vol. 4, LaMar C. Berrett general editor and Max H. Parkin (editor on Missouri) write the following:

When Joseph Smith identified the altar on Tower Hill as the remains of an old **Nephitish altar and tower** ("Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith," 43) in May 1838, he could have called it a **burial mound** because the visible portion of the mound is an early American burial mound. The practice of placing bodies of the deceased in burial mounds was common among Indians who lived anciently along the Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi river systems. In addition, Indians probably used the mound as an altar or tower, as Joseph Smith surmised. (see [note](#) below) Zera Pulsipher said that many Saints "supposed there had been an ancient city of the Nephites" at Diahman (AZP 16).^{xxxix}

[1838] **Illustration: Entry of May 19, 1838, from the "Scriptory Book of Joseph," with handwriting by George W. Robinson. (Courtesy of LDSCA).** LaMar C. Berrett General Editor, Max H. Parkin editor for Missouri, *Sacred Places: Missouri: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, Volume 4: Missouri*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2004, p. 384]

On the bottom of the same page Berrett and Parkin [note](#):

George W. Robinson, married to Athalia Rigdon, daughter of Sidney Rigdon, accompanied Joseph Smith on the Prophet's first surveying trip to Adam-ondi-Ahman on May 19, 1838, and was there when Joseph told the brethren the name of Tower Hill and Adam-ondi-Ahman. Robinson's record used the word "Nephitish" to describe the altar or tower in his handwritten history, which would seem to indicate that Joseph Smith knew that the altar had been built by Native Americans but that he was not sure of its purpose. Archaeologists have since concluded that it was an undisturbed Native American burial mound with remains of human bones estimated by carbon dating to be from the late Woodland Period, 400-560 A.D. The mound contained individual bodies as well as unrelated bones piled together. Some of the bones appear to have been burned. The bodies of at least six adults and probably two children were located in the small sample area that was excavated. Perhaps as many as 30 bodies may have been buried in the oval-shaped mound, which measures about 36-by-36 feet in diameter and about 36 inches high. Reddish (burned) limestone slabs were placed under and over the top of the graves by Native Americans apparently to prevent animals from disturbing the deceased. In 1980 Dr. Ray T. Matheny of Brigham Young University directed the dig at this site, Archaeology Site No. 25. A detailed report of the dig is located in the Department of Archaeology at Brigham Young University. The southeast corner of the dig is identified with a pole set in concrete.^{xxxii}

1838 (abt. Joseph Smith) **Zera Pulsipher Journal**, pp. 8-9, located in the LDS Church Historical Archives

Joseph Smith accompanied several Church members in exploring the area around Lyman Wight's northern Missouri home. In his journal, Zera Pulsipher noted:

Davies Co was a buetiful [sic] place situated on grand river the first rate land and plenty of good timber where **we supposed** there had been an ancient citty [sic] of the Nephites as the hewn stone were already there in piles also the Mound or alter [sic] built by father [Adam] where to offer sacrifices when he was old leaning upon his staff prophecyng the most noted thing that should take place down to the latest generation therfore [sic] it was called Adam ondiamen [sic].

[1838 **Map: Mormon Country 1830-1844. Depicts the location of Adam-on-di-Ahman.** Fawn McKay Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: the life of Joseph Smith*, New York, NY: Random House, 1971, pp. 466-467]

Note* For a complete chronological history and discussion concerning Adam's altar mentioned above, and also the location of the City of Zion, the location of the Garden of Eden, and the location of Adam-on-di-ahmen see the volume on Indian Origins-Appendix A.

1838^ (abt. Joseph Smith) *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 3:34-35

[Regarding "Tower Hill" north of Far West, Missouri] We pursued our source up the river, mostly through timber, for about eighteen miles, when we arrived at Colonel Lyman Wight's home. He lives at the foot of Tower Hill (a name I gave the place in consequence of the remains of an old **Nephite** altar or tower that stood there), where we camped for the Sabbath.

Note* Here the word "Nephite" replaces the original word "Nephitish" as recorded by George Robinson, the scribe of Joseph Smith. Such a change can make a difference in interpretation, especially since Zera Pulsipher said that "we supposed" that "there had been an ancient city of the Nephites" in that location.

[1838 **Illustration: Lyman Wight's cabin.** The building in the picture is Lyman Wight's cabin. The setting is Adam-on-di-Ahman, in northwestern Missouri. Some Church members settled here from 1836 to 1838. Photograph by George E. Anderson, 1907. Source: *The Doctrine and Covenants: Gospel Doctrine Teacher's Manual*, 1991, p. 68.]

[1838 **Map: The location of Adam-On-di-Ahman and the location of Lyman Wight's cabin.** William Edwin Berrett, *The Restored Church*, SLC: Deseret Book Company, 1961, p. 122]

1838 **Samuel D. Tyler** **Samuel D. Tyler Diary** Sept 25, 1838, Church Archives

Milton V. Backman, Mr. writes that "The two best accounts of the journey of Kirtland Camp are the diary of Samuel D. Tyler (Samuel D. Tyler Diary. Typescript of holograph, Church Archives) and the record kept by the camp historian, Elias Smith, which has been published in volume 3 of Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*. (Milton V. Backman, Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830-1838*, p. 391.)^{xxxiii}

On this journey of Kirtland Camp, Joseph Smith accompanied several Church members in exploring the area around Lyman Wight's northern Missouri home. In volume 3 of his 3-volume work *Doctrines of Salvation* edited by Bruce R. McConkie, we find the following:

The following account of the same event is taken from the daily journal of the Kirtland Camp, and was written by Samuel D. Tyler:

Sept: 25, 1838. We passed through Huntsville, Co. seat of Randolph Co. Pop. 450, and three miles further we bought 32 bu. of corn off one of the brethren who resides in this place. There are

several of the brethren round about here and **this is the ancient site of the City of Manti, which is spoken of in the Book of Mormon and this is appointed one of the Stakes of Zion**, and it is in Randolph County, Missouri, three miles west of the county seat.

1838

Elias Smith

Journal of Elias Smith, Sept. 25, 1838, Church Archives

On the 25th of September, 1838, as the members of Kirtland Camp were traveling to Dark Creek in Randolph county, Missouri, they went through Huntsville. Elias Smith, who was a cousin of Joseph Smith and who also was a leader of the Kirtland Camp which moved people from the Kirtland area to Missouri recorded the following in his journal:

Tuesday, September 25-- . . . We came through Huntsville, the county seat of Randolph county . . . A mile and a half west of Huntsville we crossed the east branch of Chariton [River], and one and a half miles west of the river we found Ira Ames and some other brethren **near the place where the city of Manti is to be built**, and encamped for the night on Dark creek, six miles from Huntsville. Traveled this day seventeen miles. Distance from Kirtland, seven hundred and fifty-five miles.

Note* In 1842 Willard Richards, then Church historian, was assigned the task of compiling a large number of documents and producing a history of the church from them. Because Richards had not joined the Church until 1836, he had to rely on the documents and journal entries of others and their recollections. He worked on this material between 21 December 1842 and 27 March 1843 and then after the Prophet was martyred until the exodus west. After transporting all the source records to Utah, Richards died. His work was later finished by Church Historian George D. Smith and the 1838 account of Kirtland Camp was printed in the *Millennial Star*. (see the 1854 notation). Although Richards relied on multiple sources, he recorded the incidents in a "first person" style as if Joseph was the one writing. George Smith continued with this style. As one will see by comparing the quotes above with the quote below from the *Millennial Star*, Richards (with the editing approval of George D. Smith and other Authorities) apparently used a combination of the Samuel Tyler quote and the Elias Smith quotes as his source.

Tuesday 25th. . . . The camp passed through Huntsville, in Randolph County, which has been appointed as one of the Stakes of Zion, and is the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents at Dark Creek, Salt Licks, seventeen miles. . . . ("History of Joseph Smith," in *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, No. 19, Vol XVI, Saturday, May 13, 1854, pp. 295-296)^{xxxiv}

In 1886, Andrew Jenson, assistant Church Historian, began the publication of *The Historical Record*. "It was his intention during the following four years to give the public a work of reference on Church history, covering the entire period from the Prophet Joseph Smith's birth to the present time." The July, 1888 (No. 7, vol. VII) issue of the Historical Record is devoted to "Kirtland Camp. In presenting a day-by day review of what happened, Jenson says the following on page 600:

"To show the feeling which at that time prevailed in the State of Missouri, we give the following extract from Elder John* D. Tyler's journal, from which most of the facts in the history of the Camp are derived." [Note* The name "John" is probably an error. At present I can't find a person by that name. The name is more probably that of Samuel D. Tyler]

Half of a column on page 600 is then devoted to this direct quote in small print. Jenson then continues with his day-by-day review and on page 601 we find an account of a group consisting of Joseph Smith accompanied several Church members exploring the area around Lyman Wight's northern Missouri home in 1838. The following is written:

Tuesday, 25th. The Camp passed through Huntsville, Randolph County, which had been appointed as one of the Stakes of Zion, and which the Prophet said was the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents at Dark Creek, Salt Licks: 17 miles.

Note* As one can see by comparison with the above, Jenson apparently drew as his source material

the information which appeared in the 1854 *Millennial Star*. ("History of Joseph Smith") It is worthy of note, here that when given the choice to include Samuel Tyler's comments that "this is the ancient site of the City of Manti, which is spoken of in the Book of Mormon," in their Church histories, none of the Church historians chose to do so.

In 1901, B. H. Roberts was assigned the task of completing a new 7-volume work *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. By Himself. The first six volumes contained the "History of Joseph Smith." In the Preface of Vol. I (pp. III-IV) of this series published in 1902, we find the following concerning the account:

In publishing the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, it is felt that a solemn duty is being performed to the Saints and to the world. . . . It is important, too, that so far as possible the events which make up the history be related by the persons who witnessed them, since such statements give the reader testimony of the facts at first hand; and there is placed on record at the same time the highest order of historical evidence of the truth of what is stated. It was these considerations which induced the Church authorities, under whose auspices this history is published, to take the narrative of the Prophet Joseph Smith as found in the manuscript History of the Church--now in the archives of the Historian's office--for the body of the work, rather than to authorize the writing of a history in the ordinary way. . . .

One difficulty the Prophet experienced in writing the annals of the Church, which he usually called his history, was the unfaithfulness of some whom he employed in this service, and the frequent change of historians, owing to the ever shifting conditions surrounding the Church in the early years of its existence. It would be marvelous indeed if under all these circumstances there had been no mistakes made in our annals, no conflict of dates, no errors in the relation of events. But whether these conditions are taken into account or not, the manuscript annals of the Church are astonishingly free from errors of dates, relation of facts, and anachronisms of every description. When the Church Historians George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff completed their publication of the "History of Joseph Smith," down to the 8th of August, 1844, which history was published in installments in the *Deseret News*, Utah, and in the *Millennial Star*, England, they expressed themselves upon the correctness of what they had published in the following manner:

"The History of Joseph Smith is now before the world, and we are satisfied that a history more correct in its details than this was never published. To have it strictly correct, the greatest possible pains have been taken by the historians and clerks engaged in the work. They were eye and ear witnesses of nearly all the transactions recorded in this history, most of which were reported as they transpired, and, where they were not personally present, they have had access to those who were. Moreover, since the death of the Prophet Joseph, the history has been carefully revised under the strict inspection of President Brigham Young, and approved by him. We, therefore, hereby bear our testimony to all the world, unto whom these words shall come, that the history of Joseph Smith is true, and is one of the most authentic histories ever written."

Their statement assuredly is true; and yet by a careful revision of the work they did and the correction of a few errors in dates and other details, the work has been brought to a still higher state of perfection. Where grammatical accuracy was violated in the original record it has been corrected, so far as observed; but no historical or doctrinal statement has been changed. . . .

The most careful attention has been given to this work by those engaged in its preparation. The manuscript has been read to the Church Historian, President Anthon H. Lund, with constant reference to the original manuscript history and all copies of it published in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Millennial Star*. . . .

Yet while B. H. Roberts's words might be considered true, he made a significant number of additions and deletions in his editing process. More importantly, they were most often done without any notation to the reasons or sources involved.^{xxxv} So it becomes puzzling when, upon coming to the account of Kirtland Camp for September 25th, 1838 we find the following:

Tuesday, September 25-- . . . We came through Huntsville, the county seat of Randolph county . . . A mile and a half west of Huntsville we crossed the east branch of Chariton [River], and one and a half miles west of the river we found Ira Ames and some other brethren near the place where the city of

Manti is to be built, and encamped for the night on Dark creek, six miles from Huntsville. Traveled this day seventeen miles. Distance from Kirtland, seven hundred and fifty-five miles. (Vol. III, 1905, pp. 143-144)

Note* This account is different than the other "History of Joseph Smith" accounts. It does not say anything about the site being the ancient city of Manti, but rather that they were "near the place where the city of Manti is to be built." Apparently B. H. Roberts chose to replace the information taken from the Samuel Tyler Journal and with information from the Elias Smith journal. Why B. H. Roberts did this he does not say and we are left to wonder. A city of Manti was never (to my knowledge) established, although in their recent book, *Sacred Places*, LaMar C. Berrett general editor and Max H. Parkin (editor on Missouri) write that "The appointed contemporaries must have felt that Elias Smith's journal was more accurate than Samuel D. Tyler's."^{xxxvi} They also illustrate the proposed site of Manti with a map (see below).

[1838 **Map: Huntsville Area, Mo.** LaMar C. Berrett General Editor, Max H. Parkin editor for Missouri, *Sacred Places: Missouri: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, Volume 4: Missouri*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2004, p. 523]

Perhaps Roberts's motivation was simply based on the idea that Kirtland Camp had something to do with expanding the population of the Church from Ohio into Missouri and giving the proposed cities in that expansion names with religious significance (in this case Manti would associated with the Book of Mormon). Something that might give more insight here into this dilemma is some commentary made by Edwin Goble and Wayne May. While not specifically endorsing their ideas, their perspectives are nonetheless insightful. In the year 2002 they would make the following remarks about the city of Manti in order to substantiate their Limited North America Model of Book of Mormon geography:

The Prophet Joseph Smith said that Manti was in Missouri. Now as we have shown in the statements about Manti in Missouri, it was around the area of Huntsville, Missouri. Not only was it specifically designated as the ancient site of the city of Manti spoken of in the Book of Mormon, but, it was also stated that a city by that name was to be built by the saints near Huntsville, which apparently was never built. This goes along with another statement in Doctrine and Covenants 125:3: "Let them build up a city unto my name upon the land opposite the city of Nauvoo, and let the name of Zarahemla be named upon it."

Special notice should be paid to this statement, because the Lord Himself wanted the saints to give the name of Zarahemla to a site across the Mississippi River from Nauvoo in Lee County, Iowa. He wanted them to build a city by that name there. So, not only was the ancient site of Manti in Missouri, but here we see that the Lord associates the name of Zarahemla with eastern Iowa. This is obvious because the Lord Himself recognized that as the place name for the area. ^ (From Edwin G. Goble and Wayne N. May, *This Land: Zarahemla and the Nephite Nation*. Published by Ancient American Archaeology Foundation. Printed by Hayriver Press, Colfax, Wisconsin, March 2002, p. 67.)

Thus, according to Goble and May, we are informed that not only was there a city of Manti to be built near the location of the ancient Book of Mormon city of Manti, but they imply that there was also a city of Zarahemla to be built in eastern Iowa because the Lord recognized "Zarahemla" as "the place name for the area" (D&C 125:3)

The idea that "the ancient city of Manti" spoken of was the specific one spoken of in the Book of Mormon was challenged in 1954 by Norman Pierce (*Another Cumorah, Another Joseph*. SLC: Norman Peirce, 1954, pp. 22-23). He writes the following:

We give you all these references about Manti and want you to check them, because some die-hards think they have an irrefutable proof for the location of the Book of Mormon city of Manti from a statement made by the Prophet Joseph, which all these years has been a misleading factor because of false interpretation.

We are cited a quotation from the history of the Camp of Zion [Kirtland] written by the Prophet which reads as follows: "The [Kirtland] camp passed through Huntsville, in Randolph County, which has been appointed as one of the stakes of Zion, and is the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents at Dark Creek." (MS. Hist. Book B-1, p. 929)

One Samuel D. Tyler [see notation above] of that period immediately jumped to the conclusion that there can be only one ancient city of Manti, and that therefore the Book of Mormon Manti must have been located at Huntsville, Missouri; and unthinking people, like sheep, have jumped at the same conclusion after him ever since.

Huntsville, Missouri, is not at the headwaters of any north-flowing river that can possibly be construed as the River Sidon, in fact, it is 30 or 40 miles from any river at all. Huntsville is not on the south borders of "the land southward" or within 3,000 miles of that point. And naturally, we stand amazed at anyone with elastic imagination enough to accomplish such geographical gymnastics after reading the Book of Mormon, especially when this is attempted authoritatively.

We do not deny that an ancient city of Manti was located at Huntsville, and later we will show how that came to pass, but it is as logical to identify Manti, Utah with the Manti of the Book of Mormon as it is to identify Huntsville with the Book of Mormon Manti

So, according to Pierce, the fact that the area the Kirtland Camp were passing through was near "the ancient site of the City of Manti" does not necessarily mean that this ancient city was the same as that mentioned in the Book of Mormon.

Concerning the building of a city of Zarahemla we are given some interesting perspectives from the Diary of John Lyman Smith ("The Diary of John Lyman Smith 1828-1894," apparently finished in 1894 and copied by the Brigham Young University Library in 1940, p. 1, 4. N) He writes:

. . . In October, 1839, my father was called to preside over the Saints in Iowa, and with the assistance of my cousin Elias Smith, we removed to Uncle Asahel Smith's in Nashville, Iowa, where [we] resided some weeks, after which we moved to Ambrosia, six miles known as the Avery or Howley settlement. Under the direction of Joseph the Prophet, a town was laid out and called Zarahemla, situated one mile from the river, west of Nauvoo. There we built a log cabin and dug a well forty-five feet deep to water, and walled it with rocks . . . Joseph often visited us here, as officers were seeking to kidnap and take him to Missouri.

There is no indication here in this diary that this "town" was in any way situated on the ancient site of the city of Zarahemla, despite the fact that the Prophet "often visited." Thus, being that this is the only source I have at present which speaks to the subject, I must say that, at present, there is insufficient information to conclude that the "town" of Zarahemla spoken of above had anything to do with the ancient city of Zarahemla spoken of in the Book of Mormon. This lack of information might also have implications in regard to the remarks concerning the "city of Manti" which was to be built. In other words, one might conclude that there was some confusion among those who accompanied Joseph Smith as to just what he said regarding the "city of Manti." For the present, when all the above is considered, any authoritative basis for locating the Book of Mormon city of Manti near Huntsville, Missouri is severely weakened.

Note* See the notations for 1839, 1854, 1886, 1905, 1954, 2002

1839^ **John Lyman Smith** **"The Diary of John Lyman Smith 1828-1894,"** *apparently finished in 1894 and copied by the Brigham Young University Library in 1940, p. 1, 4. N*

*St. George, Wash. Co., Utah
June 9, 1894*

Though at a late hour I desire to place a few items at your disposal . . .

. . . In October, 1839, my father was called to preside over the Saints in Iowa, and with the assistance of my cousin Elias Smith, we removed to Uncle Asahel Smith's in Nashville, Iowa, where [we] resided some weeks, after which we moved to Ambrosia, six miles known as the Avery or Howley settlement. Under the direction of Joseph the Prophet, a town was laid out and called Zarahemla, situated one mile from the river, west of Nauvoo. There we built a log cabin and dug a well forty-five feet deep to water, and walled it with rocks . . . Joseph often visited us here, as officers were seeking to kidnap and take him to Missouri.

Note* There is no indication here in this diary that this "town" was in any way situated on the ancient site of the city of Zarahemla, despite the fact that the Prophet "often visited." Thus, being that this is the only source I have at present which speaks to the subject, I must say that, at present, there is insufficient information to conclude that the "town" of Zarahemla spoken of above had anything to do with the ancient city of Zarahemla spoken of in the Book of Mormon. This lack of information might also have implications in regard to the 1838 remarks concerning the "city of Manti" which was to be built (see notation). In other words, in view of the fact that B. H. Roberts fails to include any mention of an "ancient" site of a city of Manti, one might conclude that there was some confusion among those who accompanied Joseph Smith as to just what he said regarding the "city of Manti."

Note* See the notation for 1838

1840^ Orson Pratt *A Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records*, Edinburgh: Printed by Ballantyne and Hughes, 1840. pp. 15-21

Orson Pratt writes:

We learn from this very ancient history, that at the confusion of languages, when the Lord scattered the people upon all the face of the earth, the Jaredites, being a righteous people, obtained favour in the sight of the Lord and were not confounded. And because of their righteousness, the Lord miraculously led them from the tower to the great ocean, where they were commanded to build vessels, in which they were marvellously brought across the great deep to the shores of North America. . . . in the process of time, they became a very numerous and powerful people, occupying principally North America; building large cities in all quarters of the land; being a civilized and enlightened nation. . . . their wickedness became so great . . . they were entirely destroyed; leaving their houses, their cities, and their land desolate . . .

The remnant of Joseph were also led in a miraculous manner from Jerusalem, in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah. They were first led to the eastern borders of the Red Sea; then they journeyed for some time along the borders thereof, nearly in a south-east direction; after which, they altered their course nearly eastward, until they came to the great waters, where, by the commandment of God, they built a vessel, in which they were safely brought across the great Pacific ocean, and landed upon the western coast of South America.

In the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, at the time the Jews were carried away captive into Babylon, another remnant were brought out of Jerusalem; some of whom were descendants of Judah. They landed in North America; soon after which they emigrated into the northern parts of South America, at which place they were discovered by the remnant of Joseph, something like four hundred years after. . . .

The persecuted nation [of the Nephites] emigrated towards the northern parts of South America, leaving the wicked nation [of Lamanites] in possession of the middle and southern parts of the same. . . . And the Lord gave unto them the whole continent, for a land of promise . . . tens of thousands were very frequently slain, after which they were piled together in great heaps upon the face of the ground, and covered with a shallow covering of earth, which will satisfactorily account for those ancient mounds, filled with human bones, so numerous at the present day, both in North and South America. . . .

And in process of time, the Nephites began to build ships near the Isthmus of Darien, and launch them forth into the western ocean, in which great numbers sailed a great distance to the northward, and began to colonize North America. Other colonies emigrated by land, and in a few centuries the whole continent became peopled. North America, at that time, was almost entirely destitute of timber, it having been cut off by the more ancient race, who came from the great tower, at the confusion of languages; but the Nephites became very skilful in building houses of cement; also, much timber was carried by the way of shipping from South to North America. . . .

After Jesus had finished ministering unto them . . . The Nephites and Lamanites were all converted unto the Lord, both in South and North America; and they dwelt in righteousness above three hundred years

. . .

A great and terrible war commenced between them, which lasted for many years, and resulted in the complete overthrow and destruction of the Nephites. This war commenced at the Isthmus of Darien, and was very destructive to both nations for many years. At length, the Nephites were driven before their enemies, a great distance to the north, and north-east; and having gathered their whole nation together, both men, women, and children, they encamped on, and round about the hill Cumorah, where the records were found, which is in the State of New York, about two hundred miles west of the city of Albany. . . .

Mormon . . . hid up in the hill Cumorah, all the sacred records of his forefathers which were in his possession, except the abridgment called the "Book of Mormon," which he gave to his son Moroni to finish. . . . He continued the history until . . . he hid up the records in the hill Cumorah, where they remained concealed, until by the ministry of an angel they were discovered to Mr. Smith . . .

Note* This tract would be part of a book published by Orson Pratt in England in 1851--see the 1851 notation.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* See also Dale Broadhurst, "Book of Mormon Geography: Early Interpretations," <http://Home1.gte.net/dbroadhu/rest/splinks.htm>, p. 3.

Note* Since Orson Pratt was to become a prolific writer and editorial force in the Church during the decades following 1840, it would be good here to review how he might have obtained his knowledge, especially as it might pertain to Book of Mormon geography. In an article entitled "Defender of the Faith," Milton V. Backman, Jr. has this to say about Brother Pratt:

Immediately after learning about the restoration from his brother Parley, and believing that the doctrines and powers of the restored Church harmonized with that of New Testament Christianity, he united with the Latter-day Saints. He was baptized by his brother on 19 September 1830, five months following the organization of the Church. On that memorable day, he celebrated his nineteenth birthday.^{xxxvii} A few weeks later, Orson traveled two hundred miles westward to meet Joseph Smith. He found the young prophet residing at the Peter Whitmer farmhouse in Fayette, New York. This meeting was the beginning of a close relationship between a modern Prophet and a devout disciple.^{xxxviii} . . .

Although Elder Pratt spent most of his early years as a Latter-day Saint in the mission field, when he was not serving as an itinerant preacher he usually lived near the home of Joseph Smith. In February 1831, for example, he moved to Kirtland, where he resided near the Prophet's home until the summer of that year. In December 1831, he traveled to Hiram, Ohio, where he was instructed by the Prophet. . . . In February, March, September, and October 1833 (between missions to New England), he boarded in the home of the Prophet. In that year, Joseph and his family lived in a small apartment which had been built on the second floor of the Newel K. Whitney and company store.^{xxxix} . . .

During his first boarding experience with Joseph Smith, he attended the School of the Prophets.

Commenting on that experience, he said he received at that time "much good instruction."^{xl}

Orson Pratt had many other close contacts with Joseph Smith during the mid-1830s. On 26 April 1834, he copied revelations for the Prophet. In May and June of that year, he traveled almost nine hundred miles between northeastern Ohio and the Missouri frontier with Joseph Smith and other members of Zion's Camp. . . .

Although his call to the apostleship led to repeated service in the mission field, his contacts with the Prophet continued. Early in 1836 he not only attended school in the Kirtland Temple and studied Hebrew with Joseph Smith, but also received in that House of the Lord a special endowment, a gift of knowledge and power that prepared him to be a more effective ambassador of the Lord.^{xli}

Following the exodus of the Saints from Kirtland and the expulsion of Latter-day Saints from Missouri, Elder Pratt met Joseph Smith on 21 December 1839, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. On that occasion, Orson was enroute to the British Isles. . . . Before sailing for England, Orson Pratt probably was taught many doctrines of the kingdom that had not previously been emphasized by the Prophet. . . [on] 9

March 1849, . . . Orson Pratt began the first of sixteen crossings of the Atlantic. . . . While serving nine months as a missionary in Edinburgh, Scotland, Orson Pratt published his first missionary tract.^{xliii} This thirty-one page pamphlet, printed in September 1840, was entitled *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the late Discovery of Ancient American Records*. . . . After securing a copy of this work, Elder Orson Hyde, another apostle who was a close associate of Joseph Smith, verified the accuracy of this publication by translating it (with only few modifications) into German.^{xliii} [Milton V. Backman, Jr., "Defender of the Faith," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History*, Provo: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1992, pp. 34-38]

1840^ John Young "A Vision of John Young," abt. 1840, Manuscript, Special Collections, Harold
 (Cave Story) B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

In an account of a dream or "vision" which he had concerning his preserving a testimony of the Book of Mormon, John Young related that he was accompanied by a guide:

We arrived at a cave in the side of a hill, into which we entered . . . [My] guide went to a corner in the room, where lay a large chest, and opened it[;] there, said he, is the Plates . . . My guide handled the Plates of fine Gold . . . [A]fter We examined them, he said We could depart. As we were leaving the cave, he gave me the Box containing the Plates, and told me to preserve them.

1840^ Oliver Cowdery "Rise of the Church," *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 2 No. 4, Nauvoo,
 Illinois, December 15, 1840

"He [Moroni] then proceeded and gave a general account of the promises made to the fathers and also gave a history of *the aborigines of this country*, and said *they were literal descendants of Abraham*. He represented them as once being an enlightened and intelligent people, possessing a correct knowledge of the gospel, and the plan of restoration and redemption."

Note* The first number of the first volume of the *Times and Seasons* was printed in November, 1839. On page 16 it is stated: The *Times and Seasons* is printed and published every month at Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois, by Ebenezer Robinson and Don Carlos Smith." This periodical consisted of six volumes, each volume covering approximately one year, from 1839 to 1846. In the *Times and Seasons* for Tuesday, February 15, 1842, is printed a statement by Ebenezer Robinson relinquishing his editorial responsibility for the periodical, and announcing that President Joseph Smith would be the new editor. The paper was discontinued shortly after January 1, 1846.

1841^ Benjamin Winchester "The Claims of the Book of Mormon Established--It Also Defended," in *The Gospel Reflector* 1 (15 March 1841): pp. 105-23.

The author defends the belief that the American Indian belonged to the house of Israel. In comparing the "History of the Ancients of America, and Also of the Book of Mormon," he writes:

The Book of Mormon was found in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, in Ontario country, New York. . . . This deposit was made about the year four hundred and twenty, on a hill then called Cumora, now in Ontario County, where it was preserved in safety, until it was brought to light . . . [p. 105]

Six hundred years B.C. according to the Book of Mormon, Lehi . . . fled into the wilderness. He pitched his tent in the wilderness near the Red Sea After a long and tedious journey, they came to the great waters, or the Ocean. . . . They set sail, and in proper time landed as we infer from their records somewhere on the western coast of South America. . . .

The Nephites tilled the land, built cities, and erected temples for places of worship; but the Lamanites lived a more indolent life; although, in some instances they built cities. . . . They [the Nephites] had long and tedious wars with the Lamanites, and were often driven before them. They were constantly

emigrating to the North. At length they commenced settlements in the region of country, not far from the Isthmus of Darien, and while in those parts they advanced farther in science and arts, than at any time previous. . . .
. . . in consequence of their wars, and their flight to the North, to escape the Lamanites, [Mormon] did not live to finish this work. . . . Moroni finished compiling and abridging the records of his fathers . . . [pp. 124-125]

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1841[^] Oliver Cowdery Times and Seasons, vol. 2, 1841

(These are reprints of Oliver Cowdery's letters I-VIII to W. W. Phelps printed in the 1835 *Messenger and Advocate*--see notation)

1841 William Smith James Murdock to Congregational Observer, 19 June 1841, "The Mormons and Their Prophet," *Congregational Observer* (Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut) 2 (3 July 1841): 1. Reprinted in *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer* (Peoria, Illinois), 3 September 1841.

Dan Vogel notes that James Murdock was a graduate of Yale, had pastored a congregation in Prenceton, Massachusetts, from 1802-1805, had become a professor of ancient languages at the University of Vermont, and then had become a professor of sacred rhetoric and ecclesiastical history at Andover Theological Seminary from 1819-28. Vogel writes:

James Murdock interviewed William Smith aboard an Ohio River boat on 18 April 1841. At the time of the interview William was a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles . . . Murdock claims that his interview was corrected by Smith. However, several obvious errors may be the result of Murdock's later "enlargement to render it more intelligible." William was young when many of the events he described took place, and he is known to be inaccurate in other sources when describing early Smith family history.

In this interview Murdock relates the following information as coming from William Smith:
. . . After this, he [Joseph Smith] had other similar visions, in one of which the existence of certain metallic plates was revealed to him and their location described--about three miles off, in a pasture ground. The next day he went alone to the spot, and by digging discovered the plates in a sort of rude stone box. . . . He kept the plates a long time in his chamber, and after translating from them, he repeatedly showed them to his parents and to other friends. But my informant [William Smith] said he had never seen them. At length he [Joseph Smith] was directed by a vision to bury the plates again in the same manner; which he accordingly did.

Note* For a list of all notations related to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings. See the Cave Story notations for 1829, 1884. If Joseph buried the plates "in the same manner" as how and where he found them, then the plates would be buried in a cement box in a hill, not deposited in a cave. One has to wonder if William Smith was aware of the Cave Story at this point in time.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 1, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996, pp. 477-480. See also H. Michael Marquardt & Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record*, Salt Lake City: Smith Research Associates, 1998, pp. 105, 114.

1841[^] **(non-LDS)** **"Origin of the Mormons,"** *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer*, vol. V, No. 23, Peoria, Illinois, September 3, 1841

See the 1841 William Smith notation.

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1841^ Willard Richards "Willard Richards Diary, [Dec. 26, 1836] 1837 - May 31, 1843,
entry for July 22, 1841.

July 22, 1841:

22 1/2 PM. 1/4 5 ascended the Summit of Ramah Cumorah Blessed & ate some cake cheese & Dried beef--Knelt before the Lord in thanksgiving & Prayer 5.25 read Cowdery description of Cumorah &c - 5 - 6 read destruction of Lamonites [sic]. Nephites & Jaredites in book of Mormon Searched for cave 18 or 20 trees 15 rod Set Compass hill N. & S. Telescopr -- all around excavation on the north point of the Hill at top level 2 miles west 1/2 mile East 1/2 mi North --6 1/2 Left the Hill arrived at Palmyra 8.-

Source: ^From the files of H. Michael Marquardt (Box 15, folder 2), he having obtained this typed copy from the Leonard J. Arrington Historical Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah. The original is in the LDS archives.

Note* Although not clearly specified, the reference "searched for cave" might be related to the Cave Story. If so, this would be the earliest verification of that story.

Note* For a list of all notations related to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1841^ Charles W. Wandell "Communications," *Times and Seasons*, September, 1841,

Ken Godfrey writes in a 1989 article that the September 15, 1841 issue of *Times and Seasons* carried an article in which Charles W. Wandell noted that a Professor Rafinesque had written some articles regarding writing found in the ruins of a stone city in Mexico, and that this writing ran from top to bottom like Chinese, and from side to side like Egyptian. Wandell argued that these were further proofs of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Godfrey concludes that articles such as these would seem to indicate that the early Saints had no concept that Book of Mormon history should be limited to a small area on the American continent.

Source: ^Ken Godfrey, "Joseph Smith, The Hill Cumorah, and Book of Mormon Geography: A Historical Study, 1823-1844")

Note* Excerpts from the Wandell article are found in the External Evidences section of my project.

1841^ Charles B. Thompson *Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon Being a Divinely Inspired Record*, Batavia, NY: D. D. Waite, 1841, p. 93, 50.

He writes:

Again, this is the nation who built the city of Otelem [Palenque], the ruins of which have been found in Central America, of no less dimensions than seventy-five miles in circuit--length thirty-two, and breadth

twelve miles--a description of which I have given in a former part of this work. The following is the account of the building of that city, by this wealthy nation, contained in the record of Ether Book of Mormon, page 590, second edition: "And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land. And they did preserve the land southward for a wilderness to get game.--And the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants; and they were exceeding industrious . . . [p. 93]

Ruins of the city of Otolom [Palenque], discovered in central America, extracted from American antiquities, by Joseph Priest, page 241: The ruins of this city were surveyed by Capt. Del Rio in 1787, an account of which was published in English in 1822. [p. 50]

The foregoing is but a few of the corresponding accounts of fortifications and work's of defence there are to be found in the Book of Mormon and American Antiquities, but these are sufficient to show to the public that the people whose history is contained in the Book of Mormon, are the authors of these works. But again; as we trace the history of this people down through succeeding generations, we find that one Gadianton, a robber, rose up and organized a band to rob and plunder. These robbers prepared strong holds and secret places in the mountains, to which they could flee, and be secure when the armies of the Nephites pursued them. Some of these strong holds and secret places were discovered in 1832--two years after the Book of Mormon was published--by a Mr. Furguson, and communicated to the editor of the Christian Advocate and Journal. This account is recorded on page 169 of the American Antiquities. Mr. Furguson discribes [sic] this discovery as follows:

On a mountain called the Lookout Mountain, belonging to the vast Allegany chain, running between the Tennessee and Coos rivers, rising about one thousand feet above the level of the surrounding valley. . . . On the top of this are the remains of what is esteemed fortifications. . . . The only descent from this place is between two rocks, for about thirty feet . . . This bench is the only road or path up from the water's edge to the summit. . . .

Mr. Furguson thinks them to have been constructed during some dreadful war, and those who constructed them, to have acted on the defensive; and believes that twenty men could have withstood the whole army of Xerxes, as it was impossible for more than one to pass at a time, and might by the slightest push, be hurled at least an hundred and fifty feet down the rocks.

Book of Mormon, page 479, 2d. Ed. . . . the Gadianton robbers, who dwelt upon the Mountains, who did infest the land; for so strong were their holds and their secret places, that the people could not overpower them . . . [pp. 102-104]

1841[^] Joseph Smith, Jr. Letter to John Bernhisel 16 November 1841
Printed in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, Dean C. Jessee, ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), p. 502.

On September 8, 1841, a Pennsylvania born physician who had joined the Church in 1837 and was now serving as Bishop of the Eastern States, John M. Bernhisel, wrote Joseph Smith a letter in which he informed him that he was sending him a "copy of Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*. In a letter the prophet thanks the donor and observes of the book:

Dear Sir

I received your kind present by the hand of E. Woodruff & feel myself under many obligations for this mark of your esteem & friendship which to me is the more interesting as it unfolds & developes [sic] many things that are of great importance to this gen=eration & corresponds with & supports the testimony of the Book of Mormon; I have read the volumes with the greatest interest & pleasure & must say that of all histories that had been written pertaining to the antiquities of this country it is the most correct, luminous & Comprehensive. . . . to me [it] is the more interesting as it unfolds & developes many things that are of great importance to this generation & corresponds with & supports the testimony of the Book of Mormon.

1841 The earliest known sketch of the New York hill where Joseph found the Plates is published

In a 1975 Masters Thesis, Rand Packer would have this to say:

Until [the Smith family moved to Palmyra] Cumorah had been just another hogback, lost among 250 others of similar appearance throughout the state.^{xliv} In 1823, however, this hill became important to young Joseph Smith, Jr. He records that in a vision he saw on the hill the hiding place of an ancient record and that after returning to the hill four years in succession he received the record at the hands of an angel named Moroni.

The physical appearance of the hill at this time is not entirely conclusive although the bulk of the evidence indicates that it was at least partially forested. The earliest picture of the hill is the following sketch published in 1841. The sketch indicates that tall trees were indigenous to the hill^{xlv} and that many had been cut down to provide farming land. . . .

[1841 **Illustration: The Hill Cumorah.** The earliest known artist's sketch of the Hill Cumorah, published in J. W. Barber and Henry Howe's *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1841). Also in Milton V. Backman's *Joseph Smith's First Vision* (1971), p. 13. Rand Hugh Packer, "History of Four Mormon Landmarks in Western New York: The Joseph Smith Farm, Hill Cumorah, The Martin Harris Farm, and the Peter Whitmer, Sr., Farm," Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University Department of Church History and Doctrine, August 1975, p. 19]

Source: ^Rand Hugh Packer, "History of Four Mormon Landmarks in Western New York: The Joseph Smith Farm, Hill Cumorah, The Martin Harris Farm, and the Peter Whitmer, Sr., Farm," Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University Department of Church History and Doctrine, August 1975, pp. 18-20

Richard Holzapfel and Cameron Packer write:

Non-Mormons John Warner Barber and Henry Howe gave to the public the first visual representation of Cumorah when they published their *Historical Collections of the State of New York*^{xlvi} in 1841. Barber and Howe traveled throughout New York State gathering material for their book, traversing thousands of miles (hundreds of it on foot).

The 230 illustrations that make this historical record so distinctive were prepared from original "drawings taken on the spot by the compilers of the work, whose principal object "was to give faithful representation, rather than picturesque views, or beautiful specimens of art."

[1841 **"The Mormon Hill," 1841; north slope, looking south.** The lengthy caption, printed below the woodcut reads: "The above is a northern view of the Mormon Hill in the town of Manchester, about 3 miles in a southern direction from Palmyra. It is about 140 feet in height and is a specimen of the form of numerous elevations in this section of the state. It derives its name from being the spot (if we are to credit the testimony of Joseph Smith) where the plates containing the Book of Mormon were found." John W. Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York: Containing a General Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc. Relating to Its History and Antiquities, with Geographical Descriptions of Every Township in the State.* New York: John W. Barber and Henry Howe by S. Tuttle, 1841 Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 8.]

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 8.

Note* The hill in this sketch was referred to as "Mormon Hill" and not "Cumorah." However, most all Church members had vacated the Palmyra area and so information about the hill would have come from non-LDS residents of the area.

1842[^] Editor? "Evidences in Proof of the Book of Mormon," *Times and Seasons*
vol. 3 no. 5, 1 Jan. 1842, pp. 640-644.

There is a book review in the *Times and Seasons* of Charles Blancher Thompson's book, *Evidence in*

Proof of the Book of Mormon, printed in Batavia, New York, in 1841. Concerning mention of antiquities of the eastern United States in the book, the reviewer states: "the people whose history is contained in the Book of Mormon, are the authors of these works."

1842^ Joseph Smith, Jr. "Church History." *The Times and Seasons* vol. 3 no. 9 (1 March 1842), pp. 707-8
History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 4:537-8

Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1932-51

. . . I was also informed concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and shown who they were, from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people was made known unto me: I was also told where there was deposited some plates on which were engraven an abridgement of the records of the ancient prophets that had existed on this continent. . . . Through the medium of the Urim and Thummim I translated the record by the gift, and power of God. In this important and interesting book the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement . . . to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that *America in ancient times has been inhabited by two distinct races of people*. . . . The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. *The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country.*

1842^ Joseph Smith, Jr. "The Articles of Faith," Number 8, originally part of the March 1, 1842 "Wentworth Letter," as recorded in *History of the Church*, Vol. 4, pp. 535-541, and now part of the *Pearl of Great Price*

In the early part of 1842, the editor of the Chicago Democrat, John Wentworth, traveled to Nauvoo and obtained an interview with the Prophet Joseph Smith. Among other things, he desired that Joseph write a statement concerning the beliefs of the Church. Subsequently, as recorded in the *History of the Church*, vol. 4, pp. 535-541 for March 1, 1842, Joseph wrote the Thirteen Articles of Faith. These are now part of the *Pearl of Great Price*, which became canonized scripture to the members of the Church when they accepted it by vote at the October 10, 1880, General Conference. Article of Faith #8 states the following:

"We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God."

In a paper read at the Thirtieth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures held at BYU on September 26, 1981, Ross T. Christensen would say the following:

For many years, questions about the official position of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with regard to the geography of the Book of Mormon have been asked. As far as I know, the LDS church has never taken any *official* position with regard to such matters. The only official position I know anything about is set forth in the eighth Article of Faith: "We believe . . . the Book of Mormon to be the word of God."

Source: ^Ross T. Christensen, "Geography in Book of Mormon Archaeology," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the S.E.H.A.*, Number 147, December 1981, Provo: The Society for Early Historic Archaeology, 147.0, p. 1.

Note* See the 1993 Watson notation.

1842^ Parley P. Pratt "Ruins in Central America," in *Millennial Star* 2, March 1842, pp. 161-165.

This article contains a book review from an American paper of Stephen's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*." Comments by the editor, Parley P. Pratt then follow:

We publish the foregoing for the purpose of giving our readers some ideas of the antiquities of the Nephites--of their ancient cities, temples, monuments, towers, fortification, and inscriptions now in ruin amid the solitude of an almost impenetrable forest; but fourteen hundred years since, in the days of Mormon, they were the abodes of thousands and millions of human beings, and the centre of civil and military operations unsurpassed in any age or country.

. . . It is a striking and extraordinary coincidence, that, in the Book of Mormon, commencing page 563, there is an account of many cities as existing among the Nephites on the "narrow neck of land which connected the north country with the south country;" and Mormon names a number of them, which were strongly fortified, and were the theatres of tremendous battles, and that finally the Nephites were destroyed or driven to the northward, from year to year, and their towns and country made most desolate, until the remnant became extinct on the memorable heights of Cumorah (now western New York),--I say it is remarkable that Mr. Smith, in translating the Book of Mormon from 1827 to 1830, should mention the names and circumstances of those towns and fortifications in this very section of country, where a Mr. Stephens, ten years afterwards, penetrated a dense forest, till then unexplored by modern travellers, and actually finds the ruins of those very cities mentioned by Mormon.

The nameless nation of which he speaks were the Nephites. . . .

The very cities whose ruins are in his estimation without a name, are called in the Book of Mormon, "Teancum, Boaz, Jordan, Desolation," &c.

Note* In 1848, Orson Pratt would also locate the city of Desolation "in Central America, near to or in Yucatan." (see notation)

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* In regards to the statement "till then unexplored by modern travellers," see the 1576 commentary on Diego Garcia de Palacio's visit to Copan. See also the 1669 mention of Copan by Antonio de Fuentes y Guzman. See also the 1834 report on Copan by Juan Galindo.

1842[^] John E. Page "To a Disciple," in The Morning Chronicle, vol. 1, no. 275, Pittsburgh, July 1, 1842,

. . . you asked me to tell you what the city of Moronihah stood on; whether "on the moon or which of the planets." Well, child, I will tell you; I am an instructor of such babies as you. The locality of the city was in some region on the South of what is called at this time, North America, and at the time our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified, near Jerusalem, in Asia. At that time there was a terrible destruction on this continent, because of the wickedness of the people, at which time those cities were destroyed. . . .

The other will tell the mournful story of Horonihah [Moronihah], Zarahemla, and others, to the amount of fourteen cities named in the book of Mormon on the 259-480 pages. And how was you destroyed? was the inquiry of those efficient antiquarians Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens, as they sit on **the wondrous walls of "Copan,"** situated near the western extremity of the Bay of Honduras, in the narrowest neck of land between the waters of the Atlantic ocean and the Pacific ocean, **the very great city, on the narrow neck of land between the two seas.** Read book of Mormon, 3d edition, page 549. Let the reader observe that the book of Mormon was published A.D. 1830. The discovery of this city by Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens was in 1840. Read Stephens' travels in Central America, vol. i, page 130, 131, &c. Mr. Stephens states, "There is no account of these ruins until the visit of Col. Galindo in 1836, before referred to, who examined them under a commission from the Central American government." Question--If the book of Mormon is a fiction, no difference who wrote it, how did it happen to locate this city so nicely before it was known to exist till 1836 by any account that was extant in America, from which it could have been extracted? How was this city, with seven or eight others, which Mr. Stevens gives us an account of, destroyed? Read the book of Mormon, and that will tell the

story of their sad disasters . . .

Source: Xerox copy given to me by Matthew Roper, 1/30/2004.

Note* Apparently, Page equates the city of Lib with the ruins of Copan.

1842[^] John E. Page "To a Disciple," (concluded) in *The Morning Chronicle*, vol. 1, no. 290, Pittsburgh, July 20, 1842

Since the above was written, my eye caught a sentence in your article of Friday the first inst., in which you still continue to misrepresent the Book of Mormon. You say the Book of Mormon records it as a fact, that Jesus Christ was born in Jerusalem. I say positively it does not say in Jerusalem, it says "at Jerusalem," . . . Let it be distinctly understood that the Prophet Alma uttered this prophecy, not far from Guatimalla or Central America, some 82 years before the birth of Christ . . .

Source: Xerox copy given to me by Matthew Roper, 1/30/2004.

Note* It is hard to know just how far John Page was meaning when he said that Alma uttered his prophecy "not far from Guatimalla or Central America." Elder Page might have been referring to more than the modern country of Guatemala as we know it. Garth Norman writes the following:

Under Spanish rule the area from Chiapas, Mexico south to Panama was known as the Captaincy of Guatemala and was governed as one unit. When these areas gained their independence in 1821 they attempted several different forms dividing into the various modern countries we have today. This modern division took place after the prophet's death [1844]. When Joseph Smith comments that "Centrall America or Guatemala is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south" [see 1842 notation] he is referring to the old boundaries of the Captaincy of Guatemala prior to the 1821 change, not to the modern country. Garth Norman (<http://www.meridianmagazine.com/ideas/030930joseph.html>), 2004

If this was the case, then Guatemala (Central America) would indeed be "not far" from the land of Zarahemla situated in the Hemispheric theory in the country of Colombia just south ("not far") from Central America.

On the other hand, in 1848 (see notation) John Page (although excommunicated at the time) would propose that Lehi landed in Central America and that "the whole account of the history of the fore fathers of the American Indians, called Nephites, Lamanites and Zoramites, is confined to Central America entirely until the 394th page [Alma 63].

[1842 **Map: Captaincy of Guatemala** Garth Norman includes this map in his article in Meridian Magazine (<http://www.meridianmagazine.com/ideas/030930joseph.html>), 2004. In that article he gives credit for the map to Alexander Ganse (<http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/xcamerica.html>)]

1842[^] Joseph Smith D&C 128:19-21, September 6, 1842

[Note* In September 1842, the Prophet Joseph Smith was hiding from persecution in the house of a well-to-do member of the Church in Nauvoo named Edward Hunter. It was in these circumstances that the Prophet wrote a couple of epistles to the Church on baptism for the dead. Section 128 is the second epistle. In it, besides his words on baptism for the dead, Joseph chronicles the gospel Restoration (and thus the geographical movement of the Church from "Cumorah" to Nauvoo). He writes:

128:19 Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth; . . .

128:20 And again, what do we hear? Glad tidings from Cumorah! Moroni, an angel from heaven,

declaring the fulfilment of the prophets--the book to be revealed.

A voice of the Lord in the wilderness of Fayette, Seneca county, declaring the three witnesses to bear record of the book!

The voice of Michael on the banks of the Susquehanna, detecting the devil when he appeared as an angel of light.

The voice of Peter, James, and John in the wilderness between Harmony, Susquehanna county, and Colesville, Broome county, on the Susquehanna river, declaring themselves as possessing the keys of the kingdom, and of the dispensation of the fulness of times!

128:21 And again, the voice of God in the chamber of old Father Whitmer, in Fayette, Seneca county, and at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church orf Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints!

And the voice of Michael, the archangel; the voice of Gabriel, and of Raphael, and of divers angels, from Michael or Adam down to the present time, all declaring their dispensation, their rights, their keys, their honors, their majesty and glory, and the power of their priesthood; giving line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little, and there a little; giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope. . .

[Note* The full impact of these verses comes when read in context. They represent a chronological & geographical progression of the gospel being revealed in the early Church (or as Joseph writes, "the voice of God . . . at sundry times, and in divers places through all the travels and tribulations of this Church"). Joseph's words here confirm that, according to him, the Hill Cumorah was located in Palmyra, New York. Coming as late as this writing does, it also contradicts the idea that the comments in the *Times and Seasons* on the articles of John Lloyd Stephens imply a limited Mesoamerican geographical mindset.]

[Note* According to Rex C. Reeve, Jr. and Richard O. Cowan, it represents the first and only known mention of the New York hill as "Cumorah" by Joseph Smith himself. With the exception of the above quote, all other references implying that Joseph referred to the New York hill as "Cumorah" appear to have "been added by later editors or are being quoted from another individual." ("The Hill Called Cumorah," *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History*, New York (1992), p. 73.)^{xlvii]}

[Note* What Reeve and Cowan do not say is that there are multiple early notations regarding the Hill Cumorah being in New York, including an official history of the Church by Oliver Cowdery. Additionally, Joseph Smith hardly ever wrote things down himself, he had multiple scribes, or close associates who recorded his sayings. So saying that Joseph "never personally wrote" something is not a strong argument.]

[Note* For a complete list of instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings. See also the W. W. Phelps notation for November, 1835 in which the phrase "glad tidings" are associated with the Hill Cumorah.]

[Note* According to John L. Sorenson, "It is clear that by the date of this revelation [Section 128] , Joseph Smith, and seemingly his readers generally, commonly recognized the term Cumorah to refer to the hill in New York." (*The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book*, Revised ed. Provo: FARMS, 1992, p. 374)]

1842^ John Taylor or J.S. "Extract," *The Times and Seasons*, vol. 3 no. 22 September 15, 1842, p. 914.

This is an extract of details regarding the ruins of Palenque found in John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, and following that an editorial review. While Joseph Smith at the commencement of his career as editor of *The Times and Seasons* that "I alone stand responsible for it," the actual managing editor was John Taylor. Just prior to the publication of these articles in the fall of 1842, the Prophet had assumed editorial responsibility for the *Times an Seasons*. The following is part of the editorial review:

The foregoing extract has been made to assist the Latter-Day Saints, in establishing the Book of Mormon as a revelation from God. It affords great joy to have the world assist us to so much proof, that

even the most credulous cannot doubt. We are sorry that we could not afford the expense to give the necessary outs referred to in the original.

Let us turn our subject, however, to the Book of Mormon where these wonderful ruins of Palenque are among the mighty works of the Nephites:--and the mystery is solved.

On the 72d page of the third and fourth edition of the Book of Mormon it reads as follows:

And it came to pass that we began to prosper exceedingly, and to multiply in the land. And I, Nephi . . . did teach my people, to build buildings: and to work in all manner of wood, and of iron, and of copper, and of brass, and of steel, and of gold, and of silver, and of precious ores, which were in great abundance. And I, Nephi, did build a temple; and I did construct it after the manner of the temple of Solomon, save it were not built of so many precious things . . .

And on page 280-1 [Alma 22:30-32] is a full description of the Isthmus.

Mr. Stephens' great developments of antiquities are made bare to the eyes of all the people by reading the history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon. They lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found. . . . Read the destruction of cities at the crucifixion of Christ, pages 459-60. Who could have dreamed that twelve years could have developed such incontrovertible testimony to the Book of Mormon? Surely the Lord worketh and none can hinder.

Note* It is very difficult to decide what, exactly, is implied here. The 72nd page quote is referring to the Nephites in the city and land of Nephi. The land of Nephi was in the land southward. If the quote implies that the ruins of Palenque (in Central America) could be where the city of Nephi was located, then this negates a full Hemispheric model. On the other hand, if the 72nd page quote just refers to the skills required to build the buildings and temples of Palenque, then no geography need be implied. If the Nephites "lived about the narrow neck of land," and if this includes the land of Nephi, then this could imply a limited Hemispheric model. However, if this quote implies that the Nephites "lived about the narrow neck of land" after the Nephite migrations northward from the land of Zarahemla, then a Hemispheric theory could still be applied.

1842^ John Taylor or J.S. "Facts Are Stubborn Things," *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3 No. 22
September 15, 1842, pp. 921-22

This is an editorial by either John Taylor or Joseph Smith (see note below). It reads as follows:

When we read in the Book of Mormon that Jared and his brother came on to this continent from the confusion and scattering at the Tower, and lived here more than a thousand years, and covered the whole continent from sea to sea, with towns and cities; and that Lehi went down by the Red Sea to the great Southern Ocean, and crossed over to this land and *landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien*, and improved the country according to the word of the Lord, as a branch of the house of Israel, and then read such a goodly traditionary account, as the one below, we can not but think the Lord has a hand in bringing to pass his strange act, and of proving the Book of Mormon true in the eyes of all the people. The extract below, comes as near the real fact as the four Evangelists do to the crucifixion of Jesus. Surely "facts are stubborn things." It will be as it ever has been the world will prove Joseph Smith a true prophet by circumstantial evidence, *in experiments*, as they did Moses and Elijah. Now read Stephens' story:

According to Fuentes, the chronicler of the kingdom of Guatemala, the kings of Quiche and Cachiuel were descended from the Toltecan Indians, who, when they came into this country, *found it already inhabited by people of different nations*. According to the manuscripts of Don Juan Torres, the grandson of the last king of the Quiches, which was in the possession of the lieutenant general appointed by Pedro de Alvarado, and which Fuentes says he obtained by means of Father Francis Vasques, the historian of the order of San Francis, *the Toltecas themselves descended from the house of Israel*, who were released by Moses from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and after crossing the Red Sea, fell into Idolatry. To avoid the reproofs of Moses or from fear of his inflicting upon them some chastisement, they separated from him and his brethren, and under the guidance of Tanub, their chief, passed from one continent to the other, to a place which they called the seven caverns, a part of the kingdom of Mexico, where they

founded the celebrated city of Tula.

Note* This editorial is important for a number of reasons. (1) The first is because, for the first time, an idea is introduced that implies that Lehi might have landed somewhere except Chile. If the phrase "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" is not just a case of bad geographical description on the part of the editor, which it very well could be, then Lehi would have landed somewhere in what is now either Colombia, Ecuador, or Peru. The statement that Lehi "landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" (Panama) could also be implied in an article entitled "Zarahemla" which appeared in the Oct 1, 1842 issue of *The Times and Seasons*. In that article the idea was put forth that the city of Zarahemla was near the ruins of Quirigua in Guatemala, and that "Central America, or Guatemala is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south." Thus a landing site "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" would not only be plausible in this situation, but imply a limited Hemispheric model. Strangely, however, this location for Lehi's landing (as well as the location for Zarahemla in Guatemala) seems to disappear for decades (if not forever) from Church authorities' statements while a Hemispheric model would be upheld. Interestingly, in 1875 George Ottinger would write an article published in a Church magazine stating that Lehi landed "near the present city of Lima in Peru."--see notation (2) The statement is made that "the world will prove Joseph Smith a true prophet by circumstantial evidence, *in experiments*." If such is the case, then this makes a case for the importance and value of "experimental" Book of Mormon geographical theories with their accompanying "evidence." (3) If the ancestors of the Toltecas, who descended from the house of Israel, separated from Moses in the times of Moses, then chronologically they would have started their migration to the Americas some time between the migration of the Jaredites and the migration of Lehi. Such a migration is not detailed in the Book of Mormon, however in 2 Nephi 1:6 we find that in the prophecies of Lehi concerning the Promised Land he declares "that there shall none come into this land save they shall be brought by the hand of the Lord." Thus we have acknowledgement that other groups might have arrived in the Americas during the times of the Book of Mormon. (4) It is a very interesting coincidence that there is also a legend had among the people of Arabia concerning Jews who might have settled in that country. (see the 1842 notation in *geog.leh* (Lehi's Travels) for a discussion. (5) The phrase, "the Toltecan Indians, who, when they came into this country, *found it already inhabited by people of different nations*" is important only in relationship to the time that they arrived in "this country," and the definition of "this country." These items are not specifically clarified. (However see the Don Domingo Juarros notation for 1823)

Note* It has always seemed odd to me that while these "new" ideas about Lehi's landing "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" and the location of Zarahemla being "near Quirigua" were circulated in the Fall of 1842, they apparently fell on deaf ears. By the 1850's, Orson Pratt was emerging as the main authority on Book of Mormon geography, yet he never mentioned the ideas printed in these *Times & Seasons* articles. He steadfastly held to the idea that Lehi landed in Chile, and that Zarahemla was in Colombia on the river Magdalena (Sidon).

Interestingly, Matt Roper has implied that perhaps Orson Pratt was ignorant of these ideas. In a 2004 article, Matt Roper would write:

Why, though, does Pratt seem to be unaware of or uninfluenced by the articles published in Nauvoo in late 1842? From the summer of 1842 until early 1843, Pratt was not actively involved in the leadership of the church and was even excommunicated for a period of several months. By 1843, Pratt had returned to full fellowship and his apostolic calling, but he may have been unaware of the discussion of Book of Mormon geography in the church paper at the time. (Matt Roper, "Geography and the Book of Mormon: Historical Antecedents and Early Interpretations," in [Review of Books, Vol. _____, Provo, Utah: FARMS, p. _____, n. 70.](#)

In the Fall of 1842 it seems Orson was brought nearly to insanity because of conflicting rumors about his wife Sarah. Orson Pratt had been told that Joseph Smith desired Orson's wife as his own plural wife and that John C. Bennett was accused of having committed adultery with his wife. Both men denied these charges, however under these circumstances, Orson's mind and spirit were thrown into confusion. Almost overnight he became a rebel, refusing to sustain action by Joseph or the Twelve, or believe their explanations. Orson was excommunicated on August 20, 1842. Orson was buffeted by the ideas of anti-Mormons and apostates, but finally reached a turning point when he realized the extent of their plans of destruction against the Mormons in

general and against Joseph in particular. On January 20, 1843, Joseph called for a special council of the Twelve to announce that Orson "had confessed his sins and manifested deep repentance." That afternoon both Orson and his wife Sarah were rebaptized, even though his wife Sarah had never been excommunicated. (see Breck England, "The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt," University of Utah Press, 1985, pp. 77-79). Thus, the time period from August 1842 until January, 1843 could have been a void in Orson Pratt's mind in regard to LDS matters dealing with Book of Mormon geography. (Communication from Matt-Roper, along with article, 3/06/2004).

In evaluating Roper's comments one might consider an article written about Orson Pratt by Gary James Bergera ("The 1875 Realignment of Orson Pratt," in *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 18, no. 1, Spring 1992, pp. 34-35). He writes :

While Pratt apparently acceded to his punishment, not functioning actively in his office, he seems not to have considered himself cut off from the Church, in a strict sense. Not quite two weeks later [September 2, 1842], he responded to public allegations that he had left Nauvoo and Mormonism by publishing this statement in *The Wasp*. . . . [see note* below]

On 1 October 1842, again in response to Bennett's allegations that Pratt and Sarah were preparing to leave Mormonism, Orson published a second, more emphatic statement: "We intend to make NAUVOO OUR RESIDENCE, AND MORMONISM OUR MOTTO. (Mr. Editor," *The Wasp*, 1 October 1842, [2])

Note* Aside from many of the early doctrine-oriented periodicals, the communities of the Church produced several papers that were, more or less, secular journals. Important among these were the *Wasp*, published weekly in Nauvoo from April 1842 until April 1843. (Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History-1)

Additionally, Orson Pratt and John Taylor would serve 40 years together in the Quorum of the Twelve. During this time Orson Pratt would make multiple references to the Hemispheric Theory (1840, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1876, 1877) before the death of Brigham Young in 1877. At this time John Taylor was sustained as President of the Twelve. Taylor was President when Orson Pratt made further Hemispheric remarks in 1878, and in 1879 when Orson Pratt's Hemispheric footnotes were included in a new edition of the Book of Mormon. During the same time period and up until the death of Orson Pratt in 1879 I find only two remarks by John Taylor reflecting Book of Mormon geography (see 1844, 1845) and neither of them would counter Pratt's ideas.

Note* Many people have debated as to whether or not Joseph Smith was actively involved in the editing process of *The Times and Seasons*, or whether it was John Taylor to whom they might attribute the above comments regarding Book of Mormon geography. For example, Jonn D. Claybaugh makes an argument in support of the idea that Joseph Smith was in control. In his article, "Did the Prophet Joseph Smith Confine the Geography of the Book of Mormon to Mesoamerica? Does It Matter?" (date?)^, Claybaugh notes that in the earlier March 15 1842 edition of the *Times and Seasons*^, Joseph wrote the following: This paper commences my editorial career, I alone stand responsible for it, and shall do for all papers having my signature henceforward. I am not responsible for the publication, or arrangement of the former paper; the matter did not come under my supervision. JOSEPH SMITH (*Times and Seasons*, Volume 3, Number 9 [15 March 1842], page 710;

Claybaugh then lists the following issues which carry Joseph's signature as evidence that the information contained in these papers actually was edited by Joseph:

Times and Seasons, vol. 3, Number 22 [15 September 1842], pp. 914-15

Times and Seasons, Vol. 3, Number 23 [1 October 1842], p. 927.

Times and Seasons, Vol. 4, Number 22 [1 October 1843], pp. 346-47.

Joseph Fielding Smith, in his 1938 compilation of *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, p. 267), included the editorial comments from the 15 September, 1842 *Times and Seasons*, thus implying that Joseph Smith was the editor. Moreover, he did not include the editorial comments from the 1 September, 1842 *Times and Seasons*.

From a different perspective, we find the following about John Taylor's position in the writings of Francis

M. Gibbons (*John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God*^{xlviii}):

. . . more important to Elder Taylor's editing and writing career, the Prophet began to ease him into key positions on the Church publications, the *Times and Seasons* and the *Wasp*. The *Times and Seasons* had been edited by Joseph's brother Don Carlos Smith until his death on August 7, 1841. Soon after, the Prophet became the editor of that publication, and Elder Taylor his assistant. However, because of Joseph's preoccupation with other weighty responsibilities, Elder Taylor was from the beginning of his connection with the *Times and Seasons* its chief editor in fact if not in name. And a year later, the formal title was conferred upon him. (pp. 48-49)

Moreover, Delbert Curtis (*Christ in North America*, p. 18) takes exception to the view that Joseph Smith had a hand in either of these volumes. He writes that John Taylor assumed the editorial chair of the *Times and Seasons* at the end of 1841 and conducted the publication until the final issue in February 15, 1846. He says that on August 8, 1842, Joseph Smith and Orrin Porter Rockwell were taken into custody on an extradition order issued by the Governor of Illinois for the Governor of Missouri. Joseph and Orrin were released on a writ of "habeas corpus" and went into hiding. Joseph Smith spent much of the next five months on an island in the Mississippi River, until he surrendered January 5, 1843. (*The Restored Church*, by William Edwin Berrett, Desert Book, 1961, pp. 218, 224-225). He notes that it was during this time, while Joseph was in hiding, that the excerpts about the geography of the Book of Mormon were put in the *Times and Seasons*.

Thus we see that people on both sides of the issue have good points to make. However, as far as I am concerned, they both seem to miss the most important point. For regardless of who it was that was responsible for the content of these issues of *The Times and Seasons*, the fact that anyone felt free to print the statement that Lehi "landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" (assuming again that this is not just bad geographical understanding or language) implies that there had been no official revelation on the matter. This in turn implies that the previous statements regarding Lehi's Travels (i. e. that Lehi landed "in Chili") apparently were not considered official revelations but opinions (even though they might have been inspired opinions).

In regards to the infallibility of early statements about Book of Mormon geography by leaders of the Church, one should keep in mind the following journal entry for Joseph Smith of February 8, 1843:

Wednesday, 8.--This morning, I read German, and visited with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that "a prophet is always a prophet;" but I told them that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such. (*History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Vol. V, S.L.C.: Deseret Book, Reprint 1967, p. 265.)[^]

In April of 1843, Joseph would be reported to say, "I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. . . . It does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine." (Ibid., p. 340)

Note* Brent Metcalfe has some additional evidence that John Taylor was the writer of this editorial (telephone conversation 2.20/04)

Note* Garth Norman has written an unpublished paper in which he reports on the results of wordprint analysis by John Hilton designed to determine who the author was in these editorials. (telephone conversation 2/27/04)

1842[^] John Taylor or J.S

"Zarahemla," *The Times and Seasons*, Vol. 3 No. 23 1 October 1842, p. 927

This is an editorial comment on John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America*. While Joseph Smith at the commencement of his career as editor of *The Times and Seasons* that "I alone stand responsible for it," the actual managing editor was John Taylor. The following appears:

Zarahemla. Since our 'Extract' was published from Mr. Stephens' "Incidents of Travel," &c., we have found another important fact relating to the truth of the Book of Mormon. Central America, or *Guatemala [sic]* is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south--The city of *Zarahemla*, burnt at the crucifixion of the Savior, and rebuilt afterwards, stood upon this land as will be seen from the following words in the book of Alma:

And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla was nearly surrounded by water: there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward [See Book of Mormon 3d edition, page 280-81 (Alma 22:32)].

It is certainly a good thing for the excellency and veracity, of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, that the ruins of Zarahemla have been found where the Nephites left them: and that a large stone with engravings upon it, as Mosiah said; and a 'large round stone, with sides sculptured in hieroglyphics,' as Mr. Stephens has published, is also among the left remembrances of the, (to him,) lost and unknown. We are not agoing [sic] to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but when the land and the stones and the books tell the story so plain, we are of the opinion, that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb, to prove that the ruins of the city in question, are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon. . . .

It will not be a bad plan to compare Mr. Stephens' ruined cities with those of the Book of Mormon: light cleaves to light, and facts are supported by facts. The truth injures no one, and so we make another Extract . . . [what follows is a page of material from Stephens' book]

Note* It is interesting that in this article, Alma 22:32 is used to associate the Isthmus of Darien (Panama) with the "small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward." Furthermore, because of this same verse, "Guatimala" is associated with the city of Zarahemla. Now when the full text of the Book of Mormon is analyzed, it becomes apparent that Zarahemla was located in the land southward, or SOUTH of the small neck of land. So if the proposed site of Zarahemla here is said to be "Guatimala," and Guatemala is actually north of Panama (the proposed "small neck of land"), what this article is implying is that either John Taylor had no concept of the internal Book of Mormon geography, or that the concept of Book of Mormon geography was moving away from the hemispheric theory (Land Northward = North America / Small Neck of Land = Panama / Land Southward = South America). This change in concept has great importance in assessing authoritative geographical statements because it establishes that as of 1842, Book of Mormon geographical statements by Church leaders (at least John Taylor if not Joseph Smith) were a result of study and opinion rather than official revelation. This learning process is very apparent in the words "we have found another important fact," and "we are not agoing to declare positively." However that learning process is not necessarily an example of hard reasoning. Taylor is locating the major Book of Mormon city of Zarahemla simply on the findings of one ruined city with hieroglyphs on a stone. Furthermore, I am at a loss to explain how the scripture cited (Alma 22:32) can in any way establish the location of the city of Zarahemla in Guatemala unless, (1) Taylor felt that the narrow neck of land (Darien) separated the land northward (land of Zarahemla) from the land southward (land of Nephi); or (2) Taylor felt that perhaps the term Bountiful was another designation for the land southward, that Bountiful included the narrow neck of land, and that the city of Zarahemla was in the land Bountiful (land southward). Perhaps Taylor seems to have had very little understanding of Book of Mormon geography as a whole.

John Sorenson notes:

Whether the 1842 stir left behind it any permanent effect on the view of most Latter-day Saints is questionable. A generation later (1868) we find Orson Pratt with Bountiful and Zarahemla back in Colombia and once more he has Lehi landing in Chile. We lack documentation to know what was going on in the minds of the very few people who thought about these matters, and the membership of the Church at large likely never even realized that the geography was under discussion. In any case, the whole topic must have seemed abstruse and unimportant after the death of Joseph and especially from 1846 on when practical pioneering became the order of the day. (*The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: Source Book*, FARMS, 1990, Part 1. "A History of Ideas," p. 16)

Note* It should prove interesting that in 1842, John Taylor was 34 years old and an Apostle in the Church. From this time forward he continued to be a member of the Twelve and in 1880 would become President of the Church. Yet in all that time we have NO comments made by him that would corroborate the information stated in this article. In fact, there is only one recorded statement made by John Taylor that even comes close to discussing Book of Mormon geography. That statement was made in September of 1857 (see notation). Additionally it should be noted that in 1879, in the interim between Brigham Young's death (1877)

and John Taylor's confirmation as President of the Church (1880), Orson Pratt's notes reflecting a Hemispheric Model of Book of Mormon geography would be inserted in the new edition of the Book of Mormon. This hardly sounds like someone who was confident of the things said in this 1842 article.

Note* The next time we find any possible evidence that the ideas mentioned in these articles might have validity in the LDS Church is not until some recorded comments regarding a 1900 Brigham Young Academy Expedition to Central and South America (see the 1900 notation).

Dan Vogel writes the following:

Kenneth Godfrey, as Ostler notes, asserted that "the thinking of early church leaders regarding Book of Mormon geography was subject to modification, indicating that they themselves did not see the issue as settled." To support this point, Godfrey cited two 1842 editorials from the Times and Seasons, probably written by managing editor John Taylor, which linked John L. Stephens's discovery of Central American ruins with Book of Mormon cities (Kenneth Godfrey, "What is the Significance of Zelph?" Journal of Book of Mormon Studies 8/2 [1999]: 72. Cf. Times and Seasons 3 [1 October 1842]: 927-28). Because these editorials associated Zarahemla and Nephi with the ruins of Quirigua and Palenque, some apologists cited them as evidence that Taylor (and possibly Joseph Smith) "had come up with a different model of geography" that what had been previously assumed (John L. Sorenson, An Ancient American Setting For the Book of Mormon [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, UT: FARMS, 1985], 2-6; John L. Sorenson, The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book [Provo, UT: FARMS, 1992], 11-12). By placing two cities from the Book of Mormon's "land southward" in Central America, was he not excluding Panama as the "neck of land" and South America as the "land southward"? The situation is complex and deserves discussion given its frequent use by apologists.

What the apologists fail to note is that Taylor's geographic innovations were not inspired by a "careful reading of the Book of Mormon text," as Ostler asserts, but rather by apologetic concerns. Seven months before Taylor's first editorial, Parley P. Pratt noted Stephens's discoveries and linked the Central American ruins with the "many cities as existing among the Nephites on the 'narrow neck of land' . . . 'Teancum, Boaz, Jordan, Desolation,' &c." (Millennial Star, March 1842, 165; emphasis added). These cities are associated with Mormon's flight through the land northward toward Cumorah (Mormon 4-5), which is as one would expect from someone holding the view that South America was the land southward and everything above Panama was the land northward. However, Taylor wanted to make the link stronger for maximum apologetic effect. In the first article (15 September 1842), he associated the ruins at Palenque with the temple Nephi built (2 Nephi 5:16), but in his second article (1 October 1842) he enthusiastically announced that Zarahemla had probably been found. The evidence was Stephens's description of a "large round stone, with the sides sculptured in hieroglyphics" at Quirigua, which Taylor linked to the Book of Mormon's description of a "large stone . . . with engravings one it" that Coriantumr evidently left with the people of Zarahemla (Omni 1:20-22). In Taylor's pre-archaeological mind, this was as close to proof for the Book of Mormon as one could hope for, and he wasn't about to let the opportunity pass: "We are not agoing to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but when the land and the stones, and the books tell the story so plain . . ." (Times and Seasons 3[1 October 1842]:927).

To locate Zarahemla in Central America, rather than South America as expected, Taylor introduced an innovative but unlikely interpretation of Alma 22:32—one that Orson Pratt and most readers of the Book of Mormon evidently found unpersuasive for obvious reasons. Taylor decided that the Nephties "lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found" (times and Seasons 3 [15 September 1842]: 915). In other words, the "neck of land" was the entire area between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the north and Panama to the south. In the next issue, he made this even more clear.

Did Taylor incorrectly place Zarahemla on the neck of land rather than in the land southward? That's possible, but he may have been attempting something more subtle. By moving the "line" that divided the lands Bountiful and Desolation (mentioned in Alma 22:32) from the bottom of the neck to the top, he was able to construe, although quite awkwardly, that the neck of land was part of the land southward, rather than part of the land northward as previously and subsequently conceived. In another editorial in the 15 September 1842 issue, perhaps also written

by Taylor, there are references to the Jaredites occupying North America and Lehi landing "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien [Panama]: (Times and Seasons 3 [15 September 1842]: 922). South America has not been excluded, although it has become a peripheral concern since it has become part of that undefined Lamanite territory.

Other than in the writings of John E. Page cited by Roper (Roper, 248-50), Taylor's geographic innovations evidently did not catch on. Factors that made the Taylor-Page models less appealing were (1) conceiving the neck of land as part of the land southward and South America, rather than as part of the land northward in North America, was awkward; (2) the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, at about 120 miles as opposed to about 30 miles for Panama, as too wide for the boundary "line" mentioned in Alma 22:32; (3) it became necessary to account for the discovery of similar ruins in South America (e.g., the Inca in Peru; see Times and Seasons 5 [15 December 1844]: 744-48); and (4) the tradition that Lehi landed in South America, probably Chile, was too strong to set aside (first mentioned in "The Golden Bible," Observer and Telegraph 1 [18 November 1830]: 1).

It is important to note that resolving distance problems was not a factor in [these] discussions of Book of Mormon geography. The Taylor-Page models did not resolve distance problems since both evidently located Cumorah in New York. While both Taylor and Page were trying to make the Central American ruins relevant to Book of Mormon readers, neither attempted to overturn hemispheric geography because the rationale for doing so was simply not in place. At most, Taylor and Page demonstrate a propensity to distort the text to serve apologetic needs.

Source: <http://sunstoneblog.com/?p=32> for SunstoneBlog.com >> Book of Mormon Historicity Discussion in Sunstone on December 28th, 2005. "Can Ostler Save Book of Mormon Historicity?" by Dan Vogel, p. 10.

[1842 **Theoretical Model John Taylor or Joseph Smith**

MODIFIED HEMISPHERIC]

Lehi's Landing = A little south of Isthmus of Darien, Zarahemla = Quirigua, N.N.=N. of Quirigua, Guatemala?

1842[^] **J. B. Turner**
(anti-Mormon)

***Mormonism in All Ages: or the Rise, Progress, and Causes of Mormonism with the Biography of Its Author and Founder, Joseph Smith, Junior.* By Professor J. B. Turner, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill. New York: Published by Platt & Peters, 1842**

On page 19 we find the following:

The Book of Mormon is a duodecimo volume of 588 pages, consisting of fifteen different books, purporting to be written at different times by the authors whose names they bear. . . . It is not my purpose to give even an outline of this bundle of gibberish, further than to remark, that it professes to trace the history of the aborigines of this continent, in their apostasies, pilgrimages, trials, adventures, and wars, from the time of their leaving Jerusalem, in the reign of Zedekiah, under one Lehi, down to their final disaster, near the hill *Camorah*, N. Y., where Smith found his bible; in which final contest, according to the prophet Moroni, about 230,000 were slain in a single battle, and he alone escaped to tell the tale. All which we learn through Joseph Smith, by means of the plates and stones already mentioned. Did not this book claim divine authority, it would perhaps be about as harmless as the same amount of nonsense could well be, and might be read with no direct evil, excepting loss of time.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1843[^] (abt Joseph Smith)

History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. by Himself, Vol. V. An introduction and Notes by B. H. Roberts. Published by the Church. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret Book Company, 1960, p. 265

Wednesday, 8.--This morning, I read German, and visited with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that "a prophet is always a prophet;" but I told them that a prophet was a prophet only when he was acting as such. After dinner Brother Parley P. Pratt came in: we had conversation on various subjects.

1843

Willard Richards

Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1

One of the most often-quoted stories used to prove that the last battles were fought in New York stems from an incident which took place in the travels of Zion's camp and has come to be known as "the Zelph incident." In June 1834, some of the members of Zion's camp uncovered some bones and Indian artifacts at the top of a mound in Illinois (one mile south of the modern Valley City). The identity of the deceased Indian initiated a revelation received by Joseph Smith, which he then apparently related to some members of the group in whole or in part. Subsequently, the information surrounding all of these events was recorded by several members of the camp (It should be noted, however, that Joseph Smith kept no personal record of the march of Zion's camp). These reports were then interpreted by Church historians. Because there have been different accounts which have appeared in official Church history, an exhaustive analysis and compilation of all the pertinent documents was undertaken by Kenneth Godfrey ("The Zelph Story," 1989, F.A.R.M.S.).

The first Church account appears to have been written by Willard Richards between December 21, 1842, and March 27, 1843 under the title "Manuscript History of the Church," Book A-1. Although very acceptable at the time, Richards did two things which have affected the historical impact of the Zelph story in a great way: 1. He wrote the account without having personal first-hand knowledge (Even though he apparently blended the sources available to him and perhaps received oral input, the Zion's camp experiences had taken place nearly two years before Richards had joined the Church); and 2. He wrote the account as if he were Joseph Smith (a rather common practice of the day but not well-known by the modern reader). The manuscript was subjected to a number of editorial additions and deletions before publication, which markings appear on the manuscript. Subsequently, another clerk, Wilmer Benson, drew up a second copy of the same material known as the "Manuscript History of the Church," Book A-2. It differs from the Richards version in a dozen details of spelling, punctuation and phrasing, but with only one notable difference: Where Richards had "a great struggle with the Lamanites," Benson's script reads, "the last great struggle with the Lamanites." For the benefit of the Book of Mormon student, the following is the original account written by Richards *with the editorial changes as marked* [A-1]. These editorial changes are indicated by the crossed-out words (deletions) and the italicized words (additions):

Tuesday the 3rd During our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this country, ~~Nephites, Lamanites & c.~~ and this morning I went up on a high mound near the river, accompanied by *several* ~~the~~ brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend and the scenery was truly delightful.

On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three altars ~~having been erected~~, one above the other, according to ancient order and *the remains of human* bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered the skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs *the stone point of* ~~was~~ a Laman [=] itish arrow, which evidently produced his death. Elder *Burr Riggs* ~~Brigham Young~~ retained the arrow, ~~and the brethren carried some pieces of the skeleton to Clay county~~ - The contemplation of the scenery around before us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms and subsequently the vision of the past being opened to my understanding by the Spirit of the Almighty, I discovered that the person whose Skeleton ~~we had seen was before us~~ was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man and a man of God. *His name was Zelph.* He was a warrior *and chieftain* under the great prophet Onandagus who was known from the ~~hill Cumorah~~ *or* eastern Sea, to the rocky Mountains, ~~His name was Zelph.~~ The curse was taken from *Zelph* ~~him~~, or at least, in part. one of his thigh bones was broken by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle, years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during a ~~last~~ great struggle with the Lamanites ~~and Nephites~~: *Elder Woodruff carried the thigh bone to Clay county.*

The 1904 first edition of the B.H. Roberts' edited *History of the Church* in seven volumes had the account [A-1] as Richards had left it. In 1934 and 1948, however, under the direction of Joseph Fielding Smith who became Church historian, Benson's version [A-2] was substituted for that of Richards version [A-1] and explicit references to the Hill Cumorah and the Nephites were reintroduced. That phrasing has continued to the present in all reprintings.

In 1957, Preston Nibley, assistant Church historian, authorized Fletcher Hammond to announce that the 1904 edition was correct (See Hammond 1959):

. . . Brother Nibley has authorized me to say that the 1904 edition of the *Documentary History of the Church* Vol. II at pages 79 and 80 correctly reports the "Zelph" incident; and that the part of the 1934 (and the 1948) edition of the same history which differs from it is erroneous. (Palmer 1981:77)

Summarizing his thorough analysis, Godfrey concluded:

Most sources agree that Zelph was a white Lamanite who fought under a leader named Onandagus (variously spelled). Beyond that, what Joseph said to his men is not entirely clear, judging by the variations in the available sources. Therefore, those who try to support a particular historical or geographical point of view about the Book of Mormon by citing the Zelph story are on inconclusive grounds.

Source: ^Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Zelph Story," F.A.R.M.S., 1989; see also ^Joseph L. Allen, *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*, pp. 352-353.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* I have to wonder, at this point in time, just who it was that did the editing changes, and under what authority. In other words, I wonder if Joseph Smith was the one who directed the editing changes. And if the Prophet was responsible for the editing changes, had he been influenced by the writings of Stephens and Catherwood on Central America as the September 1, 15 and October 1 editorials in the *Times and Seasons* seems to indicate? In other words, if the Prophet now had a more limited Central American geographical mindset concerning Book of Mormon geography, he might have felt obliged to edit the Zelph story. Concerning the idea of a "learning curve" in prophetic statements, Garth Norman writes:

Joseph was left to learn, construct, synthesize most of a picture of ancient times, modern times, the cosmos, etc. He as much as Oliver Cowdery or us had to follow the rules of normal inspiration as in D & C 8, 9. He had to become aware of an issue, make an initial hypothesis regarding it, obtain and consider evidence for and against it, arrive at a position, inquire of the Lord, receive an impression, and then perhaps repeat the cycle. For example, the Lord surely did not simply decide one day, "Today I am going to reveal the Word of Wisdom to Joseph Smith." A situation arose historically in which the question about certain substances and their consumption came to attention, then a clarifying revelation was possible. On some subjects, apparently, awareness (or faith) never reaches the inquiry point (e.g., as with the Twelve in Jesus' time who failed to learn about the Nephites)

Let us suppose that Joseph and his associates naively (non-searchingly) assumed that the Book of Mormon account of the promised land covered the entire hemisphere. This would be concordant with the apparent discussions in the School of the Prophets which led to the "Frederick G. Williams Chile statement." It would also agree with a general uncontradicted impression on the part of the early members that the entire hemisphere was indeed involved. . . . By 1842, Joseph and perhaps a few intimates perhaps including John Taylor, editor of the *Times and Seasons*) had arrived at a modified position, at least in regard to the land southward. . . . What had been learned in October [1842] may have led the Prophet himself, in reviewing W. Richards' draft, to direct the crossing out of statements about the Nephites in the draft. That is, his learning curve had carried him and a few associates far beyond the 1834 assumptions communicated in the Zelph case. ("A Hypothesis for the Development of J. Smith's Views on Geography," written communication)

Note* (See the notations for 1834, 1846)

1843^ William Hyde "The Private Journal of William Hyde," photocopy, p. 11.

The forepart of April I took my leave of Brother Wilver, who expected to follow in a few days, and started on my return route. I traveled on foot and by stage to Peterborough, New Hampshire, and from thence to Lowell, Mass. At this place I found Elder E. T. Benson. . . . From Lowell I journeyed to Worcester. . . . At this place I met with a company of saints on their way to Nauvoo. I journeyed with this company by rail car to Albany, thence to Buffalo by canal, and from Buffalo to Cleveland, Ohio by steamboat, and from Cleveland across the State of Ohio to the Ohio River by canal; thence down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi to Nauvoo by steamboat. Reached home about the middle of June, 1843. . . . I will here state, as it was neglected on the preceding page, that on my return route, in passing up the Erie Canal, I stopped at the Village of Palmyra, and in company of some three or four brothers, procured a carriage and went back into the country and visited the Hill Cumorah, so-called in the Book of Mormon, from which the records were taken. We passed up the hill from the north end, to the top, passed over the west and east sides, and found the description given by Oliver Cowdery to be very satisfactory. A gentleman in company picked up an Indian arrow point near the top of the hill, which was very curiously wrought. While viewing the country round about many peculiar sensations crossed my bosom, as here many thousand strong men had fallen in battle, and the numerous hosts of Jerodites [sic], as well as the armies of the Nephites had become extinct--and here it was that Moroni, the man of God, had deposited the records of the Nephites by the command of the Lord.

Source: From the files of H. Michael Marquardt: Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Microfilm date: 16 Jan, 13:Item = 14th: Camera no. SLC-12: Catalogue no. 923080.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1843^ Orson Pratt Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journals*, Midvale, UT:
Signature Books, 1983, 2:282.

On August 27, 1843, at a conference in New York in which others of the Quorum of the Twelve were in attendance, Orson Pratt addressed the people concerning the Book of Mormon. He spoke in an edifying manner concerning the Book of Mormon its history what it was &c. That it was a History of nearly one half of the globe & the people that inhabited it, that it gave a history of all those cities that have been of late discovered by Catherwood and Stephens, that it named those cities . . .

1843^ Wilford Woodruff Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff Journals*, Midvale, UT:
Signature Books, 1983, 2:300.

At a September 10th 1843 Sunday morning conference in Boston, Elder Wilford Woodruff said the following concerning the Book of Mormon:

One of the secrets that God has revealed unto his Prophet in these days is the Book of Mormon; . . . This record contains an account of the ancient inhabitants of this continent who over spread this land with cities from sea to sea, the ruins of which still remain as a standing monument of their arts, science over & greatness.."

1843^ John Taylor or J.S. Stephens' Works on Central America," *The Times and Seasons*
Vol. 4 No. 22, 1 October 1843, pp. 346-347

This is an editorial comment on John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, volume 2 (1843). The comment reads as follows:

It will be seen that the proof of the Nephites and Lamanites dwelling on this continent according to the

account in the Book of Mormon, is developing itself in a more satisfactory way than the most sanguine believer in that revelation could have anticipated. . . .

This is a work that ought to be in the hands of every Latter-day Saint; corroborating, as it does the history of the Book of Mormon. There is no stronger circumstantial evidence of the authenticity of the latter book, can be given, than that contained in Mr. Stephens' works. . . .

It has fallen to his lot to explore the ruins of this once mighty people, but the "Book of Mormon" unfolds their history . . . accounts of a people, and of cities that bear a striking resemblance to those mentioned by Mr. Stephens, both in regard to magnificence and location, it affords the most indubitable testimony of the historical truth of that book.

1844 (abt. Joseph Smith) **Mosiah Lyman Hancock, *Autobiography***, mimeographed volume, p. 28
(BYU Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections)

In a memoir dictated when he was an old man, Mosiah Lyman Hancock tells of Joseph Smith visiting his parents' home in Nauvoo when he was a ten-year-old boy:

The next day [i.e., on June 19, 1844] the Prophet came to our home and stopped in our carpenter shop and stood by the turning lathe. I went and got my map for him. "Now," he said, "I will show you the travels of this people." He then showed our travels through Iowa, and said, "Here you will make a place for the winter; and here you will travel west until you come to the valley of the Great Salt Lake! . . . But, the United States will not receive you with the laws which God desires you to live, and you will have to go to where the Nephites lost their power. They worked in the United Order for 166 years" . . . Placing his finger on the map, I should think about where Snowflake, Arizona, is situated, or it could have been Mexico, he said, "The government will not receive you . . ., and those who are desirous to live the laws of God will have to go South," indicating at the same time on the map with his finger the direction of Mexico.

Source:????

Note* Unfortunately I have failed to record the source for the information above. I have made a brief search in BYU Special Collections, however the only copy that I have been able to obtain is titled "**The Life Story of Mosiah Lyman Hancock**," and the above quote is on page 19, not page 28. The following part of the last sentence is also not present: ("indicating at the same time on the map with his finger the direction of Mexico.")

Note* The only reference in the text of the Book of Mormon to Nephites living the United order comes from after the visit of Christ to the Nephites in the land Bountiful ("they had all things common among them"-- 4 Nephi 1:3). In the verse preceding that reference it mentions that "And it came to pass in the thirty and sixth year, the people were all converted unto the Lord, upon all the face of the land, both Nephites and Lamanites" (4 Nephi 1:2). In 4 Nephi 1:24-25 we find that "in this two hundred and first year there began to be among them those who were lifted up in pride . . . And from that time forth they did have their goods and their substance no more common among them." The minimum difference here is about 165 years, which tends to agree with Joseph Smith's supposed comment.

1844 (Attributed to Joseph Smith) ***^Charles Lowell Walker Diary***, under the date of
January 26, 1881)

The information below comes from a S.E.H.A. Newsletter, Number 158, December 1984. It was part of an address delivered by Ross T. Christensen at the Thirty-third Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, held at BYU on September 28 and 29, 1984. Christensen writes that a key location may have been identified by Joseph Smith, according to an 1881 diary entry by Charles Walker recording a sermon of an elderly man (Brother McBride) who had heard the identification from the Prophet's lips nearly 40 years before. Walker wrote:

Br. McBride also related that Joseph marked with his cane in the sand the track the saints would take to

the Rocky Mountains. . . .

Said we should make stations and build up settlements all the way to new, and old Mexico Until we crossed the Isthmus and get back to the place where the Covenant was broke [i.e., the United Order] by the old Nephites. Spoke of the Great Temple in Central America unfinished, showing marks of the work being stopped while in the Course of erection; that pillars and other curiously worked stones were found in the Quarry quite a distance from the Temple exactly corresponding with those already fitted and placed in the grand and massive structure. Showing plainly that some unexpected event transpired causing a stoppage in the work. This temple was situated by the River Copan anciently called the River of Nephi. (^Karl A. Larson and Katherine Miles Larson, eds. *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*. Utah State University Press: Logan. Vol. 2, pp. 524-525; words in brackets inserted by Larson and Larson)

Source: ^Ross T. Christensen, S.E.H.A. Newsletter, Number 158, December 1984.

Note* Charles Lowell Walker was of British ancestry, and came to reside in Fillmore, Utah. He faithfully kept a diary, which eventually ran to ten volumes. It was his practice to record summaries of sermons he especially liked. In 1881 he entered the above passage in his record of a sermon by Reuben McBride.

Reuben McBride had been a member of Zion's Camp, which marched in 1834. He was well acquainted with the prophet Joseph Smith and therefore spoke in his sermon of matters of which he had personal knowledge. He would have been about 77 years old when Walker recorded his sermon (see the notation for 1881).

Joseph Smith, Jr., apparently made the statement McBride attributed to him during the last week or so of his harried life, before his martyrdom on June 27, 1844, at the age of 38. It is likely, however, that he made such statements a number of times in addition to the instances reported here.

Note* The statement "we should make stations . . . all the way to new and old Mexico until we crossed the Isthmus and get back to the place where the Covenant was broke by the Nephites" implies a chronological journey past an Isthmus, implying that the Nephites broke the Covenant in the land southward. It also implies that the "Isthmus" was the narrow neck and was somewhere in Mexico or south of Mexico.

(See the Charles L. Walker notation for 1881)

1844^ abt. Joseph Smith

April Conference 1844, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Joseph Fielding Smith comp., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 16th printing, 1967, p. 362.

President Joseph Smith said:-- . . . I want to make a proclamation to the Elders. I wanted you to stay, in order that I might make this proclamation. You know very well that the Lord has led this Church by revelation. I have another revelation in relation to economy in the Church--a great, grand, and glorious revelation. I shall not be able to dwell as largely upon it now as at some other time; but I will give you the first principles. You know there has been great discussion in relation to Zion--where it is, and where the gathering of the dispensation is, and which I am now going to tell you. The prophets have spoken and written upon it; but I will make a proclamation that will cover a broader ground. The whole of America is Zion itself from north to south, and is described by the Prophets, who declare that it is the Zion where the mountain of the Lord should be, and that it should be in the center of the land. When Elders shall take up and examine the old prophecies in the Bible, they will see it.

1844^ John Taylor

"Ancient Ruins," *Times and Seasons*, December 15, 1844, pp. 746-747

Editor John Taylor states that "After they [the Jaredites] had almost covered the land with cities," they "probably made the present prairies by extensive cultivation."

Note* See the 1818 notation in which Dan Vogel argues that "The idea that the Great Plains of North America were once a forest which had been removed by the aborigines was the common assumption in Joseph Smith's day. . . . the forests were cut down in order that the aborigines could cultivate large crops."

1845^ Heber C. Kimball "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 6, No. 2, February 4, 1845, p. 788

In 1845 the *Times and Seasons* published Heber C. Kimball's account of finding Zeph under the title, "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal." Under the date of "Tuesday the 3rd" (of June, 1834), Kimball states that Zeph was killed in "the last destruction among the Lamanites" but is unclear as to whether it was the final destruction of the Nephites or the last battle of Zeph's people, whoever they were. (For the full quote, and a more extensive discussion see the notation for 1834.)

1845^ John Taylor "Remarks" relative to the article "The Mormon Prophet," in *Times & Seasons*, vol. 6, April 1, 1845, p. 855.

Following an article titled "The Mormon Prophet" reprinted from the *Christian Reflector* which denigrated Joseph Smith after his death, the editor John Taylor makes the following "Remarks":

Remarks--Amid such a volume of smoke, we look for some fire . . . There is a spirit in man, possessed of so much "divinity," that it will discover truth by its own light; no matter whether it is covered with a 'sectarian cloak,' or thrown among the rubbish of scoffers. For this reason we copy the foregoing eulogy on *General Joseph Smith*, one of the greatest men that ever lived on the earth; emphatically proved so, by being inspired by God to bring forth the Book of Mormon, which gives the true history of the natives of this continent; their ancient glory and cities--which cities have been discovered by Mr. Stevens in Central America, exactly where the Book of Mormon left them. Write on, gentlemen, you can do nothing against the truth but for it.; and we generally find it. . . .

1845 abt. Joseph Smith Lucy Mack Smith, "The History of Lucy Smith ca. 1845," manuscript in ("Cumorah") LDS Church Archives (Salt Lake City: ca. 1845. Compare ^Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853) Compare also ^History of Joseph Smith, Salt Lake City, 1956.

In 1845, Lucy Mack Smith dictated her history to Martha Jane Coray who wrote it down in manuscript form. It was given the name "The History of Lucy Smith." In the 1845 manuscript Lucy says the following:
~~About this~~—The 3 harvest time had now arrived since we opened our new farm and all the our sons were actively employed in assisting their Father to cut down the grain and storing it away in order, ~~for winter~~
One evening we were sitting till quite late conversing upon the subject of the diversity of churchess that had risen iup in the world and the many thousand opinions in existencce as tot he truths containedc in scripture. Joseph ~~whæ~~ never said many words upon any subject but always seemed to reflect more deeply than common persojs osf his age upon everything of a religious nature.
~~This~~ After we ceased conversation he went to bed <and was pondering in his mind which of the churches were the true one. an but he had not laid there long till <he saw> a bright <light> entered the room where he lay he looked up and saw an angel of the Lord stood <standing> by him The angel spoke I perceive that you are enquiring in your milnd which is the true church there is not a true church on Earth No not one ~~Nor~~ <and> has not been since Peter took the Keys <of the Melchiesidec preiethood after the order of God> into the Kingdom of Heaven The churches that are now uon the Earth are all man made churches Joseph there is a record for you and you must get it one day get it There is a record for you and Joseph ~~when you have learned to keep the commandments of God~~ but you cannot get it untill you learn to

kekep the commandments of God <For it is not to get gain> But it is to bring forth that light and intelligence which has been long lost in the Earth Now Joseph <øf> beware <or> when you go to get the plates your mind will be filld with darkness and all manner of evil will rush into your mind To ~~keep~~ <prevent> you from keeping the commandments of God <that you may not succed in doing his work> and you must tell your father of this for he will believe every wrod you say the record is on a side hill **on the Hill of Cumorah** 3 miles from this place remove the Grass and moss and you wilil find a large flat stone pry that up and you will find the record under it laying on 4 pillars---<of cement> then the angel left him.

Source: Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001, pp. 335-336. See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1.

In this 1845 version the angel instructed Joseph that "The record is on a side of *the hill of Cumorah*, three miles from this place. Remove the grass and moss, and you will find the record under it, lying on four pillars of cement." Thus it is possible, if Lucy was not adding information in retrospect, that Joseph knew of the name "Cumorah" in reference to the hill in New York as early as 1823.^{xlix}

This 1845 version was edited and later published as *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853) (see note* below), however in the 1853 edited version, this reference to "the Hill of Cumorah" was removed. (see the 1853 notation)

Note* In 1979, Howard Clair Searle presented a 520-page Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980) at the University of California, Los Angeles, in which he devotes chapter 8 to "The History of Joseph Smith By His Mother." In this chapter he writes the following:

[p. 358] Next to the official Church annals, which were produced as the "History of Joseph Smith" and the "History of Brigham Young," the most significant pro-Mormon history written before 1858 was produced by Lucy Mack Smith, the aged mother of the Prophet. Written after Mother Smith had reached her sixty-seventh birthday, the work is more of a memoir and family record than a Church History. . . .

[pp. 360-361] Although Mother Smith could read and write herself, she was old and infirm and sought someone with literary skill and experience to assist her with her correspondence and history. ("Richard L. Anderson, "His Mother's Manuscript: An Intimate View of Joseph Smith," transcript of a B.Y.U. Forum address, Jan. 27, 1976, p. 5) Martha Jane was twenty-three years old and had been married to school-teacher and scribe, Howard Coray, for three years when she was asked during the winter of 1844-45 to write for Mrs. Smith . . .

[pp. 363-366] The Preliminary Manuscript of the history which was written by Martha Jane Coray, consists of approximately 210 pages of foolscap, including a few partial and ragged sheets. These sheets are carefully written on both sides in a consistent and legible script with a few corrections appearing right int he text. Mrs. Coray apparently recorded this manuscript form Lucy Smith's dictation and from collected notes and then later read the narrative back to Lucy for correction and approval. (Anderson, "His Mother's Manuscript," p. 5) . . .

[p. 367] How far Mother Smith had proceeded with her history before Mrs. Coray was engaged to assist her is problematical, but the manuscripts show that it was all written or rewritten while Mrs. Coray was amanuensis. . . .

[p. 369] The preliminary manuscript of the history, which contains a great deal of Mother Smith's raw dictation, is certainly closer to Lucy's language, style, and views than any extant version of the work, but in studying this manuscript a reader is confronted with the question which he faces when reading the official Church annals, namely: What portions of the history reflect the personality, style and thinking of the apparent author, and what parts represent the influence and contributions of the scribes? . . . Mrs. Coray clearly defends her reliability as a scribe and attributes any errors in the manuscript to her source, Lucy Smith. Her husband Howard, confirmed this working relationship when he described his wife's role, not as author, "but only as her, Mother Smith's, amanuensis." (Howard Coray Autobiography, p.

16, L.D.S. Church Archives).. . .

Note* See the 1878 statement of David Whitmer, which seems contradictory.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1845 Joseph? or Frederick G. Williams? J. M. Bernhisel manuscript of Joseph Smith's "new
("Lehi's Travels" statement) (translation" of the Bible)

According to Robert J. Matthews ^("Notes on 'Lehi's Travels'," *BYU Studies* 12 No. 3 (Spring, 1972), pp. 313-14),

In the spring of 1845, in Nauvoo, Dr. John M. Bernhisel made a partial copy of the manuscript of Joseph Smith's "new translation" of the Bible. Although the statement about Lehi's travels apparently has nothing to do with the translation of the Bible, the "Lehi" statement is found on the last leaf of the Bernhisel copy. It is on a page by itself without a heading, and there is no comment concerning it. Dr. Bernhisel did not number the pages of his manuscript after page 21, but if they were numbered consecutively, the page containing the Lehi statement would be number 135. The reverse side of the page is blank.

The exact text and spelling of the statement as it appears in the Bernhisel copy is as follows:

The course that Lehi travelled from the city of Jerusalem to the place where he and his family took ship.

They travelled nearly a south south East direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of North Lattitude then nearly East to the sea of Arabia then sailed in a south east direction and landed on the continent of South America in Chile thirty degrees south latitude.

It will be noted that the Bernhisel copy has the same wording as the Williams account [see the notation for 1836] and nearly the same spelling and capitalization, with striking correlation in the spelling of "lattitude."

Bernhisel offers no date as to when he recorded this item, but the entire Bernhisel manuscript was made during May and June 1845 and is dated several times in the manuscript. The penmanship of the Lehi entry appears to be consistent with the remainder of the manuscript, having the same style of writing, capitalization, and word-slant. In every respect it seems to be the handwriting of Dr. Bernhisel recorded during the May-June 1845 period. . . .

Since the "Lehi" information is in no way connected with the "new translation" of the Bible, a question arises as to how Dr. Bernhisel obtained the information in the first place. This of course we do not know, but it is possible that he found it among the sheets of the Bible manuscripts and simply recorded it because it was interesting to him. Whether the Lehi item was ever among the pages of the Bible translation we do not know, but it is certainly not among them today. The original manuscripts of Joseph Smith's "new translation" of the Bible which Dr. Bernhisel used are in the RLDS archives in Independence, Missouri, and the writer knows from personal examination that the Lehi statement is not currently in the collection.

(See the notations for 1830, 1836 and 1882.)

1846[^] "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI. No. 20, City of Nauvoo, 1 January 1846, p. 1076.

In recounting the experiences of Zion's Camp in 1834, we find the following:

Our company had been increased since our departure from Kirtland, by volunteers from different branches of the church through which we had passed. We encamped on the bank of the river until tuesday the 3rd during our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this country, Nephites, Lamanites, &c., and this morning I went up on a high

mound, near the river, accompanied by the brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend, and the scenery was truly delightful.

On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three alters having been erected one above the other, according to ancient order; and human bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs was a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death, Elder Brigham Young retained the arrow and the brethren carried some pieces of the skeleton to Clay county. The contemplation of the scenery before us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms; and the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us, was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man, and a man of God. He was a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah, or Eastern sea, to the Rocky Mountains. His name was Zelph. The curse was taken from him, or at least, in part; one of his thigh bones was broken, by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites.

Note* Ken Godfrey wrote an article entitled "What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, pp. 71-79. In it he writes:

Following the death of Joseph Smith, the *Times and Seasons* published serially the "History of Joseph Smith." When the story of finding Zelph appeared in the 1 January 1846 issue, most of the words crossed out in the Richards manuscript were, for some unknown reason, included, along with the point that the prophet's name was Omandagus. The reference to the hill Cumorah from the unemended Wilford Woodruff journal was still included in the narrative, as was the phrase "during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites."

Dan Vogel notes:

The *Church History* account [of the Zelph incident] first appeared in 1846 in the *Times and Seasons* and included the key information about the "hill Cumorah," the "Nephites," and the "last" struggle. (*TS*, Vol. VI, No. 20 (January 1, 1846), p. 1076.) [In 1956] Joseph Fielding Smith quoted the *Times and Seasons* together with the 1948 edition of the *Church History* for proof that the Hill Cumorah and the final Nephite destruction were within the borders of the United States. (Doc. of Salv., III:238) Those proposing the new geography, however, disagreed with Apostle Smith, stating that certain key words had been deleted from the original manuscript and the 1904 edition of the *Church History* edited by B. H. Roberts. And one Mormon student of the subject believes that the changes were made under the direction of the apostles in Nauvoo after Joseph Smith's death and, since some of the men were present when Smith gave his speech, the corrected version is more accurate. (David A. Palmer, *In Search of Cumorah*, Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1981, pp. 74-78.) Therefore, according to this same student, the corrected version leaves us "without a single recorded instance of Joseph Smith saying or inferring that the last Nephite battles and Jaredite battles were near Palmyra, New York." (Ibid., p. 78)

The *Church History* was not written by Joseph Smith, but by his scribes using materials they had been given. [See Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (Summer, 1971), pp. 439-73] For example, one of the scribes involved in writing the *Church History* describes the process: "The Prophet was to furnish all the materials; and our business, was not only to combine, and arrange in chronological order, but to spread out or amplify not a little, in as good historical style as may be." (Howard Coray, "Autobiography," Church Archives, pp. 17, 19-20, as cited in Jessee, *Ibid.*, p. 453.) Their account seems to be based on the journal accounts of Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff, who were both present when Smith gave his speech to the camp.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), p. 15, 41, n. 28, n. 29, n. 30, n. 31.

However, Vogel adds:

The "hill Cumorah" statement in the *Church History* was based on the journal of Wilford Woodruff [compare the accounts], but when the editing was being done [by Willard Richards], Woodruff was in Britain and could not therefore defend his journal account.

The work of "revision" began on April 1, 1845. By May 10, 1845, more than 800 pages of the history had been "read and revised." See Dean C. Jese, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (Summer, 1971), p 473, footnote 108. The Zelph story occurs on p. 483 of Book A.

However, Woodruff had left Nauvoo on August 28, 1844, and reached Liverpool on January 3, 1845, where he presided over the British Mission. He did not return to Nauvoo until early 1846, just in time to leave on the exodus to Utah. (See Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. Salt Lake City: A. Jenson History Co., 1901-1936, 1:24. Reprinted by Western Epics, Salt Lake City, 1971.)

Thus Palmer cannot say there is no recorded instance of Joseph Smith placing the Hill Cumorah or the Nephite destruction near New York.

Source: *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18, 42 n. 36

Note* See the 1834 and 1846 notations. See the 1981 Palmer notation.

Note* For other instances of the term "Cumorah" being applied to the New York hill during the lifetime of Joseph Smith, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1846 Smithsonian Institution Opens

1846^ Dan Jones "**Jewish Inhabitants of America,**" in the *Prophet of the Jubilee*, Ronald D. Dennis, trans. and ed., Wales, August, September 1846.

Captain Dan Jones reached the radical cultural cauldron of Merthyr Tydfil and its neighbouring towns in 1845, apparently after a short mission in North Wales, determined that "Cambria's sons" would get Brigham Young's "timely warning in their national tongue." He realized that unless he did so his mission would be a failure and the Welsh people would lend a deaf ear to the Mormon message.

The following is found in the August 1846 publication:

This remnant of Joseph was also led in a miraculous way from Jerusalem, in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah. They were first led to the eastern borders of the Red Sea; then they journeyed along the borders thereof in a southeastern direction; after which they went eastward, until they came to the great ocean. There, by the command of God, they built a vessel in which they were safely brought across the ocean, landing upon the western coast of the American continent. In the eleventh year of the reign of Zedekiah, at the time the Jews were carried away captive into Babylon, more people came from Jerusalem, some of whom were descendants of Judah; they landed in the north part of America, and emigrated into the northern parts of South America, where they lived until they were discovered by the remnant of Joseph, about four hundred years later.

From these records we learn that this remnant of Joseph, soon after they landed, separated themselves into two distinct nations. This division was caused by a certain portion, in their wickedness, persecuting and pursuing the remainder who were more righteous than they, until they came to the northern parts of South America, leaving the wicked nation in possession of the middle and southern parts of the same. The first nation was called Nephties, being led by a prophet whose name was Nephi. The other nation was called Lamanites, being led by a wicked man whose name was Laman. . . .

The following is found in the September 1846 publication:

. . . in the process of time, the Nephites built ships near the Isthmus of Darien, in which great numbers of them sailed northward, and colonized that part. Other colonies emigrated by land to the same place; and so, in a few centuries, nearly the whole continent became peopled.

. . . but towards the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, they so far apostatized from God that he again suffered destructive judgments to fall upon them. The Nephites at that time dwelt in the north, and the Lamanties in the southern part of America. There were cruel wars between them which lasted for many years and resulted in the complete overthrow of the Nephites and their destruction as a nation. These wars commenced near the Isthmus of Darien, and at length the Nephites were driven before their enemies to the north and the east of it, where they were still pursued until they gathered their whole remaining nation together, men, women, and children, and encamped around the hill Cumorah, where the records were found by Joseph Smith, as previously noted. . . . Mormon had made an abridgement from the records of his forefathers upon plates, which he entitled the "Book of Mormon;" and, being commanded of God, he hid in the hill Culmorah all the sacred records of his forefathers that were in his possession; and he gave only the Book of Mormon to his son Moroni to finish. . . . He continues the history until the four hundred and twentieth year of the Christian era, when, by the commandment of God, Moroni hid up the records in the hill Cumroah, where they remained concealed until by the ministry of an angel they were discovered to Mr. Smith . . .

. . . in Yucatan, Guatemala, Mexico, and many other places on the continent, there are brimstone and salt lakes-the ruins of their castles, their fortified cities, and a host of other facts which remain today and are truthful witnesses to the fulfillment of the prophecies of the ancestors of the American Indians, and consequently of the Book of Mormon.

Source: LDS Collectors Library 2005.

1848^ John E. Page **"Collateral Testimony of the Truth and Divinity of the Book of Mormon,"**
(Former LDS) **No. 3, in *Gospel Herald* vol. 3, no. 26, Sept 14, 1848, p. 123.**

In 1848, John E. Page, former LDS Apostle and now with James E. Strang as President of the Twelve writes the following:

As collateral testimony to the truth of the above [Book of Mormon prophecies concerning the night of Christ's birth in which there would be no darkness] I present the following account of a tradition had among the Central American Indians, copied from the "incidents of travels" of John L. Stephens in Chiapas and Yucatan, Vol. 2, 1841, page 173. The account of a certain division of the ancient American Indian nation into three nations, says:

This division was made on a day when *three suns were visible at the same time*, which extraordinary circumstances, says the manuscript, has induced some persons to believe that it was made on the day of our Savior's birth."

All who are familiar with the Book of Mormon are probably aware of the fact that the whole account of the history of the fore fathers of the American Indians, called the Nephites, Lamanites and Zoramites, is confined to Central America entirely until the 394th page [Alma 63]. The 30th chapter of the book of Alma, commencing on that page, commences the account of one Hagoth, who built a ship on the shores of the Pacific ocean opposite or nearly west of the south-west part of the Gulf of Mexico, and sailed northward. . . . By reading the 5th chapter of Helaman, you will observe that Samuel delivered his prophecy at the city of Zarahemla, which, at some future period, I intend to show clearly that it is the veritable city of Palenque, the ruins of which is situated some miles south-west of the Gulf of Mexico. Read Stephens' travels, 1841, Vol. 2, page 289, &c--The reader will keep in view that the city of Zarahemla was not built by the Jaradites nor the descendants of Lehi, but by the descendants of Mulek, who left the city of Jerusalem in Palestine in the eleventh year of the reign of king Zedekiah . . . John E. Page

Source: Xerox copy given to me by Matthew Roper, 1/30/2004.

1848^ Orson Pratt

Divine Authority--or was Joseph Smith Sent of God?, Liverpool, 1848

Orson Pratt was a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and a leading intellectual figure in the Church. In 1848 he writes:

In the Book of Mormon are given the names and locations of numerous cities of great magnitude, which once flourished among the ancient nations of America. The northern portions of South America, and also Central America, were the most densely population [sic?] . . .

A careful reader of that interesting book can trace the relative bearings, and distances of many of these cities from each other; and if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country, he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine, very nearly, the precise spot of ground they once occupied. . . .

The moldering ruins of many splendid edifices and towers, and magnificent cities of great extent, have been discovered by Catherwood and Stephens in the interior wilds of Central America, in the very region where the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon were said to exist.

Note* This statement was reprinted in ^*Orson Pratt's Works on the Doctrines of the Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1945), p. 22.

Note* The claim that "A careful reader of that interesting book can trace the relative bearings, and distances of many of these cities from each other; and if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country, he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine, very nearly, the precise spot of ground they once occupied" would be challenged by anti-Mormon Charles Shook in his 1910 book *Cumorah Revisited* (see notation).

1848^ Orson Pratt

"Editorial," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 10, No. 22, November 15, 1848, pp. 346-347

This is an editorial (Orson Pratt was the editor).

The writer of the above article on "Yucatan" [From the *New York Sun*, June 8th] is greatly mistaken. He says, "Yucatan is the grave of a great nation that has mysteriously passed away, and *left behind no history*." This is not so. The first great nation that anciently inhabited Yucatan, passed away about 2,400 years ago; but their prophets left a history, an abridgement of which has been translated into the English language, called the "Book of Ether," and tens of thousands of copies have been published in the Book of Mormon, and circulated both in America and in England for many years. The last great nation that inhabited that country and passed away, have also left their history, which was discovered, translated, and published in the English language nearly 20 years ago by Mr. Joseph Smith. . . . "Mr. Mormon says, that in the 367th year after Christ, "*the Lamanites*"--*the forefathers of the American Indian*--"took possession of the city of Desolation"--which was in Central America, near to or in Yucatan--"and this because their number did exceed the number of the Nephites"--the Nephites being the Nation who inhabited the cities of Yucatan--"and they"---the Lamanites--"did also march forward against the city of Teancum . . .

In the 384th year, the occupants of Yucatan and Central America, having been driven from their great and magnificent cities, were pursued by the Lamanites to the hill Cumorah . . . where the whole nation perished in battle.

Note* Earlier statements coupled with this location of "the city of Desolation-which was in Central America, near to or in Yucatan" seems to imply that Pratt's concept of the land of Desolation was a land stretching from at least Yucatan all the way to at least Missouri. (see the Orson Pratt statement of 1840; see the W. W. Phelps statement of 1832) Pratt's narrow neck would have been south of Yucatan.

1849[^] Orson Pratt "Reply to a Pamphlet, Printed in Glasgow, Entitled 'Remarks on Mormonism,'" in The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star vol. 11, no. 8, April 15. 1849, pp. 115-116.

This is Orson Pratt's reply to a pamphlet printed in Glasgow entitled "Remarks on Mormonism," [Part III]. In my remarks upon the evidence in favour of Joseph Smith's divine mission, ("Divine Authority," page 13) I have, among numerous other evidences adduced, referred to the late discoveries of Catherwood and Stephens in Central America, as confirmatory evidence of the truth of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Paton considers this as no evidence at all, and refers to the discoveries of Baron Humboldt and many other antiquarians, long before Mr. Smith translated that book. No one will dispute the fact that the existence of antique remains in different parts of America was known long before Mr. Smith was born. But every well informed person knows that the most of the discoveries made by Catherwood and Stephens were original--that most of the forty-four cities described by him had not been described by previous travellers. Now the Book of Mormon gives us the names and locations of great numbers of cities in the very region where Catherwood and Stephens afterwards discovered them. This, therefore, taking into consideration all the circumstances, is an additional evidence, of a very positive nature, in favour of the divine inspiration of this unlearned and inexperienced young man.

1849[^] (Cave Story) Manuscript History of the Church, May 6, 1849. Church Archives

The following could be a reference to the Cave Story. It is recorded for May 6, 1849 in the *Manuscript History of the Church*:
[Brigham Young says] I met with President W. Richards and the Twelve on the 6th. We spent the time in interesting conversation upon old times, Joseph, the plates, Mount Cumorah, treasures and records known to be hid in the earth, the gift of seeing, and how Joseph obtained his first seer stone.

(See the following 1849 reference to the Cave Story.)

1849[^] (Cave Story) Quorum of the Twelve Minutes for 6 May 1849

In the *Manuscript History of the Church* under the date of May 6, 1849 we find a record of a meeting of Brigham Young with President W. Richards and the Twelve. President Young says: "We spent the time in interesting conversation upon old times, Joseph, the plates, Mount Cumorah, treasures and records known to be hid in the earth, the gift of seeing, and how Joseph obtained his first seer stone." This conversation is also referred to in the *Quorum of the Twelve Minutes for 6 May 1849* but with a stronger implication of knowledge concerning the Cave Story:

. . . evening in conversation upon many little incidents connected with finding the Plates, preserving them from the hand of the wicked, & returning them again to Cumorah, who did it &, also about the gift of seeing & how Joseph obtained his first seer stone. Treasures known to exist in the earth of money &, records.

1849[^] (abt. Heber C. Kimball) James S. Brown, "Life of a Pioneer, 1902. Republished as James S. Borwn, Giant of the Lord: Life of a Pioneer. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft, 1960.

On pages 135-136, James Brown writes the following:
On one occasion in 1849, President Heber C. Kimball, when preaching to the people, exhorted them to be faithful as Saints, to cultivate the earth, and let others dig the gold. . . .

. . . Some people have come from the eastern states and the old country and said: "Brother Kimball, O that we could have been with you in Kirtland, in Jackson county, and in Nauvoo, and shared the trails of the Saints with you!" Brethren, hold on a little while, and you shall have all the trials you will be able to stand; for God has said that He will have a tried people so you may prepare yourselves; for before the roof is on the temple that we will build here, the devils will begin to howl, and before the capstone is laid you will begin to have your trials. Your leaders will be hunted as wild beasts; we shall not be with you, and men will be left to themselves for awhile. Then is the time that you should be filled with light, that you may be able to stand through the days of trail. Now, you can leave your bench-tools on the workbench, and your plows and farming tools in the field; and can lie down and go to sleep without locking or bolting your doors: but the time will come when, if you do this, your tools will be stolen from you. These mountains will be filled with robbers, highwaymen, and all kinds of thieves and murderers, for the spirit of the old Gadianton robbers lurks here in the mountains, and will take possession of men, and you will have to watch as well as pray, to keep thieves away. . . .

1850[^] Orson Pratt *Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*, Liverpool, England: R. James, 1850, no. 1 (of 3), introduction

This book [of Mormon] must be either true or false. If true, it is one of the most important messages ever sent from God to man, affecting both the temporal and eternal interests of every people under heaven to the same extent and in the same degree that the message of Noah affected the inhabitants of the old world. If false, it is one of the most cunning, wicked, bold, deep-laid impositions ever palmed upon the world; calculated to deceive and ruin millions who will sincerely receive it as the word of God, and will suppose themselves securely built upon the rock of truth until they are plunged, with their families, into hopeless despair. The nature of the message in the *Book of Mormon* is such that, if true, no one can possibly be saved and reject it, if false, no one can possibly be saved and receive it. Therefore, every soul in all the world is equally interested in ascertaining its truth or falsity. In a matter of such infinite importance, no person should rest satisfied with the conjectures or opinions of others. He should use every exertion himself to become acquainted with the nature of the message; he should carefully examine the evidences of which it is offered to the world; he should, with all patience and perseverance, seek to acquire a certain knowledge whether it be of God or not. If, after a rigid examination, it be found an imposition, it should be extensively published to the world as such. The evidence and arguments upon which the imposture was detected should be clearly and logically stated, that those who have been sincerely, yet unfortunately, deceived may perceive the nature of the deception, and be reclaimed, and that those who continue to publish the delusion may be exposed and silenced.

1851 First Presidency "Fifth General Epistle" in the *Deseret News* 1/30 (8 April 1851).
Reprinted in the *Frontier Guardian* 3/9 (30 May 1851) and
Millennial Star 13:201-216 (15 July 1851).

"It is wisdom for the ENGLISH Saints to ceases emigration by the usual route through the States, and up the Missouri river, and remain where they are till they shall hear from us again, as it is our design to open up a way across the interior of the continent by Panama, Tehuantepec, or some of the interior routes, and land them at San Diego, and thuis save three thousand miles of inland navigation through a most sickly climate and country. The Presidency in Liverpool will open every desirable correspondence in relation to the various routes, and rates, and conveniences, from Liverpool to San Diego, and make an early report, so that if possible the necessary preparations may be made for next fall's emigration."

Source: John A. Tvedtnes, "A Brief History of the Limited Geographic View of the Book of Mormon," *Meridian Magazine*, July, 2005.

Note* As an answer to those critics who might think that the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is not narrow enough to be the "narrow neck of land," Tvedtnes first notes that the above quote implies "that equal

consideration for bringing the Saints from the Atlantic to the Pacific shores was given to the Isthmus of Panama and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec." However, in my view the above quote does not substantiate that opinion. It only implies that there were various possibilities-including other "interior routes"--not equal possibilities, nor does it mention any criteria for choosing any specific route..

1851 Orson Pratt *Orson Pratt's Works, Liverpool, England, 1851. Reprinted in 1851, 1852, 1945, 1966, 1976, 1990.*

In the Preface to the 1976 edition, we find the following:

Called to the presidency of the British Mission in August 1848, Orson Pratt commenced his mission with an announcement of his intention to publish a series of doctrinal tracts. During the next two years he published, in editions of tens of thousands, sixteen pamphlets that formed the basis of the missionary activity of the Latter-Day Saints in Britain. One of these had been published earlier: *Remarkable Visions* was first published in Edinburgh in 1840 [see 1840 notation]. . . .

In January 1851, just as Pratt was being replaced as mission president by Franklin D. Richards, a title page and table of contents were printed for these sixteen tracts, along with two additional LDS pamphlets, and the collection was offered as a bound volume. . . .

Orson Pratt's speculations went too far, however, in two instances. And in 1865 his tract *Great First Cause* (1851) and his *Holy Spirit* (1856) were officially declared to be nondoctrinal by Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and eleven of the Quorum of Twelve (see *Millennial Star* 27:657-63).

Note* Those tracts that pertain to Book of Mormon geography have been cited previously (see the 1840, 1848 notation) and the reader is referred to those notations for the pertinent textual quotation. It should be noted here, however, that while some of Orson Pratt's ideas were condemned, there was no condemnation of his ideas on Book of Mormon geography.

1851^ (abt. Brigham Young) *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, under the May 16th, 1851 in Scott G. Kenney ed. *Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898 Typescript*, Vol. 4, Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, p. 26

The entry is as follows:

16th Met with the citizens to agree upon Electing officers. President Young said . . . If we Begin Right we shall go right. . . .

In speaking of the Indians He Said these Indians were the descendants of the old Gadianton Robbers [sic] who infested these Mountains for more than a thousand years.

We dined together in the City of Parowan & then left amid the roar of cannon & drove to Red Creek [Paragoonah] & camped for the night. . . .

Note* John Heinerman apparently refers to the above source in writing the following:

[Brigham Young] indicated "that it would require very good Saints to live" in such places [as Salem, Payson, Santaquin and Salina] "and not lose the[ir] faith" on account of the hordes of evil spirits lurking in these different places. Cedar City and Fillmore also were filled with numerous wicked spirits "of the old Gadianton Robbers who infested these Mountains for more than a thousand years."

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 80

1851^ Parley P. Pratt *"Address to the Red Man and Ancient Records of the Western Hemisphere," in Proclamation! To the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific; of Every Nation, Kindred and Tongue.* By An Apostle of Jesus Christ.

Published for the Author by C. W. Wandell, Minister of the Gospel.
November 1851.

Jerry Burnett and Charles Pope write:

Proclamation! To the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific represents that great Mormon missionary effort begun in 1851 that expanded the church beyond the United States and England into Europe, South Africa, India, Australia, South America, and the Pacific Islands. It was written in San Francisco in the summer of 1851 after Parley Pratt had been called to supervise the missionary effort in South America and the Pacific. Two missionaries, John Murdock and Charles W. Wandell, took the manuscript to Sydney, Australia, where it was published in November 1851. Parley Pratt returned to Salt Lake City from San Francisco in the fall of 1852.

Address to the Red Man: To the Red Men of America I will next address a few lines. You are a branch of the house of Israel. You are descended from the Jews, or, rather, more generally, from the tribe of *Joseph*, which Joseph was a great prophet and ruler in Egypt.

Your fathers left Jerusalem in the days of Jeremiah the prophet--being led by a prophet whose name was Lehi.

After leaving Jerusalem, they wandered in the wilderness of Arabia, and along the shores of the Red Sea, for eight years, living on fruits and wild game.

Arriving at the sea coast they built a ship, put on board the necessary provisions and the seed brought with them from Jerusalem; and setting sail they crossed the great ocean, and landed on the western coast of America, within the bounds of what is now called "Chili."

In process of time they peopled the entire continents of North and South America. . . .

Mormon was one of your fathers. He lived about one thousand four hundred years ago, in North America. He wrote an abridgment of your history, prophecies, and gospel . . . [which] descended to his son Moroni.

This Moroni, is the last of the ancient prophets of America. He completed the records of Mormon on the plates, and made a sacred deposit of the same in a hill called Cumorah, which hill is now included within the limits of New York, United States. . . .

Red men of the forest; Peruvians, Mexicans, Guatimalians, descendants of every tribe and tongue of this mysterious race, your history, your gospel, your destiny is revealed. . . .(pp. 8-9)

General Address Resumed--Ancient Records of the Western Hemisphere: . . .

Its [The Book of Mormon's] history penetrates the otherwise dark oblivion of the past, (as regards America) through the remote ages of antiquity; follows up the stream of the generations of man, till arriving at the great fountain head--the distributor of nations, tribes, and tongues--the Tower of Babel (pp. 10-11)

Source: *Pre-Assassination Writings of Parley P. Pratt*, edited by Jerry Burnett and Charles Pope, 8-15. Salt Lake City: Mormon Heritage, 1976.

Robert Silverberg writes the following:

The essence of the continuing Mormon beliefs concerning the mounds is that proposed by Orson Pratt, an early apostle of the Saints, in a pamphlet of 1851, describing the warfare between the Nephites and the Lamanites writes:

"The bold, bad Lamanites, originally white, became dark and dirty, though still retaining a national existence.

They became wild, savage, and ferocious, seeking by every means the destruction of the properous Nephites, against whom they many times arrayed their hosts in battle; but were repulsed and driven back to their own territories, generally with great loss to both sides. The slain, frequently amounting to tens of thousands, were piled together in great heaps and overspread with a thin covering of earth, which will satisfactorily account for those ancient mounds filled with human bones, so numerous at the present day, both in North and South America." (Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of Utah*. The History Company, San Francisco, 1890,

p. 69)

Source: Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America: The Archaeology of a Myth*, Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society LTD, 1968, p. 96.

1853[^] "History of Joseph Smith," in *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, No. 5, Vol. XV, Saturday January 29, 1853, p. 69.

This is a reprint of the "History of Joseph Smith," which appeared in the *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI. No. 20, City of Nauvoo, 1 January 1846, p. 1076. Because this official "History" was printed in England for all those saints abroad, they would have shared the geographical implications contained in the story--that the hill Cumorah where the final battles took place was in New York and that the "last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites" took place in the United States as the Nephites gathered toward the hill Cumorah in New York.

In recounting the experiences of Zion's Camp in 1834, we find the following:

Our company had been increased since our departure from Kirtland, by volunteers from different branches of the church through which we had passed. We encamped on the bank of the river until tuesday the 3rd during our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this country, Nephites, Lamanites, &c., and this morning I went up on a high mound, near the river, accompanied by the brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend, and the scenery was truly delightful.

On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three alters having been erected one above the other, according to ancient order; and human bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs was a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death, Elder Brigham Young retained the arrow and the brethren carried some pieces of the skeleton to Clay county. The contemplation of the scenery before us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms; and the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us, was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man, and a man of God. He was a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah, or Eastern sea, to the Rocky Mountains. His name was Zelph. The curse was taken from him, or at least, in part; one of his thigh bones was broken, by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites.

1853[^] Heber C. Kimball *Journal of Discourses*, 2:220, 13 August 1853.

"I have lived in the state of New York, town of Bloomfield, Monroe County, right in the heart of the country where the ancient Lamanites, and other veterans, destroyed each other, root and branch; where the Book of Mormon was discovered in the hill of Cumorah."

Note* For other references to "Cumorah," see the following notations: 1823, 1827, 1829, 1831, 1834, 1835, 1842, 1843.

1853 abt. Joseph Smith Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations*, Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853.
(Cumorah) Compare Lucy Mack Smith, "The History of Lucy Smith ca. 1845," manuscript. Compare also ^History of Joseph Smith, Salt Lake City, 1956.

In the 1853 *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards) revised from a manuscript which Lucy Mack Smith dictated in 1845, Lucy apparently makes some remarks concerning the time period apparently just after Joseph's marriage on January 18, 1827. Lucy tells the story as follows:

[Joseph] took leave for Pennsylvania, on the same business as before mentioned, and the next January [1827] returned with his wife, in good health and fine spirits. Not long subsequent to his return, my husband had occasion to send him to Manchester on business. As he set off early in the day we expected him home at most by six o'clock in the evening, but when six o'clock came he did not arrive. . . . He did not get home till the night was far spent. On coming in he threw himself into a chair, apparently much exhausted. . . . Presently he smiled and said in a calm tone, "I have taken the severest chastisement that I have ever had in my life." My husband, supposing that it was from some of the neighbors, was quite angry and observed, "I would like to know what business anybody has to find fault with you!" "Stop, father, stop," said Joseph, "it was the angel of the Lord. *As I passed by the hill of Cumorah*, where the plates are, the angel met me and said that I had not been engaged enough in the work of the Lord; that the time had come for the record to be brought forth; and that I must be up and doing and set myself about the things which God had commanded me to do." . . . It was also made known to him at this interview that he should make another effort to obtain the plates, on the twenty-second of the following September, but this he did not mention to us at that time.

Note* The 1845 manuscript of Lucy Smith's history ("The History of Lucy Smith") **does not** include the phrase "hill of Cumorah." It reads as follows:

But to return to the <first> circumstance which I commenced relating he did not return home till the night was considerably advanced his Father and myself were together no one else was present when he entered the house he threw himself into a chair seemingly much exhausted he was <as> pale as ashes his Father exclaimed "Joseph why have <you> staid so late has anything happened you we have been in distress about you these 3 hours [beginning of an X'ed out passage] after Joseph recovered himself a little he said Father I have had the severest chastisement that I ever had in my life Chastisement ideed! said Mr. Smith Well upon my word I would like to who has been takeing you to task and what their pretext was its pretty well too, if you are to be detained till this time of night to take lectures for your bad practises. Joseph smiled to see his Father so hasty and indignant. Father said he it was the angel of the Lord. he says I have been negligent that the time has now come when the record should be brought forth and that I [end of X'd-out passage] must be up and doing that I must set myself about the things which God has commanded me to do as to this reprimand <for> I know what course I am to pursue an all will be well.

However in a puzzling way, a reverse of the above scenario is also true. In the 1845 version the angel instructed Joseph that "The record is on a side of *the hill of Cumorah*, three miles from this place. Remove the grass and moss, and you will find the record under it, lying on four pillars of cement." (see below) However in the 1853 edited version, this reference to "the Hill of Cumorah" was removed.

In the 1845 manuscript Lucy says the following:

~~About this~~—The 3 harvest time had now arrived since we opened our new farm and all the our sons were actively employed in assisting their Father to cut down the grain and storing it away in order, ~~for winter~~ One evening we were sitting till quite late conversing upon the subject of the diversity of churchess that had risen iup in the world and the many thousand opinions in existencce as tot he truths containedc in scripture. Joseph ~~wha~~ never said many words upon any subject but always seemed to reflect more deeply than common persoins osf his age upon everything of a religious nature. ~~This~~ After we ceased conversation he went to bed <and was pondering in his mind which of the churches were the true one. an but he had not laid there long till <he saw> a bright <light> entered the room where he lay he looked up and saw an angel of the Lord stood <standing> by him The angel spoke I perceive that you are enquiring in your milnd which is the true church there is not a true church on Earth No not one ~~Not~~ <and> has not been since Peter took the Keys <of the Melchiesidec preiethood after the order of God> into the Kingdom of Heaven The churches that are now uon the Earth are all man made churches Joseph there is a record for you and you must get it one day get it There is a record for you and Joseph

~~when you have learned to keep the commandments of God~~ but you cannot get it until you learn to keep the commandments of God <For it is not to get gain> But it is to bring forth that light and intelligence which has been long lost in the Earth Now Joseph <or> beware <or> when you go to get the plates your mind will be filled with darkness and all manner of evil will rush into your mind To ~~keep~~ <prevent> you from keeping the commandments of God <that you may not succeed in doing his work> and you must tell your father of this for he will believe every word you say the record is on a side hill **on the Hill of Cumorah** 3 miles from this place remove the Grass and moss and you will find a large flat stone pry that up and you will find the record under it laying on 4 pillars--<of cement> then the angel left him.

In the 1853 edition we find that instead of the narrative above where the "Hill of Cumorah" is mentioned, the account from the "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, vol. 3, no. 12 (15 April 1842), pp. 753-754 has been inserted. The 1853 account reads as follows:

On the evening of the twenty-first of September, he retired to his bed in quite a serious and contemplative state of mind. He shortly betook himself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God, for a manifestation of his standing before him, and while thus engaged he received the following vision:--- "While I was thus in the act of calling upon God, I discovered a light appearing in the room, which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noon-day, when immediately a personage appeared at my bed-side, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor. . . .
. . . While he was conversing with me about the plates, the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly, that I knew the place again when I visited it. . . ." --*Times and Seasons*, vol. iii, p. 729, *Suppl. to Mil. Star*, vol. xiv, p. 4.

Source: Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoir*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001, pp. 335-338, 374-375. See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1.

Note* In 1979, Howard Clair Searle presented a 520-page Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980) at the University of California, Los Angeles, in which he devotes chapter 8 to "The History of Joseph Smith By His Mother." In this chapter he writes the following:

[p. 358] Next to the official Church annals, which were produced as the "History of Joseph Smith" and the "History of Brigham Young," the most significant pro-Mormon history written before 1858 was produced by Lucy Mack Smith, the aged mother of the Prophet. Written after Mother Smith had reached her sixty-seventh birthday, the work is more of a memoir and family record than a Church History. . . .

[pp. 360-361] Although Mother Smith could read and write herself, she was old and infirm and sought someone with literary skill and experience to assist her with her correspondence and history. ("Richard L. Anderson, "His Mother's Manuscript: An Intimate View of Joseph Smith," transcript of a B.Y.U. Forum address, Jan. 27, 1976, p. 5) Martha Jane was twenty-three years old and had been married to school-teacher and scribe, Howard Coray, for three years when she was asked during the winter of 1844-45 to write for Mrs. Smith . . .

[pp. 363-366] The Preliminary Manuscript of the history which was written by Martha Jane Coray, consists of approximately 210 pages of foolscap, including a few partial and ragged sheets. These sheets are carefully written on both sides in a consistent and legible script with a few corrections appearing right into the text. Mrs. Coray apparently recorded this manuscript from Lucy Smith's dictation and from collected notes and then later read the narrative back to Lucy for correction and approval. (Anderson, "His Mother's Manuscript," p. 5) . . .

[pp. 371-372] The first published edition of Mother Smith's history in 1853 was the result of a revision of the Preliminary manuscript by Howard and Martha Coray in 1845.

[pp. 379-380] . . . In her 1864 letter to Brigham Young, Mrs. Coray affirmed:

There were two [revised] manuscripts prepared, one copy was given to Mother Smith, and the other

retained in the Church. The first copy fell into the hands of Mr. Arthur Miliken, Mother Smith's son-in-law, and went from him, I hear, to A. W. Battitt Esq., and afterwards came into possession of an Editor named Sheen, and was sold by him to Elder Orson Pratt who took it to England and published it [in 1853] in its crude state.

[p. 383] If Mother Smith's original revised manuscript ever survived in England or America, it has not been discovered or identified up to the present time.

[p. 372] . . . A surviving copy of the [Revised] manuscript [given by the Coray's to the Church in Nauvoo] was written in legal size journal with a title page which was inscribed "The History of Lucy Smith, Mother of the Prophet." . . .

[p. 384] . . . [by 1855] both the Preliminary manuscript and the Church's copy of the Revised manuscript were stored in the Church Archives . . .

[pp. 384-385] Quite a few changes were made in the revised manuscript of Lucy's history, but Mother Smith's role in these revisions is not clear. Although she may not have initiated all the additions and deletions, she was in a position to review and approve them before the work was finished. About one-fourth of the revised manuscript is not in the preliminary [manuscript] draft, while approximately ten percent of the earlier [preliminary] manuscript is omitted from the revised manuscript. A good deal of the added material was taken from "The History of Joseph Smith," which was published earlier in the *Times and Seasons*. These excerpts were generally used to expand the information of Joseph and the establishment of the Church. Additions in four of the chapters substitute more complete primary sources for secondary sources and thus contribute to the reliability of the history." (Richard L. Anderson, Comments on Jan Shipp's paper, "The Prophet, His Mother, and Early Mormonism," Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association, Logan, Utah, May 6, 1978, Howard Searle's notes)

[pp. 390-391] When Apostle Orson Pratt left for a mission to England in September 1852, he called on Isaac Sheen, who had by this time come into possession of Mother Smith's Revised manuscript . . . Pratt purchased it for the purported sum of \$1000 and took it to England with him. (Shipps, "The Prophet, His Mother, and Early Mormonism," Searle's notes) Without the consent or knowledge of Brigham Young or any of the Twelve, Pratt had it printed by Samuel W. Richards, who was the editor and publisher of the *Millennial Star* and manager of the Church's printing office and book depot at Liverpool. The book was published without revision, following rather closely the manuscript which Mrs. Coray later described as being in a rather "crude state." (Martha Jane Coray to Brigham Young, 13 June 1865, L.D.S. Archives) A comparison of the 1853 edition and the Church's copy of the revised manuscript shows that the publication is quite a faithful rendering of the content of that document. The book was widely distributed in England, and by 1854 it was available in Great Salt Lake City.

[p. 398] The condemnation and recall of Lucy Smith's History by the Church hierarchy was a long time in coming, and official action was not taken until 1865, twelve years after the book was published.

[p. 400] The Presidency [gave] a strong warning to those who would not rid themselves of the book, and then outlined the following procedure for its collection: "We wish those who have these books to either hand them to their Bishops for them to be conveyed to the President's or Historian's Office or send them themselves, that they may be disposed of . . ." (*Millennial Star*, XXVII, No. 42, October 21, 1865, p. 658.)

[pp. 402-414] Among the major factors that undoubtedly influenced Brigham Young and the Twelve in their condemnation of the history are the following:

- (1) The Church leaders wanted to protect readers from the mis-conceptions and errors they perceived in the book. . . . [dates, etc.]
- (2) Mother Smith's positive portrayal of her son, William, was seen as giving credence and possible support to his rival claim to Church leadership. . . . [William had rebelled numerous times against his father, the Prophet, and was excommunicated]
- (3) The book's favorable treatment of the Prophet's wife, Emma . . . [her non support of Polygamy]
- (4) Orson Pratt, who was known to have long standing differences with Brigham Young, was considered insubordinate in his publication of the history. A well-known bit of Mormon folklore suggests that at one time in a moment of candor, Brother Brigham confessed, "The trouble with

me and Orson Pratt is that he knows too much and I know too little." Whether true or not the expression characterized the relationship of the two men. Pratt, who was probably the best educated man in the early Church, was always trying to advance the frontiers of truth through his reasoning and speculation, and President Young, who had only a modicum of schooling, was always on guard to keep him within the bounds of Church orthodoxy.

- (5) After providing financial backing to produce and copy the history, the Church leaders were unable to control its editing and publication.

[p. 414-415] Brigham Young did not plan the permanent suppression of Mother Smith's history, but wanted the Church Historian to revise and correct it, leaving out "false statements" and those that were not known "to be true,," and giving "the reason why they are left out." (Wilford Woodruff Journal, 13 February 1859, L.D.S. Church Archives) The Church Historian, George A. Smith, who was also a cousin to the Prophet and well acquainted with his family, was probably the best qualified man in the Church to head the revision committee. Another cousin of Joseph's, Elias Smith, was assigned to work with George A. on the project. Joseph Smith's father, Joseph, Sr.; George A.'s father, John; and Elias' father, Asael, were all sons of Asael and Mary Smith. (See Nibley, ed., *History of Joseph Smith By His Mother*, pp. 348-52.)

[pp. 417- 420] To correct the history, the Smith cousins took at least two copies of the 1853 edition and made their deletions and corrections right in the text or margins (the Church apparently had plenty of copies to spare after the 1865 recall). One of these books, which was apparently corrected under the direction of George A. Smith by the personnel in the Church Historian's Office, is currently in the Harold B Lee Library at Brigham Young University. . . . The second copy used by the revision committee has the writing of Elias Smith in the margins and is currently in the L.D.S. Church Archives. . . . The changes indicated in the text and marginal notes of these two copies were subsequently incorporated into the new revised edition.

[p. 420-424] What important revisions were made in the controversial history by the revision committee? They were not nearly as extensive as all the furor over the book would suggest. . . . Changes were of several different types:

- (1) Several favorable references to William Smith were deleted or changed.
- (2) Six out of eighteen references to Emma Smith were omitted, although the deletions appear rather incidental. A glowing eulogy of Emma on page 169 was left intact.
- (3) Many corrections were made in dates and names, especially in the genealogical data of chapter nine.
- (4) Some misstatements and misconceptions of Mother Smith were corrected. . . .
- (5) Some profanity and gross statements were edited out of the history.
- (6) Words were changed to clarify meaning and improve the grammar.
- (7) A few additions were made to expand parts of the narrative. A paragraph relating to Joseph Smith's First Vision was added which contains the information in note B on page 132 of Book A-1 of the Manuscript History of the Church. (Compare Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith [1853]*, p. 77 and Smith, "*History of the Prophet Joseph.*" p. 250).
- (8) Statements that seemed unfavorable to the image of Joseph Smith or the Church were omitted.
- (9) Some references of purely family interest were left out.

Criticism of the committee's work of revision has usually focused on their methods more than upon the specific changes they made in the history. All of their deletions, additions, and changes were made right in the text, so that in the published version there is no indication of what the editors have done. (Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith's History by His Mother*, pp. 4-15)

[p. 424-425] Before the book, as revised by George A. Smith and Elias Smith, ever reached publication, the [1853] history was printed by the Reorganized Church at Plano, Illinois, in 1880. It contained a new preface in addition to Orson Pratt's 1853 preface. Some corrections were made with explanatory footnotes, and only the missionary journal of Don Carlos Smith as published in the Appendix. The publishers could not bring themselves to publish the poems of Eliza R. Snow, an avowed plural wife of Joseph Smith. The book was republished at Lamoni, Iowa, by the RLDS in 1912 and again in 1969.

The version revised by George A. and Elias Smith was never printed until 1901 and 1902. The General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was desirous of publishing the history in serial form in its monthly organ, *The Improvement Era* . . . and it finally appeared in monthly installments in the *Era* from November 1901 to December 1902.

[p. 427] Its rather through suppression in 1865 significantly delayed its distribution and acceptance. It was only after the revisions of the Smith cousins, and the succession of anew generation of Church leadership, that the history was finally approved for publication in 1901.

[p. 425] The main purpose for republishing the book in Salt Lake City in 1945 was apparently to make it more accessible to Church readers, for very few changes were made by the editor, Preston Nibley. (see chart below)

[p. 426] Two photomechanical reprints of the 1853 edition have appeared in recent years. Jerald and Sandra Tanner produced a reprint in 1965 with a lengthy analytical introduction, which discusses the publication and recall of the book and details many of the changes that were made in later editions. (Jerald and Sandra Tanner, *Joseph Smith's History By His Mother*, pp. 1-15) Arno Press in New York published a reprint in 1969 as part of a series entitled Religion in America. (Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (1853; rpt., New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969).

[1853] **Chart: Contents of the Extant Revised Manuscript of Lucy Smith's History.** Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California. p. 377].

1854^ "History of Joseph Smith," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 16, No. 19, May 13, 1854, pp. 295-296.

1838. This is an account of the Kirtland Camp who traveled near the cabin of Lyman Wight in September, Tuesday 25th. . . . The camp passed through Huntsville, in Randolph County, which has been appointed as one of the Stakes of Zion, and is the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents at Dark Creek, Salt Licks, seventeen miles. . . .

Note* For a full discussion see the 1838 notation.

1855^ Parley P. Pratt *Key to the Science of Theology*, Liverpool, 1855

Parley P. Pratt writes the following concerning the science of theology:

By this science the Prophets Lehi and Nephi came out with a colony from Jerusalem, in the days of Jeremiah the prophet, and after wandering for eight years in the wilderness of Arabia, came to the seacoast, built a vessel, obtained from the Lord a compass to guide them on the way, and finally landed in safety on the coast of what is now called Chile, in South America. (pp. 22-23)

On the twenty-second of September, 1827, the angel directed him [Joseph Smith] to a hill a few miles distant, called anciently Cumorah. Around this hill, in the fifth century of the Christian era, had rallied the last remnant of a once powerful and highly polished nation, called the Nephites. . . . Among these latter were General Mormon and his son, and second in command, General Moroni.

These were the last Prophets of a nation, now no more. They held the sacred records, compiled and transmitted from their fathers from the remotest antiquity. They held the Urim and Thummim, and the compass of Lehi, which had been prepared by Providence, to guide a colony from Jerusalem to America. In the hill Cumorah they deposited all these things. Here they lay concealed for fourteen hundred years. (pp. 82-83)

1855 abt. W. W. Phelps William Horen Dame, *Diary*, 14 January 1855, found in LDS Church Archives (Cave Story)

William Dame, on January 14, 1855, recorded in his diary:
Attended meeting a discourse from W. W. Phelps. He related a story told him by Hyrum Smith which was as follows: Joseph, Hyrum, Cowdery and Whitmer went to the Hill Cumorah. As they were walking up the hill, a door opened and they walked into a room about 16 ft. square. In that room was an angel and a trunk. On that trunk lay a Book of Mormon and gold plates, Laban's sword, Aaron's breastplate.

Source:

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* see Southern Exploring Co, journal, 14 January 1855, Church Archives

1856^ George A. Smith "Mother Lucy Smith," *The Mormon*, vol. II, no. ?, New York, July 12, 1856

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 5, 1856

ED. MORMON: -- In the 19th number of your paper I read a notice of the death of Mrs. Lucy Smith, mother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and who has been for the last twenty-six years familiarly known to all the saints as "Mother Smith." . . .

. . . When the Saints resolved to leave Nauvoo for the *Rocky Mountains*, she addressed a general conference, bearing testimony of the truth of her desire to lay her bones in Nauvoo beside her husband and sons. From that time until the day of her death, she mostly resided in Nauvoo, with her youngest daughter, Lucy Miliken, excepting the two last years she resided with her daughter-in-law, widow of her son Joseph. She enjoyed the gifts and influence of the holy spirit much, and the following hymn was given her in 1833, which she sang in the Nephite tongue, which caused great sensation and tears to flow in the congregation, and the gift of interpretation followed. *The hymn has reference to the last great battle of the Nephites against the Lamanites, around the Hill Cumorah, in the State of New York, where the plates were found from which the Book of Mormon was translated. It is called "Moroni's Lamentation."*

I have no home, where shall I go?
While here I'm left to weep below
My heart is pained, my friends are gone,
And here I'm left on earth to mourn

. . .

My Father look'd upon this scene
And in his writings made it plain,
How every Nephite's heart did fear,
When he beheld his foes draws near.

With axe and bow they fell upon
Our men and women, sparing none;
And left them prostrate on the ground;
Lo here they now are bleeding round!

Ten thousand that were led by me
Lie round this Hill call'd Cumorah!
Their spirits from their bodies fled,
And they are numbered with the dead.

. . .

. . . Peace to her ashes! Amen.

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007) Dale Broadhurst notes the following:

Note: This article was reprinted in the August 23, 1856 issue of the LDS Church's San Francisco Newspaper -- *The Western Standard*. . . .

1856[^] George A. Smith "Mother Lucy Smith," *The Western Standard*, vol. ?, no. ?, San Francisco, Calif, August 23, 1856

See the other 1856 George A. Smith notation.

1856[^] Heber C. Kimball *Journal of Discourses*, 4:105, September 28, 1856
(Cave Story)

In a discourse delivered in the Bowery, Great Salt Lake City, September 28, 1856, President Heber C. Kimball said the following:

Brother Mills mentioned in his song, that crossing the Plains with hand-carts was one of the greatest events that ever transpired in this Church. I will admit that it is an important event, successfully testing another method for gathering Israel, but its importance is small in comparison with the visitation of the angel of God to the Prophet Joseph, and with the reception of the sacred records from the hand of Moroni at the hill Cumorah.

How does it compare with the vision that Joseph and others had, when they went into a cave in the hill Cumorah, and saw more records than ten men could carry? There were books piled up on tables, book upon book. Those records this people will yet have, if they accept the Book of Mormon and observe it's precepts, and keep the commandments.

Note* In reference to Heber C. Kimball's remarks about the Cave Story, it is interesting that in a speech concerning the miraculous events of the Restoration, Heber C. Kimball said, "I have been, as I have already told you, to where Adam offered sacrifices and blessed his sons, and I felt as though there were hundreds of angels there, and there were angels there like unto the three Nephites. I have also been over the hill Cumorah, and I understand all about it." (^*Journal of Discourses* 12:191)

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1857[^] "Buried Cities of the West," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*
10, Jan. 1857, pp. 17-19.

(From the "*Western Standard*")

Every fact recorded by the Spanish Historians goes to show that there existed in central America a vast empire of great civilization and great antiquity. It must be so old to have received the traditions of the creation as they were known to Moses, and so civilized as to have perpetuated them in writing. . . . [and] knowledge of the true account of the creation and the event of the deluge, which the Spanish historians and early missionaries agree to have been old among the

traditions of aborigines of Polynesia, and among the people of Mexico, when Europeans first appeared upon the continent, and among the Islands. How, then, did these dwellers in Central America obtain the knowledge of the creation and the deluge? . . . there is nothing impossible in the suggestion that the race which strewed monuments over lands that are now deserts and forests, may have been, as their traditions assert, the grand-children of Noah, and the contemporaries of the patriarch, and yet how little has it been investigated!--[*New Quarterly Review*]

. . . The Book of Mormon pointed out with remarkable definiteness, years before the discovery of ruins in Central America, the situation of cities built and occupied by the ancient dwellers of the continent. Explorations made subsequent to the printing and extensive circulation of this Book, revealed the fact that ruins occupying the precise situation of these ancient cities, did really exist. Prior to their discovery the non-existence of ruins of cities such as the Book of Mormon described, had been plausibly urged as an argument against its authenticity. If, said the objector, such an enlightened and highly advanced people ever occupied this continent---if they built cities and temples of such magnitude as stated by the Book of Mormon, where are the ruins? The discoveries of Stephens and Catherwood in the country declared by the Book of Mormon to be the principal residence of one of the colonies that were led to this land, overthrew this argument; but they failed to overthrow the objections of those who were determined to view the Book as a forgery.

Note* Although the author states that "The discoveries of Stephens and Catherwood in the country declared by the Book of Mormon to be the principal residence of one of the colonies that were led to this land," he fails to note which colony. Was it the Jaredites or the Nephites? The author's references to Stephens and Catherwood are similar to those in the *Times and Seasons* of 1842 and 1843 in which Central America was correlated with the land of Zarahemla. (see notations) If this was the case, did the author really realize the ramifications to Book of Mormon geography that he was suggesting?

1857[^] John Taylor *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. V, Liverpool, England, 1858, pp. 240-241

In the recorded remarks by Elder John Taylor, delivered in the Bowery, Great Salt Lake City on Sunday Morning, September 13, 1857, we find the following:

Stephens and Catherwood, after examining the ruins that were found at Guatemala, in Central America, and gazing upon magnificent ruins, mouldering temples, stately edifices, rich sculpture, elegant statuary, and all the traces of a highly cultivated and civilized people, said--"Here are the works of great and mighty people that have inhabited these ruins; but now they are no more: history is silent on the subject, and no man can unravel this profound mystery. Nations have planted, and reaped, and built, and lived, and died, that are now no more; and no one can tell anything about them or reveal their history."

Why, there was a young man in Ontario county, New York, to whom the angel of God appeared and gave an account of the whole. These majestic ruins bespeak the existence of a mighty people. The Book of Mormon unfolds their history. O yes; but his was of too humble an origin, like Jesus of Nazareth. It was not some great professor, who had got an education in a European or an American college, but one who professed to have a revelation from God.--and the world don't believe in revelation; but nevertheless it is true, and we know it.

Note* This is an extremely important quote because apparently it represents the last time in which John Taylor spoke about Book of Mormon geography. It is very interesting here that John Taylor quotes the same Stephens and Catherwood writings that were part of the *Times & Seasons* articles, yet he fails to mention anything about the location of Zarahemla being near Quirigua or the landing place of Lehi being just a little south of the Isthmus of Darien as spoken of in the 1842 *Times & Seasons* articles. The other two times in which he addressed Book of Mormon geography was in 1844 and 1845 (see notations) While there might be a number of good reasons why Elder Taylor did not elaborate on the specifics of those 1842 articles in 1844, 1845, or 1857, nevertheless the lack of these details might indicate that the seeming veracity of those 1842 proposals

had diminished or even disappeared. The lack of any other quotes by John Taylor on Book of Mormon geography, especially on the location of Zarahemla or the landing place of Lehi, has to be taken as a significant factor in evaluating those 1842 *Times & Seasons* statements. -- See the 1842 notations

1860s^ (abt. Jacob Hamblin)

**John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*,
Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, pp. 167-174.**

John Heinerman relates a number of stories (including his own) about hidden treasures related to the Book of Mormon peoples. In the process he cites a number quotes from Church authorities. The following concerning a story related initially by Jacob Hamblin:

The late summer of 1931 found my grandfather Jacob Heinerman, Sr. and my dad (also Jacob Heinerman) jointly operating a small family-owned moving business in downtown Salt Lake City. . . . On a particular Thursday morning of August 6th, 1931, a call came in for them to travel northward to Ogden to pick up a piano which had just arrived by train from the East and deliver it to a certain location in another town just a few miles further up the road. . . . They loaded the heavy crated musical instrument on the back of their 1931 Model T truck and proceeded north to Brigham City, the final point of delivery. There they met up with a prominent local architect by the name of Chris Simonsen. . . . Following this delivery job, Simonsen (also a former city mayor in that locale) invited both Heinermans to join him for lunch at a popular eatery, The Paris Cafe. While waiting for their food to arrive and during the course of the meal itself, he entertained them with some of the early history of the place gleaned from some of the old-timers in Box Elder County. . . .

Some 69 years later, my father, now an active octogenarian, vividly recalls the more important details of what Brigham City's ex-mayor told him and his dad that Thursday afternoon of August 6th, 1931 in The Paris Cafe over a hearty lunch. The following narrative about treasure caves in Utah's remote southern wilderness is taken from my father's own verbal recollection as well as his written, unpublished memoirs contained within one volume of my many, extensive journals.

Sometime during 1911, an old and prominent pioneer figure by the name of Amos Wright came down from Bennington, Bear Lake County, Idaho with two of his grown sons to the Merrill Lumber Co. in Brigham City, where Chris Simonsen kept his architect's office. Wright had been the ward bishop of this small farming community just north of Montpelier for a number of years. As a teenager he mastered the Shoshone language, which later proved very useful during several church missions that he served among these Indian people. By the time he was 21 years old, Wright had served as an Indian translator, a freighter, a Pony Express rider, church missionary, and general adventurer. . . . Amos recounted an episode which must have transpired shortly after he gave up riding as a mail courier for the Pony Express. He accompanied two friends about his own age to their homes in Kanab in the southernpart of the state. Here he met the famed buckskin "Apostle to the Lamanites" Jacob Hamblin, who shared a most intriguing tale with Wright and a few other select men one night at the home of Ira Hatch.

Hamblin opened up the conversation by noting that people sometimes had questioned him on why he did so many things among the Lamanites without first consulting with the Church Authorities in Salt Lake City. His standard reply to them always was that while Church President Brigham Young had called and set him apart as a special Apostle to the Indians, he actually took his regular "marching orders" from the Three Nephites of The Book of Mormon fame. . . .!

Anyhow, Hamblin was visited upon one particular occasion by two of these Three Nephites. They invited him to accompany them in the great stretch of wilderness expanse directly south of Kanab. . . . One of his hosts informed him that (at that time) no human had set foot on the ground on which they were then standing for a number of centuries! He then stretched forth his hand in front of a large, natural rock wall facing them and an entry way became promptly apparent. (Whether a particular stone actually rolled aside for this purpose was never mentioned. As to exactly how this was done remains a mystery.)

The three of them went inside, one Nephite leading the way, Hamblin in the middle, and his companion bringing up the rear. The inside seemed to be rather high, wide, and deep. Hamblin used the word "cavern" several times to describe what the room resembled to him. Everything about it seemed to have been naturally formed instead of bearing man-made signs of expansion or finishing.

Sunlight from outside was swallowed up by a softer brilliance of illumination from within. But as to the source of the internal lighting, Hamblin was never told. His footsteps were directed toward the back part of one section of a limestone wall, against which were stacked numerous stone boxes of varying descriptions. In each of them, he was told by one of his hosts, were contained metallic plates representing the two great ancient cultures which inhabited the Americas several thousand years ago. Inscribed on them were the many histories, prophecies, wars, and general activities of the Jaredites (who came for the Tower of Babel) and their own people (the Nephites), who came from Jerusalem at the time of King Nebuchadrezzar's invasion and subsequent conquest of that city and adjacent land. Hamblin remained still and said nothing, undoubtedly quite awestruck with what he saw. His informant said that these records had been gathered together in that particular spot over a period of time by divine means, from former places of secretion in other parts of the Americas (presumably from North, Central and South America). And that the time would come when they would be brought forth by designated servants of the Most High and eventually translated into English through the gift and power of God. These would then become the scriptures for all those living during the Millennium . . . The entire genealogy and true origins of the Lamanites (or native Americans) would also be provided. . . . Hamblin was promised that he would be an active participant in these events but not in his present flesh (presumably as a resurrected being.) Other things were shown and told to him which he could not divulge. But he closed his thrilling tale in the home of Ira Hatch that particular night before an obviously astonished but very small audience, with his testimony.

Bishop Wright told Simonsen that when he heard Hamblin's concluding remarks, it seemed to him as if there were a fire welling up inside of him that could not be contained. Hamblin looked around the room with a steady fix on everyone's eyes and soberly declared that ALL the records from which the Book of Mormon had been compiled were safely hid away and well guarded some good distance from where they all resided. He said he had seen these things with his own eyes and heard this report from two of the Three Nephites themselves. He then bore a powerful testimony of the Book of Mormon itself and admonished everyone in that room to read every word and live by its precepts. . . .

My grandfather and dad clearly understood the terms on which this highly unusual story had come to them. It was third-hand and not from the original source itself. And with each retelling came slight but unintentional variations and changes. The German convert from the Old Country insisted to his son on their way back to Salt Lake City later that afternoon, that if there was anything at all to this (which he didn't think there was), that it would come through the proper channels of the Church in its own appointed time and to no one else. He was very adamant with his son in this matter. . . . My dad had always felt ever since hearing Simonsen's narrative, that it was based in truth. The problem, though, he correctly noted is just how much was truth and how much was hearsay gleaned from the periodic retelling of the same. Only the Holy Spirit could confirm that within one's own soul after taking this issue up with the Lord in fervent prayer. Dad had received his own knowledge about this, but felt it was not for public consumption in a book like this. But he encouraged me to write up the incident just as he had related it and as also previously referred to in his written history contained within one of my earlier journals.

As further evidence of this unique visit, my father got up from his chair and slowly ambled over to his antique secretary desk. After some momentary shuffling of papers, he produced a faded menu taken from the diner on which he had scribbled some of the highlights to Simonsen's intriguing tale. . . .

1875 abt. Brigham Young *The Contributor* 15:323 (March 1894)

John Heinerman writes concerning Brigham's comments concerning the Gadianton Robbers in the years 1875-1876. He cites *The Contributor*, vol 15, p. 323 (March 1894) and comments:

At various times, though, when he [Gadianton] and his associates were close to getting caught by the Nephite military, they escaped by moving further northward until they eventually penetrated the isolated wilderness waste regions of western Nevada, northern Arizona, and pretty much all of Utah, especially the southern and southwestern regions of the state, according to Church President Brigham Young.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, pp. 77-78

Note* See the March 1894 notation.

1860's (abt. Brigham Young)

James H. Gardner, *Historical Pamphlet*, May 1943

John Heinerman writes:

In a small biographical tract published in May, 1943 and entitled James H. Gardner, Historical Pamphlet, mention is made of grounds in Mill Creek Canyon and Big Cottonwood Canyon just east of Salt Lake City that were formerly sacred to the Gadiantons.

In the 1850's in Mill Creek Canyon there was a saw mill owned by Alexander. While using his tools, files, axes, etc., he would lose them. He would put a file down, and turn and it was gone. As long as the tools were in his hands they were safe, but if he put them down they were gone. [this continued on for some time.] Alexander was advised to go and see B[rigam] Young and be advised on what to do.

He was told that he was trespassing on property belonging to the Gadianton Robbers, a spot where they held their secret gatherings. [He was] told to get some of the [priesthood] brethren to join hi in a prayer circle. Dressed in their holy [temple] robes, this was done. B. Young told them to move the mill to other parts. When the slab pile in the creek was hauled away, which was about twenty feet deep, behold, there were axes, chains and everything that was lost. Thus ended the story of the Alexander saw mill.

A few years later [the 1860's?] [the] Maxfield Brithers started to build a saw mill in Big Cottonwood Canyon and they had the same trouble. They asked B. Young to go up to the mill with them, showing him the location and what had happened. He told them also that the mill was on a sacred spot to the Gadianton Robbers and advised them to move to the other end of the flat, about 200 yards, which they did and had no more trouble [after that].

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 78.

1860s (abt. Brigham Young)

***Journal of Abraham H. Cannon*, under the May 20th, 1894 entry.**

John Heinerman writes:

At various other times in his annual trips to Southern Utah from Salt Lake City, Brigham Young also identified other areas within the state which were former habitations for these Nephite [Gadianton] bands. He told a group of Saints in Manti once that "some of the Gadianton Robbers were in the vicinity of Sanpete [County in ancient times] looking for treasures of those [Jaredites] who came from the Tower [of Babel]. Salem, Payson, Santaquin, and Salina were also earmarked as other Gadianton hangouts.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 80

1861^ Brigham Young

"Article," *Journal of Discourses* , vol. 8, p. 344

In remarks given in the Tabernacle in Salt Lake City on January 20th, 1861, [Brigham] Young stated the following:

There are scores of evil spirits here--spirits of the old Gadianton Robbers, some of whom inhabited these mountains, and used to go into the South and afflict the Nephites. There are millions of those spirits in the mountains, and they are ready to make us covetous, if they can. They are ready to lead astray every man and woman that wishes to be a Latter Day Saint. This may seem strange to some of

you, but you will see them. As soon as your spirits are unlocked from these tabernacles, you are in the spirit-world, and you will there have to contend against evil spirits as we here have to contend against wicked persons.

Additional Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 79.

1865^ (abt. Geo. A. Smith) *Wilford Woodruff Journal* 6:241 under August 26th, 1865 entry. See also *The Deseret News* 14(48): 1; August 30, 1865.

John Heinerman writes:

On the morning of August 25th, 1865, according to *The Deseret News* . . . "Presidents B. Young and Heber C. Kimball of the First Presidency, and Elders Wilford Woodruff, Geo. A. Smith, Franklin D. Richards and Geo. Q. Cannon of the Twelve Apostles, with other brethren and sisters, left G.S.L. City at 9 o'clock to hold a two-day meeting in Tooele City . . . "

[According to Wilford Woodruff's Journal] The Sunday morning session began at 10 a.m. . . . Apostle George A. Smith weighed in (all 300 pounds of him) with some preliminary remarks about the Jaredites. "The men that came out from the great Tower were powerful men and occupied the land for thirty generations. They had among them prophets to teach them the way of the Lord. . . . Elder Smith was of the opinion that their remains could be found in many locations, including right there in Tooele.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, pp. 153-154.

1865 (abt. Brigham Young) **Lamond W. Huntsman, *Huntsman Annals*.** Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1971, pp. 46-47. See also *The Deseret news* 14(48):1; August 30, 1865.

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Shortly before the arrival of this entourage of important church leaders, two young teenage boys, Orson W. Huntsman and David O. Huntsman, were out roaming around on a 10-mile stretch of grassy bench land situated between their father's big ranch and the town of Tooele. Now bordering this wide grassy region were surrounding hills that carried evident marks of the ancient shoreline of old Lake Bonneville. They were eager to explore around on this terrace to satisfy their own innate curiosities.

As they looked upward to a hill just above them, they noticed from a certain angle a hole in the side of it. With renewed excitement, they eagerly scrambled up to the entrance and discovered about ten feet inside, something very old, dry, and shriveled up. It looked to them like an old discarded "squash," which is what they called it. They continued further in and found themselves inside a very high and wide cavern of ancient origins. Excited beyond words, they took their "squash" with them and returned home to show their parents the mysterious find.

When Brigham Young and the other apostles arrived in Tooele a short time later, this "squash" was taken to him for further evaluation, accompanied with a written explanation of how it was found. President Young turned the curious object over in his hands a number of times as he examined it from all sides, while meditatively pondering on the matter at the same time. Finally, he broke his silence with a short statement to the effect that this supposed "old squash" as, in reality, the skull of an ancient Jaredite.

He and some of the others expressed a desire to meet the boys who made this discovery and accompany them to the place where it was first located. Given the propensity of cockiness in youth,

the two Huntsman boys and their egos retched up several notches higher as they led the Prophet of the Lord and other servants of God back to the well-hidden cavern. With the air being in short supply and virtually no circulation inside the rock chamber, great care had to be taken going in. Torches were lit at the entrance way, and several men held aloft a wagon cover to create just enough air movement underneath, so they could continue burning while providing ample breathing space for those going inside.

The men had to move very slowly so as not to stir up several inches of yellow human dust that covered much of the cavern floor. The walls were lined with a number of stone shelves containing numerous skeletal remains. Awe and wonderment undoubtedly filled the minds of those privileged to see such ancient evidence for themselves. Finally, Prophet Young broke the spell-binding silence by declaring that "there were bones of the Jaredites, well a long time."

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, pp. 153-155.

1865^ Church Presidency

Editorial, *Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, XXVII, No. 42, October 21, 1865, pp. 657-661. See also Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California, Appendix D.

In 1865, members of the First Presidency (Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells) published the following.

. . . We do not wish incorrect and unsound doctrines to be handed down to posterity under the sanction of great names, to be received and valued by future generations as authentic and reliable, creating labor and difficulties for our successors to perform and contend with, which we ought not to transmit to them. The interests of posterity are, to a certain extent, in our hands. Errors in history and in doctrine, if left uncorrected by us who are conversant with the events, and who are in a position to judge of the truth or falsity of the doctrines, would go to our children as though we had sanctioned and endorsed them. Such a construction could very easily be put upon our silence respecting them, and would tend to perplex and mislead posterity, and make the labor of correction an exceedingly difficult one for them. We know what sanctity there is always attached to the writings of men who have passed away, especially to the writings of Apostles, when none of their contemporaries are left, and we, therefore, feel the necessity of being watchful upon these points. Personal feelings and friendships and associations ought to sink into comparative insignificance and have no weight in view of consequences so momentous to the people and kingdom of God as these.

1866^

Orson Pratt

The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star, Vol. 28, No. 24, Saturday June 16, 1866, pp. 369-371.

In an article on the differential hour of the reports for the crucifixion as between the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the editor, Orson Pratt, writes about Nephi, who wrote the New World account of the crucifixion time:

In the eleventh paragraph, in reference to the three days of darkness, Nephi says, "thus did the three days pass away. *And it was in the morning*, and the darkness dispersed from off the face of the land, and the earth did cease to tremble, and the rocks did cease to rend," etc. From this short extract, we have a clue to the time of day when the darkness commenced; for as it ended in the morning, it must also have begun in the morning: and therefore the three hours of the crucifixion, which preceded the darkness, must have also ended in the morning: that is, it was *morning* in that particular part of America where Nephi was writing. And we have the strongest reasons for believing that he, at the time, resided in the northwestern portions of South America, near a temple which they had built in the land Bountiful, which the record informs us was not far south of the narrow neck of land, connecting the land south with

the land north; but which we, in these days, call the Isthmus of Darien. Nephi, the historian, and Prophet of God, was present with the multitude who had gathered around this temple, at the time that Jesus descended from heaven among them, which was only a few months after the crucifixion; hence, there is the strongest probability that he dwelt on that part of the continent when he wrote. The four Evangelists, in the New Testament, have plainly told us, what time of day it was in Jerusalem, during which the Savior was on the cross: they all agree that it was "from the sixth to the ninth hour:" their time was kept according to Jewish reckoning; the sixth hour with them, is the same as mid-day or noon; and the ninth hour was the third hour after noon, which corresponds to three o'clock in the afternoon, according to English time. This was the time of day at Jerusalem when Christ was taken down from the cross. But the Book of Mormon states, as we have already quoted, that on the western continent "it was in the morning." to one unlearned, these statements will appear contradictory; but every well informed person can see, at once, that the difference of longitude would produce a difference of time. The north-western part of South America is about one hundred and twelve degrees west of Jerusalem, which is equivalent to about seven and one-half hours of time. This subtracted from the time at Jerusalem, will show that the crucifixion ended, by American time, in the morning between one and two hours after sunrise; or according to our reckoning, at about 7h. 30min. in the morning. As the Prophet, Joseph Smith, never referred to this, it is evident that the difference of time, alluded to resulting from the difference of longitude, never entered his mind; and that he, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, translated the item, "And it was in the morning," without fully comprehending, why it should be in the morning rather than in the afternoon, as recorded in the New Testament. Indeed, it is quite evident that this young man, unlearned as he was, had never been instructed in regard to longitude, and the effect it has upon time, and was, therefore, quite incapable of designedly introducing the correct American time for the sake of deception. (pp. 370-371)

Note* This quote has purposely been kept large in order to include the information about Joseph's perceived knowledge of longitude. This perception relates to the authorship of the Lehi's Travels statement. The question is, was Joseph aware of "longitude" or "latitude" as early as 1836, or was Orson Pratt (or Parley P. Pratt) more the person to bring up such details of "latitude" as included in the Lehi's Travels statement?

Note* See the commentary of the 1842 "Facts Are Stubborn Things" notation.

[1866 **Illustrated Model Orson Pratt:** **HEMISPHERIC**
 L.S.=South Amer. / N.N.=Panama / L.N.=North of Panama / H.C.=N.Y.
 Source: Joseph L. Allen, *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*, p. 185.

1866^ Orson Pratt "The Hill Cumorah: or The Sacred Depository of Wisdom and Understanding," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 28, No. 27, July 7, 1866, pp. 417-418

Orson Pratt writes:

The Hill Cumorah is situated in western New York, between the villages of Palmyra and Canandaigua, about four miles from the former. It is celebrated as the ancient depository of the sacred gold plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. Cumorah was the name by which the hill was designated in the days of the Prophet Moroni, who deposited the plates about four hundred and twenty years after the birth of Christ. The Prophet Mormon, the father of Moroni, had been entrusted with all the sacred records of his forefathers, engraved on metallic plates. New plates were made by Mormon on which he wrote, from the more ancient books, an abridged history of the nation, incorporating therewith many revelations, prophecies, the Gospel, etc. These new plates were given to Moroni to finish the history. And all the ancient plates, Mormon deposited in Cumroah, about three hundred and eighty-four years after Christ. When Moroni, about thirty-six years after, made the deposit of the book entrusted to him, he was, without doubt, inspired to select a department of the hill separate from the great sacred depository of the numerous volumes hid up by his father.

The particular place in the hill, where Moroni secreted the book, was revealed, by the angel, to the Prophet Joseph Smith, to whom the volume was delivered in September, A.D. 1827. But the grand repository of all the numerous records of the ancient nations of the western continent, was located in another department of the hill, and its contents under the charge of holy angels, until the day should come for them to be transferred to the sacred temple of Zion.

The hill Cumorah, with the surrounding vicinity, is distinguished as the great battlefield on which, and near which, two powerful nations were concentrated with all their forces, men, women and children, and fought till hundreds of thousands on both sides were hewn down, and left to molder upon the ground. Both armies were Israelites; both had become awfully corrupt, having apostatized from God: the Nephites a, as a nation, became extinct: the Lamanites alone were left. This happened, according to their faithful records, near the close of the fourth century of the Christian era. The American Indians are the remnants of the once powerful nation of Lamanites.

The Hill Cumorah is remarkable also as being the hill on which and around which, a still more ancient nation perished, called Jaredites: this unparalleled destruction is recorded in the Book of Ether; and happen about six centuries before Christ. The Jaredites colonized America from the Tower of Babel. After about sixteen centuries, during which they became exceedingly numerous, they, through their terrible wars, destroyed themselves. The hill Cumorah, by them, was called Ramah. Millions fought against millions, until the hill Ramah, and the land round about, was soaked with blood, and their carcasses. . . . Millions fought millions, until the Hill Ramah, and the land round about, was soaked with blood, and their carcasses left in countless numbers unburied, to moulder aback to mother earth. There is no spot on this wide world of ours, which is calculated to excite more vivid reflections, than the wonderful hill of Cumorah. There the history of one-half of our globe, reposed, for fourteen centuries, in profound unbroken silence: there, "the everlasting Gospel," engraved, not on tablets of stone, but on plates of gold, awaited the voice of the heavenly angel to reveal the priceless treasure: there, buried in the holy archives of Cumorah's sacred hill, are plates of brass, plates of gold, undimmed by time, safely guarded as the temple of heaven . . .

Note* In relation to these records, Orson Pratt commented in 1873: "But will these things be brought to light? Yes. The records, now slumbering in the hill Cumorah, will be brought forth by the power of God, to fulfil the words of our text, that 'the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the deep.'" (Orson Pratt, May 18, 1873, in *Journal of Discourses* 16:57)

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1866^ Orson Pratt "Suggestions to American Archaeologists," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Saturday, December 1, 1866, pp. 760-761.

In the development of American antiquities, we shall probably be furnished with specimens of the most ancient forms of Hebrew writing now in existence. South America, being colonized from Jerusalem, over five centuries earlier than the great Mississippi valley, will, very likely, present a field very fruitful for the researches of archaeologists. From the Isthmus to the Amazon, and on the western coast even so far south as Chili, will be found the most ancient Israelitish ruins upon the continent. There, it is possible to discover Hebrew writing of the same form and character as that which prevailed at Jerusalem, six centuries before Christ. It is now generally believed by the learned, that the most ancient forms of the Phoenician alphabet are identical with the early Hebrew. It will, indeed, be interesting to procure the learned work of M. Francois Lenormant, the sub-librarian of the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, alluded to on the preceding page, and compare the primitive Hebrew of the East with that of the great Western World. The identity of the form of the letters, will, not only point out the origin of the American aborigines, but the period of their migrations from the East. And thus, another link will be added to the almost endless chain of testimony in confirmation of the Book of Mormon. We are happy to learn, that the celebrated philanthropist, Mr. Peabody, has presented the Harvard University, in America, with \$150,000 "for the foundation and maintenance" of a Museum and professorship of American Archaeology and Ethnology, and the collection of antiquities, relating to the

early races on that continent. we would suggest that one room in this Museum be appropriated as a Library, in which shall be arranged, the Book of Mormon, translated into all the languages of the earth; let this occupy the most conspicuous place in the depository; next in order, arrange the ante-diluvian inscriptions; (If any should be discovered) thirdly, the inscriptions of the Jaredites, from the time they left the tower of Babel, until six centuries before Christ; fourthly, the Hebrew and Egyptian inscriptions of the Israelites from six centuries before Christ, till the close of the fourth century of the Christian era; and lastly, the Mexican hieroglyphics of the Lamanites till the discovery of America by Europeans. The first five volumes of Lord Kingsborough's Herculean work, are wholly occupied with the Mexican or Lamanite hieroglyphics, plates, etc., while the remaining four volumes are mostly the published manuscripts of the early Spanish and European historians relating to the New World. Should the institution be unable to procure elsewhere, these nine huge volumes, we do not know but we might be prevailed upon to part with our own, now in Salt Lake City. We would further suggest, that the apartment for the Library be constructed of sufficient dimensions, for the translations of the Brass Plates in different languages, together with the translations of numerous other Sacred and Historical records of Ancient America, which will appear during the present and following century. though there will be, during the present generation, erected in Western Missouri, an extensive Museum or Sacred Depository of all the original Metallic Plates, yet branch libraries can be furnished with authenticated copies of their translations. In the mean time, we hail with unbounded satisfaction, the proposed great work of American Archaeologists. O. P.

1866^ Orson Pratt "Sacred Metallic Plates," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 28
(1, 8 December 1866): pp. 761-64, 777-81.

The Sacred Stones, with inscribed Hebrew characters, are creating quite a sensation among archaeologists. Ancient American history seems to be revealing itself from the archives of the tomb; and the learned are beginning to ask, Who were the people who constructed the ancient mounds of the New World, and wrote in ancient Hebrew characters, extracts and sentiments from the Hebrew Scriptures? The Nephite history, translated from the Gold Plates, and published nearly thirty-seven years ago, replies, that they were Israelites, not the ten tribes but the descendants of Joseph and Judah.

The Nephites were principally the descendants of Manasseh, the son of Joseph. The Prophet Nephi and his small company were brought out of Jerusalem, eleven years before the Babylonish captivity, or six centuries before Christ; they sailed from the southern portions of Arabia over the Indian and Pacific oceans, landing on the Western coast of South America, not far from where now stands the city of Valparaiso, in Chili.

In the first year of the captivity, the Lord led forth another small company from Jerusalem, under the leadership of Mulek, one of the sons of Zedekiah. Mulek was consequently a descendant of Judah, through the lineage of king David. This last company landed in North America, some distance North of the Isthmus of Darien, and soon after, emigrated into the northern portions of South America, where they dwelt, until they were discovered by the Nephites . . .

But when did the Nephites send forth their colonies into North America? The Nephite history says, "And it came to pass that in the thirty and seventh year . . . there was a large company . . . departed out of the land of Zarahemla," (the Northern part of South America) "into the land which was northward." . . . And it came to pass that Hagoth, he being an exceeding curious man, . . . [the scriptures concerning Hagoth are quoted]

Note* One of the interesting things here is that in reviewing the history of the Nephite migrations, Orson Pratt quotes the verses concerning Hagoth. However, he fails to mention anything about Hagoth or descendants of Hagoth going to the Polynesian islands.

During the first ten years, after the Nephite emigration commenced from South to North America, there must undoubtedly have been several hundred thousand souls spread over the North wing of the continent. Many of these were settled along the western coast, while others afterwards boldly penetrated into the great interior, travelling a great distance, and founded colonies, near "LARGE

BODIES OF WATER, AND MANY RIVERS." From the description, their country must have bordered upon the great lakes, in the vast region of the mounds, embracing some fifteen hundred thousand square miles in the great Mississippi valley. It must be borne in mind, that this great influx of Israelites from the South to the North, commenced near the beginning of the first half century before Christ. And during the next four centuries the whole continent both North and South, became densely populated. But they were divided into two separate nations, the Lamanites occupying South, and the Nephites, North America. This was their position three hundred and seventy-five years after Christ, at which period, after the continent had been convulsed by war for fifty years, the Lamanites began to prevail over the Nephites, and drove them from the Isthmus, and from various parts of the land, burning and destroying their towns and cities. And finally, in the three hundred and eighty-fourth year after Christ, the whole Nephite nation having been collected in the interior of the State of New York, were overpowered and destroyed, the Lamanites alone remaining in possession of the land. The Prophet Moroni, who had possession of the Gold Plates, kept himself hid from the Lamanites, and continued his history, until four hundred and twenty years after Christ, and being commanded of the Lord, hid up the Plates in the hill Cumorah, in Ontario county, in the State of New York, where they remained a little over fourteen centuries, being discovered to Joseph Smith . . .

Before proceeding further, we unhesitatingly say, that there are no discoveries, since the New World was revealed to Europeans, that, in the least, militate against the true and faithful history, which God has revealed in the wonderful Book of Mormon. But, on the contrary, there is a world of evidence, derived from both internal and external sources, for American antiquities, and from the religious customs, traditions, and languages of the aborigines, to establish the divine authenticity of that sacred Book upon a basis, as firm and immovable as the Rock of ages. . . .

We have the testimony of many popular and learned antiquarians, that the ancient Hebrews of Palestine, did engrave many of their sacred writings, upon metallic Plates, and that many leaves of such Plates were united together in the form of Books by rings, passing through near the edge or back of each; and that rods or bars, running through the rings, served the purpose of a handle, for the convenience of carrying. (See Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, page 1801; also many works on Biblical Antiquities) These were also the general form of the American Israelites' metallic Books. . . .

By reference to the article on the Sacred Stones, found in the Ohio mounds, published in the last No. of the *Star*, it will be perceived that the Hebrew writing on the stone head of a human figure is translated by learned Hebraists, thus:-- "May the Lord have mercy upon (him) me, a Nephel." "NEPHEL" seems to have been the name of the nation, to which the individual, buried in the mound, belonged. . . .

We shall now show the great probability, that the learned translator is mistaken in assuming the last letter in the word, which he calls NEPHEL to be *lamedh* or *l*. . . If so, the Hebrew word from the American mound would be NEPHITE instead of NEPHEL; and the sentence would then be rendered, "May the Lord have mercy upon me a NEPHITE." . . .

1866^ (abt. Heber C. Kimball)

Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898 Typescript.
Vol. 6, p. :305, (December 17, 1866)

Dec 17, 1866 I spent the Afternoon in the Council. I wrote a Letter to Robert & Susan Scholes on the 15 inst.

On Saturday the 15 President Heber C. Kimball while at the Endowment [sic] House" Prophesied that when the final last struggle came to this nation it would be at the Hill Cumorah where both of the former Nations [Jaredite and Nephite] were destroyed"

I spent the Evening at President Young.

Note* See Joseph Fielding Smith's comment in the year 1923.

1867^ (abt. Brigham Young)

Wilford Woodruff's Journal, under the date of April 28, 1867, in Scott G. Kenney ed. Wilford Woodruff's Journal: 1833-1898 Typescript,

The entry is as follows:

28 Sunday Met at the State House at 10 o'clock. [sic] Prayer By G. Q. Cannon. President Young spoke 28 minutes. He said I have much freedom in this place. Whether it is in consequence of the Nephites dedicating this land or whether it is because this people have more of the spirit of God I leave you to Judge.

1867[^] Brigham Young "Article," *Journal of Discourses* vol. 12, p. 128

In remarks given in the Old Tabernacle in Salt Lake City on December 29th, 1867, Brigham Young made this significant statement:

The spirits of the ancient Gadiantons are around us. You may see battlefield after battlefield, scattered over this American continent, where the wicked have slain the wicked. Their spirits are watching us continually for an opportunity to influence us to do evil, or to make us decline in the performance of our duties.

Additional Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 79.

1867 Brigham abt. Heber C. Kimball *Brigham Young Manuscript History*, 5 May 1867 (Cave Story)

The following is recorded of a speech given by President Heber C. Kimball to a missionary meeting at the Church Historians' Office: "Pres. Kimball [Heber C.] related about Father Smith, Oliver Cowdery and others walking into the Hill Cumorah and seeing records upon records piled upon tables, they walked from cell to cell and saw the records that were piled up!"

Source:

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1868[^] George A. Smith "Ancient American History," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 30.3, No. 2, January 11, 1868, pp. 22-23

[We commend the following synopsis of ancient American History no less to the perusal of our general readers, than to all historians, antiquarians, and ethnologists, who have from time to time manifested an interest in the history of the American Aborigines, but who, in their varied speculations, have surrounded the subject with doubts which have hitherto remained undisputed from the popular mind. Elder Smith's diligent research has rendered him familiar, not only with modern history, but with ancient American Records, and is an authority upon this subject. It is the most comprehensive compend of ancient history of the American continent we have ever seen--Ed]

Seventies' Hall Lectures--Yesterday evening (Dec. 4th), Elder George A. Smith delivered a most interesting lecture in the Seventies' Hall, on the Ancient History of this Continent.

After some preliminary remarks, he entered upon the history of the Jaredites . . . They landed on the west coast of Mexico, and they called North America the land of Moron. . . .

The next race of people who appear in the history of this continent reached it by two ways. Lehi and those with him left Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, took a south-easterly direction, until they reached the Persian Gulf, built a ship, and crossed the ocean, landing on the west coast of

Chili, near the place where Valparaiso now stands. After time they separated, a portion of them who desired to live righteously going over the mountains and settling in Bolivia. . . . They went north and settled in New Granada, but in going north they found a people calling themselves the people of Zarahemla, who had no written language, but from tradition it was learned that their father, Mulek, had also come from Jerusalem, having travelled north from that city until he reached the Black Sea, where he built a ship and, after passing through the Dardanelles, down the Mediterranean and the Straits of Gibraltar, he reached this continent from the east and landed not far from where the city of Carthagenia now stands, near the Magdalena river, called in the Book of Mormon the Sidon, which empties into the Caribbean Sea. . . . Part dissented from the rest and took the old name of Lamanites. These occupied the southern part of the continent. They drove the Nephites out of Zarahemla, and the Isthmus of Darien became the dividing line between the two powers, remaining so for a great many years. . . . After this Mormon again assumed command, . . . the Nephites were gradually driven north, and at last were totally destroyed near the hill of Cumorah, in the State of New York, about 400 years after Christ. The lecturer traced the future of the Lamanites, as they became split up into roving bands, from which sprang tribes, and showed that the diversity in people and language among the aborigines on this continent is not more than exists among the nations of the Caucasian race today, reasoning that the aborigines, from the Esquimaux north to the Straits of Magellan, are all descended from one people--
Deseret Evening News

1868^

Orson Pratt

Journal of Discourses (Liverpool) 1869, vol. 12, pp. 340-342

By the command of the Lord they [the Jaredites] collected seeds and grain of every kind, and animals of almost every description, *among which, no doubt, were the elephant and the curelom and the cumom, very huge animals that existed in those days. . . they eventually came to the great Pacific ocean, on the eastern borders of China or somewhere in that region. . . .* But the most wonderful thing concerning the first colonization of this country after the flood was the way that they navigated the great Pacific Ocean. Only think for a few moments of the Lord our God taking eight barges, launched on the eastern coast of China, and bringing them on a voyage of three hundred and forty four days and landing them all in the same neighborhood and vicinity at the same time. . . . They landed to the south of this, just below the Gulf of California, on the western coast. They inhabited North America, and spread forth on this Continent, and in the course of some sixteen hundred years residence here, they became a mighty and powerful nation. . . . On a certain occasion there were a very few individuals, Omer and his family and some few of his friends, that were righteous enough to be spared out of a whole nation. The Lord warned them by a dream to depart from the land of Moran [sic], and led them forth in an easterly direction beyond the hill Cumorah, down into the eastern countries upon the sea shore. By this means a few families were saved, while all the balance, consisting of millions of people, were overthrown because of their wickedness. But after they were destroyed, the Omerites, who dwelt in the New England States, returned again and dwelt in the land of their fathers on the western coast. . . . Their greatest and last struggles were in the State of New York, near where the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated were found. . . . Coriantumr, King of a certain portion of the Jaredites, after the destruction of his nation, wandered, solitary and alone, down towards the Isthmus of Darien, and there he became acquainted with a colony of people brought from the land of Jerusalem, called the people of Zarahemla. . . . The whole nation perished. After the destruction of the Jaredites, the Lord brought two other colonies to people this land. One colony landed a few hundred miles north of the isthmus on the western coast: the other landed on the coast of Chili, upwards of two thousand miles south of them. The latter were called the Nephites and Lamanites. . . . A little over one century before Christ, the Nephites united with the Zarahemlites in the northern portions of South America, and were called Nephites and became a powerful nation. The country was called the land Bountiful, and included within the land of Zarahemla. . . . Shortly after the Nephite colony was brought by the power of God, and landed on the western coast of South America, in the country we call Chili, there was a great division among them. . . . Nephi and the

righteous separated themselves from the Lamanites and traveled about eighteen hundred miles north until they came to the headwaters of what we term the Amazon river. There Nephi located his little colony in the country supposed to be Ecuador. . . .

Here the Nephites flourished for some length of time. The Lamanites followed them up and they had many wars and contentions, and finally the Lamanites succeeded in taking away their settlements, and the Nephites fled again some twenty days journey to the northward and united themselves with the people of Zarahemla. . . .

Numerous hosts of the Jaredites. . . . once spread over all the face of North America.

Note* John Sorenson says the following:

We must also realize that the Book of Mormon was not an object of careful study in the early days of the Church, in fact it was referred to surprisingly little (see Grant Underwood, "Book of Mormon Usage in Early LDS Theology," *Dialogue* 17 (3, Autumn 1984): 35-74). The scripture anchored faith and clarified aspects of theology, but it was not studied systematically, let alone critically, as history or geography. For example, even Orson Pratt, who was one of the best informed and had one of the most logical minds among Latter-day Saints of his day, was unaccountably cavalier in these matters. Still in 1868 he supposed that the Jaredites brought "elephants, cureloms and cumoms [very large animals]" with them across the Pacific Ocean on their barges! He also taught that Omer (Ether 8) and a few families alone from among the Jaredites "were saved, while all the balance, consisting of millions of people, were overthrown because of their wickedness." . . . More exacting reading of the scriptural text shows us today that the text justifies none of these ideas. (*The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: Source Book*, FARMS, 1990, Part 1. "A History of Ideas," pp. 10-11)

1868^ George Q. Cannon "Editorial Thoughts," in *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 3, No. 11, June 1, 1868, p. 84.

George Q. Cannon writes the following editorial thoughts:

Children who have read the Instructor from the beginning ought to know something about the Indians. There have been a number of articles published in it about them. When America was discovered by white men from Europe the Indian race covered the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. There was not a pale face nor a black face to be seen anywhere from one end of the land to the other. All the people then were red. The West India Islands, the first land discovered by Columbus, were also peopled by the same race.

The Book of Mormon teaches us that these people were the children of Laman and Lemuel, and other men who were white, but who, because of their wickedness, brought this curse of a red skin upon their children. White men formerly lived in America. They were the children of Nephi and others who joined him; but they were all killed off by the Lamanites. . . .

It was in Central and South America, according to the Book of Mormon, that the Nephites principally dwelt and flourished, and the ruins of cities and buildings which have been found, of late years, by travelers are said to be wonderfully grand. They are without doubt the remains of cities which the Nephites built and where they dwelt.

Note* George Q. Cannon was born January 11, 1827 at Liverpool, England. He was ordained an apostle on August 26, 1860, by Brigham Young at Salt Lake City, Utah, at the age of 33.

1868^ August "**Theories on the Origin of Man**," in *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 3, No. 16, 15, 1868, pp. 124-25.

In an article entitled "Theories on the Origin of Man," we find the following:

The book of Mormon most expressly teaches that the Indians of this continent are of the house of Israel. From Patagonia to Alaska they are but different branches of the same great family. It tells us also that, like the rest of Israel, they were once a white and beautiful people; but their great and abominable sins

brought upon them the anger and curse of God. . . . This condition of things continued until about four hundred and twenty years after Christ, when the inspired record of their history closes. The Lamanites, who were an exceedingly cruel and savage race of beings, had then entirely destroyed the better portion of the people called Nephites.

From this time until Columbus landed on these shores, or about one thousand and seventy years, we know little of their history. What did he find [concerning] the inhabitants of this land? The same dark, degraded people we are acquainted with, with but very indistinct traditions of their former greatness. True, some had not fallen to such depths of degradation as others. The Mexicans and Peruvians were not so far down in the scale as many of the tribes north and south of them, yet they had sunk far below the level of their ancestors in the days when they worshiped the Great Spirit in purity and truth.

**1869[^] Henry A. Stebbins "Antiquity of Man in America," in *The True Latter Day Saints'*
*Herald,***

(RLDS)

No. 3, vol. 15, Plano, Ill., February 1, 1869, pp. 66-67

That there were races which flourished in America before the coming of the race of whom part were afterwards made red, is well established by the Book of Mormon. . . . Between two and three thousand years previous to the coming of Christ, a people inhabited the land, as shown in the Book of Ether. That they erected the mounds which are so plentiful and of such magnitude would not be strange, for we read that Coriantumr "did build many mighty cities," and no work seemed too great for them. They also became warlike in the extreme, so that in one war about "two millions" were slain, even that the "face of the land was covered with the bodies of the dead." Afterwards they were four years gathering for the last great contest, whose battles were fought, "south of lakes Ontario and Erie," even by the hill Cumorah as Moroni testifies; where also, the last two hundred and thirty thousand Nephites were afterwards slain. In that hill, now in the State of New York, were the records hid.

1869 Wilford Woodruff (abt. Brigham Young) Wilford Woodruff Journal, 11 December 1869, 1865, 1865-72
(Cave Story) School of the Prophets, 11 December 1869, found in the LDS Church Archives

In 1869, Wilford Woodruff recorded the following about a meeting of the Salt Lake City School of the Prophets:

Brigham Young said in relation to Joseph Smith's returning the plates of the Book of Mormon that he did not return them to the box from where he had received [them]. But he went into a cave in the Hill Cumora [sic] with Oliver Cowdery and deposited those plates upon a table or shelf and in that room were deposited a large amount of gold plates, containing sacred records, and when they first visited that room the sword was drawn from the scabbard [sic] and lain upon the table and a Messenger who was the keeper of the room informed them that that sword would never be returned to its scabbard until the Kingdom of God was Established [sic] upon the Earth and until it reigned triumphant over Evry [sic] Enemy. Joseph Smith said the Cave Contained tons of Choice Treasures & records. (Vol. 6, p. 509)

Note* Cameron Packer writes that the theme of Wilford Woodruff's remarks seem to be about war and conflict. This message may have been a sign that the war that began when Joseph received the plates was still on, and that with the completion of the translation of the plates, the side of righteousness had just gained a powerful weapon to aid its side in the war against evil--the Book of Mormon.

From another perspective, the sword was a covenant symbol signifying the willingness of a covenant participant to defend and protect that covenant to the utmost. From a covenant perspective, the idea that the sword would be unsheathed until the Lord reigned triumphant seems to imply the fulfilling of a covenant that the Lord made concerning the Book of Mormon, that it would be an instrument in restoring the covenants he had made with his covenant people and in gathering his covenant people from the ends of the earth.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1870^ Orson Pratt

"Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, April 10, 1870.
Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot,
1854-1886, vol. 13, p. 130.

Pratt writes:

This book, the Book of Mormon, informs us that the time of day at which Jesus was crucified, I mean the time of day here in America, was in the morning; the New Testament tells us that Jesus was crucified in Asia in the afternoon, between the sixth and ninth hour according to the Jews' reckoning. . . . This would make a difference of time of several hours; for when it would be twelve at noon in Jerusalem it would only be half-past four in the morning in the north-west part of South America, where the Book of Mormon was then being written. . . .

From [the Book of Mormon] we learn that two great and powerful nations formerly dwelt on this continent. One nation, or rather the colony which founded it, came from the Tower of Babel soon after the days of the Flood. They colonized what we call North America, landing on the western coast, a little south of the Gulf of California, in the south-western part of this north wing of our continent. They flourished some sixteen hundred years. When they first colonized this continent from the Tower of Babel, the Lord told them if they would not serve Him faithfully, but became ripe in iniquity, they should be cut off from the face of the land. That was fulfilled about six hundred years before Christ, when they were entirely swept off, and in thier stead the Lord brought a remnant of Israel, a few families, not the ten tribes, but a small portion of the tribe of Joseph. He brought them from Jerusalem first down to the Red Sea. They travelled along the eastern borders of the Red Sea for many days, and then bore off in an eastern direction which brought them to the Arabian Gulf. There they were commanded of the Lord to build a vessel. They went aboard of this vessel and were brought by the special providence of God across the great Indian and Pacific Oceans, and landed on the western coast of South America. This was about five hundred and eighty years before the coming of Christ. Eleven years after the Lord brought this first colony of Israelites from Jerusalem, He brought another small colony, headed by one of the sons of Zedekiah, a descendant of King David. They left Jerusalem the same year that the Jews were carried away captive into Babylon, were brought forth to this continent and landed somewhere north of the Isthmus. They wended their way into the northern part of South America. About four hundred years after this the two colonies amalgamated in the northern part of South America and they became one nation. . . .

About forty-five years before Christ a very large colony of five thousand four hundred men, with wives and children, united themselves together in the northern part of South America, and came forth by land into North America, and traveled an exceedingly great distance until they came to large bodies of water and many rivers, very probably in the great Mississippi Valley. In the next ten years numerous other colonies came forth and spread themselves on the northern portion of the continent and became exceedingly numerous.

Note* Apparently the Western Hemisphere was visualized as two wings (north and south) connected in the middle by Mexico and Central America. (Is there an illustration of this?) There are two scriptural references that I can find that might apply. One is found in Psalm 57:1 "In the shadow of thy wing will I make my refuge." The other is found in Isaiah 18. According to the superscription in the LDS Bible, this chapter speaks of the following: "The Lord shall raise the gospel ensign, send messengers to his scattered people, and gather them to mount Zion." Some of the pertinent verses are:

1. "Woe is the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia:" [Here a far distant land is suggested. The Hebrew word translated as "woe" is more a form of greeting.(see the LDS Bible Dictionary)]

2. That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation [covenant Israel] scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled!

3. All ye inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when he lifteth up an ensign [the Church--the Book of Mormon] on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye.

. . . 7. In that time shall the present be brought unto the Lord of hosts of a people scattered and peeled,

and from a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled, to the place of the name of the Lord of hosts, the mount Zion.

Note* See the 1872 Orson Pratt notation for another mention of "wing."

- 1870 Sidney Rigdon** **Letter from Sidney Rigdon to his counselor Stephen Post**, May 21, 1870
(Rigdonites) (Stephen Post Collection, box 2, fd. 3) as noted in chapter 30, "The Final Quest," in Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994.

Richard S. Van Wagoner writes:

Rigdon's cerebral hemorrhages in 1870 and 1872 were followed by a quick succession of seven apoplectic incursions resulting in his death in 1876. Shortly after recovering from the initial stroke, and possibly because of its aftershocks, Rigdon grew wholly obsessed with the conviction that the United States was on the eve of destruction and that the Children of Zion should flee elsewhere to find safe haven. . . .

Whatever the extent of his handicap, Rigdon viewed the impediment as only a temporary barrier to his plans for relocating Zion to western Canada. He likely borrowed guidance from an 1843 prophecy Joseph Smith had issued to a small group gathered in the basement of the unfinished Nauvoo temple: England or the nation of Great Britain [sic] would be the last nation to go to p[ie]ces. She would be instrumental in aiding to crush other nations even this nation of the United States & she would only be over thrown by the 10 tribes from the North. She would never persecute the saints as a nation. She would gather tog[e]ther great treasures of God & yet we should see refuge in her dominion.ⁱⁱ

Rigdon's interest in Canada, aside from early missionary junkets there, was first made known in a 25 November 1868 revelation calling evangelists to "preach the gospel to the colony of colored people in the country which is called among you Canada west."ⁱⁱⁱ On 31 December 1869 [Stephen] Post was specifically informed that "It is required by me saith the Lord that my servant Stephen shall see that the mission to the coloured colony in Canada is executed to perfection, that is to success."ⁱⁱⁱⁱ Though Post immediately embarked on the mission, no converts were gained from the group of free blacks. While in Chatham (now Ontario), Post received an intriguing lesson on Book of Mormon geography from Father Rigdon. Post had evidently asked his mentor where the ancient Nephties made their first landing. Telling his counselor to consult a map, Rigdon admonished, [L]ook on it at a point on the west side of the Mississippi opposite Alton in Ill[ino]is which is in Northern Missouri and then look to a point on the Beam west in the neighborhood of Sitka [now Alaska] and then trace a track from one of these points to the other keeping below in the waters north and the waters south till you reach Peace River there you find the pass through the mountains through which they went and you have their course.^{iv}

Notwithstanding such geographical detail in this case, Rigdon's references to the new Zion were initially vague. The exact spot was not pinpointed until after the area under consideration was reconnoitered. . . . In a broad reference to the earlier failed Mormon utopian experiments which he called "Zion in embryo," the prophet announced that at last Zion had found "a place for the soles of her feet . . . something which has been denied her in this the land of our nativity." Declaring that the audible voice of God had pronounced his earlier ideas "too limited," Rigdon asserted that the grant for Zion "covers the whole country from the sea east to the sea west and from the Lakes to the Nephties" known as Eskimos. (see note below)^v Here is where "Zion is to become terrible," he continued in the Lord's voice, and where our "enemies are to be vanquished."^{vi}

Note* This allusion to Nephties as Eskimos was first made in a February 1870 communique "To the first presidency and the children of Zion":

I the Lord your god maketh known unto you a great mystery which men seeth but understandeth not. . .

. It is for the revealer of secrets to throw light into the midst of this darkness[.] You read in the book of Mormon that Lehi gave a promise to his son Joseph that his seed should not be "*destroyed*." . . . [B]y virtue of this promise a remnant of this seed was preserved, at the time of the d[e]struction of the Nephites and their descendents remain to this day; a people whose history is hid from all the world and always was[.] . . . Now behold and be amazed saith the Lord your god for I the Lord reveal the great fact unto you. . . . there are . . . Nephite children of the pure blood this day[.] By the gentiles they are known by the name of Esquimeaus (Post Collection, box 3, fd. 1; also listed as section 58 in Copying Book A, box 3, fd. 12).

Source: Smith Research Associates, *New Mormon Studies CD-ROM: A Comprehensive Resource Library*, 1998.

1870^ Orson Pratt *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool 1871) 14 (27 Nov. 1870), p. 298

On what part of this continent did Jesus appear? He appeared in what is now termed the northern part of South America, where they had a temple built, at which place the people gathered together, some twenty-five hundred in number, marvelling and wondering at the great earthquake that had taken place on this land. . . .

1870-71 Edward Stevenson *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the*
(Cave Story) *Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893, pp. 10-13.

Edward Stevenson visited the Palmyra/Manchester, New York, area in 1870 and 1871. In the following selection from his 1893 *Reminiscences*, he describes his visit to the Hill Cumorah:

. . . Early on a summer's morning in the year 1870, after a gentle shower during the night, with just sufficient rainfall to lay the dust, I set out to walk to the hill. Never can I forget the lovely scenery of that lonely but interesting walk down that most excellent Canandaigua turnpike. Among the objects passed on the way was the former home of Joseph Smith, and the very old and comely schoolhouse where he learned some of his early lessons.

Arriving near the object of my morning's walk, I went about inquiring for the Hill Cumorah. But not one could I find in all the country round who could give me the desired information; until one, and the right one too, who was made to comprehend my mind and wish, said, "Is it Mormon Hill that you want, or what is more familiarly known among us in this country as "Bible Hill," where old Joe Smith found the Mormon Bible? Is it this place you wish to find?"

Having answered affirmatively the question, I was not only enabled, by my friend's direction, to learn the third and last name given to this hill, but to find myself standing upon the summit of one of the most interesting objects of my 100,000 miles' travel. . . .

At the period of the discovery of the gold plates, there stood upon the side of the hill, about fifteen feet above where the stone box had so long reposed, a lone, solitary, sugar maple tree, and there continued to grow until twenty-two years ago; just as described by Brother Holt,^{lvii} who was so highly favored of God as to see the whole scene in a vision or dream.

What made Brother Holt's vision all the more deeply interesting to me was that in 1871 I had enjoyed the great privilege and pleasure of visiting the hill in person, and of seeing the very identical spot of ground where Mormon concealed the stone box and its precious records and where Moroni, his son, finished the writing and sealed up these records. But there was no tree standing there as was described in the vision, for it had been cut down shortly before and was lying on the ground, not having as yet been removed. . . .

. . . My guide who accompanied me on my visit in 1871, pointed out to me many places of interest, and also entertained me hospitably at his table. . . . He was well acquainted with some of the history of the coming forth of the book which was to "speak out of the ground," although spiritually, he did not seem to have greatly benefited by this "marvelous work and a wonder." Still, from him I gleaned some useful information. He pointed out the spot of ground where the stone box was placed, near the summit, and

on the west side of the point of the hill. He likewise stated that soon after the rumor so widely spread regrading "Joe" Smith finding a gold bible, that there was great excitement throughout the whole country, and that it was about this time the Rochester Company located and searched for hidden treasure.

Questioning him closely he stated that he had seen some good sized flat stones that had rolled down and lay near the bottom of the hill. This had occurred after the contents of the box had been removed and these stones were doubtless the ones that formerly composed the box. I felt a strong desire to see these ancient relics and told him I would be much pleased to have him inform me where they were to be found. He stated that they had long since been taken away.^{lviii} He further said that he knew "Joe" Smith as a "money digger" and a "visionary man" and Martin Harris as an honest reliable farmer. Joseph in his history says that he worked in a mine for Mr. [Josiah] Stowel, hunting for hidden treasures, at fourteen dollars per month, hence his name as a money-digger. I then inquired if he ever knew Joseph Smith to be convicted of crime. He replied that he had not known him as having been convicted. . . .

My loquacious guide showed me another and much deeper cavity made on the east side of the hill by the above named Rochester treasure seekers, a company of prospectors.^{lix} They said that science aided by mineral rods did not lie and that most assuredly there were rich treasures concealed in the hill, and they were determined to have them. But with all their science and laborious excavations they failed to get a glimpse of the coveted treasures and returned to their homes if not richer, at least it is to be hoped wiser men, for the only results of their efforts were the holes they left on the hillside. Notwithstanding this, there are strong and feasible reasons for believing that there is abundance of treasure hid up in Cumorah, but it is guarded by the hand of the Lord and none shall ever pos[s]ess it until made known in the due time of the Lord. . . .

[Stevenson then quotes Brigham Young's 1877 sermon giving an account of Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery entering into a cave in the Hill Cumorah] Stevenson adds:

It was likewise stated to me by David Whitmer in the year 1877 that Oliver Cowdery told him that the Prophet Joseph and himself had seen this room and that it was filled with treasure, and on a table therein were the breastplate and the sword of Laban, as well as the portion of gold plates not yet translated, and that these plates were bound by three small gold rings, and would also be translated, as was the first portion in the days of Joseph.

Additional Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 386-388

Note* Although in 1870 Edward Stevenson was an ordained Seventy, by October 9, 1894, he was set apart as one of the first seven presidents of the Seventy. Thus this account, published in 1893, would take on authoritative dimension.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1871^ Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, February 19, 1871. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 14, pp. 11-12.

Let me here observe that the Book of Mormon, which has been published for forty-one years, gives an account of the first settlement of this country by these inhabitants, showing that they are not the ten tribes, but they are the descendants of one tribe, and they came to this country about six hundred years before Christ. The people when they first landed consisted of only two or three families; and instead of landing on the north-west coast of North America, they landed on the south-west coast of South America.

A history of the escape of these few families from Jerusalem is contained in the Book of Mormon. How they traveled on the eastern borders of the Red Sea, and how they built a vessel or ship to cross the Indian and Pacific oceans; they were instructed how to build this vessel, and when they had embarked on it, they were brought by the special direction of the Lord to this land. He guided their vessel, or instructed them how to guide it, until they landed on the west coast of South America. . . .

About fifty years before Christ the Nephites, as the righteous portion was called, sent forth numerous colonies into North America. Among these colonies there was one that came and settled on the southern borders of our great lakes. . . .

The twelve disciples went forth and preached the Gospel, commencing in South America, and then went into North America, until all the people both in North and South America were converted, receiving the principles of the Gospel . . .

About two centuries after this, the Nephites fell into wickedness: the Lamanites, who dwelt in the southern portion of South America, also apostatized; and they began to wage war with the Nephites, who were their enemies; and being exceedingly strong they drove all the Nephites out of South America and followed them with their armies up into the north country, and finally overpowered them. They were gathered together south of the great lakes in the country which we term New York. The Lord ordered that the plates on which the records were kept should be hid, and one of the prophets knowing that it was the last struggle of his nation, hid them in the hill Cumorah, in Ontario county, in the State of New York, with the exception of those which his son Moroni, who was also a prophet, had. The last account that we have is furnished to us by Moroni, who states that, after keeping himself hid for several years, and being commanded of the Lord, he hid away the records, about 420 years after Christ. Thus, I have given you a very brief history of the settlement of our country.

1871[^] (abt. Brigham Young) **Kirk M. Curtis, "History of the St. George Temple,"** unpublished master's thesis (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1964)

In the year 1983, H. Donl Peterson, a faculty member of the BYU religion department since 1964, published a book (*Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book) in which he writes the following:

Book of Mormon geography is very elusive. Where Moroni was born, where he lived, where the Nephite civilization was centered, and so forth, is not presently known. At best, we can draw relationship-type maps . . . but to attempt to superimpose a Nephite map on top of a current map of the Western Hemisphere is, at best, personal supposition.

However, we are made aware of several localities that Moroni visited during his lonely years. . . .

In 1871 a proposition was made to the local leaders in St. George to make plans to build a temple.

One historian reported that "many rumors have been circulated concerning an undocumented statement by Brigham Young that Moroni, the Nephite Prophet-General, had actually dedicated the site where the temple now stands." (Kirk M. Curtis, "History of the St. George Temple," unpublished master's thesis (Provo: Brigham Young University, 1964), p. 24)

David Henry Cannon, Jr., one of the first settlers in St. George, shed the following light on the topic many years after the incident occurred:

I am eighty-two years old tomorrow October 14, 1942. I am the only living person, so far as I know, who heard and saw what I am about to relate. At the time of which we shall speak, I was a lad of eleven years, all-seeing and all-hearing, and drove a team hitched to a scraper.

President Brigham Young had written to Robert Gardner, president of the stake high council. In this letter he expressed a wish that a Temple be built in St. George. Also, that Brother Gardner select a few leading brethren, and as a group, visit sites where it might be best to build the Temple. This they did. Visiting spots each thought might be best. They could not agree, and so informed President Young.

President Young, arriving later, somewhat impatiently chided them, and at the same time asked them to get into their wagons, or whatever else they had, and with him find a location (site).

To the south they finally stopped.

"But, Brother Young," protested the men, "this land is boggy. After a storm, and for several months of the year, no one can drive across the land without horses and wagons sinking way down.

There is no place to build a foundation."

"We will make a foundation," said President Young.

Later on while plowing and scraping where the foundation was to be, my horse's leg broke through the ground into a spring of water. The brethren then wanted to move the foundation line twelve

feet to the south, so that the spring of water would be on the outside of the Temple. "Not so," replied President Young. "We will wall it up and leave it here for some future use. But we cannot move the foundation. This spot was dedicated by the Nephites. They could not build it (the Temple), but we can and will build it for them."

To this day the water from that very spring is running through a drain properly built. I make this statement of my own free will and choice, and without any fear of misgiving. David Henry Cannon, Jr. [Curtis, "History of the St. George Temple," pp. 24-25]

An attestation followed, confirming that David Cannon's mind was "clear and klean" and that during the entire interview "he never hesitated for an answer, and he never was once in doubt as to what he had seen and heard upon those memorable occasions."

Source: ^H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, pp. 76-78.

Note* On page 26 of his thesis, Kirk M. Curtis writes the following after the above quote: The purpose here is not to determine the validity or lack of validity of the above interview; however, this is the only documentary proof pertaining to the dedication of the spot of ground for the St. George Temple by ancient Nephites. At any rate, Cannon must have possessed a remarkable memory to recall in such detail an event which had occurred more than seventy-one years before. If Brigham Young knew before the site was selected that a particular place had been dedicated by the Nephites, then why did he have others go and look over various sites for the purpose of selecting the best one? In a meeting held in the St. George Tabernacle, February 15, 1873, Brigham Young said "he had diligently sought of the Lord to know the right location for this Temple and he was well satisfied that the place at first selected was the right place." (St. George Stake Record Book, Church Historian's Library, I, 1850-1873)

1872^ Orson Pratt Journal of Discourses 14 (11 Feb. 1872), pp. 324-331, 333

When I contemplate the vast number of millions that must have swarmed over this great western hemisphere in times of old, building large cities, towns and villages, and spreading themselves forth from shore to shore from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the frozen regions of the north to the uttermost extremity of South America. . . . This book . . . (the Book of Mormon) . . . (was) . . . delivered by divine inspiration in ancient times to prophets, revelators and inspired men who dwelt upon this continent, both in North and South America. . . .

They (Lehi's party) were guided by the Almighty across the great Indian Ocean. Passing among the islands, how far south of Japan I do not know, they came round our globe, crossing not only the Indian Ocean, but what we term the great Pacific Ocean, landing on the western coast of what is now called South America. As near as we can judge from the description of the country contained in this record **the first landing place was in Chili, not far from where the city of Valparaiso now stands.** . . . [see note below]

[Note* Valparaiso is at a latitude of thirty-three degrees south. This is somewhat different than the Lehi's Travels statement which places Lehi's landing at "thirty degrees south latitude." (For more facts on the matter, see the 1887 notation for George Q. Cannon)]

The Nephites were commanded of the Lord to depart from their midst, that is to leave the first place of colonization in the country which the Spanish now call Chili.

[Note* This would make the location of the land of first inheritance to be Chili.]

They came northward from their first landing place traveling, according to the record, as near as I can judge,

some two thousand miles. The Lamanites remained in possession of the country on the South. **The Nephites formed a colony not far from the headwaters of the river Amazon**, and they dwelt there some four centuries. . . .

[Note* This would make the location of the local land of Nephi to be in the region of northern Peru or Ecuador.]

. . . The Lamanites in the South and in the middle portions of South America, also spread forth and multiplied, and became a very strong and powerful nation. . . . [Later] a certain portion of them (the Nephites) who still believed were commanded of the Lord to leave their brethren . . . and . . . under the guidance of prophets and revelators, came still further northward, emigrating from the head waters of what we now term the river Amazon, upon the western coast, or not far from the western coast, until they came on the waters of **the river which we call the Magdalena. On this river, not a great distance from the mouth thereof, in what is now termed the United States of Columbia [sic], they built their great capital city. They also discovered another nation that already possessed that country, called the people of Zarahemla.** . . .

The Nephites and the people of Zarahemla united together and formed a great and powerful nation, occupying the lands south of the Isthmus for many hundreds of miles, and also from the Pacific on the west to the Atlantic on the east, spreading all through the country. The Lamanites about this time also occupied South America, the middle or southern portion of it, and were exceedingly numerous. . . . About fifty-four years before Christ, five thousand four hundred men, with their wives and children, left the northern portion of South America, passed through the Isthmus, came into this north country, the north wing of the continent, and began to settle up North America. . . . [The] Nephite nation about this time commenced the art of shipbuilding. They built many ships, launching them forth into the western ocean. The place of the building of these ships was near the Isthmus of Darien. Scores of thousands entered these ships year after year, and passed along on the western coast northward, and began to settle the western coast on the north **wing** of the continent. . . . [Note* see the 1970 Orson Pratt notation]

I will observe another thing--when they came into North America they found all this country covered with the ruins of cities, villages and towns, the inhabitants having been cut off and destroyed. The timber had also been cut off, insomuch that in many places there was no timber. . . . Forty-five years before the coming of Christ there was a vast colony came out of South America, and it is said in the Book of Mormon that they went an exceeding great distance, until **they came to large bodies of water and to many rivers and fountains, and when we come to read more fully the description of the country it answers to the great Mississippi Valley.** There they formed a colony. **We know that to be the region of country from the fact that these plates were taken from a hill in the interior of the State of New York**, being the descendants of those same colonists that settled in the valley of the Mississippi. . . .

[Note* This area would then be defined as "the land of many waters"]

In process of time they spread forth on the right and on the left, and the whole face of the North American continent was covered by cities, towns and villages and population. . . . twelve Nephites who were called by the personal ministry of Jesus, were commanded to go forth and preach the Gospel on all the face of the North and South American continent . . .

At the time of the crucifixion the Nephites dwelt in North America and also occupied a portion of South America. . . .

About three hundred and seventy-five years after the birth of Christ, the Nephites occupying North America, the Lamanites South America . . . , the Lamanites began to overpower the Nephites, and they drove them northward from the narrow neck of land which we call the Isthmus of Darien, burning, destroying and desolating every city, town and village through which they passed. The Nephites continued to flee before their conquerors until they came into the interior of the state of New York . . . , the whole Nephite nation (gathering) into that one region, and the Lamanites gathering the whole Lamanite nation into the same region of country. . . . The great and last battle . . . was on the hill Cumorah, the same hill from which the plates were taken by Joseph Smith. . . .

Mormon, one of the prophets of the Nephites, who had the records in his possession, being commanded of the Lord, hid up the records in the hill Cumorah before the battles commenced. I mean all the records except an abridgment. . . . This abridgment, reserved and not hid up by Mormon, he gave to his son Moroni. . . . **Moroni tells us, as a prophet of God, that he was commanded of the Lord to hide up these records in the hill Cumorah, not in the same place where the other records had been hidden by his father Mormon, but in another place. . . .**

Note* For other references to the New York hill being referred to as "Cumorah," see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1872[^] Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, September 22, 1872. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 15, pp. 190-191.

. . . After having made this abridgment he [Mormon] committed it into the hands of his son Moroni, knowing that his nation would be destroyed, and that Moroni, according to the revelations God had given him, would be spared to keep the records, and to behold the downfall of his nation. Mormon hid the records from which he made this abridgment in a hill, called the hill Cumorah, that being its ancient name, and this hill was about three miles from where this young man resided, in the town of Manchester, Ontario County, State of New York. There all the records were deposited, and according to the Book of Mormon they must have been very numerous indeed. The history of the ancient inhabitants of this land was kept by their kings, and the records became very voluminous; and they were all deposited by the Prophet Mormon in that hill; but the abridgment from which the Book of Mormon was taken was given into the hands of his son Moroni, to finish out the record.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1873[^] **H. A. Stebbins** "Antiquarian Researches No. 11," *a series of 12 articles in The True Latter*
(RLDS) *Day Saints' Herald* starting with Vol. 19 No. 16, Plano, Ill., August 15, 1872

In this series of articles, H. A. Stebbins quotes numerous authors on Native origins, paralleling and supporting the narrative of the Book of Mormon. Starting on page 348 under the caption "Central America" we find the following:

There is another remarkable coincidence and confirmation of the truthfulness and divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, is the fact that just where it places the scene of the earliest and greatest civilization; the section containing the most numerous and mighty cities; the country where monarchical government held sway for so many centuries over a prosperous people; there science years after the publication of the book, attests actually did exist, and gives abundant proof of the existence, far back, "in the deeps of antiquity," of the grandest civilization of the Western Continent and perhaps of the whole ancient world.

In my last article I discussed the claims of investigators, and showed the parallel claims of the Book of Mormon, that the finest remains were probably of the greatest antiquity. I have also given some quotations and evidences from various authors to show the certain existence of a former extensive and populous condition of Central America or in the language of Mr. Baldwin, of "an important civilization in the past," which "grew up to a high degree of development, flourished along time, grew old, and declined, until its cities and cultivated fields were deserted and gave place to others" of a less remote age.

Till further Mr. Baldwin remarks, pages 77 and 93:

The most astonishing remains are found in Oxaca [sic], Yucatan, Honduras and other parts of Central America. In this Southern region, mostly buried in heavy forests, are wonderful ruins of great cities and temples. Others, doubtless more in number, still remain unvisited and unknown.

And he states that in that country they "find the *chief seats* of this remarkable civilization." Quiriqua [sic], Chichen-Itza, Mayapan, Mitla, Oxaca [sic], Palenque, Uxmal and Copan, . . . Stephens the noted explorer, states that he visited "forty-four cities and places" in Yucatan.

The history in the Book of Mormon plainly teaches that Central America was settled first; that the Jaredites, a thousand years or more before the Nephites built up South America, did, under the reigns of Emer, Coriantum, Shez, and Morianton, build many cities in that country, and did become rich and prosperous in all precious and useful metals, buildings and substances of every kind. But in fulfillment of prophecy their wickedness caused their destruction, and their land became desolate--"declined until the cities and cultivated fields were deserted"--by civil war, which Mr. Baldwin surmises might have been the case, when he says of Copan that it is clear it had an important history prior to the remote time when "war, revolution, or other agency put an end to its career.

One of the sister cities of Copan may be referred to in the following from Ether 4:7: "And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, and did preserve the land southward as a wilderness for game."

Geographical Locations

The isthmus of Panama is mentioned six times in the Book of Mormon, being called the "narrow pass between the land northward and the land southward," and from the above extract and from all the other descriptions, it is apparent that the Jaredites were most numerous in Central America, or north of the isthmus and from there in time a Civil War certain people under Omer's leadership and guided by the Lord, fled north-east to what are now the Middle States of the Union, "by the place where the Nephites were destroyed . . ." . . .

Afterwards, when their final ruin and entire destruction came, which, as Mr. Baldwin says, "left their cities deserted, and their cultivated fields to the wild influences of nature," the civil war and revolution, (which seems to have remained as a curse upon that land even to this day), commenced in "the land of Moroni," which the Nephites afterwards called the "Land of Desolation," and their contending armies worked "eastward, even to the borders of the sea shore," and to the region of Lake Ontario, where at the hill Ramah, they were exterminated in desperate fighting, as also were the Nephites centuries after and at the same place, but which was called by them Cumorah. . . .

It is also plain that the Nephites and Lamanites first settled in South America, and did not for some centuries extend into North America, inhabiting first the land of Nephi. Afterwards the Nephites separated and went northward to sections which they named Zarahemla and Bountiful, the latter bordering on the southern limit of the former possession of the Jaredites, desolate long prior to the advance of the Nephites in that quarter. In Alma 13:11, evidently referring to the isthmus, it says, "Now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite" from east to the west sea on the line between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation. The railroad in our day is about forty-eight miles long, between Aspinwall and Panama, and very probably the line mentioned was farther west and away from the present New Granada line where the land is wider; because afterwards when the Lamanites drove the Nephites to the "narrow pass," and obtained Zarahemla and Bountiful, the Nephites fortified in the land Bountiful on a line but "a day's journey" across.

Note* H. A. Stebbins was born January 28, 1844, and in his early manhood served his country during the Civil War, fighting with the northern forces. From this service, in effect, he suffered all his life. In 1863 he was baptized into the Reorganized Church, and two years later was ordained an elder. In 1868 he began his missionary work. In 1870 he became Church Secretary, acting later as Church Recorder, handling the records in all for a period of thirty-two years. He held in addition places of trust from time to time in other lines of work: Assistant editor of *Herald*, Member Board of Publication, . . . Always studious and scholarly, his writings are valuable because of their extreme accuracy and pleasant personal memories, which are always a treasured possession to any institution of historical importance. Elder Stebbins was buried September 12, 1920, in Lamoni, Iowa, the city which had been his home for forty years. (*Journal of History* Vol. 8 No. 2, Lamoni, Iowa, April, 1920, pp. 541-542)

In a discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Ogden, Sunday morning May 18, 1873, Orson Pratt said the following as reported by James Taylor:

But you may ask, how do we know about his first colony that came to this continent? How came we in possession of this knowledge? It was by the records which they themselves kept. The Jaredites, acquainted with the art of writing, kept their records. And among the host of records kept by them, were twenty-four plates of pure gold, which were kept by the Prophet Ether, some 1600 or 1800 years after their colony came to this land, from the Tower of Babel. He kept a record. **These records were carried by Ether from the hill Ramah, afterwards called Cumorah, where the Jaredites were destroyed, as we all the Nephites. He carried them forth towards South America, and placed them in a position north of the Isthmus, where a portion of the people of King Limhi, about one hundred years before Christ, found them.** I will read you a little description of their being found. *ON page 161, Book of Mormon, it appears that the people of Limhi were a certain colony that had left the main body of the Nephites, and had settled in the land where Nephi built and located his little colony, soon after their landing on the western coast of South America.* After landing, and after the death of his father Lehi, Nephi was commanded of God to take those who would believe in the Most High, and flee out from his brethren. And they traveled many days' journey to the northward, and located in a land which they called the Land of Nephi, and dwelt there some four hundred years. . . . The Lord led Mosiah out of the Land of Nephi, and led him still further north, some twenty days' journey, and they located on the River Sidon, now called Magdalena, which runs from south to the north. And there they found a people called the people of Zarahemla. And some of the Nephites desired to return to the Land of Nephi, which they did. In about a century afterwards, there being no communication between the colonies, they sent out a number of men to see if they could find the people of Zarahemla. And they were lost, and came to a part of a country covered with bones. This is what I am going to read. And as a testimony that these things are true, they brought twenty-four plates of gold, and breast-plates of brass and copper, and swords, &c. . . .

. . . From the time that Lehi left Jerusalem to the days of Jesus, there were a great many records kept by the remnant of Joseph, upon this land. . . . Now to confine the sacred records in one place, and to keep the people in ignorance in regard to their contents, would not be reasonable. Hence we are informed that they were written and sent forth throughout all the land, and this will account for the extracts from the Scriptures written in ancient Hebrew, discovered in the mounds that have been opened in Ohio, among which were the ten commandments. The people of this land were well acquainted with the Scriptures.

Go to the City of Amonihah in the northern part of South America. They had become wicked, yet they had the Holy Scriptures; and they brought them forth and burned them with fire, and all that believed in them were burned in the fire. (See Book of Mormon, page 240) Showing that the people had many copies of the Scriptures. . . .

. . . Thus we perceive that we have not the one-hundredth part of the teachings of the greatest of all prophets, even our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,--the words that he delivered to the ancient Nephites. The Nephites understood all these marvelous things. No doubt there were many instructions--a vast amount of instructions--in regard to their property; for they had all things in common, both in North and South America, among the millions of this land, for one hundred and sixty-seven years. . . . But will these things be brought to light? Yes. **The records, now slumbering in the hill Cumorah, will be brought forth by the power of God,** to fulfill the words of our text, that "the knowledge of God shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the great deep."

Note* This seems to be the first reference to the prophet Ether bringing the 24 gold plates down to just north of South America. By implication, the party of Limhi would have found the plates somewhere close to Panama, which location would also satisfy the description of a land of many waters. This is contrary to the idea that the party of Limhi traveled all the way to the Great Lakes (the land of many waters).

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1873^ Brigham Young abt. Joseph & Oliver
Elizabeth

A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872-73:

Kane's St. George Journal, Salt Lake City:University of Utah
Tanner Trust Fund, 1995, pp. 69-77.

Elizabeth Kane was the wife of Major General Thomas L. Kane who had helped the Mormons with their difficulties with U.S. government in Utah. Because of this, he became friends with Brigham Young. In 1872, some members of the Kane family were invited by President Young to spend a few weeks with him in St. George, Utah. While in St. George the Kanes stayed with Erastus Snow, then president of the LDS church's Southern Mission. On the evening of January 15, 1873 they were invited to dine at the home of Artemisia (Beaman) Snow, the first of Erastus Snow's three wives. Several of the "leading people" were there, including Brigham Young. After dinner, some of them including Brigham Young began reminiscing about Joseph Smith. Elizabeth Kane records the following in her Journal:

After dinner most of the female guests withdrew, to the kitchen, I suppose, for I could see them flitting in to the dining room now and then to put away pieces of the dinner service. Mrs. Artemisia Snow and I were accompanied to the parlour by the gentlemen. The lamp on the mantelpiece shed but a faint light compared to the vivid changeful glow of the blazing pine logs on the hearth, and some allusion to the solidity with which the fireplace was built, led to the remark that it was under the hearth at the Beman farm [in New York State] that the [Golden] "Plates" of the Book of Mormon were hidden. Mrs. Snow was a daughter of Mr. Beman, a wealthy farmer of Livingston Livingston County, New York. She was only a girl when the plates were brought there, but remembered perfectly the anxiety they all felt after the plates were buried, and a fire kindled on the hearth above them, round which the family sat as usual. I asked, "Who were searching for the plates?"

She answered "The people of the neighborhood. They did not know what Joseph Smith had found, but that it was treasure, and they wanted to get it away. This was long before there was any dream of religious persecution."

Mrs. Snow sat [sic] knitting a stocking as she talked, like any other homely elderly woman. She certainly seemed to *think* she had actually gone through the scene she narrated. I know so little of the history of the Mormons that the stories that now followed by the flickering firelight were full of interest to me. I shall write down as much as I can remember, though there must be gaps where allusions were made to things I had never heard of and did not understand enough to remember accurately. The most curious thing was the air of perfect sincerity of all the speakers. I cannot feel doubtful that they believed what they said. . . .

I forget what came next, but after Mrs. Snow had been mentioned as being Beaman's daughter, I asked some question respecting the original discovery of the plates which was answered as nearly as I can remember.

A man named Walters son of a rich man living on the Hudson [River] South of Albany, received a scientific education, was even sent to Paris. After he came home he lived like a misanthrope, he had come back an infidel, believing neither in man nor God. He used to dress in a fine broadcloth overcoat, but no other coat nor vest, his trousers all slitted up and patched, and sunburnt boots--filthy! He was a sort of fortune teller, though he never stirred off the old place. For instance, a man I knew rode up, and before he spoke, the fortune teller said, "You needn't get off your horse, I know what you want. Your mare ain't stolen."

Says the man "How do you know what I want?"

Says he, "I'll give you a sign. You've got a respectable wife, and so many children. At this minute your wife has just drawn a bucket of water at the well to wash her dishes. Look at your watch and find out if it ain't so when you get home. As to your mare, she's not a dozen miles from home. She strayed into such neighborhood, and as they didn't know whose she was they put her up till she should be claimed. My fee's a dollar. Be off!"

This man was sent for three times to go to the hill Cumorah to dig for treasure. People knew there was treasure there. Beman was one of those who sent for him. He came. Each time he said there was treasure there, but that *he* couldn't get it; though there was one that could. The last time he came he

pointed out Joseph Smith, who was sitting quietly among a group of men in the tavern, and said *There* was the young man that could find it, and cursed and swore about him in a scientific manner: awful!" I asked where Cumorah was. "In Manchester Township Ontario County New York," I think this is near Rochester. I have heard Porter Rockwell, a bronzed seafaring looking man, with long hair tucked behind his ears, in which he wears little gold rings, tell of Joseph Smith's failures and final success in finding the plates. Rockwell was a schoolmate and friend of Smith's . . . His story about the discovery of the plates sounded like the German legends of the demons of the Harz Mountains, but his description of the life of his neighborhood made me understand what Brigham Young meant by saying the people knew there was treasure in the Hill Cumorah. It seems that the time was one of great mental disturbance in that region. There was much religious excitement; chiefly among the Methodists. People felt free to do very queer things in the new country, which the lapse of a single generation has made us consider Old New England. It is not so many years since the father of the founder of my own sober Presbyterian church in Phila. Whitefield went about preaching in the highways & byways clad in a rough loose garment belted in at the waist and with long hair flowing in imitation of John Baptist. Not only was there religious excitement, but the phantom treasures of Captain Kidd were sought for far and near, and even in places like Cumorah where the primeval forest still grew undisturbed the gold finders sought for treasure without any traditional rumor even to guide them. Rockwell said his mother and Mrs. Smith used to spend their Saturday evenings together telling their dreams, and that he was always glad to spend his afternoon holiday gathering pine knots for the evening blaze on the chance that his mother would forget to send him to bed, and that he might listen unnoticed to their talk. The most sober settlers of the district he said were "gropers" though they were ashamed to own [up to] it; and stole out to dig of moonlight nights, carefully effacing the traces of their ineffectual work before creeping home to bed. He often heard his mother and Mrs. Smith comparing notes, and telling how Such an one's dream, and Such another's pointed to the same lucky spot: how the spades often struck the iron sides of the treasure chest, and how it was charmed away, now six inches this side, now four feet deeper, and again completely out of reach. Joseph Smith was no gold seeker by trade; he only did openly what all were doing privately; but he was considered to be "lucky." How he found the plates, saw them plainly, and lost sight of them again, I have read in some Mormon book since I came here. Brigham Young said that the night Joseph found the plates "there was a wonderful light in the heavens. I was about 70 miles from there and stood for hours watching it. There were lances darting and the sound of cannon and armies just at hand, and flashes of light, though there were no clouds. Joseph's discovery was in the papers directly, and everywhere people remarked the coincidence, because for hundreds of miles they had been out watching like myself. I asked where the plates were now, and saw in a moment from the expression of the countenances around that I had blundered. But I was answered that they were in a cave, that Oliver Cowdery, though now an apostate, would not deny that he had seen them. He had been to the cave. I did not understand exactly whether Oliver Cowdery was there three times, or whether he accompanied Joseph the third time he went there. And Brigham Young's tone was so solemn that I listened bewildered . . . Brigham Young said that when Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith were in the cave this third time, they could see its contents more distinctly than before, just as your eyes get used to the light of a dim candle, and objects in the room become plain to you. It was about fifteen feet high, and round its sides were hanged boxes of treasure. In the center was a large stone table, empty before, but now piled with similar gold plates, some of which also lay scattered on the floor beneath. Formerly, the sword of Laban hung on the walls sheathed, but it was now unsheathed and lying across the plates on the table; and One that was with them said it was never to be sheathed until the reign of righteousness upon the earth."

I would have liked to hear more . . . but Brigham Young ceased speaking and Bishop Snow related a long dream which had recently been vouchsafed to him. By this time my poor little boys were so tired after their long ride that they were nodding as they stood beside my chair. I whispered to them to go and sit down to rest, but Willie whispered back in a despairing way "Oh, I can't bend, I'm so stiff!" So we prepared to take leave; the household as usual assembling first for prayers. . . .

Additional source: See *Elizabeth Kane Journal*, quoted in ^Dan Vogel ed. *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 3. SLC: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 407-408.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story and also the identification of the New York hill as Cumorah, see Appendix A: Thematic Listings. For a collection of non-Mormon statements concerning a cave see Appendix B.

1873[^] George Q. Cannon "Visit to the Land and Hill of Cumorah," in *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 8, July 5, 1873, pp. 108-109.

In 1873, apostles Brigham Young Jr. and George Q. Cannon visited the New York Hill Cumorah and wrote up an account of the same which was published in both the *Juvenile Instructor* (July 5, 1873) and *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (Aug. 19, 1873). Excerpts of the report are as follows:

While on a recent visit to the States on business brother Brigham Young, jun., and the Editor of the *Juvenile Instructor* [George Q. Cannon], arranged to make a visit to the hill Cumorah--the hill where Mormon and Moroni secreted the records, by the command of the Lord, which were revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and from which he translated the Book of Mormon. As we were traveling eastward, we took the New York Central Railroad at Buffalo for the town of Palmyra. . . . We put up at the leading hotel and engaged a carriage to take us out to Cumorah, which was about three miles distant from Palmyra. We took the old stage road to Canandaigua. . . .

We had proceeded a little over a mile on the road when the driver of the carriage pointed out a hill to us on our left, which he said was "Mormon Hill."

Note* Actually this hill was also referred to as "Miner's Hill." The reader is referred to the multiple footnotes concerning the cave story (1829 notation) The Hill Cumorah in New York was sometimes referred to by local residents as "Mormon Hill," but more often as "Gold Bible Hill."

We supposed that by this he meant Cumorah. Though in its general appearance it resembled the descriptions we had had of Cumorah, yet we were somewhat disappointed in its size, as it was not so high a hill as many others which we saw in the neighborhood. In fact, as we rode along, we saw several hills which we thought more like what we imagined Cumorah to be than the one pointed out to us. We rode on for probably two miles farther, conversing but very little and each absorbed in his own reflections, when we saw, immediately in front of us, a hill that rose suddenly, almost precipitously, from the plain. Brother Brigham, jun., remarked when we saw it: "There is a hill which agrees in appearance with my idea of Cumorah." In this opinion the Editor coincided.

Note* Apparently George Q. Cannon had never set eyes on this hill before.

The driver, hearing our remarks, turned to us and said: "Yes, this is Gold Bible Hill." We then learned that Cumorah was known through this country by the name of "Gold Bible Hill." We asked him what he meant by calling the other, which he had pointed out to us, "Mormon Hill." He replied that there was a cave in that hill which the "Mormon" had dug and some of them had lived in it, so the people said; and, therefore, it was known by that name. . . .

The hill [Cumorah or "Gold Bible Hill"] seemed to be in the centre of what might be termed an extensive valley. On every side the horizon was bounded, at a distance of four or five miles from where we stood, by a range of hills. The intervening country was not a smooth, regular valley; but there were low hills, and dales--fields and groves of timber, broken at intervals by water courses. We saw several villages and towns in the distance. Undoubtedly great changes had occurred in the appearance of the surrounding country[side] since the days when Mormon and [his son] Moroni had trod the spot where we stood. Still we could readily understand, even now, how admirable a position this would be [from the hilltop] for a general to occupy in watching and directing the movements of armies and in scrutinizing the position of an enemy.

Around Cumorah is yet a land of many waters, rivers and fountains [just] as Mormon said it was in his day. Our emotions on treading on this sacred hill were of the most peculiar character. They were indescribable. This was the hill Ramah of the Jaredites. In this vicinity, Coriantumr and Shiz, with the people whom they led, fought their last battle. For this great battle they were four years preparing, gathering the people together from all parts of the land, and arming men and women, and even children.

The battle lasted eight days, and the result was the complete extermination of the Jaredite nation, none being left but the Prophet Ether . . . and Coriantumr, who succeeded in slaying his mortal enemy Shiz. . . [Ether] and Coriantumr alone, of all that mighty race which had flourished upwards of fifteen hundred, were left. Who can imagine the feelings which he must have had on such an occasion? From the summit of this hill, Mormon and his great son Moroni had also witnessed the gathering of hosts of the Nephites, and the dusky and myriad legions of their deadly enemies, the Lamanites. Around this hill they had marshaled their forces--their twenty-three divisions of ten thousand men each, commanded by the most skillful of their generals, all to be swept away except Mormon and Moroni and twenty-two others, in one day's battle, by the fierce and relentless foe whom God permitted to execute his threatened judgment! Stealthily perhaps, for fear of exciting the attention of the Lamanites, Mormon and Moroni and their companions may have ascended this hill and gazed on the dreadful scene around them. What a picture of desolation and woe must have met their sight! . . .

It was here that he [Mormon] hid the abridgement which he made of the records [of his people], and which is now known by his name [Book of Mormon]. And it was here, thirty-six years after this tremendous battle, that his son Moroni also hid his abridgment of the book of Ether, and the record which he had made from which we learn the fate of his father, Mormon, and his other companions. . . . It was to this spot that about fourteen hundred years after these events, Joseph Smith, the Prophet, was led by Moroni in person, and here the records, engraved on plates, were committed to him for translation. Who could tread this ground and reflect upon these mighty events, and not be filled with indescribable emotion? We were literally surrounded by the graves of two of the mightiest nations which had ever flourished on the earth. We stood in the centre of their burial place.

Note* Brigham Young, Jr. was ordained an apostle Feb. 4, 1864, and set apart as one of the twelve apostles Oct. 9, 1868, at the age of 31.

1873[^] Brigham Young, Jr. "Visit To the Land and Hill of Cumorah," in *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 35, No. 33, Tuesday, August 19th, 1873, pp. 513-515.

Note* This article is a reprint of an article in the July 5, 1873 *Juvenile Instructor* (see notation).

1873 ***Tunnels and trenches have been dug in search for the Plates***

Rand Packer writes:

The Book of Mormon narrative indicates that Mormon "hid up" all the records that were handed down to him except for the few plates he gave to his son Moroni. (Mormon 6:7) The experience reported by Brigham Young [the Cave Story--*Journal of Discourses*, 1878, vol. 19, p. 38] is congruent with the words of Mormon, and there are other testimonies supporting the existence of a large repository that's housed the Nephite history.

He then quotes from the 1856 Heber C Kimball cave story (*Journal of Discourses*, vol. 4, p. 105--see notation) and the September 1882 Orson Pratt "Cumorah" article (*The Contributor*, III, September 1882, p. 357--see notation) but admonishes caution with the following: "However, these testimonies could have derived from the same source as Brigham Young's." He then continues:

It took a little time for the glittering story of gold from Cumorah to circulate throughout the area. Soon an engineering firm called the Rochester Company was digging tunnels and trenches in search of the metal plates. It was not long before this and similar schemes had defaced the hill Cumorah. (Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, 1893, pp. 28-29.) While visiting the hill in 1873, Edward Stevenson was told that some sizable flat stones comprising the stone box that had contained the plates had rolled down to near the bottom of Cumorah.^{lx} He was also shown a large hole dug in the east side of the hill by the Rochester Company that had yielded nothing and therefore must have puzzled the treasure seekers who placed explicit faith in mineral rods that verified their hopes for gold.^{lxi}

By 1880 many of the smaller holes had been covered by tall grass.^{lxii}

Source: ^Rand Hugh Packer, "History of Four Mormon Landmarks in Western New York: The Joseph Smith Farm, Hill Cumorah, The Martin Harris Farm, and the Peter Whitmer, Sr., Farm," Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University Department of Church History and Doctrine, August 1975, pp. 23-25.

Note* Here Rand Packer notes that "Soon an engineering firm called the Rochester Company was digging tunnels and trenches in search of the metal plates. It was not long before this and similar schemes had defaced the hill Cumorah." Other sources cast doubt on the idea that the Rochester Company was involved. (See the 1831 James Gordon Bennett notation in the footnotes to the 1829 notation.) See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, K.1, Rochester Gem, 15 May 1830), also J.20, Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 Jan 1885)

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1874^ Brigham Young abt. Joseph & Oliver **Jesse Nathaniel Smith, *The Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith***
(Cave Story) Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1953, p. 217.

In 1953 the Jesse N. Smith Family Association published the Journal of Jesse N. Smith "in virtually complete form." In this journal Jesse Smith records the following for 1874:

In February, 1874, Pres. Young sent letters to the authorities at Parowan announcing the inauguration of a new order of life designed to bring about greater harmony among the Saints and to do away with selfish feelings, to be called the Order of Enoch. He soon after started from Salt Lake City organizing the people at the different settlements along the road. With others I met this company at Kanarra and attended the meetings until he reached our place. He spoke with great power upon the all-absorbing theme. *I heard him at an evening meeting in Cedar City describe an apartment in the Hill Cumorah that some of the brethren had been permitted to enter. He said there was great wealth in the room in sacred implements, vestments, arms, precious metals and precious stones, more than a six-mule team could draw.* Upon arriving at our place he organized all into an order with the local authorities in charge. All my property was valued by the appraising committee and taken charge of by the authorities of the order. I continued to work in the Co-op store but my boys worked under the Field superintendent.

Note* According to Cameron Packer, Smith's account shows Brigham teaching about the cave to illustrate God's dominion over earthly treasures and to convert the members to the idea of the United Order. What makes this account of the Cave Story stand out is that it focuses on wealth ("great wealth,," "precious metals and precious stones"). Perhaps Brigham was using the cave experience to illustrate that God is in charge of his treasures. ^Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, p. 54.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1874^ Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, April 6, 1874.
Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 17, pp. 35-36.

Finally, they became so utterly wicked, so fully ripened for destruction, that one branch of the nation, called the Nephites, gathered their entire people around the hill Cumorah, in the State of New York, in

Ontario County; and the Lamanites, the opposite army, gathered by millions in the same region. The two nations were four years in gathering their forces, during which no fighting took place; but at the end of that time, having marshalled all their hosts, the fighting commenced, the Lamanites coming upon the Nephites, and destroying all of them, except a very few, who had preciously deserted over to the Lamanites. Before this decisive battle the Nephites, who had kept records of their nation, written on gold plates, hid them up in the hill Cumorah, where they have lain from that day to this. Mormon committed a few plates to his son Moroni, who was a Prophet, and who survived the nation of the Nephites about thirty-six years, and he kept these few plates, while all the balance of them were hid up in that hill; and then Moroni, being commanded of God, hid up the few plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1874[^] Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, September 20, 1874. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 17, p. 288.

. . . these two nations occupied the two great wings of this continent, the Lamanites occupying South America, and the Nephites North America; but the Nephites at that time, having apostatized from the religion of their fathers, and many of them having become exceedingly wicked, the Lord threatened them with an overthrow. And he commanded one of the last Prophets, named Mormon, to make an abridgment of all the records of former Prophets who had been raised up on this land, an abridgment of the history of the nation from the time that they left Jerusalem until that time. He did so, and committed the abridged record, written on plates of gold, into the hands of another Prophet, his son Moroni. The original records, from which the abridgment was made, were hid up by Mormon in a hill called Cumorah, in the interior of what is now called the State of New York, but the abridgment was still in possession of the Prophet Moroni. About this time, or a little before this time, there had been a fifty years war between the inhabitants of North and South America; and finally the Lamanites of South America drove the Nephites from the Isthmus, and continued to burn their towns, cities and villages, and they destroyed hundreds and thousands of the Nephites; and ultimately they were driven into what we now call the State of New York. Three hundred and eighty years after the birth of Christ they entered into terms of peace, or, in other words, an armistice, for the space of four years, during which time the two nations gathered together all their forces into one vicinity, near the hill Cumorah. And when the four years of peace, or armistice, had expired, they came together in battle, in which the Nephites were overpowered, and hundreds of thousands of them killed, including women and children. Moroni, who was among the few Nephites who were spared, and in whose possession was the abridgment which had been made by his father, Mormon, was commanded to hide up that abridgment in the hill Cumorah, near the town of Manchester, Ontario County, State of New York.

1875[^] **G. M. Ottinger** **"Old America," in *Juvenile Instructor*** 10-11 (9, 23 January, 6, 20 February, 6, 20 March, 3, 17 April, 1, 15, 29 May, 12, 26 June, 10, 24 July, 7, 21 August, 4, 18 September, 2, 16, 30 October, 13, 27 November, 11, 25 December 1875; 1, 15 January, 1, 15 February, 1, 15 March, 1, 15 April, 1, 15 May, 1, 15 June 1876.

Note* In addition to his writings, George M. Ottinger was an artist, producing a number of paintings representing scenes of the Book of Mormon, which eventually came into the possession of the *Desert Sunday School Union Board*. Some examples can be found in Genet Bingham Dee's book *A Voice From the Dust*, copyright 1939, The Deseret News Press.

[The Mulekites] eventually landed somewhere north of the Isthmus of Darien, and journeyed southward into the country now called the United States of Colombia. There they built their capital city Zarahemla

near the Magdalena river, called by them the river of Sidon. Jared's people landed on the coast of Mexico. They named the country (North America) the "land of Moron." They flourished on this continent for at least 1800 years . . . Their [the Jaredites'] general tendency of colonization seems to have been northward, forming the settlements in the great valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio. Ruins of their cities are now referred to as the "works of the Mound Builders." When Votan (Mulek) landed in America he found, says the Quiche manuscripts, the country already inhabited by a people having the same religion, rites, laws, eruditions, and common blood with the people whom he took there himself. A few years previous to the landing of Mulek, a colony under Lehi left Jerusalem (during the first year of Zedekiah's reign). They crossed the Pacific and landed on the western coast of South America, somewhere, we infer, near the present city of Lima in Peru. Lehi's people possibly built the great city and temple of Pachacamac, and after a time crossed the Andes, settling in Bolivia, in the vicinity and on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Others went north into New Granada, and in time united with the descendants of Mulek's people. The traditions of the Peruvians, as recorded by Montesinos, correspond precisely with the Book of Mormon in regard to the organization of this colony after landing on the American continent. . . .

. . . while a number of people were assembled together around a certain temple in the northern part of South America (a temple preserved by the Lord) talking and wondering about the great cataclysm that had taken place, they heard a voice coming out of the heavens. . .

With the hope that our readers have been entertained and instructed by our brief historical descriptions, **we will conclude by urging all to continue their investigations and researches in all that relates to "Old America."**--*Juvenile Instructor*

Note* While readers were urged to "continue their investigations and researches in all that relates to 'Old America,'" one might wonder if in making this plea the writers had any idea that such investigations would lead to a predicted outcome--multiple varied geographical ideas and speculation concerning these hemispheric ideas of Parley P. Pratt. Perhaps this is what led to the footnotes in the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon--to establish control of such investigations. Whatever the case, in 1890 George Q. Cannon would indeed attempt to establish some controls (see the 1890 notation).

1875^ George M. Ottinger "Old America: The Muyscas," in *Juvenile Instructor* 10, 1875, pp. 266-267

[pp. 266-267] The Muyscas, or Chibehas, a nation of semi-civilized Indians, inhabited the country now comprising Venezuela, New Granada, and Equador, or the United States of Columbia. Before the arrival of the Spaniards this nation was highly advanced in civilization, and founded an empire . . . The population of this empire at the time of the Spanish conquest has been estimated by Acosta at 1,200,000, and by other writers at 2,000,000. . . .

. . . Running due north from the Andes Mountains, near Popayan in New Granada, are two great rivers or one great river with a parallel branch. They empty into the Carribean Sea, and are called Magdalena River and (the branch) Cauca River. The Magdalena is undoubtedly the Sidon of the Book of Mormon, and somewhere on the banks of this river was located the historical city so often mentioned in that book called Zarahemla (See pages 139-40, 493, but more particularly 273-4).

1875 (abt. David Whitmer) August **Reporter, (Interview with David Whitmer, Richmond, Missouri, 1875),** *The Chicago Times*, 7 August 1875.

The following comes from an interview with David Whitmer by a reporter from *The Chicago Times* in August of 1875:

Presently he [David Whitmer] became quite animated, arose to his feet and with great earnestness and good nature spoke for half an hour on the harmony between the bible and the original Book of Mormon,

showing how the finding of the plates had been predicted, referring to the innumerable evidences, in the shape of ruins of great cities existing on this continent, of its former occupation by a highly civilized race, reverently declared his solemn conviction of the authenticity of the records in his possession, and closed by denouncing the Latter-Day Saints of Utah as an abomination in the sight of the Lord. . . .
. . . He [David Whitmer] does not believe that all believing in the Book of Mormon or all adherents to any other faith will be found among the elect, but that the truly good of every faith will be gathered in fulfillment of prophecy. Neither does he believe that the Book of Mormon is the only record of the lost tribes hidden in the earth, but, on the contrary, that the caves hold other records that will not come forth till all is peace and the lion shall eat straw with the lamb. Three times has he been at the hill Cumorah and seen the casket that contained the tablets, and the seer-stone. Eventually the casket had been washed down to the foot of the hill, but it was to be seen when he last visited the historic place. . . .

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, p. 5. Note* According to Lyndon Cook, "With one exception, all of the known interviews with David Whitmer occurred within a twenty-year period--1869-1888, while the witness resided in Richmond, Missouri." (Intro., p. xxiii)

1875^ (non-LDS) **"The Golden Tables," *Chicago Times***, vol. ?, no. ?, Chicago, Illinois, August 7, 1875, p. 1

The following is a report based on an interview with David Whitmer:

. . . One night Joseph Smith awoke from deep sleep to find his humble room ablaze with glorious effulgence. In the midst of this supernatural radiance stood an angelic figure robed in white, who, in seraphic tones, said to him that in a stone casket buried near the summit of the hill Cumorah were the priceless and sacred records of the Nephites, one of the lost tribes. . . .

He strolled out and away from the house and sought the hill Cumorah . . . He found the exact spot designated by the white-robed visitor, . . .

. . . After long weeks of prayerful purification he again visited the hill Cumorah and reverently unearthed the casket. With an unpoetical crowbar he removed the cover, when were revealed to his astonished sight a number of golden plates, and a singular stone. The plates were each about 6 x 10 inches in size and were held together by a brazen ring [poking?] through a hole near the top, so that the entire package could be opened like a book. . . .

. . . According to the record, 600 years before Christ a Jewish family left Jerusalem warned by God that
DESTRUCTION AND CAPTIVITY WERE AT HAND,

and traveled eastward to the sea. There the patriarch died and Nephi, his son succeeded to the patriarchy and priesthood. *By direction of the Lord he built a boat, set sail, and eventually landed in Central America.* His followers increased rapidly and at length a schism arose and Laman and his followers refused to obey Nephi and were cut off . . . These, known as the Lamanties, were the Indians. Meanwhile the Nephites multiplied, spread over North and South America, and built the great cities the ruins of which have astonished the world of to-day. . . . After many bloody battles the Nephites were gradually driven east beyond the Mississippi, and on the shores of Lake Erie they made a stand, and fought till "the whole land was covered with dead bodies." *About A.D. 400 they made a final stand at the Hill Cumorah, in New York, where 20,000 were killed, and all the living captured, save Mormon and his son, Moroni.* Mormon here collected the records of the kings and priests of the Nephites, added a book of his own, and gave the volume to his son, who finished it and

BURIED IT IN THE STONE CASKET,

upon the hill, assured of God that it would be unearthed in 14 centuries from that date. And sure enough, along came Joseph Smith . . .

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1876 (abt. Brigham Young) *The Jolly Family Book*, Provo: BYU Press, 1966, p. 429.

John Heinerman writes:

[Brigham Young] really scared the daylights out of some faithful Saints in St. George on Sunday, May 14th, 1876 when he came there to dedicate the new Tabernacle building. . . . Mary Catherine Jolly Blazzard was one of those in attendance that historic day with her husband James. She recounted highlights of the great Mormon leader's stirring sermon, which appeared in a printed family history: Brigham Young reminded the settlers in detail of the hardship they had endured in the new country. . . .

"No wonder you people," he said in substance, "have had a hard time! No wonder this land has been a barren desert devoid of rainfall that has almost defied subjection! No wonder you have died of sickness and starvation! This land has been cursed by the mouth of God, because of the Gadianton Robbers that infested it in former days! And I say unto you my brethren and sisters, that this land is now infested with the spirits of those Gadianton Robbers! They are everywhere about you! They are hiding and peeping around corners at you! They are crowded around this Temple, those evil spirits, gnashing their teeth in anger that you have succeeded!

If you could draw aside the veil and see them, you would be afraid to leave this place and go to your homes.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, pp. 79-80.

Abt. 1876^ (abt. Brigham Young) **N.B. Lundwall, *Temples of the Most High*** (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1949, p. 88-90)

N. B. Lundwall includes the following reminiscences by Heber Jarvis:

The statement of facts that I here relate came under my own observation and are my own experiences, and have the same force and effect as though they were notarized under seal. I was born on the 14th day of October, 1860, in Salt Lake City, Utah. . . .

Upon one occasion President Brigham Young was in the tabernacle at St. George and was speaking on the spirit world. He stated that it was not far from us and if the veil could be taken from our eyes there wouldn't be either a man, woman or child who would dare go out of "this tabernacle as the spirits of the Gadianton robbers were so thick out there. This is where they lived in these mountains," said he. . . .

This statement is written and signed at Mesa, Arizona, this 1st day of April, 1940.-- Signed: Heber Jarvis

1876^ G[eorge] M. O[ttinger] "Old America," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, Vol. 38, No. 33, August 14, 1876, pp. 517-519.

Conclusion: . . . Without following the many minor facts, or tracing out and analyzing the numerous circumstantial evidences comparing so harmoniously between the writers of the Book of Mormon and the old historical records and traditions of America, we have aimed (and we hope successfully) to establish the following great points of indisputable evidence:

First, that the deluge as described by Moses, the greatest and oldest writer we possess, is entertained on record or in traditionary belief, by nearly every tribe or nation of Old America. . . .

Second, that although the Quiche records do not give us a clear record of Jared's settlement in the country, we may reasonably infer from the account given of Votan that such an event had taken place.

In fact the Votan of American tradition may have been the Jared of Mormon; but we are inclined to the belief that Votan was Mulek, who left Jerusalem 589 years before the coming of Christ, during the reign of Zedekiah, or about the time that king was taken a captive to Babylon. It was one of the sons of Zedekiah who commanded this colony, and they eventually landed somewhere north of the Isthmus of Darien, and journeyed southward into the country now called the United States of Colombia. There they built their capital city Zarahemla, near the Magdalena river, called by them the river of Sidon. Jared's people landed on the coast of Mexico. They named the country (North America) the "land of Moron." they flourished on this continent for at least 1800 years . . .

Their general tendency of colonization seems to have been northward, forming the settlements in the great valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio. ruins of their cities are now referred to as the "works of the Mound Builders." When Votan (Mulek) landed in America he found, says the Quiche manuscripts, the country already inhabited by a people having the same religion, rites, laws, eruditions, and common blood with the people whom he took there himself. A few years previous to the landing of Mulek, a colony under Lehi left Jerusalem (during the first year of Zedekiah's reign). They crossed the Pacific and landed on the western coast of South America, somewhere, we infer, near the present city of Lima in Peru. Lehi's people possibly built the great city and temple of Pachacamac, and after a time crossed the Andes, settling in Bolivia, in the vicinity and on the shores of Lake Titicaca. Others went north into New Granada, and in time united with the descendants of Mulek's people.

Note* The concept that North America was called the Land of Moron appears to be a new idea. The idea that the Jaredites landed on the coast of Mexico appears to be similar to that of Orson Pratt. The concept that the Nephites landed in Peru is new, although one might assume as much from the Sept. 15, 1842 *Times and Seasons* article which notes that Lehi landed "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien." However, the association of the ruins of Pachacamac is significant, as well as Bolivia and Lake Titicaca.

1876^

Orson Pratt

"The Book of Mormon--What It Is," in *The Latter-day Saints'*
Millennial Star, Vol. 38, No. 44, October 30, 1876, pp. 691-693.

"The following is an extract from an article concerning the Book of Mormon, written by Orson Pratt, Church Historian, in December, 1874, for insertion in the *Universal Cyclopaedia*."

The first edition of this wonderful book (meaning the Book of Mormon) was published early in 1830. . . . A small volume of plates of the first six books of this collection were made by the Prophet Nephi, nearly six centuries before Christ. Nephi gives a brief sketch of his father and family, who were commanded of God to leave Jerusalem six hundred years before Christ. They came to the eastern borders of the Red Sea, where they encamped, and were soon joined by two or three more families from Jerusalem. This little company proceeded for many days in their journey along the eastern borders of the sea; after which they altered their course nearly eastward, and came to what they called the great waters; this must have been the borders of the Arabian Gulf or Indian Ocean. Here they were commanded to build a ship, on which they embarked, being directed continually in the ship's course by a miraculous instrument, prepared by the hand of the Lord for the purpose.

At length, after many sufferings and hardships, they landed on the western coast of South America, not far, as is believed, from the thirtieth degree of south latitude.

. . . About one-half of the colony apostatized, and greatly persecuted the righteous, and sought to destroy the Prophet Nephi. Being commanded of God, Nephi and his followers secretly fled from their enemies, and traveled a great distance north, and located their colony, near the head waters of what is now called the **Amazon**. . . .

About four centuries after leaving Jerusalem, the Nephites again migrated northward; traveling many days through a wilderness, they found themselves upon the banks of a river, which they called Sidon, known in modern times as the river Magdalena. Here, to their great joy, they discovered a colony of Jews who left Jerusalem the same year that their nation were carried captive into Babylon. The Nephites united with this colony. . . .

During the first half century before Christ, the north wing of the continent became extensively colonized, by emigration from the south. At the time of the crucifixion, both the Nephites and Lamanites, because of their great wickedness in the stoning and killing of their Prophets, were visited with great judgments, in the form of tempests, and fire from heaven. Three days of total darkness occurred.

Nearly a year after these events, Jesus, the resurrected Redeemer, descended from heaven, taught them his Gospel, and chose twelve ministers to preach the same and established his Church. All the inhabitants of the continent were soon converted, righteousness prevailed for two or three centuries, succeeded by a dreadful and almost universal apostasy. A lengthy exterminating war followed. The Nephites were conquered and slain by the Lamanites, their last battles being fought on and round about the hill where the sacred plates were found. This national extermination happened three hundred and eighty-four years after the birth of Christ.

Before this dreadful event, the Prophet, Mormon, by the command of God, made a volume of plates, and engraved thereon an abridgment of the history of the nation, from the time the colony left Jerusalem until his own day. . . .

After Mormon had completed the abridgment, he committed the volume, which still contained many blank pages, into the hands of the Prophet, Moroni, his son, with instructions to finish the history, record a few other revelations, and then deposit the same, to preserve them from the Lamanites, who had sworn to destroy them. All the balance of the Nephite records were [sic] hid by Mormon, in the hill above referred to.

The Prophet, Moroni, after the destruction of his nation, kept himself hid from the Lamanites, thirty-six years, during which he wrote a short sketch of the history of a still more ancient nation, called Jaredites, whose ancestors came from the Tower of Babel. This colony crossed the great western ocean in eight barges, being three hundred and forty-four days upon the water. They landed on the western coast of Mexico, and extended their settlements over all the North American portion of the continent, where they dwelt until about six centuries before Christ, when, because of wickedness, they were all destroyed. . . .

Orson Pratt, Sen.

---*Deseret News*

Note* That Nephi's group fled from their landing site in the Americas ("not far, as is believed, from the thirtieth degree of south latitude") and "traveled a great distance north, and located their colony, near the head waters of what is now called the Amazon" seems to be the first time such a geographical location for the city of Nephi had been proposed. If this is the location of the city of Nephi, and it was presumed to be just south of the narrow strip of wilderness, then was the Amazon River presumed to be associated with the narrow strip of wilderness? A map of South America (see early maps) will show that the Amazon River stretched from the Atlantic (east sea) to nearly the Pacific (west sea).

1877[^] Brigham Young "Discourse by President Brigham Young, Delivered at a Special Conference (Cave Story) Held at Farmington [Utah], for the Purpose of Organizing a Stake of Zion for the County of Davis, on Sunday Afternoon, June 17, 1877," *Journal of Discourses of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Albert Carrington [and others], 1853-1886), 19:37-38.

Just two months and twelve days before his death in 1877, Brigham Young was establishing a new stake in Farmington, Utah. In his discourse he said the following:

Orrin P. Rockwell is an eyewitness to some powers of removing the treasures of the earth. He was with certain parties that lived nearby where the plates were found that contain the records of the Book of Mormon. There were a great many treasures hid up by the Nephites. Porter was with them one night when there were treasures, and they could find them easy enough, but they could not obtain them. When [Porter] tells a thing he understands, he will tell it just as he knows it; he is a man that does not lie. He said that on this night when they were engaged hunting for this old treasure, they dug around the end of a chest for some twenty inches. The chest was about three feet square. One man who

was determined to have the contents of that chest took his pick and struck into the lid of it, and split through into the chest. The blow took off a piece of the lid, which a certain lady [Lucy Mack Smith, Joseph's mother] kept in her possession until she died. That chest of money went into the bank. Porter describes it so he says this is just as true as the heavens are. (19:37)

[The] treasures that are in the earth are carefully watched, they can be moved from place to place according to the good pleasure of Him who made them and owns them. . . . This is an incident in the life of Oliver Cowdery, but he did not take the liberty of telling such things in meeting as I take. I tell these things to you, and I have a motive for doing so. I want to carry them to the ears of my brethren and sisters, and to the children also, that they may grow to an understanding of some things that seem to be entirely hidden from the human family. Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited [i.e., returned] these plates. Joseph did not translate all of the plates. There was a portion of them sealed, which you can learn from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. When Joseph got the plates, the angel instructed him to carry them back to the hill Cumorah, which he did. Oliver says that when Joseph and Oliver went there the hill opened and they walked into a cave, in which there was a large and spacious room. He says he did not think, at the time, whether they had the sunlight or artificial light; but that it was just as light as day. They laid the plates on a table; it was a large table that stood in the room. Under this table there was a pile of plates as much as two feet high, and there were altogether in this room more plates probably than many wagon loads; they were piled up in the corners and along the walls. The first time they went there the sword of Laban hung upon the wall; but when they went again it had been taken down and laid upon the table across the gold plates; it was unsheathed, and on it was written these words: "this sword will never be sheathed again until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ! I tell you this as coming not only from Oliver Cowdery, but others who were familiar with it, and who understood it just as well as we understand coming to this meeting. I relate this to you, and I want you to understand it. I take this liberty of referring to those things so that they will not be forgotten and lost. [Don] Carlos Smith [one of Joseph's brothers] was a young man of as much veracity as any young man we had, and he was a witness to these things. [Another brother] Samuel Smith saw some things [as did] Hyrum [who] saw a good many things. But Joseph was the[ir] leader. Now, you may think I am unwise in publicly telling these things, thinking perhaps I should preserve them in my own breast; but such is not my mind. I would like the people called Latter-day Saints to understand some little things with regard to the working and dealings of the Lord with his people here upon the earth. I could relate to you a great many more, all of which are familiar to many of our brethren and sisters.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1877 2nd Version of Brigham Young's Speech "A Life Sketch of William Blood," 64-65, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Brigham Young's 1877 speech was also recorded by William Blood in his autobiography. Blood's autobiography appears mostly in his own hand, with a small portion at the end in his daughter's hand. William Blood (1839-?) was born at Barton, Staffordshire, England. He joined the Mormons and immigrated to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1844. He moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in 1846, then to Utah in 1849. The following year he settled on a farm in Kaysville, where he spent the remainder of his life. He married Jane Wilkie Hooper in November 1872. He records the following:

June 17 & 18 [1877] Jane and I attended Stake Conference at Farmington where Brigham Young spoke on a num=ber of subjects that interested me. 1st speaking of the plates from which the Book of Mormon was trans=lated he said: Oliver Cowdery to[ld] me [Young] that when the Prophet Joseph & he returned the plates to the hill Comorah, the hill opened & they entered a large room that was brilliantly lighted but he did not notice the source of the light. The room had shelves around it and up=on & under these were plates more than fifty horses could draw. There was also a table and Oliver told me: "We laid the plates on the table." The sword of Laban hung on the wall. When we returned to the room, [p. 64] this sword was taken from the wall & unsheathed and laid on the table. It was there

written: "This sword shall neve[r] be sheathed again until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our God & his Christ."

2nd Soon after we came to Utah, Porter Rockwell came to me [Young] one day and said he had found a gold mine and he gave me a nugget--which I have in my office now. He asked me what he should do about his mine. I told him to leave it alone. Later, when the prospectors came to Utah[,] Porter came to me in a hurry and said they were now within one hundred yards of his claim and asked again what he should do. I told him to get a surveyor and stake out his claim. Now comes the funny part. When he went to look for it he could not find the place or the gold. I told him that the Lord had moved it. The Lord has a means of moving things under the ground as we have of moving things on the ground. To substantiate this he [Young] related the following: Some of the brethren in Kirtland were hauling gravel from a gravel bank. While they were working, the gravel fell from the hill uncovering the corner of a stone box. One of the men climbed up the hill to it and struck it with his pick breaking off a piece from the corner. The box went through the gravel bank with a rush and they saw it no more. The piece that was chipped from the corner of the box was picked up & given to Mother Smith.

Source: ^*Early Mormon Documents*, Volume III, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 381-382.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1877^ Orson F. Whitney abt. Brigham Young *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, (Salt Lake City, 1945, p. 436; 3rd edition, 1967, p. 477)

At the conference held in Ephraim, Sanpete County, June 25, 1875, nearly all the speakers expressed their feelings to have a temple built in Sanpete County, and gave their views as to what point and where to build it, and to show the union that existed, Elder Daniel H. Wells said: "Manti." George Q. Cannon, Brigham Young, Jr., John Taylor, Orson Hyde, Erastus Snow, Franklin D. Richards, Lorenzo Young and A.M. Musser said, "Manti stone quarry." I have given the names in the order in which they spoke. At 4 p.m. that day President Brigham Young said: "The Temple should be built on Manti stone quarry." Early on the morning of April 25, 1877, President Brigham Young asked Brother Warren S. Snow to go with him to the Temple hill. Brother Snow said:

We two were alone: President Young took me to the spot where the Temple was to stand; we went to the southeast corner, and President Young said: "Here is the spot where the Prophet Moroni stood and dedicated this piece of land for a Temple site, and that is the reason why the location is made here, and we can't move it from this spot; and if you and I are the only persons that come here at high noon today, we will dedicate this ground.

Note* Supposedly the St. George Temple also stands upon ground where Nephites had previously dedicated the site for the erection of a temple. (E. Cecil McGavin *Mormonism and Masonry* (SLC 1956, p. 158?) This story is detailed by Riley L. Dixon (*Just One Cumorah*, pp. 97-98):

The Residents of St. George experienced a similar surprise when, a few years earlier [than the experience in Sanpete County], the same inspired leader [Brigham young] visited that community for the purpose of dedicating a temple site. At that southern city, two sites had been approved by the local brethren. Both of these sites were on an eminence which, like the site at Nauvoo, provided an appropriate location for the temple. When President Young visited the two proposed sites, he requested that his teamster conduct the party to the lowest place in the valley, a veritable swamp, infested with marsh grass and cattails. Pointing out the marsh to the brethren, he explained that the temple must be built at that place, because the Nephites had previously dedicated that very site for the erection of a temple but had been unable to bring their hopes to fruition. It required months to drain the swamp, and with special machinery resembling well-drilling machines, drive [sic] tons of rock into the boggy soil to prepare a suitable foundation. Despite the vast amount of labor required to make this site suitable, Utah's first temple was erected where the Nephites had planned to build. Inspiration from heaven rested upon the mind of the prophet and showed him where the ancient had lived and where

they expected to worship.

Note* I think in Richard Cowan's book, *Temples to Dot the Earth*, it has the specific source of this information on St. George.

1877^ Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Twelfth Ward Meeting House on Sunday Afternoon, December 9, 1877, in *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 19, p. 204.

The Lord has told us that he would bring forth those brass plates that Lehi and the families that came with him from Jerusalem, some six hundred years before Christ, brought with them, which contain the history of the creation, and the writings of inspired men down to the days of Jeremiah; they came out in Jeremiah's day. We are informed in the "Book of Mormon" that they contained many prophecies very great and extensive in their nature. And when these plates, now hidden in the hill Cumorah, are brought to light we shall have the history of the Old Testament much more fully, with the addition of a great many prophecies that are not now contained in that record.

1877 (Abt. David Whitmer) Edward Stevenson, *Diary of Edward Stevenson, 22-23 December 1877*, Church Archives.

In later life, David Whitmer related an episode to Edward Stevenson in an interview dated December 22-23, 1877 at Richmond, Missouri. He writes:

Sat 22. after Breakfast wee took a walk up to David Whitmers the onley one of the 3 Witnesses of the Book of Mormon, that is now Living & Spent 4 [h]ours with him & again 4 [h]ours more in the Evening it being about 9 P.M. on Sunday Evening about 2 [h]ours again. So that in all wee Spent 10 [h]ours haveing & being herd . . .

I wish to mention an Item of conversation with David Whitmer in regard to Seeing one of the Nephites. Zina Young, Desired me to ask about it. David Said. Olliver, & The Prophet, & I were riding in a wagon, & an aged man about 5 feet 10, heavey Set & on his back an old fashioned Armeey knapsack Straped over his Shoulders & Something Square in it, & he walked alongside of the Wagon & Wiped the Sweat off his face, Smileing very Pleasant David asked him to ride and he replied I am going across to the hill Comorah. Soon after they passed they felt strangely & Stoped, but could See nothing of him all around was clear & they asked the Lord about it he Said that the Prophet Looked as White as a Sheet & Said that it was one of the Nephites & that he had the Plates. on arriveing at home they were impressed that the Same Person was under the bed & again they were informed that it was So. they Saw whare he had been & the next Morning Davids Mother Saw the Person at the Shed and he took the Plates from A Box & Showed them to her She Said that they Were fastened with Rings thus [illustrated with a figure similar to a large "D"] he turned the leaves over this was a Sattisfaction to her. . . .

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 10-13

[1877 **Illustration: The New York-Pennsylvania Area: Locations of Significance in Joseph Smith's Early Life.** H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, p. 125]

Note* This story was related two more times it seems before Whitmer's death. The second Whitmer version of this incident was reported by Joseph F. Smith and Orson Pratt in 1878 (see notation). The third version was related again to Edward Stevenson in 1886 (see notation)

1878^ Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, August 25, 1878.

Journal of Discourses, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 20, pp. 76-77.

Thirty-six years prior to this time his [Moroni's] nation was destroyed in what we term as the State of New York, around about a hill, called by that people the Hill of Cumorah, when many hundreds of thousands of Nephites--men, women and children, fell, during the greatest battle that they had had with the Lamanites. For 36 years this prophet of God kept himself hid, and wrote as he was prompted by the spirit of inspiration, and finally hid up the plates of gold, containing the records in the hill of Cumorah . . .

The Lord would cause it to be published to the remnants of the Lamanites inhabiting this country, whom we call American Indians, which shall be the means of revealing to them the history of their forefathers, and also certain promises made to them as a branch of the house of Israel . . .

<u>1878</u> [^]	<u>(abt. David Whitmer)</u> <u>("Cumorah")</u> <u>(Cave Story?)</u>	<u>"Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," in <i>The Deseret News</i>, 16 Nov. 1878. See also <i>Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star</i>, Vol. 40, No. 49, December 9, 1878, pp. 769-774</u>
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Note* This interview of David Whitmer was first recorded in Joseph F. Smith's *Diary*, under the date 7-8 Sept. 1878, and is now located in the LDS Church Archives. The above articles were the first published versions and were taken from this source with some slight changes.

New York City, Sept. 17, 1878.

President John Taylor and Council of the Twelve:

Dear Brethren,--We desire to make the following hastily written report of our mission to the Eastern States, which we would have made from time to time as we journeyed along, but for the hurry and inconvenience of daily travel. . . .

At Richmond [Missouri] we put up at the Shaw House . . . On Saturday morning, Sept. 7th, we met Mr. David Whitmer, the last remaining one of the three witnesses to the Book of Mormon. He is a good-sized man, 73 years of age last January, and well preserved. . . . He seemed wonderfully pleased, as well as surprised, at seeing Elder Orson Pratt. Said he would not have known him he had grown so fat and stout, he remembered him as a slender bashful, timid boy. After a few moments conversation he excused himself, saying he would return again to see us. . . .

Agreeable to appointment we met Mr. Whitmer and his friends . . . In the presence of these the following, in substance, as noticed in Brother Joseph F. Smith's journal, is the account of the interview. . . . Elder O. P. Do you remember what time you saw the plates?

D. W. It was in June, 1829--the latter part of the month, and the eight witnesses saw them, I think, the next day or the day after. (i. e. one or two days after.). Joseph showed them the plates himself, but the angel showed us (the three witnesses) the plates, as I suppose to fulfil the words of the book itself. Martin Harris was not with us at this time; he obtained a view of them afterwards, (the same day). Joseph, Oliver, and myself were together when I saw them [the plates]. We not only saw the plates of the Book of Mormon, but also the Brass plates, the plates of the Book of Ether . . . and many other plates. The fact is, it was just as though Joseph, Oliver and I were sitting just here on a log, when we were overshadowed by a light. It was not like the light of the sun nor like that of a fire, but more glorious and beautiful. It extended away round us, I cannot tell how far, but in the midst of this light about as far off as he sits (pointing to John C. Whitmer, sitting a few feet from him), there appeared as it were, a table with many records, or plates, upon it, besides the plates of the Book of Mormon, also the sword of Laban, the directors, and the interpreters. I saw them just as plainly as I see this bed (striking the bed beside him with his hand), and I heard the voice of the Lord, as distinctly as I ever heard anything in my life declaring that the records of the plates of the Book of Mormon were translated by the gift and power of God.

Note* It is interesting that Whitmer's story has some of the elements of the cave story. Bruce Warren notes that this statement of David Whitmer's would appear to fit with the account of the Three Witnesses at the point where Martin Harris had separated himself from the rest. If so, this might imply that the cave story is the product of a vision that Moroni showed to Joseph Smith, Oliver Cowdery, and David Whitmer in late June 1829 as part of their experience. (Warren, 1991) This might account for the multiple times Oliver was associated with Joseph in visiting the cave--that is it was in vision. This is one way to account for the distance Oliver and Joseph would have had to travel from Waterloo (Fayette) to the hill Cumorah near Manchester. But how does one explain the possible other people involved? Was the vision repeated to some of the eight witnesses in Manchester? (see the notation for 1829)

[Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.]

Elder O. P. Did you see the Angel at this time?

D. W. Yes; he stood before us. Our testimony as recorded in the Book of Mormon is strictly and absolutely true, just as it is there written. Before I knew Joseph, I had heard about him and the plates from persons who declared they knew he had them, and swore they would get them from him. When Oliver Cowdery went to Pennsylvania, he promised to write me what he should learn about these matters, which he did. He wrote me that Joseph had told him his (Oliver's) secret thoughts, and all he had meditated about going to see him, which no man on earth knew, as he supposed, but himself, and so he stopped to write for Joseph.

Soon after this, Joseph sent for me (D. W.) to come to Harmony to get him and Oliver and bring them to my father's house. I did not know what to do, I was pressed with my work. I had some 20 acres to plow, so I concluded I would finish plowing and then go. I got up one morning to go to work as usual, and on going to the field, found between five and seven acres of my ground had been plowed during the night.

I don't know who did it; but it was done just as I would have done it myself, and the plow was left standing in the furrow.

This enabled me to start sooner. When I arrived at harmony, Joseph and Oliver were coming toward me and met me some distance from the house. Oliver told me that Joseph had informed him when I started from home, where I had stopped the first night, how I read the sign at the tavern, where I stopped the next night, etc., and that I would be there that day before dinner, and this was why they had come out to meet me; all of which was exactly as Joseph had told Oliver, at which I was greatly astonished.

When I was returning to Fayette, with Joseph and Oliver, all of us riding in the wagon, Oliver and I on an old-fashioned, wooden spring sea, and Joseph behind us--when traveling along in a clear open space, a very pleasant, nice-looking, old man suddenly appeared by the side of the wagon, and saluted us with, "Good morning, it is very warm," at the same time wiping his face or forehead with his hand. We returned the salutation, and, by a sign from Joseph, I invited him to ride, if he was going our way; but he said very pleasantly, "No, I am going to Cumorah." This name was something new to me. I did not know what Cumorah meant. We all gazed at him and at each other, and as I looked around inquiringly at Joseph, the old man instantly disappeared, so that I did not see him again.

J. F. S. Did you notice his appearance?

D. W. I should think I did. He was, I should think, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches tall and heavy set, about such a man as James Vaucleave there, but heavier; his face was as large, he was dressed in a suit of brown woolen clothes, his hair and beard were white, like Brother Pratt's, but his beard was not so heavy. I also remember that he had on his back a sort of knapsack with something in, shaped like a book. It was the messenger who had the plates, who had taken them from Joseph just prior to our starting from harmony. soon after our arrival home, I saw something which led me to the belief that the plates were placed or concealed in my father's barn. I frankly asked Joseph if my supposition was right, and he told me it was. Sometime after this, my mother was going to milk the cows, when she was met out near the yard by the same old man (Judging by her description of him) who said to her: "You

have been very faithful and diligent in your labors, but your[sic] are tired because of the increase of your toil; it is proper therefore that you should receive a witness that your faith may be strengthened." Thereupon he showed her the plates. My father and mother had a large family of their own, the addition to it therefore of Joseph, his wife Emma and Oliver very greatly increased the toil and anxiety of my mother. And although she had never complained she had sometimes felt that her labor was too much, or at least she was perhaps beginning to feel so. This circumstance, however, completely removed all such feelings and nerved her up for her increased responsibilities. . . .

Note* See the report of this in the Deseret News article for March 3, 1928. If this incident had to do with the translation process at the Whitmer home, then it would have been about May or June of the summer of 1829.

Note* For other references to "Cumorah," see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

Note* The other interviews of David Whitmer in which he related this story are found in 1877, 1878, 1886 and 1918 notations.

<u>1878^</u>	<u>(abt. David Whitmer)</u> <u>("Cumorah")</u> (Cave Story?)	<u>"Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," in <i>The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star</i>, Vol. 40, No. 50, December 16, 1878, pp. 785-789</u>
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In 1878, apostles Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith visited the New York Hill Cumorah and wrote up an account of the same which was published.

After visiting Kirtland and after carefully inquiring the mind of the spirit, we concluded, while so near, to visit the Hill Cumorah, neither of us ever having been there. We therefore proceeded to . . . Palmyra, a very pretty little town of about 3,000 inhabitants, with one Catholic and four Protestant Churches, and about three and a half or four miles almost directly north of Cumorah. . . . The north end of the hill rises abruptly to the height of about 200 feet, and is plowed on the north end and east side nearly to the summit, which is very narrow for some distance along the ridge, on and near the highest points not over six or eight feet across. Here stand seven large trees, that seem to have escaped the destruction of the forest that once covered this part of the hill. . . .

About one hundred yards south of the highest point the top begins to widen out and slope off to the south, from this point begins a forest with beautiful groves of hickory, elm, beach, and other kinds of wood, which extend to the base on the west side, and nearly to the base on the east, and about a quarter of a mile south.

In a beautiful little grove on this memorable hill, we bowed in humble and fervent prayer, rendering praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for the treasures of knowledge and truth so long concealed beneath its surface, to be brought forth by the gift and power of God to us and the world in this dispensation. The spirit of prayer, of blessing and prophecy rested upon us so that we rejoiced exceedingly. After prayers we laid our hands upon and blessed each other, giving utterance as the Spirit dictated. We spent several hours looking over the hill, viewing the surrounding country, in meditation, prayer and thanksgiving. After which we drove to the little town of Manchester and returned to Palmyra, rejoicing and feeling that we had not spent our time in vain. We cut a few sticks, from near the summit of the hill which we brought with us as mementos of our visit. . . .

Orson Pratt, Sen.,
Joseph F. Smith.

---From the Deseret News

Note* Modern readers should not underestimate the authoritative impact of the reported visits by high Church officials to the New York Hill Cumorah. As Joseph Allen notes:
Very few members of the Church in the 1800's actually ever saw the hill that has become known as Cumorah in New York. Only two years after the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the headquarters

of the Church moved to Ohio, then to Missouri, then to Illinois, and finally to Utah. . . . As a result, the core of the Church members who lived in Utah from 1847 to the middle of the twentieth century had no reason to challenge that concept [that the New York hill Cumorah was the Cumorah referred to in the Book of Mormon]. (Joseph L. Allen, "Letters to the Editor" in *The Book of Mormon Archaeological Digest*, Vol. III, Issue III (September 2001), p. 13.

1878 The First LDS artist paints "The Hill Cumorah."

The first Latter-day Saint artist to paint "the Hill Cumorah," whose works survive, was Carl Christian Anton Christensen, a Danish immigrant. However, Christensen apparently had not actually visited the hill.

[1878 **The Hill Cumorah** C. C. A. Christensen, tempera on canvas, 204.5 x 294.6 cm (80.5" x 116") ca. 1878. By 1878 the hill had been stripped of its natural forest, except for seven large trees near the top. The artist, therefore, depicts the hill as it would have been in 1827. . . . Courtesy of Brigham Young University Museum of Art. Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 11.]

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 11.

1879^ Orson Pratt Book of Mormon (Geographical Footnotes), 1879-1920

Orson Pratt's philosophy became very influential during pioneer days in the Church. This was the result of his years spent in publishing Church materials used in spreading the gospel. In 1879 a new edition of the Book of Mormon was printed which contained Pratt's footnotes describing geographical features and places mentioned in the text. For the next 40 years these geographical notes would have an enormous impact in the minds of the general LDS members. The footnotes were patterned after Pratt's hemispheric view of Book of Mormon lands. These footnotes were not deleted until 1921. Thus his ideas for the most part became a standard of Book of Mormon geography. Some of the geographical statements that were written in the footnotes are as follows:

1. The landing of Lehi is "believed to be on the coast of Chili, S. America." (1 Nephi 2:20)
2. Statements in the text referring to the nature of the Lamanites were equated to be the same as the present condition of the Indians. (Jacob 1:46; see also 3 Nephi 16:11, 20:15, an 21:2, which also footnotes the term "Indians.")
3. The Land of Zarahemla is supposed to have been north of the headwaters of the River Magdalena, its northern boundary being a few days' journey south of the Isthmus of Panama. (Omni 1:13)
4. The River Sidon is "supposed to be [the River] Magdalena" in Columbia. (Alma 2:15)
5. The Caribbean Sea was considered to be the "depths of the sea" where the bones of the Lamanites and the Amlicites ended up after their bodies were thrown into the River Sidon. (Alma 3:3)
6. The area south of the Land of Desolation was considered to be South America. (Alma 46:17)
7. The land on the north was considered to be North America. (Alma 46:17)
8. The Land Northward where the Jaredites were destroyed was considered to be North America. (Alma 46:22)
9. The Land Which Was Northward was considered to be North America. (Alma 50:22)
10. All references in the 1876-1920 editions that use the term "Land Northward" were considered to be in North America. (Alma 51:30, 52:2, 52:9, 63:4, Helaman 3:8, 3:10, 6:6, 7:1, Mormon 2:20, etc.)
11. In Alma 56:25 we find the Lamanites near Manti not daring to cross the head of Sidon, over to the city of Nephiah. Footnote "t" says that this Nephiah is not the same city of Nephiah mentioned in Alma 50:14 as being in the east wilderness.
12. All references in the 1876-1920 editions that use the term "Land Southward" were considered to be South America. (Helaman 3:8, 3:10, 6:6, 7:1, Mormon 2:20, etc.)

13. In the description of the Nephite spread "to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south to the sea north, from the sea west to the sea east" (Helaman 3:8), the four seas mentioned are defined as (1) the Atlantic, South of Cape Horn; (2) the Arctic, North of North America; (3) the Pacific; and (4) the Atlantic.

14. The footnote states that the Lord brought Mulek into North America and Lehi into South America. (Helaman 6:10)

15. The following statement is made in reference to 3 Nephi 10:9 where the conclusion of the destruction at the death of Christ is recorded:

Making an allowance for the 7 1/2 hours for the difference of longitude between Jerusalem and the Land Bountiful, south of the Isthmus, the three days of darkness must have commenced and ended at 7 hours and 30 minutes in the morning, the beginning of darkness being the time in Bountiful when Jesus expired. (3 Nephi 10:9)

16. The footnote regarding the Land of Cumorah states that "The Hill Cumorah is in Manchester, Ontario Co., N. York." (Mormon 6:1)

17. The Jaredites were brought to a land that was choice above all other lands. The 1979 footnotes state that the Lord brought them "on the Western coast [of North America], and probably South of the Gulf of California, and North of the Land of Desolation, which was North of the Isthmus [of Darien]." (Ether 1:42, 6:12)

18. When Omer arrived at a place called Ablom, which was by the seashore, the 1881 Book of Mormon footnote states that Ablom was "probably on the shore of the New England States." (Ether 9:3)

19. When prophets foretold a Jaredite destruction wherein "their bones should become as heaps of earth," the footnote in the 1881 edition states that the verse refers to "the ancient mounds of North America." (Ether 11:6)

20. The Waters of Ripliancum were considered to be Lake Ontario (Ether 15:8)

21. The "hill Ramah" mentioned in Ether 15:11 in the final battles of the Jaredites was the same hill as the hill Cumorah, mentioned in the final battles of the Nephites.

Sources: ^*The Book of Mormon*, Electrotpe edition, Liverpool: Printed and published by William Budge, 42, Islington, 1879; ^Joseph L. Allen, *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*, Orem, UT: BYU Print Services, 1989; see also a paper by V. Mack Sumner: "An Exploration of the Footnotes in the 1911 Edition, Used by the Talmage Committee" which was written for Daniel Ludlow's course--Graduate Religion 622, External Evidences--in August, 1967.

Note* Riley Dixon notes that on page 606 of the 1879 edition, Orson Pratt also made a comment that the numbers very probably must have been between 10 and 15 million who were slain in the land of Ramah (Cumorah) in the final battle of the Jaredites. This number would include the wives and children of the warriors. (Riley Dixon, *Just One Cumorah*, SLC: Bookcraft, 1958.)

Note* At the present there is no documentary evidence that would definitely tell us whether Orson Pratt got any of these ideas directly from the prophet Joseph Smith, from others, or whether Pratt just developed these ideas on his own.

[1879 Theoretical Model Orson Pratt--B. of M. Footnotes HEMISPHERIC]

1879^ G. M. Ottinger "Votan, the Culture-Hero of the Mayas," in *Juvenile Instructor* 14 (1 March 1879): pp. 57-58.

George Ottinger writes:

In the year 1857, in the city of Vienna, a book now generally known under the title of *Popol Vuh* (national book) was first placed before the public in its modern translation, under the following heading: "A History of the Origin of the Indians of the Province of Guatemala, Translated from the Quiche Language by R. P. F. Francisco Ximenez," etc. . . .

The learned Abbe, Brasseur de Bourbourg, dissatisfied with the translation, settled himself, in 1860, among the Quiches, and, helped by the natives and his own practical knowledge of the language, he elaborated a new and literal translation which was published in Paris, in 1861.

From this and other important works relating to the ancient Americans, written by Bourbourg, whose indefatigable researches and labors deserve the greatest praise, we are indebted for much of our knowledge relating to the American culture-hero and voyager, Votan.

"By some writers this early colonizer is said to have been a descendant of Noah, and to have assisted at the building of the Tower of Babel. After the confusion of tongues he led a portion of the dispersed people to America. There he established the kingdom of Xibalba, and built the city of Palenque." (Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. 5, 27)

Ordonez, a native and resident of Chiapas, [and using another document purported to be a copy of a work written by Votan] says Votan proceeded to America by divine command and apportioned out the land, or laid the foundation of civilization. He founded the city of Nachan, or Palenque. . . . The name Tzequils, applied to Votan's followers by the aborigines, or families who joined him after his arrival is said to mean, "men with petticoats," from the peculiar dress worn by the newcomers. . . . The personage whose name appears first in [another] Maya tradition is Zamna, who taught the people writing (the hieroglyphic alphabet) and gave a name to each locality in Yucatan. "His role, so far as anything is known of it, was precisely the same as that of Votan, in Chiapas. (Bancroft, Vol. 5, p. 224) . . .

Sahagun, justly esteemed one of the best authorities, says: "Countless years ago the *first* settlers came in ships, by sea, from the east. They had with them their wise men and prophets." The first homes of these colonizers are located by Sahagun in the province of Guatemala. The arrival Gucumatz and his companions and their settlements somewhere near the Usumasinta river agrees with the founding of Xibalba and the Votanic empire as related in the other narrative. . . .

We find here in these secular histories and traditions a remarkable confirmation of the historical portion of the Book of Mormon. A careful reading of the Book of Omni (Book of Mormon) will give a correct version of the early settlement of Yucatan by the colony led by Mulek (Votan, or Zamna) from Jerusalem, and we see plainly wherein modern writers become confused, by confounding the two histories, that of the people of Zarahemla and that on the engraved stone, recording the history of the Jaredites who came to America shortly after the confusion of tongues at Babel, which is fully related in the Book of Ether (Book of Mormon) . . .

Here also rises an important question from the definite location given by the secular narratives of the ancient city of Zamna. Is it not possible that the great Rio Usumasinta, "flowing north into the sea," may be the ancient river Sidon. Those remarkable and world-famous ruins known under the name of Palenque may yet be proven to be the remains of that "great city and religious center" of the aboriginals, called Zarahemla. "This city may have been identical with Xibalba; the difficulty in disproving the identity is equaled only by that of proving it." (Bancroft, Vol 5, p. 295.)

The ruins are found on a branch or tributary of the Usumasinta, and their extent is undefined. Several travelers have written descriptions of these remarkable ruins. Possibly the best are by Waldeck, with drawings, who visited the ruins in 1832, and that of Stephens, with Catherwood's drawings, who visited and explored the ancient city in 1840.

All the old traditions and records relating to the early colonizers are unanimous [sic] in describing them as white men with beards.

But the so called Palenque is not the only city in the old Maya dominion; the whole country is dotted with ruins, and there are unmistakable evidences of its having at one time been inhabited by a dense and industrious population.

Note* Ottinger did not mention the editorial in *The Times and Seasons* which appeared in October 1842 and which stated the following:

Central America, or Guatemala [sic] is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south--The city of Zarahemla, burnt at the crucifixion of the Savior, and rebuilt afterwards, stood upon this land . . . We are not agoing [sic] to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but when the land and the stone and the books tell the story so plain, we are of the opinion that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb, to prove that the ruins of the city in question, are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon. . . . It will not be a bad plan to compare Mr. Stephens' ruined cities with those of the Book of Mormon . . .

Ottinger's article reinforces the idea that Zarahemla and the river Sidon might have been located in Guatemala. It would be almost 50 years until someone would even attempt to elaborate on this geographical idea--it was in 1917 when first the RLDS Louis Hills and subsequently the LDS Willard Young would finally publish their Mesoamerican approaches to Book of Mormon geography. (see the notations).

1879^ George Q. Cannon *My First Mission*, Salt Lake City, 1879.

President George Q. Cannon, one of the first L. D. S. Missionaries to Hawaii, wrote a book relating events which occurred during his mission to those islands in 1850-1854. In this book he linked the Polynesian people with the people of the Book of Mormon (see the notation for 1850).

Note* For a complete review on Polynesian Origins, the reader is referred to that Volume.

1879^ James A. Little "**Book of Mormon Sketches**," in *Juvenile Instructor* vols. 14-15 (1, 15 January,

15 September 1879--15 December 1880); pp. 8-9, 14-15, 209, 218-19, 232, 249, 256-57, 266-67, 284-85, 10-11, 20-21, 35, 39-40, 57-58, 62-63, 75-76, 86-87, 98-99, 116-17, 124-25, 134-35, 152-53, 164-65, 178, 189, 201-2, 212-13, 221, 237-38, 244-45, 262-63, 266-67, 281.

In this serialized article extending over two years in the semi-monthly *Juvenile Instructor*, of which George Q. Cannon was editor, James A Little essentially paraphrases the narrative of the Book of Mormon, telling the story in his own words. This publication was "designed expressly for the education and elevation of the young." Although the vast majority of geographical references in Little's articles are only mentioned in an internal sense, there are some external geographical comments that place the story in a hemispheric setting. James A. Little writes the following:

[1879, p. 209] The *Juvenile Instructor* of January 15th 1879, under the head of "Book of Mormon Sketches," completed a historical sketch of the Jaredites. They were the first people who colonized America after the flood. They emigrated from the tower of Babel, in the land of Shinar, in Asia, at the time of the confusion of languages. . . .

Coriantumr, the last king of the Jaredites, was discovered by the people of Zarahemla--the colony of Mulek--and dwelt with them nine moons. From these statements it is evident that there could have been only a few years between the landing of Mulek in North America--probably not far north of the Isthmus of Darien--and the final destruction of the Jaredites, in the more northern land of Cumorah. Doubtless, the colony of Mulek found the country where they landed, recently desolated, but the tide of war had rolled on to the north out of their hearing. . . .

[p. 232] We have a tradition among us that the Prophet Joseph Smith said that they landed in the country now known as Chile, on the western coast of South America. Their subsequent history gives evidence of the correctness of this tradition. . . . In exploring the forests of their new home, the colony found all the animals necessary for their comfort and convenience. . . .

[p. 249] Nephi and his people evidently travelled north from their first location. As it would have been extremely difficult to cross the gorges and water channels of the Andes in that direction, their route must have generally been along the narrow coast border between those mountains and the Pacific Ocean. It would be very satisfactory to know where the land of Nephi was located. In reflecting on this subject, the mind of the writer ever settles down to the conclusion that Nephi and his people settled and built their first cities around lake Titcaca, which is on a high and fertile plateau of the Andes, and around which are remains of the highest and most ancient civilization of which there is any trace in South America. . . .

They built a temple, not as costly, but resembling the temple of Solomon in form and structure. This was the first house, built for sacred purposes, of which we have an account in the history of the western

hemisphere. . . .

[p. 256] After a somewhat lengthy and tedious journey, they [Amaleki's group which left the city of Nephi] discovered a people and land called Zarahemla. The country of which Zarahemla was the capital was probably a considerable portion of that part of South America now known as the United States of Columbia. It appears reasonable, from the subsequent history of the Nephites, that the city of Zarahemla was on the west side of the river Sidon now known as the Magdalena. . . .

In the first part of his [Benjamin's] reign there was much war and slaughter between the Nephites and Lamanites, but the latter were eventually driven out of the land of Zarahemla. Although the Nephites had been saved from destruction in these wars, it is evident that the Lamanites had cooped them up in a small section of country, in the northern part of South America, while they occupied the rest of the country at their pleasure.

[1880 p. 20] Alma and his company traveled twelve days, and arrived in Zarahemla. This, with the eight days occupied in travelling from the waters of Mormon to the land of Helem, makes twenty days travel from the waters of Mormon to Zarahemla. With flocks and herds, women and children, they did not probably average over twenty miles a day. If this conjecture is approximately correct, the distance was about 400 miles.

[p. 98] Moroni sent his armies and drove out the Lamanites who occupied a section of country east of the land of Zarahemla, and thus shortened the frontier between the Nephites and their enemies. **This made the boundary line between the two peoples straight from the east to the west sea.** The country the Lamanites were forced to vacate was settled by the Nephites. Their armies immediately occupied it and erected fortifications for its defense. **It is very uncertain where this line of frontier terminated on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. But a chain of hills terminating near the southern shore of lake Myracabo might have been a part of this rather indefinite boundary line. It probably crossed near the head of the Magdalena--the ancient Sidon--in nearly a direct line to the Pacific coast.**

Note* This seems to be the first time that anyone has ever specifically defined the narrow strip of wilderness. Lake Maracaibo is situated just south of the Gulf of Venezuela at the extreme northwestern part of Venezuela. at about 10° south latitude. The range of mountains "terminating near the southern shore" are extended from the Pacific coast of southern Ecuador. That is, the mountains extend from southern Ecuador (near the Gulf of Guayaquil) in an almost north-northeast direction, passing by the head of the Magdalena river in Bogota, Colombia. (see the illustration below)

[1880 **Map: The Narrow Strip of Wilderness.** Andrew Heritage, ed. *World Reference Atlas*. Covenant Garden Books. Published in the United States by Dorling Kindersley Publishing, Inc., New York, New York, p. 52]

[p. 116] Ammoron left his generals to conduct the war on the east coast, and, after visiting the queen and informing her of the death of his brother, raised a large army and attacked the Nephites along the coast of the west sea, or Pacific Ocean.

[p. 164] The beginning of the settlement of North America, in fulfillment of the prophecies of the Jaredites, that they should be destroyed for their wickedness, and another people succeed them, was the great event of the year 54, B.C. No previous attempt appears to have been made by the Nephites to colonize the land north of them, which they called Desolation. A company of 5,400 men, with their families, probably numbering in all 25,000 persons, moved into the country north of the land Bountiful, the northern boundary of which was near the narrowest part or the Isthmus of Darien. Near this place and by the west sea, none Hagoth, built a very large ship, and launched it in what is now known as the Pacific Ocean. This was the first ship built on the western hemisphere, of which we have any account in the Book of Mormon. Many Nephites, with an abundant supply of provisions, embarked on it, and sailed northward.

Note* Little mentions nothing here about a relationship between Hagoth and the Polynesians.

[p. 178] In the year 33 B.C., the armies of the Lamanites were so successful that they took the city of Zarahemla, and drove the armies of Moronihah into the land Bountiful. There they fortified across the isthmus and prepared to check the advance of their enemies into the north country. These operations closed the year 32 B.C.

[p. 202] It was now seventy years since the Nephites commenced emigrating from Zarahemla to the north country, and they were spread over the land from the east sea, and as far north as the chain of great lakes, now forming a part of the boundary between the United States and the Canadas. It would require some time to send a proclamation over so extensive a country and organize some system of gathering in which the means of defense against band of [Gadianton] robbers was an essential element. . . . The lands of Zarahemla and Bountiful were designated as the place of gathering for the Nephites.

[p. 263] This war may be considered the commencement of the last great struggle between them, which culminated, 63 years after, in the destruction of the Nephites in the battle of Cumorah. . . . In the year 361 A.D., Mormon received an epistle from the king of the Lamanites, by which he learned that they were again preparing to attack the Nephites. He made the best possible preparation for the struggle, by gathering his forces together on the line across the isthmus, designated by the treaty ten years previous. There is little doubt but that the Nephites had constructed a chain of fortifications across the narrow neck of land, of which the city of Desolation was the key or principal stronghold.

Note* It is uncertain here whether Little is describing a line of fortifications isolated in Panama or whether these fortifications extended the length of Central America. The term "across" seems to imply that somehow these fortifications extended from the east sea to the west sea.

[p. 266] From the abridged account of this tremendous war in the Book of Mormon, we can scarcely realize that this narrow neck of land was the principal battle ground between the people of North America, on one side, and of South America on the other.

[p. 267] As the Lamanites were merciless in their vengeance, no imagination can conceive the magnitude of the calamities which now overwhelmed the fleeing Nephites. . . . During this retreat he [Mormon] wrote to the king of the Lamanites asking the privilege of gathering his people to the land of Cumorah, by a hill of the same name, and there give them battle. This was the hill Ramah of the Jaredites, around which they gathered to consummate their final destruction. The king of the Lamanties granted the request of Mormon. . . .

The land of Cumorah was a country of many waters; of rivers and fountains. Although we have no means of ascertaining the amount of territory which the Nephites designated by this name, we are warranted in assuming that it comprised a considerable portion of the present State of New York. It is still a country of marshes and lakes, with their outlets and feeders. It may have undergone some slight surface changes, but in its general characteristics it has not probably changed much since the days of the Nephites.

[p. 281] History has recorded but few battles on which hung such important results. It completed the destruction of a great people, and consigned a hemisphere to barbarism.

1879^ John T. Short *The North Americans of Antiquity*, NYC: Harpers & Bros., 1879, pp. 144-145 (non-LDS)

. . . Closely allied to the theory of the ten lost tribes, is the claim set forth in that pretentious fraud, the Book of Mormon, which attributes the colonization of North America, soon after the confusion of tongues, to as people called Jaredites, who, by divine guidance, reached our shores in eight vessels, and developed a high state of civilization on our soil. These first colonists, however, became extinct

about six centuries B.C., because of their social sins.

The Jaredites were followed by a second colony, this time of Israelites, who left Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, King of Juda. *They reached the Indian Ocean by following the shores of the Red Sea, where they built a vessel which bore them across the Pacific to the western coast of South America.* Having arrived in the new land of promise, they separated into two parties, called Nephties and Lamanties respectively, after their leaders.

They grew to be great nations and colonized North America also. . . . But towards the close of the fourth century of our era, both Lamanites and Nephites backslid in faith and became involved in a war with each other which resulted in the extermination of the latter people. The numerous tumuli scattered over the face of the country cover the remains of the hundreds of thousands of warriors who fell in their deadly strife. Mormon and his son Morani [sic], the last of the Nephites who escaped by concealment, *deposited by divine command the annals of their ancestors, the Book of Mormon written on tablets, in the hill of Cumorah, Ontario County, New York, in the vicinity of which the last battle of these relentless enemies took place. (The tablets remained in their place of concealment until discovered by Joseph Smith . . .)*

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1879 Joseph F. Smith "Interview with David Whitmer," Joseph F. Smith Collection, LDS Church Archives. See also Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, vol. 5, p. 55.

Note* See the 1918 Smith notation.

1880 Franklin D. Richards Franklin D. Richards, Journal, May-June 1880, Family and Church History Department Archives. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; extracts copied from digital images of the journal from Richard E. Turley, Jr., ed. and prod. *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Provo, UT: BYU Press, 2002, DVD pt. 34, box 3, vol. 28.

Franklin D. Richards visited Cumorah on May 12, 1880 and recorded in his journal:

12th: "Good Night's rest-breakfasted early & all 5 of us took train for 'Palmyra' where we put up at 'Palmyra Hotel.' Hired a livery team & went to "Cumorah"- "Ramah" then to Manchester. . . . Returned to Cumorah. Artist took 8 [3] views, 2 were pretty good." [see Note* below]

When Richards returned to Utah, he reported to President John Taylor on the 9th of June:

Went by 9:40 train to city [Salt Lake City]--and was cordially welcomed back again by President Taylor & others in the office. Took some time to report on the various phases of my journey, my visits & business transactions. . . . At 2 p.m. met in council with J. T. [John Taylor], O. P. [Orson Pratt], W. W. [Wilford Woodruff], D. H. W. [Daniel H. Wells], J. F. S. [Joseph F. Smith], A. C. [Albert Carrington] & reported generally my labors & travels. Showing my views of Ramah-Cumorah.

On the following day (June 10th) Richards:

Went to Farmington by 3:40 [train] visited with the family & showed them the views of "Cumorah"- "Ramah" & etc.

Note* Junius F. Wells and Edward Stevenson produced engravings of the hill based on Richard's photographs. See the 1883 and 1893 notations

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual

Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 12.

1880^ George Reynolds "The Lamanites (A Book of Mormon Sketch)," in *Millennial Star* 42 June-July, 1880, pp. 385-88, 401-4, 417-20, 433-36, 449-52, 465-67.

In the year A.C. 231, a great division occurred, and the people were again divided into two strong contending bodies, who assumed the old names of Nephites and Lamanites. (It is worthy of note that the Mexicans of the days of Montezuma and Cortez dated the commencement of their race and national existence from this very same year--See Mexican Calendar Stone.) . . . [p. 465]

A treaty was patched up (A.C. 350), by which it was agreed that the Nephites should hold all North America, and the Lamanites possess the whole Southern Continent, the Isthmus of Panama being the dividing line between the two nations. . . . [After the final battles at Cumorah] The Lamanites were now rulers of the western world, their traditional enemies being utterly destroyed.

1880^ George Reynolds "The Land of the Nephites," in *Juvenile Instructor* 15-16 (15 November; 1, 15 December 1880; 1, 15 January; 1 February 1881): 261, 274-75, 286, 7-8, 22-23, 26-27.

Note* George Reynolds' views on Book of Mormon geography were first published in serial form in *The Juvenile Instructor* from 15 November 1880 to 1 February 1881. This material was later placed in the same form in his 1888 book *The Story of the Book of Mormon*. Because I have extensively quoted from that book in the notation for 1888, the reader is referred to that notation.

Regarding the landing place of Lehi's party, George Reynolds writes on page 274: "It is generally believed among the Latter-day Saints to have been on the coast of Chili. In fact it is widely understood that the Lord so informed the Prophet Joseph Smith."

Note* Reynolds does not get into specifics on just why it was "widely understood that the Lord so informed the Prophet Joseph Smith." *The Compendium* with the "Lehi's Travels--Revelation to Joseph the Seer" statement would not be published until two years later in 1882.

[1880 Theoretical Model Reynolds HEMISPHERIC]

L.S.=South Amer. / N.N.=Panama / L.N.=North of Panama / H.C.=N.Y.

Source: George Reynolds, *Juvenile Instructor*, 1 December 1880, p. 274. Information listed in John L. Sorenson, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book*, pp. 152-153.

1880 Heber Comer (Theoretical Model)

On page 212 of J. A. and J. N. Washburn, *An Approach to the Study of Book of Mormon Geography*, Provo, Utah, 1939, we find a "map . . . carefully prepared" from "a large one made in 1880 by Brother Heber Comer, of Lehi, in the old Brigham Young Academy, under the personal direction of Dr. Karl G. Maeser." This map portrays a traditional hemispheric concept of Book of Mormon geography.

[1880 Heber Comer and Karl G. Maeser TRADITIONAL HEMISPHERIC]

L.S. = South America / N.N. = Panama / L.N. = Panama northward / H.C. = New York (implied) / Sidon = Magdalena River

Source: J. A. and J. N. Washburn, *An Approach to the Study of Book of Mormon Geography*, Provo, Utah, 1939. On page 212 they reproduce a "map . . . carefully prepared" from "a large one made in 1880 by Brother Heber Comer, of Lehi, in the old Brigham Young Academy, under the personal direction of Dr. Karl G. Maeser."

1881[^] (abt. Joseph Smith?)

Diary of Charles L. Walker, A. Karl and Katharine Larson, eds.
26 January 1881, (Logan Utah: Utah State University Press,
1980), pp. 524-526)

Wend 26th Jan. 1881 At the Temple all day. At night went to Prayer Meeting. . . . Father McBride spoke of the time when Epriam [sic] and Manesah [sic] would be united and the Establishment of God's kingdom upon the Earth. Spoke of the time when the Prophet Joseph spoke to the Nauvoo Legion. . . . Drew his sword and raised it up to heaven and said it should never be Sheathed again until Zion was redeemed. . . . He spake thus about the 23d of June 1844, a few days before he was murdered in Carthage jail by a wicked and ruthles mob . . . ^{lxiii}

Br. McBride also related that Joseph marked with his cane in the sand the track the saints would take to the Rocky Mountains. Says Joseph, will you establish the kingdom there? No, but it will be set up and the saints will live their covenants, meaning the Marriage covenant. Said we should travel on thro [sic] the mountains; described the Valley of Great Salt Lake just as tho [sic] he had lived there, designating where the soldiers camp would be and the burying ground.^{lxiv}

Said we should make stations and build up settlements all the way to new, and old Mexico Until we crossed the Isthmus and get back to the place where the Covenant was broke [i.e., the United Order]^{lxv} by the old Nephites. Spoke of the Great Temple in Central America unfinished, showing marks of the work being stopped while in the Course of erection; that pillars and other curiously worked stones were found in the Quarry quite a distance from the Temple exactly corresponding with those already fitted and placed in the grand and massive structure, Showing plainly that some unexpected event transpired causing a stoppage in the work. This temple was situated by the River Copan anciently called the River of Nephi.

Told of the U S government trying to prove Joseph a false prophet and the Book of Mormon also false by sending out Stevens and Catherwood to explore the Ancient Ruins and monuments, works &c, &c. but all they did only proved the Book of Mormon to be an authentic Record of the ancient People of this vast continent of North and South America, and they (Stevens and Catherwood) admit that the Continent was once inhabited by vast and mighty People who were acquainted with and understood the Arts of Agricu[ll]ture, Manufacture, sculpture, Quarrying, stone cutting, masonry, painting, engraving, writing, Shipping and Commerce, and war as the implements of war and industry exhibited when exhumed from the Ruins which are all over the Land.

Spoke of the Route the old Nephites took travelling to Cumorah from the South and south west; of having to bury their tr[e]asures as they journeyed and finally burying the Records and precious things in the Hill Cumorah; of Moroni dedicating the Temple site of what we now call St George, Nauvoo, Jackson Co., Kirtland and others we know not of as yet. . . .

Note* H. Donl Peterson, a faculty member of the BYU religion department since 1964, published a book (*Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 1983) in which he writes the following: Book of Mormon geography is very elusive. Where Moroni was born, where he lived, where the Nephite civilization was centered, and so forth, is not presently known. At best, we can draw relationship-type maps . . . but to attempt to superimpose a Nephite map on top of a current map of the Western Hemisphere is, at best, personal supposition. However, we are made aware of several localities that Moroni visited during his lonely years. . . . [He then quotes from the above notation]

Whether Moroni traversed such a vast territory solely to dedicate various temple sites or whether he also had other reasons is a question that remains unanswered.

(Source: ^H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, pp. 76-79)

Note* The above diary notation concerning the year 1881 and William McBride speaking about "the Route the old Nephites took traveling to Cumorah from the South and Southwest" and "burying the Records and precious things in the Hill Cumorah" helps to give a time frame and substance to the following information written by H. Donl Peterson:

Several years ago, I came across two copies of a map in the Archives Division of the Historical Department of the Church relative to Moroni's North American journeys (see Figures 1 and 2). On the back of the map in Figure 1 is written the following:

A chart, and description of Moroni's travels through this country. Got it from Br. Robert Dickson. He got it from Patriarch Wm. McBride at Richfield in the Sevier and also from Andrew M. Hamilton of the same place. And they got it from Joseph Smith the Prophet.

On the map "land Bountifull [sic]" is listed in "Sentral [sic] America." The cartographer wrote "starting point" below the reference to Central America. Above the "land Bountifull" is "Sand hills in south part of Arizona," and above it to the left is "Salt Lake." To the right is "Independens, Jackson Co, Mo," and above that is "Adam on Diamon, Davis Co, Mo." To the right of that is "Nauvoo, Hancock C. Ill." Below that is "Mound Kinderhook, Pike, Co, Ill, 6 Plates Bell shape were found" (*were was was on one copy*). Then to the right and above that is "Kirtland, Ohio," and to the right of that is "Commorre [Cumorah], N.Y." Below this on the right-hand side of the map is written: "Moroni's Travels starting from Sentral America to the Sand hills Arizona then to Salt Lake U[tah], T[erritory], then to Adam on Diammon Mo, then to Nauvoo, Ill, then to Independence Mo, then to Kirtland Ohio then to Cumoro NY." The second map appears to have been drawn by the same hand and is quite similar to the first, though it twice spells Arizona as Arisony (one "y" has an "a" written over it); "eden" is written near the circle identifying "Independense"; "where adam blessed his posterity" is written near the circle identifying "Adam on Diammon"; the "missisipy river" is listed near Nauvoo; Kirtland is twice misspelled "kertland"; and Cumorah is misspelled "Cunora" and "Cumora."

It is interesting to note that the brethren mentioned on these documents were contemporaries of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and they credited him with the notion that the travels of Moroni began in the land Bountiful, which was in Central America, and went through the western Great Basin area prior to going east to Cumorah in western New York. Why Moroni took the route he did is still without answers. These men stated that the Prophet Joseph believed Bountiful is in Central America while the Hill Cumorah, the burial place of the plates, is in New York State.

Source: ⁴H. Donl Peterson, "Moroni, the Last of the Nephite Prophets" in Paul R. Cheesman, Monte S. Nyman, and Charles D. Tate Jr., eds., *Fourth Nephi Through Moroni: From Zion to Destruction*, Papers from the Ninth Annual Book of Mormon Symposium, 1994. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995, pp. 244-247.

[1881 **Illustration: Figure 1. Moroni's Journeys from Cumorah in New York to Central America and Back Again.** A chart, and description of Moroni's travels through this country. Got it from Br. Robert Dickson. He got it from Patriarch Wm. McBride at Richfield in the Sevier and also from Andrew M. Hamilton of same place. And they got it from Joseph Smith the Prophet. H. Donl Peterson, "Moroni, the Last of the Nephite Prophets" in Paul R. Cheesman, Monte S. Nyman, and Charles D. Tate Jr., eds., *Fourth Nephi Through Moroni: From Zion to Destruction*, Papers from the Ninth Annual Book of Mormon Symposium, 1994. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995, p. 245]

[1881 **Illustration: Figure 2. Moroni's Journeys from Cumorah in New York to Central America and Back Again.** Moroni's travil from starting from Sentril America up to the sand-hills Arisony thence to Salt Lake city, thence adomondiamon MO. thence to nauvoo ILL, thence to Independance, Jackson Co. Mo, thence to Cumora N. Y. H. Donl Peterson, "Moroni, the Last of the Nephite Prophets" in Paul R. Cheesman, Monte S. Nyman, and Charles D. Tate Jr., eds., *Fourth Nephi Through Moroni: From Zion to Destruction*, Papers from the Ninth Annual Book of Mormon Symposium, 1994. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1995, p. 246]

Note* One might suppose that if Joseph Smith spoke of the land Bountiful being in Central America, and that according to the text of the Book of Mormon the land Bountiful was in the Land Southward, then those members at this period of time would have envisioned the narrow neck of land as being north of Central America. We also have a statement attributed to the Prophet in the 1842 *Times and Seasons* in which the city of Zarahemla was said to have been in "Central America or Guatimala [sic], and associated with "the ruins of Quirigua [Guatemala]." Yet despite the inviting prospects reflected by the above ideas, those ideas probably do not reflect the thinking involved with these sketches. Rather the thinking was probably a vague concept in which "the land of Bountifull" occupied all or part of the narrow neck of land which connected the United States

with South America, of which "Sentril America" was a part. Nevertheless, in the last years of his life Joseph Smith can be said to have been espousing, at the minimum, a modified hemispheric model. A more formal Modified Hemispheric concept in which the narrow neck of land was associated with the Isthmus of Tehuantepec would be investigated by the Cluff Expedition in 1900 and would later be proposed by Sjodahl in his writings of 1927.

Note* McBride accompanied Joseph Smith on the trek of Zion's Camp (see the notation for 1834).

Note* One has to wonder why no mention is made of Mormon in these travels.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

[Note* See the November, 1895 notation.]

1881^ W. A Kelley "The Hill Cumorah and the Book of Mormon," in *The Saints' Herald*, vol. 28 (RLDS) no. 11, Plano, Ill., June 1, 1881.

Ever since my first acquaintance with that wonderful production--the Book of Mormon--I have desired to visit the place from which it was taken from the earth by Joseph Smith, the Seer, and view the surrounding country. Not to gratify a wish, solely, to visit a place rendered historic and interesting by reason of scenes transacted upon it, in which the earthly and heavenly inhabitants held communion in the generation in which we live; but by reason, also, of its being the place of the last great decisive conflict between the Nephites and Lamanites, as recorded on page 492 of the Book of Mormon.

Here we learn that an armistice was arranged between the two contending armies, by which the Nephites were permitted to withdraw to the land of Cumorah. They pitched their tents around about the Hill Cumorah. . . . This place was selected by the weaker side, evidently, as a strategic point of defense, where, by the aid of the natural advantages and superior skill, they hoped to successfully dispute with the bloodthirsty foe, and preserve their lives and those of their wives and children.

Was it a wise selection; such as a great general, while on retreat, would select, of choice, upon which to concentrate his forces, in order to advantageously give battle to vicious and desperate pursuers? Will the face of the surrounding country, its natural advantages for a defense, sustain the wonderful narrative of the record, when viewed from a common sense military standpoint? If so, one more point is added to the line of evidence adduced in favor of angelic visits having been had by Joseph Smith, the Seer, and another corroborating proof of the truth of the Book of Mormon.

On March 5th last, the opportunity was afforded me to gratify the wish to visit this place, which I improved. At about 9 o'clock a.m., in company with my brother, E.L. Kelley, whom I met on his return from Connecticut, where he had been on business, I left Palmyra, a town of about four thousand inhabitants, on the New York Central Railroad, and went due south on the old Canandaigua road, towards the little town of Manchester, six miles distant. We had not gone far, when our attention was directed to a hill in the distance, lying along and to the left of the roadside, which seemed to rise to a height considerably above any of those surrounding it in any direction. This we selected as the Hill Cumorah. A deep snow covered the ground, but the roads being good, with horses and sleigh, we were soon at its base. Enquiring of a German family residing at the foot of the hill to the northwest, we found that our selection was correct; it was indeed the Hill Cumorah; or, as they termed it, "Mormon" or Bible Hill."

In company with two German men and a boy, we ascended the hill on foot, and soon stood upon the highest point. The mind-picture I had formed of it and surrounding country, made from the descriptions written by Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, was almost perfect. . . .

Viewed at a distance, from the north, and it has a pyramidal appearance, by reason of the sudden rise from the east and west and narrow, bald top.

Doubtless the entire hill was once covered with trees and brush, as is shown, from the remains of a few stumps, here and there, and two or three trees now lying on the top lately felled. The northern part is

entirely bald, save the grass covering; but some distance back, the trees and brush, in places, are still standing.

Surrounding the hill to the north, east and west, are small valleys, now covered with farms and dotted with houses. Far to the south the same features are presented. Altogether the scene is at once striking, beautiful and imposing.

We could not determine to a certainty the exact locality from which the records were taken, on account of the snow; and then our guides disagreed as to the identical place.

As I stood and viewed the scene presented, I thought of the "great and tremendous battle" that is recorded as having been fought here between two powerful nations, and the scenes of blood and carnage that ensued--the weaker being utterly exterminated, with but one left to record the event and lament over the fallen.

Whatever may be thought of the truth or falsity of the narrative by men, it is certain that the face of the country sustains the record in a wonderful manner. It would be an excellent place from which to make a defense, in this day of great improvements in war implements, and especially so in an age when the bow and sling, battle axe and war club, were used as the instruments of death. . . .

Source: <http://www.lavazone2.com/dbroadhu/IL/sain1872.htm>

1881[^] Orson Pratt Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, September 18, 1881. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886], vol. 22, p. 226

. . . It will be, next Thursday night, 54 years since the Prophet Joseph Smith, then but a lad, was permitted by the angel of the Lord to take the gold plates of the Book of Mormon from the hill Cumorah, as it was called in ancient times, located in the State of New York. . . . in fulfilment of ancient prophecy, *a record of one-half of our globe, giving a history of the peoples and nations that occupied this great western hemisphere* . . .

1881 (abt. David Whitmer)
Richmond,

Chicago Times Correspondent Interview, 14 October 1881,
Missouri. Printed in the *Chicago Times*, 17 October 1881.

The following comes from an interview with David Whitmer by a reporter from *The Chicago Times* on October 14, 1881:

. . . Knowing that he was approaching the full term allotted for man's stay on earth and that the readers of the *Times* would like to hear what he had to say concerning the origin of the "Book of Mormon," I called at his residence . . . Upon being told the object of my visit he promptly responded to my questions, and after an hour's interview I gleaned the following valuable information from him . . .

The plates from which the book was translated, supposed to be gold, were found in the latter part of the year 1827 or 1828, prior to any acquaintance on Mr. Whitmer's part with Joseph Smith, and he was lo[a]th to believe in their actuality, notwithstanding the community in which he lived (Ontario county, New York), was alive with excitement in regard to Smith's finding a great treasure, and they informed him that they knew that Smith had the plates, as they had seen the place that he had taken them from, on the hill Cumorah, about two miles from Palmyra, New York. . . .

In regard to finding the plates, he was told by Smith that they were in a stone casket, and the place where it was deposited, in the hill Comorah [sic], was pointed out to him by a celestial personage, clad in a dazzling white robe, and he was informed by it that it was the history of the Nephites, a nation that had passed away, whose founders belonged to the days of the tower of Babel. . . .

After the plates had been translated, which process required about six months, the same heavenly visitant appeared and reclaimed the gold tablets of the ancient people, informing Smith that he would replace them with other records of the lost tribes that had been brought with them during their wanderings from the Asia, which would be forthcoming when the world was ready to receive them. . . .

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 73-75.

1882^ Orson Pratt "Cumorah," *The Contributor*, September, 1882, p. 357.

In a possible reference to the Cave Story, Orson Pratt writes:

"But the grand repository of all the numerous records of the ancient nations of the western continent, was located in another department of the hill [Cumorah], and its contents put under the charge of holy angels, until the day should come for them to be transferred to the sacred temple of Zion."

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1882^ R. W. Young "In the Wake of the Church," in the *Contributor*, vol. 4, October 1882, p. 20.

To find the Hill Cumorah we were directed to cross the stream and canal, turn to the right, or west, continue down the main street until a street crossing was reached each of whose four corners contained a church; then by turning to the south we would be on the Canandaigua road, which leads to the "Mormon" or "Golden Bible" hill. . . .

We were informed that the object of our visit lay about three miles down this road--that it was on the left side, and was by far the most commanding hill in the vicinity. However, after traveling a couple of miles, we were in doubt as to several hills which rose in more or less prominence on our left. It is a geological feature of this country that long ridges gradually rise from the general level, becoming higher as you go from south to north, until they end abruptly in an elevated hill; this feature is seen in the Hill Cumorah, and is repeated in every other ridge in the vicinity. But since there was doubt in our minds as to several of these abrupt points, we concluded to go on until we found a hill which would impress us as the one we sought. And so, upon reaching the summit of a swell, we saw lying before us a commanding eminence, which struck us at once as the station of Moroni in the great slaughter of the fifth century. Upon inquiry it proved to be so. . . .

The hill is so situated that a greater stretch of country can be seen from its crest than from any point for miles around. There seems to be a combination of openings between the ridges, which give the vision a wider sweep. My companion, a person of considerable military training and instinct, exclaimed: "In my view, this location is a strong evidence of the truth of the Book of Mormon--I have never seen a more natural battlefield!" And so it impresses you. Look to the west, there is a broad plain, surrounded by slopes and ridges--natural positions of strength, from which an army could either make or receive an attack. Of course there are no evidences at present of where the plates came from. As described, they were buried near the top on the west side, and not far from the point; so, farther than an approximate location, you know nothing.

1882 George Reynolds "Joseph Smith's Youthful Life," in *Juvenile Instructor*, Oct 1, 1882.

1882^ James A. Little
Franklin D. Richards *A Compendium of the Doctrines of the Gospel* Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons Company, 1882, p. 289
Reprinted in 1884, 1886, 1892, 1898, Revised editions in 1914, 1925, 1992.

The *Compendium* was first published by Richards and Little in Liverpool, England in 1857. Yet the "Lehi's Travels" statement which appears below was not included in the first edition. A second edition, revised and enlarged, was published in Salt Lake City by George Q. Cannon and Sons Company in 1882, and it is from this edition that the statement is found. The "Lehi's Travels" statement is a note concerning the direction of Lehi's travels and was apparently written down by Frederick G. Williams in about 1836, during which time Williams served as scribe for Joseph Smith. This document was kept with Williams' personal papers even after his death in 1842. In 1864-65 the manuscript papers of Frederick G. Williams were lent to the LDS Church by

his son Ezra. (see the discussion in the 1836 notation) The information in the Lehi's Travels statement also appears as a separate note on the last page of the Bernhisel manuscript which was written in 1845 but not given to the Church for copying until the year 1879 (see the discussion in the 1845 notation). The exact date in which the note was recorded by Bernhisel is not known. Neither the Williams document nor the Bernhisel note contain the words "Revelation to Joseph the Seer" as appears in the *Compendium* quote below.

The *Compendium* quote appears as follows:

LEHI'S TRAVELS--Revelation to Joseph the Seer.

The course that Lehi and his company traveled from Jerusalem to the place of their destination: They traveled nearly a south-southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude; then, nearly east to the Sea of Arabia, then sailed in a southeast direction, and landed on the continent of South America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude.

Note* Notice that contrary to the information contained in the notation for 1836, this statement appears to be attributed to Joseph Smith himself rather than Frederick G. Williams. The effect of this action should not be underestimated. In effect, it gave enormous authoritative weight to the hemispheric model of Book of Mormon geography as it would be quoted and referred to many times in future publications. For example, four years later in 1886, the prophet Joseph Smith would be given credit as the basis for the official position of the "Sunday Schools in Zion" that "Lehi landed in Chili in South America." (see the 1886 notation)

According to Frederick G. Williams III:

There is no known earlier historical evidence associating this specific statement with Joseph Smith. How then did the statement come to be connected with Joseph Smith and revelation? Perhaps, because the statement was written by Frederick G. Williams, who was Joseph's scribe and a counselor in the First Presidency for a time, and because it was written on a sheet with a known revelation (D&C 7), it was thought that Joseph must have dictated it. However, D&C 7 was received before Williams joined the Church, and was published in 1833. . . . The 1857 edition of the *Compendium* did not include this statement. (Frederick G. Williams III, "Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement," F.A.R.M.S., 1988, p. 3-4.) See also Robert J. Matthews, "Notes on 'Lehi's Travels,'" *BYU Studies* 12 (3), Spring 1972, pp. 312-14.

(See the notations for 1830, 1836, 1845, 1880, 1938, 1952, 1988.)

Note* Franklin D. Richards was ordained an Apostle Feb. 12, 1849 at the age of 27. He would live to the year 1899.

1883^ Junius F. Wells, ed. "The Three Witnesses" in the *Contributor*, vol. 5, Salt Lake City, October 1883

The Hill Cumorah is a reproduction of a fine photograph which Apostle Franklin D. Richards had taken during his visit there a few years ago. The group seen upon the hillside consists of himself, wife, sons Lorenzo and Charles, and Joseph A. West, besides the owner of the ground, who stated to them that they were standing around the spot, **indicated by Joseph Smith to his father** as the place from which the plates were taken. It is on the west side of the hill, near the north end, and not far from the top, exactly corresponding to the written statement of the Prophet upon the subject, and the repeated testimony of the witnesses.

[1883 **Illustration: "The Three Witnesses" and "Hill Cumorah,"** H. B. Hall & sons, 1883, based on an 1880 photograph; looking southeast at northwest end. Published in the *Contributor*, vol. 5, October 1883, frontispiece. Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 12.]

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS,

2005, p. 12.

1883 **William Smith** ***William Smith on Mormonism*** (Lamoni, Iowa:Herald Steam Book & Job Office, 1883, p. 36.

One of Joseph's own brothers, William Smith (who was once one of the original twelve apostles of the early Church) wrote this in a small booklet about the last great "terrible war" between the ancient Nephites and Lamanites:

This war commenced at the Isthmus of Darien [in Panama], and was more or less destructive to both nations. At length the Nephites were driven before their enemies north and north-east to a great distance. [While] gathering their whole nation together both men, women, and children, they encamped on and around about the hill Cumorah near where Palmyra, NY now stands; where the golden records were found, in the town of Manchester, about four miles on the road leading from Palmyra to the city of Canandaigua.

Note* Could the quote on p. 50 in John Heinerman's *Hidden Treasures* be inserted here?

1883[^] George Q. Cannon *The Life of Nephi, the Son of Lehi.* Salt Lake City, Utah: Published by the Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883

This book was written "By George Q. Cannon, Of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." It was "Designed for the Instruction and Encouragement of Young Latter-day Saints," and was "The Ninth Book of the Faith-Promoting Series.^{lxvi} In writing about the life of Nephi, Cannon includes some interesting notes on Book of Mormon geography gleaned from scholarly writings which represents not only some study on the matter, but a keen interest in Book of Mormon geography and culture. Thus, the material in this book should be of interest, especially in light of other statements by Elder Cannon on the subject of Book of Mormon geography. Those concerning the travels of Lehi are as follows:

[Preface] Some years since the desire took possession of me to write the life of Nephi . . .

[chap. XIV] They landed and pitched their tents, and they acknowledged that the Lord had indeed fulfilled His promises unto them. He had guided them through the wilderness, had enabled them to construct a vessel, in which He had brought them safely across the mighty breadth of ocean which extended from the coast of Arabia to the coast of what is now called South America, or as they, with good reason, called it, "The Promised Land." The prophet Joseph, in speaking of their place of landing, said (note*) it was on the coast of the country now known as Chili-a country which possesses a genial, temperate and healthy climate.

Note* Cannon notes the Lehi's Travels statement: "They traveled nearly a south, southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude; then, nearly east to the sea of Arabia, then sailed in a southeast direction, and landed on the continent of South America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude." But he does not cite the source. . . .

In exploring the wilderness after their arrival they found animals of every kind-the cow, the ox, the ass and the horse, the goat and the wild goat, and all manner of wild animals which were for the use of man; they also found ores of all kinds, particularly gold, silver and copper. The animals they tamed for their use, and Nephi and his people raised large flocks and herds of animals of every kind. Doubtless they raised herds of a species of camel which is native to the northern part of Chili and to Peru. The Spaniards call them *carneros de la tierra*.

[chap. XVII] Nephi does not state in what direction he and his company traveled after separating from

his brethren; but is plain, from the allusions which are subsequently made to this land of Nephi by other writers, that they took their journey northward. It appears plain also that they traveled some distance in that direction. As Nephi was always careful to seek the guidance of the Lord in his movements, he was undoubtedly led by Him to the land where they settled. It is stated by **Elder Orson Pratt, in a footnote** to the new edition of the Book of Mormon, that the land of Nephi is supposed to have been in or near the country now called Ecuador. **This supposition** is based upon the general understanding that the river called the Sidon in the Book of Mormon is that now known as the Magdalena in our geographies. **If this is correct**, we can locate the land of Zarahemla with tolerable accuracy from the references which are made to it in the Book of Mormon; and as journeys were made between those two lands-Nephi and Zarahemla-and in one instance the time occupied in the journey is given-about twenty-two days-(Mosiah xxiii. 4, xxiv 20-25) some idea can be obtained of the distance between these two places.

[Note* Here Cannon refers to Orson Pratt's footnotes in the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon as "supposition." Cannon now modifies Pratt's theory to extend the general land of Nephi and create multiple local "lands of Nephi" in a continual northward movement until reaching Ecuador]

But there are reasons for thinking that the land called Nephi was an extensive region, and that it reached much farther south than the country now known as Ecuador. Nearly four centuries after Nephi and his company separated from Laman and Lemuel and their companions, a prophet by the name of Mosiah was warned by the Lord to flee out of the land of Nephi, and to take with him all the Nephites who would "hearken unto the voice of the Lord." They were led by the power of God through the wilderness to the land of Zarahemla. Afterwards some of the children of those who thus fled had a desire to return to the old home of their fathers [the land of Lehi-Nephi] . . . Alma . . . being persecuted by King Noah . . . left that country [Lehi-Nephi], and after meeting various adventures, reached Zarahemla. . . . we learn that the journey occupied about twenty-two days. This leads to the conclusion that the city of Lehi-Nephi, from which they [Alma's group] started, could not have been farther south than the country now called **Ecuador**.

But the inquiry arises, was this the place to which Nephi led his company when they separated from Laman and Lemuel and their adherents? The record informs us that when they fled from their wicked brethren they journeyed for many days, and they pitched their tents, "and," Nephi says, "my people would that we should call the name of the place Nephi; wherefore we did call it Nephi." Nearly four hundred years after this we find in the book of Omni (i. 12):

"Behold, I will speak unto you somewhat concerning Mosiah, who was made king over the land of Zarahemla: for behold, he being warned of the Lord that he should flee out of the land of Nephi, and as many as would hearken unto the voice of the Lord, should also depart out of the land with him, into the wilderness."

It appears clear that this name of Nephi was a general name for a large region of country, which comprised within its borders many smaller divisions known by various names . . .

We see that those whom Nephi led away from his wicked brethren, called the first place where they settled Nephi and themselves Nephites. Would not the same reasons prompt the nation as it increased and spread over the land, to call the whole region which it occupied, embracing all its local divisions, Nephi, or the land of Nephi, as its great distinguishing name? From the point where Nephi first settled, it is quite likely his people extended to the northward; for in that direction they had room to spread, without coming in contact with the Lamlanties. In this way the limits of "the land of Nephi" would be enlarged. Our own history in these mountains shows how this could be done. The Latter-day Saints came to the land we now call Utah thirty-four years ago. Salt Lake City was then settled. Since 1847 we have spread over a large extent of country. But this is a brief space, compared with the centuries which elapsed from the time that Nephi and his company fled from his brethren, to the departure of Mosiah and his company into the wilderness when they found Zarahemla. . . . Were not the cities of Lehi-Nephi and Shilom, and the lands bearing those names, some of the most northern of the Nephtie settlements? There was a country, stretching to the south of those cities and lands, known by the general name of Nephi, which they had occupied, and from which they, doubtless, receded through the pressure of the Lamanites upon them from the south, during the long period of time concerning which

we have such brief mention. We **know** that the place where Lehi and his people landed on the continent was in the 30 of south latitude. Between this point and the southern boundary of Ecuador is a space of 26 of latitude, and includes the choice and desirable countries now known as the northern part of Chili, and Bolivia, and Peru-countries admirably adapted for the settlement and defense of a people like the Nephites. The question arises: Did Nephi and his people traverse this great distance when he separated himself from his brethren?

When Nephi and his people fled, they were followed, before long, by the Lamanties; for it appears that it was a short period until Nephi manufactured swords, after the fashion of the sword of Laban, for his people to use in defending themselves against the attacks of the Lamanties. . . . Whatever the distance, therefore, may have been that Nephi and his company fled, the Lamanites must have made the same journey not long after. Nephi informs us that they journeyed into the wilderness "for the space of many days" before they reached the place they called after his own name. His description of it leaves no doubt as to its fertility, its advantage for grazing, its abundance of timber, and its great mineral wealth. . . . **Traveling as they did, a company of men, women and children, with tents and other baggage, it would have required a journey of very "many days" from their place of landing to get beyond the confines of what is now called Chili and into Bolivia. In the lands now known as Bolivia and Peru, places can be found, which correspond exactly with the description of the place of settlement given in the record, particularly in the abundance of the precious metals. Those countries have not been excelled, even in our day, in the yield of these ores by any country in the world. Some of their mines are world-renowned; and within their borders places of great natural strength, which could be easily fortified against the incursions of a savage foe, are very numerous. Commencing their settlements here, and calling the land Nephi and themselves Nephties, they whom Nephi led could spread to the northward as they increased and necessity required still applying the general name of Nephi to the whole country, but distinguishing their cities and settlements and sub-divisions by the names of their founders, as was their custom (Alma viii. 7), or by other names that circumstances might suggest, until they reached, into the days of Mosiah, as far north as what is now known as Ecuador, and had cities there, near the wilderness on the north, known as Nephi or Lehi-Nephi, Shilom, Shemlon, etc.**

[Note* Now Cannon gives two more reasons for the land of Lehi-Nephi being far north from the original land of Nephi: (1) given 400 years they would have discovered the people of Zarahemla; and (2) after 400 years the narrow strip of wilderness described in Alma 22 as separating Zarahemla from Nephi would have been settled.]

Another reason also causes this view to appear **probable**: Nephi and his company could scarcely have settled at a point twenty-two days journey from Zarahemla without their descendants-scattered as they were upon the face of the land-coming in contact with the Zarahemlites at an earlier date than the days of Mosiah, even though the people of Zarahemla may not have long resided at the point where he found them. It does not appear probable that, if the city of Nephi, or Lehi-Nephi as it is sometimes called, had been the city founded by the first Nephi, there would have been a wilderness so close to it on the north, as there appears from the record to have been, after four hundred years had elapsed. In the description of the boundaries of the lands occupied by the Nephites and the Lamanites (Alma xxii. 27-32) it is stated that, "the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents; and they were spread through the wilderness, on the west, in the land of Nephi; yea; yea, and also on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders by the seashore, and on the west, in the land of Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance, and thus bordering along by the sea-shore."

Here are two allusions to the land of Nephi, and **without desiring to favor any particular theory or to strain the language to sustain any special views, it conveys to us the idea, when taken in connection with other facts contained in the record, that the land of Nephi was, as we have said, an extensive region, embracing at least the west side of the continent with the Pacific shore for some distance to the south, and perhaps embracing within its boundaries the whole of the south continent outside of the limits of Zarahemla.** In the same chapter (verse 34) the same idea is clearly expressed in the language "that the Lamanites could have no more possessions only in the land of Nephi and the wilderness round about," and this, too, at a time when the whole continent, south of the line of the land of Zarahemla, was either in possession of the Lamanites, or open to them. It must not

be forgotten, however, that what is now known in geography as South America was called Lehi, and North America was called Mulek by the Nephites. (Helaman vi. 10)

[chap. XVIII] The description of Ecuador, its climate and its productions, by modern travelers agrees with that which is said in the Book of Mormon concerning the lands of Lehi-Nephi and of Shilom, which Zeniff and his company entered into treaty with the king of the Lamanites to re-possess. They raised all manner of seeds-corn, wheat, barley, neas and sheum-and all kinds of fruits. . .

Note* While George Q. Cannon might not have desired "to favor any particular theory or to strain the language to sustain any special views," as a member of the First Presidency, the above ideas would have carried a lot of authoritative weight.

1883^ Hubert Howe Bancroft *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: The Native Races of the Pacific States*,

(non-LDS)

5 vols., San Francisco, CA: A. L. Bancroft, 1883.

In chapter 1 entitled, "On the Origins of the Americans" (5:96-102), Hubert Bancroft writes the following: The account given by the Book of Mormon of the settlement of America by the Jews, is as follows: (he notes here: "I translate freely from Bertrand, *Memoires*, p. 32, *et seq.*, for this account. Vol. V. 7) After the confusion of tongues, when men were scattered over the whole face of the earth, the Jaredites, a just people, having found favor in the sight of the Eternal, miraculously crossed the ocean in eight vessels, and landed in North America, where they built large cities and developed into flourishing and highly civilized nations. But their descendants did evil before the Lord, in spite of repeated prophetic warnings, and were finally destroyed for their wickedness, about fifteen hundred years after their arrival, and six hundred before the birth of Christ.

These first inhabitants of America were replaced by an emigration of Israelites, who were miraculously brought from Jerusalem in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah. For some time they traveled in a south-easterly direction, following the coast of the Red Sea; afterwards they took a more easterly course, and finally arrived at the borders of the Great Ocean. Here, at the command of God, they constructed a vessel, which bore them safely across the Pacific Ocean to the western coast of South America, where they landed. In the eleventh year of the reign of this same Zedekiah, when the Jews were carried captive to Babylon, some descendants of Judah came from Jerusalem to North America, whence they emigrated to the northern parts of South America. Their descendants were discovered by the first emigrants about four hundred years afterwards.

The first emigrants, almost immediately after their arrival, separated themselves into two distinct nations. The people of these divisions called themselves Nephites, from the prophet Nephi, who had conducted them to America. These were persecuted, on account of their righteousness, by the others, who called themselves Lamanites, from Laman, their chief, a wicked and corrupt man. The Nephites retreated to the northern parts of South America, while the Lamanites occupied the central and southern regions. . . .

God gave them the whole continent of America as the promised land, declaring that it should be a heritage for them and for their children, provided they kept his commandments. . . .

. . . the Nephites built several vessels, by means of which they sent expeditions towards the north, and founded numerous colonies. Others emigrated by land, and in a short time the whole of the northern continent was peopled. At this time North America was entirely destitute of wood, the forests having been destroyed by the Jaredites, the first colonists, who came from the tower of Babel; but the Nephites constructed houses of cement and brought wood by sea from the south; . . .

. . . Christ, who, after his ascension, appeared in the midst of the Nephites, in the northern part of South America. . . . When Christ had ended his mission to the Nephites, he ascended to heaven, and the apostles designated by him went to preach his gospel throughout the continent of America. In all parts the Nephites and Lamanites were converted to the Lord, and for three centuries they lived a godly life. But toward the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, they returned to their evil ways, and once more they were smitten by the arm of the Almighty. A terrible war broke out between the two nations,

which ended in the destruction of the ungrateful Nephites. Driven by their enemies towards the north and north-west, they were defeated in a final battle near the hill of Cumorah, (in the State of New York) where their historical tablets have been since found. . . .

Mormon had written on tablets an epitome of the annals of his ancestors, which epitome he entitled the Book of Mormon. At the command of God he buried in the hill of Cumorah all the original records in his possession, and at his death he left his own book to his son Moroni . . .

Finally, he [Moroni] adds that his work is a complete record of all events that happened down to the year 420 of the Christian era, at which time, by divine command, he buried the Book of Mormon in the hill of Cumorah, where it remained until removed by Joseph Smith, September 22, 1827.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1884^ abt. David Whitmer
(Cave Story)

"Letter from Edmund C. Briggs to Joseph Smith III," 4 June 1884,
***Saints' Herald* 31, June 21 1884, pp. 396-397.**

Concerning an 1884 interview of David Whitmer by Edmund C. Briggs and R. Etzenhouser which was published in the *Saints' Herald* (21 June 1884) we find the following:

No. 663 Walnut St.
Chicago, Illinois
June 4th 1884

Bro. Joseph Smith:--On April 25th, with Bro. R. Etzenhouser in company, I called upon David Whitmer, which I had longed to do for years. We were very hospitably entertained, and enjoyed the interview much. The following are some of the facts as stated to us:

. . . In June 1829, I saw the angel by the power of God, Joseph, Oliver and I were alone, and a light from heaven shone round us, and solemnity pervaded our minds. The angel appeared in the light, as near as that young man. [Within five or six feet]. Between us and the angel there appeared a table, and there lay upon it the sword of Laban, the Ball of Directors, the Record, and interpreters. The angel took the Record, and turned the leaves, and showed it to us by the power of God. They were taken away by the angel to a cave, which we saw by the power of God while we were yet in the Spirit. My testimony in the Book of Mormon is true; I can't deviate from it. . . .

Bro. David is a bright looking man, nearly eighty years old. Firm as a rock in Christ, and in his testimony of seeing the angel of God, as he descended from heaven in a halo of light, and turned over the leaves of the plates just as a man would the leaves of a book. His family, wife, son and daughter, who were present, are of a quiet, meek spirit. All seem to dwell in love, and are firm in Christ, and love to bear their testimony in the gospel, and hear the aged witness talk, just as though they had never heard it before, though it has been their theme all these days. . . .

Yours in bonds of truth and love,
E. C. Briggs.

Note* See the Cave Story notations for 1829, 1841. For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1884 (abt RLDS Commission)
Missouri.

***St. Louis Republican* Interview Mid-July 1884, Richmond,**

Printed in the *St. Louis Republican*, July 16, 1884

Interest has been revived in questions relating to the origin of the Church of the Latter Day Saints and the authenticity of the manuscript from which the Book of Mormon was printed, and which is now being compared with the various editions of that book by a commission now sitting at Richmond, Missouri. . . .

To carry out a purpose contemplated for some time, a Republican representative the train at St. Louis, and arriv[ed] in Richmond next morning . . .

The following are the members of the commission: Rev. Joseph Smith of Lamoni, Decatur county, Iowa, president of the *Reorganized church of Jesus Christ*, commonly called Latter Day Saints, and editor-in-chief of the *Saints' Herald*. He is the eldest son of Joseph Smith the prophet . . .

William H. Kelley of Kirtland, Ohio, missionary in charge of Michigan, Northern Ohio, Western New York and Western Ohio mission.

Alexander H. Smith of Independence, Mo., missionary in charge of Pacific Slope Mission, comprised of California, Oregon and Nevada, He is the second son of the prophet, Joseph Smith.

Thomas W. Smith of Independence, Mo., missionary in charge of Australian Mission, including Australia and Society Islands and other Polynesian islands. . . .

Father Whitmer, who was present very frequently during the writing of this manuscript affirms that Joseph Smith had no book or manuscript, before him from which he could have read as is asserted by some that he did, he (Whitmer) having every opportunity to know whether Smith had Solomon Spaulding's or any other persons' romance to read from. . . .

[This] branch has no affiliation with the Salt Lake Mormons or Brighamites. "They are the only class," said Mr. Smith, "of ministers who won't meet us in discussion. You can't get one of their churches in Salt Lake to let one of our men in, but they will let in a Methodist and the preachers of other denominations.

Whitmer's Testimony

. . . I saw the stone which formed the box or receptacle in which the metallic plates were found, on the hillside, Commarah. [sic] . . .

Thomas W. Smith

This gentleman is a cousin of Joseph and Alexander, and in charge of the Australian mission. He is a gentleman of learning and extensive research in the literature of theology. He gave a running sketch of the Book of Mormon and what it taught. The history told by him covers 600 years before Christ and extends 400 years subsequent to the beginning of the Christian era. After the departure from Jerusalem the Nephites and the Lamanites became divided and the Nephites in consequence of the turbulence and fierce wars were finally destroyed except a portion who united with the deserters and were identified and absorbed by the Lamanites. This colony came to this continent before Christ, landing as is supposed in Peru, South America. The description of the country in the Book of Mormon answers to the account given by modern explorers, and shows conclusively that they passed across the Isthmus of Panama. They afterwards scattered all over the country, leaving mounds, temples, tablets, statuary, inscriptions and other memorials of their occupation. It is a curious and noted fact that all the explorations made by Squires, Priest, Stephens and Catherwood and others of these remains of an ancient people were made subsequent to the publication of the Book of Mormon, which is the only book that gives the key to these prehistoric migrations. The descendants of the colony which came out from Jerusalem discovered a colony that preceded them and which came out from the tower of Babel. . . .

Mr. Whitmer, after describing to me the golden plates, I asked him what he considered their value. "That was exactly," he replied, with animation, "what first struck Joseph Smith, and the angel hurled him down the hill Commarah, and it was six months before Joseph obtained possession of the stone box that held the plates . . .

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 136-150.

1884^ J. B. F. "American Antiquities," in *Juvenile Instructor* 19 (15 July, 1 August, 15 August 1884): pp. 222, 235, 250-251.

From the Book of Mormon we learn that a civilized race landed on the coast of South America somewhere near Cobiga, the sea port of Bolivia. Their first permanent settlement was in the region of Northern or Central Peru. In this region, Mr. Squires claims, are the oldest American ruins. They were driven from there by barbarians and next settled in Columbia. From there they journeyed by sea and land into Central America, Mexico and the United States; but their great capital, Zarahemla, was in the northern part of South America. From this capital they were driven by the barbarous hords from the south; their journey was no doubt a long and weary one; driven by day and night by a ruthless enemy, and hunted on every hand, like sheep by a pack of wolves. They fought their tireless pursuers for years until hope died out, and they gathered all their armies together in the present State of New York, where the last great battle was fought; there they perished and left the dusky barbarian triumphant. It is noticeable that in Ohio and Western New York more ancient fortifications have been found than in any part of the American continent yet explored. Whether the Nephites of the Book of Mormon were the bearded white men of Peruvian tradition or the Nahuas of Central America we will leave the reader to judge. Whatever may be said of the Book of Mormon as a divine work, one thing is certain, as a history of American antiquity it has no equal.

1884^ abt. Wilford Woodruff *Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals*, prepared by Matthias F. Cowley, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Year?, p. 552.

Matthias F. Cowley writes:

Later [Wilford Woodruff] attended the Sevier Stake Quarterly Conference held at Fish Lake. Hundreds of teams had conveyed the people to that place. While administering Sacrament there he said it was the first time it had taken place since the ancient Nephites had had a similar feast in those parts.

1886^ B. H. Roberts "The Missouri Persecutions: Part VI. Zion's Camp," in *The Contributor*, Vol. VII., No. 6, March 1886, p. 204

On page 204 Roberts writes:

After crossing the Illinois, they pass many of those mysterious earth-mounds so common in that section--mysterious mounds! No, not mysterious to them, for they had with them the record of those peoples who erected them--the Nephites and Lamanites. While encamped on the western bank of the Illinois, Joseph and several others ascended a high mound from which they could overlook the tops of the trees, and see the prairies beyond. On the top of the mound were three stone altars, erected one above the other, "according to the ancient order," said Joseph. Human bones were scattered about on the surface of the ground; and after removing about a foot of the soil at the crown of the mound, they found the skeleton of a man nearly complete. Between his ribs was an Indian arrow-head which, doubtless, had produced his death. The visions of Joseph's mind were opened, and he learned that this man whose skeleton they had found, was named Zelph. He was a white Lamanite; the curse of the black skin being taken from him, because of his righteousness. He was a noted character, a warrior and chieftain under the great Prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah to the Rock Mountains. He was killed in the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites by the arrow found among his ribs.

Note* This account would have reinforced the idea of the Hemispheric theory. See the 1834 notation for a more thorough review of the various accounts of Zelph.

1886^ A. H. Cannon *Book of Mormon Catechism* [Title on Book cover] *Questions and Answers on the Book of Mormon: Designed and Prepared Especially for the Use of the Sunday Schools in Zion* [Title on title page], Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1886.

In the Preface the publishers write: "We have endeavored, however, to touch upon the most important items of history and doctrine, so that by a study of the lessons herein contained a good idea may be obtained of the Book of Mormon." The following items are pertinent:

[p. 1] (Chapter I)

1. Q. What is the Book of Mormon?
A. The sacred history of ancient America. . . .

7. Q. Where was the record obtained?
A. From the hill Cumorah, Ontario County, in the state of New York.

8. Q. By whom?
A. Joseph Smith

[pp. 12-13] (Chapter II)

1. Q. Why is the translation called the Book of Mormon?
A. Because an ancient prophet named Mormon compiled an abridgment from the records of his forefathers.

2. Q. Is the Book of Mormon a full copy of these ancient records?
A. No, only a small part of them.

3. Q. What was done with these numerous records?
A. They were hid up in the hill Cumorah.

4. Q. To whom did Mormon deliver his writings?
A. To his son Moroni.

5. Q. What did Moroni do with them?
A. He finished the record up to the time when the people of God were overcome by the wicked, when he hid them **also** in the hill Cumorah.

[p. 24] (Chapter V)

19. Q. Where does the Prophet Joseph Smith tell us they landed?
A. On the coast of Chili in South America."

[p. 26] (Chapter VI)

5. Q. After traveling many days what did they call the place where they located?
A. Nephi.

6. Q. In what direction is it probable they traveled?
A. Northward.

7. Q. What part of South America are we led to suppose the Land of Nephi embraced?
A. The country between the southern line of Ecuador and the northern line of Chili (see *Life of Nephi* by George Q. Cannon, Page 88)

Note* A. [braham] H. Cannon Publishing was a successor to Cannon & Sons and was located in Ogden City, Utah.

1886^ ?? ***Plain Facts for Students of the Book of Mormon with a Map of the Promised Land***, SLC: N.p., 1886.

John Sorenson writes:

Plain Facts for Students of the Book of Mormon, with a Map of the Promised Land. n.p., n.d. (A four-page pamphlet preceded by an "Outline Map of the Occidental Promised Land." A photocopy of the dog-eared original exists at BYU.) The text cites a letter from President John Taylor, dated 1886, to a

nameless addressee in Logan, Utah, giving permission to undertake missionary work among Maya Indians but warning that only a single wife was to accompany anybody going. The text, which emphasizes the importance of preaching to the "genuine" Lamanites found in Yucatan, indicates that Pres. Taylor was alive at publication; since he died in 1887, the pamphlet is taken as published that year. (John L. Sorenson, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book*, Provo: FARMS, 1992, p. 137)

Although not all of the details of this "map" or "model" are plainly spelled out, and although it might seem to be (at least in the beginning) somewhat similar to the 1880 Heber Comer and Karl G. Maeser which follows a somewhat traditional hemispheric model--see notation and map), nevertheless there are some huge implications--implications that might be considered revolutionary. Thus, although the text is somewhat hard to understand, I will include a good share of it so that readers might be able to judge for themselves as to what is implied. The author writes:

The preceding outline map [see map below] is chiefly intended to bring to mind two very remarkable places. These are the Bountiful and Four Sea Regions, where at many of the most important events recorded in the Book of Mormon occurred, and are in no few respects in accordance with general history and late official surveys and reports.

Bountiful Region: Is situated all along the shores of the gulf and bay of Darien. On the north and southeast, where the country is known as the old kingdom of Dabaiba, there are yet the ruins of magnificent temples and palaces, as strange as interesting.

At about the junction of 9 deg. n. lat.[itude] and 75 deg. w. long.[itude] is situated the great valley of Cenu, which is traversed by the river of the same name. The actual city of Mompox is near this valley, which runs close to the Dabaiba mountains.

The said Dabaiba and their southern Cauca mountains form the eastern line of the Choco valley. . . .

It was about the north-western slope of the spurs of the Dabaiba hills, that the Spanish Conquerors found the largest ruins, particularly near the valley of the said river Cenu. . . .

Such singular buildings continue down south, for many miles as far as the actual city of Quibdo and the river Quito, but are more numerous along the banks of the aforesaid river Caiman and its tributaries. Might not some of these ruins have been those of old Zarahemla, Ammonihah, Melek, city of Gideon, etc., since they are about the same localities, mentioned in the Book of Mormon. And these hills of Dabaiba, might they not be the hills of Manti, Amnihu, etc., for the same reasons?

From the south end of the main Dabaiba range and leading south-east are found several trails going towards **the great Cauca valley** which has the reputation of being the finest of South America for its wealth, health and fine scenery. . . . **This locality forms part of the first inheritance where both Nephites and Lamanites lived together for about ten years or more; till after the death of their father Lehi** (Alma 22:27,28. 2 Nephi 5:6)

[Note* According to the description of the Joel Ricks (1904--see Bulletin article & map), the Cauca valley runs parallel and on the west of the Magdalena river valley (but extending farther south), and is situated in the northern part of South America (Colombia) a little south of the Isthmus. The reader should take care not to equate the location of the land of first inheritance (Cauca valley) with the location of Lehi's landing.]

But the opposite shores on the west of both the river Atrato and the bay or gulf of Darien are more important still than said Dabaiba [Zarahemla region] and Cauca [Land of First Inheritance] regions . . . The Tanela [river] flows into the gulf just at the junction of 8 deg. 15 min. n. lat. and 77 deg. w. long., and springs from the hills of the Holy Ghost mountains about twenty miles west. It is about here, in this valley of the Holy Ghost . . . Christ appeared three times to the wise and progressive Nephites . . .

. . . the land that more deserves our attention after the country of the first inheritance and the Community of Bountiful, is the [Four-Sea Region].

Four-Sea Region: It is called so, because Helaman has suggested this name or that of the Region of Many Waters, or that of Many Temples, Sanctuaries, Synagogues, etc.

Four-Sea has been adopted in preference to the rest, because there is no other tract of land so nearly surrounded by the waters of different seas, gulfs and oceans as this region is. It consist of Yucatan, Tabasco, Guatemala, Salvador and part of Chiapas and Honduras, as well as of part of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans and the gulfs of Mexico and Honduras.

Helaman, in Chapter 3d, tells us that in the year 46 of the judges, or 46 years before Christ, some Zarahemlans and Ammonians, who were converted Lamanites, went to form a colony toward the north, and after having traveled to an exceeding great distance, they settled in a land of many waters. This land of many waters was south of another land remarkable for cement and scarcity of timber about its north part. . . . and in the course of time they did spread so much that they were covering all that region from the sea south to the sea north, from the sea west to the sea east, and that country was full of temples, sanctuaries, synagogues and dwellings made of cement, and timber that was imported from the south land by the sea.

Now, the historians tell us that in the land of many waters, in the shape of rivers and lakes, situated at the south-west of Yucatan, there dwelt a people who was more intelligent and influential than the rest of their contemporaries. They were called by some Nahuas, and by others Tul-tecs or Toltecs. Since the second century after Christ, they exercised a very powerful influence over the destinies of the Xibalban Empire (between Chiapas and Honduras in the heart of the four sea region), and in the course of time some of said Nahuas went as far as the land of Ana'huac, or valley of Mexico, after having dwelt for some time, and made their influence be felt in Oaxaca and Puebla . . .

It was about the year 144 or a little after that epoch, when said Nahuas invaded Yucatan through Bacalar.. So far both general history and the Book of Mormon agree. . . . two hundred years is the average time to populate a new country, particularly in those days, wherefore second century is understood. . . .

Having mentioned the main localities of the Zarahemlans and Lamanites, it will be perhaps not amiss to suppose that Nephi with Sam, Zoram, Jacob, Joseph their two or three sisters at least, and those who, believing in his doctrines did follow him--left the Southland of Lehi for the valley of Magdalena or the tributaries of the Orinoco; a place from 22 to 40 days distant from Zarahemla . . .

The Jaredites first inheritance was the land of Moron in about Guatamala or Chiapas, according to the following report written by the hand of Moroni.

The author then quotes Ether chapter 7:5-10 and Ether Chapter 9:3 to the extent that the land of Moron was near the land which is called Desolation by the Nephites. and Omer traveled "many days, and came over and passed by the hill Shim and came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed. He also notes that Moroni and his father Mormon lived near this land of Moron, and that Ammoron gave Moron charge of the plates in Shim. "Mormon went south as far as Zarahemla with his own father. (Mormon 1:2-6) Before the departure of Mormon and Moroni as officers for Cumorah [the site of the final battles], they were living in said land." The author then notes the following: "Desolation is west from hill Shim; Destruction east. **The land Antum, where hill Shim is, must be between Honduras and Nicaragua.**

Now since the two opposite bands of the divided Jaredites did not destroy themselves until about 280 to 300 before Christ (See Omni 1:5, 19, 21, 22) it follows that the people of Zarahemla [who had gone into the land northward] lived for about 300 years only 300 miles north-east from the city of Lib [which city of Lib was "below the 5 deg. n. lat. . . . not far from the gulch Raspadura, and between the rivers Atrato and San Juan towards the Choco bay.] while the Lamanites of Cauca [Land of First Inheritance] or Magdalena valleys [land of Zarahemla] were still nearer. All those Mulekites, Jaredites and Lamanites were comparatively neighbors for about 300 or more years, yet they were unknown to one another. . . . "This city of lib must have been not much over 300 miles [northward] from Zarahemla." . . .

[Note* The above paragraph has been rearranged and interpreted according to my understanding of the text.]

When King Mosiah, the Nephite, became King of Zarahemla, he translated the monumental stone brought to him, which contained a record of the destroyed people of Jared. And in said stone the name

of the last victorious combatant was mentioned. This was Coriantumr. The people of Zarahemla at last discovered this victorious Jaredite, and took him among them, where he still lived nine moons, despite the effects of his exposure, wounds and loss of blood.

So in the year 320 after the exodus of the Lehi-Ishmael party from Jerusalem, and just after the ascension of King Mosiah to the throne of Zarahemla, Coriantumr was still living. Therefore, **the destruction of the Jaredites was recent and had happened not by the hill of Cumorah [in New York] as generally reported, but over 1500 miles southward: Not far from hill Shim or possibly near the mountains of the Holy Ghost, or the western cordillera of the Andes; in a place not very far from Zarahemla.** The Jaredites, far from having perished about the time of the arrival of Lehi-Ishmael party from Jerusalem, were contemporary co-workers in the work of civilizing the aborigines of the promise land.

The Jaredites came to the promised land from the Black Sea, and stopped four years in Morocco, or Mauritania Corian-Cum-er. (The monosyllable "Cum" occurs in most places where water or sea is implied, so we have Riplian-cum, Tean-cum, Morian-cum-er, Cum-eni, etc.) Land by the sea of Morocco. . . . From Morocco they came through the tropical current, and through the Caribbean sea, and probably landed in Yucatan or Guatamala.

Most of the descendants of the genuine race of Lamanites, possibly live in Yucatan and Central America.

Note* The author lists the land of first inheritance in "the great Cauca valley". . . "this locality forms part of the first inheritance where both Nephites and Lamanites lived together for about ten years or more; till after the death of their father Lehi." The author does NOT note in his text nor on his map the specific location of Lehi's landing. While this might imply a landing "just a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" as proposed by Joseph Smith or John Taylor in 1842 one cannot say with certainty. In 1776, Ottinger had also proposed that Lehi had landed in Peru. On the other hand, nobody had previously proposed that Lehi had landed in Chile and then moved much farther northward before establishing the land of first inheritance. This slight modification to the hemispheric approach would not formally be proposed until Reynolds in 1888. **Thus the author of *Plain Facts* can probably be credited with the first Modified Hemispheric view.**

The author also moves the final battles of the Jaredites to Central America. He notes: "The land Antum, where hill Shim is, must be between Honduras and Nicaragua." . . . "the destruction of the Jaredites was recent and had happened not by the hill of Cumorah [in New York] as generally reported, but over 1500 miles southward: Not far from hill Shim or possibly near the mountains of the Holy Ghost, or the western cordillera of the Andes; in a place not very far from Zarahemla." What the author does NOT do is to specifically locate the final battles of the Nephites (whether in New York or in Central America). However, by the use of the term "hill of Cumorah" implying the location in New York, one can probably assume that the author did not make the jump to associate the location of the final battles of the Nephites at Cumorah with the location of the final battles of the Jaredites at Ramah even though in the text we find that the hill Ramah was "that same hill where [Moroni's] father Mormon did hide up the records unto the Lord" (Ether 15:11), and Mormon hid up in the hill Cumorah "all the records which had been entrusted to [him] by the hand of the Lord" (Mormon 6:6) Nevertheless, **the author of *Plain Facts* represents the first person to encroach upon the idea that the hill Cumorah in New York was the site of the final battles of the Nephites.** The "model" also seems to emphasize Mesoamerica as the "land of many waters" to which many Nephites and converted Lamanites migrated in the times of Helaman-- a region bordering on a land of desolation, a region that was surrounded by four seas (Helaman 3:3-8), and a region in which this people became industrious, building many cities and temples of cement and wood. (Helaman 3:9-14).

[1886 Illustrated Model Modified Hemispheric (possibly Limited Hemispheric)]

L.S.=Northern South Amer. / N.N.=Panama / L.N.=Mesoamerica and Central America / H.C.=Unclear

Source: *Plain Facts for Students of the Book of Mormon, with a Map of the Promised Land*, (n.p., n.d.)--a four-page pamphlet preceded by an "Outline Map of the Occidental Promised Land."

1886 (abt. David Whitmer)

Edward Stevenson Interview 9 February 1886, Richmond, Missouri.
Diary of Edward Stevenson, LDS Church Archives

7:15 A. M. Call on David Whitmer 8 years ago I visited him & now again he is 81 & very feeble I had to stop him talking to rest as I see it was hurting him about 11 he had to lie down & rest. . . .
 He also relates a little very interesting Incident that occurred in June 1829, David, Oliver, & Joseph, were riding from Harmony Pa.--the 2 former in front & Joseph back sitting in the bed on hay or straw David had bin down with his team over 100 miles to fetch Joseph up to his mothers to translate the Book of Mormon about 2 1/2 days drive. while thus riding an aged looking old man came walking along putting his hand on the wagon bed, he had on his back a knapsack & the Strap crossed on his breast he took his handkerchief and wiped his face to remove the sweat as it seemed to them David who was driving his team said to the man will you get up and ride No said he I am only going over to Comorah & Suddenly disappeared they stopped the team amazed at the Sudden disappearance of the fine looking stranger he says that they all felt so strangely-- that they asked the Prophet to enquire of the Lord who this stranger was. Soon David said they turned around & Joseph looked pale almost transparent & said that was one of the Nephites and he had the plates of the Book of Mormon in the knapsack--

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 180-182.

Note* In 2004, anti-Mormon Dan Vogel would try to discount the varying details supplied by David Whitmer in the multiple tellings of this story (1877, 1878, 1886. See also 1918). For his arguments, see the endnote which follows: (^{lxvii}) For the benefit of the reader, and in order to fairly judge what Vogel implies, I will list the three accounts side-by-side:

1877

David Said. Olliver, & The Prophet, & I were riding in a wagon,

& an aged man about 5 feet 10, heavy Set & on his back an old fashioned Army knapsack Straped over his Shoulders & Something Square in it, & he walked alongside of the Wagon & Wiped the Sweat off his face,

Smileing very Pleasant David asked him to ride and he replied I am going across to the hill Comorah.

1878

When I was returning to Fayette, with Joseph and Oliver, all of us riding in the wagon, Oliver and I on an old-fashioned, wooden spring sea, and Joseph behind us--

when traveling along in a clear open space, a very pleasant, nice-looking, old man suddenly appeared by the side of the wagon, and saluted us with, "Good morning, it is very warm," at the same time wiping his face or forehead with his hand.

We returned the salutation, and, by a sign from Joseph, I invited him to ride, if he was going our way; but he said very

1886

He also relates a little very interesting Incident that occurred in June 1829, David, Oliver, & Joseph, were riding from Harmony Pa.--the 2 former in front & Joseph back sitting in the bed on hay or straw David had bin down with his team over 100 miles to fetch Joseph up to his mothers to translate the Book of Mormon about 2 1/2 days drive.

while thus riding an aged looking old man came walking along putting his hand on the wagon bed, he had on his back a knapsack & the Strap crossed on his breast he took his handkerchief and wiped his face to remove the sweat as it seemed to them

David who was driving his team said to the man will you get up and ride No said he I am only going over to Comorah

pleasantly, "No, I am going to Cumorah." This name was something new to me. I did not know what Cumorah meant. We all gazed at him and at each other,

Soon after they passed they felt strangely & Stopped, but could see nothing of him all around was clear & they asked the Lord about it he Said that the Prophet Looked as White as a Sheet & Said that it was one of the Nephites & that he had the Plates.

on arriveing at home they were impressed that the Same Person was under the bed & again they were informed that it was So. they Saw whare he had been & the next Morning Davids Mother Saw the Person at the Shed and he took the Plates from A Box & Showed them to her She Said that they Were fastened with Rings thus [illustrated with a figure similar to a large "D"] he turned the leaves over this was a Sattisfaction to her. . . .

and as I looked around inquiringly at Joseph, the old man instantly disappeared, so that I did not see him again.

J. F. S. Did you notice his appearance?

D. W. I should think I did. He was, I should think, about 5 feet 8 or 9 inches tall and heavy set, about such a man as James Vaucleave there, but heavier; his face was as large, he was dressed in a suit of brown woolen clothes, his hair and beard were white, like Brother Pratt's, but his beard was not so heavy. I also remember that he had on his back a sort of knapsack with something in, shaped like a book. It was the messenger who had the plates, who had taken them from Joseph just prior to our starting from harmony.

soon after our arrival home, I saw something which led me to the belief that the plates were placed or concealed in my father's barn. I frankly asked Joseph if my supposition was right, and he told me it was. Sometime after this, my mother was going to milk the cows, when she was met out near the yard by the same old man (Judging by her description of him) who said to her: "You have been very faithful and diligent in your labors, but your[sic] are tired because of the increase of your toil; it is proper therefore that you should receive a witness that your faith may be strengthened." Thereupon he showed her the plates. My father and mother had a large family of their own, the addition to it therefore of Joseph, his wife

& Suddenly disapeared they stoped the team amazed at the Sudden disapearance of the fine looking stranger he says that they all felt so strangely--that they asked the Prophet to enquire of the Lord who this stranger was. Soon David said they turned around & Joseph looked pale almost transparent & said that was one of the Nephites and he had the plates of the Book of Mormon in the knapsac--

Emma and Oliver very greatly increased the toil and anxiety of my mother. And although she had never complained she had sometimes felt that her labor was too much, or at least she was perhaps beginning to feel so. This circumstance, however, completely removed all such feelings and nerved her up for her increased responsibilities.

..

1886[^]

(abt. Joseph Smith)

Andrew Jenson, The Historical Record: A Monthly Periodical: Church Encyclopaedia, Book 1, Volumes V, VI, VII and VIII, 1886, p. 601

Andrew Jenson was Assistant Church Historian -----SEE BIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

In the Preface to this book the author Andrew Jenson writes the following: "When the author of this work, in 1886, began the publication of the Historical Record, it was his intention during the following four years to give the public a work of reference on Church history, covering the entire period from the Prophet Joseph Smith's birth to the present time."

The July, 1888 (No. 7, vol. VII) issue of the Historical Record is devoted to "Kirtland Camp. In presenting a day-by-day review of what happened, Jenson says the following on page 600:

"To show the feeling which at that time prevailed in the State of Missouri, we give the following extract from Elder John* D. Tyler's journal, from which most of the facts in the history of the Camp are derived."

Half of a column on page 600 is then devoted to this direct quote. Jenson then continues with his day-by-day review and on page 601 we find an account of a group consisting of Joseph Smith accompanied several Church members exploring the area around Lyman Wight's northern Missouri home in 1838. The following is written:

Tuesday, 25th. The Camp passed through Huntsville, Randolph County, which had been appointed as one of the Stakes of Zion, and which the Prophet said was the ancient site of the City of Manti, and pitched tents at Dark Creek, Salt Licks: 17 miles.

Note* The name "John" is probably an error. At present I can't find a person by that name. The name is more probably that of Samuel D. Tyler.

1887 (abt. David Whitmer)

Edward Stevenson Interview 2 January 1887, Richmond, Missouri. Diary of Edward Stevenson, LDS Church Archives.

. . . he [David Whitmer] was Baptized the middle of June 1829 and ordained an Elder last of June the 3d elder in the Church--on their way from Palmyra they saw a strange looking man, with a knapsack on his back the strap crossing his breast he came up alongside of the wagon David asked him to ride, no I am going over to Cumorah & suddenly disappeared by request of the Brethren Joseph asked the Lord who this mysterious stranger was, who said it was one of the 3 Nephites. with the Plates. David said he had see[n] him after near his Father's house & that his mother also had see[n] him. . . .

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness.* Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 211-214.

Note* It is said that this incident happened "on their way from Palmyra which is contrary to other interviews in which the incident is said to have happened while returning from Harmony to Fayette. Additionally, the mysterious man is identified as "one of the 3 Nephites" instead of just a Nephite.

1887[^] E. Stevenson

"A Visit to David Whitmer," in *The Juvenile Instructor*, vol. 22, February 15, 1887.

This article relates an interview by Edward Stevenson with David Whitmer which took place on January 2, 1887 in Richmond, Missouri. Since what is printed in the article is somewhat different than what appears in Stevenson's *Diary* the following is pertinent:

I recently had great pleasure in visiting and conversing with David Whitmer, the only surviving witness of the three whose names are prefixed to the Book of Mormon . . .

He told me that in the beginning of June, 1829, he received a letter from the Prophet asking him to come to Palmyra and convey him to his father's house, that he might there be able to work on the translation of the Book of Mormon. The journey required about three days each way . . .

While on the return journey from Palmyra, David noticed a somewhat aged-looking man who approached them on the road. He had a very pleasant face, about which, however, there seemed something peculiar, and he carried a knapsack on his back fastened with straps which crossed his breast. David asked him to take a ride, but he declined, saying: "I am going over to Cumorah," and then disappeared very suddenly, though there was no chance for him to secrete himself in the open country through which the party was then passing. All felt very strange concerning this personage and the Prophet was besought to inquire of the Lord concerning him. Shortly afterwards, David relates, the Prophet looked very white but with a heavenly appearance and said their visitor was one of the three Nephites to whom the Savior gave the promise of life on earth until He should come in power. After arriving home, David again saw the personage, and Mother Whitmer, who was very kind to Joseph Smith, is said to have seen not only this Nephite, but to have also been shown by him the sealed and unsealed portions of the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

Additional Source: [^]Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 214-216.

Note* It is said that this incident happened "on their way from Palmyra which is contrary to other interviews in which the incident is said to have happened while returning from Harmony to Fayette. The mysterious man is identified as "one of the 3 Nephites" instead of just a Nephite. Moreover, it is added that he was "one of the three Nephites to whom the Savior gave the promise of life on earth until He should come in power."

1887[^] **M. T. Lamb** *The Golden Bible; or, The Book or The Book of Mormon. Is it From God?*
(anti-LDS) New York: Ward & Drummond, 1887, pp. 204-206.

Reverend M. T. (Martin Thomas) Lamb was a Baptist minister living in Salt Lake City. In 1885 he presented a multi-part seminar on the Book of Mormon to overflow crowds of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. The seminar was so successful he presented it throughout the West, often in Mormon Church buildings. He said the crowds always treated him civilly, even though his message was clear--The Book of Mormon is not from God!

Eventually the Governor of the Territory of Utah and leading Utah citizens asked Rev. Lamb to publish his lectures in book form. The result is *The Golden Bible*. The following are some pertinent excerpts:

What Then, Is the Book of Mormon? [pp. 5-9]

This book [of Ether] tells us of a party numbering between twenty and thirty, under the direction of the brother of Jared, leaving Asia at the command of God, about one hundred years after the flood, just after the confusion of tongues, as related in the Book of Genesis. They embark in eight strangely constructed arks or barges; and after drifting 344 days across the Atlantic Ocean they land upon this North American Continent, where they and their descendants remained for fifteen hundred years; became very numerous, spread over the greater portion of the continent and developed a somewhat advanced civilization. But dividing into two powerful parties or nations, able to muster and thoroughly equip an army of two million soldiers each--they became involved in a fierce war of extermination, which resulted in the entire annihilation of both nations, leaving the country a desolate waste--one man alone

surviving the terrible destruction--whose name was Coriantumr.

About the time this terrible war was desolating North America, a second party, made up of two families, Lehi and Ishmael, leave the City of Jerusalem, at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, King of Judah, six hundred years before Christ, and after wandering eight years in the desert of Arabia, embark in a ship of peculiar construction, drift across the Indian and the Pacific Oceans,, and land upon the Western shore of South America. . . .

About nine years after Lehi and his company leave Jerusalem, a third party, headed by one of King Zedekiah's sons, also leave Jerusalem, cross the ocean and settle in the land of Zarahemla, somewhere in the region of Central America, or the northern coasts of South America. . . .

All these peoples rapidly increase; the Lamanites eventually covering the entire South American continent, while the Nephites gradually extend northward until the greater portion on North America is occupied by them. . . .

A few days after Jesus' crucifixion, resurrection and ascension in Judea, he appeared to His people upon this continent in his human body, and remained here forty days, preaching, performing miracles, ordaining twelve apostles, and otherwise establishing the faith of His people. And a few years after the whole country is reported converted--the entire population of both continents, the Lamanites of South America and the Nephites of North America are enrolled in Christian churches. . . .opposition increased in numbers and in power, until war, relentless and cruel, again filled the land with bloodshed and desolation. this resulted, in the year 384 A.d., in the complete destruction of the Nephites and all there was left of the religious element--leaving the infidel Lamanites, who had already become wild, barbarous, and bloodthirsty, in full possession of both continents, where they were found upon the discovery of America by Columbus. . . .

American Antiquities versus The Book of Mormon [pp. 253-256]

In apparent confirmation of this outline of history as presented to us in the Book of Mormon, we have three well known and undisputed facts.

1. That the whole country, including both North and South America; was, with two notable exceptions (the Incas of Peru and the Aztecs of Mexico) occupied by wild Indian races when first discovered by Europeans four hundred years ago.
2. That all through the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys, and in various other places in the United States immense mounds of earth have been discovered, many of which, upon opening, are found to contain bones of men and animals, stone axes, arrow heads, . . . revealing a high degree of taste and skill in various branches of art.

Farther South, in the region of Old Mexico, its southern portions particularly, and all through Central America, down into South America, through Peru and even into Chile, have been found still more remarkable remains, ruins of immense cities, containing vast buildings, palaces and temples, built upon the most magnificent scale . . . [which proves] the existence, in the ages gone by, of a prosperous, wealthy, agricultural people, quite highly civilized, presenting a strange contrast t the wild and savage Indians who now occupy those regions.

3. From the fact that, in Central and South America, many of the deserted buildings remained in a good state of preservation--while farther north in the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys, no buildings were found, only immense mounds of earth were left--the conclusion was very natural that this northern civilization was much the older of the two. A view generally accepted by students of American Antiquities sixty and seventy years ago, when the Book of Mormon was given to the world.

It is , therefore, not at all surprising, that the friends of the Book of Mormon should present all these facts with a great deal of earnestness and confidence in proof of the authenticity of the book and its reliability as a historical record. But there happen to be two facts fatal to the pretensions of the Book of Mormon.

1. That the accepted theory of seventy years ago that evidently formed the historical basis of the Book of Mormon--has been proved untrue. The Mound Builders of the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys do not represent the oldest, but he youngest, by far the younger of the two civilizations already mentioned.

. . .

2. That the author of the Book of Mormon, whoever he may have been, had so much of the marvelous in his make up, so strong a disposition to overdo everything he attempted, color his statements too highly, make . . . his civilization too far advanced for the times, that he has gone beyond his depth

almost everywhere--presenting a multitude of statements that the researches of scholars and the investigations of antiquarians have proved to be wholly without a foundation in fact. . . . [pp. 253-256]

The following are only a few of the counts in the indictment against the historical accuracy of the book:

The Geography of the Book of Mormon [pp. 308-322]

We had designed a full and complete presentation of this subject in these pages. But the discussion has already assumed proportions beyond our original intention, and therefore, instead of a separate chapter, we must crowd into a few pages the results of a long and careful investigation of the geography of our book.

There was no necessity of egregious blunders upon such a subject. An ordinary school boy who had studied geography with any attention, should have been able to form a plot and locate cities and lands in a way to conform in the main to the physical conformations of the country. But our angel was evidently unhampered by geographical restraints. His geography, like his grammar, and his theology was all his own. Not one of the physical peculiarities of either of these western continents is alluded to except the existence of the large lakes and "many fountains of waters," in the northern part of the United States (the only portion of our country that our youthful prophet knew anything about.)

He has his Nephites and Lamanites occupy South America for a thousand years, and yet all its vast river courses, including its mighty and majestic Amazon are entirely overlooked--one river only is everywhere met, bearing the old world name *Sidon*--but a careful examination of every passage in the book where it is mentioned fails to give any definite information as to its source, its size, which way it runs, or where it empties. The grandest mountains in the world and the highest table lands are as entirely ignored as is the general shape of the two continents and other physical facts. While the physical characteristics of Palestine are woven as a web into almost every page of Bible history--the Book of Mormon is unable to appeal to a single geographical fact in confirmation of its pretended histories--except the general one that there was a "land south" and a "land north."

We have already called attention to some very puzzling geographical statements, such as the two thousand miles that separated the Nephites from the Lamanites in the beginning of their separate history, and yet the omnipresence of the latter--the magical "waters of Sebus" that were within daily reach of the entire South American continent--the herding feat of the "poisonous serpents" who easily rounded up the cattle all over North America and drove them "pell-mell" into South America, and then barricaded the isthmus so effectually that the owners could not pass to reclaim their property.

We can only in the briefest possible manner allude to a very few additional geographical blunders.

1. Only two countries or "lands" are definitely located--the "land Bountiful" and the "land Desolation." [scriptures are then quoted]

Our author evidently has in his mind two large bodies of land very near together, only separated by two narrow arms of the sea approaching each other from opposite directions, so that only a narrow pass (of one and a half day's journey) remains between. [another scripture is quoted]

It is evident also that the land Desolation means the *United States!* He uniformly associates his land Desolation with the land containing "large bodies of water" (our northern lakes), a land "covered with ruins of buildings and bones of men," and large enough to support a people "who were as numerous as the hosts of Israel." (see pp. 161, 348 & 506 B of M) And this land lies so near the borders of the land Bountiful in South America that the few stragglers who escaped the sword of the Lamanites around that hill Cumorah in Western New York could easily run down into South America and escape! --(p. 508 B of M)

Well now the facts are that the narrow neck of land dividing the two continents happens to be a very long neck, not less than 800 miles, and is one continuous strip of mountain ranges, rough, inaccessible, and uninhabitable in a large measure; then you must travel through the entire length of Central America and Old Mexico 2,500 miles farther, before you reach the southern boundaries of the United States--Mr. Smith's land Desolation, that he evidently supposed just over the line, separated by a narrow bay from his land Beautiful!

2. It is still more difficult to locate the "land of Nephi" and the "land of Zarahemla"--although the centre of the whole Book of Mormon record.

Apostle Orson Pratt, author of the "Notes" in the N.[ew] Ed.[ition] of the Book of Mormon (p. 155) tells us "the land of Nephi is *supposed* to have been in or near Ecuador, South America," and the "land Of Zarahemla is supposed to have been north of the waters of the river Magdalena." He is honest enough in this case to say "is supposed to have been"--for the facts are, no man on earth can locate either of the two "lands" from any of the descriptions given in the Book of Mormon. In one place we are told that the land of Nephi extended directly across the continent from east to west.--pp. 346-7 (N. Ed. 383) "And the land of Nephi did run in a straight course from the east sea to the west." That is from 2000 to 3000 miles in length. And on p. 272 (N. Ed. 302) we are informed still further that a "narrow strip of wilderness which ran from the sea east even to the sea west," divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla--and yet on the next page we are informed "and thus the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla were nearly surrounded by water; there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward."

But there are other very perplexing statements about these two "lands." Although divided from each other by only a "narrow strip of wilderness," yet their peoples live side by side for a period of 400 years without any knowledge of each other's existence (p. 139, N. Ed. 155)--then when Mosiah accidentally discovers the people of Zarahemla, and had lived among them a few years, he did not know the way back to the "land of Nephi!" or to a certain portion of it called Lehi-Nephi, and sends sixteen strong men to hunt up the old home land. These men after wandering forty days through this "narrow strip of wilderness" accidentally find the people they are seeking for. This occurs about 122 years B.C.--P. 158 (N. Ed. 176).

About one year before this, king Limhi, a vassal of the Lamanite king, though a relative of the Nephites in Zarahemla, becomes equally anxious to find out the location of Zarahemla and learn of the welfare of his friends there; accordingly he sends out a party of forty-three men (p. 161, N. Ed. 180). These men, although they travel to the northward, very strangely miss Zarahemla, pass it by, travel up into North America, discover the land Desolation, explore it as far as the great lakes (!) find it covered with ruined buildings, with the bones of men and of beasts, with rusty swords, brass and copper breast plates, etc., etc. They return home; but Zarahemla they cannot find!

Well, now, reader, would you believe it, that during all this time of profound ignorance of each other's location, on the part of the Nephites, the Lamanites, as usual, are omnipresent! they know all about the land and the people of Zarahemla, and are constantly going back and forth from the land of Nephi (which has now become their headquarters), with large armies to battle (p. 142, N. Ed. 159). And this is not all. A large number of the Nephites, living in Zarahemla, on account of internal disturbances, "dissent away unto the Lamanites!" They know how to find the land of Nephi, but King Mosiah and his faithful ones in Zarahemla, and King Limhi and his followers in Nephi can't find each other's country!! These are a very few of the perplexing enigmas that confront a careful student of the Book of Mormon, as to its geography--furnishing the clearest possible evidence that the book is a myth, and that its author was sadly ignorant of the simplest outlines of South American and Central American geography.

3. We will call attention to only one thing more--the unfortunate *lying* of our good apostle Orson Pratt, upon this subject, the geography of the Book of Mormon. We greatly regret the necessity of exposing a man who occupies so high and honorable a place among his own people as the late apostle Orson Pratt. But he has published his statements to the world, and under his own signature--they therefore belong henceforth to the public.

We ask the reader to turn back to a foot note upon page 256 and carefully reread Mr. Pratt's statements regarding the forty-four magnificent cities discovered in Central America by Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens--his words are very plain and without qualification especially these:

A careful reader of that interesting book (Book of Mormon), can trace the relative bearings, and distances of many of these cities from each other; and if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine very nearly the precise spot of ground they once occupied . . . magnificent cities of great extent have been discovered by Catherwood and Stephens in the interior wilds of Central America, in the very region where the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon were said to exist . . . Mr. Smith's translation describes the region of country where great and populous cities anciently existed, together with their relative bearings and approximate distances from each other. years after, messrs. Catherwood and Stephens discovered the ruins of forty-four of these very cities, and in the very place described

Now in reference to the above glaring misrepresentations; we will only make the following observations:

1. That all the magnificent cities mentioned in the Book of Mormon with four exceptions are located not in Central America but in South America. [On pp. 498-500 (N. Ed. 550-1) we have the "city of Angola," the "land of David," the "land of Joshua," the "land of Jashen," and the "land of Shem" mentioned--but it is impossible to decide whether in the land southward or the land northward. The probabilities are in favor of the former]

2. Of the four cities mentioned by name in the "land northward," the probabilities are, as already shown, that the author had in his mind the *United States* instead of Central America.

3. However, supposing them to have been in Central America, our readers shall judge for themselves whether "a careful reader of the Book of Mormon, with a modern geography in his hand," could easily identify them with any one of the forty-four cities discovered by Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens in Central America.

The first city named is the "City of Desolation," and this is the description of its location: "I did cause my people that they should gather themselves together at the land Desolation to a city which was in the borders by the narrow pass which led into the land southward." -P. 501 (N. Ed. 553).

The second city mentioned is Teancum: "Now, the City teancum lay in the borders by the sea shore; and it was also near the City Desolation."-P. 502 (N. Ed. 555.)

Both these cities, then, are "in the borders of the sea shore" and near the "narrow pass which led into the land southward." Now, since not one of these forty-four cities discovered by Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens in Central America is within eight hundred miles of said "narrow pass"--it is evident we have not yet verified Mr. Pratt's statements.

The only other cities in the "land northward" whose names are given are "Boaz" (p. 504, N. Ed. 556) and "Jordan" (next page)--without one syllable to indicate where they were located, only that after a sore battle in the land desolation, the Nephites fled to the City "Boaz," and when driven out of Boaz, on their way to the fated hill Culmroah, they made a bold but brief stand in the "City Jordan."

4. The simple fact is--there is no man on earth, who, with a modern geography in his hand, can locate a single one of all the magnificent cities mentioned in the Book of Mormon, whether in North or South America, and no person understood this fact better than our good apostle when he penned the above sad prevarications. . . .

Conclusion.

Honest reader--I have written earnestly and plainly,--have tried to write kindly. . . . Dear reader, this "rigid examination" has been had, and "TEKEL"--*weighed in the balance and found wanting*--has been found written over every part of this book [of Mormon]. Its very first claim kills it beyond recovery. God doesn't do things as we do. *Perfection* marks everything he undertakes. If the Book of Mormon is the work of God, there must be no mistakes, contradictions or blunders in it. In the Bible, some blunders in style or composition, or in its statements, might be excused because it has come down to us through human channels, and is translated by fallible, imperfect man. The Book of Mormon claims to have come down to us pure from its ancient source, without any possibility of mistake from transcription, and then to have been translated by the gift and power of God. No mistakes, therefore, or contradictions or blunders of any kind are allowable. . . .

We have found that the entire ancient history of this western world is flatly against the claims of the Book of Mormon. Mr. Smith has preserved a specimen of the characters found by him, as he professes, in the hill Cumorah, and which he would have us believe were the ancient characters in common use upon this continent 1500 years ago--but a large number of the real characters in use in Central America at that time have fortunately been preserved in imperishable marble, proving Mr. Smith's characters a fraud. . . .

The Book of Mormon tells us of a people occupying North America for 1500 years, and then becoming totally extinct--the records show that no such people ever occupied this country--that the people who were in Central America 2500 years ago are there today.

This Book tells us of a colony that came over from Jerusalem 600 years BC., landed upon the western coasts of South America, gradually extended northward until both continents were occupied by them--and that in the fourth century after Christ the civilized and Christian portion were annihilated and the barbarous and savage portion remained. We have found every one of these statements directly and

positively contradicted by the facts of ancient history. The ancient peoples of Central America, particularly, did not come from Jerusalem--did not reach here 600 years B.C.--did not begin their course upon the western coast of South America--did not become Christian, and did not in the fourth century A.D. become a savage, barbarous people.

this Book tells us of the existence upon this western world of iron, steel and brass, of wheat and barley, of oxen, sheep, goats and horses, of silver and gold coins used as money--every one of which statements have been found to be wholly and entirely untrue.

Finally--the Book makes a large number of geographical statements that could not under any possible conditions or circumstances be true except upon some imaginary continent, of size and shape wholly unlike anything existing upon our world to-day, or that has ever existed since Noah's flood. The facts are, my good Mormon brother--that Book *has been proven a fraud beyond the possibility of question*. I cannot believe it possible for any sane mind to have carefully and conscientiously followed this investigation to its close, and not reject the book . . .

Source: http://www.helpingmormons.org/golden_bible.htm

Note* Anti-Mormons Gerald and Sandra Tanner write that in 1887, M. T. Lamb, a critic of Mormonism, questioned the hemispheric idea of Book of Mormon geography, specifically that Mormon marched an army from Central America to meet the Lamanites in the final battles at the New York Hill Cumorah. They quote the following:

Mormon is recording the rapid destruction of his people, the Nephites. They have been driven out of all their strongholds in Central America: one after another their principal cities have been taken and destroyed by the victorious Lamanites. . . . Mormon finally writes a letter to the king of the Lamanites, making the following strange request:

And I, Mormon wrote an epistle unto the King of the Lamanites, and desired of him that he would grant unto us that we might gather together our people unto the land of Cumorah, and there we could give them battle. And it came to pass that the King of the Lamanites did grant unto me the thing which I desired. And it came to pass that we did march forth to the land of Cumorah; and it was in a land of many waters, rivers and fountains; and here we did hope to gain advantage over the Lamanites.

Now, reader, do you think any sane general of an army would write such a letter as the above to his deadly foe? And if such a letter had been written, do you think such a deadly foe, if in his senses would have consented? Please bear in mind that the Lamanites' home was in South America, and that the principal possessions of the Nephites, their largest cities . . . are found in Central America, while this hill, Cumorah, is located in western New York, from two to three thousand miles distant.

Would the Lamanite king be willing to transport an army of several hundred thousand, at least two thousand miles away from his base of supplies, into a sparsely settled country, where provisions were necessarily scarce, for no other reason than to allow his enemy to secure a good position where they "had hope to gain advantage over the Lamanites"?

But again, why do you suppose the good prophet Mormon was so anxious to reach that particular hill Cumorah, so far away from the homes and possessions of his people? Was it really because said hill was a natural fortification, a famous strategic point? Not at all; it is only a little hill, while in reaching that hill he had climbed over hundreds of mountain fastnesses, had marched by scores of magnificent canyons or river gorges and other of nature's hiding places or of Thermopylae passes--a thousand places had been presented that were a hundred times better adapted to the object he had in view; "to gain some advantage over the Lamanites."

Why then does he ignore all these strong places and march his army a thousand miles from the mountains to a little hill in western New York that was utterly valueless as a natural barrier against an enemy? Reader, we will whisper the reason. Joseph Smith found his golden plates in this hill Cumorah, and he must needs get Mormon and Moroni up there with their sacred records before these worthies are swept out of existence, or his ancient history will not tally with the modern facts!!

Source: ^Gerald and Sandra Tanner, *Answering Mormon Scholars: A Response to Criticism Raised by Mormon Defenders*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Utah Lighthouse Ministry, 1996, pp. 95-96.

Note* In commenting on this quote, the Tanners say the following: "It is interesting to note that B. H. Roberts was familiar with Lamb's work (see his book *New Witnesses for God*, 1909, pages 424-425, 442-443)." However, if Lamb was giving lectures throughout Utah to LDS congregations, it is not so noteworthy as the Tanners might imply. For the comments of B. H. Roberts, see the notations for 1888, 1909, 1922, 1928. For an additional book by Reverend Lamb, see the notation for 1903.

1887^ George Q. Cannon ed. "Topics of the Times" (Editorial), *Juvenile Instructor*, 22/4 (1887):
p. 221.

George Q. Cannon writes the following editorial:

In the columns of the *Juvenile Instructor* there have appeared from time to time many interesting articles concerning the Book of Mormon and furnishing evidence of its divine authenticity. We feel sure that our readers peruse with interest the chapters which now appear, written by Elder Thomas A. Shreeve, upon "A Sacred History."

As our children multiply and education increases among them, there is a natural inclination to pay attention to all subjects connected with the Book of Mormon. The ancient history of this continent is a theme that possesses great interest to educated men in all lands, but especially to those who reside on the continent. Every discovery that is made, archaeological, paleontological and antiquarian, contributes to establish the truth of the divine record, which God has given to us.

Among our own people there is considerable anxiety manifested to identify the sites of the ancient cities of the Nephites, and to locate the exact spots where the stirring scenes described in the Book of Mormon were enacted. There are a few points which can be identified. The hill known as Cumorah among the Nephites and as Ramah among the Jaredites, is a spot which we are now familiar with, it being the place where Moroni concealed the records of his father, and to which the Prophet Joseph was directed by his angel guide. While the Book of Mormon does not give us all the information necessary to identify the river Sidon under its modern name, it is understood that the Prophet Joseph communicated to some individual or individuals that it was the stream now known as the River Magdalena. It is also known that the landing place of Lehi and his family was near what is now known as the city of Valparaiso, in the Republic of Chili. The book itself does not give us this information, but there is no doubt of its correctness.

Beyond these few points, it may be said that the sites of the cities of the Nephites are left to conjecture. We have geographical descriptions by some of the writers of the Book of Mormon concerning the lands inhabited by the Lamanites and those inhabited by the Nephites; but they are not sufficiently definite to enable the reader to locate the lines exactly.

There has been a great anxiety manifested by some persons to get up maps of the regions which the Nephites inhabited. In every instance that I have noticed these maps differ one from the other, no two agreeing upon scarcely any point. I understand that attempts are now made to illustrate Book of Mormon history by the aid of maps, and the children are taught to look upon them as being, at least, tolerably correct.

Assistant Superintendent George Goddard wrote to me a short time since upon the subject of getting up a map under the auspices of the Sunday School Union, that would illustrate Book of Mormon history. He thought that it would be a great advantage to our children to have a map that would be deemed authentic for this purpose. His proposition led to correspondence upon the subject, and I think he became convinced that the suggestion was impracticable.

I have no confidence in the maps I understand are being used. I am quite satisfied that in some particulars, at least, they are incorrect. In this opinion I am not alone. Others who have given the Book of Mormon considerable study think the authors of the maps are mistaken upon many points. Now, I think it better that we should have no maps at all than to have an incorrect one. It is better not to attempt to teach our children upon the geography of the Book of Mormon than to teach them by means of agencies which are unreliable and misleading. If our children be permitted to conceive incorrect ideas concerning the location of the lands inhabited by the Nephites and the sites of their cities, it will be difficult to eradicate them. Therefore I am clearly of the opinion that it is unwise to use means of this character to illustrate Book of Mormon history.

Note* Considering George Q. Cannon's background, it is interesting that he says nothing about the 1842 *Times and Seasons* editorials by John Taylor to the effect that Lehi landed "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien," and that Zarahemla might be located near Quirigua, Guatemala. After his parents died, Elder Cannon lived in the household of John Taylor for about five years. This was the time when Elder Taylor was editing and printing the *Times and Seasons* and the Nauvoo *Neighbor* and young Cannon helped in the printing office. Elder Cannon became a member of the Council of the Twelve October 23, 1859, and was chosen First Counselor to President John Taylor in October 1880. He thus had plenty of time in which this information could have been shared. (see the 1842 notations)

Note* It is interesting that in declaring that there are only "a few points which can be identified," George Q. Cannon says nothing about the identification of "the ancient city of Manti" by Joseph Smith while in northern Missouri in 1838. (see the 1838 notation)

Note* There are some details in the quote by George Q. Cannon for which I have no known documentary source at the present time. I know of no documented incident in which "Joseph Smith . . . told some of his followers that the Magdalena River is the Book of Mormon river Sidon" or that Lehi and his family "landed near the Chilean city of Valparaiso." The first time I find the city of Valparaiso mentioned as Lehi's landing place is in a Feb. 11, 1872 discourse by Orson Pratt recorded in the Journal of Discourses (Vol. 14, pp. 324-331; see also the 1866 *Millennial Star*?). In that same discourse Pratt also names the river Magdalena and implies that it was the river Sidon. Pratt does not give any source for his information, let alone that of Joseph Smith. Whether Orson Pratt was one of the "followers" Cannon referred to who Joseph Smith "told" of these things is also not documented that I know of. I should also note that Valparaiso is at a latitude of thirty-three degrees south, which is somewhat different than the Lehi's Travels statement which places Lehi's landing at "thirty degrees south latitude." However, the city of Valparaiso seems to be the closest large port city to thirty degrees latitude (see the maps below). While it is certainly possible that Joseph Smith said something about Lehi landing at Valparaiso to some of his followers, it is also reasonable to theorize that Orson Pratt (or someone else) might have taken the Lehi's statement mentioning Lehi's landing site at "thirty degrees south latitude," and located the nearest large port city (Valparaiso) to that location, especially when one considers the fact that the Lehi's Travels statement preceded the Valparaiso statement by some 36 years. Cannon was born Jan. 11, 1827, at Liverpool England. Cannon was made an apostle in 1859 and Orson Pratt, also an ordained apostle, didn't die until the year 1881.

It is also worthy of note that while here in 1887 Cannon is definite about "a few points which can be identified," he would issue a strong caution concerning the development of Book of Mormon maps or the study of Book of Mormon geography. He would use some similar words in a 1890 address. People in subsequent years would quote a portion of that talk to support the idea that the Church had never taken any stand on Book of Mormon geography. Note the following from the 1890 talk:

The First Presidency have often been asked to prepare some suggestive map illustrative of Nephite geography, but have never consented to do so. Nor are we acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles who would undertake such a task. The reason is, that without further information they are not prepared even to suggest.

When this quote is taken in light of what George Q. Cannon said here in 1887, we might conclude that Cannon only had reservations about the TOTAL specifics of Nephite geography, but not about "a few points which can be identified" and not about the general Hemispheric setting for the Book of Mormon. This is because the "few points" outlined the boundaries of a North America-South America Hemispheric setting for the Book of Mormon, namely the landing area in Chile (land southward) and the Hill Cumorah in New York (land northward). Yet Cannon believed that "beyond these few points, it may be said that the sites of the cities of the Nephites are left to conjecture." It is also worthy of note that Cannon had already declared the Polynesians to be descendants of Hagoth with the implication being that Hagoth departed from the narrow neck in Panama--another "point" defining the general Hemispheric nature of Book of Mormon geography.

(See the notations for 1890, 1918. See also Cannon's statements in the Chronology of LDS Thought on Polynesian Origins.)

[1887 Maps: Showing the relative location of Valparaiso, Chile, the proposed landing site for Lehi's party.

Source?]

Note* Ken Godfrey quotes many of the words of George Q. Cannon from this magazine article in his own article entitled "What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, p. 77, but he does so in multiple short segments.

1888 (abt. David Whitmer) Report, *The Chicago Times*, January 24, 1888.

Smith's story of the vision he had of an angel, who commanded him to seek the plates in the hill of Cumorah, and the further command to translate the Book of Mormon, greatly impressed Whitmer and Cowdery, and their astonishment was further increased when Smith conducted them to the hill and showed them the receptacle in which Mormon had in the beginning of the fifth century concealed the historical volume. Smith further explained that he had been commanded to begin at once the translation of the volume in the presence of three witnesses. In accordance with this command Cowdery, Whitmer, and Smith, accompanied by the latter's wife, proceeded to the Whitmer's home, bearing with them the precious plates and spectacles.

Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 247-249.

Note* This incident was also related previously in a report printed in the *Chicago Tribune*, 17 December 1885. It reads as follows: "Whitmer and Cowdery were greatly impressed by the recital of this strange story, and were conducted to the hill, where they personally viewed the receptacle in which Moroni, at the beginning of the fifth century, had concealed the history of his fathers."

1888^ H. A. Stebbins "The Story of the Book of Mormon." *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Feb.) (RLDS) pp. 69-73,

[p. 70] (Chapter 2-The Remainder of the Book of Ether . . .) The "land southward" was reserved as a hunting ground, there being plenty of game of various kinds in the region which we now call the northern part of South America. A large city was built near what was called the "narrow neck of land" between the land north and the land south; that is, it was in the region of what we now know as the Isthmus of Darien, all the land to the north of this being densely populated by this great and enlightened people.

[p. 72] But Shiz demanded the life of Coriantumr, or he would not cease. And the people upon either side were full of anger and the war was renewed; and for four years they gathered and prepared themselves for the final effort. They had shields and breastplates and swords, and **these last years were spent in fighting on the ground between what is now called Lake Ontario and the Atlantic Ocean.** And both armies were entirely destroyed in the repeated contests. Coriantumr slew Shiz with his own hand, and was himself greatly weakened by the loss of blood. Then the Spirit directed Ether to come forth and see the fulfillment of the word of the Lord, and he did so. Then he finished the record that he had been making, which were upon twenty-four leaves of gold; and, either there or southwards, he hid them up, as he was commanded to do, and they were found by a party of the Nephites, as we will see by and by from the history of that people. And this was according to the will of the Lord. And whether Ether died or was translated we know not. But Coriantumr was found by those whom the Lord brought out of Jerusalem at the time Zedekiah, the king of the Jews, was led away captive to Babylon, and that was about five hundred and eighty-eight years before the birth of Christ. Hence, from the beginning of the dwelling of the Jaredites upon this land, till their end as a nation, was probably about sixteen hundred years. And the people who found Coriantumr called themselves the people of Zarahemla, because the portion of the land that they settled in was named Zarahemla.

1888 Edward Stevenson Andrew Jenson "Articles," in the *Deseret News*, September & October 1888. See also *Infancy of the Church: An Elaborate and Detailed Description of Persons, Places and Incidents connected with the Early Rise and Progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1889), pp. 36-37, 39

Martin Raish notes:

During the latter half of the 19th century, many Latter-day Saints traveled eastward to visit important Church history sites. One such group consisted of Andrew Jenson, Edward Stevenson, and Joseph S. Black. They penned a series of letters that were published in the *Deseret News* in September and October 1888 and later republished in a pamphlet that was used by later travelers as a guidebook to the sites. The elders felt a special reverence of the Hill Cumorah as they contemplated the great battles that they believed had taken place there many generations in the past, as well as the glorious events of the century in which they were living.

Andrew Jenson and Edward Stevenson write:

Sitting on this holy and historical ground the scene of some of the greatest events which have ever transpired in the history of men upon the earth--it is but natural that our minds should be deeply impressed, and that we should give way to unusual and solemn meditation; for it was here, more than twenty-four centuries ago, that the descendants of Jared and his brother fought their last exterminating battle. . . .

It was also in this land that Mormon in his old age and his son Mrooni led their Nephite armies against their brethren the Lamanties--the last time--to that dreadful massacre that forever swept a once of God highly favored race out of existence as a nation. . . . Moroni and a few others were the only ones who escape with their lives from that terrible battle field. This took place more than fourteen hundred years ago, but looking over this hilly country to-day--the topographical or general character of which has perhaps not changed very much since that time--our imagination can easily conceive how the exile Moroni, the custodian of the records of his fathers, was hunted by the blood-thirsty Lamanites while writing the closing paragraphs of the Nephite history, and how he finally, no doubt in the shades of night, emerged from his hiding place, and deposited the sacred treasure in this hill, where it lay 1,407 years.

We pass over that long and dreary night and again conceive of Moroni as an angel of glory, still in charge of the same records, instructing the humble farmer's boy, and preparing his mind for a great and noble work, in which tens of thousands were to rejoice. Yonder stands the house still in which that ancient Prophet of God first called upon the youth, who afterwards became the translator of the Book of Mormon, and the next day showed him the plates on the very spot where we now stand. And fifty-nine years and six days ago to-day Joseph Smith received the records of the Nephites from the hands of Moroni. O, how sublime the thought!

What emotions fill our hearts when we think of it! We feel that we, indeed, stand on holy ground, and, as if by instinct, we silently renew our covenants that we will be faithful and true in keeping the commandments of God. . . .

It [the Hill Cumorah] rises abruptly from the more level country north of it to the height of about 150 feet. Climbing it from the north end, the highest point on which stands the stump of a large tree, is soon reached; south of this the hill gradually recedes until it is lost in the level about one mile distant. There is a number of other hills in this part of the country, and they all extend north and south like so many summits or ridges. A number of them are several miles long, but only a few hundred yards across from east to west. The hill Culmorah is no exception from this rule. Besides the north end its eastern and western slopes are quite steep, and the top consists of a narrow ridge somewhat rocky. Both sides of the north end of the hill have been plowed by the present owner clear to the top, and only a very few trees have been suffered to remain. About 200 yards south from the north end of the hill on the west side, however, is a beautiful beech grove containing, we should judge, about six acres of land; most of the trees are small, but stand very close together. Into the shade of this little grove we retired in solemn

prayer and rejoiced exceedingly in being permitted to be here.

Source: ^Martin H. Raish, "Encounters with Cumorah: A Selective, Personal Bibliography," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, pp. 43-44

1888^ George Q. Cannon *The Life of Joseph Smith the Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1888 A second edition was published by the Deseret News in 1907, with reprintings in 1958, 1964, 1972, and 1986 by Deseret Book Company.

Following the death of both his mother and father, George Q. Cannon lived in the household of Elder (late President) John Taylor for about five years. This was the time when Elder Taylor was editing and printing the *Times and Seasons* and the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. Young George learned the printing and editing business, which he followed throughout the remainder of his life. As a young man he translated the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language, afterwards printing the book. He edited the *Western Standard*, the *Millennial Star*, the *Juvenile Instructor*, and the *Deseret News*. Elder Cannon became a member of the Council of the Twelve October 23, 1859, and was chosen First Counselor to President John Taylor in October 1880, and following President Taylor's death he became First Counselor to President Wilford Woodruff, and later First Counselor to President Lorenzo Snow.

The ideas quoted below are George Q. Cannon's. Although the exact source(s) for Elder Cannon's words concerning Joseph Smith's visit to the New York hill near his home to see the stone box with the plates hidden up by Moroni are not known to me at the present time, Cannon had access to the entire Church Archives. These quotes below represent the perspectives of Cannon with regard to the New York "Hill Cumorah" and the site of the final battles of both the Nephites and Jaredites. They also figure large in the geographical limits placed on the geography of the Book of Mormon as theorized by the Brigham Young College Society of American Archeology at Logan, Utah in 1904 (see the 1904 notation). Elder Cannon writes:

[p. 44] Many precious truths the angel now imparted to him [Joseph]: telling him that he, Moroni, while yet living, had hidden up the plates in the hill, four centuries after Christ, to await their coming forth in the destined hour of God's mercy to man; that he, Moroni, was the son of Mormon, a prophet of the ancient Nephites, who had once dwelt on this land; that to the Nephites *this sacred hill was known as Cumorah, and to the Jaredites (who had still more anciently inhabited this continent) as Ramah*; and much more did he impart to Joseph concerning the mysteries of the past, and the future purposes of Almighty God in the redemption of fallen mankind.

[pp. 46-47] When Joseph first stood upon the sacred hill Cumorah, he was in his eighteenth year. . . . As the hour approached for the delivery of the ancient record into his hands, Joseph prayed earnestly for humility and strength. He had not failed in any of his prescribed visits to Cumorah.

[p. 50] With a crowning promise to Joseph that he should not be left to grope in darkness, and that upon the conclusion of the labor of translation, the angel would visit him and again receive the plates, Moroni disappeared, and the Prophet of the Last Dispensation stood alone upon Cumorah, clasping to his bosom the priceless trust.

In relating the travels of David Whitmer to meet Joseph in Harmony and return with Joseph, Oliver and Emma to Fayette, New York, Elder Cannon's narrative is noteworthy because of the things it does NOT mention. It does not mention the encounter along the way with Moroni in which Moroni said he was going to "Cumorah." He writes:

[p. 68] When the Prophet was prepared to depart from Harmony, he asked the Lord to direct the manner in which the plates should be carried to Fayette. He was told in response that the angel would receive the treasures; and after the arrival of Joseph at the home of Peter Whitmer in Fayette, would again deliver them into his hands. Thus relieved, Joseph went serenely forth; and in a few days he was safe at Fayette. In the garden adjoining the Whitmer residence, the Prophet was visited by the angel and once more was placed in possession of the record.

In relating the return of the records to Moroni, Elder Cannon's narrative is again noteworthy in what it does NOT say. It does not mention anything relative to the Cave Story even though Elder Cannon would have

been a member of the Quorum of the Twelve for twenty years under the presidency of Brigham Young. He writes:

[p. 73] After the work of translation was ended, Joseph re-committed his charge to the care of the Angel of the record; and Moroni received it back into his keeping, to bring forth the yet unsealed portions of it only when God shall so decree.

1888 George Q. Cannon *The Latter-Day Prophet: History of Joseph Smith Written for Young People*, Salt lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1900. Reprinted as *A History of the Prophet Joseph Smith for Young People*, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957 with different pagination.

Telling of the events in 1823, Cannon writes:

Moroni told Joseph that he had hidden up the records four centureis after the birth of Jesus, while he was living on the earth. He said that the Nephites, the people to whom he belonged, called the hill where they stood Cumorah, and that a still earlier people, the Jaredites, called it Ramah. This was a very important hill in the history of both these peoples.

Source: ^Martin H. Raish, "Encounters with Cumorah: A Selective, Personal Bibliography," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, pp. 44-45

1888[^] Heber C. Kimball Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, Salt Lake City: Kimball Family, 1888

In the Preface we find the following:

In presenting this work to the public, I not only fulfill the desires of my own heart and those of my kindred who have undertaken to publish what is here written and compiled, but likewise, I am persuaded, the wish of our departed ancestor. . . . The death of President Kimball, on the 22nd of June, 1868, was a calamity so sudden and heavy in its effect upon his family, as to almost paralyze thought and effort. . . . During the summer of 1886, a number of the family met and appointed a Committee on Reunion, selecting for the day, June 14th, 1887 (the eighty-sixth anniversary of their father's birth), and as the place of meeting, Fuller's Hill Gardens, Salt Lake City. There came together on that memorable occasion, fully three hundred members and relatives of the Kimball family, with others who had been invited to take part in the celebration. . . .

One of the features of the programme was a sketch of the life of Heber C. Kimball, written for the occasion and read by his grandson, the author of this work. This incident determined and united the family on a project mooted by its members and partly executed several years before. It was the publication of the life of Heber C. Kimball. On the evening of the day of reunion the male members of the family met and appointed a committee of five on publication. Several thousand dollars of undivided property, still in the estate, was devoted to the purpose, and the author hereof solicited, and by unanimous voice chosen and engaged to write the history. . . .

Wherever possible, I have allowed the subject to speak for himself. In lieu of converting facts found of record in his Journal into "original matter," I have presented them mostly in all their freshness and simplicity . . . This has been done, not only out of deference to the wishes of his relatives, who desired that much of what their father had written should be incorporated in the book of his life, but because I have deemed it best to thus project upon the reader's mental vision, by means of the most superior process, the portrait of the man and his mission as painted by himself. . . .

To President Wilford Woodruff and others of the Apostles I am indebted for kind words and encouragement, and for the appointment of a committee, at my request, to read the manuscript and pass upon it critically, as to doctrinal and historical points, before placing it in the hands of the printer; to Elder George Reynolds, for his intelligent advice and labors as one of said committee; and to Edward W. Tullidge, Esq., the veteran author, for a collection of facts relating to my subject, gathered during his extensive experience as historian and biographer. . . .--Orson F. Whitney, November, 1888.

On page 26 Orson F. Whitney writes the following, using undated excerpts from the writings and Journal

of Heber C. Kimball:

The region in which he [Heber C. Kimball] was laboring is thus interestingly described:

From the time Father Bosley located near Avon, he found and plowed up axes and irons, and had sufficient to make his mill irons, and had always abundance of iron on hand without purchasing. In the towns of Bloomfield, Victor, Manchester, and in the regions round about, there were hills upon the tops of which were entrenchments and fortifications, and in them were human bones, axes, tomahawks, points of arrows, beads and pipes, which were frequently found; and it was a common occurrence in the country to plow up axes, which I have done many times myself.

I have visited the fortifications on the tops of those hills frequently, and the one near Bloomfield I have crossed hundreds of times, which is on the bluff of Honeyoye River, at the outlet of Honeyoye Lake.

In that region there are many small deep lakes, and in some of them the bottom has never been found. Fish abound in them.

The hill Cumorah is a high hill for that country, and had the appearance of a fortification or entrenchment around it. In the State of New York, probably there are hundreds of these fortifications which are now visible, and I have seen them in many other parts of the United States.

Readers of the Book of Mormon will remember that in this very region, according to that sacred record, the final battles were fought between the Nephites and Lamanites. At the hill Cumorah, the Nephites made their last stand prior to their utter extermination, A.D., 385.

Thus was Heber preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, above the graves of the ancients of Israel, whose records with the fullness of that Gospel, and the relics of their prowess and civilization, were now "whispering from the dust."

Note* In the narrative "flow" of the book, the previous date given was April, 1832--Heber's baptismal date. However, it is hard to distinguish as to whether all of the above material came from Journal entries soon after that date.

Note* The above story would be related in a 1960 book, *Stories from Mormon History* by Alma and Clea Burton (see notation). However in a 1994 edition of the book this story would be deleted.

Note* This book also contains other comments relating to Book of Mormon geography but they have been presented in previous notations. They include:

Page 56--Zelph Incident (see June 2-3, 1834 notation)

Page 454--Orson F. Whitney abt. Brigham Young saying that the Manti temple site was dedicated by Moroni (see the 1877 notation)

1888[^] George Reynolds *The Story of the Book of Mormon*, SLC: J. H. Parry, 1888. Reprinted in 1898, 1957, 1980.

George Reynolds was asked to serve as the Church's representative in testing the constitutionality of the Morrill Act of 1862 which had made plural marriage illegal. After the case reached the Supreme Court in 1879 and the Church lost, Reynolds was assigned for eighteen months to the Utah Territorial Penitentiary. It was in prison that George began to make his great contribution to the Book of Mormon commentary. He was thrilled to read the new 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon--arranged into chapters and verses by Elder Orson Pratt--and felt motivated to write about the book. And write he did--about eighty published articles in all, most of them about the book. Because almost nothing had been written to teach children about this book, most of the articles were for children's publications, the *Juvenile Instructor*, as well as several children's readers. After Brother Reynolds was released from prison, his friends urged him to organize his private writings on the Book of Mormon into a single volume. In 1888 his *Story of the Book of Mormon* appeared, the first complete--though unofficial--commentary on the text of the Book of Mormon. The first half of the book gives a running narrative of the story. The second half contains essays such as "The Women of the Book of Mormon," "Domestic Life among the Nephites," and "The Laws of the Nephites."

Reynolds was also the first Book of Mormon student to give serious attention to the geography of the

Book of Mormon. He was the first to attempt a detailed description of every city, valley, hill, land, and river mentioned in the Book of Mormon and their relationship to each other. No previous student had made such an effort. The basics appeared in Reynolds' series in *The Juvenile Instructor* between November 15, 1880 and February 1, 1881. This was amplified in *The Story of the Book of Mormon*, 1888. (Bruce A. Van Orden, "George Reynolds," in *The Ensign*, August 1986, pp. 48-50)

According to John Sorenson,

The [Book of Mormon geography] model that affected the most people no doubt was that of George Reynolds. . . . *The Story of the Book of Mormon* [was] the first popularization based on the scripture. Because of Reynolds' intimate connections with the key Church leaders and his ties with its media (he was assistant editor for the *Instructor* and associate editor of *The Deseret News*, his book quickly reached best-seller status, apparently being published five separate times within the year 1888 (twice in Salt Lake, twice in Chicago and once in Independence). What Reynolds did was to flesh out and somewhat rationalize the outline geography Pratt had presented in the footnotes of the Book of Mormon. (*The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: Source Book*, FARMS, 1990, Part 1. "A History of Ideas," pp. 19-20)

In the excerpts below we find Reynolds beginning to explain Orson Pratt's theoretical hemispheric model. In addition to relating the lands and cities to one another (internal geography), Reynolds made the following external geographical identifications:

America the first inhabited of all lands--its ancient peoples--the Garden of Eden--the antediluvians . . . when the flood was over and the waters sank, [Noah's] ark, by the winds and waves, had been carried far away to a new land, until it rested on the Mountains of Ararat. Then for a short time America was without inhabitants.

But not long after the deluge the wicked tried to build a tower . . . This is called the Tower of Babel. . . . In his anger [the Lord] confounded their language . . . he scattered them abroad upon the earth. (Introduction)

Led by the Lord personally . . . the colony, of which; Jared's brother appears to have been the prophet and leader at last reached the borders of the great sea which divides the continents. To the place where they tarried they gave the name of Moriancumer. . . . The brother of Jared was then commanded by the Lord to build eight barges . . . All things being prepared, Jared and his people, with their animals, fishes, bees, seeds and multitudinous other things, went on board; a favorable wind wafted them from shore, and they gradually drifted to the American coast. At the end of the voyage of three hundred and forty-four days the colony landed on this continent. It is generally understood that the place where they landed was south of the Gulf of California and north of the isthmus of Panama. (Chap. 76, p 1)

Here [in America] he made them a great nation; and they filled the land for many hundreds of years. By and by they grew exceedingly wicked and gathered together in vast armies to war . . . they fought so terribly that at last they were all destroyed,--all except one man [Coriantumr]. These people were called the Jaredites. By this we see that this continent was a second time left without inhabitants because of the great wickedness of the people. (Introduction)

Weak from the loss of blood, [Coriantumr] staggered on, placing as great a distance as his failing powers would permit between himself and the horrors of the last battle ground. . . . How long he thus wandered to and fro, wretched, comfortless and forlorn, we know not; but at last he reached the southern portion of the northern continent, thousands of miles from Ramah [in New York], and there, to the great astonishment of both, he found the people of Mulek, who had been led by the hand of the Lord from Jerusalem. (Chap. 79, pp. 1-2)

With regard to the course of Mulek and his company we are left entirely in the dark; all we are told is that they landed in the northern continent. There is an understanding among the Latter-day Saints that this party traveled westward from Jerusalem. Some think they went first to Egypt under the guidance of the Prophet Jeremiah; then by the Mediterranean Sea either to Spain or Morocco, thence by ship across the Atlantic. Others fancy they went direct by ship from Palestine. (Chap 69, p. 2)

After [the destruction of the Jaredites] the Lord brought another people to fill this land. They were a branch of the house of Israel and we call them the Nephites and Lamanites. . . . the Nephites made their earliest settlements on the western shores of the southern continent, where by degrees they spread north and south, then east and west, until their cities and villages could be seen in every part of the land. (Introduction)

First [the party of Lehi] crossed the Indian Ocean, then the South Pacific Ocean, and after many days reached the west coast of South America. They landed at a point near where the city of Valparaiso, in Chili, now stands. (Chap. 3, p. 2)

The description given by Nephi of the region where the colony landed exactly corresponds with what we

know of the country now called Chili; and it was on its coast, the Prophet Joseph Smith informs us, that the Nephites landed, and there they established their first homes. (Chap. 4, p. 1)

The exact place where Lehi and his little colony landed on this continent is not stated in the Book of Mormon: but it is generally believed among the Latter-day Saints to have been on the coast of Chili in thirty degrees south latitude. In fact, the Prophet Joseph Smith so stated. We do not think it possible, without divine revelation, to determine with accuracy the identical spot where Lehi and his colony landed. We believe that the coast line of that region has entirely changed since those days. Even if we do not take into consideration the overwhelming convulsions that took place at the crucifixion of our Lord, which changed the entire face of nature, there remains the general elevation or subsistence of the land which is continually taking place the world over. Some coasts are rising, some are falling. The land in South America, on its western or Pacific shores, has long been rising, some think for centuries. If this be so the rise of an inch a year would entirely change the configuration of the sea shore, and give this generation shallows and dry land, where but a few centuries ago there were deep waters. . . . For all we know a huge mountain may now cover the spot, or it may be hidden beneath the blue waters of the Pacific, scores of miles away from any present landing place. (Chap. 65, p. 2)

Chili is favored with one of the finest and healthiest climates in the world. The soil is exceedingly fertile . . . Chili also possesses valuable mines, especially of gold, silver, copper and coal. (Chap. 4, p. 1)

In this happy country the Nephites dwelt, prospered and increased until they again moved northward. Perhaps not once nor twice they migrated, but several times; for we hold it to be inconsistent with the story of the record and with good judgment to believe that in their first journey they traveled as far north as they were found four hundred years afterwards, when they again took up their line of march, and finally settled in the land of Zarahemla. . . . To have taken a journey of a few hundred miles would have placed them out of the reach of the Lamanites; there was no need for them to travel thousands. Again, in a few years the Lamanites had followed and come up to them; it is altogether inconsistent to think that that people, with its racial characteristics, would in so short a time have accomplished so marvelous a triumph as to follow, hunt up and attack their late brethren if the latter had placed all the distance from Chili to Ecuador between them and their pursuers. (Chap. 65, p. 2)

In what portion of the South American continent lay the home of the Nephites in the days of Mosiah? This cannot be answered authoritatively. We are nowhere told its exact situation. Still, there are many references in the Book of Mormon from which we can judge, to some extent, of its location. Elder Orson Pratt suggests that it was in the country we now call Ecuador. The writer entirely agrees with Elder Pratt's suggestion. Other brethren have placed it considerably farther south; but in our reading of the Book of Mormon we have found no evidence to confirm their suppositions, but much to contradict them. We believe that the lands occupied by the Nephites before they went down into the land of Zarahemla, were situated among the table lands or high valleys of the Andes, much as Utah is located in the bosom of the Rocky Mountains and parallel chains. (Chap. 65, p. 3)

The land of Nephi covered a much larger area of country than did the land of Zarahemla. The two countries were separated by the wilderness which extended entirely across the continent from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The northern edge of this wilderness ran in a line almost due east and west, and passed near the head of the river Sidon. The Sidon is generally understood to be the river in these days called the Magdalena. . . . On the western bank of the river Sidon was built the city of Zarahemla. (Chap. 65, p. 1)

To distinguish the smaller land of Nephi from the whole country [of Nephi], it is sometimes called the land of Lehi-Nephi. . . . Here Alma, having been warned of the Lord that the armies of king Noah would come upon his people, the latter gathered together their flocks, and took of their grain and departed into the wilderness which divided the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla. They fled eight days' journey into the wilderness when they rested and commenced to build a city, which they called Helam. Being afterwards compelled to leave this city, . . . they again took their journey northward, and reached the homes of the main body of the Nephites in Zarahemla in about thirteen days. Here we have a people encumbered and delayed by flocks and herds, heavily laden with grain, etc., making the journey (in two separate states) in twenty-one days. It is scarcely supposable that they traveled in a direct line; mountains, rivers and swamps would render the journey somewhat circuitous or winding. But even supposing that they did advance in an almost direct line from point to point, it would only make the distance between Nephi and Zarahemla 210 miles, if they traveled ten miles a day; 315, if they traveled fifteen miles; and 420 if they journeyed twenty miles a day. . . . Zarahemla was situated on the Sidon, certainly a considerable distance from its head waters, as other lands and cities (such as Minon and Manti) are mentioned as lying far above it. If we measure the distance from such a point southward, either 200, 300, or 400 miles, all these measurements will bring us into the country now called Ecuador. We are of the opinion that the land of Lehi-Nephi was situated in one of the higher valleys, or extensive plateaus of the

Andes.(Chap. 65, p. 4)

When we consider how many places there are in the United States called Washington, Lincoln, etc., our only wonder is that we do not find more than two cities called Aaron. This same difficulty exists with regard to Nephiah. we fancy there were also two cities of this name; one situated on the southern frontier, some distance west of Manti and the Sidon (Alma 26:25); the other on the Atlantic seaboard, north of Moroni. . . . Elder Orson Pratt, in a foot note to chapter 56, draws attention to the fact that the Nephiah there mentioned is not the one spoken of in the other chapters. (Chap. 68, p. 2)

Moroni was in the country now called Guiana, or in the extreme north of Brazil. The city Moroni now lies covered by the waters of the Atlantic (3 Nephi 8:9). In Guiana, there is a river still called Moroni, or, as it is generally printed on the maps, Maroni or Marony. There is also a river Morona in Ecuador.

Besides the foregoing there was a land called Desolation. Before the time of the Nephites it was thickly inhabited by the Jaredites. In the days of the latter people Bountiful formed its southern border. The two lands apparently jointed at the Isthmus. At first, like most frontier districts, it extended indefinitely into the uninhabited regions. When other lands were colonized its boundaries became more definitely fixed. [Desolation] is generally supposed to have embraced within its borders the region known to moderns as Central America. (Chap. 68, p. 3)

When perusing the Book of Mormon we have sometimes inclined to the opinion that before the time of the crucifixion of Christ the Andes and other ranges of mountains existed in a much more modified form than at present. We have been led to this conclusion from the fact that no high mountains or stretches of rugged mountain county such as at present exist in Chili, Peru, Ecuador and the United States of Columbia, are suggested by the narrative. Individual hills such as we have drawn attention to, are occasionally mentioned, showing that the country was of diversified altitude; but we have little or nothing to lead our minds to the contemplation of the stupendous peaks and everlasting hills that characterize this region now-a-days. It is also somewhat singular that no reference is made to any rivers in the regions where the Orinoco and Amazon now course in their vast volume to the Atlantic. Our only answer is that the Book of Mormon is primarily a religious record, that the geographical and topographical references are only incidental, and consequently no special importance can be place on what is not mentioned. . . . As stated in other places in this book it is understood that the Sidon of the Nephites is the Magdalena of today; but it is open to question if its course was not considerably changed during the convulsions that attended the death of the Savior. We incline to the opinion that in the ages before those terrible upheavals of the lands the Sidon was a far nobler, more placed river than the Magdalena is now. Nor do we think it emptied into the ocean at the same spot as at present. The coast line, we believe, has much changed and with that change the point of outflow of this river has been moved. (Chap. 69, p. 2)

In the history of the final wars between the Nephites and Lamanites we find lands and cities mentioned that are nowhere else spoken of. It is presumable that most of them were built during the blest sabbatic era that followed the visit of the Redeemer. The greater portion of these places were situated in North America, but the exact locality can in scarcely any instance be determined. Among those named are the lands or cities of Antum, Angola, David, Joshua, Jashon, Shem, Teancum, Boaz, Jordon, Cumorah, Sherrizah and Moriantum. (Chap. 69, p. 1)

It was in the year 322 A. C. that actual war broke out between the Nephites and Lamanites, for the first time since the Redeemer's appearing. It commenced in the land of Zarahemla near the waters of Sidon. . . . When the days of that last fearful struggle were ended [A.C. 385], all but twenty-four of the Nephite race had been, by the hand of violence, swept into untimely graves, save a very few, who had fled into the south country. . . . The Lamanites were now rulers of the western world, their traditional enemies being utterly destroyed. (Chap. 51, p. 1)

Mormon, seeing that his people were fast melting away before the Lamanites, and fearing that the latter would get possession of the records and destroy them, removed all that had been placed in his care by Ammaron, and afterwards laid up in the hill Cumorah all that had been entrusted to him by the hands of the Lord, save the few plates which he gave to his son Moroni. Moroni afterwards concealed the treasures committed to his keeping in the same hill, where they remained until they were, by heaven's permission, exhumed and translated by the Prophet Joseph Smith for our edification. We presume all our readers are acquainted with the fact that this hill is situated about three or four miles from Palmyra, in the state of New York. (p. 329)

In confirmation of the testimony of the Book of Mormon, that the inhabitants of this continent were a white and beautiful people, it may be stated that when very ancient burial places in North and South America have been opened, the remains of two races--one dark and the other fair--have been exhumed. . . . One writer,

speaking of the ancient mummies found in Peru, says: the hair in general is of a lightish brown, and of a fineness of texture which equals that of the Anglo-Saxon race. Again: The ancient Peruvians appear, from numerous examples of hair found in their tombs, to have been an auburn-haired race. Another gentleman a Mr. Haywood, has described the discovery, early in the present century, of three mummies, in a cave near the Cumberland river, in Tennessee; and the color of their skin was said to be fine and white, and their hair auburn and of a fine texture. The same investigator mentions several other cases where mummies were found in the limestone and saltpetre caves of Kentucky and Tennessee, with light yellowish hair. (Chap. 62, p. 1)

Giordan found the most striking analogies between the Central American and Mexican remains and those of the Egyptians. The idols and monuments he considers of the same form in both countries, while the hieroglyphics of Palenque do not differ from those of ancient Thebes. (Chap. 63, p. 3)

Note* George Reynolds was set apart as one of the first seven presidents of the Seventy on April 6, 1892 at the age of 38. Thus his previous publications on the Book of Mormon would take on added authoritative dimension.

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1888[^] B. H. Roberts "A New Witness for God," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star*, vol. 50, 1888.

B. H. Roberts first published ten pieces in 1888. They became the basis upon which he published (1909) his three volumes entitled *New Witnesses for God* (see notation). The following are from some of those 1888 pieces:

[Lehi's party in Arabia] constructed a vessel by command of God, and sailing in a south easterly direction landed on the west coast of South America, 30 degrees south latitude. (50:377)

In the second century B.C., a company of Nephites [Limhi's exploring party] wandered into North America, and there discovered evidences of that land having been formerly inhabited by a numerous people . . . (50:409)

[The Book of Mormon] locates the chief centers of civilization in those parts of the American Continent where the subsequent researches of the American antiquarians prove them to have existed. (50:428)

Note* B. H. Roberts would be set apart as one of the first seven presidents of the Seventy on October 8, 1888 at the age of 31.

[1888 Theoretical Model B. H. Roberts HEMISPHERIC]

L.S.=South Amer. / N.N.=Panama / L.N.=North of Panama / H.C.=N.Y.

Information listed in John L. Sorenson, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Events: A Source Book*, p. 163

1888[^] Hagoth [George Reynolds] "The Book of Mormon Land," in *Juvenile Instructor* 23 (1 October 1888-1 December 1888): pp. 290, 307, 323, 338, 354-55.

[p. 323] The Prophet Joseph located the landing of Lehi's company at the 30^o south latitude, on the coast of Chili. Examining the map of that country we find a point of land extending out to sea, there, just north of which is a bay known as Coquimbo. As this is the only sheltered spot for some distance up or down the coast, we conclude that this was the place of landing. . . north-east of the bay a little valley opens, through which a shallow river finds it way to the sea. To the east the great Andean range, with its numerous snow-capped peaks fills the whole horizon from north to south. . . the country between the plain and the mountains is very uneven, exhibiting numerous ridges of low hills. For the most part the surface of the country is covered with bare rocks or wastes of sand almost without vegetation. A few stunted shrubs grow in the narrow ravines. Several small rivers rising in the Andes run in deep beds through the country, but most of them have water only in the spring, when the snow is

melting in the mountains above, and they are dry during nine months of the year. But few spots in the valleys are fit for cultivation, owing to the existence of alkali in the soil. In some parts, however, corn, potatoes, wheat, and quantities of fruit are produced. Of the minerals gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound.

The climate cannot be said to be hot or cold, the thermometer rarely attains more than 70°. In winter the morning dews are sometimes changed to frost. It never rains, but sometimes a pretty strong dew falls in the morning which freshens the plants.

This description will apply to the whole section of country from the 30° south latitude along the coast northward into Peru. On the east the Andes present one unbroken chain with not very few accessible passes, and these are from fourteen to fifteen thousand feet in elevation and can only be utilized in the summer season. North of 20° south latitude the western slope is much higher, while the mountain range becomes much wider, breaking up into numerous peaks. The elevated slope on the west makes it much easier to pass this range here than further south.

Such in brief is the description of the country where Nephi landed. Not long after the landing, being warned of the Lord, he fled from Laman and Lemuel and those who sought his life. It would be but natural that in their flight they would choose the direction which appeared most favorable, which would not be towards the mountain barrier of the east, nor towards the south for that appeared rugged and uninviting. **To the north only was the way free from obstacles. This belief is confirmed by the fact that later we find them located northward.**

When the Spanish came into the country they found a paved road traversing the shores of Lake Titicaca crossing the Andes at about the 18° south latitude and running along the base of the mountains down into Chili. The Incas are said to have constructed this road after their conquest of Chili. **The distance from Nephi's landing to Lake Titicaca by this road is about 1,200 miles, and I am of the opinion that it is about the route he took in his flight. It certainly would require many days to make the journey.**

Tradition points to the shores of Lake Titicaca as the place where the Indian civilization originated. From that place Manco Capac and his sister started on their mission to gather the natives into communities and teach them the arts of civilized life. They bore with them a golden wedge and were directed to take up their residence at the spot where the sacred emblem should, without effort, sink into the ground. The valley of Cuzco is said to be the spot where the wedge sank into the earth and disappeared, and there they built their city.

Very little reliance can be placed in those old traditions, though Manco Capac may represent some person of note way back in the dim vista of the past, perhaps Nephi himself, and the story of the golden wedge may have been traditionary mumblings concerning that sacred ball or compass which the Nephites carried with them and which directed their journeyings. At any rate there existed a civilization on the shores of this lake long before the time of the Incas, and that they descended from it, or were familiar at one time with its history would appear from their traditions.

[pp. 338-339] Before proceeding further with the subject it might be well to examine the geography of the country under consideration.

About the 20° south latitude the great Andean range separates into two chains, one of which runs northward parallel to the coast, until it reaches the isthmus. The other runs north-east and north enclosing the valley or basin of the Desaguadero, and then continues on northward about parallel to the coast range until it reaches the 2° north latitude, where both ranges unite in the mountain knot of Pasto. Just north of which they separate into three ranges known as the eastern, western and central Cordilleras of Colombia.

The two ranges constitute a vast terrestrial billow bristling with volcanoes and snowy peaks and supporting a minor network of hills and mountains, whose vast summits "often spread out in broad undulating plains or pumas varying from fourteen to eighteen thousand feet above the sea, frigid, barren, desolate, and where life is only represented by the hardy vicuna and the condor. This inhospitable region is the great Despoblado or unpeopled region of Peru." In some parts the two ranges are from one to two hundred miles apart enclosing numerous valleys, which, though they lie wholly within the tropics, have almost every variety of climate. Some of them, like the valley of the Desaguadero, owing to their high altitude, are cold and barren, where vegetation is scrubby and scant, and where the pinched and shivering inhabitants can scarcely eke out a livelihood.

The valley or basin of the Desaguadero is a vast region similar to our Salt Lake basin, comprising a

large number of valleys divided by mountain ridges, and having a lake and river system of its own. Lake Titicaca is situated at the northern and Lake Aullagas at the southern end of this basin. The former is some larger than our Salt Lake, and the latter about the size of Utah Lake. A river connects them, emptying into the latter.

It was within this region, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, that the Incas claim their civilization originated.

It is certainly a very unfavorable region to be the cradle of a race, being for the most part cold and barren, deluged by rain in the summer season, and dry and cold in winter. Wheat will not ripen only under very favorable circumstances. Corn is dwarfed and small, a variety of bitter potato is about the only vegetable grown.

North of this region many of the valleys are mild and healthful and the temperature does not vary ten degrees throughout the year. Here the grain and fruits of the temperate zones abound.

Others again enjoy a climate of perpetual spring where "smiling nature in all her gorgeous hues arrayed" seems to have exerted herself to form a striking contrast with the cold and barren plateaux and snow peaks within her view. There palms and tropical plants and fruits in almost endless varieties grow profusely. There need be no famine, no want there, for vegetation of all kinds grows continually. . . . Communication between the various valleys is very difficult, owing to the high rocky mountains and cold barren pumas which separate them; there they are encircled by the mighty gorges of rivers which are impassable, except by frail suspension bridges.

Such was the land of the early Nephites, and a very favorable place it was for the development of their race, as we shall see as we proceed.

At the discovery of America, the region from Quito to south of Lake Titicaca was embraced in the government of the Incas, which, originating on the shore of the lake, had gradually spread into the surrounding valleys. . . .

Their government was well adapted to their wants much better than exists in the country to-day. . . .

Never before did a nation care for its subjects as Prescott says: "No man could become rich, no man could become poor, no spendthrift could waste his substance in riotous luxury. . . .

Is it not probable that they received their knowledge of this system of unity, from their fathers, who understood it and lived it for three hundred years after the coming of our Savior? We think so.

We have mentioned Quito as a part of the Inca empire. That kingdom had existed as an independent state for generations, but had just been conquered by the Incas before the arrival of the Spanish. It was about equal to the Incas in civilization.

The region now known as Colombia was inhabited at the conquest by a number of tribes of wild Indians, one or two tribes of whom had made some advancement in the arts of civilization, probably about the same as the five nations of New York. All the other Indians of South America were wild, living in constant warfare with each other and depending upon fishing and hunting for a livelihood.

1888[^] Moses Thatcher"Ancient American Civilizations and Their Lessons." Discourse delivered by Apostle Moses Thatcher, at a Y.M.M.I.A. Meeting held in Ogden, Sunday Evening, November 11, 1888.

. . . We have a knowledge though Joseph Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon of the wars which devastated the country; of the retreat of the Nephites in a northerly direction, step by step. Recent scientific researches demonstrate this line of retreat to have been truly described. The signal stations of this retreating people can be traced through Central America, the heart of Mexico, crossing the Mississippi River, thence on across the Red River and up through Ohio, until the people made their weary march to the hill Cumorah, in the State of New York, where 230,000 brave souls drew their last breath of life in one day. Many of the fortifications on this line of retreat are still preserved, and show by their choice of location as well as manner of construction, that the people who built them were in dire distress. We may read in these signs that are left us, how this undaunted people erected fortifications for the protection of their families as they retreated, contending every inch of ground, until the last battle-field was reached.

Sources: [^]*The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, No. 51, Vol. L., December 17, 1888. [^]*The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, No. 52, Vol. L., December 24, 1888. [^]Brian H. Stuy, ed., *Collected Discourses*, 5 vols.

[Burbank, Calif., and Woodland Hills, Ut.: B.H.S. Publishing, 1987-1992], 1: .)

Note* Moses Thatcher was ordained an Apostle April 9, 1879 at the age of 37. He was dropped from the Council of the Twelve Apostles April 6, 1896. He died Aug. 21, 1909.

1888 Edward Stevenson *Edward Stevenson Journal* 36:2 under the entry for December 17th, 1888.

Stevenson writes:

"It has been estimated that between 10 and 15 million Jaredites were eventually slaughtered in the final great battles fought around the vicinity of the Hill Cumorah in upstate New York."

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 155.

1889^ Edward Stevenson "The Thirteenth Witness to the Plates of the Book of Mormon," in *The Juvenile Instructor*, vol. 24, January 1, 1889, pp. 22-23

This article relates an interview by Edward Stevenson with David Whitmer which took place on January 2, 1887 in Richmond, Missouri. Since what is printed in the article is somewhat different than what appears in Stevenson's *Diary* the following is pertinent:

. . . In 1887, we had the pleasure of visiting Uncle David Whitmer, as he is so familiarly known, and at other times since we have visited him, and held many familiar conversations with him on the subject of the coming forth of the plates . . .

While in this mood of conversation he related to me, a visit of the **angel Moroni** to his mother. . . .

David said this occurred after he had seen the same messenger on the way from Harmony to Fayette. When he brought Joseph and Oliver in his wagon from Harmony, Pa., he appeared walking with a knapsack on his back with the straps crossed on his breast. Uncle David asked him to ride with them, to which he replied, "No, I am going over to Cumorah," and suddenly disappeared in the midst of a plain.

David said that they felt a very strange feeling come over them, and Joseph, the Prophet, inquired of the Lord concerning it, and then said to the brethren that the mysterious stranger was Moroni with the plates of gold. . . .

Additional Source: ^Lyndon W. Cook, ed. *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book Company, 1991, pp. 217-218.

Note* Here it is said that this incident happened "on the way from Harmony to Fayette" rather than "on their way from Palmyra" in some previous accounts of this interview. The mysterious man is identified as "the angel Moroni" rather than "one of the 3 Nephites." In this regard it is interesting that in an interview by James H. Hart on August 21, 1883 (later published in the *Deseret Evening News*, 4 September 1883) the following appears:

Did the personage or angel who showed you the plates tell you his name? No, he did not. The idea has obtained ground that it was Moroni, the last of the Nephite Prophets. It may have been Moroni or it may have been one of the three Nephite Apostles who were promised that they should not taste of death. It is not important who he was, but I know he was a messenger from God. (Ibid., p. 97)

1889^ John H. Kelson "Unwitting Witnesses," in *Deseret Weekly* 38, January 5, 12, 19, 26 1889; February 2, 23 1889; March 16, 23, 30 1889; May 4, 1889: pp. 33-35, 66-68, 102-104, 134-135, 169-170, 198-200 257-259, 355-357, 391-393, 421-423, 577-580.

In this series of articles, John Kelson defends the Book of Mormon from the negative perspectives of science-- evolution, philology, anthropology, archaeology, etc. In the process he makes statements concerning the geography of the Book of Mormon, quoting from Orson Pratt's footnotes and also *The Compendium* regarding Lehi's travels. He writes the following:

[p. 103] The landing place of the Jaredites was, probably, what is now known as Mexico. In the opinion of Professor O. Pratt, "It was on the western coast, and probably south of the Gulf of California, and north of the land of Desolation, which was north of the Isthmus." See Book of Mormon, lp. 582, note *h*.

The settlers thence spread north, south and east, over a vast extent of country. . . . But the earliest settlements of this ancient race were along the sea coast and desert regions of Peru, Ecuador and Columbia on the south of the Isthmus; the narrow Panama steppes and Central America; and the southern part of Mexico in North America.

The most important settlement in the south was called by the Nephites, Zarahemla. Professor Pratt says: "The land Zarahemla is supposed to be north of the head waters of the river Magdalena, its northern boundary being a few days' journey south of the Isthmus." Book of Mormon, p. 155, note *h*. . .

Another very important settlement in the south in early times was in Ecuador, afterwards called the "Land of Nephi." But the final battles of the Jaredites were fought in and around the locality now known as the State of New York, where the last leaders of the two leading factions, Shiz and Coriantumr gathered the remnants of their armies, together with all the remaining women and children for their final annihilation, after 10 or 15 millions had already perished. Shiz pitched his tents on the southern shore of Lake Ontario; but by the forces of the enemy gaining advantage over them they were driven southward to a place called Ogath in the heart of the present State of New York.

"And it came to pass that the army of Coriantumr did pitch their tents by the hill Ramah, and it was that same hill where my father Mormon did hide up the records."

Ramah was the hill Cumorah. Book of Mormon, pp. 606-608 and notes. . . .

[p. 169] In speaking of the Jaredites, the Book of Mormon states that while the land south (of the Isthmus of Panama), called a wilderness, was preserved for hunting game, "the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants, and they were exceedingly industrious; . . .

[p. 198] According to the Book of Mormon the second race of people who settled upon the land of America were called Nephites. They left the city of Jerusalem B.C. 599, being the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Israel. . . .

The course they took was "nearly a south, southeast direction until they came to the 19th degree north latitude; then, nearly east of [to] the Sea of Arabia; then they sailed in a southeast direction, and landed on the continent of America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude." See Compendium, page 289. . . .

The first section settled by the colony of Mulek was called Zarahemla, which is supposed to have been north of the headwaters of the river Magdalena; its northern boundary being a few days' journey south of the Isthmus. . . .

"This land of Nephi is supposed," says Prof. O. Pratt, "to be in or near Ecuador." This was the first important division of Lehi's colony, and these factions were never again united. . . . After landing on the Chilian coast, they worked northward, toward the Isthmus . . . In their wanderings northward they came to the section of the country called Zarahemla. . . .

[pp. 198-199] The people continued to spread both north and south . . . In North America they occupied tracts "covered with large bodies of water." Page 385. . . . "And it came to pass that they did multiply and spread, and did go forth from the land southward to the land northward, and did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south (Atlantic, south of Cape Horn) to the sea north (Arctic, north of North America), from the sea west (Pacific) to the sea east (Atlantic). Page 434. . . .

The lands first inhabited by the Nephites as permanent settlements were near the Isthmus of Panama. This locality is often referred to as "a narrow neck of land." From thence they spread into all parts along the coasts and also inland. The river Sidon, which "ran by the land Zarahemla," has been recognized

by Prof. Pratt, as the Magdalena.

Frequent mention is made also of their location in the vicinity of rivers, and large bodies of water, forming another identification of analogies between the geography of the country and the record. Alma 1:29, etc.

In their southern settlements they would meet with the copious hydrography of the Andes in Chili and Peru. The great rivers Amazon, Orinoco, and Rio de la Plata alone, with their numerous tributaries would be sufficient to justify the reference as to rivers; while the large bodies of water referred to by Alma as being met with on the North American coast will be explained by the great gulfs, bays and arms of the Pacific which indent it. Mormon, when he spake of "A land of many waters, rivers, and fountains" (page 560) referred to the present State of New York--"the land of Cumorah"--one of the most noted localities for lakes, rivers, waterfalls, etc. . . .

South America was called Lehi; because Lehi landed there. North America was called Mulek, because that was the country he first landed upon. Page 445. . . .

Thus in the races which are declared by the Book of Mormon writers to have inhabited the western coast of America, in the earliest and subsequent periods, we discover those characteristics, circumstances, and doings, whose signs and mementoes still remain upon the face of the land. We are told of races, sufficiently mixed, to account for the strange variety and incongruity of the remains; and at the same time, so distinct in their origin and peculiar nationalities as to be easily separated and their derivation assigned.

1888^ H. A. Stebbins "The Story of the Book of Mormon." *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 1, No. 7 (July) (RLDS) pp. 306-310

[p. 308] (Chapter 5- . . . Lehi and his Colony Journey to the Indian Ocean . . .) And they [Lehi's party] came to the shore upon what we call the western coast of South America, probably landing in the country now called Peru, or in Colombia (note i--see pages 309-310)

We do not know just where they begun their settlement, but evidently by the history it must have been away from the sea and from the mountains.

[Note I, pp. 309-310] The succeeding history of this colony makes it evident that Lehi and his company landed on the coast of South America, and that it was several centuries before they moved far enough north to reach Mexico and the United States. In agreement with this is the testimony of the men of our time who have made a study of the ancient relics, ruins, sculptures and traditions of the old-time civilization, which civilization they say existed in South and in Central America for ages. On page 285 of J. D. Baldwin's "Ancient America" he says: "I find myself more and more inclined to the opinion that the aboriginal South Americans are the oldest people on this continent." This is correct, for the first settlers, the people of Jared, were entirely destroyed before Lehi came.

Further, about the settlement, having begun in South America, we find by Mr. Baldwin, on page 170 as follows: "According to the old traditions, of both Mexico and Peru, the Pacific coast in both countries was anciently visited by a foreign people who came in ships. That there was communication between Eastern Asia and America in very ancient times, is in a high degree probable." He also writes that this country was named and recorded on Japanese and Chinese books before the time of Columbus, but remarks that the people of these countries did not come here as civilizers, "for," he says, "there is no trace of them in the old ruins." Therefore we are the more confirmed that those who came were neither Chinese nor Japanese, but that in one case the settlers were the people of Jared and in the other the people of Lehi.

When the Nephites did move northward, they went at first as far as the southern border of the former Jaredite possession, beyond which border they found a country that had been deserted by a great people, for they saw the ruins of many cities and villages scattered over a large territory, and they called it the Land of Desolation. It is written in Alma 13:11 that along this border it was only a day and a half's journey for a Nephite across from the sea east to the sea west; therefore the northern line must have been on the Isthmus of Darien. In later years they went far to the north, which fact will be presented hereafter from the Book of Mormon and from the writings of Baldwin, Brownell and other antiquarian discoverers.

1889[^] **H. A. Stebbins** "The Story of the Book of Mormon" in *Autumn Leaves*,
(RLDS) Vol. 2, No. 8 (Aug), pp. 361-365

(Chapter 17-Book of Helaman) [p. 361] Helaman the son of Helaman was placed in charge of the sacred and historical records by his uncle Shiblon in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of the Judges. Two years before this several thousand of the Nephites had passed through what we now call the Isthmus of Panama and gone into the land north. Also in those days Hagoth and others built ships and went up the west coast, and probably some went across the Gulf of Mexico, into those regions hitherto unknown and unexplored by the Nephites. They found in Central America, Mexico and the United States (as they are now known to us) the ruined cities, monuments, fortresses and great mounds of the Jaredites, the people who were the first settlers in America after the deluge. From the days of King Mosiah, as previously mentioned, the Nephites had been astonished at the evidences that a great and an enlightened people had dwelt in the land Desolation, and to the northward of it; and now they began to see more of these wonders. (See Note 31 below)

[pp. 362-363, n. 31] Concerning the first discovery of the land of Desolation by the Nephites the following is found in the Book of Mormon . . .

The plates above spoken of were the ones from which Mosiah translated the brief history of the Jaredites, as presented in chapters one and two of this story. They dwelt in Honduras, Yucatan, Chiapas and Mexico.

1889[^] B. H. Roberts, Moroni, A Sketch of the Nephite Republic," in *The Contributor* Vol. 11, Junius F. Wells, ed. Published by the Contributor Company. Salt Lake City, Utah: Printed by the Deseret News Company, 1890. No. 1, November, 1889, pp. 15-18; No. 2, December, 1889, pp. 54-58; No. 3, January, 1890, pp. 81-85; No. 4, February, 1890, pp. 131-136; No. 5, March, 1890, pp. 164-168; No. 6, April, 1890, pp. 227-231; No. 7, May, 1890, pp. 262-266; No. 8, June, 1890, pp. 293-296; No. 9, July, 1890, pp. 335-340; No. 10, August, 1890, pp. 385-388; No. 12, October, 1890, p. 449.

In an early multi-part article focused on Nephite society, B. H. Roberts's gives perhaps the first reasoned narrative account of Nephite movements with respect to geography. Others had made sketchy comments and for sure, Orson Pratt included his footnotes in the 1879 edition of the Book of Mormon, however B. H. Robert's article was the first to give the historical account (at least the Nephite Society) in a sequential, step-by-step account. Roberts's comments on Book of Mormon geography seem to partially follow those footnoted by Orson Pratt in the 1879 Book of Mormon, although he goes into more detail in his reasoning.

Some of what he writes is as follows:

[p. 54] Of the migration of Lehi's colony from Jerusalem to America . . . I need not speak. It will be sufficient, for my purpose, to refer to that division in the colony, which resulted in two distinct peoples being established in America. . . .

What proportion of the colony consented to follow [Nephi] cannot be determined. . . .The company was, doubtless, considerable.

The direction taken was northward: for it is known that Lehi's colony landed on the west coast of South America, thirty degrees south latitude; and the remains of the great Nephite civilization are to be found north of that point, as also the great cities spoken of in the Book of Mormon. The distance to which Nephi removed from his brethren, and their adherents, is not known. It may only be estimated by Nephi's indefinite expression--"We did journey in the wilderness for the space of many days."

Finding a suitable location, they prepared for permanent settlement, and called the place Nephi; . . .

[pp. 56-57] One Mosiah, whether he was at the time king of the Nephites or not, cannot be determined, was warned of the Lord to flee out of the land of Nephi into the wilderness; and was commanded to take as many as would go with him. He was obedient to the divine commandment, and with his followers

was led by the inspiration of the Almighty, northward through the wilderness to the land of Zarahemla. "The Land Nephi," from which Mosiah was commanded to depart, says the late Apostle Orson Pratt, "is supposed to have been in or near Ecuador, South America. The land Zarahemla," to which Mosiah was led, "is supposed to have been north of the head waters of the river Magdalena [South America], its northern boundary being a few days' journey south of the isthmus." (Book of Mormon-N.E.-p. 155, note)

. . .

The information contained in the Book of Mormon in regard to their colony [the ancestors of the people of Zarahemla--the Mulekites] is very meagre. It is known, however, that Mulek's company landed somewhere in North America, that by his followers the land was called Mulek, that they discovered Coriantumr, the last of the Jaredites, a people who in very ancient times had been led from the Tower of Babel to America . . .

[pp. 167-168] Manti was on the south-western frontier of the Nephite possessions towards the head of the valley of the river Sidon, which is supposed to be the river Magdalena (O. Pratt's note, Book of Mormon p. 238) Here it may be to the reader's advantage to know something of the Nephite country, that is, as to its geographical location.

I take it for granted that the reader remembers Lehi's colony landed on the west coast of South America, in Chili. When Nephi and his followers withdrew from the first colony, and sought out for themselves a home and country in the north, where they might live in peace, they called the country in which they settled the land of Nephi; which according to the late Apostle Orson Pratt, is supposed to have been in or near Ecuador, South America. (Book of Mormon, page 155, note)

Sometime in the fourth century there was an exodus from this land of Nephi, the more righteous part of the people being led away by one Mosiah still further northward where they found and amalgamated with the people of Zarahemla. This land of Zarahemla was located north of the head-waters of the river Sidon, and extended northward to the land of Bountiful, the north extremity of which was the Isthmus joining North and South America. (Book of Mormon, page 155, O. Pratt's notes)

Between the land of Nephi and that of Zarahemla, running entirely across the continent, was a strip of wilderness separating the frontiers of the Lamanites' and Nephites' possessions. This strip of wilderness also extended up the west side of the Nephite country, cutting them off from the Pacific Ocean, or West Sea, as it was called by them, until you approached the land Bountiful; and there the Nephites extended their country to the West Sea and maintained it with great determination in order to prevent the Lamanites from taking possession of North America, and thus completely surrounding them. The Nephites military leaders were not blind to the strategic importance of maintaining entire possession of this isthmus. They knew that if hard pressed, they could retreat into North America and hold their own against fearful odds, so long as they held the "causeway" into that land. This land Bountiful also extended to the East Sea.

Immediately south of the land Bountiful, and bordering on the East Sea, was the land of Jershon, occupied by the people of Ammon; but it is evident that the land of Jershon did not extend as far south as the land of Zarahemla. The strip of wilderness before alluded to also ran up the east sea-coast, though not extending so far northward as it did on the west. There were also some minor subdivisions between Jershon and Zarahemla which are difficult to locate.

It will be seen by the foregoing that the Nephites were surrounded by a wilderness in which their old-time enemies would collect and sweep down upon them from most unexpected points . . .

[pp. 264-266] I have already observed that a strip of wilderness, inhabited by the Lamanites, extended up the eastern coast as far as the land Jershon. Moroni had determined to extend his frontiers in a straight line from the head-waters of the Sidon--south of Zarahemla--to the east sea; and that he might accomplish his purpose he sent an army into that region to drive out the Lamanites.

No sooner had he cleared the wilderness of their enemies than he invited the Nephites, and especially those of Zarahemla, to go in and possess the land. In this newly acquired territory a number of cities were founded. One on the southern frontier and by the sea coast, they called Moroni, after their young commander-in-chief. This formed the southeast extremity of the Nephite possessions. A short distance northward they founded another city, which they named after the chief judge of the republic, Nephihah, while one that was erected in the extreme north-east of their possession, bordering on the sea-coast, they called Lehi, after one of Moroni's able generals, and most likely the second in command in the army. Besides these three notable cities there were a number of others founded in various

parts of the land, though principally in the north. . . . But beyond all reasonable doubt, Moroni's fortifications formed the basis of the plan on which the Nephites continued to construct their forts and walls about their cities; and some of the ruins of ancient fortifications, found within the territory of the United States, would seem to indicate that whoever constructed them, though they may have been made some centuries later than Moroni's time, followed pretty closely his style of defensive architecture. I append, here, brief descriptions of the ruins of ancient fortifications found in Ohio, built perhaps by the Nephites some centuries after Moroni's day, but of a character which suggests that their builders knew something of Moroni's system of fortification-building. I quote from Marcus Wilson's History of the United States--a work unfortunately becoming too rare in our libraries: [A description of fortifications in Marietta, Ohio follows] . . .

Morianton put it into the hearts of those who sided with him, to flee out of the land and take possession of North America, a plan they would have executed had it not been for the rashness of Morianton's temper. . . . It had ever been the policy of the Nephites, situated as they were in the northern part of South America, to keep open the country north of the isthmus, or "narrow pass" as the Nephites invariably called it, as a convenient place into which they might retreat should the time ever come when they should be too hard pressed by the Lamanites.

[p. 449] Of the Republic, after the death of Moroni, I have but little to say. The year following that event was remarkable for the inauguration of that great tide of emigration into North America--the land called "Desolation" by the Nephites, because of the destruction of the former inhabitants of it, (the Jaredites,) and the scarcity of timber in it--which resulted in filling it with cities, towns, villages, synagogues, temples and homes, "insomuch," to use the quaint language of the Book of Mormon, "that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south to the sea north, from the sea west to the sea east."

1889[^] Joseph F. Smith
(Cave Story)

"Letter to Elder Edward Stevenson, December 5, 1889," in *President Joseph F. Smith, Personal Letterbooks*, pp. 396-397, LDS Church Archives, Ms f 271, Film Reel #4, Book #2.

In a letter to Elder Edward Stevenson, dated December 5, 1889, President Joseph F. Smith, second counselor to President Wilford Woodruff, asked if Elder Stevenson had any knowledge of the cave or room in the Hill Cumorah:

If you have any knowledge--not supposition--in regard to "the room in the Hill Cumorah" containing the Records, treasures etc.--or of the same having been shown to the Prophet and Oliver, I would be greatly obliged to you to inform me on the subject.

Then President Smith added the following:

All I know about the matter is what Pres. B. Young related to me, many years ago when I commenced speaking to the Y.M.M.I. Associations on the early history of the Church. He told me that the Hill opened, as it were, to Joseph, and Oliver I think, and they saw--as it appeared to them--a chamber containing all the Plates and Records of the Nephites, with the Sword of Laban, the Breast Plate, the Director, the Interpreters etc. etc. But further than this I know nothing but the rumors and stories that are afloat about something of this kind. If you know anything about this matter I would be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Source: ^Dennis C. Davis, Ogden, Utah, typewritten copy, personal communication. See also Bruce E. Dana, *Glad Tidings Near Cumorah: Firsthand Accounts of Sacred Places, Angelic Visitations, and Ancient Relics*, Springville, Cedar Fort, 2004, p. 126.

Note* This is the only authoritative mention of the Breastplate, the Director, and the Interpreters being in the cave, although David Whitmer, in an 1878 interview with Joseph F. Smith himself, talking about the experience when the angel appeared to the three witnesses in Fayette in June 1829, did mention that he saw the above items presented before him there. (see the 1878 notation)

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1890[^]

George Q. Cannon

"Editorial Thoughts: The Book of Mormon Geography, in *The Juvenile Instructor*, January 1, 1890, pp. 18-19.
Reprinted in [^]*The Instructor* 73, 4 (April, 1938), pp. 159-160.

There is a tendency, strongly manifested at the present time among some of the brethren, to study the geography of the Book of Mormon. We have heard of numerous lectures, illustrated by suggestive maps, being delivered on this subject during the present winter, generally under the auspices of the Improvement Societies and Sunday Schools. We are greatly pleased to notice the increasing interest taken by the Saints in this holy book . . .

It also unravels many mysteries connected with the history of the ancient world, more particularly of this western continent . . .

We have been led to these thoughts from the fact that the brethren who lecture on the lands of the Nephites of the geography of the Book of Mormon are not united in their conclusions. No two of them, so far as we have learned, are agreed on all points, and in many cases the variations amount to thousands of miles. These differences of views lead to discussion, contention, and perplexity, and we believe more confusion is caused by these divergences than good is done by the truths elicited.

How is it that there is such a variety of ideas on this subject? Simply because the Book of Mormon is not a geographical primer. It was not written to teach geographical truths. What is told us of the situation of the various lands or cities of the ancient Jaredites, Nephites, and Lamanites, is usually simply an incidental remark connected with the doctrinal or historical portions of the work; and almost invariably only extends to a statement of the relative position of some land or city contiguous to or surrounding places, and nowhere gives us the exact situation or boundaries so that it can be definitely located without fear of error. . . .

The First Presidency have often been asked to prepare some suggestive map illustrative of Nephite geography, but have never consented to do so. Nor are we acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles who would undertake such a task. The reason is, that without further information they are not prepared even to suggest. The word of the Lord or the translation of other ancient records is required to clear up many points now so obscure that, as we have said, no two original investigators agree with regard to them. When, as is the case, one student places a certain city at the Isthmus of Panama a second in Venezuela, and a third in Guiana or northern Brazil, it is obvious that suggestive maps prepared by these brethren would confuse instead of enlighten; and they cannot be thus far apart on this one important point without relative positions being also widely separate.

For these reasons we have strong objections to the introduction of maps and their circulation among our people which profess to give the location of the Nephite cities and settlements. As we have said, they have a tendency to mislead, instead of enlighten, and they give rise to discussions which will lead to division of sentiment and be very unprofitable. We see no necessity for maps of this character, because, at least, much would be left to the imagination of those who prepare them; and we hope that there will be no attempt made to introduce them or give them general circulation. Of course, there can be no harm result from the study of the geography of this continent at the time it was settled by the Nephites, drawing all the information possible from the record which has been translated for our benefit. But beyond this we do not think it necessary, at the present time, to go, because it is plain to be seen, we think, that evils may result therefrom.

Note* The substance of this talk would be quoted for the next 100 years (even to the present). Those quoting this talk always seemed to look upon the study of Book of Mormon geography in a negative way. Almost invariably the words, "the Book of Mormon is not a geographical primer. It was not written to teach geographical truths" seemed to be highlighted as doctrine that transcended time, while Cannon's ending statement, "we do not think it necessary, at the present time" seemed to be forgotten. (For an example, see the *Church News* notation for 1992.) Time after time as the twentieth century ran its course, people would quote this talk failing to realize that at the time of this statement (1890), the science of American Archaeology had not even been born yet (thus anything historical from whatever century was just "old"), cultural studies had not progressed sufficiently (thus Indians of whatever tribe and place were lumped together as "Lamanites"), and nobody had yet recorded or published the geographical clues in the text of the Book of Mormon in any

systematic fashion. In essence, in 1890 people of the Church were just selecting some spots on a map and declaring them to be the city of Nephi or, worse, the cities mentioned only by name in the Book of Mormon that lacked any identifying geographical information or sufficient corroborating evidence of location. George Q. Cannon had every reason to say what he did in 1890, but not for the reasons people would use for quoting him. His intent was to discourage argument over uncorroborated details in maps, not to discourage the study of Book of Mormon geography. Those people quoting him in at least the latter-half of the twentieth century would be taking his words out of the context in which they were given, especially with all the advancement in the sciences at their disposal.

(See the notation for 1887, 1938, 1908)

1890^ H. A. Stebbins "The Story of the Book of Mormon." *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Feb) (RLDS) pp. 75-80

[p. 76] . . . when Mormon was eleven years old his father and family removed from the north land (now known as either Mexico or Central America), into the south land, to Zarahemla.

[p. 77-78] . . . from the year three hundred and sixty-three, when the Nephites went south to carry out their designs, they suffered almost continual defeat . . . when the Lamanites came in greater force, and with fierce determination, the Nephites were swept before their resistless onslaught, were driven out of their populous communities in Central America and Mexico further to the north, where others of them had previously settled great provinces.

The Lamanites burned villages, towns and cities, putting their inhabitants to the sword; and they gradually drove the Nephites until their main body came to a region that by the historian was called a land of many rivers and great waters, the same country being now occupied by the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, western New York and western Pennsylvania. Especially was the valley of the Ohio, and about lakes Erie and Ontario settled by that people, according both to the Book of Mormon and the conclusions of scientific men. The Nephites called this region the Land of Cumorah, and here their army, driven by the Lamanites, arrived in the year three hundred and eighty-four, and here they made their last stand in battle. . . . [Mormon] came with his people to Cumorah, and . . . in a hill known by the same name he placed in hiding all the records except a few plates that he gave to his son Moroni . . .

1890^ W.C.C. "The Christ in America," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 3, No. 8 (August, 1890), (RLDS) pp. 345-350.

[p. 346] It is now almost a settled [scientific] fact that the Toltecs, the Chichimecs and the Aztecs all came from some land to the north-west of the city of Mexico. This fact has puzzled antiquarians more than any other problem relating to the ancient people of America. Scores of theories have been advanced with reference to their origin in view of this fact, and yet we appear to be as much in the dark as when they were first discovered by Cortez and his companions. For my own part, I think that they were descendants of those Hagothites who went north and were never heard of more, as recorded in Book of Mormon, page 378, verses 3 and 4. It seems to me altogether probable that they sailed along the shore until they entered the Gulf of California; thence up that gulf to its head, where of necessity they must come to a halt, and there founded a community, spreading out eventually over Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Northern Mexico, and that the extensive and curious ruins in that region of country that have puzzled so many travelers and archaeologists, were the works of their hands.

1890^ William H. Kelley *Presidency & Priesthood*, Lamoni, Iowa: RLDS Church, 2d edition 1908.

PREFACE

This book is a revision and enlargement of the article published some years ago under the title of "Presidency and Priesthood." Its revision and republication were authorized by an act of the General Conference. . . .

On page 253 we find the following:

The "Book of Mormon" asserts that a colony of people came from the tower of Babel, crossed the ocean, and settled in Central America. They were called Jaredites. This migration from the Old World took place upwards of two thousand years previous to the birth of the Saviour. From Central America they spread into North America, but they never inhabited South America.

A second colony, called Nephites (of whom the "Book of Mormon" is mainly an abridged history), left Jerusalem under divine guidance, in the days of "Zedekiah, king of Judah," about six hundred years before Christ, and *finally landed upon the west coast of South America, not far from the territory now known as Chili or Peru.* They were Jews, and possessed a knowledge of the "learning of the Jews, and the language of the Egyptians." . . .

. . . Still a third colony came out from Jerusalem at the time that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was carried away captive to Babylon, one of Zedekiah's sons, named Mulek, being among the number. *They also settled in the country now known as Eastern Central America.* . . .

. . . These two latter nations were finally united into one nation. One king reined over them, and they grew and spread into South, Central, and North America, from sea to sea, east and west. They reinhabited Central and North America, where the Jaredites, who came out from Babel twelve centuries before the Nephite colony [1800 B.C.???] arrived from Jerusalem, had dwelt, and became a great nation, the Jaredite colony now having become extinct.

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

Note* Check the 1890 edition!

1891[^] John H. Kelson **"Ancient Fortifications: A Testimony to the Truth of the Book of Mormon,"**
Deseret Weekly 43 (19 September 1891, 3 October 1891): pp. 385-86,
449-50.

In 1891, on page 449 of *The Deseret Weekly*, the "Official Organ of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints" published in Salt Lake City, Utah by The Deseret News Co. we find the following:

The Book of Mormon relates that under the direct command and guidance of the Almighty a small colony of the ancient inhabitants of eastern Asia emigrated to America about the time of the building of the Tower of Babel. After peopling a vast area of the American continent, extending through a period of seventeen hundred years, the people became exceedingly low and depraved . . . and resulted in the total destruction of the race. These exterminating wars carried off not less than fifteen million souls. These early inhabitants of America were named Jaredites, after the name of the founder of the colony. They lived principally in North America. The nations contemporary with them were the Babylonians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians. And whatever remains at the present day of the Jaredites must bear the marks of their primitive origin. But the relics of the Jaredites would not be likely to consist to any great extent of fortifications and walled cities, since their founders left the plains of Nimrod before the inhabitants of the early world had divided into separate and rival nations.

1891[^] George Reynolds *The Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, SLC: Jos. Hyrum Parry, 1891

The first serious attempt to work out the geography of the Book of Mormon was made by George Reynolds. His two publications, *A Dictionary of the Book of Mormon* (1891) and *The Story of the Book of Mormon*, outline his ideas as to where important Book of Mormon lands, rivers, cities and hills were located. Maps of the Americas which indicated these places were published and widely circulated. According to this theory, the most southern area mentioned in the record was near Valparaiso in Chili where the Lehi colony was supposed to have landed. The northern point was the Hill Cumorah in New York. Consequently the intermediate territory would be known and occupied by these people. Reynolds says the following:

Preface: The increasing interest taken in the study of the Book of Mormon and in the history of the peoples whose origin, progress and destruction it narrates, encourages the author of this little work to think that this addition to the literature of the subject will not be like one born out of due time, but will be received as an acceptable aid to the study of its sacred pages. To the members of the Theological Classes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whether of the quorums of the Priesthood, of the Sunday Schools, Church Schools or Improvement Associations, we particularly submit this book--the first of its kind--believing it will afford them material help in their investigations of Book of Mormon subjects, and their study of Nephite and Jaredite history; and we trust it will not be without value to every one who takes an interest in the races who rose, flourished and vanished in Ancient America. This Dictionary contains the name of every person and palace mentioned in the Book of Mormon, with a few other subjects of interest referred to therein.

With the hope that it may not be altogether unproductive of good, or of increasing true knowledge with regard to the handworkings of God in the history of the nations of the earth, this little volume is respectfully submitted to all who love the truth.-Geo Reynolds

Bountiful, Land of, (in Arabia). This must not be confounded with the Bountiful in the northern part of South America, where the Savior appeared and taught the Nephites. It was a portion of Arabia Felix, or Arabia the happy, so called in contradistinction to Arabia the stony, and Arabia the desert, on account of its abundant productiveness and great fertility. It was in this blessed region, on the shore of the Arabian sea, that *Nephi* built the ship that carried *Lehi's* colony to the promised land. to the sea itself they gave the name of Irreantum, which word means many waters.

Bountiful, Land of, The most northerly Nephite division of the South American Continent. It extended in the north to the Isthmus of Panama, where it was bounded by the land *Desolation*. Its other boundaries are indefinite, and undoubtedly varied greatly at different eras of Nephite history . . . (pp. 90-91)

Cumorah, Hill, One of the most noted places in ancient American history was the land in which was situated the hill known to the Jaredites as Ramah, and to the Nephites as Cumorah. In its vicinity two great races were exterminated; for it was there that the last battles were fought in the history of both people. There also the sacred records of the Nephites found their final resting place. When iniquity began to increase in their midst, *Ammaron* hid the holy things in the hill *Shim* (A.C. 321). About fifty-five years after (say in A.C. 376) *Mormon*, seeing that his people were fast melting away before the Lamanites, and fearing that the latter would get possession of the records and destroy them, removed all that had been placed in his care by Ammaron, and afterwards hid up in the hill Cumorah all that had been entrusted to him by the hands of the Lord, save the few plates which he gave to his son Moroni. *Moroni* afterwards concealed the treasures committed to his keeping in the same hill, where they remained until they were, by Heaven's permission, exhumed and translated by the Prophet Joseph Smith. This hill is situated about three or four miles from Palmyra, in the State of New York. (pp. 108-109)

Moron. The land where the Jaredites made their first settlements. It was north of the land called Desolation by the Nephites, and consequently in some part of the region which we know as Central America. It appears to have been for a lengthy period, if not during the whole of their existence, the seat of government, the residence of the reigning monarch, and the centre of Jaredite civilization. . . . (p. 245)

Nehor, Land of. The land to which Corihor first retired when he rebelled against his father Kib, who reigned in the land of *Moron* (Ether 7:4). We are of the opinion that it was not far distant from Moron,

and, if so, would be in or near Central America. (p. 267)

Sidon, River. The most important river in Nephite history; known to-day as the Magdalena. It runs northward through the United States of Colombia and empties into the Caribbean Sea. . . . (p. 339)

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

(See the notation for 1888)

1892^ Edward Stevenson "Historic Scenes Around Cumorah Hill," in *The Utah Monthly Magazine* 8 (April-May 1892): pp. 242-46, 289-91.

It affords us pleasure to present this month as a frontispiece, an illustration of the Hill Cumorah, which was made from a photograph taken by Apostle Franklin D. Richards. [see illustration below] This Hill is situated in the northwestern part of New York, about thirty miles south of Rochester. . . . only four miles from Palmyra station to the south, and on the Canandaigua turnpike.

There is a vast amount of valuable history pertaining to this Hill, which is far more picturesque than the hills which surround it. . . .

Fourteen hundred and seventy-two years ago stood on this historic Hill--on its highest point--one who was a great general, a leader of 10,000 brave soldiers, under King Coriantumr. He commanded 230,000 brave warriors who camped around this Hill. It must be remembered that the 230,000 mentioned were all men capable of bearing arms, with their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and the older ones, male and female, many of whom were feeble and fit subjects for the grave, rather than for the great and last struggle for freedom and liberty. There is no doubt but several years had been spent in gathering together this vast concourse of people who were camped around this historic Hill called Cumorah, by this the second nation who became extinct in battle on this ground. Taking into consideration those who are not enumerated with the 230,000, which no doubt increased the number four times at least, making a ground total of 920,000, of the people called Nephites. What a picture this would make, these 920,000, camped in order, each general with his 10,000, 230 separate camps of soldiers alone which it would require to accommodate the 230,000 soldiers! Just imagine yourself standing on the high peak viewing this sublime scene; then view the family camps, the aged, the youth and small children skipping playfully around the camp fires; again, look still further away, and behold a similar camp, the enemy, of equal and in all probability superior numbers, under the leadership of a wicked King, Shiz by name.

It is quite possible that there were encamped around this grand view, including both armies, between 2,500,000 and 3,000,000 people. Contrasting the changed view, I will refer you to the words of one who stood on this elevated point as previously referred to. It was one of the leaders of one of the 10,000 warriors. His name was Mormon, the father of Moroni, who became the custodian of the golden plates, which contain the only reliable history of the people who fell in this great and last battle, which terminated in the downfall and overthrow of this the third and last nation of America, leaving only the conquering foe--the American Indians--to occupy this most glorious land for 1072 years, until the discovery of those barbarous wild people with the ruins of a more cultivated people. . . .

While I was standing upon this same spot of ground, about three years ago, my mind contrasted the various changes of the present peaceful scene, and fancied I could review as did Momon [sic] the sad and gloomy picture of his time, 1072 years ago.

Again, a new reflection arose, wherein there may be in the future sad scenes of a similar nature, and of still another proud, vain and wicked nation, when they become fully ripe in iniquity. Two wicked nations have come to an end here and why not the third?

The people that fell around this historic Hill came from Jerusalem 600 year B.C. . . . The decrees of God were fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem and the nation who colonized South and Central America were saved. They left in their tracks northward many ruined cities, temples, towers, massive walls, and fortifications, which have been discovered by Catherwood and Stevens, as well as many other historians, and new discoveries are still being brought to light. But who is there that is able to reveal the history of those mound builders, excepting their own history?

Stevenson then quotes Moses, the patriarch Jacob and Nephi in regards to the idea that the tribe of Joseph would come to the American continent. He then continues in part 2:

That there has been an intelligent race of people who have once in a prehistoric time inhabited America, is very evident from the ruins so abundantly discovered. In the April number of the Magazine we proved by the word of God that Father Jacob's grandchildren, (Joseph's branches) should run over to the promised land, and their history has proven that they were Joseph's seed, or grandchildren of Jacob, and on the choice land of America. After 1,020 years had passed away, they became extinct in the last great struggle around the Hill called by them Cumorah.

We must understand that this was [not] the first nation destroyed on this land, for Adam began his work in the Garden of Eden, which was situated in the centre stake of Zion in Jackson County, Missouri. When Adam was driven from Eden's garden, he went northeastward seventy miles to Adam-ondi-Ahman Davis County, Missouri, where he built an altar and offered sacrifice unto the Lord. I stood on this altar with Joseph Smith in 1838, when the Prophet of God said that the Lord had revealed this unto him, pointing out the very altar. Two nations have thus fallen on the American continent, although the two continents were not divided until about 100 years after the flood, which took place in the days of Peleg. . . .

The third nation that fell around this beautiful and historic Hill called Ramah were Jaredites, who came from the great tower 2,000 years before Christ, when God confounded the languages and scattered them upon all the face of the earth. "The heavens and the earth may pass away, but my words shall not fail." In this case they did not, for by revelation and inspiration we find them on their journey at the great sea, which as they said divided the lands, where they remained four years and built eight ships in which they successfully crossed the great sea in 344 days, landing near the Gulf of California. . .

. . . after a severe battle, in which all were slain, excepting King Shiz, who had fallen faint and weak, and Coriantumr, who leaned upon his sword to rest, after which he smote off the head of Shiz and fell to the ground as if he were dead. Here the history leaves this, the only survivor of those two mighty armies, around this historic Hill Cumorah; . . .

At the final end of the Nephite nation, 420 years after Christ, God commanded Mormon to hide up the gold plates containing their history from the time they left Jerusalem up till that time, which was 1,024 years of time, and those records were [sic] placed in a stone box on the northwest point of the Hill Cumorah, with a promise that in the due time of the Lord they should be brought to light . . .

1892^ **Zenas H. Gurley** "**The Book of Mormon - No. 3,**" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 5, No. 9
(RLDS) (Sept), pp. 392-401

[p. 392] The book of Ether gives in brief the account of the first immigration to this Western continent **from the East** after the flood; and places in at the time that Babel was being builded, when God confounded their language, (see Gen. 18:6-9) about 1775 A.M.

These ancient inhabitants of this land were doubtless the *Mound Builders*, and they perished from the earth through wars.

1892 **abt. Hill Cumorah** "**In the Interest of Art,**" *The Deseret Evening News*, 29 September
1892, p. 2

Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer write:

In the early 1890's the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ commissioned several Utah artists to create paintings, including mural work, for the nearly completed Salt Lake Temple. Among those who were offered commissions was Alfred Lambourne . . . Lambourne eventually contributed two paintings for the Salt Lake Temple, "The Hill Cumorah" in New York and "Adam-ondi-Ahman" in Missouri.

Unlike C. C. A. Lambourne went to the sites he painted, returning from his epic trip to church history sites on 29 September 1892. The *Deseret Evening News* noted:

Mr. Alfred Lambourne, the well-known Utah artist, has just returned from an extensive trip. He visited New York, Bowton, Salem, Albany, Rochester, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago . . . But the

most interesting of all the palces we had an opportunity of viewing was the Hill Cumorah and Adam-ondi-ah-man. . . . Mr. Lambourne made elaborate sketches of each, and the result of his eastern trip will be productive of artistic results.

Lambourne visited President Wilford Woodruff in mid-November 1892 to show him the completed work. The aging church president noted: "I spent the day in the office. Met with Several Brethren. I had a view of the painting By Alfred Lambourne of the Hill Comorah [sic] which was a Beautiful painting.

[1892 **Illustration: Hill Cumorah, by Alfred Lambourne**, oil on canvas, 88.9 x 188 cm (35" x 74"), 1892. Instead of trying to show the hill as it actually existed. Lambourne's painting depicts the doctrinal and historical significance of the place. He noted that it was not to be "an ordinary commonplace everyday effect." Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 14.]

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 14.

1893^ Edward Stevenson *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893, pp. 10-15.
(*Cave Story*)

(See the notation for 1870-71 which details some interviews with David Whitmer concerning the Cave Story.)

It was likewise stated to me by David Whitmer in the year 1877 that Oliver Cowdery told him that the Prophet Joseph and himself had seen this room and that it was filled with treasures, and on the table therein were the breastplate and the sword of Laban, as well as the portion of gold plates not yet translated, and that these plates were bound by three small gold rings, and would also be translated, as was the first portion in the days of Joseph. When they were translated much useful information will be brought to light. But till that day arrives, no Rochester adventurers shall ever see them or the treasures, although science and mineral rods testify that they are there. At the proper time when greed, selfishness and corruption shall cease to reign in the hearts of the people, these vast hoards of hidden treasure shall be brought forth to be used for the cause of the kingdom of Christ.

Before leaving the prophet Mormon standing on the hill in his lamentation, let us still extend the vision over the great battlefield . . . Only for a moment imagine that we see the camp just before the great battle: twenty-three camps each of 10,000 with a general at their head, would be required for the 230,000 soldiers. While I was standing upon this spot of ground [the New York Hill Cumorah] about three years ago, my mind contrasted the various changes of the present with the past and I fancied that I could review, as did Mormon, the sad and gloomy picture of his time, 1472 years ago. The fathers of those who fell around this historic hill came from Jerusalem 600 years B.C.

[1893 **Illustration: Hill Cumorah, 1893**, based on a painting that was based on an 1880 photograph; looking south at north end. Published in Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet, and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Stevenson, 1893, p. 9. Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 13.]

Note* For a list of references relative to the Cave Story see Appendix A: Thematic Listings.

1893^ (Article) **"Mormon Leaders at Their Mecca,"** *New York Herald*, June 25, 1893, p. 12

The following appears on page 12 of the *New York Herald* in a June 25, 1893 article entitled "Mormon

Leaders at Their Mecca." The article begins with the following:

Palmyra. N. Y. June 24, 1893--Mormonism is coming to the front again in this State. Influential saints from Utah have recently made prolonged visits to this town, which they call the Mormon Mecca. Among them were the Rev. Brigham Young, Jr.; his brother, Seymour B. Young; Bishop Keezler, Judge Richards of Utah; Bishop Cannon's family and wives, among them Carroll Cannon and Caroline B. Cannon. The object of their pilgrimage was to inspect the holy site where the Mormon Bible was alleged to have been given to Joe Smith by an archangel. Overtures have been made through an adroit long headed Western real estate hustler for the purchase of Joe Smith's old homestead of Mormon Hill and the cave where the golden plates of the Bible were supposed to have been found.

[1893 **Illustration: Looking at the Holy Mount.** "Mormon Leaders at Their Mecca." *New York Herald*, Sunday, June 25, 1893, p. 12.]

1893^ Joel E. Ricks "America's Ancient Inhabitants," in *Millennial Star* 55, October 16, 1893, pp. 672-75, October, pp. 695-98, 711-14.

Joel Ricks reports on his explorations in Salt River Valley, Arizona. He notes their dwellings and temples made of cement, as well as their canal systems for irrigation. He then writes: "Who are they, and whence came they? These are questions asked by every visitor to the ruins regarding the people who built here. Up to the present no one has been able to answer the questions satisfactorily. A recent writer on the subject says: "The selection of the location of their homes seems to indicate that they were originally a maritime people, from either Asia or Africa, more probably the former, who, landing on the coast of Lower California when that peninsula was more closely connected with the mainland than at present, drifted north and eastward along the Colorado and Gila, until they overran and settled the irrigable land contiguous to each of these streams. . . . Whether this is the correct theory or not I would not venture to say, but from the fact that the old civilization appears to have reached its highest development in this valley . . . I incline to the opinion that this particular family came here by sea. They probably came up the Gulf of California and spread along the river courses. . . . "It seems to me that the Book of Mormon furnishes a parallel to what was apparently the history of this ancient people. It will be remembered that about fifty-five years before Christ a man named Hagoth built a large ship and launched it into the Pacific Ocean somewhere near Panama Bay. . . . Now we will not say that those ships coasted along the shore of Mexico and landed at the head of the Gulf of California, for we do not know, but it is certain that there is a striking similarity between the old Nephite country and this one. . . .

1893-4^ H. E. Baker "Ancient Arizona and the Book of Mormon," in *The Contributor*, vol. 15 (1893-94). Published by The Contributor Company, Salt Lake City, Utah. Printed by the Deseret News Publishing Company, 1894.

In this four-part article in *The Contributor*, a periodical "representing the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations of the Latter-day Saints," H. E. Baker examines the Zuni Indians of Arizona and shows why they could be descended from the Nephites who survived the final battles at Cumorah in New York. In the process of his archaeological and historical evidence, he says the following related to Book of Mormon geography:

[p. 44]I say does it not appear probable that they [the Zuni's] may have Nephite blood in their veins? To suppose it possible for them to have advanced from a more barbarous condition to their present state is to ignore the indisputable fact that no race of men ever moved towards a higher life without laying the broad foundation of their progress in the cultivation of the soil, to which end political tranquility is indispensable. And where these people have existed, I will not say lived, for hundreds of years, the soil has been so scanty that they have probably never been able to feed a population of more than a hundred thousand souls, and have never felt the progressive impulse of a guaranteed peace. They have never, so far as we can learn, affiliated with the Red Man, and they themselves deny ever having been associated in any way with him. . . . Their color, too, is lighter than that of the American Indian. The complexion of the Zuni woman is fully as light as that of the Chinese, while the man is but

a shade darker. . .

[Baker then gives a number of possible theories as to the origin of the Zunis,^{lxviii} casting some doubt on each one in turn. He then turns to cultural evidence shared with the Mound Builders and to a solution from the Book of Mormon]

[p. 91] But copper and silver were in use among the Mound Builders, by whom the great copper mines of Lake Superior were worked. Among them many copper tools have been found, such as axes, adzes, chisels, drills, gravers' tools, lance heads knives, bracelets, pendants, beads and plates with hieroglyphics and graven upon them. A specimen of the latter was found by Joseph Smith Jr., in the State of New York. The graver's tools are reported in one of the Ethnological Bureau reports to have been found elsewhere, the place not given.

Mormon lived at the close of the fourth century, and according to his statement made copper plates with his own hands and engraved upon them. It is also quite evident that Mormon lived in the Mississippi Valley prior to the great military operations which resulted in the destruction of his people. For he says that at the age of eleven years he was taken by his father to the land southward, "even to the land of Zarahemla," indicating a great distance. The flight of his army and people commenced at Zarahemla, in the northwestern part of South America, and ended in the State of New York; and, says Moroni, "they were driven from city to city, and from place to place." The army undoubtedly retreaded through the settled country (when circling the Gulf of Mexico), in order to recruit their forces and obtain provisions and utilize their cities. They could not have wandered into the wilderness from all base of supplies, since they had not only an army of two hundred and thirty thousand men, but all the Nephites women and children with them. They were north of the Gulf of Mexico, four years and land to have subsisted must have been in a settled country. Besides the very ancient ruins throughout that entire region are standing today as proof of this fact.

[p. 217] This much we know; these people of whom we now write are either the descendants of those who came from Babel about one hundred and twenty-five years after the flood, called Jaredites, a period so early that it precludes the possibility of any developed civilization occupying America between that event and the flood, or they are the posterity of those who left Jerusalem about one thousand and seven hundred and forty years after the flood, and landed at the thirtieth parallel of south latitude on the western coast of South America.

[p. 218] It will be remembered that Mormon gives an account of the building of several large vessels which left the Land Bountiful near the borders of the Land Desolation in the thirty seventh and thirty-eight years of the reign of the Judges (56 B.C.), and sailed up the West Sea (Pacific Ocean). The first one of these ships took a large company of men, women and children to the "Land Northward," and returned the following year for a second load, which was never heard of afterwards, and Mormon supposes "that they were drowned up in the depths of the sea." Also he states that "one other ship did sail forth and whither she did go we know not." Here, then, were two large shiploads of people completely lost to the Nephites. Though they had occupied the Land Northward ever since that event, and up to the time Mormon writes, a period of four hundred and fifty years, yet they never heard of this people afterwards. It might have been that they passed beyond the settlement made by the first shipload on the Mexican coast, and entered the Gulf of California, and that these people spring from them. The theory, however, is not well sustained and we are inclined to discredit it. . . .

[p. 219] Not a few of the islands of the Pacific waters have been inhabited from early periods, and a number of them contain the crumbled and mouldering ruins of very remote but advanced civilizations. The Sandwich Islands are now the habitation of a dark-skinned people who are physically and mentally a superior race, and who are freely imbibing the principles of the Gospel, far more so than the American Indian, which fact lends emphasis to the probability that they are of Nephite and not Lamantie blood, and the great antiquity of their splendid ruins would indicate that the time of the departure of these ships may have been when their civilization begun. The ruins of a magnificent temple on the Island of Hawaii built, no doubt, in the early period of its settlement would indicate that for a time they enjoyed the Nephite religion, of which temple building was a characteristic.

Had the ships to which reference has been made become disabled and been forced to surrender to the powers of the deep, the oceanic currents and trade winds, they would have floated west on the broad bosom of the great calm sea, because the north-east and south-east trade winds meeting about the latitude at which they sailed forth, make their resultant course to the west, while the North Pacific current sweeps down the western coast of North America and, on the coast of Mexico, makes an abrupt turn to the west.

By these currents the ships may have floated west, and landed upon one or more of the islands which lie in their course; upon the Marshall Islands, or Gilbert Islands, or the Carolinas, or Ladrone Islands, or the east coast of Formosa, or the Sandwich Islands.

[p. 317] They dwelt in South America, and in course of time became a numerous and powerful people. Near the close of the fourth century, they began a desperate warfare against the Nephite nation, whose capital was at Zarahemla. At that time the Nephite dominion extended from the Land of Zarahemla, now Venezuela and the eastern portion of Colombia, northwest through the Central American states and Mexico, through Texas, and up the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and far into the east towards the Atlantic. They had followed up the fertile regions of the continent, and though their numbers were very great, they were altogether too scattered to wage successful warfare against the countless hordes that came up against their capital from the south.

Mormon, though a boy, was put in command of the Nephite forces. He led them to many victories and still more defeats through several years of a most bloody warfare. Little by little the Nephites were forced to evacuate their cities and towns. Zarahemla, the ancient and renowned city of their fathers and for centuries the seat of their government, was forced to capitulate. Repulsed upon every hand the entire populace retreated with the army of Mormon through the Isthmus of Panama and the Central American States. Cities were left desolate as the army fled through them. . . .

[p. 318] Mormon's retreating army, of course, followed the settled country around the Gulf and up the Mississippi. This it did to obtain recruits from the northern settlements, and to keep within its base of supplies, that provision might be obtained for its men as well as for the vast number of women and children who accompanied it.

The Lamanite king pushed his victorious army rapidly to the north, sweeping every vestige of Nephite glory before him. At this point, I reflected much upon the probabilities of a deflection of a small company of Nephites to the north-west as the army rounded the Gulf of Mexico. . . .

[H. E. Baker now takes time to refer to the legend of "Indian fort" near the Ohio River and relates it to the "Nephite" Zuni's]

In the time of the early settlers the native Indians had a tradition of a great battle having been fought at this place years previous to their own time, in which an entire race was exterminated. The legend is: the exterminated race, who were called "worshippers of the sun," had been gradually driven southward from the far north, by the Indians. Before reaching the "Great River" (the Ohio), they separated into two divisions, one going to the southwest, the other going directly south. What became of the first part is not told in the legend. After innumerable battles the fleeing race made a final stand at "Indian Fort," and after a siege of many months, during which time the besieged subsisted on provisions previously gathered, they were conquered, and every man, woman and child was killed. The legend says these people came from the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and the few bronze implements discovered seem to give some truth to that part of the story. . . .

[p. 319] Here is a very revelation. Not thoroughly authenticated as yet, but brought within the strongest probability by a most remarkable and unexpected concurrence with the Book of Mormon. Moroni declares that at the great Nephite Waterloo in the State of New York, his people were all put to the sword save a few who fled to the south. And of them he has this to say: "And now it came to pass that after the great and tremendous battle at Cumorah, behold the Nephites who had escaped into the country southward, were hunted by the Lamanites, until they were all destroyed." Moroni lived many years after the great battle, during which time it is probable he received this report from the south. . . . It appears, according to this most timely and valuable tradition, that those who fled southward divided into two parties, one going directly south, and the other to the southwest. This fact Moroni had evidently not

heard of. His informants knew only that a party which had fled to the south, had been overtaken and put to death, men, women and children, leaving absolutely none; and supposing that of course, it was the entire party, he made a record of the event. . . . The division that went to the southwest, fortunately, must have escaped pursuit, since the Lamanites supposed, according to their report to Moroni, that they had destroyed them all.

[Baker now returns to his narrative talking about the supposed band of Nephites that went southwest after the final battles]

[p. 320] After countless long and weary marches, during which the women and children must have suffered the agonies of hunger and thirst, and left their crimson trails upon the cruel rock from sore and bleeding little feet, they halted in the "valleys of the mountains," among the same hoary "Rockies" that greeted the Mormons of later times. . . . those heroic women and children who had with weary foot traversed not only the inhospitable deserts, as far east as Nauvoo, but beyond, even to the State of New York, and thence from the far distant land of Mexico and some doubtless even from the remote land of Zarahemla. Oh, what a journey! Can a woman or a child walk ten thousand miles, more than half of which is a trackless wilderness? Such was the length of that journey. Compared with this the afflictions of our own pioneers are scarcely to be mentioned.

[p. 322] The Zuni today, and for eight hundred years, have been an object of the bitterest hatred to all the surrounding Lamanites and they have maintained the strictest and most complete marital separation. There are now among them four or five Zuni as white as the fairest blond on the continent, with flaxen hair, and some of them light eyes. Their parents are as dark as the other Zuni, and in turn their children also are dark. What is the meaning of this phenomenon manifested as it is among the Pueblo tribes only? Is it not a cropping out of the white blood of their Nephite ancestry in obedience to the law of nature . . .

[p. 323] The statement is made by trustworthy brethren of Arizona, that President Woodruff when at Sunset, Arizona, in the winter of 1880 and 1881, said: "If there is any pure Nephite blood left upon earth, I believe the Zuni and Islata Indians are that people." Also it is credibly reported that President Young, when down on the Muddy many years ago, made the statement that the Piutes were descendants of the Gadianton robbers, and in the winter of 1875 and 1876, at a council meeting in the Tabernacle at St. George, said the Moqui Indians were of the Nephite blood. The Moqui and Islatas are Pueblo tribes closely related to and domiciled near the Zuni. . . .

Note* In 2001, John Heinerman would note the following on the above article:
Near the close of the fourth century, the Nephite dominion extended from the Land of Zarahemla, now Venezuela and the eastern portion of Colombia, northwest through the Central American states of Mexico, through Texas, and up the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and far into the east toward the Atlantic.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 82

1894^	R. Etzenhouser (RLDS)	"Fort Hill and Serpent Mound," in <i>Autumn Leaves</i>, Vol. 7, No. 12 (December, 1894) pp. 549-551.
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In this article he discusses and describes Fort Hill and the Serpent Mound attributed to the Mound builders. The first is located in Highland, Ohio, and the second in Adams county, Ohio. On page 550 he writes:

My personal conclusions as I viewed it were that whither occupied in Jaredite or Nephite times, it was the scene of some of the terrible conflicts told of in the Book of Mormon. Old Soldiers have said it would contain an army of 100,000.

1894^ Henry A. Stebbins Book of Mormon Lectures, Independence, MO: Ensign House, 1901.

These Book of Mormon Lectures were delivered on nine successive evenings during February, 1894. They would be revised, corrected and published in 1901 (see the notation). They support a Hemispheric model for Book of Mormon geography.

1894 **RLDS Committee on American Archaeology formed to prepare Book of Mormon map**

Glenn A. Scott^{lxix} writes the following:

At the RLDS General Conference of 1894, a Committee on Archaeology was appointed to outline and prepare a map of Book of Mormon history. It included such distinguished members as W. H. Kelley, F. M. Sheehy, S. A. Burgess, R. Etzenhauser, Louis Sheldon, and William Woodhead.

1895^ H. B. Root "A Review-No. 2- Did the Phoenicians Discover America?" in
Autumn
(RLDS) Leaves, Vol. 8, No. 6 (June) pp. 262-265.

Mr. Johnston refers to Votan, and from the description given in the Encyclopedia Britannica compared with the Jaredite account, with the foregoing discussion in view, there is something curious about it. I am aware that some of our wise men who have made this a study hold the opinion that Votan's time was not earlier than 200 B.C., and that he was King Mosiah. As I do not know from what they draw such conclusions, I can form no idea where such a discrepancy in dates could arise. According to the Encyclopedia Britannica, article America, Votan's advent was about 995 B.C., "although dates are uncertain." This would coincide with the time Solomon sent his ships of Tarshish to Ophir. Turning to the Jaredite account, Book of Mormon, page 521, we find that a king loses his kingdom, but no name is mentioned. With every other change in administration, the king's name is given. We here learn this: "Behold, the kingdom was taken away from him." Through five generations the royal house is in captivity, no cause is given why Hiram lost his kingdom, nor who the preferred one was. Why this silence in the records unless some one of higher intellect had accomplished a peaceful revolution? Being "an outsider," his name is not given, because no genealogy was known. There is no means of learning what date this break in the Jaredite line takes place, but judging from the number of kings following, the time was nearly identical with Solomon's reign in Jerusalem.

Note* Mrs. M. Walker begins to edit the periodical.

1895^ O[liver] B. Huntington "Adam's Altar and Tower," Juvenile Instructor 30 (15 November 1895), pp. 700-701.

In response to Stevenson's account in the *Deseret News* and a subsequent letter to the editor by Benjamin F. Johnson, dated November 5, 1895, affirming what Stevenson had written, Oliver B. Huntington wrote a detailed account for the *Juvenile Instructor* of his experiences as a boy at Adam-ondi-Ahman. In this account he makes reference to a "wall" or foundation of the "altar." Huntington writes:

I read a letter in the *News* of November 12th, 1895, from B. F. Johnson of Mesa City, Arizona, and am pleased with his statement of facts as related in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Bible. Adam's Altar, which was mentioned, I have visited many times. I sat upon the wall of stone and

reflected upon the scenes that had taken place thousands of years ago right where I was. There were the rocks that Father Adam used. I looked for marks of tools upon the rocks, but found none, not knowing then the command of God that there should be no mark of tool upon the rocks of an altar upon which sacrifices were to be offered to Him.

The wall of rock that was in sight and rising above the ground about thirteen inches, was laid as accurately as any wall nowadays, and was five or six feet long. One end showed the corner and end wall enough to prove that it ran back into the hill; the other end of the wall was covered with earth, and I do not know that the visible end was the real end. Dirt had naturally washed and worn down so as to cover the body of the altar.

One day while sitting on the wall and devoutly thinking of the use that had been made of that place, I got a naturally-sharpened stick and dug into the earth that covered the altar and found charcoal quite plentiful. . . .

Perhaps those coals, I thought, were from wood burned by Father Adam, and perhaps that altar had been used by men of God hundreds and thousands of years after him.

I felt sure, however, that the rocks were the identical rocks that he placed there, for Joseph said, "That altar was built by our Father Adam and there he offered sacrifice."

The man who showed me the altar was with Joseph when he discovered it. He said that within a rod or two of the place Joseph stepped quickly ahead of the little company of men who were with him, and, standing upon the altar, told them what use had been made of that spot and who built it.

The rocks that were visible showed indisputable signs of having been burned with fire. I have hunted for rocks around there of that kind, but found none. There were plenty of other kinds not far distant.

After Joseph the Seer had stood upon that memorable spot and told his brethren many things that had taken place there and in the valley just below, while Adam dwelt in that locality, they traveled on up into the prairie beyond. About a half a mile or between a quarter and a half of a mile, just in the edge of a grove of timber, they came to a little elevated spot of earth, like a knoll or slight hill, the earth of which was thickly dotted with cobble stones.

"Here," the Prophet and Seer said, "Adam built a tower, from the top of which he could see all the surrounding country, and this knoll is formed of its remains."

I want my friends, and in fact all people, to understand that Joseph Smith could see events that transpired and people who lived hundreds or thousands of years ago as if they were then before his eyes.

My father's house stood about two hundred and fifty yards from that altar, on the bottom land of Grand River, in the valley of Adam-on-Diahman [sic]

When Alanson Ripley surveyed a part of the farming land around the settlement, I was flagman, and the spot of ground designated as the place of Adam's Tower came within that survey.

Our late president A. O. Smoot was flagman when Brother Ripley surveyed the town plat.

In connection with the historical part of the Bible, stating that the altar was about one hundred miles from the Garden of Eden, from which Adam was driven, I recollect that it is eastwardly from the Garden, and also that after the Lord had made Adam He planted a garden eastwardly in Eden, where He placed Adam and gave him directions how to manage affairs.

It appears that their emigration was all from the west to the east, and, according to the words of the Prophet Joseph, mankind in that age continued to emigrate eastwardly until they reached the country on or near the Atlantic coast; and that in or near Carolina Noah built his remarkable ship, in which he, his family, and all kinds of animals lived a few days over one year without coming out of it.

Where was that place from which the Lord went east to make that very nice garden? He no doubt took Adam to a better country than they occupied at first, and who knows but they were on some of these western deserts, or in these mountains?

The travels of this Church have been from the very beginning the reverse direction from the "course of empire" both of the Jaredites and Nephites while marching to their last struggle.

According to the bible and the words of Joseph Smith, we have emigrated in exactly a reverse course also from the first people on the earth. What direction will we travel next if we ever emigrate?

O. B. Huntington.

[Note* See the 1881 Diary of Charles L. Walker notation. It details Moroni's journey to Cumorah which was the reverse of the Church migrations from Cumorah to Utah.]

[Note* See the Appendix on Zion, the Garden of Eden, the New Jerusalem, Adam-ondi-Ahman . . .]

1896[^] Franklin D. Richards "Origin of American Aborigines," in Contributor 17 (May 1896): 425-28. Also in Millennial Star 58 (22 October 1896): 683-87. Also published as "Origin of the American Aborigines," in Liahona 14/20 (1916-1917): 305-8; and "Ephraim and Manasseh In America," in The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine 23 (April 1932): 66-71.

Among the latter colonists was Mulek, a son of Zedekiah, who escaped the massacre and, being of royal blood, the country where the newcomers landed was named after him. This was in the southern part of North America. Their descendants were discovered by Mosiah and his people when they fled from the land of Nephi and settled in Zarahemla. The whole of North America was afterwards called Mulek by the Nephites, and South America was called Lehi. Particulars will be found in Omni 1:15-22; Helaman 6:10; and 2 Kings 25:1-7. . . . F. D. Richards, Historian

1898[^] (RLDS) "**Study Course: Landing and First Settlements of the Nephites**," in ***Autumn Leaves***, Vol. 11, No. 7 (July), pp. 310-317.

Map Chat

[p. 316] In this issue the Book of Mormon and archaeology course begins.

Now a very important feature we want to call your attention to is the maps: they are essential to the interest and success of the study.

Every society should have a large map on the wall where all can see it, and while the small maps are consulted in the home preparation, the large map is necessary in the meetings.

It would be better to have two maps: One, the committee's map, the other, an ordinary map. In the "map talks," we think it would be better to use the ordinary map: study the committee map in preparing, but in the "talk," show where the places mentioned would be located on the common maps.

The large Book of Mormon maps are to be had of G. F. Weston, Box 553, Buchanan, Berrien County, Michigan. The price is \$2.50, express to be paid by receiver.

As many as can, should possess the Archaeological Committee's Report. It contains maps covering the entire course of Book of Mormon history, and is a most helpful, excellent little work. It would be found of the greatest advantage to the members in preparing the lessons, and is so convenient for reference in the class. The price is fifty cents, and that sum is not so great but that a few could have the book if its worth is appreciated as it should be. . . .

[1898] **Map: Map of the World Showing Probable Course of the Ancient Colonies across the Ocean.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston. Buchanan, Mich. "Study Course: Landing and First Settlements of the Nephites," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 11, No. 7 (July 1898), p. 313.]

[1898] **Map: Map of the Southern Portion of Land Nephi.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston. Buchanan, Mich. "Study Course: Landing and First Settlements of the Nephites," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 11, No. 7 (July 1898), p. 314.]

[1898] **Map: Map of the Land Zarahemla and Northern Portion of Nephi.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston. Buchanan, Mich. "Study Course: Landing and First Settlements of the Nephites," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 11, No. 7 (July 1898), p. 315.]

1898[^] "**National History at Zarahemla**" in ***Autumn Leaves***, Vol. 11, No. 10 (Oct),

A map is included with the outline of the lesson discussion about the book of Alma.

[1898 **Map: Map of the Northern Portion of the Lands of the Nephites.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan Mich. "National History at Zarahemla" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 11, No. 10 (Oct, 1898), p. 460.]

1898^ "???" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 11, No. 12 (Dec), pp. 554-558

(RLDS)

[p. 555] *Notes on the Lesson:* [Quoted from the Archaeological Committee's Report, pp. 65, 66]

"The success of the Nephite arms was the hope of the country. All over the land, all who did not gather with the army and were sheltered by it were destroyed. Mormon knowing that the last great struggle of his people was at hand, desired to gather them in from all parts of the land. They were scattered over Northern Mexico and the United States, so Mormon wrote to the king of the Lamanites and asked permission to gather his people "unto the land of Cumorah."

"We conjecture that the reason that Cumorah, or northern New York, was selected to make the final stand in order to defend themselves against their enemies, was because it was central from the territory known as the New England States, the Western States, and those lying to the south along the Atlantic coast, etc. The population north of the lakes, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and further west, could move along north of the lakes east to the south of Ontario, without being required to cross by water. Cumorah was also a rich productive country, well watered and capable of supporting a large population of people, and they being four years in arranging for the final conflict, it would be necessary to enter a land capable of supporting flocks and herds of various kinds, as well as human life. It doubtless possessed some strategic advantages also. The people who lived in Northern Mexico, California, etc., most likely joined the Nephites while they were in Central America and Mexico, or were slain by the Lamanites or robbers, or went over to the Lamanites. Those in Iowa, northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, etc., could have moved eastward through Canada without interruption, and reached their brethren at Cumorah and thus await the end."

On page 557 we find the following:

"Map talk (10 minutes): Trace the course of events from the time Mormon is appointed to command the Nephite armies till the time he refuses to act any longer; show the direction in which the Nephites were driven, and where the battles mentioned were fought."

"Map talk (five minutes) Where we believe the hill Cumorah was and why."

1898^ RLDS *A Report of the Committee on American Archaeology*, 1898

Glenn A. Scott writes:

After much time and labor, members of the RLDS Committee on Archaeology reached conclusions which they considered to be substantially correct. From these conclusions, G. F. Weston of Buchanan, Michigan prepared six maps of Book of Mormon lands for the committee. *A Report of the Committee on American Archaeology* which included the maps was published in 1898 with a second printing in 1902, and revised and published again in 1910. Although the church never officially endorsed the maps, the proposed geographical locations of Book of Mormon cities and lands on the maps made a lasting impression which has been difficult to correct.

Unfortunately, the committee made the easy assumption that the Isthmus of Panama was the "narrow neck of land" so frequently referred to throughout the Book of Mormon. This critical decision inevitably led to the conclusion that Lehi and his colony had to have landed in South America, because the book's narrative makes it very clear that the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla were south of the "narrow neck." This assumption was widely accepted, perhaps in part because of the legends and ruins of the Inca and pre-Inca people in South America.

The committee equated the City of Nephi with Cuzco, Peru, and another city, identified as the city of

Lehi-nephi, is shown as a separate entity more than 500 miles northwest of the City of Nephi.

Source: ^Glenn A. Scott, "Locating the Land and City of Nephi," in *The Witness*, Winter 1991, no. 75, pp. 6-7.

The 1898 report by the RLDS Committee on American Archaeology represented the most extensive efforts by any LDS group to date to correlate published scholarly ideas with the Book of Mormon story. It also represented the most scholarly approach ever attempted to support a North America-South America setting for Book of Mormon geography. A number of maps by George F. Weston were included. The maps reflect a Hemispheric perspective. However, there is one map in particular worthy of note. It illustrates the Mulekite journey paralleling that of Lehi through Arabia, and then crossing the Pacific to land in Central America. Interestingly, this represents the only example to date of the Mulekites taking this route.

Some of a multitude of excerpts which I have found pertinent are the following:

Publishers' Preface

At the General conference of the Reorganized church held at Lamoni, Iowa, April 6-19, 1894, a "Committee on American Archaeology" was appointed to outline and prepare a map of Book of Mormon history--the record of the ancient inhabitants of North and South America.

For a number of years those especially interested in the subject of ancient American history and archaeology have been urging the preparation of a work of this kind. It is now given to the public, after much time and labor upon the part of the members of the committee, who have devoted themselves untiringly to the work of research and criticism assigned them. This labor has been rendered the more arduous because involving consideration of various theories held concerning locations of civilizations, land, boundaries, rivers, etc., with other problems connected with the settlement, migration, and general vicissitudes of the various nations mentioned; and has required close and diligent study. In the examination of the evidences adduced from archaeology and other lines of evidence those comprising the committee reached conclusions which they consider to be substantially correct, in the leading points involved.

The work is so arranged that its general plan will readily be comprehended by the reader. The maps are reproduced from the large maps prepared at direction of the committee by George F. Weston, of Buchanan, Michigan.

Part 1 outlines the history of the Nephites. Part 2 is a synopsis of Jaredite history, which is followed by a summary of the conclusions reached, with statement of evidences upon which said conclusions are based. Part 3 is an addenda. It includes a list of early authors on American antiquities, including opinions concerning the origin of the ancient Americans; also a list of authors quoted; the whole systematically indexed for ready reference.

The report is presented with the conviction that it will prove materially helpful to every student of Book of Mormon history and American archaeology.

Lamoni, Iowa, February 1, 1898.

Part 1. The Nephites

[Map #2-----The route of Lehi from Arabia to Chile]

[p. 14] The Rand, McNally Company's Index Atlas of the World, giving the "natural resources" of Chile in the region where it is affirmed that the Nephite colony landed, says:

From Coquimbo [ko-kem-bo] southward to beyond Concepcion, the moist winds blow from the Pacific, clothing the mountains with verdure. The short rivers which run into the sea, are utilized for irrigating purposes, so that a great variety of products are raised besides the provender for cattle. . . .

[p. 15] Where the Nephites landed in the "choice land," they made a settlement, which they called their "first inheritance." How far from the sea this settlement was is not known. Most likely it was no great distance from the seashore. **[see map]** Anyway, they did not tarry there long. It was not the most desirable part of the country. . . .

[p. 16] Acting upon the natural promptings of men to explore, find out, and better their condition, the little colony doubtless pushed out from their first settlement, and made others farther on in the interior, as desirable places were discovered and their increasing numbers demanded. Just how many moves they made, and how far they traveled before the death of Lehi, and the colony became permanently divided, there is nothing to show; but it was while they "journeyed in the wilderness" that they made the discovery of the large variety of animals, of which mention is made, and the peculiar wording, "As we journeyed in the wilderness," would strongly indicate that it was a considerable distance, and that they "journeyed" in a body, largely so at least. Their movement no doubt was first from west to east, or northeast and north, as that was where the most accessible and desirable country lay, fruitful in production, rich in minerals, and the forest filled with game. . . .

. . . the contention were intensified, insomuch that Nephi, the real leader, was threatened with death . . . Under divine guidance Nephi left the main body, taking with him his family . . . "And after we had journeyed for the space of many days, we did pitch our tents." "And my people would that we should call the name of the place Nephi; wherefore, we did call it Nephi." ()

Now just how far the colony was from its original settlement at the time of the division, and Nephi and friends took their exit into the wilderness, is not known; neither is the distance known from where Lehi died, and the colony was divided, to the city of Nephi. From the first settlement to the place of division was probably two or three hundred miles. From the place of division to Nephi was doubtless a great distance, not out of range of reasonable probability to say it was from eight hundred to one thousand miles. . . .

From these considerations it will be seen that the distance stated above is not extraordinary. His course lay along the Andes Mountains to the northeast, north, and northwest. There was no other way open for him to go any great distanced and enter a preferred and inviting country. To the south were low, flat lands, difficult to penetrate; to the east and northeast were wet lands and thick forests, until the great wilderness was reached, where no one might enter. The elevated mountainous country, although said to be a wilderness, was an open upland prairie country with grass and scattering trees, and not difficult of access, with . . .

[21-22] The little colony of believer were now established at Nephi (Cuzco) in Peru. . . . The Nephites began to occupy the land radiating out from the chief city, Nephi, into the most desirable parts of the country; no doubt following along the Andes Mountains, and settling in the territory now known as Peru and a portion of Ecuador. This was the only course they could in reason take--their enemies were to the south. The country to the east was difficult to enter, and largely undesirable, if not impossible of settlement; and east of north and northeast lay the great wilderness, also impossible of settlement. The country along the Andes elevation was most desirable, accessible and unsurpassed in climate, natural wealth, and fruitfulness.

[Map-----From the Land of First Inheritance to the Place of Separation to the City of Nephi]

[p. 26] During the conflicts which were of long continuation (see Omni), the Nephites, who were the weaker body, had probably been driven by the Lamanites from the old city of Nephi (Cuzco) into northern Peru; and it was from this place that they took their departure under Mosiah, into the wilderness, to go to the land of Zarahemla. . . .

Here they found a new people, whose fathers left Jerusalem at the time of the captivity, in the days of Zedekiah, and landed in Central America, and came down to where Mosiah found them--Zarahemla. ()
[see Map #2]. . .

[Map-----The route of the People of Zarahemla across the Pacific Ocean and then to Zarahemla]

[p. 27] The Lamanites now held undisputed control of Peru, and part of Ecuador, where the Nephites had dwelt for nearly three centuries, and also Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and the habitable parts of Brazil. . . .

Zarahemla, the capital city, was situated on the west side of the Magdalena River, and as we conclude, between the modern towns of Neva and Honda, state of Colombia, in the northern part of South America (**see map**) and three thousand miles distant from the first Nephite settlement, and over one thousand miles, on a direct line, from the city of Nephi (Cuzco),

[Map-----The Location of Zarahemla]

with but a division line, "a narrow strip of wilderness," **[see map below]** which was agreed upon as a boundary line of the two countries between them; the Lamanites taking the older, lying to the south. This boundary line ran from the Pacific Ocean, beginning at or near Cape San Francisco, passing to the east, and following the cordillera oriental branch of the Andes through the states of Columbia and West Venezuela, to the Atlantic Ocean, near Puerto Cabello. It was known as an east and west line, but was really more of a northeast and southwest line. This long remained the line of demarkation between the Nephites and the Lamanites. ()

[Map-----The Narrow Strip of Wilderness]

[p. 29] It has been most difficult to locate the land of Lehi-Nephi, for the reason that in the history it is so soon abridged and called Nephi, hence has been confounded with the old city of Nephi (Cuzco). But the ancient Nephi was never called Lehi-Nephi, but Nephi. In the judgment of the committee, there is no good reason that these cities or lands should be considered as identical. We are distinctly told that after Nephi; and his brethren had traveled "many days" in the wilderness, on being separated from their enemies, that they pitched their tents, and the people were desirous that the place be called Nephi, and it was called Nephi, not Lehi-Nephi. This is, as we think, Cuzco. Let us look elsewhere, then, for Lehi-Nephi and the land of Shilom. . . .

[p. 30] . . . Now Zeniff left Zarahemla (**see map**), and "after many days' wandering in the wilderness," they pitched their tents "near to the land of our fathers." They had to travel something like five hundred miles to the south, in order to enter the borders of the land where their fathers lived precious to their going to Zarahemla under Mosiah (northern Peru), through a dense wilderness, without a known path to guide them. Now it is unreasonable to conclude that they continued still further along in the wilderness, to avoid the Lamanites, seven hundred miles further, in order to reach Nephi (Cuzco), when they knew that after once entering Lamanite territory, if received peaceably, there were highways that would enable them to reach any desirable point without so much effort. They evidently halted when the subdivision or province of Lamanites territory, known as Lehi-Nephi, was reached (for this was the place where Mosiah went from); and while yet camped in the borders of the land, put themselves in communication with the king of the Lamanites, in order to ascertain if they could go in and possess the land in peace. . . .

[Map-----Zeniff returns to Lehi-Nephi]

[p. 31] After this Mosiah the second had reigned in peace for three years, "he was desirous to know concerning . . . the city of Lehi-Nephi

[p. 32] Now it is impossible that these men could have traveled all the way from Zarahemla to Nephi (Cuzco), in forty days, without a road to guide them, wandering about in the wilderness in order to search out the way. The distance on a straight line was at least twelve hundred miles; and it would again be impossible that they could go so direct, but by curves, angles, and turns; over bluffs, valleys, hills, along river beds, without a public way. They would have had to make thirty miles a day, in a wilderness so dense that it had not yet invited settlement. They did not go to Nephi (Cuzco) then, but to Lehi-Nephi, the place they started for, and where they found Limhi, a descendant of Zeniff, reigning as king. Where was it? . . .

[p. 35] Several things are gained by citing [the history of Alma's escape]. First, Lehi-Nephi must have been a border city, adjacent to the wilderness. Second, Mormon was in the borders of Lehi-Nephi also adjacent to the wilderness. Helam was eight days from Mormon. Amulon could not have been very far from Helam, or Mormon, or Lehi-Nephi. The valley of Alma was one day from Helam. The distance from Lehi-Nephi to Mormon is not given. Probably one hundred and twenty miles would cover the distance. From Mormon to Helam was eight days. From Helam to the valley of Alma one day; from the valley of Alma "to the land of Zarahemla" twelve days; twenty-one days in all. Now, allowing that they traveled in this wilderness country on an average of twenty miles a day, which would be a large average to allow, they would have traveled four hundred and twenty miles from Mormon. Allowing that

it was one hundred and twenty miles from Lehi-Nephi to Mormon, we have four hundred and twenty plus one hundred and twenty, which equals five hundred and forty miles from Lehi-Nephi to Zarahemla, or the "land of Zarahemla."

- [p. 36] Whether this means the border line or Zarahemla City, is not given; but it would seem most reasonable that it was in the *borders* of the land, where they halted and put themselves in communication with the authorities. This was the manner by which Ammon and party entered the territory of Zarahemla. () Taking the distance from the border land of Zarahemla, five hundred and forty miles south, along what must have been the border settlements, we arrive at the Chachapoyas country, and fix Lehi-Nephi and the land Shilom at Quelap [see map]. There are old ruins there, too, which support this view.

[Map-----Alma's escape traced backwards from the border of the land of Zarahemla = the location of Lehi-Nephi]

[p. 40]

[Concerning the mission of the Sons of Mosiah to the Lamanites]

Placing Lehi-nephi at or in the region of Quelap (Chachapoyas section), and Mormon would border to about the line dividing Peru and Ecuador (**see map**); and Jerusalem bordering on that would not be far from Ayaraca.

Across the middle cordillera to the southwest was Ani-anti, and beyond the western range, following the same course, lay Middoni, in the Grand Chimu country, at Trijulolo, Ishmael being at old Huanuco (**see map**), Helam at Mocas, or Moca, and Amulon at Riobamba.

[Map-----Locations mentioned in the mission of the sons of Mosiah]

- [p. 41] Aaron's preaching converted the "over all the land" king. The king's household was converted (), after which the following proclamation was issued, which gives a general description of all the lands occupied by both Lamanites and Nephites. These general boundary lines can be traced with a greater degree of certainty than could be obtained relating to the subject-matter just one over. The proclamation is as follows [**see map below**]: "And it came to pass that the king sent a proclamation throughout all the land, amongst all his people who were in all his land, who were in all the regions round about, which was bordering even to the sea, on the east [the Atlantic Ocean, and they occupied southeast Brazil, Uruguay, Argentine Republic, Paraguay, Bolivia, Guiana, and Venezuela], and on the west [the Pacific Ocean; they occupying Chili, Peru, and Ecuador], and which was divided from the land of Zarahemla [now known as Colombia and northwest Venezuela] by a narrow strip of wilderness, which ran from the sea east, even to the sea west [from the coast of the Caribbean Sea, near Puerto Cabello, and extending in a westerly direction along the eastern cordillera of the Andes to the Pacific Ocean, about Cape San Francisco], and round about on the borders of the seashore [to the north of the equator, along the Pacific coast], and the borders of the wilderness which was on the north, by the land of Zarahemla [this wilderness was in the states of Antioquia and Bolivar, Colombia, and extended to the Isthmus of Panama], through the borders of Manti, by the head of the river Sidon [Sidon was the Magdalena River, or what was called by the Spaniards Santa martha], running from the east towards the west; and thus were the Lamanites and Nephites divided." ()
- [p. 42] This division line did not run due east and west, but it was "from the east towards the west." The real course of this line was from northeast to southwest, the Nephites scarcely ever used the words *northeast, southeast, etc.*; but what was northeast, was east, and what southwest, was west; it was east, west, north, and south with them. The Spaniards wrote in the same way. They constantly referred to the Pacific Ocean, along the coast of Peru, as the west sea; yet it was more nearly southwest, etc.
- [42-43] "Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents; and they were spread through the wilderness, on the west, in the land of Nephi [along the coast of Peru]; yea, and also on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders, by the seashore [along the Pacific coast of Colombia], and on the west, in the land of Nephi, in the place of their fathers' first inheritance, and thus bordering along by the seashore [that is along the coast of Chili]. And also there were many Lamanites on the east by the seashore, whither the Nephites had driven them [in eastern and western Venezuela.] And thus the Nephites were nearly surrounded by the Lamanites: nevertheless the Nephites had taken possession of all the northern parts of the land, bordering on the wilderness, at the head of the river

Sidon [Magdalena River], from the east to the west [from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean], round about on the wilderness side; on the north [the wilderness that lay to the northwest of Zarahemla proper], even until they came to the land which they called Bountiful [the Isthmus of Panama]. And it bordered on the land which they called Desolation; it being so far northward, that it came into the land which had been peopled, and been destroyed, of whose bones we have spoken, which was discovered by the people of Zarahemla; it being the place of their first landing. And they came from there up into the south wilderness. Thus the land on the northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful; it being the wilderness which is filled with all manner of wild animals of very kind; a part of which had come from the land northward, for food. and now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful, and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea [this boundary line of a day and a half's journey extended from the Mosquito Gulf, across the Isthmus to the Pacific Ocean, near the Gulf of Dulce]; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla, were nearly surrounded by water; there being a small neck of land between the land northward, and the land southward. And it came to pass that the Nephites had inhabited the land Bountiful, even from the east unto the west sea, and thus the Nephites in their wisdom, with their guards and their armies, had hemmed in the Lamanites on the south, that thereby they should have no more possession on the north, that they might not overrun the land northward; therefore the Lamanites could have no more possession only in the land of Nephi, and in the wilderness round about. Now this was wisdom in the Nephites; as the Lamanites were an enemy to them, they would not suffer their afflictions on every hand, and also that they might have a country whither they might flee, according to their desires." ()

[43-44] Thus the land Zarahemla embraced, at this period, all of the land from the border line between Desolation and Bountiful, to the "narrow strip of wilderness" that divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla, and from the sea east to the sea west; Bountiful being a part, and which was settled by the Nephites. Bountiful includes the Isthmus, and extended north from Panama, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, having an average breadth of about fifty miles, to Costa Rica, or the division line between Bountiful and Desolation. Desolation at this time included all of the land northward of Bountiful; the land south from Desolation called Bountiful extended down to and embraced a part of the wilderness in northern Colombia, at this time. All the territory south of the division line, running at the head of Sidon "from the east towards the west" was called the land of Nephi. . . .
 . . . It was near the division line between Bountiful and Desolation that the Mulokites landed, and seeing the great destruction in the north, and not understanding the cause that brought it about, directed their course southward, passed down through Bountiful to the great river Sidon (or Magdalena), and founded the city of Zarahemla. This river was in all likelihood called the great river Sidon in contradistinction from the lesser river (the Cauca) that ran west of it, and parallel to it, until near the sea, they unite.

[Map----- The Description given in Alma 22]

[p. 45] In the Peruvian language "anti" means pure gold, and hence the name most likely means the pure Nephi-Lehis, or the pure faith of Lehi-Nephi . . .

[p. 46] When Ammon and his companions knew of the intention of the Lamanites "to destroy their brethren, they came forth to the land of Midian [probably the present department of Ancachs, and not far from Huras--see map], and there Ammon met all his brethren; and from thence they came to the land of Ishmael [Huanuco], that they might hold a council with Lamoni, and also with his brother Ani-Nephi-Lehi what they should do to defend themselves against the Lamanites." ()

Now the chief center and hotbed of this rebellion was about the chief capital, old Nephi, and among the Amulonites, Amalekites, etc., as they exerted an influence among the Lamanites. . . .

[p. 48] Thus ended the fifteenth year of the reign of the judges and five hundred and twenty-four years had passed away since they had left Jerusalem. All South and Central America is settled by the Nephites and Lamanites; the Nephites occupying Central America (especially the Isthmus, known as the land Bountiful) and Zarahemla, to the division line, the "narrow strip of wilderness" that ran from the east to the west sea by the head of the river Sidon, and the Lamanites occupied all to the south of that line. . . .

[p. 50] Now Jershon bordered on the sea; Antionum lay south of that; the south line was the line between

Lamanites and Nephites, or "the narrow strip of wilderness." (see map) The army had in view to cross Sidon and enter the land of Manti. This puts Manti west of Sidon. . . .

[Map-----Anti-Nephi-Lehies go into Zarahemla (Jershon). . . Lamanites follow in war]

There was a valley on either side of the river, and east of the east valley stood the hill Riplah. This battle must have been fought near the southern border of Manti, or in the southeast corner of that land. . . .

- [p. 51] The hill Amnihu was east of Sidon, and lay a little to the southeast of the city of Zarahemla. The valley of Gideon lay between the hill Amnihu and the land of Minon. The valley of Gideon was further east than the hill Amnihu however. The land of Minon was east of Sidon, and to the east of the land of Manti, and south of Gideon, and extended south to the division line of Nephites and Lamanites. ()

[Map-----Lamanites come to Hill Amnihu to battle]

- [p. 52] Moroni sent his armies into the "east wilderness" (see map) and "drove all the Lamanites . . . into their own lands, which were south of the land of Zarahemla; and the land of Nephi did run in a straight course from the east sea to the west." () It embraced all the land north of the division line, which began at Puerto Cabello in Caribobo, on the Caribbean Sea, and extended along the east branch of the Andes, almost in a straight line to Cape San Francisco, on the Pacific Ocean. . . .
- [p. 53] In starting from the west sea or Pacific Ocean, in referring to the division line, it does not say it runs in a straight course as expressed when starting from the east sea; but as "running by the head of the river Sidon." Showing that there was a bend in the division line around the head of the river Sidon (See map) They built a city called Moroni, "and it was by the east sea; and it was in the south by the line of the possessions of the Lamanites." () They founded Nephihah, between Moroni and Aaron. (see map) "they also began" a city called Lehi, "which was in the north, by the borders of the seashore." This could only mean that it was somewhere in the extreme northern part of Zarahemla () (see map)
- [p. 54] These cities or lands were all near each other. (see map) The cities of Nephihah, Lehi, Morianton, Omner, Gid, and Mulek, were all "on the east borders, by the seashore/" (see map)

[Map-----Moroni establishes Cities in the East Wilderness]

This army of the Lamanites swept everything before it, for a distance of five hundred miles, along the northern coast of Colombia, from Puerto Cabello to the Gulf of Darien.

It is the belief of the committee that where Lake Maricaybo is at the present time, at the time here referred to, it was land, a part if not all of it, and that probably the lake was formed at the time of the crucifixion, when many cities were sunk. () This great battle [of Teancum] was fought on the shores of the Gulf of Darien. . . .

Moroni sent orders to Teancum to fortify the land Bountiful, and secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward. () This "narrow pass" was the Isthmus of Panama, between the Gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific, and the Gulf of Darien on the Atlantic, Caribbean Sea, a distance of thirty-one miles.

[Map----- Narrow Pass]

- [p. 58] This great battle [against Coriantumr] was fought, most likely, near the junction of the rivers Bojaya and Murri with the Atrato, in the northern part of Colombia (see map). The statement, "center of the land," and "most capital parts of the land" () refers to the chief centers of population and wealth, rather than a geographical center, although the chief city, and some of the larger cities, were in the interior, and approximately at the center of the land; but it would be extravagant to hold that Zarahemla was at the exact geographical center. Bountiful and Zarahemla were both centers. ()

[Map-----Battle with Coriantumr]

[p. 59] In the forty-sixth year of the judges, "there were an exceeding great many who departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and went forth into the land northward, to inherit the land; and they did travel to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water, and many rivers." They did spread out so much "that they began to cover the race of the whole earth, from the sea south, to the sea north, from the sea west, to the sea east. ()

This immigration was from Zarahemla (Colombia), South America, into Mexico and the United States, to the lake regions of Michigan, Huron, Erie, Ontario, possibly as far as Hudson's Bay. The "south sea" was the Gulf of Mexico, and the sea north, most likely, the lakes or Hudson's Bay; and the sea east, the Atlantic Ocean, and the sea west, the Pacific.

[Map-----People go into the land northward]

In the fifty-seventh and fifty-eighty years of the judges, through the influence of dissenters, the Lamanites succeeded in taking possession of all the land of Zarahemla, and Moronihah and his people "were driven even unto the land of Bountiful [the Isthmus of Panama] [see map]; and there they did fortify against the Lamanites, from the west sea, even unto the east; it being a day's journey for a Nephite on the line which they had fortified" (). The narrow pass was thirty-one miles across, on the Isthmus at the southern part of Bountiful. Here the Nephites fortified, and by reason of their advantage, succeeded in "retaining even the half of all their possessions." () i.e., the land of Zarahemla (Colombia).

[Map-----

[p. 60] "The land south [South America] was called Lehi, and the land north [North America] was called Mulek" (). this new division line was doubtless at the narrow neck of land, near the city Bountiful. These divisions were made according to the natural lay of the land, and considered from that point of view, the Isthmus would go with North America.

[Map-----

pp. 60-61]

Trouble was had with the Gadianton robbers, who infested the land, whose strongholds were in the mountains and wilderness. . . . the Andes Mountains in Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Darien, the mountains in Mexico, Arizona, the rocky Mountains, and Alleghenies were infested with these robbers. . . . Iniquity continued, and the Gadianton robbers gained great power () which finally resulted in a great battle, which was probably fought on the Isthmus, or Bountiful. () (see map) "The furthestmost parts of the land, northward" () refers to Mexico and the United States.

[Map-----

[p. 62] These cities [Moroni and Moronihah which were covered by sea and earth at Christ's crucifixion] were on or near the seashore, on the east part of the land of Zarahemla (see map) The cities of Gilgal, Onihah, Mocum, Jerusalem, Gadiandi, Gadiomnah, Jacob, Gimgimno, Jacobugath, Laman, Josh, Gad, Kishkumen () were mostly, if not all, in the land of Zarahemla () Jesus Christ showed himself to his people in the land Bountiful, at the temple () (see map)

[Map-----Cities destroyed at Christ's crucifixion]

The land Antum corresponds to the present Chiapas, Mexico (see map) When Mormon was eleven years old, his father carried him "southward, even to the land of Zarahemla," () In the same year, hostilities broke out between the Nephites and the Lamanites, "in the borders of Zarahemla, by the waters of Sidon. This battle was fought near the head of Sidon, not far from Manti, we conclude.

When Mormon was sixteen years old, he was the leader of the Nephite army. In the year three hundred and twenty-seven the Lamanites came against the Nephites to battle (), and their numbers were so great that Mormon's army became frightened, and began to retreat to the north country, i.e., from Colombia or Zarahemla, to Central America, Mexico, and the United States. They came to the city of Angola. This city was in Costa Rica. (see map). "The land of David" was in the present Nicaragua; the land of "Joshua" as the present Salvador. (see map) This war, in which the Nephites were almost constantly on the retreat, lasted three years. Destruction was everywhere. The Nephite forces were evidently recruited from Mexico, Yucatan, United States, and the great battle was fought on the west coast of Salvador. (see map)

[Map-----The Nephites retreat towards the north country]

[63] In the year three hundred and forty-five the Lamanites defeated the Nephites, and they began their retreat, and came "even to the land of Jashon, before it was possible to stop them." The land Jashon was near the land Antum () Jashon was the present Guatemala, and Antum was Chiapas, Mexico. (see map) The Nephites were driven, however, "northward to the land which was called Shem," and they fortified the city Shem () this land was the present Mexico, the city probably Oaxaca. (see map) The Nephites defeated their enemies in this battle , and in four years' time had driven them out and recovered their land; "yea, even to the narrow passage [Isthmus of Panama] which led into the land southward."

[Map-----Nephites driven and reconquer to the narrow passage]

A treaty was made, the Lamanites possessing the land southward () i.e. the Isthmus and South America. This division line was at Mosquito Gulf, or southern line of Desolation () in Costa Rica (see map) Teancum () was on the west of Costa Rica. Boaz () was in Costa Rica. The "city of Jordan" () was at Tehuantepec (see map)

[Map-----Treaty]

In the year three hundred and eighty the Lamanites defeated the Nephites again at Jordan, and the Nephites took to flight. Because of the "awful scene of blood and carnage" Mormon resolved to "abridge" his narrative, even from what he had been doing, refusing to "harrow up the souls of men" with such scenes of iniquity as was laid before him (), so he failed to record the name of the place at which the Nephites made a stand after their defeat at Jordan. Most likely it was at Tula, near the city of Mexico. We only have, "and it came to pass that we did march forth before the Lamanites" (). The idea has no support in fact that there were not other "flights," and "stands" made before the agreement was entered into between General Mormon and the king of the Lamanites, granting the Nephites time in which to gather in their people at Cumorah. There may have been many stands made or engagements had before that time.

[64] The Nephites were in flight, and all their people whom they left behind were destroyed by the Lamanites; and the common sense view would be that they rallied at times and attempted to stay the work of the enemy, in order to gather in their people, shelter, and save them from certain death: that a very extensive territory was passed over, and a resort to strategy and other means were employed, in order to check their pursuing enemy. Mormon simply announces that he refused to pen the history of the awful scenes of "blood and carnage" presented before his eyes, after their flight from Jordan or Tula. In reasonable probability they continued their retreat through their populous districts, in order to recuperate their army, and gather in all of their people who were living adjacent to their line of march. Their starting point being Jordan or Tula, and their objective point lying south and east of Lake Ontario, in northern New York, their line of retreat would naturally be through northeastern Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, probably crossing the Mississippi River at, or near, Memphis to western Tennessee, and so on to Cincinnati and up the Ohio River, through southern Ohio, or West Virginia, or both, to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, etc. While on this march they could have gathered many of their people from their main centers along the Mississippi River, all the way from New Orleans to Saint Louis, Davenport, Saint Paul, etc., and thus strengthen their army, as well as rescue them from the marauding bands of Lamanites. Most likely it was after they had entered the Ohio Valley, at Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, or further up the river,

that the armistice was entered into, permitting the Nephites time to concentrate all their forces at Cumorah, in northern New York.

On entering the United States the Nephites settled largely in the same sections inhabited by the Jaredites, the oldest Mound Builders, and their march to their final conflict was along the same lines.

[Map-----Nephites Retreat to Cumorah]

Thus it seems that the Jaredites, Nephites, and present inhabitants settled in the same regions of country, although they entered the country at different places; i.e., the last, as compared with the other two did. Their centers of population are along the same lines.

The success of the Nephite armies was the hope of the country. All over the land, all who did not gather with the army and were not sheltered by it were destroyed. Mormon, knowing that the last great struggle of his people was at hand, desired to gather them in from all parts of the land. They were scattered over northern Mexico and the United States, so Mormon wrote the king of the Lamanites and asked permission to gather his people "unto the land of Cumorah" ()

We conjecture that the reason that Cumorah, or northern New York, was selected to make the final stand in order to defend themselves against their enemies, was because it was central from the territory known as the New England States, the Western States, and those lying to the south along the Atlantic coast, etc. The population north of the lakes, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and further west, could move along north of the lakes east to the south of Ontario, without being required to cross by water. Cumorah was also a rich productive country, well watered and capable of supporting large population of people, and they being four years in arranging for the final conflict, it would be necessary to enter a land capable of supporting flocks and herds of various kinds, as well as human life. It doubtless possessed some strategic advantages also. The people who lived in northern Mexico, California, etc., most likely joined the Nephites while they were in Central America and Mexico, or were slain by the Lamanites or robbers, or went over to the Lamanites. Those in Iowa, northern Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, etc., could have moved eastward through Canada without interruption, and reached their brethren at Cumorah and thus await the end. (see map)

During the time in which the Nephites were gathering to the land of Cumorah, Mormon by commandments of the Lord hid up, in the hill Cumorah, all the records which had been intrusted to him by the hand of the Lord, except the few plates which contained his abridgment.

Moroni escaped from the Lamanites, [but eventually] hid up in Cumorah the abridge record from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

Part 2. The Jaredites

[p. 67] The Jaredites as a separate people began at the Tower of Babel, twenty-two centuries before the birth of Christ. . . . they came "down into the valley of Nimrod," which was "north" of Babel. () . . . Being commanded to "go forth into the wilderness, yea, into that quarter where there never had man been," would indicate that their course of travel lay to the west; for the people of Babel had "journeyed from the east" (Genesis 11:2). So these countries had been traversed by man and could not have been the ones referred to as the ones "where there never had man been." It appears that the countries to the east, north, and also to the west, as far as to Sidon, in Canaan, or the great sea (the Mediterranean), had been divided, at this time, and assigned to the various tribes. (Genesis, chap. 10) then for the Jaredites to have "gone forth into the wilderness" from Babel, and "into that quarter where there never had man been," the natural course for them to have taken, if not the only one, was to the west. so "the Lord did bring Jared and his brethren forth even to that great sea which divideth the lands" (); that is, to the Atlantic Ocean.

[p. 68] There "they pitched their tents; and they called the name of the place Moriancumer; and they dwelt in tents . . . upon the seashore for the space of four years" (). Here they were commanded to prepare to "cross this great deep." The phrase, "this great deep," would indicate that they were encamped by the very waters that it was required that they should cross, in order to reach the promised land. This position seems much better sustained than the one can be that assumes that the Mediterranean Sea was the "great sea that divideth the lands" referred to, and that Moriancumer was on the northern coast of the Mediterranean, near the Alps, not far from Genoa. For if they put to sea at Genoa, they did not

cross "this great deep" ().

[p. 69] It appears, then, that the Jaredites left the valley of Nimrod, which lay "north" of Babel, probably near the southeast border of the Black Sea, and to the northeast of the head of the Tigris River (**see map**), and passed through Asia Minor south of the Black Sea (or possibly passed around the Black Sea to the east and along the northern coast westward, we are not so certain), crossed the Bosphorus at Constantinople, and moved along westward, south of the River Danube, through Servia, along the River Drave, in the southern part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to the north of the head of the Adriatic Sea, and Italy, through Switzerland, or northern Italy, into France; and so on down through southeastern and southern France into northern Spain, and along to the south of the Cantabrian Mountains west to the seashore, and camped not far from the mouth of the Minho River, near the northern boundary line of Portugal. (see map)

[Map-----The Jaredite journey from the Tower of Babel to the Great Sea]

From this place, which they called Moriancumer, where they lived in tents for four years, they "set forth into the sea." () . . . "They were driven forth, three hundred and forty and four days upon the water; and they did land upon the shore of the promised land." ()

They most likely passed down to the west of the west coast of Africa, until within the regions of the equator, and then followed the course of the ocean currents and trade winds westward, and finally landed upon the east coast of Central America, near the mouth of the River Motagua. They may have landed a distance up that river. (**see map**) From here "they began to spread upon the face of the land, and to multiply and to till the earth; and they did wax strong in the land" (), and finally fixed their capital (Moron) at what is now known as the ruins of Copan on the Copan River, Honduras; possibly it was at Quirigua, on the Motagua River, Guatemala. These two cities are not far apart--about twenty-five miles--and with our present knowledge of them it is difficult to determine certainly which one was the ancient capital of the Jaredites. (**see map**)

[Map-----The Jaredite journey Across the Great Sea to the Promised Land]

[p. 70] . . . in process of time . . . Corihor, rebelled against [Kib], and "went over and dwelt in the land of Nehor." () The land of Nehor was largely in the country now known as Yucatan (**see map**) "Now the land of Moron where the king dwelt, was near the land which is called Desolation by the Nephites" () (see map) . . .

Heth was the present land of Mexico. In the time of Omer and Jared, heth was made a capital city of the land of Heth. . . .

[Map-----

[p. 72] . . . "the Lord warned Omer in a dream that he should depart out of the land [of Moron]; wherefore Omer departed out of the land with his family, and traveled many days, and came over and passed by the hill of Shim, and came over" and passed "the place where the Nephites were destroyed [Cumorah], and from thence eastward, and came to a place which was called Ablom, by the seashore, and there he pitched his tent . . . ()

It appears from the record that at this time Central America and a large proportion of the central portion of the United States were settled by the Jaredites; in the United States, probably, they occupied mainly in the valleys of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers, covering largely their watersheds. Omer and Nimrah "fled out of the land," evidently from the countries already settled, and probably the chief centers were at New Orleans, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, except in Mexico and Central America, where the oldest and richest communities dwelt.

The reason that the Lord led Omer and Nimrah out into a new land, and along distance away, was that the people of the old kingdom were ripe for destruction . . . Had Omer and Nimrah remained anywhere near the people of the old government, they no doubt would have been involved in their wars and conflicts, and would have perished with them. This solves largely the mystery of their having traveled so far away from the influences of the old confederacy. They left Moron, "traveled many days, and came over and passed by the hill of Shim [in Chiapas, See map], and came over by the place where the

Nephites were destroyed [the hill Cumorah, in northern New York. See map], and from thence eastward and came to a place which was called Ablom, by the seashore" probably where Boston, Massachusetts, is now located.

[Map-----The Travels of Omer]

[p. 73] In the days of Coriantumr he "did build many mighty cities." () "And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land." () This "great city" was built, it is quite certain, in Costa Rica; and the "many cities" referred to were built at different points in the countries known as Southern Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, and Nicaragua, Central America.

Stephens and Catherwood, between 1841 and 1849, discovered over forty cities in this region of country, all overgrown with stately forests; and later researches have greatly increased that number, and yet much of the country has never been trodden by the foot of the modern civilizer. The Jaredites were an industrious and thrifty people, and this was and is a most productive country. ()

[Map-----

The valley of Gilgal () was in the land of Heth (the present country of Mexico) at Pueblo. (see map.) The plains of Heshlon were north of the valley of Gilgal; Heth (Mexico) in the southern part of the state of Tamaulipas. (see map)

"The wilderness of Akish" was in northern Chiapas, Mexico.

[p. 74] The battle of verses () was most likely fought on the Bay of Tabasco, Campeachy. The plains of Agosh () were probably not far from Gonzales or San Antonio, Texas. . . . Shiz did not cease to pursue Coriantumr. . . . "Shiz did pursue Coriantumr eastward, even to the borders of the seashore, and there he gave battle unto Shiz for the space of three days." (j) This line of flight and pursuit was in all probability through southern Texas, the States of Arkansas, western Tennessee, and Kentucky, southern Indiana and Ohio, western Pennsylvania, and southern New York, and Connecticut, to somewhere near the present New London or New Haven. The land "Corihor" was in central New York, between the Hudson River (County of Albany) and Lake Ontario.

The valley of Corihor was somewhere between Schenectady and Utica, probably not far from Herkimer. Near there was the "valley of Shurr," and the "hill Comnor." () After the battle of (), Coriantumr fled again and "came to the waters of Ripliancum" or Lake Ontario.

"Ogath" of () was south of Manchester, possibly in that township, in Ontario County, State of New York.

[p. 75] The "hill Ramah" of verse 70, is the "hill Cumorah" which lies just southeast of Palmyra, Wayne County, New York.

Here the closing scenes of the great war were enacted. Shiz and his army were extirpated, and all of Coriantumr's army were slain but the sole surviving Coriantumr. Thus ends the record of Ether. . . .

[Map-----Progression of Final Battles]

[p. 76] They [the Jaredites] built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land. This "narrow neck of land" of Ether () we believe to be the "small neck" of Alma () and "the narrow pass" of Alma (), and the narrow pass of Alma (), and "the narrow neck" of Alma (), and "the narrow passage" of Mormon ().

This Jaredite city was near the boundary line between Costa Rica and Colombia. And from there northward were the countries occupied by the Jaredites; namely, Central America, Mexico, and the United States, parts of which had a dense population.

[p. 77] The Jaredites no doubt landed in the latitude where one of the first and chief cities (Moron) was located, and Moron (if not the first) was one of the first places settled, and it was near the land that was "called Desolation by the Nephites." () This Desolation was but the local land by that name. The Nephites had, prior to this, settled up the Jaredite country, and given new names to certain parts of it, retaining the old name "Desolation" to apply to the most southern part of it. At this point it joined on the Bountiful, at which place it was but "a day and a half's journey for a Nephite," across the neck, from sea

to sea. (Alma)

This we understand to mean that a Nephite could walk across the neck from sea to sea in a day and a half.

Moron was not only one of the first cities built by the Jaredites, but it was the first capital, and retained its pre-eminence of being one of the Jaredite capitals till the last. Shared "came forth to the land of Moron, and placed himself upon the throne of Coriantumr." () Coriantumr was their last king. Ether was Coriantumr's contemporary. () And between Ether and Jared there were twenty-eight generations. ()

We see then that Moron will be found, evidently, in that region of Central America where the highest development of ancient art and civilization is to be found. About six generations had passed when reference is made to the most southern border city, "a great city." Evidently, then, Moron will be found some distance to the northward. The people had been spreading for three generations (counting from Omer's days).

[p. 78] This view of the Book of Mormon narrative places that very ancient American civilization in Central America, and it was in that region evidently that they built "many mighty cities."

[The committee then reviews the history of various Mesoamerican peoples and evidences]

Beginning on page 91, after a detailed step-by-step analysis, geographically speaking, of the Nephite history and the Jaredite history, we find the following summary:

1. That the Nephites, after leaving Jerusalem, passed down along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, until near the Tropic of Cancer, and then crossed Arabia to the east, and landed in the country now known as Oman, on the Gulf of Oman, from which point they crossed the ocean, probably by going eastward.

2. That they landed upon the west coast of South America on the coast of Chili.

That **Nephi, the capital, was located somewhere in Southern Peru, and no great distance from Lake Titicaca, and we conclude it was at Cuzco.** That Peru and Chili, Ecuador, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic were the principal countries inhabited by both Nephites and Lamanites for four centuries after their arrival on the continent.

4. That the land of Zarahemla was embraced largely in the territory now known as Colombia, South America.

5. That the Magdalena River was the Sidon, and that the city of Zarahemla was located on the west side of the Magdalena and to the south of the city of Honda, between Honda and Neva [Neiya?] and its main center was a distance back from the river.

6. That the division line known as "a strip of wilderness" that divided the Nephites and Lamanites, was along the east branch of the Andes, and extended from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, as marked on the map.

7. That the lands of Manti, Melek, Gideon, Moroni, Jershon, Morianton, etc., were substantially located as marked on the map.

That the Isthmus of Panama was largely the land Bountiful. But at one time it included some of the territory of the land of Jershon, but at the time may not have had a well-defined southern boundary line. That "the narrow neck of land," which was but a day's journey across it for a Nephite, was a part of the present isthmus of Panama, at the point as marked on the map.

9. That the cities of Mulek, Gid, Morianton, Lehi, Moronihah, Moroni, were approximately at the places as marked on the map.

10. That the division line between Bountiful and the land Desolation was substantially as marked on the map.

11. That the land Desolation, while at one time it included all of the known north country, was finally restricted within the limits as marked on the map.

12. That the old Jaredite city of Moron was situated on the Copan River, a branch of the Motagua at what is now known as the Ruins of Copan, or at Quirigua.

13. That Central America and Mexico were the early centers of the Jaredite civilization.

14. That the countries drained by the Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, and Arkansas rivers, were densely populated with the Jaredite people, and that their chief centers were in Mexico, at Saint Louis,

Cincinnati, New Orleans, and along the Ohio River, aside from their older and more permanent settlements in Central America.

15. That the Nephites finally reinhabited the same countries with a thickly settled population.

16. While the committee is not so certain as to the exact locations of the cities of Lehi-Nephi, Middoni, Ishmael, Midian, Mormon, Jerusalem, etc.; yet they must have been somewhere in the regions of country as marked on the map. Neither are we certain that the Nephites landed as far south on the coast of Chili as the thirtieth parallel of latitude. It is known that great physical changes have taken place in the contour of Chili in the past, and even quite recently, the whole land to the north having been elevated by the influence of earthquakes; and at the time of the landing of the Nephites the country may have been much different in part to what it is now; and that there was an inviting landing place favorable for settlement five or six degrees to the north of the thirtieth parallel, just south of the desert of Atacama, and that the landing place was there. If this be true, it will not affect in the least other parts of the map as given. It would only shorten the distance traveled by Nephi and companions, when they separated from their brethren and entered the wilderness and make their way to Nephi, and founded that city. The same conditions of country in the Argentine Republic would obtain.

17. That the hill Cumorah and Ramah are identical, and located near Palmyra, New York; and that Ablom was upon the Atlantic Ocean.

18. there is no great degree of certainty as to the geographical location of the following named cities. No doubt the larger proportion of them, if not all, were in the lands of Zarahemla and Bountiful: The city of Gilgal, Onihah, Mocum, Jerusalem, Gadiandi, Gadiomnah, Jacob, Gimgimno, Jacobugath, Laman, Josh, Gad, Kishkumen. Some of these were likely in Ecuador. ()

19. In regard to "journeying in the wilderness" and discovering game on arriving at the promised land, the committee is not certain that it means more than that exploring parties went out and made the discoveries cited, and that there was no great move from the first settlement made until after Lehi's death. But if this be true, it would only affect the distance traveled by Nephi and company when they left their brethren and went to Nephi; and not the general direction traveled in reaching the place named--Nephi.

F. M. Sheehy,
William Woodhead,
Wm. H. Kelley,
Committee.

- [1898] **Map #1: Map of the World Showing Probable Course of the Ancient Colonies Across the Ocean.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1894.* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]
- [1898] **Map #2: Map of the Eastern and Western Continents Showing Ocean Currents and General View of the Ancient Lands.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1894.* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]
- [1898] **Map #3: Map of the Lands of the Jaredites. B. C. 2234 to A.D. 600. with Modern Names to Aid Student.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1894.* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]
- [1898] **Map #4: Map of the Southern Portion of Land Nephi.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1894.* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]
- [1898] **Map #5: Map of the Northern Portion of the Lands of the Nephites. B.C. 600 to A.D. 400. Showing Also Modern Divisions for Reference.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,*

1894. Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]

[1898] **Map #6: Map of the Land Zarahemla and Northern Portion of Nephi.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology: Appointed by the General Conference of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1894.* Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing Co., 1898.]

Note* Dennis Moe, director of the Book of Mormon Foundation in Independence, Missouri, writes: "I compared this book [the 1898 edition] from the Archives with later/other version & they were the same."
(written communication 03/29/04)

(See the notation with maps for 1910)

1899^ Oliver Cowdery *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, (), pp. 729-734
(Reprint) Reprint of *Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159

In 1899, the *Improvement Era* (Jan.-Sept.) reprinted a series of eight letters from Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps relating the early history of the Church. These letters had originally appeared in the 1835 *Messenger and Advocate*. These articles contained material that reinforced traditional ideas regarding Book of Mormon geography:

You are acquainted with the mail road from Palmyra, Wayne County, to Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York, and also, as you pass from the former to the latter place, before arriving at the little village of Manchester, say from three to four, or about four miles from Palmyra, you pass a large hill on the east side of the road. Why I say large, is because it is as large perhaps, as any in that country. To a person acquainted with this road a description would be unnecessary, as it is the largest and rises the highest of any on that route. The north end rises quite sudden . . . and I am certain that its appearance, as it rises so suddenly from a plain on the north, must attract the notice of the traveler as he passes by. At about one mile west rises another ridge of less height, running parallel with the former . . . between these hills, the entire power and national strength of both the Jaredites and Nephites were destroyed. By turning to the 529th and 530th pages of the Book of Mormon you will read Mormon's account of the last great struggle as they were encamped round this hill Cumorah. (It is printed Camorah, which is an error.) In this valley fell the remaining strength and pride of a once powerful people, the Nephites--once so highly favored of the Lord, but at that time in darkness, doomed to suffer extermination by the hand of their barbarous and uncivilized brethren. From the top of this hill, Mormon, with a few others, after the battle, gazed with horror upon the mangled remains of those who, the day before, were filled with anxiety, hope, or doubt. A few had fled to the south, who were hunted down by the victorious party . . . [Mormon], by divine appointment, abridged from these records, in his own style and language, a short account of the more important and prominent items, from the days of Lehi to his own time, after which he deposited, as he says on the five hundred and twenty-ninth page, all the records in this same hill, Cumorah, and after gave his small record to his son Moroni, who, as appears from the same, finished, after witnessing the extinction of his people as a nation. . . .

The Nephites, who were once enlightened, had fallen from a more elevated standing as to favor and privilege before the Lord, in consequence of the righteousness of their fathers, and now falling below, for such was actually the case, were suffered to be overcome and the land was left to the possession of the red men, who were without intelligence, only in the affairs of their wars; and having no records, only preserving their history by tradition from father to son, lost the account of their true origin, and wandered from river to river, from hill to hill, from mountain to mountain, from sea to sea, till the land was again peopled, in a measure, by a rude, wild, revengeful, warlike and barbarous race. Such are our Indians. This hill, by the Jaredites, was called Ramah; by it, or around it, pitched the famous army of Coriantumr their tents. Coriantumr was the last king of the Jaredites. The opposing army were to the west, and in this same valley, and near by, from day to day, did that mighty race spill their blood . . . In this same spot, in full view from the top of this same hill, one may gaze with astonishment upon the ground which was twice covered with the dead and dying of our fellow-men. Here may be seen where once sunk to naught the pride and strength of two mighty nations; . . .

(See the notation for 1835)

- 1899^ ?? "Where the Oldest Civilization on the American Continent Began, and Its
(RLDS) Extent" in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Jan),
pp. 18-19

[p. 18] There once lived upon the North American continent a people older than the Nephites, a people who had become extinct; whose moss-covered ruins, lost in the forests that hundreds of years had reared, were discovered by the representatives of King Limhi . . . [Limhi's search party] gave the land the appropriate name of Desolation (Book of Alma 13:64) which from the description of location given in verses 66 and 67 of same chapter must have been the region we know to-day as Central America.

- 1899^ ?? "Where the Oldest Civilization on the American Continent Began" in "The
(RLDS) Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (Feb), pp. 69-77

[pp. 71-72] In the fourth chapter of the Book of Ether, verses 59, 60, 61, and 69, large edition the prosperity of the Jaredites is described, and the range of country over which their nation spread. They built "a great city by the narrow neck of land," and "the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants."

"This narrow neck of land of Ether (4:59; com. ed. v. 7) we believe to be the "small neck" of Alma (13:67; com. ed. v. 11), and "the narrow pass" of Alma (22: 28; com. ed. v. 5) and "the narrow pass" of Alma (24:7) and "the narrow neck" of Alma (30:3) and "the narrow passage" of Mormon (1:59) This Jaredite city was near the boundary line between Costa Rica and Colombia. And from there northward were the countries occupied by the Jaredites; namely, Central America, Mexico, and the United States, parts of which had a dense population.--Committee's Report, pages 76, 77.

[p. 72] . . . Professor Baldwin says that the sites of our cities, St. Louis, Missouri; Frankfort, Kentucky, and others he names were evidently centers of population of the mysterious races of the past. "Other writers, besides," says Elder Stebbins, in his fourth lecture, "say that the evidences are that the very sites of our great cities, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and all the leading, and some of the lesser cities of this country, were occupied by the ancients, who understood, just as well as people to-day, the benefit of occupying certain sites by the sea, or near the lake, or upon a river."

It is probable that these sites, first located and built up by the Jaredites, were afterwards inhabited by the Nephites, so that we cannot tell to which nation to attribute much that is found in the way of relics and remains. We do not know whether the Nephites worked those old mines near Lake Superior, or the Jaredites; it is not improbable that both, in their turn, derived from these treasure stores of the earth's minerals.

When we go to the Cliff Dwellers of New Mexico and Arizona, who had vanished long before the invasion of America by the Europeans, it cannot be told whether they were Jaredites or Nephites. In this region, too, "the monuments suggest successive and varying period," says Professor Baldwin . . .

- 1899^ H. A. Stebbins "Battle Grounds of Ancient Americans" in "The Religio's Arena," in
Autumn
(RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Mar), pp. 124-128

[p. 125] Probably it is not doubted by any student Latter Day Saint that the Jaredite nation of Book of Mormon history is identical with the people whom the antiquarians of our times have denominated the Mound Builders.

- 1899^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner" in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn*
(RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Mar), pp. 130-134

[p. 130] *Notes on Geography.* The valley of Gilgal of Ether 6:2-31 (i.e.), was in the land of Heth, (the present country of Mexico,) at Puebla.
 The plains of Heshlon, of verse 25, were north of the valley of Gilgal; Heth (Mexico) in the southern part of the state of Tamaulipas.
 The wilderness of Akish, of verse 31, was in northern Chiapas, Mexico.
 The battle of verses 40-42 was most likely fought on the bay of Tabasco, in Campeachy.
 The plains of Agosh, verses 43,45 were probably not far from Gonzales or San Antonio, Texas.
 In Shiz's pursuit after the defeated Coriantumr, verses 47, 50,51,53, the line of flight and pursuit was, in all probability, through Southern Texas, the States of Arkansas, West Tennessee and Kentucky, Southern Indiana and Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, and Southern New York, and Connecticut, to somewhere near the present New London or new Haven.
 The land Corihor was in Central New York, between the Hudson River (County of Albany) and Lake Ontario.
 The valley of Corihor was somewhere between Schenectady and Utica, probably not far from Herkimer. Near there was the "valley of Shurr," and the "hill Comnor," verses 53-55.
 The "waters of Ripliancum" was Lake Ontario, verse 67.
 Ogath, of verse 69, was south of Manchester, possibly in that township, in Ontario County, New York.
 The "hill Ramah," verse 70, is the "hill Cumorah" which lies just southeast of Palmyra, Wayne County, New York.--From Committee's Report, pages 73, 74, 75. (See map in present *Leaves* for the places mentioned above.)

[1899] **Map: Lands of the Jaredites.** "Study Corner" in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Mar), p. 131.]

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 134] Map talk (not over seven minutes). Show where the land of Moron was, in which the capitol of the kingdom, "the throne of Coriantumr," was situated. Trace the line of the armies' march from the time Shared and Coriantumr begin to war with each other, in the valley of Gilgal, pointing out the plains of Heshlon, the wilderness of Akish, the plains of Agosh, to the seashore, or "waters of Ripliancum," near which (point out) the land Corihor and the valley of Shurr lay, to the "hill Ramah," where they assembled for the final battles. (See "Notes on Geography," under "Study Corner" for information . . .)

1899[^] **Elbert A. Smith** "The Hill Cumorah," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 12, No. (RLDS) 6 (June), p. 260.

"Hill Cumorah" a poem by Elbert A. Smith

There lay hid on Hill Cumorah's rocky western slope, in trust
 Truths that yet should rise and smite the ancient idols into dust . . .

Golden Records that were guarded by a greater yet than they
 Hill Cumorah kept his silent watch and counted still the days . . .

1899[^] **Louise Palfrey** "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, (RLDS) Vol. 12, No. 7 (July), pp. 316-320

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 320] Map talk: "Where the City of Nephi was." Point out the place on the map, and give archaeological reasons for locating it. (see archaeology reading in *Autumn Leaves* for August, 1898)

1899^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*,
(RLDS) Vol. 12, No. 9 (Sept), pp. 412-416

[p. 415] Archaeology review questions (see required reading, "the Beginning of Civilization in South America," in *Leaves* for August 1898, sections for lessons 3 and 4):--

1. Did Nephi land in North or South America? at what point did he land? show the place on the map.
2. What was the name of the first Nephite city, and where was it built?
3. Give, orally or written, a summarized account of why it is believed that ancient civilization began, and that the city of Nephi was in the region of the Lake Titicaca; give the evidence of tradition, only, this time.

[p. 416] Archaeology review questions (see required reading, "the Beginning of Civilization in South America," in *Leaves* for August 1898, sections for lessons 3 and 4):--

1. Give, orally or written, a summarized account of why it is believed that ancient civilization began in the Lake Titicaca region, and that the city Nephi was where Cuzco is. Give the evidences of the ruins and remains. . . . 3. What evidences are there that ancient wars did take place in the region of Cuzco, as is stated was the case in the region of Nephi, between Nephites and Lamanites?

1899^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*,
(RLDS) Vol. 12, No. 11 (Nov), pp. 509-512

[p. 511] Map talk. Show the land of Nephi that Mosiah and his people left. Also show the land of Zarahemla, and why we believe it to have been located where we do. (See third part of Required Reading on archaeology in August *Leaves*, 1898).

1899^ (RLDS) *The Saints' Herald*, vol. 46, no. 47, Lamoni, Iowa, November 22, 1899

ELDER W. A. HATTON A PLAGIARIST

Elder Hatton has been making himself quite conspicuous of late in Van Buren and Lee counties, Iowa, as an exposé of Mormonism, and we have been requested to review two pamphlets which he has put before the public, entitled, "The Origin of the Book of Mormon," and "Mormonism versus Mormonism and the Bible." After a careful examination of these publications, we must say that we are astounded at the presumption and impudence of the man. He tries to account for the Book of Mormon by asserting the truth of the Clark Braden theory (without giving Braden credit) concerning Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith plagiarizing the manuscript of Solomon Spalding. Mr. Hatton is loud in his denunciation of the plagiarist, and yet on almost every page of his production the track of the literary pirate is to be traced. We here produce two specimens of plagiarism from the work of Mr. Hatton; where he has not only copied the ideas of others, but their words almost verbatim, without giving credit to the authors, nor even placing the copy in quotation marks: --

We have shown that the Book of Mormon had a base human origin, and was fabricated as a fraud to deceive. . . . That the "Manuscript Found" had in it these features, found in the Book of Mormon, and found in no other books but the Book of Mormon and the Manuscript Found:

1. The plot of the Manuscript Found, as witnesses describe it, was just what Mormons give when describing the Book of Mormon.
2. It purported to be a veritable history of the aborigines of America. So does the Book of Mormon.
- ...
4. It assumed that Israelites were the aborigines of America and ancestors of the Indians. So does the Book of Mormon.
5. It said the Israelites left Jerusalem. So does the Book of Mormon.
6. They left to escape divine judgments about to fall on these people. so does the Book of Mormon.
7. That they journeyed through and from Southern Asia by land and sea. So does the Book of Mormon.
- ...

23. *One party of emigrants landed near the Isthmus of Panama, and migrated across the continent in a northeastern direction. So declares the Book of Mormon.*
24. The land near the Isthmus was called the land of Zarahemla. So declares the Book of Mormon.
- ...
26. The destruction of the nations exterminated took place near a hill called Cumorah. The same is declared in the Book of Mormon.

... Now, then, we are compelled to believe one of two things, namely, That Solomon Spaulding, during a period of from twenty-two to fourteen years before the Book of Mormon appeared, by a miracle wrote a romance that contained these twenty-seven great features that no other book except the Manuscript Found and the Book of Mormon ever contained in common, or that Rigdon stole the manuscript of the Manuscript Found and remodeled it into the Book of Mormon. We have proved that the Manuscript Found or a copy was taken to Patterson's printing office. That Rigdon was learning the tanner's trade in Pittsburg at that time. That he was very intimate with Lambdin, one of Patterson's printers. That the Spaulding Manuscript Found attracted much curiosity in the printing office. the he hung around the office until Engles, the foreman complained of it. That the manuscript was stolen. That Rigdon was charged with stealing it. That he afterwards showed it to Dr. Winters, saying that it was a Bible romance written by a Presbyterian preacher named Spaulding, giving a history of the Indians, and that it had been taken to a printing office for publication, and that he borrowed it as a curiosity. We proved that he spent so much time over it that his wife threatened to burn it. That he retorted: "Indeed you will not: this will be a great thing some day." We proved by Jeffries that Rigdon told him that he took the manuscript from the printing office and gave it to Smith to publish. We proved by Tucker, Mrs. Eaton, McAuly, Chase and Saunders that Rigdon was seen at Smith's in New York, from the spring of 1827 to the fall of 1830. We proved that he was absent from Mentor for weeks at a time, during these years, and no one knew where. We proved by Bentley, Campbell and Atwater that he announced years before it appeared such a book as the Book of Mormon, translated from Gold plates, dug up in New York, giving the origin of American antiquities, a history of the aborigines of America, and telling that the gospel had been preached in America just as the Disciples were then preaching it on the Reserve. We showed that when a woman [sic] preacher read to a Conneaut audience, for the first time they had ever heard it, (the Book of Mormon), Spaulding's old acquaintances, who had heard him read his Manuscript Found, denounced the fraud, Squire Wright shouting: "Old come-to-pass has come to life." His brother, John Spaulding, denounced it on the spot. We have shown that the witness, after reading the Book of Mormon declares that the historic portions in all of the twenty-seven great features we have enumerated is identical with the Manuscript Found. -- Mormonism versus Mormonism and the Bible, pp. 82-87

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

Note* I have included the last part because it is a concise summary of the anti-Mormon "Rigdon Theory" for the origin of the Book of Mormon.

1899^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*,
(RLDS) Vol. 12, No. 12 (Dec), pp. 556-559

[p. 559] How many men did Mosiah send to Lehi-Nephi; who was their leader? Map reference: Show where Lehi-Nephi was. (Note.) When the party reached the land of Shilom, what did they do? Map reference: Show where the land of Shilom was.

Note.--Some one should be appointed, beforehand, for the map work. He or she should sit by the map, to be ready to refer to it as called upon, from time to time, in the progress of the lesson. For information about the localities named, see "Report of Committee on American Archaeology," beginning on page 29.

1899^

James E. Talmage

The Book of Mormon, an Account of its Origin, with Evidences

of its Genuineness and Authenticity (A Pamphlet of two lectures) 1899.

Note* According to the prefatory of this pamphlet, these two lectures constitute what is published as chapters 14 and 15 of *The Articles of Faith*. James E. Talmage notes in the preface to the 1924 edition that, "The subject-matter, as at first presented in print [in the *Articles of Faith*], was virtually the substance of addresses delivered before Theology classes of the Church University and at other schools; and each of the main divisions of the book was designated as a 'Lecture.' " As I don't have an exact date for the first printing of this pamphlet at the present, I have decided to place this pamphlet just in front of the *Articles of Faith* in order to emphasize the fact that this material was being presented prior to 1899. For the details of what pertinent material was in chapters 14 and 15, the reader is directed the 1899 notation for the *Articles of Faith*.
CHECK TO SEE WHEN THIS PAMPHLET FIRST APPEARED

1899[^] James E. Talmage *The Articles of Faith*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1899, chap. 14. Reprinted and revised in more than 42 editions up to the present.

Articles of Faith is considered one of the classics in Latter-day Saint literature. It is the outgrowth of a series of lectures in theology given by Dr. James E. Talmage, commencing in October of 1893. At that time Dr. Talmage was serving as the president of the LDS College in Salt Lake City. The First Presidency of the Church invited Dr. Talmage to prepare a text for use in Church schools and religion classes. The book was first published in 1899. It has since been published in thirteen foreign languages and been through more than fifty English editions. . . . On December 7, 1911, he was called as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, where he served faithfully until his death on July 27, 1933.

Source: [^]*Missionary Reference Library: Articles of Faith*, SLC: Deseret Book, 1990, Publisher's Preface and pp. 234-235.

Note* The contents of chapter 14 have been edited over the years from the 1899 edition. Those phrases lined through have been edited out since 1899, and those phrases underlined have been added since 1899. FIND THE EDITION THAT THE CHANGES FIRST APPEAR IN

[Chapter 14: "The Book of Mormon"]

. . . On the occasion of his first visit to Joseph Smith, Moroni told of the existence of the record, which, he said, was engraved on plates of gold, at that time lying buried in the side of a hill near Joseph's home. The hill, which was known by one division of the ancient peoples as Cumorah, by another as Ramah, is situated near Palmyra in the State of New York. The precise spot where the plates lay was shown to Joseph in vision; and he had no difficulty in finding it on the day following the visitation referred to. . . .

Joseph found a large stone at the indicated spot on the Hill Cumorah; . . .

The Nephite Nation . . . Beside his own household, the colony of Lehi included Zoram and Ishmael, the latter an Israelite of the tribe of Ephraim. Ishmael, with his family, joined Lehi's company in the wilderness, and his descendants were numbered with the nation of whom we are speaking. It appears that the company journeyed somewhat east of south, keeping near the borders of the Red Sea; then, changing their course to the eastward, crossed the peninsula of Arabia; and there, on the shores of the Arabian Sea, built and provisioned a vessel in which they committed themselves to divine care upon the waters. It is believed that their voyage must have carried them eastward across the Indian Ocean, then over the ~~south~~ Pacific Ocean to the western coast of ~~South~~ America, whereon they landed about 590 B.C. ~~probably somewhere near the site of the present city of Valparaise in Chile.~~ The landing place is not described in the book itself with such detail as to warrant definite conclusions.

. . . It is traditionally believed that they [the Nephites] spread northward, ~~occupying the northern part of South America; then, crossing the Isthmus, they extended their domain over the southern, central and eastern portions of what is now the United States of America.~~ occupying a considerable area in Central America, and then expanded eastward and northward over part of what is now the United States of

America. The Lamanites, while increasing in numbers, fell under the curse of ~~darkness~~ divine displeasure; they became dark in skin and benighted in spirit, forgot the God of their fathers, lived a wild nomadic life, and degenerated into the fallen state in which the American Indians--their lineal descendants--were found by those who rediscovered the western continent in later times. The final struggles between Nephites and Lamanites were waged in the vicinity of the Hill Cumorah, in what is now the State of New York, resulting in the destruction of the Nephites as a nation, about 400 A.D. The last Nephite representative was Moroni, who, wandering for safety from place to place, daily expecting death from the victorious Lamanites, ~~who had decreed the absolute extinction of their white-kindred~~, wrote the concluding parts of the Book of Mormon, and hid the record in Cumorah. It was the same Moroni who, as a resurrected being, gave the records into the hands of Joseph Smith in the present dispensation.

The Jaredite Nation-- Of the two nations whose histories constitute the Book of Mormon, the first in order of time consisted of the people of Jared, who followed their leader from the Tower of Babel at the time of the confusion of tongues. . . .

. . . Their course of travel is not given with exactness; we learn only that they reached the ocean and there constructed eight vessels, called barges, in which they set out upon the waters. . . . After a passage of three hundred and forty-four days, the colony landed on the ~~western shore of North America, probably at a place south of the Gulf of California, and north of the Isthmus of Panama~~ American shores.

Here they became a flourishing nation; but, giving way in time to internal dissensions, they divided into factions, which warred with one another until the people were totally destroyed. This destruction, which occurred near the Hill Ramah, afterward known among the Nephites as Cumorah, probably took place at about the time of Lehi's landing, -- near 590 B.C. The last representative of the ill-fated race was Coriantumr, the king, concerning whom Ether had prophesied that he should survive all his subjects and live to see another people in possession of the land. This prediction was fulfilled in that the king, whose people had ~~become extinct~~ been exterminated, came, in the course of his solitary wanderings, to a region occupied by the people of Mulek, who are to mentioned here as the third ancient colony of emigrants from the eastern continent.

Mulek ~~we are told~~, was the son of Zedekiah, king of Judah, an infant at the time of his brothers' violent deaths . . . The Book of Mormon record concerning Mulek and his people is scant; we learn, however, that the colony was brought across the waters to a landing, probably on the northern part of the ~~American~~ continent. . . . The Nephites gave to a part of North America the name Land of Mulek.

Note* James E. Talmage was ordained an apostle Dec. 8, 1911 at the age of 49, thus adding authoritative weight to his previous publications.

1900 B. Y. Academy Expedition to South and Central America

According to Joseph Allen, in 1900, Benjamin Cluff, president of Brigham Young Academy, the forerunner of Brigham Young University, requested and received permission from the First presidency of the Church to form a "Zarahemla Expedition." The expedition's intent was to locate the land of Zarahemla. Cluff felt that a discovery of this nature would be advantageous to the educational institution of the Church. The general feeling of the organizers of the expedition was that the heartland of the Book of Mormon was in Central and South America. When the expedition arrived at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, they recorded the following:

Geographically we entered Central America and Tehuantepec, and, we think, entered the land of the Book of Mormon at the same place. Many of our brethren . . . think that Hagoth had his ship yards on the gulf of Tehuantepec. . . . One thing is certain . . . there are remains of many cities . . . that must be very ancient. . . . Over the country we now travel lived many a happy Nephite family. . . . (Benjamin Cluff, Jr., to George H. Brimhall, 24 February 1901, Cluff Presidential

A man by the name of Paul Henning had sent material about Mesoamerica to Cluff. Henning was a well-educated German scientist who also spoke Spanish. He accompanied Cluff on the "Zarahemla Expedition." Henning stayed in Guatemala after the two-year expedition came to an end and wrote many articles and conducted a great deal of research about Mesoamerica.

Still, the general thinking of the day was that the history of the Book of Mormon covered a large amount of ground from South America to North America. The Cluff Expedition was initially headed for Colombia, as they felt that the Magdalena River was the best candidate for the River Sidon. The expedition never reached Colombia because of the revolution in the country. However, regarding the accomplishments of the expedition, Cluff wrote that the expedition

(1) Served to pen to the Mormon people a knowledge of the countries on the South where they believe the ancient Nephites and Lamanites lived.

(2) Probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that the narrow neck of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon as being "a Sabbath day's" journey for a Nephite from sea to sea, is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

(3) Helped to increase the interest in the ancient ruins of Central and South America and so stimulate scholars to do all they can to date the construction of those ruins. (Roberts and Cluff 162. Taken from Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*. Provo, Utah: Brigham University Press, 1976, p. 161)

Source: ^Joseph L. Allen, "A Survey of Geography," *Exploring the Lands of the Book of Mormon*. Orem: S.A. Publishers, 1989, p. 186.

There is another source on the Cluff Expedition which differs somewhat from what Allen writes. On July 24, 1947 ("Utah's Centennial Year") Eugene L. Roberts, and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, Daughter-in-law of Benjamin Cluff Jr. published an extensive paper entitled "Benjamin Cluff Jr., . . . A Study of the Life and Labors of One of Utah's First School Administrators." (Manuscript copy in BYU Library).

In the Introduction, Professor John C. Swenson writes:

Especially have I been interested in the way the authors have presented a brief history of the Brigham Young Academy Scientific Expedition which Benjamin Cluff Jr. organized and conducted during the years 1900 and 1901. For many years before that time there had been among the Mormon people a keen and lively interest in problems connected with the Book of Mormon.

This was especially true of geographical questions: just where did the original colony land and how extensive were their occupied areas; where were their chief cities, and still more important, what was the relation of the existing ruins in Central and South America to the descriptions of civilizations contained in the Book of Mormon?

Many theoretical discussions and disputations were held to settle these perplexing questions, but little common agreement was arrived at. President Cluff decided to try a more practical and objective test of these confusing questions. He organized a group of scientists and experienced, practical men to explore these so-called Book of Mormon lands, to see what help objective research would lend to the solution of the problem. This, in short, was the motive and purpose that led to the organization and achievement of this exploring group. (pp. x-xi)

In Chapter VII "The Brigham Young Academy South American Exploring Expedition" we find:

In December, 1899, President Cluff presented his plan of an exploring expedition to George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith. They were interested and urged that the matter be laid before President Snow. This was done on December 21, 1899. The general plan in outline was as follows:

An exploring party consisting of from twenty to twenty-five men should be organized to go overland through Mexico, Central America, and South America with two main objectives in view: first, to discover evidences of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon; and second, to gather scientific data regarding the geology, geography, climate, flora and fauna, etc., of those countries to the south of the United States. President Cluff was sure that his party could collect and ship to Brigham Young Academy hundreds of valuable specimens which would make the museum one of the finest university museums in the West. . . . (p. 103)

In Chapter XII, "Outcomes and Evaluations of the Expedition we find the following: Nevertheless, what did the expedition accomplish? . . . First, a short statement from Benjamin Cluff himself. This he made on March 3, 1947.

The Expedition:

1. Served to open to the Mormon people a knowledge of the countries on the South where they believe the ancient Nephites and Lamanites lived.
2. Created a scientific interest in Central and South America so that students most likely have been stimulated to carry on researches there.
3. Collected and shipped to the Brigham Young University valuable specimens of the flora and fauna of Central And Northern South America, which must have proved interesting and instructive to students of tropical countries. These specimens may be of increasing value in the future.
4. Probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that the narrow neck of land spoken of in the Book of Mormon as being "a Sabbath Day's" journey for a Nephite from sea to sea, is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.
5. Helped to increase the interest in the ancient ruins of Central and South America and to stimulate scholars to do all they can to date the construction of those ruins. I was confident that the ruins of Palenque and others of that period were not of the Nephites. However, recent discoveries have made me doubtful of my former conclusions.
6. Perhaps served many other useful purposes which we cannot think of at present. It was a hard trip and the men who made it became deeply attached to each other. The work accomplished by Chester Van Buren, Paul Henning, J. B. Fairbanks, Walter Tolton, Asa Kienke and Heber Magelby cannot be praised too much. (pp. 163-164)

On page 165 we find the following from the *Provo Daily Enquirer*. It is a copy of a letter written to the Enquirer by a citizen, under the nom de plum of "Pilgrim." Taken from the original article from the diary of Benjamin Cluff, Jr.:

Welcome Home

. . . But little is known of the various tribes of Indians that the expedition came in contact with, and while the Mormon people are known the world over for their work and colonization, the B. Y. Academy Expedition has added fresh laurels to its fame by way of exploring the remote wilds of the Southern Republics. . . .

From a religious standpoint all those various tribes are of Israel, the seed of Joseph, and sooner or later this people will have to become acquainted with them if the scriptures are true, and the visit to these tribes alone is of great importance to any one interested in the later-day work, and the redemption and gathering of Israel.

Walter Tolton, after returning to his home at Beaver City, Utah, concludes his diary with the following statements, which present a summary of his travels and his own evaluation of the work done by the expedition: Feb. 1902, 11th. . . . I know there is a land of Nephi, a land of Zarahemla, and a land of Bountiful, and a land of Desolation. Although I may not be able to draw the lines where each of these lands were, yet testimonies were given unto me while travelling in the land of Nephi, the land of Zarahemla, the land of Bountiful, and the land of Desolation, that these lands were the lands spoken of in the Book of Mormon.

. . .

I believe the white Indians whom we visited on the shores of Mexico, and other tribes of Indians whom we visited and came in contact are a remnant of the Nephites and Lamanites spoken of in [the] Book of Mormon. Have borne my testimony to many of them of this being the case. Told them of their forefathers who once lived upon this continent. . . . (p. 177)

Note* In regard to Allen's comment that the expedition "never reached Colombia" we find facts to the contrary. On page 160 we read that just before returning home, some of the men took a river boat on a return voyage down the Magdalena river from Honda, Colombia. Mention is also made that these men learned that "Chester Van Buren was still at Medellin on the Cauca river, and that he planned to remain there for several months."

Source: ^Eugene L. Roberts, and Mrs. Eldon Reed Cluff, "Benjamin Cluff Jr., . . . A Study of the Life and Labors of One of Utah's First School Administrators." (Manuscript copy in BYU Library), July 24, 1947

Note* Anthony W. Ivins was ordained an apostle Oct. 6, 1907 at the age of 55.

Note* That Anthony Ivins and other authorities had a theory that Tehuantepec was the narrow neck of land makes this the first specific written proposal of such an idea. Yet even though Ivins and unnamed other authorities were proposing Tehuantepec as the narrow neck of land in the year 1900, their theory was apparently not part of any limited Mesoamerican theory. Ivins remarks in 1928 imply that he defended the New York hill Cumorah as the site of the final battles (see the notation for 1928). It is my guess that Ivins's theory seems to be a justification for the many ruins in Central America. I believe that Ivins was one of the first to promote a modified Continental Theory--that is, a modified hemispheric approach in which all of Central America represented the narrow neck of land (which included the land Bountiful), and that Tehuantepec represented the line between the land of Desolation and the land of Bountiful.

Some traditional authoritative comments concerning the ruins of Central America and the Central American isthmus might have prompted such ideas. In an Oct. 1842 *Times and Seasons* editorial commenting on John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America* we find the following:

"We are not agoing to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla, but when the land and the stones and the books tell the story so plain, we are of the opinion, that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb, to prove that the ruins of the city in question, are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon. . .

In a previous Sept. 1842 *Times and Seasons* we find another idea, that Lehi "landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien." Thus if Lehi landed "a little south of the Isthmus of Darien," then his migration northward to Zarahemla most likely would have taken him into Central America. Yet since Zarahemla was in the Land Southward, then the most northern extent of the narrow neck separating the Land Southward from the Land Northward would, by definition, have to be northward of Quirigua, Guatemala. (see the notation for 1842) Such documented historical comments and reasoning could very well have been part of Ivins's preparation (and apparent motivation) for this Expedition. And this could be where we find the beginnings of a modified Continental Theory for Book of Mormon geography, a theory which would be amplified in the coming years by the writings of B. H. Roberts, especially as he found doubt in the divine origins of the Lehi's Travel statement. (see the notation for 1909), and eventually by Janne Sjodahl in 1927 (see the notation), who was the first to formally propose such a theory.

Note* Terryl Givens presents a more negative view of this expedition:

Benjamin Cluff, Jr., president of Brigham Young Academy (University after 1903), persuaded the church to officially sanction the first actual foray into Book of Mormon archaeology. Under Cluff, who was trained in pedagogy and mathematics, a ragtag group made up mostly of students began an audacious expedition to South America in 1900. Although they hoped to amass all manner of scientific date, the main purpose was to discover the Nephite capital of Zarahemla, believed to lie along the banks of the Magdalena River in Columbia. With the preclassic civilizations of Mesoamerica (dating from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 450, contemporary with the Book of Mormon civilizations) yet to be discovered, this first effort to authenticate the New World scripture was premature by any standard. Delays at the Mexican border led to breakdown of morale and discipline, and soon the members' inexperience and poor organization caused the church to rescind its support. A few continued on, hungry and ill-equipped. They arrived in Colombia at last, only to find that internal chaos made further travel into the interior unthinkable. The six remaining explorers returned home after almost two years on the road. Cluff insisted that the effort succeeded in stimulating interest in the Book of Mormon and Mesoamerican antiquities, though it failed in its purpose. But the church's abrupt withdrawal of its endorsement was the first sign of a dawning recognition that optimism might need to be tempered with more prudence.^{lxx} (Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 108

[1900 **Illustration: The Cluff Expedition.** (Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah). From Terry L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 108.]

(For yet another perspective of this expedition, see the write-up in the notation of Hugh Nibley for 1952)

Interestingly, in an October 24, 2003 article by Tad Walch in the *Deseret Morning News*, we find the following:

[Karl] Maeser must have seen "a spiritual son" in [Benjamin] Cluff that day, said Chieko N. Okazaki on Thursday, 100 years to the day the school [Brigham Young Academy] held the first Founder's Day to celebrate the legalization of a new name, *Brigham Young University*.

[Cheiko] Okazaki gave the inaugural address of the Benjamin Cluff Jr. Annual Lecture. . . Okazaki, a former member of the Relief Society General Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, decried the university's treatment of Cluff, made after he led a church-approved expedition to South America in search of flora and fauna and proof of the veracity of the Book of Mormon.

A member of the 1900-02 "Zarahemla" expedition made accusations against Cluff that were proved false in a church court. The expedition was, and still is in histories, ridiculed by many as a failure, a designation Okazaki disputed. Cluff, exonerated but humiliated, resigned on Nov. 17, 1903, effective Dec. 23, 1903.

"I hope the biography will touch on the fact that the honest in heart are punished enough by the natural consequences of their mistakes," Okazaki said. "Teachers and administrators should understand this concept better than anyone else. What kind of education can occur when students are afraid to take a chance, ask a question or try a new procedure?"

"And this university is, in President (Spencer W.) Kimball's memorable phrase, engaged in 'education for eternity.'" Okazaki continued, "It should model a learning environment that combines the maximum of challenge with the maximum of support."

She said the lesson is underlined by the fact that "we are at an institution that almost certainly wouldn't exist without (Cluff's) devotion, vision and sacrifice." . . .

Cluff was a polygamist who took his third wife eight years after the LDS Church issued a Manifesto that it no longer would allow polygamy. He was the principal of Brigham Young Academy at the time and was still five years from convincing the board of trustees to make it a university.

Okazaki said Cluff was an indefatigable fund-raiser who was told by a church president that the church wouldn't fund the academy.

"If President Gordon B. Hinckley were to tell BYU President Cecil O. Samuelson that the church would no longer be responsible for BYU and the school would have to be funded on its own, what chance do you think President Samuelson would have of changing President Hinckley's mind?" Okazaki asked.

"Yet that's exactly what Benjamin Cluff did."

She said Cluff expanded BYU's campus and curriculum, added baseball and football to the school's activities and brought prominent national speakers for guest lectures--which is the spirit of the Cluff Annual Lecture.

But Cluff also was the target of resistance from jealous administrators at other Utah academies, colleges and universities.

"I hope a scholarly biography will deal with this dynamic of innovation and resistance,," Okazaki said.

A standing-room only crowd of more than 300 people attended Okazaki's lecture in the Ezra Taft Benson Building. Okazaki said the man who slept under a stage during his first term as a BY Academy student was an example because of his strong desire for education, his stalwart spiritual life and his nobility during discouragement after he left BYU.

She also said his experience was a poor example of how leaders sometimes err in the way they treat mistakes.

"I don't know why the church felt the need to distance itself from this man in the last decades of his life," said Okazaki, who pointed out that Cluff became a successful California grocer. . . (Tad Walch, "Y. founder left great legacy," in *Deseret Morning News*, Friday, October 24, 2003)

1900^ Asa S. Kienke

"Diary of Asa S. Kienke," **During his B.Y.U. Exploring Expedition to South America 1900-1902.** Transcribed by Brigham Young University Library

1955. Asa Kienke Papers, Folder 7, L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Note* Before quoting some extracts from Asa Kienke's Diary, I will include some pertinent information. In November, 1955, Asa Kienke was elected an Honorary Member of the University Archaeological Society. Ross T. Christensen, a leader in the UAS wrote the following article in *Brigham Young Alumnus*, November-December, 1955, pp. 8-11. He writes:

The last survivor of one of the most incredible archaeological expeditions of the twentieth century is Asa S. Kienke, BYU Alumnus, who lives in Salt Lake City.

Asa Kienke stands erect and alert, his head crowned with handsome white hair, as he approaches his 81st birthday. Fifty-five years have passed since he took part in an adventure more remarkable than fiction.

Asa S. Kienke was born January 17, 1875, at Nephi Utah. . . . As a young man, Asa went to school at Brigham Young Academy, and later joined its staff. His experience before 1900 also included a mission spent in Illinois and Indiana. Soon afterwards he studied archaeology at the University of Chicago for something less than a year. . . .

Asa Kienke was awakened by a bugle call on the morning of April 17, 1900. After a farewell meeting and fond goodbyes, he mounted a handsome mule called Jane and took his place beside the flag-bearer in the front rank of a body of 15 men which was forming at the Academy on what is now University Avenue in Provo. . . .

[1900 **Illustration: The Expedition, as it left Utah Valley April 17, 1900.** Ross T. Christensen, "Y Archaeologists Explore Ancient Ruins in 1900 on the B. Y. Academy Expedition," in *Brigham Young Alumnus*, November-December, 1955, p. 10]

These men had just returned from Salt Lake City, where in the Temple of the Most High they had been set apart for a special mission. These men were the Brigham Young Academy Expedition to Central and South America of 1900. . . .

For a month the Expedition waited at Thatcher on the Arizona side of the border while negotiations were in progress, and for another month at Nogales on the Mexican side under the watchful eye of armed guards. At length the impasse was broken, not through agreement with the border officials but by the arrival of Church leaders from Salt Lake City. Elders Joseph F. Smith and Seymour B. Young of the LDS Council of Twelve conferred, deliberated, and reached their decisions: The Expedition was to be divided. Of the 24 men now taking part, fifteen were released - under the same authority which had called them--and were free to return home or take other missionary assignments. . . . Nine men were named to go on. Asa Kienke was one of the nine. . . .

Supply wagons were sold, and the Expedition--what remained of it--now turned westward to the head of the Gulf of California [See the map below], thence southward along the coast and inland to Mexico City, thence through southern Mexico and into Guatemala and the other republics of Central America as far as the Isthmus of Panama. They . . . [had] penetrated a hundred miles of Costa Rican jungle where the Pan-American highway to this day still waits to be built. Men sickened and turned back. Only two men reached Panama. Asa Kienke was one of them.

Now, the prospect of crossing the terrible stretch of jungle lying between Panama City and the settled portions of Colombia faced them. The original Spanish conquerors traversed it once; but never since that time, it is believed, had white man passed that way. Benjamin Cluff and Asa Kienke sized up the situation and abandoned their original plan of going overland all the way. They sold their outfit and took a boat to the mouth of the Magdalena river.

In Colombia they met other members of the Expedition who had given up the overland trek sooner than they. For some 600 miles they steamed up the Magdalena river, through the heart of a country very much involved in civil war. Asa Kienke remembers that they were shot at 22 times. The authorities refused to give them approval to go farther. Reluctantly they turned back at Bogota'. . . .

[1900 **Map: Shows route taken by 1900 Expedition.** Ross T. Christensen, "Y Archaeologists Explore Ancient Ruins in 1900 on the B. Y. Academy Expedition," in *Brigham Young Alumnus*, November-December, 1955, p. 8]

That the first objective--that of gathering evidence bearing upon the claims of the Book of Mormon--was not more fully realized is no doubt due to the fact that the study of American archaeology was at that

time still in its infancy. The first reports announcing the discovery of the brilliant "Archaic" civilizations of middle America, the only ones yet brought to light which match the Book of Mormon account in area and time period, were not to appear for another decade. The first Latter-day Saint ever to earn his doctorate in the field of American archaeology as not to come onto the scene for another generation. But in a sense the Expedition of 1900 paved the way for future work. . . .

Asa Kienke's journal of the Expedition is one of the most valuable possible sources on the doings of that remarkable journey. Every day, whether beset with heat, or rain, or mosquitos, or sickness, an entry went into it. Every day is chronicled from April 17, 1900, until after his return to Provo, February 7, 1902. . . .

The following are pertinent extracts from the Asa Kienke Diary:

Feb. 17th [1901] Sunday and we are camped at Tehuantepec on the Tehuantepec River. Ther. 92 at 7-o'clock, a.m. It is here that Mex.[ico] ends and South America begins geographically, so we camp our last day in Mex. . . . The people are Zapateca Indians and some of the finest we have seen on the trip. They are of a nice build and quite white. . . .

Feb. 20th We start for Chiapa. . . . Just as we start to eat, here comes a man on foot dressed in a light suit of clothes, a helmet hat and a pair of leggings. He carries a stick in his hand and a small bundle on his back. He speaks a little English and we invite him to supper. We now learn that he is an Italian and came from Buenos Aires, South America. He has walked all the way save along the Isthmus, then he took boat. He intends to walk all through the U. S. and then take ship for Italy. He has been on the way one year and walks from 35-40-miles a day. . . . Just to think, our journey has hardly started compared with what he has already taken. But they all go around the Isthmus and say they want none of that.

Feb. 22nd Washington's birthday and we spend it in travel. This day we pass into the State of Chiapas, ascend the mts. and see the ocean. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 17th One year ago today the B. Y. A. Exploring Expedition left Provo City, Utah, U. S. A. This, our first anniversary, is a day (not of union) but of separation. Never before has the Exp. been scattered so widely, two and 3- and 1- in a place. Pres. C. and Tolton gone to Lake Isabel. Prof. Wolfe, C. G. V. and Jos. Adams somewhere in Guatemala. Bro. Hen. somewhere in Mex. or Guate., we don't know, and the lonely three camped at Montauilla, a hill top where there is no feed for our mules. . . .

Saturday, Apr. 27th Las Runas de Copan. Repubola de Honduras. . . .

Monday, Apr. 29 This being our last day among the ruins, it was full of work, I helped Pres. get out a map of the ruins, then got dinner. . . .

Puerto Berrio, Thurs., Oct. 17th, 1901. One year and 6 months have passed away since we left home, and I stand as follows: On the west bank of the River Magdalena in the land of Zarahemla, South America. . . . Have gone along the Isthmus of Panama from "San Jose de Costa Rica to Colon", all by land and with mules. . . . WE go up the river 14 leagues and arrive at an American chocolate plantation at 11- o'clock at night . . .

No. 6. Ruins at Palenque, Chihuahua [Chiapas?], Mex. Visited Saturday, Mar. 16th, 1901 The ruins at Palenque are located in the eastern part of the State of Chiapas, Mex., which is the last state in the republic. They are 2 1/2 leagues from the small village of Palenque from which they receive their name. They were first discovered in the year, 1750, and in the year, [18]40- or a long in there, Stephens wrote them up. . . . This or these tablets of stone seem to be all the temple contained and the object of it. The writings are Egyptian and have been done by a skillful hand. (p. 41) The temple on the east is called "Temple of the Holy Cross". . . .

1900[^] William Woodhead
(RLDS)

"Myths of the New World--No. 1--12," in *The Saints' Herald*, 47,
April 18, 25; May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; June 6, 13, 20, 27; July 4, 1900,
pp. 259-260, 276-279, 286-288, 308-311, 319-321, 334-337,
352-353, 369-371, 383-385, 398-401, 416-418, 431-432.

Note* This article is important because it links the traditional Hemispheric Book of Mormon perspective with early New World myths cited by early scientific writers. On the other hand, the perspectives of these early authors and writings cited were to be challenged by a later group of archaeological and anthropological authors--see the Shook notation for 1910. This article can also be found in the "External Evidences" section of this project.

William Woodhead writes the following:

No. 1

The Book of Mormon narrative is plain and simple. . . . It makes two civilizations--two distinct races of men on this continent--which start to develop in two different parts of the country: the first on (as the writer understands it) commencing in Central America, reaching to the United States; the second one commencing in South America, south of the equator on the west coast, uniting later on with another related colony in the northern part of South American, the two becoming one. The first civilization had succumbed to civil war, and had become extinct before the second reached its desolated country. In time the second civilization passed on and reoccupied the deserted country of the first inhabitants. . . . A great antiquity is sometimes claimed for some of the native races which, we are told, proves fatal to the Book of Mormon theory. Yes--a great antiquity is also claimed for some of the Bible lands, too, which is true would prove fatal to it. . . . [Woodhead then goes on to cite some examples of conflicting chronological dating in Egypt and Chaldea]

No. 2 Origin of the Native Races.

. . . Clavigero supposes the Aztec tribes came originally from Asia across the Pacific (See Priest's *Antiquities*, p. 272.)

"Aztlan," the starting point of the ancestors of the Aztecs, has been looked for by most all the writers on Mexican antiquities. Brasseur de Bourbourg places it in California; Humboldt about 42° north latitude; Foster in New Mexico; Fontaine in the Mississippi valley; Bandelier in Florida; Boturini speaks of the gulf of California. (See *Prehistoric America*, pp. 284, 285, note 3)

It is argued by all, I believe, that in starting from Aztlan the original colony traveled southward; that is why they all locate it northward from Mexico

Again, we are told by those who have made this subject a study, that Aztlan, Huehue-Tlapallan, Tulan-Zuiva, and Amaquemecan are different names for the same place. (See *Prehistoric America*, p. 272, with *Myths of the New World*, pp. 104-106) Aztlan is the birthplace of the Aztecs, Tlapallan is the birthplace of the Quiches, Tulan is the birthplace of the Toltecs, and Amaquemecan is the birthplace of the Chichimecs. . . .

Now the reader can see at once that the Aztec colony that is said to have started from the "other side of the sea" looks just like the Lehi colony that started from Jerusalem (not counting Ishmael); namely, eight men with their wives. The first leader is Lehi and he has four sons. . . .

Now when the Aztec colony started from Aztlan they traveled southward. That is why Aztlan is looked for north of Mexico. So the Lehi colony traveled in the wilderness in a "south-southeast direction." (1 Nephi 5:6) Is that all accidental harmony? . . .

The Nephites and Lamanites are in America for several hundred years before they reach a place which is called "a small neck of land." This small neck (so to speak) is the "link" which is between the land northward and the land southward. (alma 13:11) . . .

The country of Zarahemla reached to this small neck of land on the north, and southward to a watershed, or to the head of the river Sidon. . . . This small neck is the Panama Isthmus, and this watershed is the "Cordillera Oriental" range at the head of the Magdalena River. This brings us nearly under the equator. The land of Nephi was southward, and these two great divisions of land were "nearly surrounded by water." The physical geography of South America answers this description; namely, a "small neck at the north end, the water basin leaning towards the north, the rivers running towards the north, a natural boundary by a range of mountains across the continent, and a rich country

south of this range.

The city of Nephi was away to the south of this division. And in this country of Nephi, on the west coast was "their fathers' first inheritance" (Alma 13:11); that is, the Lehi colony landed on the west coast of South America, south from a point where the water basin leans to the north

No. 3 Tradition About the Four Brothers

. . . Now the first inheritance was on the west side of the land (country) of Nephi, in the borders by the seashore (Alma 13:11), the Nephites moving northward to Zarahemla, via Lehi-Nephi, the Lamanites spreading north, east, south, and west.

From the foregoing we see that the Book of Mormon is in harmony with scientists with reference to that southern country.

Squier thinks that Manco Capac and his wife had crossed the sea, Gibbs and others think that southern civilization was developed by a colony that had crossed the sea. Clavigero thinks that the Aztec forefathers came originally from Asia, across the Pacific; and Mr. Brinton catches sight of those southern people in the great western mountains, at the head waters of the Plata, and at the Titicaca Lake. . . .

The Book of Mormon says that the people of South America started from the west seashore, in the land of Nephi, which land was the southern division of South America; its northern line being near or at a great water shed which runs across the continent. We identify the city of Nephi with Cuzco. . . .

In the myths it was Manco Capac who became great at Cuzco, teaching the rude people the arts of civilized life. In the Book of Mormon this work was done by Nephi. . . . In the myths Manco Capac had for a companion guide, Viracocha, the Peruvian creator. In the Book of Mormon Nephi had for a companion-guide the Lord, the Christian Creator. . . .

The Mayas of Central America have some myths of their own; they tell their story in their own way.

Professor Le Plongeon says that according to his reading of the Troano (a Maya book), their ancient nation or empire was symbolized by a tree, which was planted in the northern part of South America.

This nation or empire is symbolized by the serpent also. The serpent's head reaches into the Yucatan peninsula; its long body is stretched out at full length through Central America, and eastward down through the Panama Isthmus, with its tail resting in the northern part of South America.

From these myths we can see that the beginning of that ancient people commenced in the northern part of South America, moving northward until it reached Yucatan, these countries occupied by the serpent becoming the ancient dominions of the Maya Empire. . . .

Seven Families from the Tower of Babel

Clavigero, explaining a Chiapanese myth, says:

There was a Votan who was the grandson of the man who built the ark to save himself and family from the Deluge; he was one of those who undertook to build the tower that should reach to heaven.

The Lord ordered him to people America. "He came from the East." He brought seven families with him. He had been preceded in America by two others, Igh and Imox. He built a great city in America called "Nachan."--*Atlantis*, p. 313.

This Nachan is supposed by De Bourbourg to be Palenque . . . This explanation of this myth would make it appear that a colony came from the tower of Babel and made a settlement in Central America.

The oldest people in this region are called the Colhuas, and Donnelly says:--"the Mayas succeeded to the Colhuas whose era terminated one thousand years before the time of Christ"--*Atlantis*, p. 217.

This Colhuan kingdom embraced in its ancient dominions, Baldwin says, Honduras, Guatemala, Yucatan, Tabasco, Tehuantepec, Chiapa, and other districts in Central America (See *Ancient America*, p. 199). . . .

The Colhuas' "first settlements," Baldwin thinks, were "on the Gulf coast in Tabasco" (*Ancient America*, p. 200) In Central America and Mexico we read of stone, cement, and stucco "hard as marble." (*Ibid.* p. 157) Making due allowance for exaggeration, it is safe to say that in the ruins of Quirigua, Copan, Mitla; and Palenque are found the footprints of one of the earliest civilizations of our race this side of the flood. But the exact time when the Colhuas era ceased, or the exact time when the Toltecs were nearly exterminated, is mere guesswork. . . .

The earliest was the Colhuas; contemporary with them was the Chichimec and, strange yet true, we read of Chichimecs from the remotest times down till after the Conquest, so that in prehistoric times

America was never without Chichimecs. They occupy about the same place in the new world myths that the Turanian means do in the old. Turanian means "outside," or "barbarian." So the Chichimecs seem as a rule "outside," or "barbarian." The name Chichimec became "a general term to designate the unconquered tribes of New Spain." (*Prehistoric America*, p. 12) Bancroft says:--"Of the tribes that are known to have possessed no civilization . . . I will only mention the people denominated Chichimecs . . . (*Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. 1, p. 617.

From this we see what the historians mean by Chichimecs. Yet this is the kind of people that put an end to the "golden age" in Mexico and Central America. (*Prehistoric America*, pp. 274, 275) . . .

No. 4 The Jaredite, or Colhuas Era

According to the myths the Colhuas and Chichimecs were the first people in Central America and Mexico. According to the Book of Mormon it was the Jaredites divided into two factions. (See Ether 1:1; 3:7; 4:1; 6:4)

The Colhuas era terminated, it is said, about nine or ten centuries B.C. The Jaredite era, according to the Book of Mormon, ended about 600 B.C.

The seven families in the myths and the Jaredite colony came from the tower of Babel; both were directed by Providence, and both located in Central America. The Colhuas were succeeded by the Mayas, and the Jaredites were succeeded by the Nephites. The Mayas came from the northern part of South America, according to Le Plongeon's reading of the Troano and his serpent chart; and the Nephites moved up into the north country (Desolation) from the land of Zarahemla (northern part of South America) before the Christian era.

The "land northward" was the country which the Jaredites occupied. (See Omni 1:10; Alma 21:9) Moroni called the Jaredite country "this north country." (See Ether 1:1) . . .

Now the distance from sea to sea, where the Jaredite country commenced at the south end, was only a day and a half's journey for a Nephite. "A Nephite" was one person. The local land which joined Desolation at this narrow place was Bountiful. Bountiful, in the later Nephite history, occupied the "neck," and was a local land or state, and lay between the land Desolation and the land of Zarahemla. In this land Bountiful was a very narrow place "from the west sea, even unto the east; it being a day's journey for a Nephite on the line which they had fortified and stationed their armies to defend their north country." Helaman 2:8.

The Jaredite country then must have commenced at or near the line between Costa Rica and Columbia.

. . .

The man who wrote the Book of Mormon must have been wide awake, up to date; no back number will do. He had one eye on the myths the other on the substructure of ruins that lay hidden in the dense forests of Central America. He could see through the forests, the underbrush too. He could see that the ruins "stood upon older," "much older foundations." He could see that "it is as impossible to attribute them all to the same people as to believe they were all built at the same epoch." . . .

How cunning the author of the Book of Mormon is! He locates the Jaredites in Central America and northward to our great lakes; and then he has the Nephites to reoccupy the Jared country, thus rebuilding the dilapidated structures. . . . How [the Book of Mormon] whispers from the dust" that the antiquities of Central America are older than those of Mexico or Peru! How it whispers again that these cities were rebuilt by another people . . .

No. 7 The Age of These Antiquities

. . . This is the theory of the Book of Mormon exactly; only that book got about forty years the start of Mr. Baldwin. It teaches that the Jaredites moved up into Mexico from Central America and that they were a "warlike race." Their last battles being fought south of our great lakes, the "hill Ramah" of Ether 6:6 being "the same hill where my father Mormon did hide up the records unto the Lord which were sacred."

The hill Ramah of the Jaredite history is the hill Cumorah in Nephite history. So that the great last struggles of both Jaredites and Nephites were in the same regions; namely Western New York. This will account then for the great number of "enclosures" in that region; two hundred and fifty of which are to be found in New York "resembling our modern fortifications." (See *Prehistoric America*, p. 85)

No. 12 Review

. . . We can now see, however, that when the Book of Mormon was first offered to the world as a true

and authentic history of America, or certain parts of it, that at that time some of its statements looked to be incredible and altogether out of joint with what the public mind had settled on with reference to pre-historic America. . . .

This process of reconstructing the past is in effect putting that book on trial; but if the reader will only notice, it escapes condemnation almost every time. It fares a good deal better with scientists than it does with the preachers! . . .

Its author starts primitive man in Central America, the antiquities of which are older than Mexico or Peru. . . .The first era (the Colhuas) came to an end, the myths say, nine or ten centuries B.C. According to the Book of Mormon that first era (the Jaredite era) ended about six centuries B.C.)

The South American colony landed on the Pacific coast. The first traces of them are in the Titicaca region and to the southward. Four brothers located at Cuzco, and were directed there in the first settlement by a miraculous golden branch, or rod or wedge. The youngest of three brothers in most of the myths, became the first ruler in Peru.

In the Book of Mormon, Nephi located a colony at Nephi, and became the first king there. He was soon followed up by his brothers, and war followed. This city of Nephi became the center of civilization for several centuries; first for the Nephites, and afterward for the Lamanites. They built roads leading from city to city; that is what the record says. These roads, then, will point to Nephi, which was the "chief city." (Alma 21:24)

Four great roads lead into Cuzco; one from each one of the four divisions of the empire. (Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, vol. 1, book 1, chap. 2, p. 52) Two of these roads went northward and two southward. One of them passed over the grand plateau northward to Quito; a second went down to the coast, and then northward along the lowlands, on the borders of the ocean; a third went down southward into Chili; a fourth went southeast, past the Titicaca region to Potosi, in Southern Bolivia. These roads point to Cuzco as a center of civilization. So the roads point to Nephi, the "chief city." The four brothers were at Nephi, or in its neighborhood; and the four brothers were at Cuzco. In the myths they came to Cuzco from the south or southeast. In the Book of Mormon they made two journeys before they reached Nephi. Nephi, likely is Cuzco. Cuzco was built on the ruins of an old city, and that gave it its name, "coscos," or Cuzco. The old city was Nephi, and the new one Cuzco.

[1900 Illustration: The Ancient Roads Leading Toward Cuzco. Source??]

The four brother myth is found with almost every tribe in South America. They trace their pedigree back to those four men. . . .

The Chiapanese also speak of seven families from the tower of Babel. . . .

A person who is called Quetzalcoatl came also from Tulan to preach to the Toltecs. There has been a great deal of speculation as to who this person could be. He was white, with a long beard, and dressed in a long white robe, his teachings are said to have been pure and elevating--"the purest Christianity." This person was high priest at Tulan (the distant Orient); he was born of a virgin "over there." He was crucified; was the creator. . . .

The myth of Quetzalcoatl will not fit any other person than our Lord, and it will just fit him. Tulan, then, is identified as the country where our Lord was born, thus confirming the Book of Mormon story of Christ's ministry to the Nephites, and that the ancestors of the natives came from Jerusalem.

The Mayas are traced to the northern part of South America. The "Empire of Mayax" started down there; and grew like a "tree," extending its dominions up through Central America into Yucatan. This is where the people of Zarahemla were found by Mosiah, in the northern part of South America. . . .

These Mayas, then, are found to be the Mulokites, who seem to have in some respects a different pedigree. Their union with the Nephites will account for their empire reaching from the northern part of South America up into Yucatan, for that northern country was settled by those two peoples jointly.

This northern country was the Jaredite country which is called Desolation. This term applies to the whole of the Jaredite country in the first place, but after the Nephites and Zarahemlites had settled it up, they retained the name Desolation to a local land only. . . .

The Lamanite victory over the Nephites is the Chichimec victory over the Toltecs. The Nephites were a white civilized race, with a Christian culture. The Toltecs were a white civilized people with a Christian culture. Their culture here came from Tulan, and was born of a virgin there; etc. The Nephites were

taught by our Lord in person--in Mexico. . . .
Barnard, Mo., February 5, 1898.

1900^ Peter De Roo
and

History of America before Columbus, according to Documents

non-LDS scholarly

Approved Authors, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1900.

This is a two-volume comprehensive work. In Volume 1, chapter 8 Peter De Roo writes on "Civilization of Ancient America." Although it might not appear so to the reader because of De Roo's anti-Hebrew bias, the ideas which he expounds correspond, in a general manner, with many of those upheld by LDS Book of Mormon scholars of the time. Although De Roo links the Mormons negatively to the discounted theory that the ancient American civilizations were a result of the Lost Ten Tribes, in reality the LDS writers did not exclusively espouse this theory either. In the Book of Mormon the Jaredites came first (across Asia according to some theories). Additionally, the Nephites were assumed to be more "Christianized" even from the beginning, and especially after the visit of Christ. In the end, De Roo attributes the "civilization" of the Americas first to Asian migration, and secondly to Christianization, while assigning the state of the Indian to degeneration (as with the Lamanites). It is interesting to note here that Asa Kienke (a member of the 1900 Cluff Expedition) donated to the BYU Library the very copy of this book (bearing his personal signature) that I have taken my information from.

The following excerpts from De Roo are pertinent to Book of Mormon geographical ideas of the time: To open an interesting chapter with a poetical statement, we shall relate a short Mormon story (Cf. Bancroft, vol. v. p. 98, seq.): The Lost Tribes of Israel, almost immediately upon their arrival in America, separated into two distinct nations. The Nephites, so called from the prophet Nephi, . . . others, who called themselves Lamanites, from Laman, their chief, a wicked and corrupt man. . . . [they] received a visit from Christ, who, before his ascension, appeared in the midst of the Nephites in the northern part of South America. His instructions, the foundation of the New Law, were engraved on plates of gold, and some of them are to be found in the Book of Mormon . . .

A terrible war broke out between the two nations, which ended in the destruction of the ungrateful Nephites. Driven by their enemies towards the North and Northeast, they were defeated in a final battle near the hill of Cumorah, in the State of New York, where their historical tablets have since been found by Joseph Smith!

On the occasion of this tale we might also rehearse a Christian legend,--namely, that Our Lord, during the forty days between his resurrection and his ascension, walked with unequal giant strides over the earth, and that wherever he set down his foot a church must be built in the sequel of time. Should this pious story be truthful, it would be evident that Christ strode over our hemisphere in many directions. No one has seriously pretended that Christ, during his visible mission on earth, has ever visited our continent; but America was part of the world, over which he sent his apostles to teach his doctrine of salvation. The question of his apostles' actual preaching in America has been taken up long since according to the rules of historical criticism. . . .

1900^ George Reynolds

Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon, SLC: Deseret Book, 1900.
Reprinted in 1957, 1968, 1973, 1976.

In 1900, George Reynolds finally published his *Complete Concordance to the Book of Mormon*, much of which (25,000 entries) had been completed while in prison in 1880. Until the age of computers, this monumental work would become the standard for students of the Book of Mormon. The following are references to New World geography:

BOUNTIFUL (Land of)

The most northerly Nephite division of the South American continent. It extended on the north to the Isthmus of Panama, where it was bounded by the land of Desolation. [100]

CUMORAH

A hill and the district immediately surrounding it in Ontario County, State of New York. It was known as Ramah to the Jaredites. In its vicinity both the Jaredite and the Nephite races were destroyed in battle.

Within its bosom the sacred records of the latter race were concealed. [p. 161]

MANTI, City of

The chief city of the land of Manti. . . . The land of Manti was situated contiguous to the wilderness at the head waters of the Sidon. It was the most southerly of all the lands inhabited by the Nephites, in the western half of the South American continent, after they had moved from the land of Nephi.

NEPHI, Land of

The greater portion of South America, named after Nephi, the son of Lehi. It was inhabited by the Nephites until about B.C. 200 and from that time to the days of Christ by the Lamanites. [493]

SIDON, River

The most important river in Nephite History; known to-day as the Magdalena. It runs northward through the United States of Colombia and empties into the Caribbean Sea. [p. 633]

ZARAHÉMLA, Land of

As there were two lands of Nephi, the greater and the lesser, so, for exactly the same reasons, there were two lands of Zarahemla; the one occupying the whole of South America, from the great wilderness which formed its southern border, northward to the land Bountiful; the other the district immediately surrounding the capital city, which bore the same name. [848]

(see the notation for 1957)

1901[^] James E. Talmage

"The Story of Mormonism," in the Improvement Era, vol. 4, no. 8, June 1901, pp. 608-614..

The book told of the journeyings (of Lehi's people) across the water, in vessels constructed according to revealed plan, of the people's landing on the western shores of South America near the spot now marked by the city of Valparaiso; of their prosperity and rapid growth amid the bounteous elements of the new world. . . . The Nephites lived in cities, some of which attained great size and were distinguished by singular architectural beauty. Continually advancing northward, these people soon occupied the greater part of the valleys of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Magdalena. Indeed, during the one thousand years covered by this remarkable record, the Nephites had crossed the Isthmus, which is graphically described as a neck of land but a day's journey from sea to sea, and had occupied successively extensive tracts in what is now Mexico, the valley of the Mississippi, and the Eastern States. It is not to be supposed that these vast regions were all populated at one time by the Nephites; they were continually moving to escape the depredations of their hereditary foes, the Lamanites; and they deserted in turn all their cities established along the course of migration. The unprejudiced student sees in the discoveries of the ancient and now forest covered cities of Mexico, Central America, Yucatan, and the northern regions of South America, a verification of this history. Before their more powerful foes, the Nephites dwindled and fled; until about the year 400 A. D., they were entirely annihilated after a series of decisive battles, the last of which was fought near the very hill, called Cumorah, in the State of New York, where the hidden record was subsequently revealed to Joseph Smith. The Lamanites led a roving, aggressive life; kept few or no records, and soon lost the art of history writing. They lived on the results of the chase, and by plunder, degenerating in habit until they became typical progenitors of the dark skinned race, afterward discovered by Columbus and named Indians.

1901 George Reynolds

"Letter to Elder E. T. Lloyd," Logan, August 8th, 1901. *First Presidency Letterbooks*, Volume 36, Reel #31, p. 421, Historical Dept. of the Church - CR 1 20.

On August 8th, 1901, George Reynolds, secretary to the First Presidency, sent a letter to Elder E. T. Lloyd, Logan, Utah containing the following:

The differences are so great on geographical questions amongst students of the Book of Mormon that the authorities have discountenanced the preparation of any suggestive map of America in Nephite times; consequently none have been published with the approval of the priesthood.

Your Brother, Geo. Reynolds.

Source: ^Dennis C. Davis, Ogden, Utah, typewritten copy, personal communication.

1901 abt. Heber J. Grant **Alma Taylor's Reminiscences.** Cited in **Spencer J. Palmer and Roger R. Keller, *Religions of the World: A Latter-day Saint View***, Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1989.

Spencer Palmer and Roger Keller note:

According to Alma Taylor's reminiscences of the event, Elder [Heber J.] Grant "spoke of those who, because of iniquity, had been cut off from among the Nephites . . . and said we felt that through the lineage of those rebellious Nephites who joined with the Lamanites, that the blood of Lehi and Nephi [and of all Israel] had been transmitted unto the people of this land [Japan], many of whom have the features and manners of the American Indians, [and he] asked the Lord that if this were true that He would not forget the integrity of His servants Lehi and Nephi and would verify the promises made unto them concerning their descendants in the last days upon this [the Japanese] people for we felt that they were a worthy nation."

Source: ^Quoted in Robert E. Parsons, "Hagoth and the Polynesians," in *The Book of Mormon: Alma, The Testimony of The Word*, Provo: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992, p. 257.

1901^ Susa Young Gates **"A Visit to the Hill Cumorah,"** in *Young Woman's Journal* 12 (January 1901), pp. 18-26.

In 1900 Susa Young Gates made a short trip to the Palmyra area, including visits to the Whitmer and Smith farms and to the Hill cumorah. She and Elder Claude Taylor, a friend who lived in a nearby city made two short visits to the hill. Of these she writes:

Every Latter-day Saint, whether young or old, surely has a great interest in the place where was ushered in the greatest work of modern times.

It is true that we are not relic-worshipers, nor even men-worshipers; we know that the spirit of things is the true essence or individuality; but we have a fondness which partakes of reverence for the localities, things and tabernacles that once sheltered the divine spirit of our loved ones and which made for a time the shelter and the surroundings of momentous and solemn events.

It was with this serious interest that the writer undertook a short side journey from Buffalo down to visit the Hill Cumorah. . . .

We drove slowly over the excellent country road, wondering each moment where our own particular point of interest lay.

We had read carefully the description given in the Life of Joseph Smith . . . [see the 1883 George Q. Cannon notation]

We also had with us Elder Andrew Jenson's pamphlet, containing descriptions of his visits to early scenes in the Church. [FIND] . . .

We were watching for the highest hill in the neighborhood, but forgot we were approaching it from the south side.

"Where is the Hill?" we asked our driver.

"There it is," he said, pointing to a low hill gradually rising at its summit to the northward. It was only one of many hills; not a series of foot hills tied or held together with slight elevations, but rising, most of them from the plain, in varied and graceful lines.

We looked eagerly about the country, and fancy went out to the two terrible conflicts that took place in this neighborhood. . . .

The drive around the north end of the Hill repaid us for coming; the mighty sentinel rises with a strength and majesty when you face him which impresses you with all the dignity and force of which **an**

inanimate custodian is capable.

What a rush of emotions filled my heart!

"Mr. Sampson, the brother of Admiral Sampson, lives here under the hill; indeed, he owns the whole place," said our driver. "Suppose we drive to his house and see what can be done about lodgings there."

Arrived at the neat, yet small farm house, Elder Taylor went up to the house to put our request. . . .

"Would you object to our walking up on the Hill a few moments?"

"No oh no! You can go up--if you want to," he added with pitying scorn in his voice. . . .

When we reached the top, we turned and looked to the northward at the rich landscape spread out before us; hills, forests, farms, homes, and villages, gave delightful change to the prospect.

We hurried now for time, but decided we would come back next day, if we could. . . .

Next morning was the Sabbath, and without eating, we obtained a buggy and started on the road back to the Hill. . . .

[Mr. Powers] told us where to find the Smith Farm, and gave us the name of the present owner, a Mr. William Avery Chapman. . . .

The farm house, like the old Massachusetts homes of similar character, is directly on the roadside, with the barn on the opposite or west side of the road. . . .

We then road on to Cumorah. After asking permission, we tied our horse, and once more ascended to the top of the Hill, and after locating, somewhat to our own satisfaction, the place where we thought the sacred box once rested, we walked on to the small grove of young timber.

Here we seated ourselves on a fallen log, took out our hymn book, and Book of Mormon, and held a quiet informal service, suited to the time and place.

What our thoughts and hopes were as we lingered on the sacred spot, where so much of he history of this continent had its center and focus, only those who have been there could understand and appreciate.

Once more we climbed to the northern summit, and filled eye and memory with the beautiful scene before us.

Then we returned by the quiet drive to Palmyra.

Note* In the above article there appeared a photograph of "The Hill Cumorah."

[1901 **Photograph: "The Hill Cumorah."** Susa Young Gates, "A Visit to the Hill Cumorah," in *Young Woman's Journal* 12, January 1901, p. 20]

Note* In his book (*An Introduction to the Study of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret News Press, 1927, chapt. 1, p. 7), J. M. Sjodahl includes the following regarding Susa Young Gates' visit to the New York Hill Cumorah that was not included in the 1901 article above:

It has been stated that there is no evidence near Cumorah of fierce battles in the past. That statement is completely answered in the following letter from Sister Susa Young Gates to the author:

In 1901 Elder Claude Taylor and myself Susa Young Gates visited the Hill Cumorah and had an interview with Mr. and Mrs. Samson who then owned the Hill and the farm adjoining. Mr.

Samson was the brother of Admiral Samson, but he was very prejudiced against the Mormon people. However, we spent some time talking with him.

Outside the farmhouse Elder Taylor and myself noted several bushel baskets filled with arrow heads and I asked Mrs. Samson what they were. She said they had just begun to plow up the hill Cumorah and around the hill, to plant some crops, and they turned up these arrow heads by the basket full.

I asked her what she did with them. She replied that she sold them to tourists who passed by. I inquired the price of them, and she replied, 'Twenty-five cents.' I purchased two and when I returned home I gave one to President Joseph F. Smith. The other one I have kept and it is still in my possession. This seems good evidence of the wars which have been fought around this historical hill.

(See the notation for 1991)

**1901[^] (abt Joseph Smith)
Chapter**

**"History of the Prophet Joseph. By His Mother, Lucy Smith,"
XVII, in *Improvement Era*, Vol. V. No. 4, February, 1901, p. 331**

Note* In 1979, Howard Clair Searle presented a 520-page Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980) at the University of California, Los Angeles, in which he devotes chapter 8 to "The History of Joseph Smith By His Mother." In this chapter he writes the following:

[p. 414-415] Brigham Young did not plan the permanent suppression of Mother Smith's history, but wanted the Church Historian to revise and correct it, leaving out "false statements" and those that were not known "to be true,," and giving "the reason why they are left out." (Wilford Woodruff Journal, 13 February 1859, L.D.S. Church Archives) The Church Historian, George A. Smith, who was also a cousin to the Prophet and well acquainted with his family, was probably the best qualified man in the Church to head the revision committee. Another cousin of Joseph's, Elias Smith, was assigned to work with George A. on the project. Joseph Smith's father, Joseph, Sr.; George A.'s father, John; and Elias' father, Asael, were all sons of Asael and Mary Smith. (See Nibley, ed., *History of Joseph Smith By His Mother*, pp. 348-52.)

The version revised by George A. and Elias Smith was never printed until 1901 and 1902. The General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was desirous of publishing the history in serial form in its monthly organ, *The Improvement Era* . . . and it finally appeared in monthly installments in the *Era* from November 1901 to December 1902.

[p. 427] Its rather through suppression in 1865 significantly delayed its distribution and acceptance. It was only after the revisions of the Smith cousins, and the succession of anew generation of Church leadership, that the history was finally approved for publication in 1901.

On page 331 we find the following:

[Joseph] took leave for Pennsylvania, on the same business as before mentioned, and the next January [1827] returned with his wife, in good health and fine spirits.

Not long subsequent to his return, my husband had occasion to send him to Manchester on business. As he set off early in the day we expected him home at most by six o'clock in the evening, but when six o'clock came he did not arrive. . . . He did not get home till the night was far spent. On coming in he threw himself into a chair, apparently much exhausted. . . .

Presently he smiled and said in a calm tone, "I have taken the severest chastisement that I have ever had in my life."

My husband, supposing that it was from some of the neighbors, was quite angry and observed, "I would like to know what business anybody has to find fault with you!"

"Stop, father, stop," said Joseph, "it was the angel of the Lord: as *I passed by the hill of Cumorah*, where the plates are, the angel met me and said that I had not been engaged enough in the work of the Lord; that the time had come for the record to be brought forth; and that I must be up and doing and set myself about the things which God had commanded me to do. . . ."

It was also made known to him at this interview that he should make another effort to obtain the plates, on the twenty-second of the following September, but this he did not mention to us at that time.

Note* This reference to "the hill of Cumorah" is not found in the original 1845 manuscript--See the 1827, 1845 and 1853 notations

**1901[^] Henry A. Stebbins
of
Day**

***Book of Mormon Lectures, Lamoni, Iowa: Published by the Board
Publication of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter
Saints*, 1901, reprinted in 1908.**

In the Preface of the 1901 book we find the following:

This book is a revised and enlarged copy of the Book of Mormon Lectures that were delivered by the author in the Saints' chapel, Independence, Missouri, on nine successive evenings during February, 1894. They were given by the joint invitation of the Religio-Literary Society and the Sunday-school of that branch of the church. Sister Belle Robinson (now James) reported them in shorthand and their publication was immediately begun in *Zion's Ensign*. . . .

Since doing this the author has revised and corrected the original, and also added much more to the book from the great store of antiquarian and historical material that has been piling up during the past sixty years, especially the past thirty years, in favor of the book that has been advocated for more than seventy years as a book of divine truth. . . .

Henry A. Stebbins

Lamoni, Iowa, December 14, 1901.

Starting on page 40 we find the following:

It is more than ten thousand miles across the Pacific and they [the Jaredites] were three hundred and forty-four days in passing over it. . . . I believe that he [the Creator] caused to be placed in use the great current of the sea that sets across north of the Equator from Asia to America, and that he also used the power of the winds that blew then in their regular circuits and order as much as they do to-day. (p. 40) Now comes the important question, "Where did the people of Jared land? We claim that they landed upon the west coast of Central America. We do not know exactly where, but in that region of country where exist the countries now called Guatemala, Honduras, and Yucatan. Possibly they landed as far south as Costa Rica.

Modern investigation shows that in those regions are found the most ancient remains of the people that once dwelt on this continent. . . . (pp. 41-42)

. . . the Nephites and Lamanites came together from Jerusalem about sixteen hundred years after the Jaredites arrived from Babylon, and they located in Central Peru . . . The ruins of massive stone structures yet exist as evidence of a remarkable people having dwelt there in ages past, including some ruins on an island or islands in Lake Titicaca. . . . Page 267 and elsewhere in the Book of Mormon indicate plainly the location of that people on the west coast of South America. . . . From Peru they gradually migrated northward until they came to the isthmus, which the book speaks of repeatedly. . . . (pp. 42-43)

"And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful, and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea; . . . there being a small neck of land between the land northward, and the land southward."--Alma 13:11

. . . in a certain place it was a day's journey across for a Nephite to walk it, that being the place where they made their first line of fortifications at the time when the Nephites retreated before the Lamanites. This line (pointing to the map) is the shortest of any between the seas, it being about thirty miles across, namely from the Gulf of Darien on the Atlantic side to the Gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific side. About two hundred miles further northwest was the line between the land Desolation and the land Bountiful. . . . (p. 44)

We now consider another point in this narrative, namely, that the Book of Mormon history and the discoveries of modern explorers, antiquarians, and students, agree that when the ancient people became divided they also scattered abroad and then many journeyed from Central America and Mexico into the Mississippi Valley, and thence up the Ohio into the northern part of the United States, particularly into Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. . . . (p. 83)

King Coriantumr lived long enough after the struggle to go south into Central America again, where the Jaredites had their beginning sixteen hundred years before, and there he was found by the people of Zarahemla, as they were called, who came out from Jerusalem in 588 B.C. . . . (p. 100)

. . . the Zarahemlites came across the sea during the captivity, and they landed on the west coast of Central America, where they found Coriantumr, the last king of the Jaredites. . . . After that the Zarahemlites went into the United States of Colombia, where the Nephites discovered them about five hundred years later, situated along the Sidon River, the river now called Magdalena. . . . (p. 101)

[Ether] hid the twenty-four gold plates on which it was engraved, and they were found about five hundred years after the Nephites and Lamanites landed in Peru. . . . (p. 101)

The Manifold Encyclopedia has also the following about the ruins and civilization, in its article on Peru: The earliest era, about which exceedingly little is known, is that Pre-Incarial period, of unknown duration, during which a nation or nations living in large cities flourished in the country, and had a civilization, a language, and a religion, different, perhaps in some cases more advanced, than those of the Incas. . . . Whence these Pre-Incarial nations came, and to what branch of the human family they belonged, remain unanswered questions. Their existence, however, is clearly attested by the architectural remains, sculptures, carvings, etc., which they have left. . . . The ancient fragments of buildings on these shores [of Lake Titicaca] were beheld with astonishment by the earliest of Incas, who, by their own confession, accepted them as models for their own architecture.

. . . The writer in the encyclopedia says that during centuries of time their agriculture was brought to the highest degree of perfection, and we consider how correct is the Book of Mormon when it states that for four centuries the Nephites pursued their labors in Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia.

Because men found no iron or steel in the later centuries, it is taken for granted that they used neither of these metals. But there is sufficient evidences that the Ancient Americans did make use of iron and probably steel also.

The history shows that many of the Nephites became wicked while they were living in Ecuador [the city of Nephi] and the more righteous of them under Mosiah journeyed still further north into the United States of Colombia. There they found a colony who called themselves the people of Zarahemla] were living in the region of country through which ran a stream called the River Sidon. this river we understand to be that now known as the Magdalena River. . . . From the Caribbean Sea it is navigable to the modern town of Honda, which is five hundred and forty miles from its mouth. . . . The Nephites lived there a long time, and then the Lamanites became stronger and drove them into Central America, until they largely removed into that country and Mexico. . . . (pp. 186-187)

The Nephites also became more and more wicked, except a few who were softened by their distresses. They were drive further and further north towards the isthmus; and fifty-four years before the coming of Christ many went north, both by sea and by land, into Central America and Mexico. They built vessels in which they sailed along the western coast, and probably they crossed the gulf in ships. Leading scientists of our day say that they believe a people in ancient times did migrate across the gulf to the Mississippi Valley. According to the book thousands went by land into the north country, to Central America and Mexico. We are not certain how far they went into North America at that time, but it is likely that quite a period elapsed before they went all through what is now called the United States. . . . (p. 203)

Scientists are puzzled by the proofs that there existed two periods of civilization in Central America. I mentioned this in my lectures about the Jaredites. The wise men claim that there existed two civilizations in Central America. They do not understand how it was, but, as I read to you before, they are satisfied that it was so. Now the Book of Mormon comes and shows that five hundred years after the annihilation of the Jaredites, the Nephites came north and dwelt in Central America, occupying the same regions that he Jaredites had lived in. . . . (p. 204)

Note* FIND a bibliography of the articles published in *Zion's Ensign*.

1902 RLDS ***Report of the Committee on American Archaeology***, Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1902.

This is a reprint of the 1898 edition. (see notation)

1902^ Louise Palfrey? ***"American Archaeology" in Autumn Leaves***, Vol. 15, No. 1
(RLDS) (Jan. 1902), pp. 39-48

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 47] Map and Story--We suggest that some one be appointed to give a brief digest of chapter 25

[Alma], in connection with the map, . . .

[p. 48] Map talk: Show, in order of their succession, the cities and localities of this quarter's review [about the invasion of Amalickiah in the book of Alma]

1902^
2

Julia N. Dutton

"A Review of the Book of Mormon," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 15, No.

(RLDS)

(Feb), pp. 60-66.

We must agree with the Report of the Committee on American Archaeology, which says: "Where this young colony landed there must be soil that is fruitful in production . . .

This colony prospered and continued to live together until the death of Lehi . . . They moved northward to a place they named Nephi, supposed to be about the center of Peru. . . .

For four centuries the Nephites and Lamanites occupied Chili, Argentine Republic, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, and parts of Brazil and Venezuela, but known in their records as the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla. . . .

. . . Mosiah, a righteous Nephite, was warned of the Lords to flee out of the land of Nephi, and as many as would hearken to the voice of the Lord should also depart out of the land with him into the wilderness. They left Peru and went northward into the land called Zarahemla, known to us as Colombia and Venezuela. Here they found a people who had come from Jerusalem during the reign of Zedekiah, and had landed in Central America, and then had come down into South America, where Mosiah found them.

The God-fearing Nephites and the natives of Zarahemla united and formed a powerful nation, which for many years withstood the Lamanties; but they were finally driven northward into the land Bountiful, which was in the Isthmus of Panama. This was about four hundred and twenty-five years after they left Jerusalem. . . .

In the forty-sixth year of the reign of Judges, or about five hundred and sixty-four years after Lehi left Jerusalem, there were a great many who departed out of the land of Zarahemla and went into the land northward to inherit it. They traveled a great distance, until they came to great bodies of water, and many rivers. They spread out so much that they covered the face of the earth from the south to the north, and from the east to the west.

From other descriptions given one must conclude that this "emigration was into Mexico and the United States, to the Great Lakes, possibly as far north as Hudson Bay." . . .

. . . Christ himself appeared at the temple in the land Bountiful in the Isthmus of Panama. . . .

. . . And when the three hundred and twentieth year had passed away, Ammaron being constrained by the Holy Ghost, hid up the records, . . . These records were hid in Antum (in Mexico) and Ammaron gave directions to Mormon concerning them . . .

In the three hundred and eightieth year after Christ, the Nephites were defeated in a great battle and began that long retreat from Mexico to New York, to Cumorah, where the final stand was made. . . .

Moroni, the son of Mormon, was among the survivors. He completed his father's record, wrote of the last struggle, and an abridgment of the Book of Ether, which tells of that older civilization of the Jaredites, or Mound-Builders.

His last date was in four hundred twenty A.D., when he hid up in Hill Cumorah the abridged record from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

1902^
15,

Louise Palfrey

"Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol.

(RLDS)

No. 3 (Mar), pp. 141-144

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 144] Map. Show the position of Helaman, and where Lehi and Teancum were stationed, also where the battle in which Pahoran and Moroni engaged took place. . . .

. . . 8. Map. Trace Moroni's route from Nephiah to Moroni.

1902^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 15, (RLDS) No. 4 (April), pp. 189-192

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 190] 5. When did the first colony migrate northward? 6. Map: where was this region? (See Com. Rept., p. 57) . . . 9. Where did Hagoth launch his first ship? Show on map. 10. Who took passage in this ship? 11. Where did they sail to? Show on map. (See Com. Rept., p. 57). 12. In what year was it? 13. Was the ship ever heard from again? 14. Where was the ship bound for that set out in the thirty-eighth year? 15. what became of it and its passengers? 16. Did any other ships sail after this?

1902^ Louise Palfrey "Study Corner," in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 15, (RLDS) No. 5 (May), pp. 237-240

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 238-239] 1. Who are the two thousand young men that were led by Helaman? . . . 3. Map: show the advantages the Lamanties had gained. 4. What part of the land did Helaman defend? . . . 11. Where did Moroni encounter the concentrated forces of the Lamanties? show on map. . . . 19. How many were in the first colony that immigrated northward? 20. Who built ships? 21. From where were the ships launched? . . . 24. What became of some of them? 25. Map; show the points of destination of these immigrants.

. . . Map: show where the region of the land northward, mentioned in this lesson was; also, how much of the land the people came to occupy. (See what the Com. Rep., p. 59 has to say on the subject, but think for yourselves, also.)

[p. 240] 22. What terrible things happened in the fifty-eighty and fifty-ninth years? 23. Where were the Nephite armies driven? Show on map. (See Com. Rpt. p. 59) Also show what extent of South America the Lamanites controlled now.

1902^ Louise Palfrey "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 15, No. 6 (June), (RLDS) pp. 275-284

Teachers were encouraged to use the approved maps to illustrate their lessons.

[p. 284] What was the route of Nephi and Lehi's missionary travels? Show on map.

1902^ H. N. Davis "Where Is the Land of Cumorah," in *Saints Herald* 49 (22 October 1902): (RLDS) pp. 1030-33.

Note* This is a landmark article because while Davis attempted to refute their arguments, he acknowledges the point that some Book of Mormon students had begun to locate the land of Cumorah in some place other than New York (Mexico to be exact). Yet those advocates of a more southerly land of Cumorah DID NOT attempt to propose a Limited Mesoamerican setting for they still had the land of Zarahemla located in South America. What is even more interesting, H. N. Davis derides these students' belief in a South American location of Zarahemla because a Modified Hemispheric approach was more reasonable. In this Modified Hemispheric theory there were two lands of Nephi: "one in what is now South America, the other in Central America," and thus the land of Zarahemla would have also been in Central America. Interestingly Davis also derides these students for not allowing a huge distance to be covered by the Nephite armies in the final battles. He assumes that during the last 24 years of battle, the Nephites were fleeing northward. Calculating the distance from Central America to New York by 24 years, he not only throws out distance as a factor, but favors

New York because it is FARTHER away from Central America..

H. N. Davis writes:

The belief has obtained among some Book of Mormon students that the land of Cumorah is south of what is known to us as Northern Mexico. How and why such a conclusion has been reached is a puzzle to the writer. Nowhere within the lids of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, or bible can we find one word as proof for such a belief. In this contention one or two lines of thought must obtain: Either the land of Cumorah was in that part of the country known to-day as the state of New York, or the records were divided and separated many miles apart, thus necessitating that the most precious parts of these records be lost to the world for ever, no more to be had among men. For we read that Mormon hid up in the hill Cumorah all the records which had been intrusted to him by the hand of the Lord, save it were these few plates which he gave unto his son Moroni. [Mormon 6:6] . . .

The writer is willing to concede that there were two sets of records hid up, one by Moroni, the other by Mormon; but not that they were hid up at different places, although hid up by different men and at different times.

The advocates of this southern theory place the land of Zarahemla too far south by locating it in South America. They seem to overlook or ignore the fact that there are two lands of Nephi spoken of in the Book of Mormon: one in what is now South America, the other in Central America. . . .

In proof of the statement that there were two lands of Nephi we quote from Alma 13:61: "Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents; and they were spread through the wilderness, on the west, in the land of Nephi: yea, and also on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders, by the seashore, and on the west, in the land of Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance."

Three lands or countries are here spoken of; two lands of Nephi, the "land of Nephi" and the "land of Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance," and "the land of Zarahemla."

As to the location of the land of Cumorah Davis refers first to Alma 63 and Helaman () in which it says that an exceeding great many departed out of the land of Zarahemla and went into the land northward, and "did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth from the sea south to the sea north, from the sea west to the sea east," assuming that this must imply migration to the Great Lakes area. He reasons:

Inasmuch as the Nephites were spread over the entire northern country, even as far north as the great lakes (large bodies of water), it was necessary, if Cumorah was in southern climes, that the armies of the Lamanites surround them driving them back to this southern land from whence as a nation they came four hundred seventy-five years before, as it was an utter impossibility for Mormon to have gathered them back from this vast country to the land of Cumorah in so short of time as it was between the time that he asked permission of the king of the Lamanites to gather his people to the land of Cumorah and their destruction.

. . . In the year 384 the Nephites reached the land of Cumorah (Mormon) making a total of twenty-four consecutive years of hard fighting, from 360 to 384, and after 375 they did not gain a single victory over their enemies, but fled before the Lamanites as fast as it were possible, yet not covering a distance of three thousand miles in nine years, if Cumorah was located anywhere south of the present boundary of Northern Mexico. The Nephites started in their flight before their enemies from the city of Desolation during the year 375, averaging less than 334 miles per year, or less than one mile per day. If they had averaged five miles per day, Sundays excepted, they could have traveled more than half way around the globe in this time; so distance will not be taken into consideration in this article. The fact that Mormon asked permission of the king of the Lamanites to gather his people together in the land of Cumorah is ample proof that they were driven to the last extremity, and that there was no chance for further retreat. Another substantial reason for believing that Cumorah was in that part of the country known to-day as New York is that Cumorah as a land of many waters, rivers, and fountains. (Mormon) , , ,

We do not claim that Mormon could not have accomplished this and even traveled to what is now known as New York during the thirty-six years that he remained on the earth . . . but we do say that it was an undertaking uncalled for. The idea of a man traveling this vast distance, crossing river, wading swamps,, in danger of wild animals, evading a blood-thirsty foe, when it would have been much more

sensible, more like a man of wisdom to have stayed where his people fell and his father hid up the records intrusted to him by the Lord.

Our contention is that the records hid up by Mormon were never removed to any distant land, but remained where he place them, Moroni having access to them; and, after he had finished his records he placed them with his father's sealing up the stone box or receptacle that Mormon had prepared for them. Moroni says, "And I seal up these records, after I have spoken a few words by way of exhortation unto you" (Moroni) We understand by this statement that it was the stone box prepared by Mormon, and not the records that he sealed up. . . . H. N. Davis. Independence, Missouri, December 23, 1901.

Note* In 1927, Janne Sjordahl would bring much more detail to a Modified Hemispheric approach. However, while accepting two lands of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla in Central America, he would still keep his Hill Cumorah in New York--see notation.

Note* Louis Hills, the so-called Father of the Limited Mesoamerican Theory would credit H. A. Stebbins for first proposing a location for Cumorah other than New York in 1911--see notation.

Note* MAKE A MAP ILLUSTRATING THIS MODIFIED HEMISPHERIC THEORY

1902 On November 15, 1902 the Brigham Young College [Logan] Society of American Archaeology is organized.

Dr. John A. Widtsoe is on the executive committee. Joel Ricks is secretary.

1902^ William H. Kelley *Presidency and Priesthood*, Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House (RLDS) and Bookbindery, 1902, pp. 253-254.

The "Book of Mormon" asserts that a colony of people came from the tower of Babel, crossed the ocean, and settled in Central America. They were called Jaredites. . . .

A second colony, called Nephites (of whom the "Book of Mormon" is mainly an abridged history), left Jerusalem under divine guidance, in the days of "Zedekiah, king of Judah," about six hundred years before Christ, and finally landed upon the west coast of South America, not far from the territory now known as Chile or Peru. . . .

Still a third colony came out from Jerusalem at the time that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was carried away captive to Babylon, one of Zedekiah's sons, named Mulek, being among the number. They also settled in the country now known as Eastern Central America. . . .

These two latter nations were finally united into one nation. One king reigned over them, and they grew and spread into South, Central, and North America, from sea to sea, east and west. They reinhabited Central and North America, where the Jaredites, who came out from Babel twelve centuries before the Nephite colony arrived from Jerusalem, had dwelt, and became a great nation, the Jaredite colony now having become extinct.

1903^ Louise Palfrey "American Archaeology-No. 8-Origin of the Ancient Americans," (RLDS) in "The Religio's Arena," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Feb), pp. 87-93

[88] Let us, first, briefly summarize the account the Book of Mormon gives of the origin of the ancient Americans. In the first place we are told that there was a people, the Jaredites, who were dead and gone before the second people, the Nephites and the Zarahemlites, came, and that it was the first people who begun their civilization in Central America and carried it to its highest point there. The second people (the Nephites and the Zarahemlites came at about the same time, but the Nephites took precedence in civilization and power, and to them we refer) came from the Eastern Continent, as

did the first people, voyaged across the sea, and landed down on the west coast of South America, somewhere on the coast of Chili, it is believed. Here they settled for a time, then took up their wanderings again and traveled till they reached a place where they were satisfied to make their homes. They now founded their first city, Nephi. Hundreds of years they lived in that region, then--because of wickedness, and the persecution of their enemies--under Mosiah, the more righteous take up their wanderings again and journey till they reach the Zarahemlaites, in the northern part of the country, by whom they are gladly received. A great empire is built up in Zarahemla and flourishes for centuries, then the sad story is repeated. Their enemies keep driving them further and further north, and they spread upward into Central America and Mexico, perhaps further, their enemies following them wherever they go. In the fourth century the nation was entirely destroyed, and the people who remained, in time lost their identity and became mixed with the conquering people. The history of the Nephites, from the time they left Jerusalem till the downfall of the nation, covered a space of about a thousand years.

[90] We suggest the historical outline of the Nephites for comparison. Their birthplace was in Asia. They came across the ocean and landed down on the coast of South America. They established their first great city, and spread out in the regions of Lake Titicaca. Here they lived for centuries, then migrated to the northern part of South America, which was called the land of Zarahemla. There they established their great empire whose power at one time extended through all the land, and colonies went up into North America. It was to this region, where the grandest era of Nephite history was developed, that the Maya tree and serpent symbols point.

1903^ Rudolph Etzenhouser "About Cumorah," in *Saints Herald* 50 (18 March 1903): pp. 246-251.

(RLDS)

Note* This article is important not just because it follows Davis' 1902 article detailing a new Modified Hemispheric view with the hill Cumorah located south of northern Mexico, but because it alludes to an even larger discussion "with several lectures, also articles, besides other public attention" during this time period (for example [it cites: \[Zion's\] Ensign July 3, 1902; \[Zion's\] Ensign July 10, 1902--FIND.](#)) [What is important here is that the discussion and arguments would help prepare the way for a more fully developed Limited Mesoamerican Theory by Louis Hills with publications starting in 1917--see notations.](#)

In defense of the traditional Hemispheric Theory and against these new Modified Hemispheric ideas, Etzenhouser writes the following:

In the agitation and inquiry as to the location of the hill Cumorah, a number have taken a part. Several lectures, also articles, besides other public attention to the question, as also individual study and correspondence have obtained.

The setting forth of additional evidences that came to view in support of the long-accepted location, stirred up a new or enlarged interest in a developing theory of different location. This article is an attempt to successfully answer the query, . . .

If the late assumed southern location be finally established, then Moroni evidently made the long journey to where Joseph Smith obtained the plates. On the other hand, if the long-accepted New York location is the fact, then Coriantumr made the long journey. Such a journey by either or both of these men, has been adjudged all but, if not, impossible, not only by opposers but (strange to say) believers and advocates of it (our work) as well. Either being true, god had a purpose in it and could capacitate accordingly the individual and establish suitable conditions. . . . Though wounded, Coriantumr with horse, elephant, camel, or cumom could have made the journey, taking effects with him on pack-animals or otherwise. He could also in such manner have reached the Allegheny River, and then by boat have reached Central America. . . .

If the southern location be the fact, then the arguments made for it show as conclusively that present United States territory was not occupied by either Jaredites or Nephites; **for all lived, fought, and died down by the hill Shim and the unknown southern Cumorah, not farther north than Mexico.** In that case, who built the mounds of the Mississippi Valley? Who mined copper in the Lake Superior region? Surely it was not the Lamanites . . .

The southern location theory thus and otherwise belittle the historic and geographical story of the Book

of Mormon, as also the knowledge of the Seer who translated it, as we shall see. . . .

After writing and quoting from Alma and Helaman concerning migrations to the land northward Etzenhouser writes:

In the light of the former migrations by land and sea, the "exceeding great distance" of this lat-mentioned migration, and by a people from another world (continent), could not mean less than the northern part of present United States territory. From a central point of northern South America to Mexico would by no means answer. . . . "Shipping and their building of ships," () may easily include and imply navigation of the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the Ohio, and thus easy access be had to the most fertile lands. . . .

As a response to the idea that the Lamanites would not want to inhabit northern lands where cold winter weather prevailed, Etzenhouser writes:

At the time of the crucifixion of Christ, "the whole face of the land was changed;" why not in this the golden age of all of Book of Mormon times, a period of two hundred years of faithfulness, even a climatic change have been? or prior to or including it. Why not? The foregoing evidence as to a tropical era north as far as Missouri, is presented incidentally, but not in an essential sense, for centuries before and since the discovery by Columbus the Indian--Lamanite--occupied the whole United States territory. So that supposition, tropical Lamanites would not occupy the frigid north or enter it in war times to exterminate a foe is utterly defeated, whether or not there was a tropical era. To assume and assert that the "exceeding great distance" was less than present northern boundary of United States does not make it so. To limit it to suit the southern theory, leaves unexplained yet existing Mound-builders' works, Cliff-dwellers' works, the extensive mining works, and the skulls of peoples more ancient and diverse from the red man, and much else. . . .

After speaking of the Gadianton robbers in the land northward he writes:

So the "furthestmost parts" of land northward had been explored and occupied. Nowhere and by nothing was there a material break or a northern boundary, till the ample lake system would be reached. Geographers, unfortunately for the southern theory, did not put on the maps an equal complement of waters south, to compare with those considered in northern location. We are told, however, that we can apply (or they do for us) the Pacific, Caribbean Sea, etc., forgetting that it was a land of many waters. The waters within the land, you see, not surrounding.

Of these many waters of that land, Ripliancum (Ontario) was large to exceed all (of land of Cumorah--Western New York). the hill Ramah (Cumorah) was south of it (Ripliancum--Ontario) [] According to the southern theory, Ramah (Cumorah has no location, only that it is south of Ripliancum; and as that exceeds all, therefore is the Pacific; hence, somewhere, evidently beyond Patagonia and souther of the Pacific, that land of much war ages ago, must be. . . .

[Note* This "waters" argument would soon be satisfied by a location for "southern Cumorah" near the Valley of Mexico and locations near the Papaloapan basin in Veracruz.]

Nothing is said where the twenty-four Jaredite plates were left, only that Ether hid them [] They were, as seen, left in Central America, and purposely, to be found later as they were, all of which is reasonable. God had preserved both Ether and the plates and could transport them anywhere . . .

Mormon says: "I being eleven years old, was carried by my father into the land southward, even to the land Zarahemla." [] Yet several have persisted in locating it in Central America. One prominent in Book of Mormon study for years, (now dead) held that view.

In defense of a South American location for Zarahemla Etzenhouser quotes the following verses: "Into the heart of their lands to attack that great city of Zarahemla." [] "Greatest strength was in the center." [] "Durst not come into the center of the land . . . but they had come into the center of the land and had taken the capital city which was the city of Zarahemla." []

The matter of distances, likewise of page 516 may seem short to some, but many days of travel to a

people who had crossed the broad ocean admits of more. "And the Lord warned Omer in a dream that he should depart out of the land" [] did not mean to settle in an adjoining land. If his forces were strong enough to defend themselves or for conquest, he need not have fled. When necessary to flee for safety, a near by place would not afford it and hence have no charms. Long distance is thus again established. . . .

Mormon, like Ammaron, was custodian of ALL; their predecessors had also been [custodian of ALL the records], why not Moroni in his turn? . . . How much or many, were "these few plates"? Just enough for current history? . . . Some time later, Moroni abridged Jaredite history from the twenty-four plates. [] Mormon had not been permitted these till removal of all were necessary, and they certainly were not included in the "these few plates" received of Mormon at the time before referred to. Moroni . . . had access to the Cumorah repository, where Mormon had hid all. . . . The whole record thus complete, accounted for, having passed from Moroni to Joseph Smith, and to the angel, therefore was not left in a supposed southern hill Cumorah repository--a dissolved illusion.

And now in conclusion, but not least in importance, in 1827, before Joseph Smith received the plates, so could not have been informed by their contents, where Cumorah was, or that it was at all, he said: "'Stop, father, stop,' said Joseph, 'it was the angel of the Lord: as I passed by the hill of Cumorah, where the plates are . . . --*History by Lucy Smith*, chapter 22, last part

1903^ **Joel Ricks** ***Deseret Evening News*, Saturday May 23, 1903**

"In Book of Mormon Lands"

"Utah Student and Traveler Writes the Deseret News Concerning Experiences in Central and South America-Into the Wilds"

"Written for the Deseret News"

Mr. Joel Ricks, secretary of the Book of Mormon society, an institution founded by the Brigham Young college of Logan, some time ago left on a trip to Central and South America to pursue investigation into the geography of the country described in the Book of Mormon. He is now conducting his researches and the first of his letters which will be printed in the "News" from time to time is presented herewith:

Honda Colombia, April 9--I am sitting on a point of rock that pushes itself above the mass about me. . . .

At my feet and with almost a sheer descent of 1,200 feet, flows in a great half moon sweep a majestic river, its waters discolored by the red clay of the mountains near its source are rushing madly over the boulders as if in a hurry to reach the sea. . . . I can follow the river in its meanderings for nearly 100 miles and to the northward until it is lost in the great forest covered plains. Book of Mormon students tell us that the great river is the Sidon of the Nephites, that the broken mountainous country to the west is the land Zarahemla. That this hill is the hill Amnihu, where Alma fought the Amelicitas [sic]. That the little valley to the eastward is the valley of Gideon, that up beyond the point where this hill terminates was the land of Menon [sic]. If this be true or not every Book of Mormon student will follow me closely through this interesting country and in my humble way I shall try and show him the country as it is. . . .

Guaduas, Colombia, April 19-- . . . Eastward from this point are two roads. One goes to Bogota, which lies a little south of east and the other over the mountains to the rich valleys tying to the northeast. It was in those valleys that I think the Nephites had many cities as Jushon [sic], Antionum and others. In that event, this valley would have been on the line of communication between them and the city of Zarahemla. There is a reference in the Book of Mormon that would lead us to believe that this was true of the valley of Gideon. . . . JOEL RICKS

1903^ **Joel Ricks** **South American Book of Mormon lands photographs**, ca. 1900. Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU. Provo, Utah. Call # MSS 2646 Manuscript-Archives.

This is a collection of mostly unlabeled photographs from the very late 1800's and very early 1900's in

seven folders:

- (Fld. #1) 98 fotos, only 2 labeled: one of "the hill east of the Sidon" and one of "Bogota."
- (Fld. #2) Photos of native people from the South America Colombia Expedition of 1903.
- (Fld. #3) 10 fotos but only one labeled: "The crossing of the Sidon looking southward"
- (Fld. #4) 11 fotos of places, no labels.
- (Fld. #5) 11 fotos. Only one labeled: "Typical Houses Cartagena"
- (Fld. #6) Newspaper: Republica de Colombia: Diario Oficial (Bogota' sabado 22 de Julio de 1899)
- (Fld. #7) Pictures and genealogy of Joel Ricks.

Joel Ricks was born in Farmington, Utah, on July 21, 1858. . . . The Ricks family moved to Cacche Valley, in 1859, to settle in Logan. In 1881, Joel, Jr. married Susette Cardon with whom he had eight children. He spent his working life as a telegrapher for the Utah Northern Denver, Rio Grande Western, and Union Pacific Railroads. He also served as the station agent at many of his posts. . . . Mr. Ricks made a lifelong study of the Book of Mormon. He traveled through Arizona to Mexico, in 1893, to explore the possible geographical sights of the Book of Mormon lands. In addition, he made the first of four trips to Columbia, South America, in 1903, for the purpose of conducting personal research. He was the author of four books and several pamphlets on Book of Mormon subjects and had published several maps on what he believed to be significant material relating to them. He was a historian of great ability. . . . He died on November 23, 1944, and is buried in the Logan City Cemetery. (Harold B. Lee Library Catalogue)

1903[^] Joseph F. Smith "Book of Mormon Students Meet," *Deseret Evening News*, 25 May 1903, p. 7.

Book of Mormon Students Meet
Interesting Convention Held in Provo Saturday and Sunday
President Smith Presides

Special Correspondence.

Provo, Utah Co., May 25--College hall of the Brigham Young academy was filled with a large audience Saturday forenoon, when President Joseph F. Smith called the Book of Mormon convention which met Saturday and Sunday to order. There were representatives from many parts of the state. On the stand were President Joseph F. Smith, President A. H. Lund, Apostles John Henry Smith, Reed Smoot and Hyrum M. Smith, Patriarch John Smith, Elders C. W. Penrose, R. H. Roberts, Seymour B. Young, Bishop O. F. Whitney, James Sharp, George Reynolds, M. H. Hardy, President David John and President B. Cluff, Jr. Among the prominent people present were Hon. John T. Caine, Elder Joseph E. Taylor, Prof. J. H. Paul, Andrew Jenson, Charles D. Evans, Thomas Hull, J. S. Page, Jr., Abel J. Evans, Oliver B. Huntington, and B. S. Hinckley. . . .

President Smith made a brief introductory statement of the object of the convention, which had come together he said, for the purpose of considering the Book of Mormon, and the people of whom it gave a history, and the lands to which it referred; not for the purpose of discussing the divine authenticity of the book, for that had been accepted when we accepted the divine mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and the testimony of the witnesses to the book, that it had been brought forth by the power of God. . . .

Afternoon Session

. . . The meeting was devoted to a consideration of the geography of the Book of Mormon--the location of the countries and cities inhabited by the Nephites after they landed on this continent.

Book of Mormon Geography

Prof. B. Cluff, Jr., was the first speaker. He referred to the indefinite manner in which the Book of Mormon writers described the land of Zarahemla and the consequent uncertainty in the minds of the Book of Mormon students on the matter of its location. He accounted for the lack of definiteness by the Book of Mormon writers on this point, by calling attention to the fact that, unless a person is writing a geography, he is not, as a rule, exact in the geographical description of the place where he lives. This was so with the Book of Mormon writers; but they wrote of other countries and places, locating them

with reference to Zarahemla. Prof. Cluff read a great number of passages from the Book of Mormon thus describing other cities and lands which indicated that Zarahemla was located south of a narrow neck of land, that it was north of a plateau or higher country than Zarahemla, and that it was on one of the banks of a river having a north and south direction. This with other historical and descriptive Book of Mormon data, to which reference was made by the speaker, caused him to believe that Zarahemla was situated on the Magdalena river--the river Sidon of the Book of Mormon--in the United States of Columbia and Venezuela. The speaker referred to the fact that some students could not reconcile the statements as to time consumed in traveling from one place to another with Zarahemla being at the point claimed by him. This the speaker did not think was incompatible with his claim, and in support of this cited the rapidity with which the Indians now in that country, the descendants of the Nephites and Lamanites, travel. From this initial point Prof. Cluff located a large number of cities and countries mentioned in the Book of Mormon.

Location of Zarahemla

Elder Robert Holmes, of Spanish Fork, had a different opinion as to the location of the land and city of Zarahemla and believed it was situated at some point in Honduras, and gave his reasons from Book of Mormon writings. Elder Holmes was quite earnest in his opinion and had evidently studied the question very closely.

President Smith's Advice

At the close of Elder Holmes' address, President Smith spoke briefly and expressed the idea that the question of the situation of the city was one of interest certainly, but if it could not be located the matter was not of vital importance, and if there were differences of opinion on the question it would not affect the salvation of the people: and he advised against students considering it of such vital importance as the principals of the Gospel. . . .

Location of Nephite Lands

Elder B. H. Roberts expressed pleasure to be privileged to address the convention, and spoke of the apparent necessity for such a gathering. He desired to speak upon the question of locating the Nephite lands, and somewhat upon the bringing forth of the Book of Mormon. Where the peoples of Nephi, Mulok and the Jaredites were was a matter of secondary consideration. The Book of Mormon was not a physical geography but a history of the hand dealings of God with his people on this continent to be brought forth in this day for the purpose of bringing salvation to the descendants of Nephi and to testify of God to all the world.

Elder Roberts took issue with some of the speakers, who thought that but slight physical changes had taken place on this continent at the time of the crucifixion of the Savior; he believed that great changes had taken place. In support of this theory he read from Jacob, the brother of Nephi, who speaks of his people being on an island. He believed that Jacob knew what an island was; and he believed that the country had so changed that it would be difficult now to designate any place mentioned by Book of Mormon writers from the present topography of the country. He took issue with the statement that most of the Book of Mormon writers had written in the land of Zarahemla. This was only true of a few of them; and further, the Book of Mormon is an abridgment made by Mrooni and Mormon who lived in the North American country.

The speaker read from the Book of Mormon a description of the great tempest and earthquake that took place at the time of the crucifixion of the Savior. This so changed the face of the country that the definite location of the lands and cities of the Nephites cannot be made with certainty, but only in a general way. He was of the opinion that the country the Nephites occupied was not a mountainous country at the time the Nephites located there, for the reason that comparatively little reference is made to mountains in the writings of the Nephites, which then naturally would have been in their descriptions of wars when the mountains would become important features in the movements and operations of armies.

Prof. B. Cluff, Jr., and others had views different from those of Elder Roberts, and considerable discussion followed.

Internal Evidences

Dr. James E. Talmage spoke of the internal evidence of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon, which had been admitted, not only by our people, but by others who had examined it. These evidences were the diversity of style among the writers, which proved it to have been written as is claimed, by different writers at different times, the consistency of its claims with the external [unreadable] . . .

Dr. Talmage related several instances showing that educators and scientists were interested in the book and becoming acquainted with it, and he believed the time would come when it would be accepted as having an important bearing on the history of this continent and the people.

President Smith endorsed the remarks of Dr. Talmage and Elder Roberts and again cautioned the students against making the union question--the location of cities and lands--of equal importance with the doctrines contained in the book.

Bishop Whitney's Remarks

Bishop O. F. Whitney spoke of the great disturbance of nature at the time of the crucifixion as recorded in the Book of Mormon, for the purpose of showing that the contour of the country had been greatly changed, reading from the Book of Mormon in proof of this theory. He had committed himself in verse and prose to that theory and did not like to see his idols shattered, and he believed that the tempest and destruction which preceded the first appearance of the Savior on this continent were typical of the greater destruction that would precede His second glorious coming.

President Cluff suggested that when the conference adjourn it be for one year, and that a program for that meeting be arranged soon, so that speakers could have time to prepare themselves.

Adjourned Subject to Call

President Lund was not in favor of appointing a certain time for the convention, for the reason that he thought it should adjourn subject to the call of the President. He advised those present to study the Book of Mormon and to be guided by the advice of President Smith in their studies.

Note* According to my research, this was the first and last Book of Mormon geography convention held under the supervision of the Church authorities. Apparently President Smith did not feel a need to call for another one for reasons unknown.

Note* In his own article entitled "What is the Significance of Zelph in the Study of Book of Mormon Geography?," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 8, Number 2, 1999, p. 77, Ken Godfrey refers to this convention and notes that "None of the speakers used the story of Zelph to augment their arguments as to where Book of Mormon history took place."

Note* It appears that the only variables on Book of Mormon geography that might have been discussed were concerning the Hemispheric model (with the exception of Robert Holmes, who proposed a modified Hemispheric theory). Placement of cities would have been chosen only with maps using little or no archaeological and cultural evidence (Joel Ricks--see the 1903 notation-- who was in South America at the time, was the first LDS person to actually write on these lands from personal experience). It also does not appear that there was any discussion of the modifications to the Hemispheric model that were taking place in the RLDS Church at this time.

Note* See the Robert Holmes 1903, 1911 notations.

**1903^ (RLDS) "'A Star in the West'" *The Saints' Herald*, vol. 50, no. 33, Lamoni, Iowa,
August 19, 1903**

Submarine vessels were not in use at or before 1830, nor til very recently. The first colony from Babel, the Jaredites of Book of Mormon history, came in such vessels. *The physical features of South America were disclosed in such detail in the Book of Mormon as could only have been by those on the ground; that opportunity Joseph Smith did not have, neither did any existing work of his day contain it.*

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

**1903^ J. W. Peterson "The Hill and City of Manti," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 16, No. 12
(RLDS) (Dec), p. 535.**

Wonderful Discovery in Ecuador, South America

The *Popular Educator* for November, 1900, has the following account of a "hill of council" near the city of Manti in Ecuador:

Near Manti, Ecuador, a remarkable archaeological relic has been found--one of the most interesting monuments in South America of an unknown and extinct civilization. Upon a platform of massive blocks of stone on the summit of a low hill, is a natural amphitheater and arranged in a perfect circle are thirty enormous stone chairs, evidently the seats of the mighty. . . . This is supposed to have been the place of meeting--an open-air council of the chiefs of the several tribes that made up the prehistoric nation which was subdued by the Incas of Peru several hundred years before the Spanish invasion, says the American Antiquarian. . . .

On page 206 of the Book of Mormon, small edition, and paragraph 4, we find the following.

"And it came to pass that they took him; and his name was Nehor; and they carried him upon the top of the hill Manti, and there he was caused, or rather did acknowledge, between the heavens and the earth, that what he had taught to the people was contrary to the word of God: and there he suffered an ignominious death."

The quotation from the *Popular Educator* locates the hill of Manti near the city of Manti, and both in Ecuador. In the Book of Mormon Map No. 4, the hill of Manti is located north of the city of Zarahemla and the city of Manti is located more than two degrees south. When we consider the fact that the archaeological committee had no definite point to figure from, it is almost a miracle that they came so near as a little over two degrees.

And now what of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and the inspiration of Joseph Smith? What a wonder, too, that through all these long ages intervening between the time of Alma and now the inhabitants have preserved the old name. Surely the hand of God has been in the matter. May we not expect other discoveries along this same line?

There are a number of points in the above quotation, not necessary for me to call attention to here, which will be readily seen by Book of Mormon students.

A strange thing is that on this hill hundreds of years ago one was led to acknowledge his error, so also in our time our opponents are compelled at the sight of the name to acknowledge their error.

1903 Robert Holmes "Geographical Sketches of the Book of Mormon," 1903. Consists of 10 long sheets. (MS 2324)

Robert Holmes had studied Book of Mormon geography for 15 years. His writings here consist of 10 long sheets. One is wholly blank on the sides. The following (last) sheet consists of nothing but quotations from the book of Ether written out. The first 8 sheets are filled on both sides in the writer's own hand.

1. In 1885 he first saw a copy of the Book of Mormon with Orson Pratt's geography footnotes. Pratt's location of Zarahemla ("page 155) north of the headwaters of the Magdalena River amazed him as he had thought otherwise. Then he realized that it "was only supposed to be" where Pratt said. So Holmes then took up his own research.

[p. 2] He supposes that Mulek traveled to the west and landed in the land north. From the landing place of Lehi, his people, after a few years, "seemed to have moved some two thousand miles, more or less, to what is now known as Ecuador."

His reasoning in the pages which follow is not entirely clear, but it ends up with the Nephite people in Mexico and Central America.

[p. 9] The great city of Lib was built by the Bay of Honduras. Of the demise of the Jaredites, in and around the land of Moron 2 million dead lay scattered in the land from some distance south from the line of the Bay of Honduras to the Gulf of Mexico.

[p. 10] Holmes has Mosiah and the Nephites south of Panama (in the land of Nephi). The narrow strip of wilderness was Panama & Central America. Mosiah left South America and went through this to Zarahemla, which must be in Honduras..

[p. 11] The Usumacinta River is the Sidon. Manti is at the head in Guatemala.

[pp. 13-14] The Waters of Mormon is Lake Nicaragua. Shilom, Lehi-Nephi and other Lamanite cities seem to lay east and southeast of that lake.

[p. 15] The ruins in Arizona bear witness of the land northward.

Source: From notes taken for John L. Sorenson on May 1, 1992. Sorenson Files.

1903^ Walter M. Wolfe "Modern Research and the Book of Mormon," in *Millennial Star* 65 (6 August 1903): pp. 501-3, 507-9.

The Book of Mormon gives an account of two distinct settlements of America by Asiatic peoples. The first followed the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, and hence was contemporaneous with the development of the Euphrates and Nile valleys. Concerning the exact locality where this part, known as the Jaredites, landed, I know of no definite statement, but it is generally conceded to have been on the coast of North America; while the Nephites, more than fifteen hundred years later, landed on the west coast of South America. . . .

Between the ruins of Yucatan and those of ancient Egypt and Chaldea a very strong resemblance exists. There are the same prevailing types of pyramids and towers in each. The pyramids of Central America, with the exception of possibly one or two, were not discovered until long after the publication of the Book of Mormon. In fact the Book of Mormon is the pioneer work on American archaeology, if we omit a few of the early publications of the Spanish monks. But the early explorers of such ruins as those of Palenque and Copan regarded the Central American civilization as subsequent to that of Egypt.

Note* Walter Wolfe was a member of the 1900 BYU Expedition. However, he was addicted to alcohol, misappropriated the Expedition's funds because of it, desired to return home before the expedition was completed, and upon arriving home, spread rumors and misinformation about the character of Benjamin Cluff and the spirit of the Expedition. (see the full transcript of the 1900 notations)

1903^ Rev. M. T. Lamb *The Mormons and Their Bible*. Philadelphia: The Griffith & Rowland Press, 1903.
(anti-LDS)

This book contains much of the same arguments (some quoted verbatim) that are found in Reverend Lamb's 1887 book (see the 1887 notation). It is a compilation of ideas presented in a series of lectures which he had presented over the years to various congregations (including LDS groups) attempting to show that the Book of Mormon was a fraud.

1903^ B. H. Roberts 1903-1906 YMMIA Manual, No. 7, New Witnesses for God, Vol. II, Part 1, (3 Volumes), Salt Lake City: General Board of the YMMIA, Deseret News Press, 1903. Copyright Joseph F. Smith, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Brigham D. Madsen writes the following about B. H. Roberts:

Roberts first began wrestling with the Book of Mormon and its problems as a twenty-three-year-old missionary in Tennessee [1881]. . . . After four years of missionary work in the South, first as one of the traveling elders and later for two years as Mission President, Roberts returned to Utah to become an editor with the *Salt Lake Herald* until December 1886, when he was advised to leave the territory to escape imprisonment for unlawful cohabitation with his two wives. His Church sent him to Liverpool, England, to become an editor of the *Millennial Star*, the most important European publication of the Mormon Church, and during the next two years, 1887 and 1888, he pursued his studies on the origins of the Book of Mormon. When not writing weekly editorials of up to 2,000 words on various gospel

subjects, he engaged in public debates, traveled widely in England, and soon gained a reputation as a fearless and articulate defender of Mormonism. He spent many hours in the nearby famous Picton Library, "making an immense collection of notes from American Archeology that was used in the evidences of American Antiquities and Archeological works in the external evidences for the Book of Mormon." The results of his research formed the basis for many of the editorials in the *Star* and became the foundation for his three-volume work, [first published as part of the YMMIA Manuals from 1903-1906; and then] published in 1909, *New Witnesses for God*, which, as will be seen, remained his chief defense of the Book of Mormon until his further investigations in the early 1920s.^{lxxi} Roberts gave a number of public lectures on what many newspapers called "The Book of Mormon Controversy," . . .

. . . Returning from England in late 1888, Roberts took over the editorial work for the *Contributor*, a magazine for the youth of the Church, wrote articles under such names as Oratio. . . .

[Afterward] he was asked to revise and publish the journal of Joseph Smith, which he had already compiled in three volumes while serving as a missionary in England. The six-volume *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*; publication of which began in 1902, reflected Roberts's determination to present the facts of early Church history as "related by the persons who witnessed them"; to allow the reader to "form his own conclusions"; and to add notes that would give further explanation of some of the important events related.^{lxxii} . . .

Throughout his early career as an editor and historian, Roberts was always challenging or being challenged by divines and critics, particularly about the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, and he accepted these opportunities for debate with alacrity and the fire of the warhorse scenting battle. . . .

All of his early investigations into the Book of Mormon and his debates with skeptics finally led him, as the chairman for nine years of the Manual Committee of the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA), manuals which attempted to assemble the evidence for the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. Under the title *New Witnesses for God*, they were first published in 1903 as a single volume and later appeared in three volumes in 1909. The first volume was devoted to Joseph Smith as a witness for God and the last two volumes considered the external and internal evidences of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. In his "Life Story," Roberts noted that many regarded this work "as his greatest contribution to the literature of the church."^{lxxiii}

Source: ^Brigham D. Madsen, *B. H. Roberts: Studies of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992, pp. 2-11.

Note* To have three years of "lesson material" on the Book of Mormon coming from the mind of B. H. Roberts, authorized by the Church, to be "mastered" by the teachers and youth of the Church, and which included ideas concerning the geography and culture of the Book of Mormon could not help but have a tremendous impact on the thoughts of a generation. With this in mind I will include as much material in these manuals as I feel prudent, that hopefully the reader will be able to sense both the perspective from which B. H. Roberts wrote, and the impact that these lessons might have had.

Introduction

The manuals for 1903-4 and 1904-5 will be different from those that have preceded them in this particular; that whereas in previous manuals there has been given an analysis of each lesson, accompanied by numerous references to many works, followed by notes conveying information on the subject of the lesson, and developing it, in the present manual the analyses of the lessons will be found grouped together in the fore part, and in the back part of it the complete treatise of the subject under consideration, the "Book of Mormon." It is believed that this single treatise of the Book of Mormon will be as much as our Associations will be able to master during the two coming seasons; and references given in the lesson analysis are to the pages in the body of the manual which treat of the respective divisions of the subjects named in the lesson. . . .

And as the lessons should be studied thoroughly, so should they be thoroughly treated. . . .

No more important subject than the Book of Mormon can possibly engage the attention of the youth of Israel, and it is to be hoped that under the direction of our Associations they will approach the subject in

earnest and with a determination to master it; that they may get into possession of those truths which it teaches, and the evidences that sustain it as a divine revelation

...

Lesson XIII.
Migrations to the Western Hemisphere
([refer to] Chapter X, pages 86-95)

Topics	References
1. Colony of Jared	Pages 86-88
a. Travels to the promised land.	Pages 86-88
.....	
2. Lehi's Colony.	Pages 89-92
.....	
c. Route taken	Page 89
3. The Promised Land	Pages 89-92
a. Nature of the land.	Page 90
b. Division of the colony	Page 90
c. Movements of the Nephites.	Page 90
...	
4. Mulek's Colony.	Pages 93-95
...	
d. Arrival at promised Land	Page 93

Review

1. How many migrations have there been from the Old world to the New according to the Book of Mormon? . . . 3. Whence came the Jaredites? . . . 5. At what point in the western world is it supposed they landed? . . . 11. To what part of the western world were the Jaredites confined? . . . 23. At about what part of the south continent had the Nephites reached about 200 years B.C.? . . . 28. How did they [the Mulekites] reach the western hemisphere? 29. At what part of it did they land? 30. To what point in the south continent did they ultimately drift?

Lesson XIV
Book of Mormon Lands.
(Chapter XI, pages 96-114)

Topics	References
1. Changes in Nephi Lands at Messiah's Death	Pages 96-98
a. I Nephi's Prophetic Description.	Page 96
b. Samuel's Prophetic Description.	Pages 96-97
c. III Nephi's Historical account.	Pages 97-98.
2. Probable Physical Changes.	Pages 96-106

Review.

1. What circumstance makes uncertain the location of particular cities and lands occupied by Book of Mormon peoples. 2. How many classes of descriptions are given concerning changes in the lands at Messiah's death? 3. Are the prophetic descriptions to be regarded as less real than historical descriptions? 4. Give the substance of the first Nephi's description of these changes. 5. Give the principal points in Samuel's description. 6. Point out the most extended changes in the face of the land indicated in Mormon's description. 7. Related the principal changes indicated by the voice of God to the survivors. 8. How may these great cataclysms have affected the contour of the continents? 9. Is it not at least reasonable that the change was considerable? 10. What is jacob's description of the land to which Lehi's colony came? 11. What other Book of Mormon writer tends to sustain Jacob's statement? 12. Is it reasonable to think that jacob would refer to the whole of North and South America as an island? 13. What testimony can be cited in support of the meeting of the Atlantic and the Pacific

over isthmian passes? 14. What reasons exist for believing that the continent of South America may at one time have been divided into island groups? 15. What is the physical character of that part of the continent said to have been occupied by the Nephites and Lamanites respectively? 16. What evidence is there in the Book of Mormon that the Nephites occupied a mountainous country such as Ecuador and the southern part of Colombia is now? 17. How would you account for the silence of the Book of Mormon writers as to these great mountain ranges and immense mountain groups, if such existed when they occupied the country? 18. How would you explain their choosing mere hills as their lands marks if they lived in the midst of notable mountains and mountain systems? 19. From what circumstance may we infer the Nephite idea of a hill? 20. What are the evidences of the existence of mountains in South America during Nephite occupancy? 21. What are the probable facts with reference to the physical character of South America previous to the cataclysms at Messiah's death? 2. Is there anything in the Book of Mormon itself which makes improbable the views expressed in the text itself?

[Note* As the reader will find in the text of Roberts' book (see the References above), Roberts (the great "Defender of the Faith") sought to defend the Hemispheric theory of Book of Mormon geography. In doing so he had to account for distances (how Lehi got from his landing site in Chile--30 degrees south latitude-- to the narrow neck in Panama), terrain (how South America could have some of the highest mountains in the world and yet not have mountains be specifically mentioned in regards to the travels mentioned in the text), and prophetic details (how Jacob could refer to the land in which they lived as an "isle of the sea").]

Lesson XV.
Book of Mormon Lands-Continued
(Chapter XI, pages 107-114.)

Topics	References
1. Evidences of the possibility of the changes suggested in the preceding Lesson.	Pages 107-114

Review.

. . . 13. What recent evidence can you cite for widespread changes by means of sudden convulsions of nature? 14. What is the reasonable conclusion to be formed with reference to the cataclysms in the western continent at Messiah's death.

Lesson XVI.
Inter-Continental Movements of Book of Mormon Peoples.
(Chapter XI, pages 115-119.)

Topics.	References
1. Of the Jaredites.	Pages 86-88,115
2. Of the People of Mulek.	Pages 93-95,115
3. Of the Nephites--Southward.	Pages 89-119

. . .

Review

1. To what part of the western world were the movements of the Jaredites confined? 2. What was the probable center of Jaredite civilization? 3. Where did Mulek's colony most probably land? 4. To what part of the south continent did they finally drift? 5. What of the movements of the Nephites from the place of Lehi's landing to the point whence they migrated under Mosiah I? 6. IN what directions after the Nephite settlement at Zarahemla did Nephite movements tend? . . .

Lesson XVII
Inter-Continental Movements of Book of Mormon Peoples-Continued.
(Chapter XII, pages 120-126.)

Topics	References
4. Of the Nephites--Northward. a. Strategic Importance of the isthmus	Pages 120-126 Pages 120-123

b. Hagoth's expeditions.	Pages 120-123
c. State of Nephite civilization	Pages 120-123
d. Extent of Colonization of North Continent	Page 121
. . .	
5. Of the Nephites A. D.	Page 123
a. Robber wars	Page 124
b. Division of the Nephites and Lamanites	Pages 124-125
c. Final War	Pages 125-126

Review

1. Of what strategic importance was the isthmus uniting the two continents? 2. About what time did a struggle for possession of it begin? 3. At what period B. C. did the first extensive migrations of Nephites into the north continent take place? 4. What other migratory movement took place about this time? 5. What is supposed to have been the fate of Hagoth's lost vessels? 6. About how long after this movement northward was a fresh impetus given to migration in that direction? 7. What was the probable cause of this movement? 8. What can you say of Nephite civilization at this period? 9. What can you say of the extent of Nephite occupancy of the north continent previous to the coming of Messiah? 10. To what extent northward did Nephite migration probably extend at this time? 11. What effect on the movement of population did the war of 35-31 B. C. have? . . . 18. What was the condition of the people at the time of the cataclysms which shook the western hemisphere at Messiah's death? 19. What conditions obtained with reference to occupancy of the western world after the appearance of Messiah?

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New Witnesses For God Volume II.

The Book of Mormon

By
B. H. Roberts

Preface

This treatise on the Book of Mormon was begun in England, in 1887, while I was assistant editor of the Latter-day Saints' "Millennial Star," published at Liverpool. Much of the material now used was then collected, and the general plan of the work here followed was then conceived. While collecting and arranging these materials, however, it occurred to me that this work should be preceded by one on the Prophet Joseph Smith as a witness for God. This idea so grew upon me that the Book of Mormon treatise was laid aside, and that on Joseph Smith was written . . . Meantime this work on the Book of Mormon has been awaiting completion, but not until now--not until the General Board of the Young Men's Improvement Associations determined that the Book of Mormon be the principal theme of study in the societies for the next two years--did the time seem fully come for the publication of the work here presented.

It will be observed that the title of the work is written, New Witness for God, Volume II.--The Book of Mormon. This is done for the reason that as soon as the associations have completed the Manual for 1904-5, it is intended that this work and the one already published on Joseph Smith the Prophet, shall be published in two volumes under the general title, "New Witnesses for God, Volume I---Joseph Smith, the Prophet; Volume II--The Book of Mormon." . . .

While the coming forth of the Book of Mormon is but an incident in God's great work of the last days, and the Book of Mormon itself subordinate to some other facts in God's great work, still the incident of its coming forth and the book itself are facts of such importance that the whole work of God may be said in a manner to stand or fall with them. That is to say, if the origin of the Book of Mormon could be proved to be other than that set forth by Joseph Smith; if the book itself could be proved to be other than it claims to be, viz., an abridged history of the ancient inhabitants of America, a volume of scripture

containing a message from God to the people to whom it was written--"to the Lamanites [American Indians], who are a remnant of the house of Israel; and also to Jew and Gentile; written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and revelation"--if, I say, the Book of Mormon could be proved to be other than this, then the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and its message and doctrines, which, in some respects, may be said to have arisen out of the Book of Mormon, must all; for if that book is other than it claims to be; if its origin is other than that ascribed to it by Joseph Smith, then Joseph Smith says that which is untrue; he is a false prophet of false prophets; and all he taught, and all his claims to inspiration and divine authority, are not only vain but wicked; and all that he did is not only useless, but mischievous beyond human comprehending.

Nor does this statement of the case set forth sufficiently strong the situation. Those who accept the Book of Mormon for what it claims to be, may not so state their case that its security chiefly rests on the inability of its opponents to prove a negative. The affirmative side of the question belongs to us who hold out the Book of Mormon to the world as a revelation from God. The burden of proof rests upon us in every discussion. It is not enough for us to say that if the origin of the Book of Mormon is proved to be other than that set forth by Joseph Smith; if the book itself be proved to be other than it claims to be, then the ecclesiastical institution known as "Mormonism" must fall. We must do more than this. The security of "Mormonism" rests on quite other grounds; and, from a forensic standpoint, upon much more precarious ground; for not only must the Book of Mormon not be proved to have other origin than that which we set forth, or be other than we say it is, *but we must prove its origin to be what we say it is, and the book itself to be what we proclaim it to be--a revelation from God.*

From these remarks the reader will observe, I trust, that while I refer to the coming forth of the Book of Mormon as an incident, and the book itself as a fact really subordinate to some other facts connected with the great work of God in the last days, I have by no means underrated the importance of the Book of Mormon in its relation to the work of the last days as a whole; and it is to meet the requirements of this situation that I have been anxious to add my contribution to the gradually accumulating literature on this subject, both within and without the Church, both upon the affirmative and the negative side of the question.

My treatise is divided into four parts:

I.--The importance of the Book of Mormon as a Witness for God and the Bible.

II.--The Discovery of the Book of Mormon and its Translation--Migrations, Lands, Intercontinental Movements, Civilizations, Governments, and Religions of its Peoples.

III.--Evidences of the Truth of the Book of Mormon.

IV.--Objections to the Book of Mormon.

Parts I and II are published in this Manual. Parts III and IV are reserved for the Manual of 1904-1905.

[note* actually there would be an additional manual for 1905-1906] . . .

It goes without saying that the success of an argument greatly, and I may say, fundamentally, depends upon the clearness and completeness of the statement of the matter involved; and it is frequently the case that a proper setting forth of a subject makes its truth self-evident; and all other evidence becomes merely collateral, and all argument becomes of secondary importance. Especially is this the case when setting forth the Book of Mormon for the world's acceptance; in which matter we have the right to expect, and the assurance in the book itself that we shall receive, the co-operation of divine agencies to confirm to the souls of men the truth of the Nephite record; that as that record was written in the first instance by divine commandment, by the spirit of prophecy and of revelation; and as it was preserved by angelic guardianship, and at last brought forth by revelation, and translated by what men regard as miraculous means, so it is provided in God's providences respecting this volume of scripture that its truth shall be attested to individuals by the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the human mind. "When ye shall receive these things," says the prophet Moroni, referring to the Book of Mormon, "I would exhort you that ye should ask God, the eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things are not true; and if ye shall ask with a sincere heart, with real intent, having faith in Christ, he will manifest the truth of it unto you, by the power of the Holy Ghost; and by the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things."

This must ever be the chief source of evidence for the truth of the Book of Mormon. all other evidence is secondary to this, the primary and infallible. No arrangement of evidence, however skillfully ordered; no argument, however adroitly made, can ever take its place; for this witness of the Holy Spirit to the soul of man for the truth of the Nephite volume of scripture, is God's evidence to the truth; and will ever

be the chief reliance of those who accept the Book of Mormon, and expect to see its acceptance extended throughout the world; for, as the heavens are higher than the earth, so must the testimony of God forever stand above and before the testimony of men.

I confess that these reflections have a somewhat saddening effect upon one who undertakes to set forth what he must confess are but the secondary evidences to the truth of the Book of Mormon, and make an argument that he can never regard as of primary importance in the matter of convincing the world of the truth of the work in the interest of which he labors. But I trust these reflections will help my readers to a right apprehension of the importance of Parts I. and II., which are published in this Manual--the importance of a clear and, so far as may be, a complete statement of the incidents connected with the coming forth of the book, and also of its contents. To be known, the truth must be stated; and the clearer and more complete the statement is, the better opportunity will the Holy Spirit have for witnessing to the souls of men that the work is true. While desiring to make it clear that our chief reliance for evidence to the truth of the Book of Mormon must ever be the witness of the Holy Spirit, promised by the prophet Moroni to those who will seek to know the truth of the work from that source; and desiring also, as I think is becoming in man, to acknowledge the superiority of God's witness to the truth as compared with any evidence that man may set forth--I would not have it thought that the evidence and argument presented in Parts III and IV are unimportant, much less unnecessary. Secondary evidences in support of truth, like secondary causes in natural phenomena, may be of first-rate importance, and mighty factors in the achievement of God's purposes. I only desire by these remarks to place the matters to be considered in their right relation.

B. H. Roberts Salt Lake City, August, 1903

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Chapter X [pp. 86-95]

Migrations to the Western Hemisphere (note)

Note* Roberts notes the following here: "It is to be understood that in this chapter I deal merely with the migrations spoken of in the Book of Mormon; and by no means enter upon a consideration of the migrations to the western hemisphere during the last two thousand years."

According to the Book of Mormon there have been three migrations from the old world to the new. these, in their chronological order, are, first, the colony of Jared; second, the colony of Lehi; and third, the colony of Mulek. . . .

I. Colony of Jared

. . . Under divine direction [the Jaredites] departed from Babel northward into a valley called Nimrod, and thence were led by the Lord across the continent of Asia eastward until they came to the shore of the great sea--Pacific Ocean--which divided the lands. (Such is the theory of the late Orson Pratt. See foot note "h" Book of Ether, Chap. 2. There is nothing in the Book of Ether which positively determines the course of their travel, but as there is some reason for believing that the Jaredite colony landed on the western shores of North America, there seems to be some grounds for the belief that they were led eastward across the continent of Asia to the shores of what is to us the Pacific Ocean.) . . .

After a severely stormy passage--continuing for 344 days, the colony landed on the western coast of North America, "probably south of the Gulf of California." (According to Orson Pratt, see foot note "h" Book of Ether, Chap. 6: 12. Also Book of Ether, Chap. 7: 6.) . . .

The first capital of the kingdom was Moron, the location of which is unknown except that it was near the land called by the Nephites "Desolation," supposed to include the modern states under the general title of Central America. (Ether 7: 6. Also Reynolds' Dic. of B. of M., article Desolation, Land of.) How long this continued to be the capital of the kingdom may not be determined; but the region of country, or province, to which its name also applied, "the land of Moron," seems to have been the seat of government as late as the time of Coriantumer, the last king of the Jaredites, whose reign was in the closing years of the seventh century B. C. (Ether 6: 6, 11) . . .

Again in the reign of the sixteenth monarch, Lib, it is said that the people occupied "the whole face of the land northward," which means the continent of North America; "and that they built a great city by the narrow neck of land by the place where the sea divides the land;" by which is meant part of the isthmus

connecting South and North America. . . .

. . . We have every reason to believe that the Jaredites became a very great, prosperous, and powerful people. Their occupancy of the western world, however, was confined to the northern continent. . . . The Jaredite government degenerated into anarchy about the close of the seventh century, B. C., and the race itself, save one survivor, Coriantumr, was destroyed early in the sixth century B.C. . . .

II. Lehi's Colony

. . . From the Book of Mormon and the word of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith it is learned that Lehi's colony traversed from Jerusalem, nearly a southeast direction, until they came to the nineteenth degree north latitude; thence nearly east to the sea of Arabia.^{lxxiv} Here the colony built a ship in which to cross the great waters, which separated them from the land of promise. They sailed in a southeasterly direction, and landed on the continent of South America, in about thirty degrees south latitude.^{lxxv} . . .

Accordingly, after some years spent upon the promised land, Nephi was warned by the Lord to depart from his elder brothers in the wilderness, with all those whom he could persuade to go with him.

Neither the distance nor the direction of this first remove of the righteous part of the colony from the more wicked part, can be definitely determined from the Book of Mormon, except from the location of the people of Nephi in subsequent times; and as this location was far northward from their first place of landing, it is generally supposed that this first remove was northward. . . .

It is supposed that the first remove of the Nephites from their brethren covered no great distance; as only a few years passed before they were in contact with one another again, at least in warfare.

Indeed Elder George Reynolds, in his *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, holds to the theory that there may have been several removals of the Nephites between their first separation from the Lamanites under the First Nephi, and the very noted hegira under Mosiah I, about the fourth century of the Nephite annals. The author of the *Dictionary* urges as the reasons for his theory that it would be inconsistent with the story of the record (Book of Mormon), and with good judgment, to believe that in their first journey the Nephites traveled as far north as they were found four hundred years later,^{lxxvi} when the very noted remove was made under Mosiah I. I believe the reasons of Elder Reynolds are quite sufficient for his theory.

The movements of the Nephites were most probably as follows: [1] Whatever of conquest was made by the Lamanites upon the Nephite possessions, during the first four centuries of their occupancy of the promised land, was made upon their southern borders. . . . [2] the Nephite settlements were extended on that side of their possessions least likely to be assailed by their enemies, where there was least danger, that is, on the north. These two circumstances combined to give their colonization movement a northerly direction; until about the close of the fourth Nephite century they are supposed to have been in possession of that part of the continent of South America corresponding to the country now called Ecuador.^{lxxvii} . . . the whole distance from the place selected by the First Nephi after separating from his brothers to the place they occupied at the close of the fourth century of their annals--this whole country--the Nephites called the Land of Nephi, or the Land of their father's first inheritance. (2 Ne. 5:8; Omni 1:12, 27; Mos. 7; Mos. 9:1. See collection of ref. under "b." 2 Nephi 5) . . .

III. Mulek's Colony

. . . It is learned by an incidental remark in the Book of Mormon that the colony of Mulek landed somewhere in the north continent of the western hemisphere; and for that reason the north continent was called Mulek, by the Nephites; and the south continent, Lehi; and this for the reason that the Lord brought the colonies bearing these names to the north and south land (Omni 1:14-17) respectively. How many years the colony of Mulek traveled, and in what direction, cannot be learned from the Book of Mormon. But it is quite evident that they landed in the north continent of the western world, most likely in the southern part of that continent, say in the region of what is known in modern times as Central America. (Helaman 6:10) Thence they drifted southward to the valley of the Sidon, . . .

Book of Mormon Lands

The location of many cities mentioned in the Book of Mormon, and of districts of Nephite lands that would correspond to departments and provinces in the political nomenclature of modern times, may not now be definitely fixed upon. This circumstance arises largely out of the fact that the Nephite historian has said nothing explicitly as to the extent of those mighty changes which were wrought in the form of Book of Mormon countries by the awful convulsions of nature at the time of Messiah's crucifixion. That the changes were considerable no one can question; for while certain allowances must always be made for language used in describing such events as then took place, the very definite statements of the Book of Mormon with reference to these events leave no room for doubt as to the great transformations wrought in the physical aspects of the land by those great cataclysms. Three different writers make mention of the physical changes wrought at Messiah's crucifixion, two prophetically, and one gives two descriptions of the physical changes that took place through the convulsions of nature. I remark, in passing, that it must be remembered that the prophetic descriptions must be accounted as real as the historical descriptions; for as the prophets saw it so indeed it came to pass.

[Roberts then quotes Nephi's prophecy: 1 Nephi 12:4, Samuel the Lamanite's prophecy: Helaman 14:2-27; and Mormon's abridgment of the cataclysms: 3 Nephi 8:5-18; and the voice of God: 3 Nephi 9:1-8,12.]

But notwithstanding all that is said in these passages about the mighty changes which took place in the land, nothing is set down that helps us to determine the nature of the changes ~~as affecting the contour of the continents.~~

[Note* It should be noted here, before proceeding with the text, that in the 1909 edition Roberts would delete what follows--from the first strikethrough lines above to the final strikethrough lines which come after a number of pages of text. He would then just proceed with his original text. Thus he neither changed his overall original premise as written above, nor changed his overall conclusion--(see the end of the chapter). Due to the fact that all of the modern editions do not contain this deleted material, I will quote a good share of it. This material would be rebutted in part by a 1904 article which appeared in the Improvement Era along with some comments by B. H. Roberts afterward--see 1904 notations]

How much of the very high, and perhaps rolling plateau, with its valleys of "mild and gentle declivity," occupied by the land of Nephi, of Bountiful, and of Zarahemla, was thrown up into that mighty mountain system we call the Andes, with many of its summits ranging from 16,000 to 22,000 feet above sea level, and among which is to be found some of the most noted active volcanoes in the world. (note f) for, as remarked by Humboldt, "the same subterranean forces that once raised these mountain chains, still shake them and threaten their downfall" (note g)--how much, I say, of this great range may have been affected by the cataclysm mentioned in the Book of Mormon, or how far it has undergone changes by the operation of the same forces during the ages since then, would be a matter of mere conjecture. The same questions could be asked concerning the great valleys of South America; the Orinoco in the North, La Plata in the South, and the mighty valley of the Amazon in the East. When were the waters of old ocean driven from these valleys by the uplifting of the western edge of the great continent? Was it at the time of the cataclysm at Messiah's crucifixion? Or was it in part done then and in part since? The answers to the questions stand, of course, within the domain of conjecture; but this we know, that solid as seems old earth's crust, it is after all undergoing constant changes through upheavals and depressions; and that in "the light of eternity," boast how we may of the "everlasting hills," "the mountains are unstable as the clouds;" and that even now the forces which threw up the highest volcanic peaks of the south continent are still operative in that land; and for that matter of that in all the earth. Of this also we may be sure, the physical features of northern South America, during Nephite occupancy of that land previous to the crucifixion of Messiah, were not the same as they are today.

[Note* This line of reasoning conveniently avoids much of the details controversy surrounding Book of Mormon geography in South America

First--Jacob, brother of the first Nephi, in an address to his people is represented as saying:

We have been driven out of the land of our inheritance; but we have been led to a better land, for the Lord has made the sea our path, and we are upon an isle of the sea. But great are the promises of the Lord unto them who are upon the isles of the sea; . . .

Surely the nature of the lands occupied by the Nephites at the time of Jacob's statement must have been of a physical nature to justify it; and the continent of South America as we know it now, does not warrant such a descriptive term.

Moreover Mormon, in the course of abridging the book of Alma, at one point gives a description of Nephite lands and the relative position of the Lamanites and Nephites in them, at the conclusion of which he says: "And thus the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla were nearly surrounded by water, there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward." (Alma 22:32. see also verse 27) This description would be nearly in harmony with that of Jacob, where he so positively declares that the Nephites were upon an "isle of the sea." . . .

In view of these facts we are confronted with the alternative of saying either that Jacob did not know anything about the extent of the land to which he was referring, or else that part of South America occupied by his father's colony was very different in its physical aspect from what South America was in later Nephite history, and of course from what it is to day.

I choose the latter alternative. That is, I believe Jacob knew what an island was; and that he did not refer to such a body of land as the continents of North and South America, coupled together as they are by the isthmus that joins them, as an "isle of the sea." Nor can I believe that he would refer to South America as we know it today, even if detached from North America, as an "isle of the sea." To say that these continents are bodies of land surrounded by water and therefore come within the descriptive terms of an island is to confound all the meaning of geographical terms, that make the distinction between continents and islands. (Roberts notes here: "I would not make this remark were it not for the fact that such a suggestion has been offered from a most unexpected quarter--a believer in the Book of Mormon--as a solution to the difficulty created by the passage from 2 Nephi 10:20,21)

I do not pretend to say at what point Jacob's "isle" was separated from the main land of South and North America; whether along the line of the Atrato river, flowing northward into the gulf of Darien, and the San Juan river heading near the Atrato, but flowing southward into the Pacific Ocean; or whether the waters of the Pacific and the Caribbean sea were united through some pass between the high summits of the range of mountains which now forms the isthmus between the two continents. That either could have been possible, I do not find it difficult to believe; and a careful examination of the physical map of North and South America will go far towards justifying that belief.

In evidence of the probability of the meeting of the Atlantic and Pacific over the southern part of the Isthmus now connecting North and South America, I quote the following from Stanford's "Compendium of Geography and Travel--Central and South America," by A. H. Keane, author of a series of books on this and kindred subjects, and edited by Sir Clements Markham:

These cordilleras (mountain ranges forming the Isthmus) do not form a continuous mountain range, but rather a number of loosely connected ridges, spurs and offshoots, which decrease generally in altitude in the direction of the east, and are here and there crossed by historical passes which fall below three hundred feet, and are the lowest that occur anywhere in the Isthmian lands, or in fact anywhere between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It seems obvious that here also the two oceans formerly communicated, through several channels, and that Panama like other parts of Central America, constituted an insular chain, which has since been merged in continuous land partly by volcanic, partly by meteoric agencies. This may be even inferred from the geological constitution of the uplands, which consist on the west of comparatively recent eruptive rocks, and elsewhere largely of granites, gneiss, dolerites, trachytes, and crystalline schists. (p. 260)

I also quote the following from "The Earth," a very noted work on physical geography by Elisee Reclus, translated from the French by B. B. Woodward. Speaking of the Isthmus connecting North and South America, he says:

A simple depression of the ground of about 1200 feet is all that is needed in order that the Pacific and Caribbean Seas should unite their waters between the two American continents; besides, it appears that, at a recent geological epoch, a channel, at least thirty-seven miles wide, connected the two seas across the plain which is now filled with lava deposit, and is commanded one side by the Sierra de Maria Enrico, and on the other by the Sierra Trinidad" (p.

On the other hand it is not difficult to believe that the "east sea," through what are now the valleys of the Orinoco, the Amazon and La Plata, in those ancient times, extended westward to the very base of the high, narrow plateau, now ridged by the more rugged ranges of the Andes mountains. If these suggestions approximate the facts, then the long narrow western highland of the South American continent was an island; the plateau of Guiana was another; and what is now called the plateau of Brazil another, or perhaps a group of islands. Even now it would not require very great physical changes in the South American continent to reproduce these physical conditions. . . .

[Note* This line of thinking, in particular that the Amazon basin has only recently been raised up, and that in Book of Mormon times that "the long narrow western highland of the South American continent was an island" would lead to ideas such as the Limited South American theories of Verla Birrell--1948 and Venice Priddis-1975]

Second--There is nothing in the Book of Mormon,; either in narrative or description that indicates that the Nephites occupied a mountainous country, while inhabiting what they called "the land South." I do not mean by this that there was a total absence of mountains in all their lands in the south; but that it was not conspicuously mountainous as we know Ecuador, Peru, and the south part of the United States of Colombia to be. In all their movements back and forth between the land of Zarahemla and the land of Nephi, whether for purposes of colonization, exploration, war, or missionary expeditions, no mention is made of any mountain systems, or mountain chains, or special mountain peaks, either as land marks, or as affording advantages or disadvantages in the movements of armies or of migration. This silence is the more significant from the fact that the Nephite historian makes frequent use of every kind of physical feature of the land in connection with these movements, such as "the sea east," and "the sea west," "the sea north," and "the sea south," "the narrow neck of land," or isthmus; rivers, and other bodies of water; and even stretches of wilderness.

It should be remembered in this connection that the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla are said by some to have been located as follows: The first [Nephi] within the modern country of Ecuador; the second [Zarahemla] in that section of country bordering on the head waters of the modern river Magdalena (which, it is claimed, is identical with the Book of Mormon river Sidon), extending northward to within a few days' journey of the isthmus of Panama. (See Orson Pratt's notes "g" and "h," book of Omni 1:12,13.) By reference to the map of South America it will be seen that this locates Nephite lands where the Andes attain some of their greatest altitudes and ruggedness. (note n) Of the Andes a modern work on South America says:

The Andes form one of the grandest mountain systems in the world. . . . The Andes everywhere exhibit evidences of volcanic action. Many of the loftiest peaks are extinct volcanic cones, and there are at present forty or fifty volcanoes in active operation. Five of these can be seen from the city of Quito in Ecuador; Cotopaxi, the largest and most symmetrical of the five, being considered the fiercest volcano in the world. (note O)

The same authority says that the "western part of Colombia" (in which some who venture to say definitely where the Nephite lands were situated, locate the land of Zarahemla, Melek, etc.) "is one of the most mountainous districts in the world. . . .

It seems incredible that the historian of the Nephites would represent that people as dwelling in such a land as this, in the midst not only of the great parallel ranges of the Andes, but of the transverse ranges also; as carrying on schemes of colonization, and conducting wars in the midst of it; or that he would describe the several hegiras of Nephites, and subsequently of large bodies of converted Lamanites, through such a grandly mountainous country, and yet make no reference to such notable land marks, or say anything concerning these mighty cordilleras with their transverse ranges as affording help or hinderance to these various movements.

Third: It is not likely that a people inhabiting a mountainous country, such as the northern part of South America now is, would refer so frequently to particular hills as their chief land marks; or that they would build towers for the purpose of overlooking the land, if mountain peaks and mountain buttes were as abundant and ready at hand to serve such purpose as they now are in the land said to be occupied

formerly by the Nephites and Lamanites. Among the hills mentioned as land marks was one near to and north of the city of Shilom in the land of Lehi-Nephi^{lxviii} . . . the hill Mani, in the land of Zarahemla (Alma 1:15) . . . the hill Amnihu, east of Sidon river (Alma 2:15,17) . . . the hill Onidah, in the land of Antionum (Alma 32:4) so also the hill Riplah on the east of the Sidon (Alma 31:35). Nor are we left to conjecture as to the Nephite historian's idea of a "hill," since we have knowledge of the hill Cumorah--the hill Ramah of the Jaredites--where Moroni deposited the Nephite records; and which, though the most marked elevation in the region of country where it stands, rises not more than two or three hundred feet above the common level of the country. (see Oliver Cowdery's description of Cumorah, *History of the Church*, Vol. 1, p. 15-note.)

Fourth--If the Nephite lands in northern South America at the period of which I am speaking--from the sixth century B. C. to a few years previous to the coming of Messiah--were a mountainous country, such as we now know Ecuador and the southern part of Colombia to be, with well defined mountain ranges, notable and extended valleys, and great mountain peaks clad in perpetual snow though under the tropics--it is not likely, I say, if such was the physical nature of the country inhabited by the Nephites, that the expedition sent out by Limhi from the land of Nephi to find the land of Zarahemla, would have passed by that land entirely and made their way into the north continent, where they found the ruined cities of the Jaredites. (Mosiah 8. also 21:25-27) Nor is it likely that the expedition under Ammon starting out from Zarahemla to learn the fate of the colony of Zeniff would have been in any doubt as to the course they should take to reach the land of Nephi;(see Mosiah 7:1-4) for if the physical features of the land then were what they are now it would have been a mere matter of following mountain ranges to such and such a notable land mark until they arrived at the land that their fathers had inhabited. . . .

The only evidence in the Book of Mormon that Nephite lands in the south continent contained mountains at all is:

First, a reference in Alma to "Mount Antipas," in lands occupied by the Lamanites (Alma 47:6,12). . . . Second, in the book of Helaman (11:26) speaking of a war between government forces and Gadianton robbers . . . reference is made to the method of warfare pursued by the latter; who, after their marauding expeditions, would retreat to the mountains; but as the Nephites by this time were occupying some portions of North America as well as the northern part of the south continent, it is uncertain whether the mountains referred to are in the north or south continent; but the Gadianton robbers in the main carried on their operations in the north, for it was an organization that thrived chiefly among apostate Nephites. Third, almost invariably, when speaking of either persons or companies going from Zarahemla to the land of Nephi, it is said they "went up" . . . conversely, when speaking of going from the land of Nephi to Zarahemla, it is almost invariably--and the writer remembers no exceptions-- "they came down into the land which is called Zarahemla." But it does not necessarily follow that the land of Nephi should be a mountainous country, such as we now know Ecuador and Colombia to be, to justify this phraseology; if, as I believe, the land occupied by the descendants of Lehi's colony, was a high, extended plateau, or table land, it would be sufficient to justify the "up" and "down" when speaking of journeys between the land of Zarahemla and the land of Nephi, if the latter was elevated above the former. Fourth, it is urged that the Nephite lands were rich in minerals which would not likely be the case if they were not mountainous. But that does not necessarily follow. For while it is true that mineral lands are usually mountainous, the precious and other metals sometimes abound in comparatively lowlands and plateaus, of which fact the rich mineral lands of some parts of Australia, Brazil, and South Africa are proof. Fifth, in the prophetic descriptions of the great cataclysms which took place at the time of Messiah's crucifixion, the prophets saw "mountains tumbling to pieces," and "many mountains laid low," hence there must have been mountains in Nephite lands if these things occurred in fulfillment of the prophecies. It should be remembered, however, that these predictions referred to the whole western hemisphere, to North America as well as South America, and it is significant that the greater physical changes were wrought in the land northward. Besides I again call attention to the fact that I do not contend for a total absence of mountains in the south continent, but merely that the land was not conspicuously mountainous as we know the parts of the continent occupied by Ecuador and the United States of Colombia are now.

The facts respecting the land to which the Lord led the colony of Lehi seem to be, according to the Book

of Mormon, about as follows: The land to which the colony was brought was what is now the western part of the continent of South America, uplifted through long geological ages from the ocean bed into a high, narrow plateau, sufficiently elevated to give a temperate climate to lands under the tropics; but separated from the extreme eastern part of South America, and also from what is now the plateau of Guiana, by ocean inlets through what are now known as the valleys of La Plata, Amazon, and Orinoco; and separated from North America, at the time Lehi's colony landed, by the union of the Atlantic and Pacific, at some point along the isthmus which now unites the two continents or south of it. By the great cataclysm at the crucifixion of the Messiah, that high, narrow plateau, uplifted through unknown geological periods, was broken into rugged mountain ranges; the western part of the whole continent was uplifted, driving the ocean from the South American valleys previously mentioned, and leaving the south continent, as to its general contour, much as we know it today.

Of course, it must be admitted that in making the foregoing remarks I have entered within the lines of conjecture; but I feel reasonably satisfied that I am also within the lines of probability. Surely the facts referred to in the Book of Mormon in the preceding pages make it necessary to believe that the lands occupied by the Nephites previous to the crucifixion of the Savior were different from the continent of South America as we know it now; and which surely cannot consistently be called an island.

Since, then, there is nothing in the Book of Mormon itself that makes improbable the views here expressed with reference to the physical character of "the land south," but on the contrary very much that requires a belief that such was the physical character of the south continent within the centuries designated, the only question that remains to be considered is, could such changes, as the views here expressed call for, have taken place in comparatively recent times. I shall maintain that it is quite possible.

First of all I suggest an inspection of a physical map of South America, together with the locations of the great valleys of La Plata, Amazon, and Orinoco and their relation to the two great mountain systems of the continent, the Andes on the west and the high plateau and mountains in the extreme east. It is quite evident that these great lowlands were at one time covered by the ocean, which was driven from them by the upraising of the continent. The elevation was greatest in the west, running parallel with the Andes as far as the Bolivian group, which sent the ocean occupying the valley of the Amazon and of the Orinoco eastward. ~~The upraising in the vicinity of the Bolivian mountain group extended far into the continent at a right angle from the Andes, sending the ocean south through what is now the valley of La Plata, leaving the continent of South America very much as we know it today.~~

[Note* The preceding sentence, which has been lined through, represents the end of the section (or pages) which were deleted in the 1909 edition of *New Witnesses for God*, and which represent arguments which were countered in the February, 1904 Mansfield article in the *Improvement Era* (see notation). The reader should notice in what remains of this chapter, however, that in general Roberts' premise and conclusions remained essentially the same.]

I am aware of the fact that the science of geology, while clearly granting the instability of our earth's crust, quite generally insists that the uplifting of continents and mountain ranges from the ocean's bed, and the subsidence of islands and continents into the ocean bottom is accomplished so slowly that long geological periods are required for the changes effected; and that the periods of time are so great that it is useless to measure them in time of which years shall be regarded as units. But notwithstanding the very sound reasons in the main which are advanced for the slowness of this work, there is evidence for the fact, and also respectable authority for it, that sometimes very great changes of wide extent are made quite suddenly.

[Roberts now provides 7 pages of this evidence by quoting from various authors and scholars. He then concludes his chapter with the following:]

In concluding this chapter--even though I have not yet arrived at the argumentative state of my treatise--I would suggest that the cases of seismic disturbances here cited are sufficient both in their character and extent to warrant belief in the possibility of the terrible cataclysms described in the Book of Mormon, and the changes they effected in the physical nature of the continents of America.

Chapter XII Inter-Continental Movements of Book of Mormon Peoples

The first extensive migration of Nephites into the north continent occurred in the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Nephite judges, a period which corresponds to fifty-five B.C. . . . [Further] migration from the land . . . presented itself . . . in the year 46 B.C. . . .

Here it will be proper to dispel what I regard as a misapprehension of the extent of Nephite occupancy of the north continent, at this period of Nephite history. From the fact that in the foregoing quotation it is said that the Nephite removing from Zarahemla traveled "to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water, and many rivers," some have supposed that the Nephites at this time extended their colonization movements as far north as the Great Lakes in the eastern part of North America; and from the fact that it is also said that "they began to cover the face of the whole earth from the sea south, to the sea north, from the sea west, to the sea east, " it has been supposed that these expressions meant to convey the idea that the Nephites at this time had extended their settlements over both continents; and that "from the sea south to the sea north" meant from the sea at the southern extremity of South America (south of Cape Horn), to the Arctic Ocean, north of North America.^{lxxix} There is no evidence, however, in the Book of Mormon that warrants such a conclusion as to the extent of Nephite occupancy of the western hemisphere in 46 B.C. Allowance for the hyperbole must be made in the expression, "They began to cover the face of the whole earth," since the facts set forth in the whole history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon are against the reasonableness of such a conclusion. . . .

By reference to the map the reader, if he will consider the parts of the country now known as the south part of Mexico and Central America, will there find all the conditions that answer to the terms of the description in the passage quoted complied with as to "the sea south, and the sea north; the sea east and the sea west;" while the physical character of the same land, even now, will answer the requirements of the description of its being a land of "large bodies of water and many rivers"^{lxxx}; and more abundantly may have been so before the conclusions of nature which took place in Nephite lands at Messiah's crucifixion.

I conclude, therefore, that this migration of Nephites at this time extended no further northward than southern parts of Mexico, say about the twenty-second degree north latitude; in other words, the Nephites were occupying the old seat of Jaredite empire and civilization, and the land of Moron which the Nephites called "desolate," not because of its barrenness--save for the absence of forests of timber--"but because of the greatness of the destruction of the people who had before inhabited the land;" that is, the Jaredites.

Shortly after . . . the Savior made his appearance among the Nephites and established his Church, which event was followed by a long period of righteousness and the loss of all race and party distinctions, such as "Nephite" and "Lamanite," etc.; and the people occupied the lands north and south without restraint according to their good pleasure. True, in the year 350, A.D., when wickedness had again made its appearance among the people, and old distinctions were revived, a treaty was made in which it was stipulated that those calling themselves Lamanites and Gadianton robbers would possess the south land. The treaty, however, was not long respected by the Lamanites, for at the end of ten years they violated it by attempting to invade the north and war was renewed. Back and forth surged the tide of armed conflict, but raged chiefly in what was known to the Nephites as the land of Desolation, the old seat of Jaredite empire and civilization. The Nephites at last having been driven from their southern strongholds in the north continent, proposed through their leader, Mormon, that they be permitted to gather their people at Cumorah--the Ramah of the Jaredites--that they might trust their fate to the dreadful arbitrament of one great battle. . . .

Chapter XIII Government and Religion The Jaredites

. . . An account of the migration of this people from the Tower of Babel to the north continent of the western world has already been given, and I have also pointed out that before the demise of the two brothers, Moriancumr and Jared, who led that colony to the western hemisphere, the people were called

together and a kingly government founded; that the first capital was established under the name of Mormon, somewhere in the region of country known to us as Central America, and called by the Nephites "Desolation." (p. 127)

Note* See the 1909 notation for pertinent textual excerpts from, and deletions made in the 1909 edition of *New Witnesses for God*.

(See Sjudahl's 1927 notation and Roberts' 1928 notation)

1904^ Julia N. Dutton "A Day in Zarahemla in 200 A.D., in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (RLDS) (February 1904), pp. 49-53

[p. 49] Zarahemla is the ancient name for a section of country in the northwestern part of South America, nearly included in what is known at the present time as Colombia.

1904^ B. H. Roberts 1904-1905 YMMIA Manual, No. 8 , Salt Lake City: General Board of the YMMIA, The Deseret News, 1904. Copyright Joseph F. Smith, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contains *New Witnesses for God*, Vol. II, Part II The Book of Mormon.

Explanatory Note

It was the intention of the General board originally to complete the treatise on the Book of Mormon in two manuals; but owing to the amount of matter furnished by the author of the body of the work, and the importance of the subject, it has been necessary to divide it into three rather than into two manuals . . . Both the manual committee and the General Board are altogether persuaded that this is the best arrangement of the matter that can be made, and they are also persuaded that the associations cannot be better employed in the department of theological work than in making a thorough study of the American volume of scripture--the Book of Mormon.

[Note* Despite such enthusiastic sentiments at the time concerning the "thorough" study of the Book of Mormon, did these YMMIA Manuals represent the first and the last time that any official LDS Church organization (including the CES) would address the geography and culture of the Book of Mormon in the New World in any detail?]

The Book of Mormon.
Part II.

Division three-Evidences of the Truth of the Book of Mormon
A.--External Evidences

Chapter XXV. [pp. 224-235]
American Antiquities-Direct External Evidences-Preliminary Considerations-Continued.

II.

The Western World Since the Close of the Nephite Period--The Lamanite Civilization
. . . The last battles of the great and long continued war which ended in the destruction of the Nephite party, took place south of the great lake region, about Cumorah; and to this part of the land had been drawn if not the bulk, then certainly a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the land. . . .

1904^ M. W. Mansfield "Jacob's Isle: Views Held in Chapter XI of Manual Modified

In February 1904, an article by M. W. Mansfield would be published along with a following article by B. H. Roberts entitled "Remarks on the Foregoing Article." In essence, the articles focused on the meaning "isle of the sea," a term used by Jacob in referring to the New World in which the Nephites lived. Mansfield would present arguments that caused Roberts to change his point of view on Book of Mormon geography, especially cataclysmic changes at the time Christ. Mansfield's arguments are worth noting. He writes:

Jacob, son of Lehi, in speaking to the people of Nephi, in the land of Nephi, said: "We have been led to a better land, for the Lord has made the sea our path, and *we are upon an isle of the sea*. But great are the promises of the Lord unto they who are upon the isles of the sea" (2 Nephi 10:20, 21).

The promises of the Lord to, and description of lands occupied by, those of the people of Israel who are and have been upon the isles of the sea, so far as we know, the promises and ancient description of the lands, are found in the Bible and other sacred books; and, as Jacob had the writings of the prophets on the brass plates, he doubtless referred to them for the promises to Israel, upon the isles of the sea. Let us see from those writings in what sense the term "isles" was used, and to what land reference was made by the prophets.

First, Moses said in Genesis 10:5: "by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." Referring to the seed of Japheth dividing their country among themselves, and that on the main land of Asia, he uses the term "isles" in speaking of their land, and any land may be termed an isle in the same sense.

In Zeph. 2:11, the prophet says: "The Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famish all the gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen." This passage shows that the term "isles" is used in reference to all the lands of the heathen in all parts of the earth, without reference as to the situation as to water surroundings.

Lands distant from Palestine, where the sea separated them from that land, are referred to by the prophets as isles of the sea. "Wherefore, glorify ye the Lord in the fires [valleys], even the name of the Lord God of Israel in the isles of the sea" (Isaiah 24:15).

The promises made to Israel that are scattered abroad on the isles of the sea are mentioned by Isaiah in part, and I refer now to his words, quoted in the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 21:1): "Hearken, O ye house of Israel, all ye that are broken off and are driven out, because of the wickedness of the pastors of my people; yea, all ye that are broken off that are scattered abroad, who are of my people, O house of Israel. Listen, O isles, unto me, and hearken ye people from far; the Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name." (See also Isaiah 49:1).

"The words of Zenos, which he spake concerning the three days of darkness, which should be a sign given of his (Christ's death, unto those who should inhabit the isles of the sea; more especially given unto those who were of the house of Israel: . . . And the rocks of the earth must rend; and because of the groanings of the earth, many of the kings of the isles of the sea shall be wrought upon by the Spirit of God to exclaim, The God of nature suffers" (1 Nephi 19:10, 12).

Did the three days of darkness come upon the face of this land? If so, is not this one of the isles of the sea referred to, which would be inhabited by some of the house of Israel? We find that this land was inhabited by Israel at the time of the crucifixion, and the three days of darkness came upon this land, also great destruction. Hence, Zenos refers to this land of America in his "isles of the sea," where the "sign" should be given.

I think it is admitted on all sides that there is no recorded changes of this land from the days of Jared to the time of the great separation at Christ's death. If anything of the kind had occurred to the knowledge of historians of that day, they would in all probability, have left the same on record. The Jaredite historians refer to this land as the promised land, from which we infer unity and not separation.

In the days of Heth, a king of the Jaredites, poisonous serpents drove the flocks of that people through the narrow neck of land into the land known as Zarahemla; later, from this north country. Clearly showing that the land of North and South America was at that time joined by the narrow neck of land. The flocks of the Jaredites could not pass a strait connecting the sea and the ocean, if one existed at that time. The people of Mulek landed first in the north land, and subsequently moved southward into the land of Zarahemla, and no mention is made of any water which they crossed in that journey. . . .

Mormon says: "The land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla were nearly surrounded by water, there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward" (Alma 22:32). This

remark was made describing conditions as they were before the great storm and upheavals, at the time of the Savior's death. This is the same condition that exists today, as the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla comprised the land south, or South America. This is one of the great evidences, that the land north and south were joined by the narrow neck or isthmus, as is the case today, which the Book of Mormon affords.

It will not do to say that at the time of Zenos' prophecies and when Nephi received his vision, that this country of North and South America was broken into small or large islands, and subsequently connected by the disturbances at the time of the Savior's crucifixion, because there is no evidence on which to base the statement; but, on the contrary, much to support the opposite contention of unity. "Isles of the sea," in prophetic language, simply means, "countries of the sea." Modern geographical terms do not fully explain terms used by prophets and historians thousands of years ago, even after the translation into English of those term, but they must be understood in the sense in which they were used at that time.

The continents of Europe, Asia and Africa constitute the main land on the earth, and all other lands in the light of prophecy, are "isles," or countries of the sea.

The small islands near the land of North and South America no doubt constituted part of the isles referred to by Zenos, and no doubt some of the isles of the Pacific were included also.

1904^A B. H. Roberts "Remarks on the Foregoing Article (Mansfield's 'Jacob's Isle')."
in *Improvement Era* 7 (February 1904): pp. 267-269.

The ascertainment of truth, not the maintenance of personal opinions, I take it, is the attitude of every true student and teacher. This principle I have endeavored to make my guide in all research; and have sought to avoid the pride of opinion which would tempt one at times, to be slow to accept the truth when discovered, because contrary to views already entertained. Therefore, while not accepting everything set forth in the preceding paper, nor taking time to comment on minor points, I desire to say that the writer of it has contributed a very important idea concerning "Jacob's Isle," and one which will call for a modification of the views set forth in chapter XI of our present Manual [see 1903], on that subject. By further research, after reading the preceding article, I discovered that the Jews in their scriptures speak of isles in three senses: . . .

"Third: [following Kitto] *The word is used by the Hebrews to designate all those countries divided from them by the sea.* In Isaiah 11:11, after an enumeration of counties lying on their own continent, the words, "and the islands of the sea," are added in order to comprehend those situated beyond the ocean. The following are additional instances of this usage of the word, which is of very frequent occurrence: Isaiah 42:10; 59:18; 66:19; Jeremiah 25:22; Ezekiel 27:3,15; Zephaniah 2:11. It is also observed by Sir Isaac Newton (commenting on Daniel, p. 276), '*By the earth the Jews understood the great continent of Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land; and by the isles of the sea they understood the places to which they sailed by sea, particularly all Europe.*'"

Substantially the same views as the foregoing are maintained in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible (Hackett's edition), art. "Isle."

It is this third sense in which the Hebrews used the term "isle," "isles," or "isles of the sea," that is contended for by Mr. Mansfield. And while the Jews at times used the term as we use it in English, meaning a small division of land surrounded by water, it is a fact that it was frequently used in this latter sense, viz., as referring to all those lands distant from Jerusalem, that had to be reached by crossing the sea, without reference to their being either islands or continents, as we understand the terms; that is the literary sense or use of the word among the Jews. **And if it was in this literary sense rather than in the physical one that Jacob used it--and it must be conceded that that is most likely,--then it would relieve us of the necessity of maintaining that the Nephites, in the days of Jacob, occupied an island; that is, a small body of land--as contrasted with a continent--surrounded by water. and such, I believe, is the reasonable conclusion to arrive at, and one that may reasonably be accepted, instead of the view on that head set forth in our Manual, chapter XI.**

This would reduce the value of chapter XI to being merely a valuable collection of the accounts of those mighty cataclysms, in various parts of the earth, that would make it easy to believe that such cataclysms as are described in the Book of Mormon are not only possible but probable.

Note* See the R. Holmes notation for 1907.

1904[^] Charles Fry "Ancient Records," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 17, No. 7 (July 1904), pp. 324-331
(RLDS)

[pp. 325-326] *Ether's Abridgment of Jaredite History*

. . . Nearly five hundred years later, a colony of Nephites, known as the people of Zeniff, or the people of Limhi, who were living under Lamanite oppression, sent out a party of men to search for the main body of Nephites then inhabiting Zarahemla, in the northern part of South America. This party became lost and wandered into Central America, where they found the remains of the Jaredite nation, the land being strewn with human bones, rusted swords, armor, etc. They also found the twenty-four gold plates with the engravings upon them. Supposing they had found the land of Zarahemla, they returned with the plates as evidence of their discovery, to their own land. (Mosiah 9:26)

[pp. 326-327] *The Record on the Plates of Laban*

. . . The plates of Laban contained thirteen hundred and twenty-one years of Israelite history . . . This record was taught to the Nephites until they dwindled in unbelief, when Mormon by command of God hid the plates in the hill Cumorah (Mormon 3:2) where they no doubt still remain.

[p. 327] *History of the Nephite Nation*

Nephi, the founder of the nation, began this record by command of the Lord, upon plates made by himself, probably of gold, after reaching America. (Nephi 5:45, 46) . . . Mormon having completed the history to near the end of his life, and having seen the destruction of nearly the whole nation, probably buried them with the other records in the hill Cumorah (Mormon 3:2) about 400 A.D.

[p. 328] *Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*

The plates upon which Mormon and Moroni had made the abridgment, after having securely lain for fourteen hundred years in the earth, were revealed by the Lord in 1823, and four years afterward came into the temporary possession of Joseph Smith, Jr., and were translated by the gift of God. They were returned to the angel. (Church History, vol. 1, p. 18)

It has been supposed by some that more than one record was found in the hill in New York, but a careful reading of the history tells us of but one. The angel in telling what was there says, "There is a book deposited," etc. (Church History, vol. 1, p. 13) Oliver Cowdery speaks of it as but one record. (Letters of Oliver Cowdery, pp. 15, 32) We know of no evidence to show that there were more than one record or set of plates in New York.

1904 B. H. Roberts Documentary History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 7 vols., introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

In his edited seven volume *History of the Church*, B. H. Roberts included references to a series of letters written by Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, the editor of the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*. In 1841 these same letters were published in Nauvoo in the *Times and Seasons* (V. 2, p. 379). The information in these letters was part of "a full history of the rise of the church" and among other things identified the hill Cumorah as being located in New York. Roberts would note that "Joseph Smith's association with Cowdery in the production of these letters make them, as to the facts involved, practically the personal narrative of Joseph Smith." (Vol. 1, page 78)

Roberts also left the Zelph incident as Willard Richards had recorded it in 1843. In 1934 and 1948, however, under the direction of Joseph Fielding Smith who became Church historian, another version was substituted for that of Richards version and explicit references to the Hill Cumorah and the Nephites were

reintroduced. That phrasing has continued to the present in all reprintings.

In 1957, Preston Nibley, assistant Church historian, authorized Fletcher Hammond to announce that the 1904 edition was correct (See Hammond 1959):

. . . Brother Nibley has authorized me to say that the 1904 edition of the *Documentary History of the Church* Vol. II at pages 79 and 80 correctly reports the "Zelph" incident; and that the part of the 1934 (and the 1948) edition of the same history which differs from it is erroneous. (Palmer 1981:77)

**1904^ Joel Ricks Brigham Young College, *Bulletin: Society Report: Book of Mormon Geography*,
Logan: Brigham Young College, vol. III, No. 2, December 1904, pp. 1-19.**

In a very detailed and textually referenced report on Book of Mormon Geography by the Brigham Young College Society of American Archeology at Logan, Joel Ricks, the Society Secretary and Chairman of the Book of Mormon Geography Committee laid out a specific hemispheric plan based on exploration of some of the areas involved and intensive study of the text itself. He writes:

Your committee, to whom was assigned the subject of Book of Mormon Geography, respectfully submit the following report of their investigations, under the title of *A Suggestive Study of Book of Mormon Geography*.

In presenting this suggestive study, we do not claim that the locations we make, or the routes of travel we mark out, are positively correct. They are, however, the results of a careful, consistent study of the subject and the beginning of a movement that will, in time, accomplish the desired end. If we aid one student to a better understanding of the book, or invite criticisms that will throw further light upon this subject, we shall be satisfied.

On page 289 of the *Compendium*, we find the following in regard to the course taken by Lehi after leaving Jerusalem:--"They traveled nearly a south-southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude; then, nearly east to the Sea of Arabia; thence sailing in a southeast direction, they landed on the continent of South America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude. . . .

As this region is identical with the description given by Nephi (1 Nephi 17:5) we believe most students will accept it as authentic. It gives us a definite point on the American continent to guide us in our study; vis., the point of landing.

In [George Q.] Cannon's *Life of Joseph Smith* (p44), we find the following, in regard to the appearance of Moroni on the occasion of the Prophet's first visit to the hill where the record was deposited:--"Many precious truths the angel now imparted to him: telling him that he, Moroni, while yet living, had hidden up the plates in the hill, four centuries after Christ, to await their coming forth in the destined hour of God's mercy to man; that he, Moroni, was the son of Mormon, a prophet of the ancient Nephites, who had once dwelt on this land; that to the Nephites this sacred hill was known as Cumorah, and to the Jaredites (who had still more anciently inhabited this continent) as Ramah." This fixes definitely the location of another important point; namely, the place of their destruction. **These two points mark the two geographic extremes of Nephite civilization.**

We find what we believe is an erroneous idea entertained to a great extent among our people in regard to the changes that took place at the time of the crucifixion of the Savior, many believing that the earth's surface was entirely broken up by the frightful convulsions, and that the changes were so great that it would be impossible now to identify mountain ranges, rivers, valleys, etc., with such physical features of the country before that remarkable event. But those who entertain this idea, the study of Book of Mormon geography is considered a waste of time. Happily, there are a large number of our people who do not entertain this extreme view. We find nothing in the record to justify it; and had such great changes as is claimed taken place at a time so recent, the effects would be easily discernible now. The testimony of geology is that continental changes, or changes affecting wide areas of country, are brought about by exceedingly slow processes, requiring long periods of time for their accomplishment. All evidence indicates that the region occupied by the Nephites in South America has changed but little in recent geographical times. . . . The whole region extending from Peru to the Gulf of Mexico is subject to seismic disturbances. In some localities these upheavals are exceedingly disastrous; cities have been sunken into the sea, mountains have been torn asunder, valleys broken up, until in some localities the aspect of the country has been entirely changed. Yet we know that the contour of the continents is the same as before, that mountain ranges and valleys occupy their same relative positions, and that the rivers flow in their old channels to the sea. . . .

From the descriptions, given, all students [of the Book of Mormon] are able to identify the Land Northward as North America, and the Land southward as South America, and the narrow neck of land as the Isthmus of Panama. In Nephite times, the Land Northward was called Mulek, it being the place where Mulek and his people disembarked. The Land Southward was called Lehi, because Lehi and his colony landed there. (Helaman 6:10) According to Alma the south continent was divided into two great political divisions. The land of Nephi, inhabited by the Lamanites; and the land of Zarahemla, occupied by the Nephites. (Alma 22:32)

At the beginning of the reign of the Judges, the country Zarahemla covered all the region north of the head waters of the Sidon and northward along the course of that river to the sea, thence round to the westward to the narrow neck that leads into the Land Northward. (Alma 22:27-29) To make this plainer, the country was a V-shaped region with the left arm touching the west sea just south of the isthmus, and the other touching the east sea at a point east of the mouth of the Sidon. . . .

Some are of the opinion that the narrow strip of wilderness which divided the two peoples was a neutral zone that ran straight across South America from east to west near the head of the Magdalena [Sidon]. The record does not bear out this idea. . . . Everything indicates that the dividing line was a natural barrier, and this thought is born out by the physical features of the country to-day. Beginning at a point just south of the head of the Magdalena, the Andes break up into three ranges . . . So nearly does the course of these mountains correspond to the description given of the dividing line, that we believe they were identical.

The city of Zarahemla was centrally located in the Nephite territory (Helaman 5:5-6). It was a considerable distance north of the head of the Sidon (Alma 22:27). It was just south of the forest region (Alma 2:36). It was directly west of an accessible pass in the eastern mountains (Alma 31:3, 43:22). There was an open valley country west of it (Alma 8:3-5). There were hills near the city (Alma 1:15). It was on the west bank of the Sidon (Alma 2:15, 6:7). There was a hill on the east side of the Sidon, opposite the city (Alma 2:15). There was a habitable valley eastward of this hill (Alma 2:20, 6:7). There was an open valley twenty-five or thirty miles south of the city (Alma 2:24). After examining the valley region, we selected a point at the head of navigation on the Magdalena, 600 miles from the sea, as the possible site of the Nephite capital, Zarahemla. Here are found all of the physical conditions mentioned above. This site is about 250 miles southeast of the isthmus in a direct line and about a similar distance north of the head of the Magdalena; directly east, about 100 miles distant, is the first pass in the eastern range north of the head of this Magdalena. . . .

With Zarahemla at this point, Gideon would have built in the valley east of the river (Alma 2:20) about twenty-five miles distant (Alma 2:24). Melek would be on the grassy plains to the west near the foot of the Andes, about twenty-five miles distant (Alma 8:3-5), with Ammonihah three days' journey on the north of Melek (Alma 8:6). As a day's journey was twenty-five to thirty miles this would take us seventy-five to ninety miles northward into the little valleys drained by the Rio Narc. Some claim that the phrase *on the north of*, does not convey an idea of the direction Alma traveled; but that his journey was north of Melek, maintaining that when he left Melek he went to its north boundary line and traveled along that line three days' journey westward and came to Ammonihah. "If Ammonihah was north of Melek," say they, "how would it have been possible for the Lamanite armies to have passed by Zarahemla and to have destroyed Ammonihah as they did?" This objection is easily explained when it is understood that all of the region lying west of Melek was at this period Lamanite territory (Alma 22:28), and that Melek and Ammonihah were both situated on the wilderness side (Alma 16:2) beyond which was the region occupied by the Lamanites. . . .

The land Manti is spoken of as near the head of the river Sidon (Alma 22:27) From the military movements about this city (Alma 43:31, 7) it seems that there was a narrow valley on both sides of the river above the city (Alma 43-41) There was a pass over the eastern mountains near this point, opening to the plains of the Orinoco (Alma 43:22-24) and another over the central range on the west (Alma 8:13). All of these features are found in the upper Magdalena valley, near the mouth of the Rio Paez, and it is probable that the city was located in this vicinity. In the valley, near the river there is now a very large stone, covered with hieroglyphic writings; it is not improbable that these writings recorded some of the stirring events of Nephite history. . . .

Some students prefer to locate [the city of Moroni] away over on the Guianan coast, but we prefer to locate it near the head of Lake Maracaibo. This city marked the eastern limits of the Nephite possessions. The cities, Lehi and Morianton, were also in the region by the east sea (Alma 50:15). They were near each other, and not a very great distance from Moroni and Nephiah (Alma 50:25). . . .

The location of the cities Omner and Gid, is given as on the north borders by the seashore, and were probably between the mouth of the Magdalena and the isthmus (Alma 51:26). . . .

We are told that Moroni sent his armies into the east wilderness and drove the Lamanites into their own lands which were south of the land of Zarahemla (Alma 50:7) This is taken as an indication that at this time the dividing line ran straight across the continent. We believe that conditions in those regions were then as they are now. The habitable portions of the country were in the high valleys. Moroni undoubtedly knew if he drove the Lamanites out of these valleys they would be compelled to live on the hot plains of the east or return to the habitable parts of the land Nephi, which was south of Zarahemla. However, as the dividing line ran southwest to northeast the land of Nephi could be said to lie south of the east wilderness. The first idea though, we believe, is the correct one.

The city Bountiful seems to have been located near the head of the Gulf of Darien, probably on the east side of the Atrato river. . . .

Before considering the land of Nephi, let us first learn something of the character of the country in which it was located. Beginning just south of lake Titicaca, the Andes divide into two great ranges, which run parallel, ranging from twenty to one hundred and fifty miles apart, and enclosing a large number of valleys rising from 5,000 to 10,000 feet above sea-level. All through Peru and the southern part of Equador, the rivers drain into the Amazon; north of Quito, three rivers break through the western range and empty into the Pacific. In both ranges are high ridges and, at intervals, great snowy peaks.

Between the valleys are vast districts, called *paramos*, rising from 12,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. These are cold dreary wastes, without vegetation, over which wintry blasts sweep almost continually. In Equador, the east range falls off rapidly to the hot plains of the Amazon; and, on the west, to the torrid plains of the Pacific.

The city of [Lehi]-Nephi was located somewhere south of the headwaters of the Sidon (Alma 50:7)

That it was located in the high plateau region seems certain from the fact that there was a region lying west of it inhabited by indolent Lamanites (Alma 22:27). We are told that corn, wheat, and barley, were grown in Nephi and Shilom (Mosiah 9:9). In the tropics, corn does not thrive at an elevation greater than 8,000 feet, wheat does not grow below 3,000 feet, nor barley below 7,000 feet; therefore, it seems certain that these cities were above the lowest limit for barley, which would place them in the plateau region. . . .

The question has often been raised, "Was the city of Nephi inhabited by Zeniff, the same as that founded by the first Nephi?" We do not think so, for the following reasons: 1st. Its greatest distance (more than 2,500 miles) from the place of the first landing; 2nd. the following from Alma (chapters 22 and 28), "Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness and dwelt in tents and they were spread through the wilderness on the west in the land Nephi, yea and also on the west of the land Zarahemla in the borders by the seashore and on the west in the land Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance, and thus bordering along the seashore."

The above would indicate that the place of their first inheritance was considerable distance south of the city of Lehi-Nephi, and that there was another extensive region lying between it and the sea. We believe we are justified in the opinion that the place of their first inheritance was probably in the mountain valleys of southern Peru. . . .

If we accept this view and allow that Alma could travel 300 miles in twenty-two days, and measure southward from Manti, this would place the city of [Lehi]-Nephi in one of the valleys of northern Equador, a region that would answer all of the requirements of the Lamanite capital as to elevation, climate, and other conditions. . . .

Nephite writers refer in the briefest manner to cities and lands in the Land Northward. As we have seen, the name Desolation was given to the isthmus region north of Bountiful (Alma 22:30-31, 46:17, 50:34) How far north this region extended is not known; although it is likely that at first it was very extensive, but was reduced when other cities and lands were cut out of it. Thus in the later years of Nephite history, we have the city Desolation in the isthmus and north of it Teancum, Boaz, and other cities (Mormon 3:5-7, 4:3-8) After a careful reading of the events of the last great war seems to us to indicate clearly that the Nephites were gradually driven northward through the expanding territory of Central America. In this region the Jaredites had flourished, and Moron, the city of their first inheritance, was near to the land Desolation (Ether 7:6-16)

It is certain that Guatemala and Honduras were populous Jaredite lands. Here we wish to say that while it is usually thought that the Jaredites reached this region from the west, it has always seemed to

us that the strongest reasons exist for believing that they came from the east and landed on the east coast, just as Mulek did. The comparatively short journey to be made and the prevailing winds and currents are all in favor of this idea.

Somewhere north of Moron on the road to the Great Mississippi, was a conspicuous landmark called the hill of Shim (Ether 9:3) Omer passed this hill on his flight into the north; and here, in Nephite times, Ammaron deposited the Nephite records. While many cities, both Jaredite and Nephite, are mentioned; and while the whole country was covered with cities and villages, the exact location of any one of these is not known, the only definite landmark being Cumorah in New York, with a reasonable conclusion that the Jareditish land of Ablom was near Boston.

These conclusions we respectfully submit to the members of the society for their consideration, believing that they will be helpful to Book of Mormon students and hoping that they will stimulate research that will lead to more definite results.

Joel Ricks, Chairman

[1904 Illustrated Model Joel Ricks Slightly Modified HEMISPHERIC]

Page #1

L.S.=Western S. Amer. / N.N.=Pan. / L.N.=North of Panama / H.C.= N.Y.

Sources: Brigham Young College Society of American Archaeology. Society Report: Book of Mormon Geography. *Brigham Young College Bulletin* 3 (2) December 1904 (Logan, Utah). Ricks wrote this report as chairman of their Committee on Book of Mormon Geography; the two maps are specifically "by Joel Ricks." The model is essentially unchanged in Joel Ricks, *Helps to the Study of the Book of Mormon*, 1916. Also the same as in Ricks' *The Geography of the Book of Mormon*, n.p., (1939, 1940). See also Ricks' *Whence Came the Mayas?*, n.p., 1943.

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Page #2

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(See the Ricks notations for 1906, 1908. For more perspectives on Ricks' theory see his 1940 notation)

1905^ James X. Allen "Mound Builders and American Antiquities," in *Improvement Era* 8 (April 1905): pp. 436-440.

The Jaredites, according to the Book of Mormon, left Babylonia three hundred years before Abraham took his departure. The Jaredites did not sojourn in Egypt, as did Abraham, but came directly to the western continent, landing in Central America.

1905 George Albert Smith

George Albert Smith, Diary, 26 December 1905. Special Collections, Marriot Library, University of Utah, Utah. microfilm copy in Church Archives

Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer write:

To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Prophet Joseph Smith's birth, in December 1905, President Joseph F. Smith invited several church leaders and family members to join him on a trip to Sharon, Vermont, where he dedicated the Joseph Smith Memorial. They visited other church sites during their travels including the Hill Cumorah. . . . George Albert Smith noted on the occasion, "Awoke feeling well.. Our train was sidetracked at Palmyra at 9:35 a.m. We were met by Mr. White , delivery man, with carriages. . . . We also visited the Hill Cumorah and President Smith offered prayer.

[1905 **Photograph: Joseph F. Smith and Party**, by George Albert Smith, 26 December 1905; looking northeast on west side. Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 16]

Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 14

1905^ Joseph Smith

History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (7 vols.) Period I. History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. By Himself, Vol. III, an introduction and notes by B. H. Roberts. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1905, 143-144.

Tuesday, September 25-- . . . We came through Huntsville, the county seat of Randolph county . . . A mile and a half west of Huntsville we crossed the east branch of Chariton [River], and one and a half miles west of the river we found Ira Ames and some other brethren near the place where the city of Manti is to be built, and encamped for the night on Dark creek, six miles from Huntsville. Traveled this day seventeen miles. Distance from Kirtland, seven hundred and fifty-five miles.

Note* This account is different than the other two journal accounts. It does not say anything about the site being the ancient city of Manti, but rather that a city of Manti was to be built there. In the Preface of Vol. I (pp. III-IV) of this series published in 1902, we find the following concerning the accuracy of the above statement:

In publishing the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, it is felt that a solemn duty is being performed to the Saints and to the world. . . . It is important, too, that so far as possible the events which make up the history be related by the persons who witnessed them, since such statements give the reader testimony of the facts at first hand; and there is placed on record at the same time the highest order of historical evidence of the truth of what is stated. It was these considerations which induced the Church authorities, under whose auspices this history is published, to take the narrative of the Prophet Joseph Smith as found in the manuscript History of the Church--now in the archives of the Historian's office--for the body of the work, rather than to authorize the writing of a history in the ordinary way. . . .

One difficulty the Prophet experienced in writing the annals of the Church, which he usually called his history, was the unfaithfulness of some whom he employed in this service, and the frequent change of historians, owing to the ever shifting conditions surrounding the Church in the early years of its existence. It would be marvelous indeed if under all these circumstances there had been no mistakes made in our annals, no conflict of dates, no errors in the relation of events. But whether these conditions are taken into account or not, the manuscript annals of the Church are astonishingly free from errors of dates, relation of facts, and anachronisms of every description. When the Church

Historians George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff completed their publication of the "History of Joseph Smith," down to the 8th of August, 1844, which history was published in installments in the *Deseret News*, Utah, and in the *Millennial Star*, England, they expressed themselves upon the correctness of what they had published in the following manner:

"The History of Joseph Smith is now before the world, and we are satisfied that a history more correct in its details than this was never published. To have it strictly correct, the greatest possible pains have been taken by the historians and clerks engaged in the work. They were eye and ear witnesses of nearly all the transactions recorded in this history, most of which were reported as they transpired, and, where they were not personally present, they have had access to those who were. Moreover, since the death of the Prophet Joseph, the history has been carefully revised under the strict inspection of President Brigham Young, and approved by him. We, therefore, hereby bear our testimony to all the world, unto whom these words shall come, that the history of Joseph Smith is true, and is one of the most authentic histories ever written."

Their statement assuredly is true; and yet by a careful revision of the work they did and the correction of a few errors in dates and other details, the work has been brought to a still higher state of perfection. Where grammatical accuracy was violated in the original record it has been corrected, so far as observed; but no historical or doctrinal statement has been changed. . . . The most careful attention has been given to this work by those engaged in its preparation. The manuscript has been read to the Church Historian, President Anthon H. Lund, with constant reference to the original manuscript history and all copies of it published in the *Times and Seasons* and the *Millennial Star*. . . .

Note* This account is different than the other two journal accounts. It does not say anything about the site being the ancient city of Manti, but rather that they were "near the place where the city of Manti is to be built." Where B. H. Roberts got this information is unknown to me at present. It is possible that I am unaware of some eyewitness account, but I know of none at present. It is also possible that B. H. Roberts was making his own interpretation of the account but I know of no commentary to that effect at present.

1905 B. H. Roberts 1905-1906 YMMIA Manual, No. 9 , Salt Lake City: General Board of the YMMIA, The Deseret News, 1904. Copyright Joseph F. Smith, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contains *New Witnesses for God*, Vol. II, Part III The Book of Mormon.

Lesson XVI
Miscellaneous Objections. (Continued.)

Topics
1. Geography of the Book of Mormon

References
Pages 537-538

...

Review.

1. State an answer the objection based on the absence of geographical details in the Book of Mormon.
...

Chapter XLVII.
Objections to the Book of Mormon (continued).

....

Part IX. [pp. 537-538]
The Geography of the Book.

It is objected to the Book of Mormon that it lacks "local coloring" and definiteness in respect of its geography; and it is usually contrasted to its disadvantage with the Bible in this respect. "I have not been able to find an edition of the book of Mormon with maps in it," says one objector, "nor have I been able to find with perfect surety the location of the land in which Christ is supposed to have appeared to the Nephites." (Dr. W. M. Paden, Pastor of the first Presbyterian church, Salt Lake City, Utah, in a Discourse against the Book of Mormon, March 21, 1904.

[Note* The following section, from the first word struck-out to the last word struck-out would be deleted from the 1909 edition. Unfortunately, Roberts fails to specify here how the land Bountiful could be located "quite definitely."]

——— If this statement be accepted as made in earnest, then I insist that the gentleman has not read the Book of Mormon with any degree of care. For while the Book of Mormon may be open in a general way to criticism as to its geography, "the land Bountiful" where Jesus made his appearance to the Nephites, can be located quite ~~definitely~~.

"We find almost nothing," continues Dr. Paden, "which would fit with the tropical climate; in fact, the general description would better coincide with Pennsylvania or New York." (Ibid.) The grandest mountains in the world, and the highest table lands," says another objector, "are as entirely ignored as is the general shape of the two continents and other physical faces. While the physical characteristics of Palestine are woven as a web into almost every page of Bible history, the Book of Mormon is unable to appeal to a single geographical fact in confirmation of its pretended histories, except the general one that there was a 'land south' and a 'land north.'" (*Golden Bible*, pp. 308, 309)

This is an exaggerated statement of the supposed difficulty, and so also is it an exaggerated statement concerning the geography of the bible. Suppose, for instance, you separate the Book of Isaiah from the rest of the library of books comprising the bible, and how much of a figure does geography cut in that book? The same may be said of the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, and, separating the preface from it, the same could be said of the book of Deuteronomy. Mistakes in criticism of the Book of Mormon are continually made through entertaining the idea that the Book of Mormon in its structure is the same as the Bible; . . .

Historical events, doctrines, prophecies, not geographical descriptions, the location of cities, the course of rivers, the grandeur of mountains or the extent of valleys, will be the objective of Mormon's research through the larger Nephite records. I may say, therefore, in answer to this criticism of the Book of Mormon, while by no means granting all that is claimed in respect of its geographical defects--its imperfections in geography arise from the very nature of the book's construction. In such a work you do not look for geographical knowledge.

1906[^] W. E. Peak "The Book of Mormon," in *Zion's Ensign*, vol. 17, no. 5, Thursday February 1,
(RLDS) 1906, Independence, Missouri: Ensign Publishing House, p. 5

"Sermon by Elder W. E. Peak at Kansas City, Missouri, December 17, 1905, Reported by Mrs. H. B. Curtis"

The Book of Mormon gives us an account of another colony that was led from Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah about 600 B.C. . . .

They began their settlement according to the Book of Mormon, in South America, on the western shore, where they increased in numbers, and as they increased in population they gradually pushed their settlements northward, covering a vast amount of country. According to the history given in the Book of Mormon we can locate many of their cities also. At the time this book was written, a great portion of Central and South America had not been explored.

Note* This was copied by me in longhand from the actual newspaper located in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.

1906^ George Albert Smith "The Hill Cumorah," *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XLI, No. 5,
Salt Lake City, Utah, March 1, 1906, pp. 129-130.

On the 26th of December, 1905, President Joseph F. Smith and party visited the place represented in the picture [see illustration below] and sang the hymn "An angel from on high," and offered prayer. This is the Hill Ramah of the Jaredites, the Hill Cumorah of the Nephites, and it is now known in the neighborhood of Palmyra as "Mormon Hill." In the days of the Jaredites it was the scene of their final struggle, after several terrible battles had been fought, in which we are informed, in the book of Ether, two million men had been sacrificed, this number not including women and children. It was also at this place that, several hundred years later, the Nephites were annihilated. Thousands of flint arrowheads have been found, during the last seventy-five years, by the farmers in this neighborhood, while clearing and plowing the land; itself an indirect testimony of the truth of the above statements. Sacred records were buried here by the Prophet Moroni, and later delivered by him, as the Angel Moroni, to the Prophet Joseph Smith. These were translated by the gift and power of God, and we have as a result the Book of Mormon.

Our illustration, which shows the President's party leaving the spot near which it is understood the sacred plates were found, gives us a good idea of how well the surrounding country was adapted for the gathering of vast hosts of warriors, and the hill itself for the headquarters of the commanding officer or chief.

[1906 **Illustration: The Hill Cumorah.** George Albert Smith, "The Hill Cumorah," *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XLI, No. 5, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 1, 1906, p. 129.]

1906^ **Joel Ricks** "**The River Sidon**," *Juvenile Instructor*, vol. XLI, No. 5, March 1,

In 1906 Joel Ricks published a series of articles in *The Juvenile Instructor* which specified his model (which largely followed Reynolds' ideas) in some detail, but he moved beyond previous models in concrete details. Ricks had previously visited Colombia and published a report on Book of Mormon geography for the *Deseret Evening News* in 1903 and the "Society of American Archaeology" in 1904, which gave his articles some academic perspective (see the notations). Here he says the following:

Students of the Book of Mormon are agreed that the Sidon of the Nephites and the Magdalena of the present time are identical. We believe the time is not far distant when this conclusion will be proved beyond question.

The Magdalena is located in the northern part of South America, in what is now the Republic of Colombia. It rises in the Andes about one and one half degrees north of the equator, and flowing northward for a little over one thousand miles, empties into the Caribbean Sea. It has its source in a little lake called "El Lago del Buey," or Lake of the Ox, far up among the summits of the Andes. Notwithstanding the fact that the Lake of the Ox lies almost under the equator, and is under a vertical sun for the greater part of the year the region about it is a cold, dreary waste; all about it are snowy peaks and barren summits. . . . For the first one hundred and fifty miles of its course the Sidon flows in a northeast direction through a deep, narrow gorge. In this distance it descends nearly nine thousand feet. It then enters a narrow valley . . . in this vicinity began the great war which resulted in the destruction of the Nephites at Cumorah. . . . Emerging from the canyon the river enters a broad valley where it widens out and flows more slowly and becomes navigable for native boats such as is seen in the picture, from this point to the sea, a distance of more than eight hundred miles. So rapid is the current that a boat can make the trip down in about five days, but it requires three months to make the return journey.

1906^ **Joel Ricks** "**The Land of Zarahemla**" *Juvenile Instructor*, 41, no. 7, April 1; no.
8,
April 15; and November 15, 1906: 193-96, 225-28, 673-77)

Ricks identifies an area in Bogota, Colombia as the Land of Zarahemla:
The name Zarahemla was applied by the Nephites to that region of country in South America lying within the confines of the great ranges of the Andes, north of the headwaters of the Magdalena river, the Sidon of the Book of Mormon, and south of the isthmus or narrow pass which led into the land northward.

Ricks presents photographs and a description of the geography, climate, and vegetation of the area, drawing parallels with passages of the Book of Mormon text. "A careful reference to the map will enable one to better understand the description that we shall give of the district of country under consideration." (see map below)

[1906 **Map: Zarahemla and Vicinity.** "The City Zarahemla and Vicinity," *Juvenile Instructor*, 41, no. 22, November 15, 1906, p. 674]

1906^ Joel Ricks "Chili and the Earthquakes," *Juvenile Instructor*, 41, no. 18, September 15, 1906, pp. 545-548

Joel Ricks writes:

To the Latter-day Saints the late earthquakes which have done so much damage in Valparaiso, Santiago and other cities and towns of Chili are of more than ordinary interest, for it was near Valparaiso that Lehi and his colony landed, and within its borders we have reason to believe was situated the original land of Nephi.

1906^ Joel Ricks "A Visit to the Temple in the Land Jershon," *Juvenile Instructor*, 41, no. 21, November 1, 1906, pp. 641-645

It was on a bright and beautiful morning in April that I left Bogota [Colombia] with the intention of journeying three hundred miles for the purpose of visiting the ruins of an old stone temple away off in the mountain valley where we locate the land Jershon of the Book of Mormon. . . .

The ruins are two and a half miles from Lieve, in the direction of Suaza. . . .

If this was the land Jershon of the Nephites, which seems probable, then we have an explanation of the conditions which are seen here. . . .

. . . about three miles south of Lieve the road climbs to the summit of a steep hill more than a thousand feet high, along the ridge of which it runs for thirty miles or more, except where it descends to cross the deep gorge of the Candeleria. There is little doubt that this road was the main highway of the old people between Zarahemla and the cities lying to the north and north-east. . . .

1907^ Fred B. Farr "The Two Sticks" in *Zion's Ensign*, vol. 18, no. 5, Thursday January 31, 1907, Independence Missouri, pp. 4-5

In this two-part article (January 24, 31, 1907) Elder Farr writes:

The translation was finished, printed, and we now have the book before us. And in it we read the history of ancient America, from its early settlement by a colony from the tower of Babel, who left at the confusion of languages, to the beginnings of the fifth century of the Christian era. By these records we are informed that America, in ancient times, was inhabited by two distinct races of people. . . . The first, or more ancient race, came from the great tower and were called Jaredites. They being a righteous people were led by the Lord to this continent, where they became a very numerous and powerful people, occupying principally North America, building large cities and were a highly civilized and enlightened nation. Agriculture, mining, manufacturing and commercial business was carried on to a great degree. . . .

The second race which came directly from Jerusalem . . . were commanded to build ships, in which they were safely brought across the great Pacific, and landed upon the western coast of South America. . . . another remnant came from Jerusalem, under Mulek . . . they landed in Central America [&] went

southward . . .

Towards the close of the fourth century of the Christian era they had become so corrupt that God had suffered great judgments to come upon them. Great and terrible wars began between them and the Lamanites, and they were driven by them a great distance to the northeast, fighting all the way. At length arriving at the Hill Cumorah they made a final stand, and in a great and sanguinary conflict . . . the Nephites were destroyed. . . . Moroni, who was a righteous man . . . hid up the plates upon which the record was engraved, where it was found hundreds of years after by the young man.

Note* This was copied by me in longhand from the actual newspaper located in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.

1907^ R. Holmes "Letter to Elder George H. Brimhall, President of B. Y. U., May 7, 1907

Elder George H. Brimhall
President of B. Y. U.
Provo, Utah

Dear Sir:

I take the liberty of addressing you these few lines to say that I have been in the habite [sic] during the last few years in sustaining you as one of the members of the Union board of education of the church of Jesus Christ of latter day Saints. . . .

Now I wish to bring to your mind the fact that ever since I read the article that was published in the Juvenile [Instructor] of November 15, 1906 I have been somewhat exercised in my mind concerning it. Not that I am so very much surprised as to his own and new theory he has put forth because that is being done by many other men beside him.

But after studeing [sic] the geography of the B. of M. for 21 years, I am at a loss to know how it is that a man can go into South America at this late date and that he is able to trace the old land marks with its hills, and give names to lands and place them in line just the same as they were in the days when the people dwelt in them and as the historian has written about them 2300 years ago. . . .

Is it not said that the great upheavals and the convulsions with the cities being sunk and the mountains came up on the place and by which the whole face of the land was changed, and the highways broken up and this it will bee [sic] seen that the whole face of both North and South was deformed.

Furthermore the face of the earth has been undergoing changes for 2000 years according to scientists. And now let the theory of B. H. Roberts come in where he says, that the Andes Mountains did not raise to their present height until the death of the Son of God, which if that prove true we may well calculate what condition the earth must be in at the time when these convulsions took place. . . .

Now a good reason for a committee to be formed to investigate this important topic lies in the fact that during the last ten years there have been so many theories entertained by so many men that theory after theory spring up all around in the country until we are unreasonably plied with this question: Well, what do you think of John Does theory aforesaid. Answer: let him prove it. Yes, but we know the whole thing is in a shape that my opinion is as good as the other fellow. . . .

R. Holmes,
Spanish Fork, Utah
Mar. 7, 1907

Source: BYU Library Special Collections, BX8608 .Ala #1622.

Note* See Chapter XI of B. H. Roberts' "Manual" 1903; also 1904 article.

1907^ Ralph W. Farrell "The Book of Mormon," *Zion's Ensign*, vol. 18, no. ?, Independence,

On pages 433, 517, 519, 478, 438, 442, of the [RLDS] Book of Mormon, *we read of cities built and repaired by the Nephites, some of them near a narrow neck of land which was a day's journey across from sea to sea. This is supposed to be the Isthmus of Panama.*

In 1830, when the Book of Mormon was given to the public, the existence of these cities was not known to the civilized world. It is true that the ruins of Palenque had been discovered by Del Rio in 1787, but the report had been locked in the archives of Guatemala until the revolution, when, according to Stephens, "the original Manuscripts came into the hands of an English gentleman, and an English translation was first published in 1822. This was the first notice in Europe of the discovery of these ruins. And, instead of electrifying the public mind, so little notice was taken of it that in 1831, the Literary Gazette, a paper of great circulation in London, announced it as (then) a new discovery," . . .

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

Note* See Dale Broadhurst's comments on Del Rio's writings in the 1841 "Ruins of Palenque" notation.

1907^ Vida E. Smith "Cumorah's Blest Hill" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (Aug), (RLDS) pp. 341-342

This poem about the Hill Cumorah is accompanied by a photograph by the Rochester News Company of the New York hill.

[1907 **Photo: The Hill Cumorah As It Is To-day.** Vida E. Smith, "Cumorah's Blest Hill" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (Aug, 1907), p. 341.]

1907^ George Pearson "Service of the Book of Mormon to History," in *Saints Herald* 54 (RLDS) (27 November 1907): p. 1092.

The historical nature of the Book of Mormon corroborates, affirms, and establishes the facts that archaeologists and historians have found, and presents a complete written record of the original inhabitants of America.

Source: Jeanette W. Miller, in Donald W. Parry, Jeanette W. Miller, Sandra A. Thorne, *A Comprehensive Annotated Book of Mormon Bibliography*. Provo, UT: Research Press, 1996, p. 359.

1908^ Walter W. Smith "Normal Lessons on the Book of Mormon-Part 2" in "The Religio's Arena" in (RLDS) *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Vol. 21, No. 1 (Jan), pp. 45-46

THESE ARE REALLY DESCRIPTIVE LESSONS ON THE HEMISPHERIC MODEL

Lesson I.-the Lands of the Book of Mormon

1. The history of the Book of Mormon was enacted upon the Western Hemisphere. the major portion of both the North and South American Continents was known to the ancient inhabitants. All three colonies were more or less acquainted with North and South America. (Ether 4:4; Omni 1:7; Alma 13:11; Helaman 2:2,26,27; Nephi 3:1)
2. The Nephites, during the century prior to the birth of Christ, divided the land into two general divisions: the land of Mulek, and the land of Lehi. That portion of the continent north of the Isthmus of

Panama (called by them the narrow neck of land) was called Mulek, because the colony of Mulek first landed here; that portion south of the narrow neck of land, was called Lehi, because the colony of Lehi first landed here. (Helaman 2:27)

3. The Nephites also divided the inhabited portion of the land at the narrow neck of land, where it was only a day and a half journey from sea to sea, and called the portion northward the land Desolation, and the portion southward the land Bountiful. (Alma 13:11)

4. There were three great centers where a high state of civilization was developed:

- a. Central America, Mexico, and adjacent territory, was occupied by the Jaredite nations, the central country and capitol was called Moron. (Ether 3:7) And at a later period by the Nephites. (Alma 13:11)
- b. Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and adjacent territory, was settled by the Nephites and called the land of Nephi. It was subsequently occupied by the Lamanites. (2 Nephi 4:2; Mosiah 61:2)
- c. United States of Colombia, and adjacent territory, was settled by the colony of Mulek, who were afterward joined by the Nephites. The country was called the Land of Zarahemla. (Alma 13:11)

5. These regions are subject to earthquakes and volcanic changes, and may have much altered in appearance, especially in the mountain regions and on the seacoast, since they were occupied by the Nephites, the last historians.

6. Both the land northward and the land southward, are surrounded by the waters of the two oceans. These were designated by the Nephites as the sea east and the sea west, respectively, **including the Gulf of Mexico, Caribbean Sea, and other landlocked arms of the ocean. Where a portion of these waters lay north or south of a locality, it was designated as the sea north or the sea south, as the case might be.**

7. The land southward, called the land of Lehi, is traversed from north to south by parallel ranges of mountains, some of great magnitude; and the land northward, called the land of Mulek is traversed from northwest to southeast, by several ranges of mountains; these divide both lands into valleys and plateaus and served as boundaries between the smaller political divisions of the land, but are mentioned only in a general way.

8. There were several uninhabitable places or regions, and some undesirable localities which were called wildernesses, which divided the different lands and countries. Of these we notice the narrow strip of wilderness, which was the boundary between Nephi and Zarahemla. (Alma 13:11; 14:3; 16:12) The east wilderness, (Alma 13:11; 14:11) The west wilderness, (Alma 1:15; 13:11) The wilderness which was west and north, (Alma 1:15) and the wilderness Akish (Ether 6:4).

1908[^] Walter W. Smith "Normal Lessons on the Book of Mormon-Part 2" in "The Religio's Arena"
in

(RLDS) *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Vol. 21, No. 3 (Mar), pp. 135-137

Lesson 2. The Land Northward

1. The Land Northward, otherwise the Land of Mulek, extended northward from the Isthmus of Panama, about three thousand five hundred miles, and varying in width from fifty to more than two thousand miles.

2. The land was known by different names at different times; we notice the following: The promised land (Ether 3:3); the Land Desolation (Alma 13:11); the Land Northward, (Alma 30:3); and the Land Mulek (Helaman 2:27)

3. The land is bounded on its entire eastern coast by the Atlantic Ocean and its arms, the Gulf of Mexico, and Caribbean Sea, and on the western coast by the Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of California and the Bay of Panama.

4. The following lakes are worthy of mention: Lake Nicaragua, and Lake Leon in the extreme south. (see Mosiah 5:9; Alma 22:5) **Lake Chapella, and others northwest of the City of Mexico may have been Ripliancum of Ether 6:6, and Moroni 3:1.**

[Note* **Here the Hemispheric Theory is being changed to a Modified Hemispheric Theory]**

5. The whole land was traversed by many rivers; the most important were the San Juan, Blewfield, Cape, Malagua, Usumasinta, De Blass, Santiago, Rio Grande, Colorado, Mississippi, and its tributaries.

6. The land is traversed throughout its entire length by parallel ranges of mountains, which serve to

divide the country into three natural divisions. (a) The Eastern Slope, from the mountains to the Atlantic coast and widening into the Mississippi Valley in the north. (b) The Central Table-land, a high plateau between the mountain ranges, widening into the plains in the north. (c) The Western Slope from the mountains to the Pacific coast.

7. During the Jaredite occupancy the land was divided into three states or provinces:

(1) Moron, the land of their first inheritance. (Ether 3:7)

(2) Nehor, a rival kingdom. (Ether 3:7)

(3) Heth, in the northern part (Ether 3:11)

8. We notice the following important places:

(1) Three Cities: Moron, The Great City, and Heth.

(2) Two Hills: Ephraim and Shim

(3) Two Plains: Heshlon and Agosh.

(4) The Valley of Gilgal, and the Wilderness of Akish (See the map)

9. **The land was divided into the following provinces under the Nephite rule: David, Joshua, Jashon, Antum, and Shem.**

10. The following important cities are mentioned: Desolation, Teancum, Angola, Boaz, David, Joshua, Jashon, Jordan, and Shem.

11. Two important hills are mentioned: Shim, where Ammaron hid the sacred records; and Cumorah, where Mormon hid all the sacred records except the abridgment. (Locate these places on the map.)

12. **Considerable discussion has been indulged in as to the location of Ramah or Cumorah, the place of the two great battles. Some think it was in western Mexico, near Lake Chapella, while others think it was in western New York, near Lake Ontario. The location of several places of interest depends upon the location of the last battle-ground.**

[Note* According to the comments mentioned previously, Lake Chapella is northwest of Mexico City. But who is behind these ideas? What is their logic? This is a major modification of the Hemispheric Theory.

1908[^] Walter W. Smith "Normal Lessons on the Book of Mormon-Part 2" in "The Religio's Arena" in

(RLDS) *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Vol. 21, No. 4 (Apr), pp. 190-191

Lesson 3. --The Land of Nephi

1. The land of Nephi, proper, (as occupied by the Nephites,) extended from north to south about eleven hundred miles, and varied in width from one hundred and fifty to three hundred miles, from east to west.

2. **This land covered the west central part of South America. It was bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, called the West Sea; on the north by the wilderness; on the east by the eastern Cordillera; and the south by the Cordillera real. During the Lamanite occupancy the boundaries were much extended, covering most of the central and southern part of South America. (Alma 13:5,11)**

3. Nephi proper was divided into two natural divisions: the western slope, from the mountains to the Pacific coast, a strip of country varying from twenty to fifty miles in width; and the highlands, between the eastern and western Cordillera.

4. **The land was first occupied by the Nephites, who settled at Nephi (Cuzco) in the south; but the "course of empire" was northward, and the capital was removed in later time to Lehi-Nephi (Quelap) in the north. The second occupants were the Lamanties, a people less civilized.**

[Note* Where is Quelap?]

5. The principal lakes of the land are,--Alagas, and Titicaca, in the extreme south; **Jurin and Lauricocha in the center of the land was known as the waters of Sebus (Alma 12:6), Rimachura, and Metunchocha in the north, known as the waters of Mormon. (Mosiah 9:6,7)**

[Note* Where are the lakes of Jurin and Lauricocha? Where are the lakes of Rimachura and Metunchocha?]

6. The important rivers are, Disaguadero in the south, Apurimac, and Urbama in the center land, the Amazon, Paute, and Morona, in the north.

We notice ten of the most important cities and places mentioned:

- (1) Nephi, in the south, the early capital of the land.
- (2) **Ishmael, near the waters of Sebus, in the center**, capital of King Lamoni.
- (3) Middonna, on the sea west, where Aaron was imprisoned.
- (4) **Lehi-Nephi, in the north**, the latter capital of the land.

[Note* How could Ishmael be in the center and Lehi-Nephi be in the north? The sons of Mosiah, when coming from Zarahemla (presumably north of the land of Nephi) first went to the land of Ishmael, and traveled later to see the King of the Lamanites (presumably at Lehi-Nephi).]

- (5) Mormon, north of Lehi-Nephi, where Alma established the church.
- (6) Helam, in the extreme north, built by Alma and his people.
- (7) Mount Antipas-Onidah, near the city of Nephi, the place of arms.
- (8) Waters of Sebus, near city of Ishmael, where Ammon protected the flocks.
- (9) Waters of Mormon, northeast of Lehi-Nephi, where Alma first baptized.

1908^ Walter W. Smith "Normal Lessons on the Book of Mormon-Part 2" in "The Religio's Arena"
in

(RLDS) **Autumn Leaves**, Elbert A. Smith ed., Vol. 21, No. 6 (June), pp. 284-286

Lesson 4. The Land of Zarahemla

1. The land of Zarahemla, of all the Book of Mormon lands, was by far the most important. About two thirds of the Book of Mormon was produced in this territory. It was here that the people rose to the highest civilization, developed and enjoyed the most perfect government, and enjoyed the greatest religious awakening. At Bountiful, in the northern part, the Savior made his appearing, and established the church.
2. **The land was a triangular country occupying the northwestern part of South America. It was bounded on the north and east by the Caribbean Sea, called the Sea East, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, called the West Sea, and on the south and east by the Eastern Cordillera and the Cordillera Merida; this mountain boundary was called the narrow strip of wilderness and the south wilderness.**
3. **Construct a map of Zarahemla by drawing a line from a point one hundred miles north of the Gulf of San Miguel, east six hundred and fifty miles, draw a second line from the same point south six hundred miles, and a third from the south end of the west line to the east end of the north line, inclosing a territory of about forty million square miles, and including roughly the whole of the land.**
4. The land is mountainous in the central and southern portions, with low level coast region on the north and east. It is traversed the whole length from south to north by the Western and Central Cordillera. The land is divided into four natural divisions,--the western slope, the western valley, the valley of Sidon, and the eastern coast plains.
5. The three principal rivers: the first the Magdalena, called by the Nephites the River Sidon, which drains the Sidon Valley emptying northward into the Caribbean Sea; second, the Cauca River which drains the western valley, emptying into the Magdalena; third, the Atrato River, on the western slope, flowing north into the Gulf of Darien.
6. **There is only one lake of importance, Lake Maracaibo, and it is a *landlocked arm of salt water* on the north coast, which in all probabilities was formed by the sinking of the land at the crucifixion of the Savior.**
7. The land was first occupied by the colony of Mulek, and bears the name of its last ruler. It was occupied by the confederate nation of Nephties and people of Zarahemla B.C. 200.
8. Under Nephite rule it was divided into the following provinces: Manti and Minnon in the south, Zarahemla and Melek in the center, and **Sidom, Noah, Lehi, Morianton, and Bountiful in the north (all of these being called the Land of Jershon)**; and Siron, Antionum, Moroni, Nephihah, and Aaron

on the east coast.

9. We notice some of the most important places:

- (a) Manti, at the head of the Sidon in the south.
- (b) Zarahemla, the capital city in the center of the land.
- (c) Ammonihah, scene of Alma's and Amulek's preaching in the west valley.
- (d) Moroni, a great city on the east coast.
- (e) Nephihah, the scene of great military strategy on the east coast.
- (f) Lehi, on the north coast.
- (g) Bountiful, the scene of the Savior's appearing, in the north.

10. Find on the map the following places mentioned: the hills, Riplah, **Aminhu**, and Onidah, and the valley of Gideon.

[Note* Is "Aminhu" a spelling error for Amnihu?]

1908

(abt. Joseph F. Smith)

Diary of Ruth May Fox, June 7, 1908

On June 7, 1908 in a special Temple fast meeting, according to the diary of Ruth May Fox, "Pres. Jos. F. Smith said that he stood on the hill by Orson Pratt when he pointed out the site where General Moroni made his last stand against the Lamanites."

1908[^]

Editor

"Editorial Thoughts: The Ricks Map," *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XLIII, Salt Lake City, Utah, September 1, 1908, p. 355.

In the September 1, 1908 issue of *Juvenile Instructor* the following editorial is found. At the time we find "Joseph F. Smith, Editor; George Reynolds, J. M. Tanner, Assistant Editors."

The Ricks Map

Everyone who has ever taught Book of Mormon history has felt the need of a good suggestive map of Book of Mormon lands. For a long time, the making of such a map was discouraged. And since we have not had one such map, each teacher has made his own, and we have had a hundred. Such a condition is almost worse than having no map at all. It leads to endless dispute; and it leaves the pupil with a far worse impression than one map alone, though wrong, or than no map whatever. We are very glad to note, therefore, that at last a Book of Mormon map may be had for use in all classes making a study of that sacred book. The map is prepared by Joel Ricks. Elder Ricks spent considerable time in South America for the sole purpose of locating Nephite historical points. The map is, therefore, prepared by one who has made a special study of Book of Mormon geography. And the map comes endorsed. That is, it is published with the approval and sanction of the presidency of the Church. Of course, the map is not correct in every detail. Indeed such a thing is impossible without special revelation. But this map of Bro. Ricks' is suggestive and helpful. We cannot see how the Book of Mormon can now be successfully [sic] studied without it.

Note* It is unbelievable, in view of the fact that the 1890 George Q. Cannon cautionary statement of 1890 would be quoted hundreds of times in the future in defense of avoiding geography in our studies of the Book of Mormon, that this statement would never be quoted in the future to give some kind of perspective to the matter--that perspective being that Book of Mormon maps were okay if some sort of scientific reasoning and critical discussion were applied to their formulation rather than someone just putting some dots on a map. With such investigative effort, the map then becomes "suggestive and helpful." In fact, some very high officers in Church educational instruction could not "see how the Book of Mormon can now be successfully studied without it."

Note* See the Ricks articles for 1906. See the illustrated Ricks model for 1904.

1908^ Anthony W. Ivins

Letter to Joel Ricks, Esq., October 14, 1908. *First Presidency Letterbooks*

October 14, 1908
Joel Ricks, Esq.
Logan, Utah

Dear Brother:

I thought it probable that the question of Book of Mormon geography, which you and I discussed before the general board of Y.M.M.I.A. two weeks ago would come up again at our meeting yesterday, but nothing was said in regard to the matter.

I do not like the matter to stand as we left it, for my own satisfaction would like the matter cleared up so far as possible.

You will understand that I have never taken the ground that I could make a better map of Book of Mormon lands than you have made, on the contrary I could not undertake to make one at all. I have only said that with the information at our command it is impossible to make an accurate map, and I think this conclusion is justified by the experiences of the past, as well as by the difficulties which your map seems to present.

I understand that the propriety of putting your map out as authentic was referred to a committee composed of Bro. George Reynolds and John Mills, and that they reported that it would be unwise, with the information which we have on the subject, to do so.

Bro. Tanner in his recent talk before the M.I.A. board said you had not located the city of Zarahemla in the right place. I understand that Bro. Cluff located it several hundred miles from the point where you have it marked on the map. This failure to agree among men who have been on the ground, and who profess to be students of the Book of Mormon is of itself sufficient to prompt one to doubt the wisdom of taking definite ground until these differences of opinion can be reconciled.

I enclose herewith a statement showing some of the objections which I find to your map [these objections attached to this letter], if these can be satisfactorily explained, and made to harmonise with your map it would greatly aid me in reaching proper conclusions.

I would like you to take up these objections separately and give me your views in regard to them. I ask this in order that we may get nearer together on this question, and that it be not left, as it now is, open to the construction which each individual may place upon it.

With best wishes, Your brother, Anthony W. Ivins.

Source: ^Dennis C. Davis, Ogden, Utah, Photocopy of original carbon copy in possession, personal communication.

Note* Anthony W. Ivins was ordained an apostle on October 6, 1907 at the age of 55. He advanced to second counselor in the First Presidency on March 10, 1921, and to first counselor on May 28, 1925.

1908^ **Louise Palfrey**
(RLDS)

The Divinity of the Book of Mormon Proven by Archaeology; a Series of Papers Formerly Published in the "Area" Department of the Autumn Leaves,
Lamoni, Iowa: Zion's Religio-Literary Society, 1908.

This 222 page book represented the most extensive and understandable review of current scholarly thinking on the ancient American peoples as they might have related to the Book of Mormon cultures. It covers the cultures of Mexico and Central America, the cultures of South America, and the cultures of North America. A Hemispheric perspective is implied by the following:

The "Chillians," Mr. Bancroft tell us, "assert that their ancestors came from the west." (*Native Races*, vol. 5, 22) Professor Baldwin states it more exactly: "According to the old traditions of both Mexico and Peru, the Pacific Coast in both countries was anciently visited by a foreign people who came in ships." (*Ancient America*, p. 170) There were traditions among the Mayas that the country was settled anciently by two

peoples, "one from the east, the other from the west." (*Native Races*, vol. 5, p. 223)

. . . Let us, first, briefly summarize the account the Book of Mormon gives of the origin of the ancient Americans. In the first place we are told that there was a people, the Jaredites, who were dead and gone before the second people, the Nephites and the Zarahemlaites, came, and that it was the first people who began their civilization in Central America and carried it to its highest point there. The second people (the Nephites and the Zarahemlaites came at about the same time, but the Nephites took precedence in civilization and power, and to them we refer) came from the Eastern Continent, as did the first people, voyaged across the sea, and landed down on the west coast of South America, somewhere on the coast of Chili, it is believed. . . . under Mosiah, the more righteous take up their wanderings again and journey till they reach the Zarahemlaites, in the northern part of the country . . . Their enemies keep driving them further and further north, and they spread upward into Central America and Mexico, perhaps further, their enemies following them wherever they go. In the fourth century the nation was entirely destroyed, . . .

. . . It is quite a prevalent idea that the ancient empire referred to in the traditions was located in Central America; in other words, that the traditions refer to the nation which had its center or oldest settlements in Central America. When antiquarians attempt to harmonize the traditional accounts with this idea they are led to pretty straits. If they locate the second Tulan, the place at which the ancient immigrants landed on this continent, in Central America, and tracing the course of travel along north and east, as described in the traditions, by the time sufficient distance has been allowed to carry out the itinerary, it will not keep within the geography of Central America and Mexico, but leads far out upon the Gulf of Mexico. That will not do. . . .

Donnelly interprets the Maya tradition thus: "The birthplace of the race was in the East, across the sea, at a place called Tulan; and when they emigrated they called their first stopping-place on the American Continent Tulan, also. (*Atlantis*, p. 166) The Mexican tradition is similar. They start out from Hue hue Tlapalan "in search of a suitable country in which to live." After "traversing broad lands and seas, they arrived in a country called Hue hue Tlapalan." (*North Americans of Antiquity*, p. 244) We will remember that down in Peru--ancient Peru--the natives have a tradition that people had come to their west coast in ships. We have learned that there had been a civilization older than that of the Incas, and that "the source of this civilization is traced to the valley of Cuzco, the central region of Peru;" (*Conquest of Peru*, vol. 1, book 1, chap. 1, p. 8--Universal Edition) that here the oldest ruins in South America were found. (*Ibid.*, p. 11; *Ancient America*, p. 236) Let us, then, place the first Tulan, or Hue hue Tlapalan, in the Eastern Hemisphere, and the second Tulan, or Hue hue Tlapalan, the starting-point of the land journey, down on the coast of Chili, a ways. Now let us trace the itinerary along, going in the direction the traditions indicate, north, and east, until we reach Central America--that is where this course would take us, anyhow--and have we not distance enough? (pp. 160-167)

1909 (abt. Francis M. Lyman)

***The Messenger* 3(7):83; April 28, 1909**

John Heinerman writes:

Apostle Francis M. Lyman was another Church General Authority blessed with a similar spirit of discernment. Bishop E. P. Pectol of Torrey, UT contributed this piece of valuable information in *The Messenger* 3(7):83; April 28, 1909), an official publication of the New Zealand Mission of the Church when he apparently served there on a mission as a young man:

A number of years ago, while visiting the Wayne Stake of Zion [in Wayne County], Apostle [Francis]

Marion Lyman, standing near a meetinghouse after Sunday services, [seemed to be] apparently in deep thought. [He] raised his hand with a motion from west to east and made a declaration in words similar to the following:

The country we now behold was once the stronghold of a portion of the Gadianton Robbers spoken of in the Book of Mormon. Here their secret signs and combinations were planned, and from here they sallied forth to perpetrate their devilish deeds. Many of those spirits still inhabit those old haunts where they were wont to be in the flesh and influence men to the same deeds of wickedness.

This statement is somewhat strengthened when we understand that this section of country bordering

the Colorado River has been infested by lawless bands ever since Mexico was conquered by the Spaniards. And in our time [it] has been the rendezvous of the notorious "Hole in the Wall" and "Robbers' Roost" gangs which have been a source of dread and annoyance, not only to stockmen and farmers but to railroad and commercial men as well. [These gangs] perpetrat[ed] similar deeds as were committed by the Gadianton Robbers, whether or not they have been carried [out] on the same grounds as were [those] influenced by [these] evil spirits. We are glad, however, that those gangs of marauders have been broken up and split asunder until not enough are left to carry on their depredations in the same bold way.

Source: ^John Heinerman, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort Inc., 2001, p. 81.

1909^ H. A. Stebbins "The Jaredite Lands in Ancient and Modern Times" - Part 1 in *Autumn (geog)* (RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 22, No. 5 (May), pp. 193-203

THIS ARTICLE CONTAINS SOME IMPORTANT NEW INFORMATION ON THE NARROW NECK AREA

[pp. 194-196] **[Location #1]** According to the description given in the Book of Mormon (pages 268 and 387 of small edition; 236 and 342 of large edition) the line between the land of Zarahemla and the land Bountiful must have been about where the Isthmus of Panama joins the main land of South America. On page 345 (305) we read that Moroni sent command to General Teancum "That he should fortify the land Bountiful and secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward." (Alma 24:3)

[Location #2] Then in Helaman, page 387 (342), we read about the Nephites who were fleeing from the armies of the Lamanties. The book says that: "The Nephites and the armies of Moronihah were driven even into the land Bountiful, and there they did fortify against the Lamanties, from the west sea even unto the east sea, it being **a day's journey for a Nephite on the line** which they had fortified and stationed their armies to defend their north country. (Helaman 2:8)

From the above statement **it seems that the line thus fortified was inside the real boundary of land Bountiful.** Now when we search for a measurement on the isthmus that will fulfill the idea of a day's journey for a man on foot we find that the shortest line across from sea to sea, as stated in modern encyclopedias and geographies, is about eighty miles northwest of the South American border, **at a point where it is said to be thirty miles over, at what is now called the Gulf of San Miguel** on the Pacific side across to the Caribbean Sea on the east and north. **We may well believe that along here in the land Bountiful was the line of defense mentioned above, especially as the geography shows some hills extending from the range of mountains out toward the Caribbean Sea, thus making that a good region for defensive works.** Whereas on the junction line between Zarahemla and Bountiful the earthworks and redoubts would need to be twice as long as at the other, or about seventy miles, which would also be too great a distance for a day's journey, therefore that could not have been the line. And, though at the Gulf of San Blas it is said to be about thirty-one miles across, yet, as that point is over one hundred miles farther west than the other,, it is not likely to have been the point of defense. However, somewhere along inside the south border of land Bountiful was found the best place at which the Nephites could defend "their north country," and there they fortified and for hundreds of years kept possession of all the lands north of there, as well as regained some of Zarahemla land.

[Location #3] Returning to the description of the isthmus and its lines in the past and present, we find that **at a place about two hundred and fifty miles still farther west than San Blas (for the general course of the isthmus is east and west, nor north and south), that at that point, on or about the present boundary between Panama and Costa Rica, is the probable place of the line between land Bountiful and land Desolation, spoken of in Alma 13:11., and elsewhere.** For it is said that on the boundary between the two **it was a day and a half's travel for a Nephite.** And I understand that modern measurement at that place makes it about **sixty miles across** from the Pacific to the

Mosquito Gulf, or Caribbean Sea. Therefore, from the Book of Mormon description, it must have been about here where the south boundary of land Desolation, the south end of the ancient Jaredite kingdom, was placed. And it is stated on page 520 (462) that here they "built a great city by the narrow neck of land." The writer of the record speaks further about that line as follows: "And they did preserve the land southward for a wilderness to get game. And the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants" (Ether 4:7)

You notice that they called Central America and Mexico by the general title of "the land northward."

And **right here, on this boundary line between "land southward" and "land northward," about on the south line of Costa Rica**, the Nephites made another desperate defense of their north lands. For we read: "And it came to pass that I did cause my people that they should gather themselves together at the land Desolation, to a city which was in the borders, by the narrow pass that led into the land southward." (Mormon 1:7)

But this was three hundred and ninety-four years after the first line of defense that they established within Bountiful [Location #2], and that [Location #2] was about four hundred miles southeast of this last line, near to South America. . . .

As a few geographical statements by Book of Mormon writers are difficult to understand we can not see the history as clearly as we would like. But the general course and trend are seen. As they had no geography, and evidently the Nephites had no knowledge of the width or extent of South America, or that the ocean east was so far away from them, therefore it is not strange that their descriptions were rather mixed. Alma 13:11 (60,61) is the worst illustration of geographical outline of anything in the book; yet it may have appeared clear to the writer of it.

[p. 200] *Panama*

Panama's . . . total length would be five hundred miles, reaching from South America to Costa Rica. . . . Concerning the origin of the name "Bountiful," by which the Nephites designated what we call Panama, this is explained in the Book of Mormon in the following words: "The land on the southward was called Bountiful, it being the wilderness which is filled with all manner of wild animals." (Alma 13:11) With this agrees another passage that reads as follows: "Where they did go into the land southward to hunt food . . . For the land was covered with animals of the forest. . . . And they did preserve the land southward for a wilderness to get game." (Ether 4:7) By these statements of the ancient writers we understand *why* this long strip between South America and Central America (also closely hemmed in by the oceans) was called Bountiful. It was a game preserve for the Jaredite nation, the people of which dwelt north and northwest of Panama in the lands that we now know as Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Yucatan, and Mexico, these together stretching away eighteen hundred or **two thousand miles to the Rio Grande border of the United States**, a vast territory that was inhabited by the great nation for sixteen hundred years. . . .

The isthmus is traversed by a chain of mountains, forming the barrier between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, whose highest peak is 7,200 feet. Numerous streams fall into both oceans, of which the longest is 162 miles. . . . In ancient times gold was obtained here in great quantities, and is still found, and mines of copper, iron, salt, and coal are worked. Forests abounding in excellent timber are numerous. . . .

Central America

Central America proper is composed of the five republics, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Salvador, and Guatemala. The total length of these five states, from southeast to northwest, is about one thousand miles. . . .

Probably it is safe to say that from the south end of Mexico to the Texas border of the United States it is twelve hundred (1,200) miles. This, with the thousand of Central America would make the distance from the "narrow pass" that led into "land Bountiful," a full extent of about **twenty-two hundred (2,200) miles, as the probable length of the Jaredite kingdom from Panama boundary to the Rio Grande**. . . . Then add five hundred miles of Panama and we have about two thousand seven hundred (2,700) as the distance between South America and the Rio Grande.

1909[^] H. A. Stebbins "The Jaredite Lands in Ancient and Modern Times" - Part 2 in *Autumn*
(geog) (RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (June), pp. 243-251

[pp. 248, 251] As for its [Guatemala's] size it is 270 miles between oceans. . . . There are but two shorter roads between the Atlantic and Pacific, one at Panama, about fifty miles long, and the other in Mexico, called the "Tehuantepec Line," which is 186 miles long.

1909[^] H. A. Stebbins "The Jaredite Lands in Ancient and Modern Times" - Part 3 in *Autumn*
(geog) (RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 22, No. 7 (July), pp. 290-298

[p. 294] Next and last we come to Mexico. Without doubt that land was dwelt in by the ancient Jaredites. Possibly it was the portion which Ether mentions as the "land of Moron," or, more likely Moron was a part of what is now Mexico.

1909[^] H. A. Stebbins "The Jaredite Lands in Ancient and Modern Times" - Part 4 in *Autumn*
(geog) (RLDS) *Leaves*, Vol. 22, No. 8 (Aug), pp. 349-358

[pp. 352-353] No doubt the regions we know as Central America and Yucatan, compose that region spoken of in the Book of Mormon, in the following language:
Having traveled in a land among many waters; having discovered a land which was covered with the bones of men, and of beasts, etc., and was also covered with ruins of buildings of every kind: having discovered a land which had been peopled with a people who were as numerous as the hosts of Israel." (Mosiah 5:9)

As already quoted, Charney says that the evidences are that anciently "the population was so dense as to cause the soil to be cultivated to the highest mountains." The above quotation from the Book of Mormon shows that when the Nephties explorers went up from Zarahemla (now Columbia, South America) into Central America, or into "the land northward" they found abundant proofs of the ancient civilization. Doubtless they went into Nicaragua or Honduras, or possibly as far as Yucatan. It is not possible to say just how far they went. The isthmus [of Panama] itself is five hundred miles long, and then there would be another thousand miles to reach into Yucatan . . . **it would be eighteen hundred miles from the nearest border of South America to the ruined cities of Yucatan. Therefore, we see the impossibility of Mosiah 5:9 indicating the United States as the land of "many waters" or that the "many waters" there spoken of were necessarily the great lakes of the United States.**

[Note* The Hemispheric Theory is being changed to a Modified Hemispheric Theory]

Then again, in Alma 22:5 is written the emigration of the Nephites into the "land northward," which is spoken of as being "covered with large bodies of water." **Probably the word *covered* has the meaning of *surrounded by*, because to relate in history of another people emigrating to a land literally *covered* with water would not be rational, but Central America and Yucatan are so nearly surrounded by water that the statement is not so great a misfit, the Caribbean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean being nearly all around them.**

[Note* This seems to be the first time that this argument has been given]

Further on we read that a great many of the Nephites "departed out of the land of Zarahemla and went forth into the land northward, to inherit the land; and they did travel to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water, and many rivers . . . and did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south to the sea north, and from the sea west to the sea east" (Helaman 2:1,2).

. . . The Nephites were then just migrating from South America into the land of the more ancient dwellers, the Jaredites; and the statements in Mosiah, in Alma, and in Helaman, that **it was a land of "many waters" also of "large bodies of water and many rivers," is correct. The Pacific, the Caribbean, and the Gulf are indeed "large bodies of water."** And as for there being "many rivers," we find that the Rand-McNally World Atlas gives lists showing one hundred and sixty-three rivers in the limits of the Central American republics, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador, besides forty rivers in southern Mexico, and one hundred and fifty-three rivers in all Mexico. Then is not that land indeed one having "many rivers," as well as being in the midst of "large bodies of water"?

[Note* It might be interesting that within the text of the Book of Mormon, the only other reference to "many waters" comes from 1 Nephi 17:5 which reads, "And we beheld the sea, which we called Irreantum, which, being interpreted, is many waters." If Nephi was at Bountiful in the Old World, and if Bountiful is located on the shores of the Indian Ocean, then the term "many waters" is more properly applied to an ocean or sea.]

1909^A Wilford Woodruff

Wilford Woodruff: History of His Life and Labors, Matthias F. Cowley ed., Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1916, p. 45. See also 1964 edition, which is supposedly a photomechanical reprint of the 1909 edition.

Cowley gives a version of the Zelph incident, reportedly told by Wilford Woodruff:

During our travels we visited many mounds thrown up by the ancient inhabitants, the Nephites and Lamanites. This morning, June 3rd, we went on to a high mound near the river. From the summit we could overlook the tops of the trees as far as we could see. The scenery was truly beautiful. On the summit of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three altars, they having been erected, one above the other, according to the ancient order of things. Human bones were seen upon the ground. Brother Joseph requested us to dig into the mound; we did so; and in about one foot we came to the skeleton of a man, almost entire, with an arrow sticking in his backbone. Elder Milton Holmes picked it out, and brought it into the Camp, with one of the leg bones, which had been broken. I brought the thigh bone to Missouri. I desired to bury it in the Temple Block in Jackson County; but not having this privilege, I buried it in Clay County, Missouri, near the house owned by Col. Arthur and occupied by Lyman Wight.

The arrowhead referred to is now in the possession of President Joseph F. Smith, Salt Lake City, Utah. "Brother Joseph," continues Wilford, "feeling anxious to learn something of this man, asked the Lord, and received an open vision. The man's name was Zelph. He was a white Lamanite, the curse having been removed because of his righteousness. He was a great warrior, and fought for the Nephites under the direction of the Prophet Onandagus. The latter had charge of the Nephite armies from the Eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains. Although the Book of Mormon does not mention Onandagus, he was a great warrior, leader, general, and prophet. Zelph had his thigh bone broken by a stone thrown from a sling, but was killed by the arrow found sticking in his backbone. There was a great slaughter at that time. The bodies were heaped upon the earth, and buried in the mound, which is nearly three hundred feet in height.

Note* The source of this account is not documented. It does not come from any of the known documentary sources (see the notation for 1834). Because of this one might assume, with good reason, that Matthew Cowley, as editor, felt justified in assembling together from the documented sources his own interpretation of the incident rather than inserting any actual account.

1909 John Henry Evans

Birth of Mormonism in Picture; Scenes and Incidents in Early Church History, Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union, 1909,

Martin Raish writes:

Another church member who visited the Hill Cumorah about this same time was George E. Anderson. What set him apart from other travelers was his camera. He was a professional photographer whose dream was to compile a pictorial record of the rise of the church. In April 1907 he left Utah to begin a mission in England, taking several months on his way east to photograph dozens of important church history sites. Among the hundreds of photographs he made were several of the area in and around Palmyra, New York. . . . Anderson's journal entry for 14 August 1907 mentions his visit to "Mormon Hill."

. . . .
About 40 photographs, including one of ["Mormon Hill"] appeared in *Birth of Mormonism in Picture*. The caption for the photograph of the hill on page 36 reads, "This is the Hill Cumorah, called 'Mormon Hill' by those who live in the neighborhood. The photograph shown in the cut is without doubt the best ever taken of this historic spot. It shows the road which Joseph must have traveled many times on his visits to the hill. The plates of the Book of Mormon [sic], deposited in a stone box under a stone of considerable size, were found on the west side not far from the top."

Source: Martin H. Raish, "Encounters with Cumorah: A Selective, Personal Bibliography," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 47, p. 170 n. 25

[1909 **Illustration:** **Hill Cumorah, Manchester, New York.** (Photograph by George E. Anderson, 1907). Source ?]

[1909 **Illustration:** **Hill Cumorah and Smith family home.** Photographs by George Edward Anderson. Images courtesy LDS Church Historical Department. (1907?). Heidi S. Swinton, *American Prophet: The Story of Joseph Smith*, SLC: Shadow Mountain, 1999, p. 49.]

1909[^] B. H. Roberts New Witnesses for God , Vols. II & III (3 Volumes)
Deseret News: Salt Lake City, 1909. Reprinted 1951.

Garth Norman writes:

Recently, in an antique store, I came upon a thick, leather-bound, 1903 first edition of B. H. Roberts' *New Witnesses for God*, which is his major work on internal and external evidences for the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. . . . Elder Roberts began compiling this 566-page work in 1887 while serving as assistant editor of the *Millennial Star* and completed it while serving in the First Quorum of the Seventy, a three-year manual for the YMMIA organization of the Church. It was reissued by the Church in book form for public sale with slight revisions six years later in 1909. (My copy was printed in 1951.) This Church sponsorship under President Joseph F. Smith demonstrates the active interest the Church had in Book of Mormon research in that generation.

Comparing the 1903 and 1909 editions, I found that Elder Roberts made a significant addition and change in the 1909 edition in the section titled "The Geography of The Book" [of Mormon]. [see vol. 3, p. 499] Research during the six-year interval had evidently convinced him that Central America, not South America, was the more likely location for the land southward and that the location of the narrow neck of land was the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, not Panama.

We can detect a shift in his thinking in his earlier work. Even with the land southward identified as South America, he argued that the Nephite migrations into the land northward in the first century B.C. to a land of large bodies of water was not the Great Lakes as generally supposed but was no farther north than 22 degrees north latitude. Interestingly, this is the approximate northern boundary of Mesoamerican civilization that embraces the highland lake country of central Mexico. This view is held today by all serious students of the Mesoamerican Book of Mormon setting. He also considered geologic volcanic evidences that the Isthmus of Panama might not have been connected to South America before upheavals that occurred at Christ's crucifixion, which would have totally eliminated Panama as a candidate for the narrow neck of land. He considered these data with reference to the Book of Mormon statement that Lehi landed on "an isle of the sea" (2 Nephi 10:20). This view also has application to Alma 22:32, which states that the land southward (Central America) was nearly

surrounded by water, except for "a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward," which Roberts subsequently identified as the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The reasoning behind this major shift from the 1903 to 1909 edition from a South American setting to Central America was based on requirements of the Book of Mormon geography and history that fit Central America with comparative ease, where there are also abundant archaeological and ethnohistoric evidences. A problematic South American setting had been forced by an alleged revelation to Joseph Smith that Lehi landed on the coast of Chile, which was never substantiated. . . . This rare work by B. H. Roberts is forthright and honest in its treatment of the Book of Mormon as a history from ancient America. I am impressed by his careful and thorough reading for historical requirements of the Book of Mormon text and his broad grasp of the scientific and scholarly literature of his time. While there are many uncertainties and speculations, they are handled with honesty and objectivity, and he expressed openness to change as new evidences would come to bear. The book is comprehensive for its time and certainly distinguished B. H. Roberts as one of the leading Book of Mormon scholars the Church had known--a reputation he still holds today.

Source: ^V. Garth Norman, "A Century-Old Landmark in Book of Mormon Studies Is Coming of Age," in *Ancient America Foundation Newsletter*, No. 13, May 1998, 13.2

Note* Contrary to Norman's assumptions above, I do not believe B. H. Roberts was shifting his position away from a Hemispheric perspective, he was merely trying to make it more accommodating for such a theory to continue. Some of the major facts which he had to deal with were the "Lehi's Travels" statement which had Lehi landing at 30 degrees south latitude in South America--which required (among other things) a great amount of travel distance in order to accommodate the Book of Mormon narrative in the land southward (and especially the travels of Limhi's party to a "land of many waters"). He also had to deal with the great amount of archaeological evidence for superior cultures coming out of Central America. This provides, I think, a better perspective for his shift away from the "Lehi's Travels" statement and also his move toward the Isthmus of Tehuantepec being the narrow neck of land. One should not, however, think that the idea of Panama being part of the Narrow neck was abandoned entirely--the narrow neck was instead "extended" to reach the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The idea of a New York Cumorah was not abandoned. Roberts seems to be not so much interested in *proposing* a Book of Mormon geographical theory as *defending* the geography of the Book of Mormon according to traditional authoritative statements.

Note* As noted previously in a 1904 Improvement Era article and response by B. H. Roberts, Roberts's ideas about South America being an "isle of the sea" according to Jacob's prophecy, and being completely surrounded by water before the cataclysms at Christ's crucifixion were thoroughly rebutted. Roberts in that response that he would have to revise his Chapter 11 in his forthcoming (1909) editions. Yet while Roberts deleted a number of pages on Jacob's prophecy, he did not change either his premise or his conclusion to any extent.

B. H. Roberts was considered the foremost intellectual of the Church in his time. His volume II and III of his 3-volume series, *New Witnesses for God*, represented the most reasoned LDS defense of the Book of Mormon to date. He combined internal analysis with extensive notes on American archaeology which he had gathered in the Picton Library while serving as a mission president in 1887-1888.^{lxxxii} In volumes 2 & 3 Roberts set forth his position on Book of Mormon geography. I will try to include sufficient material so that the reader might see where Roberts added to or deleted from his previous material in the 1903-4-5 YMMIA Manuals. The 1909 version would be reprinted relatively unchanged in future years (1926,1951). One will note how Roberts was beginning to hedge on the requirements posed by the traditional hemispheric theory.

Preface [pp. iii-viii]

The following work was begun twenty-two years ago, in England, when the author was in that land on a Mission, as assistant Editor of the *Latter-day Saints Millennial Star*. . . . work was continued from time to time upon the treatise of the Book of Mormon; and in 1903-4-5, the materials were used, substantially as in their present form, as Manuals for the Senior Classes of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement

Associations. The work has undergone a thorough revision at the hands of the author, and is now to take the place in his writings designed for it so long ago. . . .

. . . While desiring to make it clear that our chief reliance for evidence to the truth of the Book of Mormon must ever be the witness of the Holy Spirit, . . . I would not have it thought that the evidence and argument presented . . . are unimportant, much less un-necessary. Secondary evidences in support of truth, like secondary causes in natural phenomena, may be of first-rate importance, and mighty factors in the achievement of God's purposes.

B. H. Roberts.

Salt Lake City, March, 1909.

Chapter X [pp. 139-168]

Migrations to the Western Hemisphere and the Nations that Arose from Them

Note* In comparing Roberts' revision of Chapter 10 which follows with his 1903 version, he expands his discussion of the Jaredites, tending to focus a little bit more on the idea of Central America being the major lands of the Jaredites, even though he still has them fighting their final battles in New York. He writes:

. . . Under divine direction they [the Jaredites] departed from Babel northward into a valley called Nimrod, and thence were led by the Lord across the continent of Asia^{lxxxii} eastward until they came to the shore of the great sea--Pacific Ocean--which divided the lands. . . . After a severely stormy passage--continuing for 344 days, the colony landed on the western coast of North America, "probably south of the Gulf of California."^{lxxxiii} Soon after their arrival the people of the colony began to scatter out upon the face of the land, and multiply, and till the earth; "and they did wax strong in the land." (Ether 6:18) The capital of the kingdom was doubtless the city of Moron, in a province or "land" of the same name, the location of which is unknown except that it was near the land called by the Nephites "Desolation." (Ether 7:6) . . . The land Desolation, according to the Nephite records, bordered on the north of the land Bountiful, at that point where it was but a day and a half's journey for a Nephite from the sea east to the sea west." (Alma 22:32) This would bring the southern borders of the land Desolation well down towards the continent of South America, perhaps to some point on that narrow neck of land known to us as the Isthmus of Panama. The northern limits of what the Nephites called the land Desolation may not be so easily ascertained. Whether it extended north and westward beyond the peninsula of Yucatan or ended south and east of that peninsula may not be definitely determined. . . .

[The land of Desolation] was a local province, and bounded on the north by what the Jaredites called the land of Moron, the land of the Jaredites' first inheritance (Ether 7:6, 16, 17). According to the late Elder Orson Pratt the place of the Jaredites' "first inheritance" [Moron] or landing, was "on the western coast, and probably south of the Gulf of California,"^{lxxxiv} though he gives no reason for his statement. Elder George Reynolds, speaking of the land of Moron, "where the Jaredites made their first settlement," says: "It was north of the land called Desolation by the Nephites, and consequently in some part of the region which we know as Central America."^{lxxxv} . . . It is evident that the land of Moron, north of Desolation, was the chief center of Jaredite civilization, and the principal seat of government from the time of their first landing in America--some twenty-two centuries B.C.--to the last civil war which ended in the destruction of the nation, in the sixth century B.C. The evidence of the foregoing statement is seen in the fact that . . . nearly all their great civil wars throughout their national existence, down to and including the last, raged in and about the land of Moron (see Ether) . . . The last great battles [however] . . . were fought about the Hill Ramah, the Hill Cumorah of the Nephites. This fixes the center of Jaredite civilization for a period of some sixteen centuries in Central America. True, there is evidence that the Jaredites occupied at one time very much of the north continent (Ether 10:21); but the land Moron, in Central America, was the seat of government and the center of civilization of the great empire. In the reign of the fourth king of the Jaredites, Omer, a conspiracy overthrew his authority; and would doubtless have ended in his assassination; but, warned of God in a dream, he departed out of the land with his family, and "traveled many days," and "came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed"--that is, by the Hill Cumorah, south of Lake Ontario, in the state of New York--"and from thence eastward, and came to a place that was called Ablom, by the sea shore, and there he pitched his tent." (Ether 9:9) . . . This land Ablom, the late Elder Orson Pratt suggested, was "probably on the shore of the New England states."^{lxxxvi} So far as known this marks the northern limits of Jaredite

occupancy of the continent.

In the reign of the sixteenth king--in whose days "the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants," (Ether 10:21) a "great city was founded at the narrow neck of land," that is, at some point on the Isthmus of Panama. That city marked the southern limits of the Jaredite empire. They never entered South America for the purpose of colonization, but preserved it "for a wilderness," in which "to get game." (Ether 10:21) The width of the empire east and west, north of the Gulf of Mexico, may not be determined. Whether it extended from ocean to ocean, or was confined to the Missouri-Mississippi valleys, and thence eastward south of the great lakes to the Atlantic, may not be positively asserted; but personally I incline to the latter opinion, notwithstanding the statement of the Book of Mormon to the effect that "the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants." This I believe to be merely a general expression meant to convey the idea of a very extensive occupancy of the north continent by the Jaredites; but as it does not compel us to believe that the writer had in mind Labrador, the regions of Hudson's Bay and Alaska, so I do not think it requires us to believe that the Jaredites occupied the Rocky mountains, and regions westward of them. (pp. 1-3) . . .

II. The Nephites

Note* In comparing this section with the 1903 version, it appears to be essentially the same.

. . . From the Book of Mormon and the word of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith it is learned that Lehi's colony traversed from Jerusalem, nearly a southeast direction, until they came to the nineteenth degree north latitude; thence nearly east to the sea of Arabia.^{lxxxvii} Here the colony built a ship in which to cross the great waters, which separated them from the land of promise. They sailed in a southeasterly direction, and landed on the continent of South America, in about thirty degrees south latitude.^{lxxxviii} . . .

Accordingly, after some years spent upon the promised land, Nephi was warned by the Lord to depart from his elder brothers in the wilderness, with all those whom he could persuade to go with him. Neither the distance nor the direction of this first remove of the righteous part of the colony from the more wicked part, can be definitely determined from the Book of Mormon, except from the location of the people of Nephi in subsequent times; and as this location was far northward from their first place of landing, it is generally supposed that this first remove was northward. . . .

It is supposed that the first remove of the Nephites from their brethren covered no great distance; as only a few years passed before they were in contact with one another again, at least in warfare. Indeed Elder George Reynolds, in his *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, holds to the theory that there may have been several removals of the Nephites between their first separation from the Lamanites under the First Nephi, and the very noted hegira under Mosiah I, about the fourth century of the Nephite annals. The author of the *Dictionary* urges as the reasons for his theory that it would be inconsistent with the story of the record (Book of Mormon), and with good judgment, to believe that in their first journey the Nephites traveled as far north as they were found four hundred years later,^{lxxxix} when the very noted remove was made under Mosiah I. I believe the reasons of Elder Reynolds are quite sufficient for his theory.

The movements of the Nephites were most probably as follows: [1] Whatever of conquest was made by the Lamanites upon the Nephite possessions, during the first four centuries of their occupancy of the promised land, was made upon their southern borders. . . . [2] the Nephite settlements were extended on that side of their possessions least likely to be assailed by their enemies, where there was least danger, that is, on the north. These two circumstances combined to give their colonization movement a northerly direction; until about the close of the fourth Nephite century they are supposed to have been in possession of that part of the continent of South America corresponding to the country now called Ecuador.^{xc} . . . the whole distance from the place selected by the First Nephi after separating from his brothers to the place they occupied at the close of the fourth century of their annals--this whole country--the Nephites called the Land of Nephi, or the Land of their father's first inheritance. (2 Ne. 5:8; Omni 1:12, 27; Mos. 7; Mos. 9:1. See collection of ref. under "b." 2 Nephi 5) . . .

III. Mulek's Colony

Note* This section is essentially the same as the 1903 edition.

It is learned by an incidental remark in the Book of Mormon that the colony of Mulek landed somewhere in the north continent of the western hemisphere; and for that reason the north continent was called Mulek, by the Nephites; and the south continent, Lehi; and this for the reason that the Lord brought the colonies bearing these names to the north and south land (Omni 1:14-17) respectively. How many years the colony of Mulek traveled, and in what direction, cannot be learned from the Book of Mormon. But it is quite evident that they landed in the north continent of the western world, most likely in the southern part of that continent, say in the region of what is known in modern times as Central America. (Helaman 6:10) Thence they drifted southward to the valley of the Sidon, . . .

Chapter 12 [pp. 187-207]
Inter-Continental movements of Book of Mormon People

The first extensive migration of Nephites into the north continent occurred in the thirty-seventh and thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Nephite judges, a period which corresponds to fifty-five B.C. . . . [Further] migration from the land . . . presented itself . . . in the year 46 B.C. . . .

Here it will be proper to dispel what I regard as a misapprehension of the extent of Nephite occupancy of the north continent, at this period of Nephite history. From the fact that in the foregoing quotation it is said that the Nephite removing from Zarahemla traveled "to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water, and many rivers," some have supposed that the Nephites at this time extended their colonization movements as far north as the Great Lakes in the eastern part of North America; and from the fact that it is also said that "they began to cover the face of the whole earth from the sea south, to the sea north, from the sea west, to the sea east, " it has been supposed that these expressions meant to convey the idea that the Nephites at this time had extended their settlements over both continents; and that "from the sea south to the sea north" meant from the sea at the southern extremity of South America (south of Cape Horn), to the Arctic Ocean, north of North America.^{xcii} There is no evidence, however, in the Book of Mormon that warrants such a conclusion as to the extent of Nephite occupancy of the western hemisphere in 46 B.C. Allowance for the hyperbole must be made in the expression, "They began to cover the face of the whole earth," since the facts set forth in the whole history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon are against the reasonableness of such an **expression if taken literally**. . . . [wording is slightly different in the 1903 version]

By reference to the map the reader, if he will consider the parts of the country now known as the south part of Mexico and Central America, will there find all the conditions that answer to the terms of the description in the passage quoted complied with as to "the sea south, and the sea north; the sea east and the sea west;" while the physical character of the same land, even now, will answer the requirements of the description of its being a land of "large bodies of water and many rivers"^{xcii}; and more abundantly may have been so before the conclusions of nature which took place in Nephite lands at Messiah's crucifixion.

I conclude, therefore, that this migration of Nephites at this time extended no further northward than southern parts of Mexico, say about the twenty-second degree north latitude; in other words, the Nephites were occupying the old seat of Jaredite empire and civilization, and the land of Moron which the Nephites called "desolate," not because of its barrenness--save for the absence of forests of timber--"but because of the greatness of the destruction of the people who had before inhabited the land;" that is, the Jaredites.

Shortly after . . . the Savior made his appearance among the Nephites and established his Church, which event was followed by a long period of righteousness and the loss of all race and party distinctions, such as "Nephite" and "Lamanite," etc.; and the people occupied the lands north and south without restraint according to their good pleasure. True, in the year 350, A.D., when wickedness had again made its appearance among the people, and old distinctions were revived, a treaty was made in which it was stipulated that those calling themselves Lamanites and Gadianton robbers would possess the south land. The treaty, however, was not long respected by the Lamanites, for at the end of ten years they violated it by attempting to invade the north and war was renewed. Back and forth surged the tide of armed conflict, but raged chiefly in what was known to the Nephites as the land of Desolation, the old seat of Jaredite empire and civilization. The Nephites at last having been driven from their southern strongholds in the north continent, proposed through their leader, Mormon, that they be permitted to gather their people at Cumorah--the Ramah of the Jaredites--that they might trust their fate to the dreadful arbitrament of one great **conflict**. . . . [wording is slightly different in the 1903 version]

Chapter XXV [pp. 360-367]

In part IV--*The Western World Since the Close of the Nephite Period--The Lamanite Civilization* we find the following:

The last battles of the great and long continued war which ended in the destruction of the Nephite party, took place south of the great lake region, about Cumorah; and to this part of the land had been drawn if not the bulk, then certainly a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the land. These [the survivors of the final battles] moved southward in time, tribe pressing upon tribe, as ocean wave presses on ocean wave towards the shore; and doubtless this movement of population southward after the disaster at Cumorah, accounts for those universal traditions found among the natives of Mexico and Central America of successive migrations from the north of powerful tribes or races who so much affected the political history of those countries. As these tribes from the north reached the old centers of population and civilization they revived settled orders of government . . . upon which they fastened the dark and loathsome Lamanite superstitious idolatry, with its horrors of human sacrifice and cannibalism. I believe these conjectures to be warranted but the fact that in several parts of the American continents, viz.: in Mexico, Central America, and Peru, a civilization of no mean degree of advancement was found to exist at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards; and, indeed, there are not wanting authorities who assert that the civilization found in America by the Spaniards, both in Mexico and Peru was equal to their own. . . . To sum up, every thing goes to prove that the ancient races of Central America possessed an advanced culture, exact ideas on certain arts and sciences, and remarkable technical knowledge.

Chapter XLVII.

Objections to the Book of Mormon (continued).

Note* Section IX was added to in the 1909 version and contains some significant changes in perspective.

Part IX. [pp. 499-504]

The Geography of the Book.

It is objected to the Book of Mormon that it lacks "local coloring" and definiteness in respect of its geography; and it is usually contrasted to its disadvantage with the Bible in this respect. "I have not been able to find an edition of the book of Mormon with maps in it," says one objector, "nor have I been able to find with perfect surety the location of the land in which Christ is supposed to have appeared to the Nephites." (Dr. W. M. Paden, Pastor of the first Presbyterian church, Salt Lake City, Utah, in a Discourse against the Book of Mormon, March 21, 1904.

[Note* A section from the 1903-5 Manual has been deleted here--see the 1903-5 notation]

"We find almost nothing," continues Dr. Paden, "which would fit with the tropical climate; in fact, the general description would better coincide with Pennsylvania or New York." (Ibid.) The grandest mountains in the world, and the highest table lands," says another objector, "are as entirely ignored as is the general shape of the two continents and other physical faces. While the physical characteristics of Palestine are woven as a web into almost every page of Bible history, the Book of Mormon is unable to appeal to a single geographical fact in confirmation of its pretended histories, except the general one that there was a 'land south' and a 'land north.'" (*Golden Bible*, pp. 308, 309)

This is an exaggerated statement of the supposed difficulty, and so also is it an exaggerated statement concerning the geography of the bible. Suppose, for instance, you separate the Book of Isaiah from the rest of the library of books comprising the bible, and how much of a figure does geography cut in that book? The same may be said of the book of Psalms, the book of Proverbs, and, separating the preface from it, the same could be said of the book of Deuteronomy. Mistakes in criticism of the Book of Mormon are continually made through entertaining the idea that the Book of Mormon in its structure is

the same as the Bible; . . .

Historical events, doctrines, prophecies, not geographical descriptions, the location of cities, the course of rivers, the grandeur of mountains or the extent of valleys, will be the objective of Mormon's research through the larger Nephite records. I may say, therefore, in answer to this criticism of the Book of Mormon, while by no means granting all that is claimed in respect of its geographical defects--its imperfections in geography arise from the very nature of the book's construction. In such a work you do not look for geographical knowledge.

[What follows below was added to the content of the 1903-5 Manual.]

I may also say that as these pages go to press the question of Book of Mormon geography is more than ever recognized as an open one by students of the book. That is to say, it is a question if Mormon views hitherto entertained respecting Book of Mormon lands have not been a misconception by reason of premises forced upon its students by the declaration of an alleged revelation. In a compendium of the doctrinal subjects, published by the late Elders Franklin D. Richards and James A. Little, the following item appears:

[The "Lehi's Travels" statement is quoted here].

The only reason so far discovered for regarding the above [Lehi's Travels statement] as a revelation is that it is found written on a loose sheet of paper in the hand writing of Frederick G. Williams, for some years second Counselor in the First Presidency of the Church in the Kirtland period of its history; and follows the body of the revelation contained in Doctrine and Covenants, section vii., relating to John the beloved disciple, remaining on earth, until the glorious coming of Jesus to reign with his Saints. The handwriting is certified to be that of Frederick G. Williams, by his son, Ezra G. Williams, of Ogden, and endorsed on the back of the sheet of paper containing the . . . passage and the revelation pertaining to John. . . . But there is no heading to the passage . . . about Lehi's travels. The words "Lehi's Travels" and the "Revelation to Joseph the Seer," are added by the publishers, justified as they supposed, doubtless, by the fact that the paragraph is in the hand writing of Frederick G. Williams, Counselor to the Prophet, and on the same page with the body of an undoubted revelation, which was published repeatedly as such in the life time of the Prophet, first in 1833, at Independence, Missouri, in the "Book of Commandments," and subsequently in every edition of the Doctrine and Covenants until now. But the one relating to Lehi's travels was never published in the life-time of the Prophet, and was published no where else until published in the Richards-Little *Compendium* . . . Now, if no more evidence can be found to establish this passage in Richards and Little's *Compendium* as a "revelation to Joseph the Seer," than the fact that it is found in the hand writing of Frederick G. Williams, and on the same sheet of paper with the body of the revelation about John, the beloved disciple, the evidence of its being a "revelation to Joseph, the Seer," rests on a very unsatisfactory basis.

Yet this alleged "revelation" has dominated all our thinking, and influenced all our conclusions upon the subject of Book of Mormon geography. Whereas, if this is not a revelation, the physical description relative to the contour of the lands occupied by the Jaredites and Nephites, that being principally that two large bodies of land were joined by a narrow neck of land--can be found between Mexico and Yucatan with the isthmus of Tehuantepec between. If the investigation now going on shall result in relieving us of the necessity of considering ourselves bound to uphold as a revelation the passage in Richards and Little's *Compendium*, here considered, many of our difficulties as to the geography of the Book of Mormon--if not all of them in fact, will have passed away. In that event much found in this treatise of the Book of Mormon relative to the Nephites being in South America--written under the impression that the passage in the above named *Compendium* was, as is there set forth, a revelation--will have to be modified.

[Note* It is hard to tell here just how much information in his treatise Roberts would have to modify. He doesn't mention any geographical theories that would significantly depart from a Hemispheric perspective (such as a limited Mesoamerican theory). I have no information at the present date to tell me whether or not B. H. Roberts even knew about any limited Mesoamerican theories. The only probable change that could have been conveyed to him would have been that the narrow neck of land was the Isthmus of Tehuantepec as proposed by Anthony Ivins and others involved in the 1900 BY Academy expedition--see notation) yet,

depending on the extent of changes implied by Roberts, this could be a change from a total hemispheric concept of Book of Mormon geography to a more limited continental theory.]

Roberts continues:

And let me here say a word in relation to new discoveries in our knowledge of the Book of Mormon, and for matter of that in relation to all subjects connected with the work of the Lord in the earth. We need not follow our researches in any spirit of fear and trembling. We desire only to ascertain the truth; nothing but the truth will endure; and the ascertainment of the truth and the proclamation of the truth in any given case, or upon any subject, will do no harm to the work of the Lord which is itself truth. Nor need we be surprised if now and then we find our predecessors, many of whom bear honored names and deserve our respect and gratitude for what they achieved in making clear the truth, as they conceived it to be--we need not be surprised if we sometimes find them mistaken in their conceptions and deductions; just as the generation who succeed us in unfolding in a larger way some of the yet unlearned truths of the Gospel, will find that we have had some misconceptions and made some wrong deductions in our day and time. . . . All which is submitted, especially to the membership of the Church, that they may be prepared to find and receive new truths both in the Book of Mormon itself and about it.

1909^A Alvin Knisley *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, Independence, Missouri: Zion's Ensign,
(RLDS) 1909.

Note* This edition was revised in 1945. I have included some of the revised material in italics for the benefit of comparison.

Preface

The manuscript was prepared during some months preceding, close to the old Mexican frontier, at intervals during a missionary campaign. This work is definitive-not simply compilatory. It is a dictionary - not a concordance.

Aar'on, City of.

We read that when Alma was cast out of Ammonihah he "took his journey toward the city of Aaron," Alma vi: 4, (9-16), B.C. 82. Before reaching there he was intercepted by an angel and turned back, so we are left without information respecting any peculiarity of that city. It was in the land of Zarahemla, S. A.

Another city of Aaron is spoken of as joining the land of Moroni, one boundary of which was the Caribbean Sea. It was in the portion of land today known as Venezuela (q.v. Borders of A.)

Ablom

A place on the Atlantic coast eastward from the hill Cumorah. . . .

A'gosh, Plains of

It was one of the Jaredite battlegrounds, where Coriantumr slew Lib and where Shiz, as next commander, fought his first battle with Coriantumr; which was some few years anterior to 600 B.C., when they had their final engagement at Ramah hill. It was in North America.

Al'ma, Valley of.

In S. A. between the lands of Nephi and Zarahemla.

An-go'la

A city in C. A., or the Isthmus of panama, near S. A., if not in S. A. very near C. A. It was occupied by the Nephites under Mormon as they were retreating. . . .

An'tum

A land evidently in C. A. It contained the hill Shim where Ammaron deposited the plates in A.D. 320. . . .

Boun'ti-ful Land of.
In Arabia. On the coast of the Indian Ocean, in the Asiatic continent. . . .

Boun'ti-ful

Land of. See Al xiii:73ff. We find that the land B. was bounded on the north by the land of Desolation and that it was a day and a half's journey from sea to sea on the line dividing Desolation and B. . . . In order to prevent the Lamanites from gaining access to and possession of the land northward (of the narrow pass) the Nephites took possession of the land B. from sea to sea. It is said that there was a "small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward." Moroni (B.C. 65) issued orders to his officers that they should "fortify the land B., and secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward" (of B.) With these considerations as to the geographical aspect of the case I resign that aspect into the hands of the student to decide as to the definite boundaries and as to how far the land B. extended into the narrow neck. Suffice to say that as it extended some distance into the narrow neck, it may have also included a portion of country immediately fronting it. See also Hel. ii:36-41

Cu-mo'rah

In New York State not far from Lake Ontario. It was known as Ramah (q.v.) to the Jaredites, C. being the Nephite appellation. It was here where the Jaredites had their final struggle about 600 B.C. and where the last Nephite-Lamanite battle was fought 384 A.D. . . .

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Cu'mo'rah

The hill where the Prophet Mormon buried the B. M. plates. It was known as Ramah to the Jaredites, C.[umora] being the Nephite appellation. It was here where the Jaredites had their final struggle about 600 B.c. and where the last Nephite-Lamanite battle was fought 384 A.D. Mormon having taken up the records (375-379 A.D.) which Ammaron had hid in the hill Shim, (321 A.D.), now hides them in the hill C.[umora] (384 A.D.); save a few plates which he entrusts to Moroni, who finishes the record (A.D. 400-420) and hides them where they were obtained by Joseph Smith in 1827 in the State of New York; whence the name C.[umora] was applied to the latter hill under the belief that it was in identity with the ancient C.[umora] and Ramah.

Des'o-la'tion. City of
. . . It was apparently in C.A.

E'ther, Book of

It gives an account of the first company, estimated to be somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty souls, who came to America from the Tower of Babel at the beginning of the period indicated; crossing the Atlantic ocean and landing on the eastern coast of C.A. and N. A. and finally being destroyed in New York State about 600 B.C.

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

E'ther, Book of

. . . It gives an account of the first company, estimated to be somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty souls, who came to America from the Tower of Babel at the beginning of the period indicated; crossing the Atlantic ocean and landing on the eastern coast of, probably Mexico, and finally being destroyed about 600-200 B.C.

Ha'goth

An ingenious Nephite who built ships on the west coast of C. A. or Panama for emigration to N. A. . . . It is more than possible that the Pacific islands were peopled by those voyagers the Nephites supposed were lost. The place of launching these ships was in the land Bountiful near Desolation.

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Ha'goth

An ingenious Nephite who built ships on the west coast, probably C. A. [Central America], for emigration northward. . . . It is more than possible that the Pacific islands were peopled by those voyagers the Nephites supposed were lost. The place of launching these ships was in the land Bountiful near Desolation.

Ir're-an'tum

Name given by Lehi's company to the waters on the east coast of Arabia where they dwelt during the preparation of the ship by which they were to cross to America. . . .

Ja'red

. . . the son of King Omer against whom he rebelled . . . The scene of the rebellions and reigns of J.[ared] probably did not extend beyond C. A. and Mexico.

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Ja'red

. . . the son of King Omer against whom he rebelled . . . The scene of the rebellions and reigns of J.[ared] probably did not extend beyond Mexico.

Ja'red-ites

. . . They came from the tower of Babel, retaining by the providence of God their Adamic speech. They journeyed in a westerly direction until they eventually reached the coast of what was evidently the Atlantic ocean, perhaps on the sea-board of Portugal. Here they dwelt for four years, upon the expiration of which the Lord directed them to prepare for the voyage. Eight barges were built in which they crossed with their seeds and animals of every kind, coming to a land that had been made vegetationless and germless by the deluge. After a passage of 344 days they debarked on the eastern coast of C. A..

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Ja'red-ites

. . . They came from the tower of Babel, retaining by the providence of God their Adamic speech. They journeyed in a westerly direction until they eventually reached the coast of what was evidently the Atlantic ocean, perhaps on the sea-board of Africa or Spain near the strait of Gibraltar. Here they dwelt for four years, upon the expiration of which the Lord directed them to prepare for the voyage. Eight barges were built in which they crossed with their seeds and animals of every kind, coming to a land that had been made vegetationless and germless by the deluge. After a passage of 344 days they debarked on the eastern coast of probably northern Mexico. . . .

Le'hi, City of

A Nephite city, probably on or very near the coast of the Caribbean Sea. . . .

Le'hi Land of.

Applied to S. A. in general in contra-distinction to the land Mulek which was N. A.; "for the Lord did bring Mulek into the land north, and Lehi into the land south." Hel. ii: 27 (128-135)

Le'hi-Ne'phi, or Ne'phi, City of

In the land of Nephi in S. A.. It was probably situated in northern Peru or Ecuador. The country immediately surrounding was called the land of L.[ehi]-N.[ephi]. . .

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Le'hi-Ne'phi, or Ne'phi, City of

In the land of Nephi. It was probably situated in Honduras. The country immediately surrounding was called the land of L.[ehi]-N.[ephi]. . .

Lem'u-el, Valley of

In Arabia, at the mouth of the river Laman which emptied into the Red Sea. It was so named by Lehil (600 B.C.) and it was three days journey from Jerusalem. . . .

Nephi (1) Son of Lehi

. . . When they reached the seacoast in the east of Arabia he built, or engineered the building of, the ship with which the company crossed the Pacific waters. . . .

Ne'phi, Land of

. . . During the Judges, the land south was recognized by the two grand divisions-the land of Zarahemla and the land of Nephi, Al. xiii:67-77. It was bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the north by the strip of wilderness between it and Zarahemla that extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans; on the east and south by the Cordilleras

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Ne'phi, Land of

. . . During the Judges, the land south was recognized by the two grand divisions-the land of Zarahemla and the land of Nephi, Al. xiii:67-77. It was bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean; on the north by the strip of wilderness between it and Zarahemla that extended from the Caribbean or the Gulf coast, probably to the Pacific Ocean.

Si'don, River

In S. A.; identical with the Magdalena river, which flows through the United States of Columbia and empties into the Caribbean Sea. . . .

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

[No real world location is given]

Za-ra-hem-la

A chief, ruler, or king . . . When Mosiah and people left the land of Nephi and came to the far north of the continent they found a community of Israelites who were greatly deteriorated in language and religion. They had left Jerusalem eleven years after Lehi (589 B.C.) and landing on the western coast of C.A. [Central America], were now, nearly 400 years later, in the northern part of S. A.

Note The following is found in the "revised" 1945 edition:*

Za-ra-hem-la

A chief, ruler, or king . . . When Mosiah and people left the land of Nephi and came to the far north of the continent they found a community of Israelites who were greatly deteriorated in language and religion. They had left Jerusalem eleven years after Lehi (589 B.c.) and landing probably on the western coast of C.A. [Central America], northward from Lehi's landing. . . .

Za-ra-hem-la Land of.

. . . It is said that "the land of Nephi and the land of Zarahemla, (the two embracing S. A.) were nearly surrounded by water." . . . Its rivers were: the Magdalena (Nephite Sidon), the Atrato, and the Cauca. The only lake is the large inlet on the north coast called Lake Maracaibo. . . . Zarahemla in its extended sense embraced the northern part of S. A., its boundaries being the Pacific Ocean, the Caribbean Sea, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, north and east, and on the south the narrow strip of wilderness extending from ocean to ocean. In 33 B. C. the Nephites were temporarily driven out of Z. and S. A. into the Isthmus of Panama. Hel. ii: 8 (36-41).

1910^ **Elbert A. Smith** "Hill Cumorah," in "Editor's Corner," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 23, No. 3
(RLDS) (March), pp. 119-120

Poem-Mentions Cumorah in relation to the records but does not directly affect geography.

1910^ **H. O. Smith** **H. O. Smith ed., "Palmyra" in the *Zion's Ensign***, vol. 21, No. 42, October 20,
(RLDS) 1910, p. 1

The editor H. O. Smith writes:

Last spring after the conference adjourned, and we were cognizant of our mission fields, Bro. Frederick A. Smith, and the editor, in talking over the plans for the year, agreed that, if it were possible, he would visit Buffalo, and we would make the trip together to the old historic place [Palmyra] . . .

Arriving at Palmyra we found a place where we could refresh the inner man, made some inquiries as to the best method of reaching "Mormon Hill" as the Hill Cumorah is familiarly known in that section of the country, and found it to be three miles distant, and having but a limited time at our disposal, we hired a horse and drove to the place.

Many descriptions of the place have been given by others and it will not be necessary for us to enter into an extended review or restatement of what has already been said, but as we stood upon the top of the hill, and looked out over the adjacent country, and noted its characteristics, we could not but be impressed with the thought that it was admirably adapted for military tactics, and but few places could have afforded such advantages to any army making a last stand, as this region affords, and the Nephite generals certainly shared good judgment in selecting a place that is so admirably adapted for defensive operations [sic]. . . .

As we had our kodak along we disposed ourselves on the top of the hill Cumorah in a reclining attitude, and took a snapshot of ourselves; and Bro. Fred suggested that we call it "Resting on the Hill Cumorah." We took another picture of the hill and two views of the old house, and also a picture under the tree, and one on top of the hill with the panorama of the surrounding country for the background, all of which we trust will serve as happy reminder of a very pleasant visit to the historic place.

Note* This was copied by me in longhand from the actual newspaper located in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.

1910^ **RLDS *Report of the Committee on American Archaeology***, Lamoni, IA: Herald House, 1910.

This 191 page update of the 1898 report by the RLDS Committee on American Archaeology represented the most extensive efforts by any LDS group to date to correlate published scholarly ideas with the Book of Mormon story. It also represents the most scholarly approach ever attempted to support a North America-South America setting for Book of Mormon geography. A number of maps by George F. Weston are included. The maps reflect a Hemispheric perspective. However, there is one map in particular worthy of note. It illustrates the Mulekite journey paralleling that of Lehi through Arabia, and then crossing the Pacific to land in Central America. Interestingly, this represents the only example to date of the Mulekites taking this route.

Some of a multitude of excerpts which I have found pertinent are the following:

Publishers' Preface

At the General conference of the Reorganized church held at Lamoni, Iowa, April 6-19, 1894, a "Committee on American Archaeology" was appointed to outline and prepare a map of Book of Mormon history--the record of the ancient inhabitants of North and South America.

For a number of years those especially interested in the subject of ancient American history and archaeology have been urging the preparation of a work of this kind. It is now given to the public, after much time and labor upon the part of the members of the committee, who have devoted themselves untiringly to the work of research and criticism assigned them. This labor has been rendered the more arduous because involving consideration of various theories held concerning locations of civilizations, land, boundaries, rivers, etc., with other problems connected with the settlement, migration, and general

vicissitudes of the various nations mentioned; and has required close and diligent study. In the examination of the evidences adduced from archaeology and other lines of evidence those comprising the committee reached conclusions which they consider to be substantially correct, in the leading points involved.

The work is so arranged that its general plan will readily be comprehended by the reader. The maps are reproduced from the large maps prepared at direction of the committee by George F. Weston, of Buchanan, Michigan.

Part 1 outlines the history of the Nephites. Part 2 is a synopsis of Jaredite history, which is followed by a summary of the conclusions reached, with statement of evidences upon which said conclusions are based. Part 3 is an addenda. It includes a list of early authors on American antiquities, including opinions concerning the origin of the ancient Americans; also a list of authors quoted; the whole systematically indexed for ready reference.

The report is presented with the conviction that it will prove materially helpful to every student of Book of Mormon history and American archaeology.

Lamoni, Iowa, February 1, 1898.

Authors Consulted

Some of the authors consulted in the preparation of this map and report as far as we can now think . . . We think the list now appended will be helpful to the student who desires to continue this very interesting study.

[Then follows a list of nearly 100 scholarly non-LDS works]

The committee desires to express its appreciation of the friendly aid rendered it by the following named brethren, who favored the committee with suggestions, opinions, criticisms, etc., in the preparation of the map, in answer to its request printed in the *Herald*: William Hawkins, G. F. Weston, W. E. Peak, Simon Smith, C. R. Duncan, and R. Etzenhouser.

Preface

This [1910] edition of the Report of the Committee on Archaeology has been revised, new matter added, corrections made, references to the authorized edition of the Book of Mormon inserted, and some illustrations supplied. What is new will be found of interest, supportive of former positions assumed, and evidences adduced, showing general agreement among writers in regard to much relating to prehistoric Americans. . . . The committee now consists of F. M. Sheehy, William Woodhead, Rudolph Etzenhouser, and William H. Kelley; Sr. Louise Palfrey having resigned. She is very capable and we are sorry to lose her from the committee.

Wm H. Kelley, *for the Committee*

Starting with Part 1. The Nephites on page 22, the 1910 version follows almost identically the 1898 version, although in the 1898 version Part 1 started on page 14.--(See the 1898 notation)

[The committee then reviews the history of various Mesoamerican peoples and evidences]

Beginning on page 106, after a detailed step-by-step analysis, geographically speaking, of the Nephite history and the Jaredite history, we find that the summary is essentially identical with that of the 1898 edition, although the 1898 Summary began on page 91..

F. M. Sheehy,
William Woodhead,
Wm. H. Kelley,
Committee.

(See the notation for 1898)

1910^A Charles A. Shook
the

(anti-Mormon)

Archaeology

1910

*Cumorah Revisited or "The Book of Mormon" and the Claims of
Mormons Re-examined from the Viewpoint of American
and Ethnology.* Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company,

Note* *Cumorah Revisited*, a 589-page treatise by Charles Shook, represented a landmark book in the case against not only the Hemispheric Theory of Book of Mormon geography, but the poor scientific methods used by those who supported and defended this theory. Certain ideas upheld by early Mormon authors that were attacked were (1) that the New World was pristine or void of any people when the Jaredites first landed and also when the Nephites first landed (the Jaredites having become "extinct"); (2) that ALL Indians were descendants of white Hebrew men who wrote in "Reformed Egyptian" and spoke Hebrew; (3) that ALL advances in culture came from the Old World; (4) that ALL advanced structures or pyramids were products of the Nephites and constituted landmarks of Book of Mormon geography (the degenerate Lamanites being incapable of erecting such structures); (5) that Quetzalcoatl ONLY represented Christ; (6) that the Mound Builders were the Jaredites and Nephites; (6) that ALL early culture of the New World was as written in the Book of Mormon--specifics that were not known before its publication; and (7) that ALL cultural and archaeological evidence testified of their Hemispheric view of the Book of Mormon and was being verified by archaeologists and ethnologists.

Although the arguments of Shook's book will be cited more specifically in the "External Evidences" section, the ideas cited below are sufficient to convey his thoughts brought forward pertinent to Book of Mormon geography.

It is impossible to know but interesting to contemplate the extent of influence that this 1910 book had on LDS writers. First of all we find the RLDS writer H. A. Stebbins in the year 1911 advancing the idea that the New York Hill Cumorah wouldn't necessarily have to be the site of the final battles (see notation). In the ensuing years we also see the emergence and blossoming of the Limited Mesoamerican Theory by RLDS writer Louis Hills (see notations) and the beginnings of reticence on the part of RLDS Church officials to stand by the Hemispheric Theory. Among LDS writers we find the emergence of the Limited Mesoamerican Theory starting to be put forward by Willard Young. In 1921 we find the LDS Church dropping Orson Pratt's Hemispheric footnotes from the 1921 edition of the Book of Mormon. We also have evidence that B. H. Roberts, the chief apologetic defender for the Church and the Book of Mormon, was presenting difficult questions to the Brethren regarding traditional geographical and cultural ideas associated with the Book of Mormon. Nevertheless, the Church officials would become more entrenched in supporting the traditional ideas of the early leaders of the Church which favored the Hemispheric Theory (or a Modified Hemispheric Theory--hedging only on the southern extensions of Nephite lands), especially as the Church came to acquire the property of the New York Hill Cumorah in 1928.

Preface [pp. 7-8]

Having been taught in childhood to believe that the antiquities of America are the work of those accomplished races described in the Book of Mormon, I early acquired an interest in the study of American archaeology and ethnology that has not abated, but has increased as the years have gone by.

It was while living at Jeffersonville, Indiana, in the year 1900, that I conceived the idea of making a special study of the Book of Mormon from this viewpoint for the purpose of putting out a small pamphlet on the subject. As I entered deeper and deeper into the study, the work grew until it reached its present proportions, and as discrepancy after discrepancy between the claims of the Book of Mormon and the facts of science were discovered, I became more and more surprised that this ground had not been more thoroughly worked by the anti-Mormon polemic before, while I became more and more convinced that in the data acquired by archaeological and ethnological research the opponent of this system has a mass of evidence which, if rightly used, will completely demolish the claim of the historical credibility of the Book of Mormon.

For the last half century, at least, the Mormons have put out works on American archaeology, but most of these have been mere collations of passages from scientific writers, taken here and there without a consideration of the context and often so arranged as to give an entirely different impression to the reader than their authors sought to convey. My plan has been to state fairly the Book of Mormon, or

the Mormon, position on a certain point, and then to refute it by bringing to bear against it the latest and best authority obtainable. As the reader will notice, the later writings of Nadailac, Brinton, Powell, Moorehead, Dellenbaugh, Shaler, Thomas, Peet, Henshaw, Holmes and Russell have been given precedence over the earlier writings of Adair, Boudinot, Priest, Baldwin, Foster and others. American archaeology is a growing science, and many of the old opinions have had to be given up as research has progressed.

I wish here to acknowledge my indebtedness to the authors from whom I quote, and to disclaim any intention of posing as an authority on American anthropology. All that I have done, for which I can justly ask credit, is to marshal the facts of archaeology, already gathered, against the citadel of Mormon error. . . .--Charles A. Shook. Buchanan, Michigan, August 19, 1908.

In chapter 1, "The Rise of Mormonism," Shook quotes a number of people to the effect that Solomon Spaulding was the real author behind the story of the Book of Mormon. Concerning one of these he writes: [pp. 40-41] John N. Miller, who worked for Spaulding and Lake at Conneaut, and who boarded with the former, testifies: "He had written two or three books or pamphlets on different subjects, but that which more particularly drew my attention was the one which he called, 'Manuscript Found.' From this he would frequently read some humorous passages to the company present. It purported to be the history of the first settlement of America before discovered by Columbus. He brought them off from Jerusalem under their leaders, detailing their travels by land and water, their manners, customs, laws, wars, etc. he said that he designed it as a historical novel, and that in after years it would be believed by many people as much as the history of England. He soon after failed in business, and told me that he should retire from the din of his creditors, finish his book and have it published, which would enable him to pay his debts and support his family. He soon after removed to Pittsburgh, as I understood. I have recently examined the Book of Mormon, and find in it the writings of Solomon Spaulding from beginning to end, but mixed up with Scripture and other religious matters which I did not meet with in the 'Manuscript Found.' Many of the passages in the Mormon book are verbatim from Spaulding, and others in part. The names of Nephi, Lehi, Moroni, and, in fact, all the principal names, are brought fresh to my recollection by the Golden Bible. When Spaulding divested his history of its fabulous names by a verbal explanation, he landed his people near the Straits of Darien, which I am very confident he called Zarahemla; they were marched about that country for a length of time in which wars and great bloodshed ensued. he brought them across North America in a northeast direction."

[pp. 48-59]

[48] According to the Book of Mormon, the first inhabitants of America came from the Tower of Babel under Jared and his brother, the latter a prophet of the Lord. With their following they journeyed from Babel northward into Armenia, from thence westward over southern Europe to Spain (the Book of Mormon, Land of Moriancumer), where they dwelt on the seashore for four years. At the close of this period, by the command of God, they built eight peculiarly shaped "barges" and put to sea, landing, after a voyage of 344 days, upon "the east coast of Central America, near the mouth of the river Motagua."--*Report of the Committee on American Archaeology*, p. 70

[1910 **Map: Jaredite Lands. (according to the Book of Mormon).** Charles A. Shook, *Cumora Revisited or "The Book of Mormon" and the Claims of the Mormons Re-examined from the Viewpoint of American Archaeology and Ethnology*. Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1910, p. 48]

[49-50] . . . Upon reaching Central America the Jaredites founded a government and began to settle the country. Their land of Moron comprised about the present States of Tabasco, Chiapas, Guatemala and western Honduras. Their capital was also called Moron and is identified by the Josephite [RLDS] Committee on American Archaeology with either Copan or Quirigua, two ancient cities now in ruins. (Report, p. 70) The peninsula of Yucatan was called the Land of Nehor; Mexico, the Land of Heth; and the United States is named on the Committee's maps the Land Northward. Their oldest and richest communities were in the Land of Moron, but large and flourishing Jaredite centers existed where New Orleans, St. Louis and Cincinnati now stand, and Jaredite people and culture were spread throughout the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. The Committee say[s]: It appears from the record that at this time Central America and a large proportion of the central portion

of the United States were settled by the Jaredites; in the United States, probably, they occupied mainly in the valleys of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers, covering largely their watersheds. Omer and Nimrah "fled out of the land," evidently from the countries already settled, and probably the chief centers were at New Orleans, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, except in Mexico and Central America, where the oldest and richest communities dwelt.--*Report*, p. 72

[51-55] . . . The book further claims that, in the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, there was dwelling at Jerusalem a prophet, Lehi by name, a righteous man. On account of the wickedness of the city, God commanded him to take his family and depart into the wilderness of Arabia . . . Eight years having elapsed since Lehi left Jerusalem the little company, which now numbered eight families by the command of God, built a ship, launched out into the Indian Ocean, and after a stormy voyage, during which the wicked Laman and Lemuel rebelled against their brother Nephi, landed "on the coast of Chili, not far from the thirtieth degree, south latitude."--*Report*, p. 11.

[1910] **Map: Nephite Lands. (according to the Book of Mormon).** Charles A. Shook, *Cumora Revisited or "The Book of Mormon" and the Claims of the Mormons Re-examined from the Viewpoint of American Archaeology and Ethnology.* Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1910, p. 52]

Here they found all manner of beasts--the cow, ox, ass, horse, goat and wild goat; also such ores as gold, silver, iron and copper. . . . With [Lehi's] death the bond that held the two contrary factions together was broken and they drifted apart. . . .

After the separation, the Lamanites established themselves in what is now the State of Rioja in the Argentine Republic, (Report, p. 19) while the Nephites went a thousand miles farther north and founded the city of Nephi in the present country of Peru. The Committee identify this city with the ancient city of Cuzco. . . . From Nephi, being a prolific people, they spread over the adjacent country, and what is now northern Chili, western Bolivia and Peru was included in the Land of Nephi. Of the ancient cities of this region, the Committee identify Huanuco, Riobamba, Gran-Chimu and Cuelap-Tinto, with the Book of Mormon cities, Ishmael, Amulon, Middoni and Lehi-Nephi, respectively. After dwelling in this region for four hundred years, till about 200 B.C., under pressure from the Lamanites to the south of them, they moved northward into the Land of Zarahemla, now the United States of Colombia and western Venezuela, where they united with the people of Zarahemla, or Mulokites, who had come from Jerusalem about the time of its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, under Mulek, one of Zedekiah's sons. this people had landed upon the west coast of the Isthmus of Panama, but had migrated southward, instead of northward and had settled in the northern part of South America. . . . The Book of Mormon river Sidon is identified with the Magdalena. From Zarahemla the Nephites spread over the Isthmus of Panama, their Land Bountiful; Nicaragua and eastern Honduras, their Land Desolation; San Salvador, their Land Joshua; Guatemala and western Honduras, their Land Jashon; Chiapas and Tabasco, their Land Antum; Mexico, their Land Shem; and the United States, their Land of Many Waters. Thus, they inhabited the territory previously occupied by the Jaredites, with the probable exception of Yucatan, and in addition to it, South America, which was not inhabited by their predecessors, but was kept by them as a reserve for game. The Committee say[s], on the settlements north of Mexico: "On entering the United States, the Nephites settled largely in the same sections inhabited by the Jaredites, the oldest mound builders, and their march to their final conflict was along the same lines."--*Report*, p. 65
A Nephite by the name of Hagoth, an "exceeding curious man," fitted out a ship and sailed from the Isthmus of Panama into the Pacific and was never heard of again. Some Mormons have conceived the idea that he was the mythical Hawaii who is said to have settled the Sandwich Islands. (Stebbins, "Book of Mormon Lectures," p. 206)

[55] Moroni, the last of the Nephites of royal blood completed the record of his people upon the plates, adding an abridgment of the record of Ether, and deposited them in "Hill Cumora" (the Jaredite Ramah or Riplah, known to vulgar Gentiles as "Mormon Hill," which lies southeast of Palmyra, N.Y.) in 420 A.D., from which, it is claimed, they were taken by Joseph Smith on September 22, 1827.

[56-59] . . . Reader, this is, briefly, the history of ancient America as given in the Book of Mormon and outlined in the Report of the Committee on American Archaeology and other Mormon works. There are slight

differences between the Mormon churches in the establishment of certain boundary lines and the location of certain places, but, in the main, this will be considered a fair outline of ancient American history by 350,000 human souls. Will it stand the test of investigation? We shall see. . . .

Apostle Orson Pratt sets the case fairly before us, from the Mormon point of view, in these words: "The nature of the message in the Book of Mormon is such, that, if true, no one can possibly be saved and reject it; if false, no one can possibly be saved and receive it. Therefore, every soul in all the world is equally interested in ascertaining its truth or falsity."--(*O. Pratt's Works*, p. 68)

It is also conceded by Mormons themselves that the integrity of their system is so dependent upon the authenticity of the Book of Mormon that to prove it false is to overthrow the entire Mormon superstructure. "It is very evident," says Elder George Reynolds, "that if the Book of Mormon is not of God, then the whole superstructure of Mormonism, is, of necessity, a gross imposture, the cruelest of religious deception that for many centuries has misled humanity."--(*The Myth of the Manuscript Found*, pp. 9,10)

The claims of the Book of Mormon must be considered from four points of view: . . .

fourthly, from the viewpoint of American archaeology and ethnology. Are its historical statements substantiated by archaeological and ethnological research?

It is my intention, in the following pages, to consider its claims from the viewpoint of American archeology and ethnology, for the purpose of showing that it is not a credible history of ancient America, but a work of pure fiction, false in its historical accounts, and in its descriptions of the customs, habits, religion, government and character of the first Americans. In order to accomplish this, I shall put before the reader the facts as established by the latest research as these are given in the works of the latest and best authors. The opinions of the older writers will be made use of only so far as they agree with these facts.

Mormon writers confidently assert that the data acquired by scientific investigation in the fields of American archaeology and ethnology fully substantiate the claims of the Book of Mormon. This will be seen in the following quotations from authorities in the two great branches of the Mormon Church.

"The Book of Mormon statements have since been verified by facts, the later and best authorities concurring with the Book of Mormon idea."--*Report of the Committee on American Archaeology*, p. 96

"The historical accounts recorded in the book are being rapidly substantiated by American archaeological research."--Elder C. J. Hunt in *Opinions of Sixty-five Leading Ministers and Bible Commentators on Isa. 29:11-24 and Ezek. 37:15-20*, pp. 3, 4

"The students of American antiquities will find upon a careful examination that no discovery has thus far been made which in a single instance contradicts the record of America's great and glorious past, as found in the Book of Mormon."--Elder R. Etzenhouser, in *The Book Unsealed*, p. 78.

"So the 'Book of Mormon' still stands like a very Gibraltar, undisturbed by ridicule, scathing criticism, or scientific demonstration,"--Apostle W. H. Kelley in *Presidency and Priesthood*, p. 286

"For not only are the principles of the gospel of Christ great and eternal truths, which we preach, but the book under discussion, as the history of ancient American peoples, is also true and fully substantiated, not only by Bible prophecies, but also by abundant discoveries of science, by a wonderful array of archaeological ruins and antiquarian remains, by many historical facts developed since its publication, by the traditional history of tribes and nations, and, finally, by the internal evidences found in the book itself, they being historical, geographical and doctrinal in their character, and strong in proof."--Elder H. A. Stebbins in *Book of Mormon Lectures*, p. 3

President W. W. Blair declares that the facts stated in the book have since been "fully attested by the antiquarian and the geologist."--*Joseph the Seer*, p. 175

And Apostle Orson Pratt asserts that "there can not be found one truth among all the gleanings of antiquity that clashes with the historical truths of the Book of Mormon."--*O. Pratt's Works*, p. 153.

These extracts from the works of prominent Mormon writers on the relation of the sciences of archaeology and ethnology to the question of the credibility and historical accuracy of the Book of

Mormon, show the interest of the Mormon people in, and their expectations from, archaeological and ethnological research.

[pp. 112-115] Mormons contend that the Book of Mormon must be of divine origin because it locates the ancient American cities in those very localities where they were afterwards found. Orson Pratt writes:

"In the Book of Mormon are given the names and locations of numerous cities of great magnitude, which once flourished among the ancient nations of America. The northern portions of South America, and also Central America, were the most densely populated. Splendid edifices, palaces, towers, forts and cities were reared in all directions. A careful reader of that interesting book can trace the relative bearings and distances of many of these cities from each other, and, if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country, he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine very nearly the precise spot of ground they once occupied. Now, since that invaluable book made its appearance in print, it is a remarkable fact that the mouldering ruins of many splendid edifices and towers, and magnificent cities of great extent, have been discovered by Catherwood and Stephens in the interior wilds of Central America, in the very region where the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon were said to exist. Here, then, is certain and indisputable evidence that this illiterate youth--the translator of the Book of Mormon--was inspired of God."--*O. Pratt's Works*, p. 278. [see the 1848 Pratt notation]

But this claim can not be accepted for several reasons. In the first place, many of the ancient cities of Mexico and Central America were discovered long before the Book of Mormon appeared. Of these may be mentioned Copan, Uatlan, Chichen Itza, T'Ho, Tuloom, Palenque, Mitla, Cholula, Teotihuacan and Mexico. Therefore the Book of Mormon, in placing the great centers of aboriginal population in this region, simply stated what scientific men already knew years before it came out. Its fabricator evidently used this knowledge to good advantage in getting up his story.

In the second place, the book has been with us seventy years, and more, and yet it has never rendered any assistance whatever to the archaeologist in making his discoveries. It has never revealed the location of a single prehistoric city. The investigator who would depend upon it to trace the relative bearings and distances of the cities of Central America from each other would soon find himself bewildered. When brought to a practical test, this "invaluable book" fails at the very point where its defenders claim that it is accurate and reliable. If it is what its defenders assert it to be, why have they left the work of archaeological research wholly in the hands of uninspired men? Why have they not gone forth, Book of Mormon in hand, and located the ruined cities of Central America and thus proved its infallibility and inspiration?

In the third place, its geographical and topographical descriptions are so vague that there exists a difference of opinion among even the Mormons themselves on the location of many of the cities and places mentioned in the book. Although hundreds of cities, countries and places are mentioned, but few landmarks are given by which they may be located. While the author seems to have recognized the general shape of the central portion of the continent in the construction of his story, his topographical and geographical descriptions are very vague and indefinite. The Isthmus of Panama is called "the narrow neck which led into the land northward" (Alma 30:3), and this seems to be the fixed star from which Mormon writers make all their geographical calculations. It is easy to understand that by the Land Northward and the Land Southward North and South America are meant, and that by the Land of Many Waters the United States is intended, while the Land of Nephi is without doubt to be located somewhere on the west coast of South America. But these are about all of the natural and political divisions whose locations can be made out by the descriptions given. On the location of other countries and places there is disagreement, conjecture and uncertainty, and this is admitted by the Josephite Committee on American archaeology: "So all that can be done in the way of mapping the lands and places of dwelling of this ancient race is by approximation and probabilities, in the main; certainty as to fixed locality being the exception, while much must be left to mere theory."--*Report*, p. 7. This admission places the Josephite Committee on American Archaeology in direct opposition to the Brighamite, Orson Pratt.

It is interesting that in trying to counter Hemispheric geographical perspectives, Shook writes the following on pages 126-129 which in many ways seems to support such claims :

Trustworthy information does not carry us back in the history of Peru further than a few centuries before the conquest by Pizarro. What we have has been obtained chiefly from the works of Garcilasso de la Vega and Montesinos, the former a descendant, through his mother, of the Incas, and whose chief aim seems to be to glorify his people; and the latter a Spaniard whose work is of doubtful importance.

According to Montesinos, Peruvian history is to be divided into two epochs: the first lasting from the dawn of civilization to the first or second century of our era; the second, from 1021 A.D., when the empire was reconstructed under the first Inca, to the Conquest.

Ancient Peru was more extensive than the present, and comprised, along with what is now included within its boundaries, the country of Ecuador and parts of Bolivia, Chili and Argentina, a territory three thousand miles long by four hundred broad. here are to be found ruins noted for their massiveness; long, well-paved roads; aqueducts, and other evidences of a taste and mechanical skill considerably beyond the ordinary savage. . . . (*Native Races*, Vol. IV, p. 792.)

The Incan capital, Cuzco, from *cosca*, Peruvian for "heaps," was built upon the foundations of a more ancient city which dated back to an earlier period, and authorities are pretty well agreed that Peruvian history is to be divided into at least two epochs.

. . . We may reasonably conclude that there existed in the country a race advanced in civilization before the time of the Incas; and, in conformity with nearly every tradition, we may derive this race from the neighborhood of Lake Titicaca; a conclusion strongly confirmed by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years on its borders. (*Conquest of Peru*, Vol. I., p. 7)

"It is certain that before the time of Manco Capac"--the first Inca--"the inhabitants of the country were by no means plunged in barbarism. The Quichua culture had a past, of which the theocratic and social organization founded by the first Inca was but a development. Numerous buildings are undoubtedly earlier than the Incas, at least than those of whom authentic history has preserved an account."--*Prehistoric America*, p. 389.

Just when this first period began no one can surely tell, but Montesinos begins it five hundred years after the deluge, when its first inhabitants, he says, "flowed in abundance towards the valley of Cuzco, conducted by four brothers." Baldwin attaches some probability to this myth and says: "He discards the wonder-stories told of Manco Capac and Mama Oello, and gives the Peruvian nation a beginning which is, at least, not incredible. It was originated, he says, by a people led by four brothers, who settled in the valley of Cuzco, and developed civilization there in a very human way. The youngest of these brothers assumed supreme authority, and became the first of a long line of sovereigns."--*Ancient America*, p. 264.

This period, according to our Spanish author, lasted till the first or second century of our era, during which, he says, sixty-four sovereigns reigned. For a thousand years after its close the country was broken up into a number of petty states until 1021 A.D., when the first Inca began to rule. The Incas ruled until the Conquest, when Athualpa, the last, was cruelly put to death by Pizarro. There were twelve or thirteen of these sovereigns whose names have been preserved in the lists of Garcilasso and Montesinos. Dr. Brinton unhesitatingly denounces the list of Montesinos as spurious. He says: "Historians are agreed that the long lists of Incas in the pages of Montesinos, extending about two thousand years anterior to the Conquest, are spurious, due to the imagination or the easy credulity of that writer."--*Essays of an Americanist*, p. 23.

1910^ **Samuel W. Traum**
(anti-Mormon)

Mormonism Against Itself, Cincinnati: The Standard Publishing Company, 1910.

On pages 87-88 Samuel Traum writes:

We are, therefore, hedged in to the examination of the book on these two grounds: It is what its friends claim it to be, a real history of a real people, a genuine historical record of the aborigines of this continent, and was written by a succession of prophets and wise men who once lived on the Western continent . . . If it is a real history of a real people, it will be found to agree with every known and discoverable fact in every essential particular. Climatic, geographical, topographical, ethnological,

philological, religious and social facts, known or discovered, must be in agreement with the claims of the book. That the Bible has stood this test, with a record so faithful that the Holy Land has for years been known as the "Fifth Gospel," and that in none of its essential facts has it been contradicted by modern research, is known to all who lay claim to even a smattering of the history and the archaeology of the Bible and Bible times. No less true should the Book of Mormon be found. And if it is lacking in these particulars, its boasted claims are all for nothing. . . .

On pages 135-137 we find the following:

For three-quarters of a century it has been the boast of Mormonism that most of the alleged facts of history and geography, as shown in the book, have been verified and confirmed by the archaeological research and discovery made subsequent to its publication. By no writer has this confidence been more emphatically expressed than by Orson Pratt. He says:

In the Book of Mormon are given the names and locations of numerous cities of great magnitude, which once flourished among the ancient nations of America. The northern portions of South America, and also Central America, were the most densely populated. . . . A careful reader of that interesting book can trace the relative bearings, and distances of many of these cities from each other; and if acquainted with the present geographical features of the country, he can, by the descriptions given in that book, determine, very nearly, the precise spot of ground they once occupied. . . .

Now since that valuable book made its appearance in print, it is a remarkable fact that the moldering ruins of many splendid edifices and towers, and magnificent cities of great extent, have been discovered by Catherwood and Stephens in the interior wilds of Central America, in the very region where the ancient cities described in the Book of Mormon were said to exist. . . . Mr. Smith's translation describes the region of country where great and populous cities once existed, together with their relative bearings and approximate distances from each other. Years after, Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens discovered the ruins of forty-four of these very cities and in the very place described. . . . (*Divine Authority- or was Joseph Smith Sent of God?*, Liverpool, 1848)

What is here asserted by this religious mountebank, without one scintilla of evidence, has become the direct belief of thousands who had neither the opportunity nor the inclination to inquire into the correctness or incorrectness of his assertions. Mormon polemics have felt safe in repeating, after him, Pratt's bald assertions, and have not shrunk from taking this position, since not one disputant in one hundred has made anything like a careful study of this phase of the question. . . .

Of the forty-two cities mentioned in the Book of Mormon, not one is described and located, notwithstanding Apostle Pratt's assurance to the contrary. . . .

The question narrows itself down to one of veracity. Pratt made certain statements when he could not help knowing that, so far as the Book of Mormon is concerned, there was not the least foundation for them. That Catherwood and Stephens had made certain discoveries of splendid edifices and populous cities could be true, and yet not one of them need be described in the Book of Mormon. The relative directions and approximate distances of any cities, other than the city of Jerusalem from whence the Nephites came, are not topics that are anywhere discussed within the pages of the book. "A careful reader of that interesting book can" NOT "trace the relative bearings and distances of these cities from each other," nor can he "very nearly determine the precise spot of ground which they once occupied." And one knows that if this could be done, the ordinary diligence of the Mormon hierarchy would have it done, and thus at least create a resumption of the genuineness of the book. The easiest way out of the matter, as well as the one that appears to be correct, is to say that Pratt lied, and had no other purpose than to mislead the unwary. Pratt's assertions we propose to put to the test.

Note* In the pages that follow, Traum discusses "Iron and Steel" and "Domestic Animals."

1911 H. A. Stebbins "(Title ?????)," in the *Saints Herald*, March 25, 1911.
(RLDS)

In his 1924 landmark book *New Light on American Archaeology*, Louis Hills would write the following:

I will read an extract from an article which was printed in the Saints' Herald under date of March 25, 1911. I shall be glad to have you recognize the importance of H. A. Stebbins' article at this juncture.

Notice this statements:

The map will have to be revised, as also our students will need to correct their ideas about the hills, and lands, and waters, as many of them are already doing, according to recent advices.

Elder H. A. Stebbins has always been considered one of the best Book of Mormon students we have ever had in the church. He goes on to state the following:

To return especially to the location of the original hill Cumorah: We find no word by angels or by the voice of the Lord that the hill where Joseph found the plates was the historic hill. No revelation in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants so designates it, and nowhere in his history did Joseph Smith write of it as Cumorah. In Times and Seasons volume 3, page 771, he says "stands a hill," and "this hill," and the angel told him to come to "that place" each year. At the final time he says that he went to "the place" where the plates were deposited.

I am aware that Moroni writes that he made his synopsis of the Jaredite history "from the twenty and four plates," but at what time he did this I do not know. It may have been done before his father's death, to be in preparation for the Lord's purpose that such "account" of the Jaredites should be known in our time. At least Oliver Cowdery's statement of the contents of the box, namely, that it contained a "sketch" of the two peoples seems to make it plain that Moroni did not place the original Jaredite record in the New York hill. **I have no objection to that hill being also called Cumorah, with the understanding that the ancient hill Cumorah is still undiscovered, and that sometime its secrets will be revealed and come to the knowledge of God's people.**

The church used to have a little song, "O stop and tell me, red man," and in it the Indian was made to say, "I once was pleasant Ephraim." But long ago that idea was given up, and it is now held that those who accept the book, those into whose hands it has come, that they are Ephraim. Thus errors are imbibed and liable to be, but when realized they need to be no longer. For thirty-five years I held the error about Cumorah, until Earle Corthell, of Independence, took the blinds off, and then study made all plain to me. But there have been so many controversies that **I have hesitated for years about writing on this matter** for publication, although urged to do so. But now, because **many** are dissatisfied with the old theory, I present this article in the interest of truth, that error be removed and the truth be made plain.

Therefore I need say no more on that point. But that the main bodies of both nation (the Jaredites and Nephites), remained south until their destruction came, is evident from the book itself.

That is right. I am indeed pleased that Brother Stebbins sent this to me a short time before his death, with a letter stating that he believed that I was right, but that he had not had time to examine my position thoroughly. This is the article that he sent to me that he has held and kept concerning his own opinions about the land of many waters and the hill Cumorah. (pp. 154-156)

Source: ^Louis Hills, *New Light on American Archaeology*, 1924

Note* Stebbins' 1911 article refers to him hesitating "for years" (35 to be exact) about challenging the idea that the Hill Cumorah of the final battles was located in New York. It is difficult to assess the early year from which Stebbins calculated the 35 years, but it is probably his conversion date (baptism date). FIND The earliest challenge that is known is the *Plain Facts* pamphlet in 1886. The author of that pamphlet is unknown. In 1902 another RLDS member, H. N. Davis, acknowledged that "The belief has obtained among some Book of Mormon students that the land of Cumorah is south of what is known to us as Northern Mexico. How and why such a conclusion has been reached is a puzzle to the writer." Another RLDS challenge to the New York Hill Cumorah came in 1909 from Alvin Knisley. (See the 1925 Louis Hills notation)

Note* Dennis Moe could not locate this article. Communication 03/27/04.

Note* Students of the culture and geography of the Book of Mormon should not be surprised when concepts of geology (related to the age of the earth--time of formation of mountains, land masses, isthmuses, lakes, etc.), evolution (related to the age and origins of man on the American hemisphere), anthropology, biology, etc. are brought into the discussion. Thus it should not be surprising at all that Church policies and directives related to these subjects (especially evolution) in the past might have had an effect on the teaching or study of the various theories regarding Book of Mormon geography. With this in mind I would like to quote from an article by Duane E. Jeffrey. He writes the following:

A few months before [before April 1911], the very touchy matter of academic freedom in the Church school system had reared its head, regarding the propriety of teaching ". . . the theories of evolution as at present set forth in the text books, and also theories relating to the Bible know as 'higher criticism' . . ." President Smith, in a special editorial, reported to the Church on the matter. He indicated that ". . . it is well known that evolution and the 'higher criticism'--though perhaps containing many truths--are in conflict on some matters with the scriptures, including some modern revelation . . .," and finally concluded:
it appears a waste of time and means, and detrimental to faith and religion to enter too extensively into the undemonstrated theories of men on philosophies relating to the origin of life, or the methods adopted by an Alwise Creator in peopling the earth with the bodies of men, birds and beasts . . . (*Improvement Era*, vol. 14, pp. 548-551, April 1911)

A companion editorial from President Smith was aimed more directly at the youth of the Church, and appeared in *The Juvenile Instructor*. Though more general in its approach, it makes a finer distinction between the President's personal feelings and the Church position. His private views seem to be embodied in the following passage:

. . . *They [students] are not old enough or learned enough to discriminate, or put proper limitations upon a theory which we believe is more or less a fallacy. In reaching the conclusion that evolution would be best left out of discussions in our Church schools we are deciding a question of propriety and are not undertaking to say how much of evolution is true or how much is false. We think that while it is a hypothesis, on both sides of which the most eminent scientific men of the world are arrayed, that it is folly to take up its discussion in our institutions of learning; and we cannot see wherein such discussions are likely to promote the faith of our young people . . .*

Source: Duane E. Jeffrey, "Seers, Savants and Evolution: The Uncomfortable Interface," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, vol. VIII, Nos. 3/4, 1973, pp. 61-62.

Note* The "question of propriety" regarding the teachings of evolution (and Book of Mormon geography) would surface again resulting in more substantial directives and addresses to the Church Educational System--see the notations for 1930, 1931, 1938, 1954.

1911^ **Stephen S. Harding**
(*non-LDS*)

"Did Hoosier's Fake Dream Found Mormonism," *The Indianapolis Sunday Star*, vol. 8, no. 322, Indianapolis, April 23, 1911.

In the reign of Zedekiah, six hundred years before Christ, Jewish family, with a few friends and retainers, left Jerusalem, being warned of God that a great destruction and captivity were at hand, and journeyed eastward in search of a "land of promise." After much wandering and the death of the patriarch, they reached the sea, where Nephi, who had succeeded his father in the patriarchate and priesthood, was directed by the Lord to build a boat; and having completed this task, the vessel was equipped with a "double ball and spindle" which served the exact purpose of a modern mariner's compass. They embarked and in due time reached America.

Subsequent revelations have determined that they landed in Central America. Here they increased rapidly until a schism arose and one Laman, with his followers, refused to obey the true priesthood . . . These Lamanites became the American Indians, while the Christian party was known as the Nephites,

who spread out all over North and South America, thus accounting for the many ruins found in this continent. The Lamanites and Nephites, however, did not continue on friendly terms. They waged warfare almost continually. Finally *they encountered in a mighty conflict south of Lake Ontario in New York state and made the last stand at the Hill Cumorah about 430 A.D.* Here the fight was waged until the whole land was covered with dead bodies. It is recounted that two hundred and thirty thousand Nephites were slain. . . .

The various kings and priests had kept a record of their history which Mormon collected in one volume, added a book of his own and gave them to his son. *The latter finished the record and buried the whole in the Hill Cumorah,* being assured of God that, fourteen centuries later, a great prophet would restore them to man.

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

Note* The above is very similar to information contained in the 1875 "The Golden Tables" article in the *Chicago Times*-- see notation.

1911[^] B. H. Roberts "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," in *Improvement Era*, June and July 1911

In an address, "Higher Criticism and the Book of Mormon," published in the *Improvement Era* for June and July 1911, B. H. Roberts said, "the Book of Mormon must submit to every test, literary criticism with the rest. Indeed, it must submit to every analysis and examination. It must submit to historical tests, to the tests of archeological research and also to the higher criticism."

1911[^] **Robert A. Holmes** **Letters Concerning Book of Mormon Geography**, June 11, August 11, 1911.

In the year 1911, Robert A. Holmes wrote some letters to the editor of the *Improvement Era* and also to the head of the Church Board of Education (George H. Brimhall). These letters reflected a difference of opinion concerning a few of the traditional Hemispheric ideas on Book of Mormon geography held by Orson Pratt, Joel Ricks and B. H. Roberts. The following are some pertinent comments reflecting, perhaps a Modified Hemispheric Model in which Zarahemla and Nephi would have been located in Central America. No mention is made of Lehi's landing site.

Editor, *Improvement Era*, Salt Lake city, Utah

Dear Sir.--

I feel some what imprest [sic] to take up my pen to address a few more lines to your office for your's, and others of editorial [sic] staff to consider. From the fact I have of late been looking over my old files of correspondents from various sources. and in doing so I had some deep thoughts, that reflected my inner man. as to that which had taken place in my own life during 21 years since April 1885 to 1906. and I am pleased to have it to say that the editor of the era and some members of the Board of education are conversent [sic] with the fruites [sic] or some of the fruits of the labor of that 21 years. I here allude to the manuscripts forwarded to the era office during the year 1905 and other dates on the geography of Nephites lands.

And while I do not wish to appear befor[e] men with a spirit of resentment nor regret [sic]. But I have a pardnent question to ask if it is not thought to be out of place here. --(But before doing so let me say) that in May of the 23. 4th, 1903 I was invited to take part in the convention called to deliberate on that important subject [see the notation for 1903], and in the space of about 50 minutes I brought out points that could be seen by the people that give general satisfaction. I am pleased to say that elder B. H. Roberts also said that he accepted a good part of my explnations [sic]. but to my disapointment [sic] he did not commite [sic] them to the convention. nor unfolded them to me. thus if I had critics befor[e] me at the time they did not show up; so I was left alone to ponder in my own mind as to the merites [sic] or demerrites [sic] of the case. . . .

I will refer you to the article in the Juvenile of Nov' 15 1906. and when I read that article my heart was in deep agony to think that any man could think to trace out the direct lines of the land inhabited up wards of 2000 years ago. . . .

. . . Traditional law is the worst law for humanity to over come. and the reading matter that have been given to both old and young so far as the geography [of the Book of Mormon] is concerned is now so to speak become a tradition. from the fact that I have talked with young students of the high schools on the very points connected with this subject, and in my opposeing [sic] the points there mentioned in the foot note alluded to above [B. of M., p. 155] they would look at me with suppnse [sic] and say. Well I want you to know that principle ~~this~~ (and teacher that) have toght [sic] us these things and we take their word befor[e] any thing you can say. et. so tradition is now in full swing in all honesty.

So it will be seen that 30 or 35 years have laid a foundation for tradition to build on in the thing that elder [Orson] Pratt supposed it to be but never was.--and I am very deeply imipressed that if apostle Orson Pratt was liveing [sic] to day he would withdraw that supposition as now placed in print. . . . I offer these few notes to exhibite [sic] a little more of the same material that perchance it might be that elder Joel Ricks might see them by which he might be enduced to offer a challange [sic] to meet me in a civil debate to correct the mistakes here above noted. . . . Very sincerely you[r]s as ever Robt. A. Holmes, Spanish Fork Utah, June, 17, 1911.

President George H. Brimhall
B. Y. U. Provo. Utah.

Dear Sir.-- . . .

. . . Again, there is some thing that is rather peculiar about the trip that elder Joel Ricks made into the regions of the far south also and the inspiration of that suppostion mentioned in the above foot note 155, and to take his own word for it he needed nothing beyound [sic] his own amajination [sic] to establish the fact that he had found the whol[e] secret of the great unknown to the other fellows. and the proff [sic] of his ability to do it he had his article printed in the Juneville Nov. 15, 1906 with not a quotation to prove the first word in its sup[p]ort and I had the audacity to write to elder Ricks to inform him that he might just as well try to locate Hudsons Bay at Cape Horn as to try to locate Zarahemla in south America, or any other city or lands mentioned in the B. of M., His answer to me inreturn [sic] was that he had written his article and the people could do as they pleased in accepting it. and I refuse to accept it because it is not true. . . . I have it compect [sic] enough that a great mistake has been made in the supporting of the South American theory as found in the footnote as seen on page 155 of the B. of M. . . .

And when we come to the Manual for 1903[-]4 we find that elder Roberts depicted his ideas . . . If elder B. H. Roberts theory is any way near right, and that the waters of the Atlantic Ocean did cover over more than one third of south America in the days of Jacob, how I ask that in a few years after that he called it an island [on which] that the Nephites it is said built a city by the east sea called Moroni, as mentioned in the story of the B. of M. situated near or in Guiana. here the question might be asked. did the Nephites build a city by the east sea in south America. My answer is no. *But they built a city by that name near the east sea in central America. . . .*

And let me say here, that I mailed some notes to Salt Lake City dated June 17, 1911. Here is the answer to it, viz. R. A. Holmes. esq. Dear Bro' I have your letter of June 17 in relation to B. of M. lands in south America. I agree with you that there is very little known about it. also that the Joel Ricks theory is imperfect including his map. Bro' Ricks appears to believe that he has good reason for his expressions, and for the map he have made out. I believe that there is a great many people who look upon the matter as entirely personal. and few are inclined to adopt his explanation of the B. of M. lands. I have sent your letter and article to Dr. George H. Brimhall of the Latter day saints Board of Education to be used as he may see fit. Signed ---

. . . I have written a Book of 183 1/2 pages up to date and though not perfect will bear inspection by the best critics in the church. . . . I have the pleasure to be your friend and bro' for truth and enlightenment. Robt. A. Holmes. Spanish Fork. Utah. Aug. 11, 1911.

Source: "Letters," L. Tom Perry Special Collections Library, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University,

Provo, Utah. (MSS 182).

Note* See the notation of 1903 "Book of Mormon Students Meet."

1911^ H. A. Stebbins "The Land of the Nephites" - Part 1 in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 24, No. 7 (July)

(RLDS) pp. 296-306

[p. 297] All believers in the Book of Mormon know that there are sufficient proofs in that book that the Lord regarded some portions at least, of South America as being very fertile and choice regions in which to dwell. therefore he led, by revelation and promise, two colonies to the Western Continent about twenty-five hundred years ago, and finally both were merged into one people, either in Ecuador or Colombia, as they are now called. To one of them he spoke saying:

And inasmuch as ye shall keep my commandments ye shall prosper, and shall be led to a land of promise; yea, even a land which I have prepared for you; yea, a land which is choice above all other lands.--1 Nephi 1:19

[p. 299] . . . *Peru*-- The earliest glimpse that we obtain of Peru, the most ancient historical tradition of its settlement by man, has been gathered from the writings of Ferdinand Montesinos, a Spanish scholar who was sent to Peru by the king of Spain in 1630. He made an extensive and careful study of the traditional history of that land, and his two manuscript books were taken to Spain and placed in the archives at Madrid. And there they remained for about two hundred years. finally a French scholar was permitted to translate one of them into the French language, and it was published in France about 1840. The first extracts from it into the English language that I have been able to find, were given in 1872 in Prof. J. D. Baldwin's *Ancient America*. He states that Montesinos had "the best possible opportunities for observation," and that no one exceeded him in archaeological knowledge of Peru. Then comes Professor Baldwin's very valuable statement as to what Montesinos discovered in a historical way, as found in Montesinos' manuscript. It is as follows:

According to Montesinos, there were three distinct periods in the history of Peru. First, there was a period which began with the origin of civilization and lasted until the first or second century of the Christian era. Second, there was a period of disintegration, decline and disorder. . . . Third, and last, came the period of the Incas, who revived civilization and restored the empire.--*Ancient America*, p. 264.

[p. 300] But the most important agreement between Montesinos and the Book of Mormon is stated by Professor Baldwin on the same page as above. His quotation is a statement that the origin of the ancient Peruvian nation was "a people led by four brothers who settled in the valley of Cuzco, and developed civilization in a very human way. The youngest of these brothers assumed supreme authority and became the first of a long line of sovereigns.--*Ancient America*, p. 264. . . .

However, it is evident that the four brothers were together in southern Peru, in the valley of Cuzco, probably immediately after their landing in South America, because the Book of Mormon gives no account of their removing together from their first location. The first removal recorded is that of Nephi, Sam, Jacob, Joseph and others who in a new region made the nucleus of the real Nephite people. This separation took place so soon after the colony landed that we are warranted in believing that it was the first separation, and that the Nephites then went further north in Peru, or possibly into Ecuador. Of the second four brothers, the youngest (Joseph) did not become ruler. Hence it was the first four who located in the valley of Cuzco, as Montesinos claims, and there they became divided by the withdrawal of the Nephite portion. . . .

1911^ H. A. Stebbins "The Land of the Nephites" - Part 2 in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 24, No. 8 (Aug)

(RLDS) pp. 357-363

[p. 362] . . . *Ecuador*-- The territory of this republic was also a part of the old-time lands of the Nephites, lying between the ancient "land of Nephi" and the "land of Zarahemla." And in the journeys made between these two regions by the Nephites and Lamanties they necessarily traveled through what is now called Ecuador. And through it, from Quito running southward, was laid what travelers and historians call "that great military and commercial road," spoken of by Baron Von Humboldt, the Hon. W. H. Prescott, Prof. James Orton, and others, as traversing the Andean range for about fifteen or eighteen hundred miles from north to south, one of the great wonders of the civilization that existed in Ecuador, Peru, and Chili in the long, long ago, the remains of which could be seen in the last century, as Prescott stated.

1911[^] H. A. Stebbins "The Land of the Nephites" - Part 3 in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 24, No. 9
(Sept),
(RLDS) pp. 407-414

We now come to a very important part of the domain of the Nephites, in which is situated the land of Zarahemla, where dwelt a people whose history in the Book of Mormon might seem but a myth were it not for the important evidences that learned men have brought to light about western South America, which prove that the ancients and their works of industry and civilization were not myths, but veritable facts in the world's historical events. To read these proofs in volume one of Mr. Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, (published in 1847) is enough to astonish and convince any person with mind and understanding that those lands were the seat of a civilization sublime in its brilliancy, and as yet in our time unfathomed as to its extent and greatness.

The United States of Colombia was formerly new Grenada, as a Spanish province. In 1819 it became independent of Spain and united with Ecuador and Venezuela and formed the republic of Colombia. But this union was dissolved in 1830, and, after various changes, finally, in 1858, the separate parts of new Grenada were changed into nine states, and these were associated under a federal government like our own United States. At last, in 1861-1864 they became the United States of Colombia, latterly designated simply as Colombia. Until 1904 the isthmus of Panama was a part of Colombia.

[Note* The changing boundaries of "Colombia" might affect the meaning of statements on Book of Mormon geography up until 1904.]

[p. 409] . . . *Venezuela*-- In reading the Book of Mormon it may have appeared to some students that the portion of South America known as Venezuela was perhaps dwelt in by the Nephites and Lamanties before Christ's day. But it is doubtful if they extended farther east than the eastern ridge of the Andes, which is the boundary between Colombia and Venezuela.

1911[^] H. A. Stebbins "The Land of the Nephites" - Part 4 in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 24, No. 10
(Oct),
(RLDS) pp. 454-462

[p. 460] Of many other short railways in operation may be mentioned one in Colombia that connects the capital, Bogota, with the River Magdalena, which is the Sidon of the ancient Nephites.

1911[^] Vincy R. Barker *Map For Book of Mormon Study*, Ogden, Utah: Vincy R. Barker, 1911

In 1911 Vincy Barker published a large map with some of the basic locations mapped according to authoritative references. The information quoted and described below appears on the bottom of the map.

Note

To Teachers:- Explain to classes that no means are available at present for determining the exact location of B. of M. points. This map is only suggestive, prepared after a careful consideration of the text and the reasoning and opinions of our best B. of M. students. For further research, see *Richards' and Little's Compendium*, *Reynolds' Dict. of B. of M.* and *B. of M. Concordance*, *Y.M.M.I.A. Manual 1903-4* and *BYU College Bulletin Vol. 3, No. 2.*

There is an Authoritative References list for the cities or locations placed on the map. The authoritative references given for Lehi's journey all come from the Book of Mormon verses themselves with the exception of Lehi's landing site ("Land of Promise"), which also lists *Richards' and Little's Compendium*, p. 289. [This *Compendium* reference has Lehi landing in Chile at 30 degrees south latitude] There is a lengthy list of "Principal Cities not Located" with a corresponding reference verse from the Book of Mormon listed for each city, location or hill.

[1911 **Map: Map For Book of Mormon Study.** Vincy R. Barker, Ogden, Utah, 1911.]

1911^ Anthony W. Ivins

Letter to Joel Ricks, Esq., Logan, Utah, December 29, 1911. *First Presidency Letterbooks*

December 29, 1911

Joel Ricks, Esq.

Logan, Utah

Dear Brother:-

At the weekly meeting of the Presidency and Council of Twelve, held yesterday, a letter written by you to the Presidency was read. In this letter you refer to my attitude toward your map of Book of Mormon lands. Among other things you say that I have within the past year addressed large gatherings of people to whom I have said that your map is NOT correct, that I have said I did not believe the Nephites were ever in South America, etc.

I cannot suppose that you would wilfully misrepresent me, so conclude that you have been misinformed. Will you tell me when and where I have ever discussed your map, publicly or privately, during the past year, or where I ever said I did not believe the Nephites were ever in S.A.

About the first of October 1909 I discussed your map before the board of the Y.M.M.I.A. you being present. Since that time I have never referred to it in public, and so far as I am aware have mentioned it but once in private, and that was to say, in answer to questions asked, that I did not think it possible to make a correct map of Book of Mormon lands with the information at our command.

On the 14th of October, 1909 I wrote you a letter asking you to answer certain questions which would help me to reconcile my reading of the Book of Mormon with your map. I have a copy of this letter, and certainly I find nothing in it to suggest an unfriendly feeling toward your work. In answer you did not clear up one of the points raised in my letter, but went on with a long argument to show that the Nephites could not have been in Central America, that is that the City of Zarahemla was not there, as though I had said that it was. Nothing of the kind! You nor anyone else ever heard me say I thought the City of Zarahemla was in Central America. No one ever heard me say I did not believe the Nephites were ever in S.A. What I have said is this: "I had always supposed that the Nephites landed in S.A. and that the City of Zarahemla was on the Magdalena River." This was as you say Church tradition. When Bro. Reynolds made his map I said I did not think he, or anyone else knew enough about the topography of the country to put out a map that would be anything more than suggestive. Bro. Maeser also made a map, the Reorganized church made one. I had read the Book of Mormon and knew them to be incorrect. Then came the explorations made by you, Bro. Cluff, Henry Tanner and others. There was no harmony in your conclusions, you found no ruins which were at all satisfactory to me, you located the City of Zarahemla at different points on the Magdalena, and some said it was not there at all. Under these conditions I became more than ever convinced that an accurate map at present was impossible, and I have said I considered it a dangerous thing, and wrong in principle to put out a map with the endorsement of the Church which must, whenever anyone studied the matter critically be proven incorrect. To me it is much better for you or me to be sure of our ground

before we make definite statements, than to be placed in a position where we may be required to defend something which is manifestly wrong.

So far as Central America is concerned I have never said to anyone that I believed the City of Zarahemla was located there. What I have said is that the ruins there, the topography of the country, the climate, the rivers and other physical conditions are such that it is worthy [of] thorough investigation before we reach conclusions.

I cannot attempt to give you all of my reasons for taking the position I do in regard to your map, or any other which may be made, in a short letter. I have hoped to go to Logan and talk with you, or that when you came to Salt Lake you would call on me. My criticisms are made in the most friendly spirit and I would be glad to find that you were entirely correct in your conclusions, for I have no theory of my own to advocate or defend. I only want to get at the facts. I think I can convince you, in very few moments that your map, while it may be correct so far as the location of the Land of Zarahemla is concerned, is impossible in other details.

Only last evening a man came to the President's Office with a Book of Mormon map, a very fine piece of work. It is not like yours. He knows his is correct, that is he thinks he can prove it to be so. It has been prepared by Jas. J. Barker and his wife, of Ogden. He wants it used in Sunday Schools and other associations. Thus you see my contention verified, that until these differences are reconciled among people who profess to be students of the Book of Mormon, but many of whom have not studied it at all, but have just been governed by that old tradition that the Land of Zarahemla must be on the Magdalena because of the statement that the narrow neck of land leading into the land Northward could be traversed in one day by a Nephite, and the Isthmus of Panama being the only place which would seem to correspond with this statement we have taken it for granted that the Magdalena was the Sidon.

I am entirely in sympathy with your efforts to reach proper conclusions in this matter. I do not expect to be able to decide the question myself, and would rejoice if you prove to understand the matter better than I, but until more proof in regard to this important question is forthcoming I must treat your map as I have all others which I have seen, as simply suggestive and not as definite, and shall still feel that any such map cannot have the endorsement of the Presiding Authorities of the Church except to the extent that it may or may not be correct.

I have been careful not to discuss your map for I did not wish to wound you. I could not have expressed an opinion as to the location of the Land of Zarahemla, because I have reached no conclusion, and consequently an opinion would have been impossible.

I shall hope to continue this letter with a personal interview, and in the meantime remain,
Your brother, seeking only the truth, Anthony W. Ivins

Source: ^Photocopy of original carbon copy in possession of Dennis C. Davis, Ogden, Utah, typed copy received by me on December 8, 2003.

1912^ Vida E. Smith "The Hill Cumorah As It Is To-Day" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Apr) (RLDS) pp. 161-162

This poem about the Hill Cumorah is accompanied by a photograph of the New York hill with two men (apparently RLDS authorities) reclining on a slope.

[1912 **Photo: The Hill Cumorah.** Vida E. Smith, "Cumorah's Blest Hill" in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 20, No. 8 (Aug, 1907), p. 161.]

1913^ Alvin R. Ellis "The Divinity of the Book of Mormon" in *Zion's Ensign*, vol. 24, no. 34, (RLDS) Thursday August 21, 1913, p. 4.

"Lecture delivered at South Boardman, Michigan, February 9th, 1913 by Alvin R. Ellis"
There were three colonies that came from Asia to America. The first one came from Babel about 2,200

years B.C. when the Lord confounded the languages and scattered the people all over the earth (Gen. 11:8,99). They landed in Yucatan. The second colony came from Jerusalem, about 600 B.C. . . . and landed on the western coast of South America, or Chile. The third colony followed a few years later and landed on the western coast of Central America.

Note* This was copied by me in longhand from the actual newspaper located in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library.

1913[^] Henry A. Stebbins "Prehistoric America and the Book of Mormon," in *Journal of History*
(RLDS) 6, 1913, pp. 2-19

Henry A. Stebbins was one of the early defenders of the faith of the Reorganized Church. He united with the Church in 1863, and by 1879 was a high priest. Very early in his ministry he became especially interested in the history of the Book of Mormon and a comparison of its history with facts revealed by modern research. He accumulated much valuable data. He apparently had a Hemispheric concept, although he ties many ancient Nephite records to "Mexico or Central America." He writes:

. . . the Jaredites inhabited Central America and Mexico about sixteen hundred years, and evidently they built and occupied magnificently. But after they perished there came up from South America a more migratory people, those having less constructive skill, who were still retrograding in wisdom and ability. . . .

These second inhabitants of Central America were the posterity of the united two colonies which came from Jerusalem. . . . Both the Hebrew colonies left Jerusalem at the time of the Babylonish captivity, the Manassehites in the year 600 B.C., just before the second siege by Nebuchadnezzar, and the other left in 588 B.C., just prior to the third and final siege which completed the capture of Jerusalem. . . .

The first colony landed on the coast of what is now called Peru, and the second landed in Central America, but later went into South America. The Nephite portion of the first colony originated the civilization the remains of which, in the form of aqueducts, paved roads, stone bridges, and great buildings, have been an astonishment to all beholders from the Spanish conquest down to our times. (pp. 10-11)

I add, as the closing testimony of this article, that there also exists good evidence that the ancient Americans had a sacred book. The Book of Mormon claims to be a record that was hidden in the ground by a righteous man about 420 A.D., and the book also declares that other sacred records were hidden somewhere in Mexico or Central America, not far north of the "narrow neck of land," that portion now known as the Isthmus of Panama. . . . Thus both from Mexico and New England comes the same tradition, namely that their fathers had a precious book . . . (p. 18-19)

1914[^] Orson F. Whitney "Some Historical and Prophetic Phases of the Book of Mormon," in *A Book of Mormon Treasury: Selections from the Pages of the Improvement Era*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1959, p. 217; See also *Improvement Era*, September 1927.

Orson F. Whitney writes:

In the summer of 1914, it fell to my lot to visit some of the scenes made memorable by the early experiences of the Latter-day Saints. One object of surpassing interest was the Hill Cumorah, called "Mormon Hill" by the inhabitants of the region in which it is situated-namely, western New York state about midway between the towns of Palmyra and Manchester. . . . I bore a letter of introduction to a prominent citizen of Palmyra, Mr. P. T. Sexton, a wealthy lawyer and banker who owned the Hill Cumorah and the old printing office in which the Book of Mormon went to press. . . .

At the close of a very pleasant interview with Mr. Sexton, he called for his car and directed the chauffeur to take me to the Hill Cumorah "and wherever else Mr. Whitney would like to go." This commission was faithfully executed.

Two and a half miles south of Palmyra, we halted at the Smith Farm (then as now the property of the

Church) and entered the Sacred Grove, the scene of the Prophet Joseph's First Vision. I also stepped inside the house, a comparatively new structure built upon the site of a humbler dwelling in which the youthful seer had his earliest interviews with the Angel Moroni. We then sped on to "Mormon Hill."

Before leaving my home among the towering mountains I had been told by friends who had seen the famous hill that it would disappoint me, being not much of a hill, after all. But I felt no disappointment on beholding it. Cumorah is not a mountain but it certainly is a hill, and the most considerable one in that beautiful rolling country. It is of the variety known as a glacial drumlin, the highest part being a bold bluff facing north rising abruptly from a lane, and gradually receding southward until lost in the more level plain beyond. I would say that the Hill Cumorah about equals in height the Salt Lake Assembly Hall, exclusive of the towers. . . .

On the west side, a little below the hilltop and overlooking the road running toward manchester, grew a rosebush, planted by some unknown hand to mark the spot where the stone box was taken out one hundred years ago containing the record plates of the Book of Mormon.

Note* Orson F. Whitney was ordained an apostle on April 9, 1906 at the age of 50.

1914^A James E. Talmage *The Story and Philosophy of "Mormonism"* Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914,

Note* The text below is mostly the same as that which appeared in Talmage's 1901 publication (see notation) The text has been marked to reflect the editing ~~deletions~~ and additions Talmage made from his 1901 publication.

The Nephites lived in cities, some of which attained great size and were distinguished by singular architectural beauty. Continually advancing northward, these people soon occupied the greater part of the valleys of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Magdalena. ~~Indeed~~, during the one thousand years covered by this remarkable record, the Nephites had crossed the Isthmus of Panama, which is graphically described as a neck of land but a day's journey from sea to sea, and ~~had occupied~~ successively occupied extensive tracts in what is now Mexico, the valley of the Mississippi, and the Eastern States. It is not to be supposed that these vast regions were all populated at one time by the Nephites; they were continually moving to escape the depredations of their hereditary foes, the Lamanites; and they ~~deserted~~ abandoned in turn all their cities established along the course of migration. The unprejudiced student sees in the discoveries of the ancient and now forest covered cities of Mexico, Central America, Yucatan, and the northern regions of South America, ~~a verification of~~ collateral testimony having a bearing upon this history. Before their more powerful foes, the Nephites dwindled and fled; until about the year 400 A. D., they were entirely annihilated after a series of decisive battles, the last of which was fought near the very hill, called Cumorah, in the State of New York, where the hidden record was subsequently revealed to Joseph Smith. The Lamanites led a roving, aggressive life; kept few or no records, and soon lost the art of history writing. They lived on the results of the chase, and by plunder, degenerating in habit until they became typical progenitors of the dark skinned race, afterward discovered by Columbus and named American Indians.

1914 Vida E. Smith *Young People's History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,*
(RLDS) Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1914, vol. 1, p. 10.

The first time that a printed view of the Hill Cumorah appeared in an RLDS publication was in the year 1914. [see illustration below]

[1914 Illustration: DOES NOT APPEAR IN HOLZAPFEL ARTICLE. HAVE DENNIS MOE SEND ME A COPY OF THE ARTICLE & ILLUSTRATION

Additional Source: ^Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer, "A Story on Canvas, Paper, and Glass: The Early Visual Images of the Hill Cumorah," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 20.

1914 Stratigraphy is formally introduced into "dirt" archaeology

Stratigraphy is the process of establishing the chronological sequence or dating of an archaeological site based on the systematic layers of excavated artifacts. This allowed a particular area or related areas a chronological cultural perspective.

1915^ James E. Talmage

Jesus the Christ: A Study of the Messiah and His Mission according to Holy Scriptures both Ancient and Modern. Published by the Church. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Deseret News, 1915. Reprinted in over 50 editions up to the present.

Since it was first published in September 1915, *Jesus the Christ* has been a classic text on the life and ministry of the Savior. . . . Dr. Talmage first presented his study on the Savior as a series of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Deseret Sunday School Union Board at the LDS University in Salt Lake City from September 1904 to April 1909. He was subsequently asked by the First Presidency of the Church to publish the lectures in book form. Because of other commitments, he was unable to complete this assignment for several years.

On December 8, 1911, Dr. Talmage was ordained a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Less than three years later he was able at last to continue his work on the manuscript, writing in longhand in a council room on the fourth floor of the Salt Lake Temple. As chapters were completed, he presented them to the First Presidency, members of the Twelve, and Sunday School board members.

In his journal under date of April 19, 1915, Elder Talmage wrote: "finished the actual writing on the book 'Jesus the Christ,' to which I have devoted every spare hour since settling down to the work of composition on September 14th last. Had it not been that I was privileged to do this work in the Temple it would be at present far from completion. I have felt the inspiration of the place and have appreciated the privacy and quietness incident thereto. . . . (About this Book)

On page 52 we find the following:

The Nephites advanced in the arts of civilization, built large cities and established prosperous commonwealths; yet they often fell into transgression; and the Lord chastened them by allowing their foes to become victorious. They spread northward, occupying the northern part of South America; then, crossing the Isthmus, they extended their domain over the southern, central and eastern portions of what is now the United States of America.

On pages 689-690 we find the following:

For many decades the Nephites retreated before their aggressive foes, making their way north-eastward through what is now the United States. About 400 A.D. the last great battle was fought near the hill Cumorah (Near Manchester, Ontario County, New York); and the Nephite nation became extinct (See Morm. 1-9; and Moro. 10). The degenerate remnant of Lehi's posterity, the Lamanites or American Indians, have continued until this day. . . .

Notes to Chapter 39

1. The Land Bountiful.--This comprised the northerly part of South America, extending to the Isthmus of Panama. On the north it was bounded by the Land of Desolation, which embraced Central America, and, in later Nephite history, an indefinite extent north of the Isthmus. The South American continent in general is called, in the Book of Mormon, the Land of Nephi.

Note* Perhaps because he is only focusing on the visit of Christ to the land Bountiful, Talmage deletes from his previous publications the specific references to "the valleys of the Orinoco, the Amazon, and the Magdalena." He also deletes specific references to "neck of land but a day's journey from sea to sea," "Mexico, the valley of the Mississippi, and the Eastern States." (see the 1901 & 1914 notations)

Additional Source: ^James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1983.

1916^ Joel E. Ricks *Helps to the Study of the Book of Mormon*, Independence, MO, Zion's, 1916

In addition to the text, this publication included photos, maps, and a chronology. Joel Ricks writes:

The Evidence of Geography

The Jaredite colony came from Babel about 2200 years before Christ. This colony landed on the coast of Central America in the vicinity of the bay of Honduras, where they built their capital city, and developed their civilization. Their history, which covered a period of about two thousand years, is given in such brevity, that it is not possible to locate definitely most of their lands and cities. It is pretty certain that they occupied all of Central America, Mexico, and the greater part of the United States East of the Rocky Mountains. Since they came from Babylon, they would naturally build up a similar civilization in their new home. This fact should help us to trace the limits of their influence just as the remains of the Old romans enable us to trace the limits of their civilization in various parts of the world.

The Nephite colony came from Jerusalem, and landed on the western coast of South America in northern Chili, and built up its civilization in the high valleys of the Andes, from lake Titicaca to Quito. About 200 years before Christ these people left the district about Quito, and moved northward into the valleys opening to the Caribbean, where they found the descendants of the second Jewish colony, with whom, they united, forming a kingdom known as Zarahemla. The united people continued to occupy this region until they were finally expelled by the Lamanites a little more than 500 years later. Just previous to the coming of Christ, they began to send colonists into the region North of the isthmus, and during the next three hundred years, occupied Central America, Mexico and the greater part of the United States. As the civilization of this people would resemble that of Palestine, and as it was developed in South America, these facts will assist the student of the future to distinguish it from the Jaredite remains in districts occupied by both people.

The colony led by Mulek came from Jerusalem westward, and landed on the northern coast of South America, near the mouth of the Magdalena river. Down to the time when they were joined by the Nephites, this colony had gradually occupied the Magdalena valley and the plains extending westward to the isthmus.

During the first four hundred years the history of the Nephites is so brief that little is given to enable us to study the geography of the country, except that they occupied the region lying between the two great ranges of the Andes, from the vicinity of Quito southward, and that they fortified this region to protect themselves from the incursions of the Lamanites. We have indicated this region on the map as Old Land Nephi, to distinguish it from the more extensive Lamanite country that bore the name of Land Nephi in later years. During the first century before Christ, the history is given in such detail, and so many landmarks are referred to, that a person familiar with the geography of that part of South American can locate many of the lands and cities just as accurately as a student of the Bible, who might visit Palestine, would be able to locate many of the cities mentioned in that sacred volume.

There are many cities one would not be able to locate from the fact that the historian does not give definite information concerning their location. The same difficulty would be experienced by the Bible student for the same reason. The truth is that many of the locations shown on our maps of Palestine are conjectural; yet we do not condemn the Bible on that account. When the country occupied by the Nephites is as well known, and as thoroughly explored as Palestine has been, we shall know certainly the location of most of the cities mentioned in the record. At present we are able to locate the most important political divisions, and trace their boundaries, and to locate many of the most important cities and lands.

The districts outlined in the Book of Mormon as the lands of its people, are identical with those which recent explorations show were occupied by a civilized race at about the same period as is claimed for

them in the record. In South America this district is only a small part of the continent. It is only within the last few years that it has become definitely known that a civilized people once occupied Colombia, yet it is there that the Nephites had their chief center for more than 500 years. If the reader will make a close comparison between the accompanying maps and the references to locations made in the text, he will find complete harmony. The boundaries of the lands as there indicated are the natural boundaries, the roads follow the worn trails of the ancients, the cities are on sites of old cities the ruins of which show an antiquity claimed by the record. The ruins of old forts are numerous in districts where the wars of the Nephites were fought. All of this is not the result of chance nor was the fact known to Joseph Smith. (pp. 17-18)

Evidence of Archaeology

The remains of the old people who occupied the country in ancient times, furnish some of the strongest evidences of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. It is a remarkable fact that the great tower temples of Central America and Mexico, are identical with those of Babylon, the land from which the Jaredites came. The beautifully decorated palaces and the great stone statues are so strikingly eastern that archaeologists are at a loss to find a satisfactory explanation. Remains of tower-temples are found all through Mexico, and across the United States as far East as Ohio. . . .

Some of the most remarkable ruins on the American Continent are found in that part of South America lying between the ranges of the Andes, extending from lake Titicaca to Quito. . . .

The story told by the remains of the old civilization agrees in almost every respect with the story of the Nephites and Lamanites, as recorded in the Book of Mormon.

The Jaredites and Nephites occupied the greater part of North America. As near as we can judge from the record, the Jaredite civilization was in many respects in advance of that of the Nephites. Both of these peoples occupied the same lands at different periods, naturally the latter people would inhabit many of the cities left by the former; undoubtedly many of the old buildings were repaired and used by them, while in other instances new cities were built on the sites of older ones. This is the story that the ruins tell us today. Archaeologists find that many cities have been rebuilt two or three times, and in every case the works of the older people show the greater skill and attest the higher civilization.

Another fact is that the works of the second race resemble those of South America, while there is not a single evidence in the South of the works of the tower-temple builders of the North.

To the careful student of American Archaeology, it is evident that there was a time when the entire region extending from Lake Titicaca in South America, to the Great Lakes in North America, was occupied by one common people. In some manner not yet satisfactorily explained, the people whom we call the Mound Builders who occupied the Mississippi valley, and who, it is generally conceded, came from Central America gradually extending their settlements over that region, and those who occupied the region tributary to the Caribbean, became extinct. It is also thought that the old people of Arizona reached that region by the sea, landing at the head of the gulf of California. Where these people came from, and what became of them is still an unsettled question. The Book of Mormon clears up all of these difficulties. (pp. 18-20)

Day's Journey was a standard for measuring distance among the Jews, the term usually meant the actual time covered in a journey rather than any definite distance. A sturdy courier, without undue exertion, might put twenty-five or thirty miles behind him in a day; while a caravan, with its encumbrances would not be able to overtake more than twenty miles at most.

The same system prevailed among the South Americans, and the distance traveled was between twenty and thirty miles. Prescott tells of a system of couriers maintained by the Incas for the purpose of communicating with distant part was of their empire. In this way messages were transmitted by relays of couriers, and would cover from one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles in a day.

The day's journey was the standard of measurement among the Nephites, a system which they took from the Jews, and transmitted to the Aztecs and Incans. It was a day's journey for a Nephite across the narrow pass which connected lands northward and southward. (pp. 24-25)

Note* For maps, see the notation for 1904.

1916[^]
in

"Leaves from Church History. III. Obtaining the Book of Mormon Plates,"

(RLDS) ***Autumn Leaves***, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 29, No. 1 (January) pp. 30-33.

I left the field and went to the place where the messenger had told me the plates were deposited; and owing to the distinctness of the vision which I had had concerning it, I knew the place the instant that I arrived there. Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario County, New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighborhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates deposited in a stone box. . . . (Church History, vol. 1, pp. 15-18.)

[1916 **Illustration: "Hill Cumorah"** Where Joseph Smith received the plates of the Book of Mormon. "Leaves from Church History. III. Obtaining the Book of Mormon Plates," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 29, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. No. 1 (January) p. 30.]

[1916 **Illustration: "The Hill Cumorah"** The point where it is supposed that the plates were found is indicated by a cross, to the left of the tree. Evangelist H. O. Smith, and Evangelist Frederick A. Smith are shown in the foreground. "Leaves from Church History. III. Obtaining the Book of Mormon Plates," in *Autumn Leaves*, Vol. 29, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. No. 1 (January) p. 32.]

. . . by the wisdom of God they remained safe in my hands until I had accomplished by them what was required at my and when according to arrangements the messenger called for them, I delivered them up to him, and he has them in his charge until this day, being the second day of May, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-eight." (Church History, vol. 1, pp. 15-18.)

1916[^] **Alberta M. Lake**
(RLDS)

"Book of Mormon Exercise," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 29, No. 5 (May 1916), pp. 235-237.

(The class forms a semicircle before the audience. The first speaker carries a Book of Mormon and a Bible, holding aloft each in turn as they are mentioned, and putting them together toward the close of the first part.)

First Speaker

. . . so the Book of Mormon is a record of another portion of Israel, the descendants of Joseph who was sold into Egypt, who were led over here to America by the Lord, from Jerusalem about six hundred years before Christ. They became a great nation upon this land, building many large cities, whose ruins are being discovered to this day in Mexico, Central and South America. They wrote their own history upon metal plates which were handed down from generation to generation among them, and finally hidden up in a stone box in a hill in New York State called Cumorah. Here they remained in safety long after the nation had perished and only the descendants of the wicked Lamanites--known to us as the American Indians--were left upon the land. But in 1823 God sent an angel to Joseph Smith who told him of the plates hidden in the Hill Cumorah . . .

1916[^] **T. J. Smith**
1,"

(RLDS) **in *Saints Herald*** Independence, MO: The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 13, 1916, pp. 1216-1217.

Note* In a series of four articles in the *Saints Herald*, T. J. Smith takes on the task of defending the Hemispheric (North America-South America) Theory of Book of Mormon geography as opposed to any Limited Mesoamerican theory. Although his arguments are lengthy, I want to include most of what he wrote because it contains some novel reasoning. It also contains an attitude representative of not only this time period but for decades into the future--that those who attacked the Hemispheric Theory also attacked the divinity of the Book of Mormon.

Thomas Jefferson Smith was born in Saint Louis County, Missouri on July 17, 1830. He was baptized in 1866, later ordained an elder, and served as president of the Eastern Nebraska District for a number of years, and also labored as a missionary for four years in the Oklahoma mission. He lived in Independence since 1904 and died just three years after these articles were written (*The Saints Herald*, July 7, 1929, p. 660). T. J. Smith begins his series of articles as follows:

The chief object the writer has in view in placing these comments before the readers of the *Herald*, is to bring prominently to the front and steadfastly maintain the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon. This will be done by rendering plain, simple and reasonable explanations of those difficult and seemingly impossible, or at least improbable, statements frequently found in the book; which statements have puzzled the heads of many firm believers in the book, and been a heavy cudgel in the hands of its enemies.

The quotations used will be from the late authorized [RLDS] edition of the Book of Mormon.

THE CASE OF KING OMER

And the Lord warned Omer in a dream that he should depart out of the land; wherefore Omer departed out of the land with his family, and traveled many days and came over and passed by the hill of Shim, and **came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed**, and from thence eastward, and came to a place which was called Ablom, by the seashore . . . And it came to pass that Nimrah gathered together a small number of men, and fled out of the land, and came over and dwelt with Omer.--Ether 4:3,4,10.

Now, King Omer occupied away down in Central America. The place where the Nephites were destroyed is supposed to be at the Hill Cumorah in the western part of New York State; and Ablom on the seashore near where Boston now stands. so according to this statement, he [Omer] must have traveled all the way from Central America to the western part of New York State, thence eastward to the seashore; a distance of over four thousand miles. (He was to make this flight to escape the jurisdiction of his son Jared, who had dethroned him.) The disbeliever reads this statement, views the circumstances surround the case, shakes his head in doubt and exclaims, "Impossible, or if not impossible, wholly improbable," then aims a direct blow at the divine inspiration of the book. Many attempts have been made by believers in its divine inspiration to reconcile the difficulty. Some of them (with bumps of credulity highly developed), have taken the ground that such a journey was possible and that King Omer did actually make it. Others, for the same purpose, have thought to shift the Hill Cumorah about three thousand miles farther south, to southern Mexico or northern Central America; while a third party attempts to surmount the troubles by duplicating the Hill Cumorah; having one in New York State and another down in southern Mexico; and it was at the latter place where the Nephites were destroyed.

We will endeavor to show by these comments that King Omer never made any such wild and miraculous journey; that there was no occasion, whatever, for him to have done so; and further that there is no occasion for shifting the Hill Cumorah farther south or doubling it to meet the trouble; and by doing this we will close the mouth of the skeptic and leave the divine inspiration of the book wholly unimpaired.

The great trouble with those who have attempted to remove the difficulty has been in locating the time and place of the destruction of the Nephites, referred to here by Moroni. They have universally placed it at their final destruction at the Hill Cumorah. They should remember, however, that there were several local destructions of the Nephites. There was one at the city Boaz and another at the city Jordan. (Book of Mormon 2:22, 23, 28-34) so the important point to settle is, which one of these different destructions did Moroni intend, the final one at Cumorah, or one of these local ones? Have we no way to determine? Certainly. It can be done comparing or paralleling a few items of history in

regard to the movements of the Nephite army under Mormon's generalship, in a certain locality, with those of King Omer in the same place. In both their movements the Hill Shim is mentioned, so we will draw the comparison between the events that transpired in that vicinity, as touching both parties. We will first note those of the Nephites under the leadership of Mormon the great general and prophet, as related by himself in his account of "things he had both seen and heard." . . . About [the year 375], seeing that the Lamanites were going to overthrow the land, he [Mormon] went to the Hill shim and took up all the sacred records that had been deposited there by Ammoron fifty-five years before, [he] repents of the oath he had taken not to lead the army any longer and went and offered himself as its commander again. His offer was gladly accepted. (Mormon 2:25, 26) At the head of the army he led it a little ways northward to the city of Jordan where he made a bold and determined stand against the enemy (v. 28) and for five successive years he maintained this position against them. But at the expiration of this time, or in the year **A.D. 380**, the Lamanites came upon his army in such overwhelming numbers that they did literally tramp the Nephites under foot, and all were destroyed except those who could outrun the Lamlanties. (Anyone knowing the running qualities of the Lamanites can readily judge that but very few escaped.) (vv. 32, 33) Mormon, describing this great destruction of his army, says: "And now behold, I Mormon, do not desire to harrow up the souls of men in casting before them such an awful scene of blood and carnage as was laid before mine eyes." (v. 34) After this great and destructive battle, Mormon gathers up the remnant of his army and people, passes on northward and makes arrangements with the Lamanite king for the final struggle at Cumorah. (Mormon. 3:1-6). . . .

Now the points in this historical comparison we wish the reader to note particularly, are these: Mormon goes to the Hill Shim, takes up the sacred records, and then takes command of the army again, leads it a short ways northward to the city of Jordan, where it was almost completely annihilated by the Lamanites [**abt. A.D. 380**]. King Omer in his flight from his son Jared's jurisdiction, passes by the same Hill Shim, over to the place where the Nephites were destroyed, then eastward to the seashore. We think comment on the above is wholly useless, as the dullest mind will readily see that the point where King Omer turned eastward to the seashore, would be about the place where the Nephites were destroyed in the great battle of **A.D. 380**.

We will now endeavor to show that there was no occasion, whatever, for King Omer to make any such wild and improbable journey [from Central America to New York] as some have ascribed to him. By consulting the genealogical line of the Jaredite nation, we discover this fact, that King Omer's was the fourth generation after the Jared brothers, the founders of that nation--or to state it in different terms, there were only three generations between the Jared brothers and King Omer; they were those of Orihah, Kib and Shule, so he was the great grandson of Jared. (ether 1:6) According to the history given, an average Jaredite generation would be about fifty-three years. Ether gives the number of generations of the nation at thirty. It existed here in America for sixteen hundred years, from B.C. 2200 to B.C. 600, so an average generation would be as stated above. Now considering the short time they had occupied here in America up to King Omer's time, and the small number in the colony when they landed, it is not reasonable to suppose that their migrations or settlement of the land had extended beyond the limits of Central America, that is if they settled it anyway solidly, and that is the way they did. Then there was a war broke out in the third generation in the time of Kib and lasted up to King Omer's time. (Ether 3:41-66) And further, while King Omer was in exile a war arose between one Akish and his sons, in which the whole nation was destroyed, except thirty souls and those who were with King Omer. (Ether 4:13, 14.) We mention these items of history to show that the spread of the colony could not reasonably have extended beyond the limits of Central America. And if this be true, all that vast country lying northward from Central America to the great lakes, and eastward to the seashore, a distance of about four thousand miles, could not have been anything else than a vast, uninhabited wilderness, untrod by the foot of man, consisting of mountains, lakes, impenetrable forests, swamps and impassible rivers. Now, in view of these conditions surrounding the case, we will ask the question, why should King Omer attempt to make such a wild and unheard-of journey to escape the jurisdiction of his son, when he, no doubt, could have done so by travelling only a few hundred miles? there was not the least occasion for him to have done so.

By taking this view of the difficulty, we smooth out this rough place, shorten up King Omer's journey to a reasonable and believable length, close the mouth of the skeptic and leave the divine inspiration of the

Book of Mormon still intact.

1916[^] T. J. Smith "Objections to the Book of Mormon Answered By Its Own Evidence--No. 2,"
(RLDS) in *Saints Herald* Independence, MO: The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 20, 1916, pp. 1242-1244.

Note* This is the second article in a series of articles defending the Hemispheric Theory of Book of Mormon Geography against "difficult and seemingly impossible, or at least improbable, statements" found in the book itself. T. J. Smith writes the following:

The divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon is a subject of vital importance to every true and honest believer in it; and when it is doubted and attacked, be it from whatever source it may, it becomes a matter of necessity that a deep and thorough investigation be given it; and the writer has demonstrated by years of close study and research that there is, or can be, no more effectual answer to all objection than the book itself contains, when fully searched out and properly understood. To his mind nearly all the writers heretofore, who have endeavored to answer such objections, have left the matter in an unsettled and doubtful state; hence he claims the propriety of these articles he is placing before the readers of the *Herald*, which articles he trusts will be sufficient to settle the matter permanently in the minds of all honest and unprejudiced people.

THE FORTY-THREE MEN

Now King Limhi had sent, previous to the coming of Ammon, a small number of men to search for the land of Zarahemla; but they could not find it, and they were lost in the wilderness. Nevertheless they did find a land which had been peopled; yea, a land which was covered with dry bones; yea, a land which had been peopled, and which had been destroyed; and they having supposed it to be the land of Zarahemla, returned to the land of Nephi, having arrived in the borders of the land not many days before the coming of Ammon. And they brought a record with them, even a record of the people whose bones they had found; and they were engraven on plates of ore.- Mosiah 9; 166-170. (See also 5:60-67)

King Limhi occupied away down in the land of Nephi, which was situated in the northwestern part of South America, supposed to be about seven hundred miles south of the Isthmus of Panama. The place where Ether finished and hid up the plates above referred to, is supposed to be in the western part of New York State. so to have gotten the plates these forty-three men must have traveled over four thousand miles, through a country uninhabited for four hundred and eighty years, consisting of mountains, lakes, swamps, impenetrable forests and impassable rivers.

The same objections by unbelievers in the book and the same theories by its friends to meet them, are advanced here as in the case of King Omer.

We hope to make it clear that those men never made any such long, difficult and unheard-of journey as is here supposed; that they never came any farther north than Central America. And further, that both Ether and Coriantumr went south after the great slaughter at the Hill Ramah; the former into the land of Zarahemla and the latter into Central America.

Now a word about the land of Zarahemla. It was situated in the northern part of South America, and eastward from the Isthmus of Panama, and bordered on the Caribbean Sea. It could not have been more than four hundred miles from the land of Nephi; but a vast wilderness lay between them. Alma, with a company of men, women and children, flocks and herds, traveled the distance in twenty-one days. (Mosiah 11:3, 69, 76)

The forty-three men missed their way, probably, by going too far west, and became lost in the wilderness, but entering the Isthmus, traveled on northward until they discovered the land known to the Nephites as Desolation; and supposing it to be the land of Zarahemla, they returned to the land of Nephi again.

We wish the reader to note this point; had these men traveled all the way to New York State, could they have been so simple as to suppose the vast country, stretching northward for nearly four thousand miles, was the land for which they were searching, when it was only about four hundred miles from their

own land? Yet the record states that they did so suppose.

Another point to be noticed here is, the land they discovered was covered with dry bones of men and beasts and ruined buildings. Are we to understand from this account that it was one vast bone field from Central America all the way up to New York?

Again these dry bones had lain bleaching in the arid mountains of Central America for four hundred and eighty years. (And it was no doubt the aridity of the atmosphere that preserved them.) Had they been under ordinary conditions of weather, such as rains, dews, frosts and snows, they would have long before crumbled to dust; hence this land of bones could not have extended farther north than Central America, or at the farthest, southern Mexico. What then could have induced these men to travel three thousand miles through such a country?

Ether must have "hidden up" his plates in an exposed condition, or the forty-three men would never have found them. Had they been thus hidden in New York State, they would have long before been destroyed by the natural action of the elements. They were, no doubt, concealed in some ruined building in Central America.

We will now show that Ether never finished his record until he had gone from the Hill Ramah down into Central America. The record reads thus:

And the Lord spake unto Ether, and said unto him, God forth. And he went forth, and beheld that the words of the Lord had all been fulfilled; and he finished his record; (and the hundredth part I have not written;) and he hid them in a manner that the people of Limhi did find them.--Ether 6:107, 108.

That means that Ether beheld that the whole of the Jaredite nation had been destroyed according to the words of the Lord that it would be if they did not repent.

Now that Ether could do this, one of two conditions confronted him. If he was in Central America at the time, to behold that all the Jaredite people had been destroyed, he would be compelled to go northward through that vast country, stretching from where he was, to the great lakes, a country that had been inhabited by millions, and see that all had been destroyed. Or being in this northern country he would have to go clear down to the Isthmus to see it all. This he, no doubt, did after which he *finished* his record.

But, says the objector, does not the record state in Ether 6:15, that he finished it in the cavity of a rock? It states that he finished the *remainder* of it there. This statement was made long before the war ended, and cannot refer to the final end of the record, but to the finishing of some other part of it, for it clearly states that he finished it *after* he beheld the destruction of the Jaredites.

We wish to not now a situation that confronted these warring Jaredites which, we believe, will locate definitely the scene of their final destruction.

It is claimed by nearly all writers upon this subject, that all the fighting of both the Jaredites and Nephites took place in and around their seat of government in Central America. In thus writing, they seem to be oblivious of the fact that it would involve a situation the next thing to an impossibility. They fail to note that part of North America known now as the United States, was densely populated by the Jaredites, as evidenced by the stupendous works left behind them, consisting of thousands of huge mounds, immense enclosures and numerous strong and formidable fortifications.

Are we to suppose for one moment that this tremendous host, scattered as they were, from Maine to California, and from Oregon to Florida, flocked to a single man together, marched three thousand miles south, and were crammed into Central America and slaughtered? And still worse, these warring people were about equally divided. Ether beheld those who were for Coriantumr, gathered to his army, and those who were for Shiz, gathered to his army. (Ether 6:85) So we have here, the unheard of phenomenon of two hostile armies gathering together, side by side, leaving their own formidable fortifications and means of defenses, marching three thousand miles south to fight out their difficulties. Why could they not do this in their own country and save such a long journey?

It cannot be denied that the greater part of their fighting took place in Central America and surrounding country, but from the time Shiz (Coriantumr's last antagonist) arose against him, the war moved northward, and remained there until the final struggle at the Hill Ramah.

Now in corroboration of the above we will note another situation. Soon after Shiz had "come against" Coriantumr, and before the people began to separate themselves to the armies of their choice, there

had been slain of the latter's army two million men, besides their women and children. (Ether 6:73) We think it fair to suppose that these (women and children) each equaled the number of men; there would therefore have been slain of Coriantumr's army alone, six million souls, and, no doubt, as many more had been slain on the other side. This would aggregate twelve million souls, and add to it the unknown thousands who had been slain in war previous to Coriantumr's time, and this fact stands apparent to all normal minds, that the inhabitants of that part of the country would be fully exhausted, and the only possible method to continue war would be to move northward and gather the vast hosts into the final struggle.

We will notice now the fact of Ether's going south into Zarahemla. About four hundred years after the landing of the Nephites in America their king Mosiah I, with his people left the land of Nephi, and by direction of the Lord, went up to the land of Zarahemla and became united with that people, and was chosen king over the two nations. Then the record states:

And it came to pass in the days of Mosiah, there was a large stone brought unto him, with engravings upon it; and he did interpret the engravings, by the gift and power of God, and they gave an account of one Coriantumr, and the slain of his people. And Coriantumr was discovered by the people of Zarahemla; and he dwelt with them for the space of nine moons.--Omni 1:35-38.

It cannot be doubted that those engravings were placed upon that stone by either Coriantumr or Ether, for they were the only two members of the Jaredite people who escaped the great slaughter at the Hill Ramah. We have no proof whatever that the former understood engraving, had engraving tools, or understood the history of his people, besides, the account does not read as if he wrote it, but upon the other hand Ether was an expert engraver; he had tools for engraving, he understood full the history of Coriantumr, and his people, and the account given is an exact reproduction, as far as it goes, of that [account] on his twenty-four plates.

It has been suggested that Coriantumr might have related his story to the Zarahemlites and some one of that people placed it upon the stone. Such an idea is very unreasonable, for had that been the case it would have been in the language of that people, and would not require "the gift and power of God" to interpret it. It is wholly unreasonable to suppose that stone had been carried there all the way from new York, southern Mexico or Central America; so the proof is clear that Ether was there in the land of Zarahemla. And the fact that he was there, we believe, is a key to the great mystery as to who and where the Nephites came in possession of the Urim and Thumim, and the vision of the brother of Jared upon Mount Shelem. . . .

1916[^] **Jeremiah A. Gunsolley**
and
(Editor--RLDS)
Doctrine

**"The Study of the Book of Mormon, Supported by Collateral Proof
Information from Other Reliable Sources, Such As the Bible,
and Covenants, Archaeology, Science, Etc.," in *The Religio
Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by
Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume
15, Number 1, October, November, December, 1916, pp. 6-9.**

Lesson One: God's Covenant with Lehi

Introduction. Following Nephi's preaching to his brethren, Lehi discourses upon the Lord's promises. . . . He tells them of the Lord's promises concerning the promised land . . .

The Lesson Setting

Lesson Text. 2 Nephi 1: 1-51; 1:1-4

When. About 588 B.C.

Where. In the promised land--western coast of South America, about thirty degrees south latitude.
[See accompanying illustrations below]

. . .

Lesson Study

Review.--How long since these people left Jerusalem? Trace briefly their course of travel. Tell of the

trouble upon the water. How were they directed in their course? Show that faith was an essential condition of their being led. Explain the principle of miracle as related to their subsistence in the wilderness. About how many were in the company when they set sail? Where did they land?

Comments on the Text

. . .

Questions

In what part of the present continent of America were these people located? What was God's covenant with Lehi? . . .

[1916 **Map of the World Showing Probable Course of the Ancient Colonies Across the Ocean.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. "The Study of the Book of Mormon . . .," in *The Religio-Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 1, October, November, December, 1916]

[1916 **Map of the Southern Portion of Land Nephi.** Drawn for the Com. on Archaeology by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. "The Study of the Book of Mormon . . .," in *The Religio-Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 1, October, November, December, 1916]

1916 LDS Church? *The Book of Mormon*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Independence, MO: 1916 edition.

Dan Vogel writes:

The early traveler Lionel Wafer, when drawing a southern boundary line for Panama, stated:

"And I should draw a Line also from Point Garachina, or the South part of the Gulf of St. Michael, directly East, to the nearest part of the great River of Darien, for the eastern Boundary, so as to take Caret Bay into the Isthmus." (Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1903, p. 70. Reprint of the 1699 edition)

It is interesting to note that a map which was included in the first Independence, Missouri, edition (1916) of the Book of Mormon (LDS) drew a boundary line between Bountiful and Desolation in the exact place Wafer had drawn his line (i.e., from east to west).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, "Book of Mormon Geography: Mormon Efforts to Relocate Nephite Lands," unpublished paper, no date (abt. 1984), p. 47 note 74.

Note* I could not find a map in the first 1916 Independence edition. The map Vogel refers to was not published with the book. See also the 1699 notation.

1916^ **T. J. Smith** **"Objections to the Book of Mormon Answered By Its Own Evidence--No. 3,"**
(RLDS) **in *Saints Herald*** Independence, MO: The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, December 27, 1916, pp. 1264-1266.

Note* This is the third article in a series of articles defending the Hemispheric Theory of Book of Mormon Geography against "difficult and seemingly impossible, or at least improbable, statements" found in the book itself.

THE CASE OF KING CORIANTUMR

And it came to pass that Coriantumr fell to the earth, and became as if he had no life.--Ether 6:106.

And Coriantumr was discovered by the people of Zarahemla; and he dwelt with them for the space of nine moons.--Omni 1:37.

The first quotation above, refers to Coriantumr just after he had "smote" off the head of Shiz, his last enemy, at the great and final battle at the Hill Ramah, which hill, we claim, was in the western part of New York State. The other one to him being discovered away down in Central America or the land of Zarahemla, by that people.

At this great battle, Coriantumr had been sorely wounded, and had fainted from the loss of blood the day before he slew Shiz, and was in a very weak and exhausted condition.

Our burden now is not to prove that he could not or did not make the long journey, as in the other cases heretofore discussed, but that he **did** actually make it, notwithstanding his weak and exhausted condition and the long distance. The story we once heard of an Irishman cleverly fits in here. He had just heard the song, "It's a long way to Tipperary." he remarked, "I care not a fig for the distance if a mon only has the time to make it."

The disbeliever in the Book of Mormon and those who contend that the Hill Ramah was far to the south, claim that he never could make any such journey, that he could have traveled but a short distance, and at the end of nine months died of his wounds. We will clearly show that he never died of his wounds.

We will clearly show that he never died of his wounds and that he had ample time to make it, and at about the end of twelve years, eight moons and twenty-nine days, he was still "on the job."

Before we proceed to do this, we wish to notice a few times of history regarding this noted man, that we may have a fuller and better understanding of the situation.

At the first item that attracts our attention is a prophecy of Ether 6:60, that he (Coriantumr) should never all by the sword. This fully settles the idea that he died of his wounds.

In the same chapter, sixty-nine and seventieth verses, we are informed that he received many deep wounds and fainted from the loss of blood, and was carried away as if dead. In verse eighty-one he had another fainting "spell" from loss of blood. Now notwithstanding all this fainting and bloodshed, in the ninety-ninth verse he is declared to be a large and mighty man, as to the strength of men, just the day before he slew Shiz.

If all this be true, would there be anything strange or unreasonable in concluding that he would quickly recover from his last exhausted condition, as he had done in those previously, and be amply able to make the journey?

But to return to the time he had, to make it in. It is, we believe, the universal decision of those who are qualified to so decide, that the final battle at the Hill Ramah was fought about the year 600 B.C., the same year the Nephites sailed for America. The people supposed to have been led out by Mulek, the youngest son of Zedekiah, king of Judah, and who were called the people of Zarahemla, and were the ones to "discover" Coriantumr, never left Jerusalem for twelve years after the great battle, or in the year 588 B.C. Omni (1:26) states that they came out from there at the time Zedekiah was carried captive to Babylon, and Bible chronology puts that event at the above date.

So this would give ample time for Coriantumr to recover from his wounds and make the journey.

By placing a certain interpretation upon the history given in regard to his being found by the people of Zarahemla, he must have lived more than twenty years after being wounded. The people of Zarahemla were so called after a man by that name, and who was a descendant of Mulek, before mentioned (Mosiah 11:78) . . . this man Zarahemla, after who the people were called, was a descendant of the eleven-year-old boy. Admitting that he was a son of Mulek, it would take at least eight or nine years for him to have posterity, besides there is no telling how long it was before the people were called after him. Now summing the matter up, we plainly see that Coriantumr must have been still living beyond twenty years after being wounded.

We do not vouch for this interpretation being placed upon the history of this event, although it fits in cleverly with the account given. The people of Zarahemla were often called by that name from the time they landed in Central America (as in Alma 13:74) and Coriantumr might have been discovered by them in that country; but we have no means of knowing.

The idea of a tender boy of the age Mulek might have been, *leading* an expedition out from Jerusalem has been another cudgel used by the skeptic against the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon.

"The reader will notice that the book nowhere claims that Mulek led the colony. So its complete silence on this point abundantly answers the objection. It does say, however, that "they were brought by the hand of the Lord across the great waters into the land where Mosiah discovered them." (Omni 1:27)

The facts in the case are simply these: Zedekiah had at least three sons, two of the older ones had been slain but to protect the youngest one the Lord no doubt to preserve the royal seed, had him taken out of the land, under the guidance and protection of older heads.

We wish now to refer to a little bit of inconsistency (or it may have been from an oversight of the facts in the case) in those who have so st[] insisted that Coriantumr, in his weak condition; could not have made any such journey as that from New York to Central America. We will see that Moroni made the same journey under great obstacles, if their location of Ramah Hill be correct.

Mormon, his father, was seventy-four years old when slain at Cumorah. We will suppose that [Mormon] was thirty years old when Moroni was born. . . . At the time [Moroni's] father was slain Moroni] would have been forty-four years old, then [Moroni's] living thirty-six years after that event would make [Moroni] that age [80 years old].

Now if Cumorah Hill was in Central America, as contended, when Moroni finished his writing, and was ready to hide them up, we would have to accept this wild and improbable story, a man, bowed down with eighty years of hard service, a great part of it in the rigors of warfare, shouldering up a package of golden plates, weighing from seventy-five to one hundred pounds, placing the Urim and Thummim in his pocket, then striking out through country swarming with murderous Lamanites, consisting of rough mountains, great swamps, impenetrable forests, and impassable rivers, and accomplishing the same journey of three thousand miles which they contend Coriantumr could not possibly make.

There is one fact connected with Moroni's hiding up his records that we would have the reader note particularly, as it bears heavily upon determining the location of this noted hill. There is not the least proof, given in the book, that he changed his location, to any great extent, from the scene of the battle, let alone making the long journey to New York. He mentions dodging around from place to place to avoid the Lamanites. (Moroni 1:3) but is completely silent upon what would have been his supreme "dodge."

Then if he never left the scene of the battle, and the records were hidden up in New York State, that ought to settle it.

But we must notice another idea that has been advanced to discourage the above conclusion.

They have studiously figured out the number of plates, large and small, connected with the Nephite people; amounting in the aggregate to over one thousand pounds in weight, and then they ask the question, where is the reason or consistency in transporting this bulk of plates all the way to New York State, when they could have been hidden with so much less trouble and just as safely in Central America? We will ask two more questions and the answer to them will be the answer to this:

If the Hill Cumorah was located in Central America, or southern Mexico, why did Moroni have to bring his plates all the way up to New York when he could have hidden them down there just as safely, and why did Mormon take up all the plates already hidden down there in the Hill Shim and take them northward with him and deposit them in Cumorah, when he could just as safely let them remain hidden?

Answer: The coming forth of the plates hidden up by Moroni was to be a forerunner of the introduction of the gospel and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the latter days; and that could not be done at the appointed time until God especially prepared a government under which his kingdom could be successfully established; hence, he inspired the men who framed the Constitution of the United States Government and assisted in its establishment. Under no other government then existing could his designs be accomplished. So it was very necessary that the records be placed within the limits of the intended government. The hiding up of the records in that particular locality in the United States Government might have come from the vicissitudes of war, convenience or other causes unknown.

Thus are all objections answered and the divine inspiration of the Book of Mormon left completely intact. Our next article will be to answer the supposed and improbable idea of Mormon shifting his army from Central America all the way to western new York, and to show where his bold and well-planned strategy failed. This we believe will be the most interesting and conclusive of all preceding articles, as it will definitely locate the Hill Cumroah. With that presentation the series will close.

1917[^] T. J. Smith "Objections to the Book of Mormon Answered By Its Own Evidence--Part
2,"
(RLDS) in *Saints Herald* Independence, MO: The Reorganized Church of Jesus

Note* This is the second article in a series of articles defending the Hemispheric Theory of Book of Mormon Geography against "difficult and seemingly impossible, or at least improbable, statements" found in the book itself. T. J. Smith writes the following:

Our task in this article will be to answer this objection, "Where is the reason or necessity of Mormon, the great Nephite general, shifting his army all the way from Central America up to the State of New York, when all the fighting, hitherto, had been in the former country and vicinity?" And further to show where his bold and well-planned strategy failed.

NORTH AMERICA THICKLY SETTLED

But before entering upon this task, we wish to establish in the mind of the reader the fact that the part of North America known as the United States was quite thickly inhabited by the Nephite people. The Book of Mormon contains many evidences to sustain that fact, and we will briefly note a few of the most prominent ones.

The whole of the continent of North America was known to the Nephites as the "Land Northward," and the reader should bear this fact in mind.

In Alma 30:5 it is stated that a company of fifty-four hundred men with their wives and children depart out of the land of Zarahemla, into the land northward; following this statement is another (6:12) that several shiploads of emigrants departed from the western coast and sailed northward; and in the thirty-eighth year (of the judges) many people went into the land northward. Helaman informs us (2:3, 4) an exceedingly great many went forth and did travel into the land northward.

Note the fact "an exceeding great distance," in such a vast country would reach far beyond Central America or southern Mexico. This colony "spread into all parts of the land," except those parts which had been left desolate by the Jaredites.

And they did multiply and spread and did go forth from the land southward to the land northward, and did spread, insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, from the sea south to the sea north and from the sea west to the sea east.

From the present location of the land and seas, here described, it is believed and asserted by many, that this description can **alone** apply to Central America or southern Mexico. But it should be noted that this account was written some years before that great and terrible upheaval of the earth, at the time of Christ's crucifixion, when the "whole face of the land was changed" and "deformed." When "lands were engulfed, mountains fell, cities were sunk, waters came up over the land and earthquakes convulsed the earth."

[Note* While Helaman originally was the author of his book [The book of Helaman], Mormon was the one responsible for transferring the information to his own record [The Book of Mormon] more than 370+ years after Christ's birth. Whether or not Mormon copied Helaman's record intact for this part of his record is not known.]

So it seems to the writer, like extreme folly to apply the account here given, by Helaman, to the present lay of the land and seas, for no one can tell just what changes took place at that terrible event. He tells us, however, in 4:24, that they began to multiply and spread until they did cover the whole face of the land, both north and south, from the sea west to the sea east, so no changes which might have occurred could affect the fact that all the land northward was occupied.

There could not be a better description of the great treeless plains of the Mississippi Valley than is given by Helaman in 2:1-12.

We could readily refer to many other statements in the book to the fact that many of the Nephites, and also Lamanites, went into the land northward, but those given, we trust, will suffice.

EVIDENCES OF NEPHITE OCCUPATION

We wish now to give some of the evidences that they did occupy here in the United States to a great extent.

Professor Baldwin in his Ancient America, in describing the great ruins of cities in our southwestern

States, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona, says of some of them that they were built upon foundations of an older and more substantial civilization. This is identically the same method pursued by the Nephites in Central America and Mexico, that is, building upon foundations left by the Jaredites. That they were scattered, to a certain extent, all over the length and breadth of the land is evident from the fact that Hebrew relics have been found in all parts of the land. We will mention several of these, not giving any more than what they were and the place of their finding. Near Pittsfield, Massachusetts, two pieces of rawhide sewed and glued firmly together, containing parchment on which were quotations from the Old Testament Scriptures in Hebrew. A stone slab with the Ten Commandments, in Hebrew, upon it, near Newark, Ohio. Four more stones with Hebrew writing upon them, near the same place. Embalmed bodies after the Egyptian custom, found in a cave in Kentucky. Six brass plates fastened together with rings similar to those of the Book of Mormon found in Illinois. Brass rings, with Hebrew writing upon them, at Marietta, Ohio. Twenty-five bodies entombed in same manner as those of the Egyptians, Manchester, Ohio. Plates found by Reverend S. D. Peet, with similar characters to those of the Book of Mormon, in Illinois. Coin found in Tennessee with "shekel of Israel" on one side and "Jerusalem the holy," on the other. These evidences could be readily multiplied indefinitely by visiting our institutes and museums scattered over the country; but those given will suffice to show that this country had been occupied to quite a large extent by the Nephite people.

MORMON'S ARMY

We will now turn to the case of General Mormon and his army. After the great and destructive battle at the city Jordan, where the Nephites were almost completely annihilated in A.D. 380, he moved northward, gathering up the remnant of his fleeing people, followed closely by the victorious Lamanites. While thus engaged he writes an epistle to the Lamanite king asking a cessation of hostilities until he had time to gather his people to a hill in the land of Cumorah and there he would give him battle. This request was granted and the Nephites marched forth to the land of Cumorah, followed, no doubt, by the Lamanites. The very language used here would indicate that it was a long way off, for it has such a far-away sound. It could not have been a land lying contiguous to that of Central America, or southern Mexico, for had that been the case it would undoubtedly, have been mentioned before, at some time or other; but this was the first time it had been mentioned. In the vicissitudes of the war in Central America and surrounding country many other lands were mentioned; the land Bountiful, the land Desolation, the land of Joshen [sic] the land of Shem, the land Antum, David and Joshua; all these, but no mention of the land of Cumorah. Mormon asked the armistice of the Lamanite king that he might have advantage over them in that land. In starting out on this long march there were two very important propositions confronted him at this juncture. If the hill he desired to gather to was in Central America or southern Mexico, he would be under the necessity of sending gathering agents all over the northern part of Mexico and the vast regions of the United States to collect the people together (which any normal man can see would be the next thing to an impossibility), march them two thousand and three thousand miles south to be slaughtered by their enemies. The objection may be raised here that these northern countries were not so heavily populated as supposed, and that it would be no great undertaking to collect them together and march them south. Well, be that as it may, the Jaredites were under identically the same condition, and they were swarming in untold thousands all over these countries mentioned. So, what about the task of gathering them up to a single man and marching them all the way down into Central America? If the hill to be reached was in New York State this would be the other proposition: To march forward (the Lamanites following up behind), gather in all the people with all they possessed, as had been their custom for years, until they reached their destination. There could not possibly have been a more effectual method of gathering the people together, than the above. Mormon asked the armistice that he might get advantage over the Lamanites in that land. The important question will arise here, What could be the advantage to him in shifting his army to that far-off land? We have already seen what an advantage it was to him in gathering his people together, and we can plainly see two more, one very important.

1. They could have the advantage of those formidable fortifications abandoned by the Jaredites, as

they, undoubtedly, were acquainted with the nature of the country in that region, having had the history of that people translated from the twenty-four plates of Ether by King Mosiah II.

2. The greatest and most important advantage it would be to Mormon, consisted in throwing the Lamanites so far away from any means of subsistence. By moving northward through the country and gleaning it of everything of an edible nature, as the Nephites had done in the case of the Gadianton robbers (Nephi 2:40-58), the Lamanites would be compelled to get their provisions from the far south or squeeze it out of the country after the Nephites had thoroughly gleaned it; and, no doubt, Mormon calculated they could not successfully do either.

Now, right here we believe is where he "missed his reckoning," right here his bold and well planned strategy failed. The four years armistice expired, the fatal day of slaughter dawned, and behold! the Lamanites were on hand in untold thousands; and ere the setting sun touched the crown of the western hills, and his departing rays had lifted from over the fog and foam of the great Niagara Fall, two hundred and thirty thousand Nephite warriors with their women and little ones had "bitten the dust."

The vital question now comes up; how did the Lamanites support themselves the four years the Nephites were gathering together. You can never give a better or more reasonable explanation of the origin of those immense, strange and wonderful shell heaps, so abundantly scattered over the southern part of the United States.

Historians tell us they are, undoubtedly of human origin, consisting of oyster and mussel shells, mixed with the bones of deer, antelope, elk, and those of many wild fowls. That these shell banks were made by the Indians, is proven by the fact that there are Indians to-day who gather on the Gulf Coast and live for a season upon oysters and mussels.

So the origin of those vast and wonderful shell heaps, which have for centuries puzzled the heads and ingenuity of our wisest men, is here revealed by the simple history given in the Book of Mormon; and we believe, should be sufficient to lift all doubt of its divine inspiration from the minds of all fair and unprejudiced people; and not only this, but it should be sufficient to locate definitely that noted hill, where both the Nephite and Jaredite nations met their final end; that hill, where two of the bloodiest and most destructive battles known in the annals of the human family were fought, that hill upon whose summit and surrounding country molder the ashes of millions of men, women, and children, that hill, in whose silent bosom, guarded, no doubt by angelic vigilance, repose the sacred records of these fallen nations; which records are yet to come forth in the due time of the Lord, when the true history and long shrouded mysteries which have so long hung over those stupendous ruins so abundantly scattered throughout our land will be revealed and proclaimed from the housetops

So we may say, in conclusion, all hail to the Book of Mormon and its divine inspiration and honor and praise to the one who gave it.

1917[^] J. Bert Sumsion

"The Book of Mormon: The Light of the Western Hemisphere," in *Liahona The Elders' Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 33, February 13, 1917, pp. 517-519.

Bert Sumsion writes:

According to the history of the Book of Mormon, we learn that Jared and his brother, with their families, left the tower of Babel at the confusion of languages, from which they were spared; being led by the Divine Providence to a promised land--this American Continent, landing somewhere near lower California or Mexico. The colony grew, "waxed strong" into a great nation which extended all over the greater part of North America. . . .

The Nephites had been in America some time and were in a flourishing condition when the Jaredites were nearing the late stages of their destruction. According to the history, Lehi left Jerusalem about 580 B.C., about the time King Zedekiah was taken captive into Babylon. Under his leadership the colony was brought to America. They arrived on the west coast of South America, near Chile. From this point they began to build a remarkable civilization, although they were divided into two great peoples. One faction degenerated under the curse of God and is represented by the American Indian of this age, although there were times when the degenerate faction were highly civilized and cultured, as a result of their obedience to the commandments of God.

These two great classes of people multiplied until they had extended their civilization and influence all over the South American Continent and even, towards the last of their existence, had carried their

explorations to North America as far north, at least, as the great Lakes. . . .

Moroni, the last prophet, buried the history in a hill called Cumorah approximately ten centuries ago, where they remained until the nineteenth century. September 23, 1823, Moroni appeared to Joseph Smith and told him of the history that was hid in the hill, commonly called the "Mormon Hill," which is situated in New York State.

Note* "Mormon Hill" was also the name given to Miner's Hill (see the notation for 1873)

1917^ J. F. Gunsolley "The Location of Cumorah and Ramah," in *Saints Herald* 64 (7 March 1917):
(RLDS) pp. 225-229.

[With the presentation of this article seeking to establish the location of the hill called by the Jaredites, Ramah, and the Nephites, Cumorah, the two principal theories on this point will be before our readers. The other [Hemispheric Theory] has been presented in the recent series by T. J. Smith. . . . Editors]

All references are from the Authorized [RLDS] Edition of the Book of Mormon. To begin with I quote: Therefore I made this record out of the plates of Nephi, and hid up in the hill Cumorah, all the records which had been intrusted to me by the hand of the Lord, save it were these few plates which I gave unto my son Moroni.-Book of Mormon 3:8

This establishes the fact that Mormon deposited records in the hill Cumroah all save the few given to Moroni. These that Mrooni had were not deposited in Cumorah at this time. All that I have been able to find, up to date, concerning Moroni hiding plates is:

Therefore I will write and hide up the records in the earth, and whither I go it mattereth not-(Mormon 4:4)

Behold, four hundred years have passed since the coming of our Lord and Savior.- (Mormon 4:7)

And I am the same who hideth up this record unto the Lord-(Mormon 4:17)

Now I, Moroni, write somewhat as seemeth me good; . . . more than four hundred and twenty years have passed away . . . and I seal up these records- (Moroni 10:1, 2)

In Mormon 3:6 we find the following:

And when three hundred and eighty and four years had passed away, we had gathered in all the remainder of our people unto the land Cumorah.- (Mormon 3:6).

So that from the battle at Cumorah, 385 A.D., to the time Moroni writes to the Lamanites, 420 A.D., is 35 years. Mormon hides all records in Cumorah, 384 or 385 A.d. except the few he gives to Moroni. Moroni makes his last entry at more than 420 A.D. So there is at least thirty-five years between the time of Mormon hiding records and the time when Moroni hides those intrusted to him. Mormon deposits records in Cumorah, but where is there any statement as to where Moroni deposited his? . . . So far these citations show a separation of the records, a part deposited in a stated location and the other not so definitely stated, . . .

Location

The location [of Ramah-Cumorah] cannot be definitely proven. Of course we know, now, where Moroni hid up the plates intrusted to him but the book does not tell us. I shall confess here that I don't know where Ramah-Cumorah is, but I believe that if there was anyone on earth [who] believed they knew where all those records were deposed, there would be some digging to find them.

[Note* Not necessarily. According to Brigham Young the records were protected by angels and could be moved at will to avoid being found--see the 1829 and 1877 notations. So anyone trying to dig them up would do so without success.]

Yea, even all my people . . . ad also a few who had escaped into the south countries--Mormon 3:16
The Nephites who had escaped into the country southward.--Mormon 4:2.

Here we have a statement from Mormon and Moroni that some of the Nephites were not slain at Cumorah but escaped into the south country. These statements were made soon after the battle and Mormon and Moroni were sufficiently near the south country to know that some escaped thither. . . .

. . . And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful, and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea. . . . there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward.--Alma 13:73-77.

. . . secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward . . . --Alma 24:10.

. . . by the narrow neck which led into the land northward. (Alma 30:6)

. . . even to the narrow passage which led into the land southward . . . --Mormon 1:61, 62.

. . .

. . . And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land.--Ether 4:68.

These quotations show that the Jaredites, Nephites and Lamanites all agreed on the narrow neck. I suppose there are none now who do not believe that the narrow neck is the Isthmus of Panama. This gives us a definite starting point and the first stop on our journey will be in the land of Moron and city of Moron where the Jaredite king dwelt.

And when he had gathered together an army, he came up into the land of Moron, where the king dwelt. . . . Now the land of Moron where the king dwelt, was near the land which is called Desolation by the Nephites.--Ether 3:42, 43

And the land called Desolation by the Nephites bordered on the narrow neck . . . as has already been quoted.

Passing on to Ether 4:3, 4, 14, we learn that King Omer being warned in a dream, departed out of the land (of Moron where the king dwelt), passed by the hill Shim, and came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed (Cumorah) and thence to Ablom by the seashore, where he dwells for a time, and "Omer was restored to the land of his inheritance" and was king again in the land of Moron. Lib succeeded to the throne and "Coriantumr came up to the land of Moron, and gave battle unto Lib." (Ether 6:39, 40, 45.) And by reading the balance of the book of Ether we discover that the fighting was in and round about the land Moron, where the king dwelt, and the land Moron where the king dwelt was near the land Desolation of the Nephites and the land Desolation bordered on the narrow neck even to the line of a day and [a] half journey for a Nephite from sea to sea.

Two Kingdoms

After locating the land and city Moron we find the following:

"And the country was divided; and there were two kingdoms, the kingdom of Shule and the kingdom of Cohr [sic].--Ether 3:58.

When I listened to the lecture on archaeology by Edgar L. Hewett, field worker of the Society of Archaeology, under the auspices of the United States Government, and heard him say that Copan and Quirigua [sic] in Central America were the two oldest ruins yet unearthed and explored, and that they could not tell which was the capital city as they both had kingly palaces, I then thought of the two kingdoms of Copan and Quirigua as described by Stephenson and Catherwood are the ancient capital cities of the Jaredites, then I wonder where the Jaredites were when they had their last battle at Ramah. Then when we go into archaeology and find down in southern Mexico, Yucatan and Central America such ruins as Mitla, Copan, Chichen-Itza, Quirigua, Palenque, and many others named and yet unexplored I wonder where else would a people war only in their own country. . . . all the magnificent ruins show that the first people on this land had their first and center civilization in the land where they left their ruins.

It has already been shown and admitted by all Book of Mormon students, that Ramah and Cumorah are the same. Also, the waters of Cumorah being near the hill, is also the same as that called Ripliancum

near Ramah.

And it came to pass that he [Coriantumr] came to the waters of Ripliancum, which by interpretation is large, or to exceed all.--Ether 6:80.

According to this reading, wherever we locate Ramah-Cumorah there will be found waters, "which by interpretation, is large or to exceed all." It is true that the plates of Mormon were found in a hill in New York. It is also true that there are some lakes in that region, but they are not "large to exceed all," for only a few miles to the north is Lake Ontario, which is not "large to exceed all," for farther west is Lake Superior which is the largest body of water between the oceans. Does anyone locate Cumorah near Lake Superior? . . .

In chapter 3 [book of Mormon] is the account of gathering to Cumorah for the final conflict in the year 385 A. D., five years from Desolation to Jordan and five years more to Cumorah. Desolation is located, approximately, by the Book of Mormon, but Jordan and Cumorah are not. The book, however, does locate the place of the home of the leaders and the principal cities and the countries near the "narrow neck." And it is very strange indeed for two armies to march out of their own land to have a fight. It is true that one army may leave its homeland to make war on some other people, but it is a matter of history that one army or the other remains and fights in its own land. Why should the Nephites and Lamanites be an exception? If they are in this case it is the only one in the book. . . .

Again, Moroni writes: "I wander whithersoever I can, for the safety of mine own life." (Mrooni 1:3) I always did wonder if a man would stay in his enemies' country for the safety of his life. No! Moroni wandered for the space of thirty-five years for the safety of his life and then hid up the plates, etc., but does not say where. . . . at least 35 years for Moroni wandering around carrying the plates, giving him ample time to travel from the seat of war in the south to the place where he deposited the records outside of his enemy's country.

[Note* This next section is lengthy and convoluted, but it attempts to chronologically fix the final battles of the Jaredites near the year 200 B.C. CHECK TO SEE IF THIS IS THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE DATE OF THE FINAL JAREDITE BATTLES FROM 600 BC TO 200 BC--IF SO THEN INCLUDE THIS WHOLE SECTION]

After quoting from the book of Mosiah about the party of Limhi wandering in a land of bones, finding the remains of a numerous people, Gunsolley writes:

An article in the *Herald* has the following:

Again, these dry bones had lain bleaching in the arid mountains of Central America for four hundred and eighty years. . . . hence this land of bones could not have extended farther north than Central America or at farthest, southern Mexico. December 20, 1916, p. 1242 [This is a one of a series of articles by T. J. Smith defending the Hemispheric theory--see the notation]

The first quotation above refers to Coriantumr just after he had smote off the head of Shiz, his last enemy, at the great and final battle at the Hill Ramah, which hill we claim was in the western part of New York State.--Ibid., December 27, 1916, p. 1264

Gunsolley then asks:

If the bones were in Central America or southern Mexico, and if Hill Ramah is in New York [as T. J. Smith proposes in the *Herald* articles] where the last great and final battle was fought, how did those bones get so far south? . . .

Gunsolley here ignores Smith's point, that the battles extended all the way from Central America to New York, however Gunsolley makes the point that "Ramah must be somewhere in the land of bones." He then states:

About the strongest point against Ramah being in New York is the case of Ether. A recent article on the subject, in the *Herald* [Smith's articles] admitted that the fighting began in the south and finished in New York. If this be true, then Ether was the most remarkable man that ever lived. How he could dwell in the cavity of a rock by day, and go with the army from Central America to New York is a feat, to

be sure. how did he transport the cavity of the Rock that long distance and not be discovered by anyone is a mystery. Some one please explain But see Ether 6:14, 15, 19 which I quote:
And I was about to write more, but am forbidden; but great and marvelous were the prophecies of Ether, but they esteemed him as naught, and cast him out, and he hid himself in the cavity of a rock by day, and by night he went forth viewing the things which should come upon the people. And as he dwelt in the cavity of a rock, he made the remainder of this record, viewing the destructions which came upon the people by night. . . . Wherefore it came to pass that in the first year that Ether dwelt in the cavity of a rock, there were many people who were slain by the sword of those secret combinations fighting against Coriantumr, that they might obtain the kingdom.

Again I quote concerning the land Moron where the king dwelt: "And he came forth to the land of Moron, and placed himself upon the throne of Coriantumr." (Ether 6:40)

These quotations with many not quoted show that in the land of Moron where the king dwelt, was the seat of war. Coriantumr was on the throne. Ether was in the land hiding in "a cavity of a rock," all the time the war was waging. . . .

. . . when all had been slain but Coriantumr, the Lord told Ether to "go forth." He did not now need to wait till night but went forth from the cavity of the rock and beheld that the word of the Lord was spoken by him to the people had all been fulfilled.

Other references can be cited. The book itself shows that the warring began not far from the "narrow neck." Archaeology proves that the center and power of all the ancient people was not far either way north or south of the "narrow neck." All history, sacred or profane, proves that war is always at home for one side or the other. . . .

One brother said the Lord indicated to him that the hill Cumorah where Mormon hid the records was southern Mexico. Another brother went on a trip to Mexico in the study of archaeology. Some say he went to find Cumorah, but he did not find it. No one on earth, that we know of, knew the plates were in New York until the time came, and then it was revealed in God's way and time to whom he chose. Why not the same in regard to those records hidden by Mormon? When the time comes, God will reveal to whom he will. Then, and not until then, will we know the exact location. We can only consider what is revealed and so long as there is a difference of opinion, it only shows that some one does not know.

One does not know, possibly neither party knows, both cannot be right so long as there is a difference, and both may be wrong and still differ. Let us not be in a hurry to drive stakes because we may have to pull them up, and when the time comes and the records come forth then opinions will be set aside. . . .--
J. F. Gunsolley

Note* **This article represents a major change in authoritative RLDS thinking (but see the 1903 RLDS Etzenhouser notation and the 1909 Knisley notation and the 1911 Stebbins location).** The New York hill Cumorah as the site for the final battles of the Nephites and Lamanites, and the site for the final battles of the Jaredites is being questioned, which implies a change from the Hemispheric model to a modified Hemispheric model or perhaps even a Limited Mesoamerican model.

1917[^] L. E. Hills "A Study of the Geography of the Book of Mormon," in *Zion's Ensign*, vol. 28 No. 12
geog (RLDS) (March 22, 1917), Independence, Missouri, pp. 3-4

I have been asked the question, as have others of the ministry no doubt, "What evidences are there to establish the credibility of the Book of Mormon?" After telling of Bible evidences, and of archaeological evidences of just such a civilization living in the distant past upon the western continent, have had the following question to answer, "Why is it, if the Book of Mormon is a true history, that you cannot make some definite location of the cities described in the book with the ruins of cities still standing?"
A minister said to me a number of years ago, "Give me a good evidence of exact location of the remains of one city described by the Book of Mormon and I will join your Church."
In answering such questions, it is useless to offer for evidence some vague or unreasonable theories, such as locating the place where the Jaredites were destroyed, called the land of desolation, in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, Central America, then show them fighting their last and greatest battles in New

York State. Or by locating the cliff dwellers of Colorado as the Gadianton robbers of Zarahemla South America.

Believing the Book of Mormon to be a true record, I knew, could I discover one given point as described in the record, the book if a true history, would make the rest of location possible.

For a number of years I have been impressed with the idea that the ruins at Palenque, Chiapas, Southern Mexico, were the remains of the City Bountiful, because of the temple, called The Temple of the Cross, still standing there, and the record saying, "Christ appeared to the multitude as they were standing in front of the temple in the Land Bountiful. Page 631-632.

With this idea the Indian legends of Mexico and Central America agree, telling of a white man, who appeared among them mysteriously, dressed in a white robe, of whom the beautiful bird called "Quetzal," from his name, "Quetzal-Coatl," the sacred bird of Guatemala, is still a reminder, the image of the bird standing on the top of the Cross in the Temple at Palenque.

And now the last evidence that convinced me that Palenque is the site of the City of Bountiful I discovered in Bulletin 28 Bureau of American Ethnology, published by the U. S. Government, that eminent scholars, who have been striving to translate the glyphs, carved in the temple of the cross, are having considerable success, and they have discovered the name Mulek (Muloc) written there. Bulletin pp. 547-552.

The name Muluc is also found on the Maya Calendar of Guatemala and Yucatan, described by Dr. E. Sesler as the alpha and omega of the Central American sacerdotal wisdom in historic chronology. Bulletin 28, pp. 327-330.

The Book of Mormon record tells of a man by the name of Mulek the son of Zedekiah, King of Judah, who escaped from Jerusalem when the king of Babylon took the city, B.C. 589, and was the leader of a colony who crossed the Atlantic, and called the place of their first landing, "The land Desolation." Page 387-8, v. 74. And they came from there, with their ship to a second landing, and from there up into the South Wilderness, or into the mountains south from their second landing. And B. of M. pp. 497, v. 20-23. I read of a City Mulek near the City Bountiful on the east.

Finding the name Mulek in the glyphs at Palenque convinced me that Mulek must have landed, and settled near Palenque. . . .

Now the City Bountiful was in a land called Bountiful, and the land Bountiful extended to the land Desolation. B. of M. page 387, verses 73, 74; and in the land Bountiful was an Isthmus, described in the record as follows,--the armies were driven into the land Bountiful; and there they did fortify--from the west sea even unto the east; it being a day's journey for a Nephite, on the land which they had fortified. B. of M. pp. 553, v. 39, and we find the Isthmus of Tehuantepec answers perfectly the description; now the place where the people of Zarahemla, led by Muluk first landed and called it the land Desolation, because of the unburied dead there, of the people who had before inhabited the land. Book of Mormon pp. 387-8, v. 74; 549, v. 6, was close to this same Isthmus, and the Jaredites built a great city as we read in the record, B. of M. pp. 742, v. 68. "And they built a great city by the narrow neck of land, by the place where the sea divides the land," (where the Gulf of Mexico comes down between Mexico and Yucatan.)

And just before the Nephites were destroyed, the records shows them gathered to the site of this Jaredite City which they called "The City of Desolation," meaning "the place of the dead." Read B. of M. pp. 360, v. 17-19.

B. of M. pp. 693, v. 69-71. I read, "I (Mormon) did cause my people that they should gather themselves together at the land Desolation, to a city which was in the borders, (an expression used by the writers of the record, showing the location as not very far from the place described by the narrow pass which led into the land southward." * * * In the "three hundred and sixty and first year, the Lamanites did come down to the City of Desolation (Mitla) to battle against us."

In Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology, page 247, I read a description of the ruins of an ancient city that had been built of stone, standing near the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, called Mitla.

In the valley of Tlacolula, lies the ruins of Mitla, the place is called "Yoopaa, or Loo-baa by the Zapotec tribes and Mictlan," (Mitla) by the Mexican tribes, all meaning the same, "The place of the dead." And in the Book of Mormon it was called Desolation, meaning, "The place of the dead." Page 549, v. 6, and page 360, v. 17-19.

All this agreeing so wonderfully with the Book of Mormon description I was convinced I had found the key to the Geography of the B. of Mm. record.

Again I read B. of M. pp. 695, v. 4 "Now the City Teancum lay in the borders by the sea shore, (Pacific

ocean,) and it was also near the City Desolation." There is the ruins of an ancient city now near the Pacific Ocean not very far from Mitla, on the river Tehuantepec and the town of Tehuantepec close by. Teancum, Tehuantepec. It sounds as though Tehuantepec was derived from Teancum, does it not? I tried for location, given by the records, in the opposite direction, and I read of the king of the Lamanties who sent a proclamation throughout all the land of Nephi--bordering even to the sea on the east, and on the west, and which was divided from the land of Zarahemla by a narrow strip of wilderness which runs from the sea east, even to the sea west, B. of M. pp. 387, v. 67, 68. Also page 403, v. 14, they gathered together the people of the Lord and departed out of the land of Nephi and came into the wilderness, (mountains) which divides the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla and came over (the mountains.) Page 485, v. 8 I read, "And the land of Nephi did run in a straight course from the east sea to the west. and on page 476, v. 111-113 I found the city of Nephi close to the mountains that divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla. I looked in my atlas and discovered the Copan Mountains, a narrow range of mountains now the boundary line between Honduras and Guatemala, and in Honduras near the Mountains the ruins of a city built of stone. Copan, Nephi. More later.

L. E. Hills.

1917^ Curtis W. Clark "The Mound Builders and the Indians," in *Saints Herald* 64 (RLDS) (14, 21 November 1917): pp. 1085-89, 1109-14.

[The following article was written by Brother Clark for the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, and published in the April, 1917, number. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the editors of that publication, and though written primarily for those who have not espoused our faith, will be of much interest to our readers--Editors]

. . . The Book of Mormon tells of three groups of population that inhabited the continents of North and South America in times past. These groups were first, the Jaredites who came to this continent in boats or barges shortly after the building of the tower of Babel. This division traversed Southern Europe, crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and landed at or near the Yucatan Peninsula. On account of wars among them, this civilization became extinct about 600 B.C. but during the time of their sojourn they built many cities and traveled in a northerly direction, and this northern travel may account for one class of mounds, a few of which we find in Ohio, and large numbers in the State of Wisconsin. These mounds are known as effigy mounds . . .

The second colony of which the book relates left Jerusalem about the year 600 B.C., and originated with Lehi and his four sons. These people crossed the deserts of Arabia and eventually, after a long voyage, arrived on this continent on the Peruvian portion of the coast of South America. On account of the rebellious disposition of the two older brothers, sons of Lehi, Laman and Lemuel, against divine instructions, the younger brother Nephi, third son of Lehi, was chosen by instructions of the father Lehi as leader. . . . the two older brothers and their families rebelled and withdrew from association with the younger brothers, Nephi and Sam, fourth son of Lehi. Thus originated the two groups of people known in the Book of Mormon respectively as Nephites and Lamanites. The former [Nephites] became the Mound Builders of the higher class . . . The Lamanites became the familiar American Indians, and were probably the builders of the type of mounds known as burial mounds. . . .

We now approach this proposition: Who were these Cliff Dwellers, that seemed to make their homes in pales that man could not approach easily and which were so carefully guarded? We are told by the Book of Mormon that there originated at one time a powerful league of men who desired to rule and live by plunder. These people were bound together by secret oaths not to reveal each other or their secrets . . . They were compelled finally to withdraw from their neighbors and dwell upon the borders of the land of the Nephites. They builded their fortifications in the rocks and made war with their former brethren . . . These people were known in the Book of Mormon as the Gadianton robbers.

1917^ Louis Edward Hills

***The Geography of Mexico and Central America from 2234 B.C. to 421 A.D.* (Independence, Missouri)**

A member of the RLDS Church, Louis Edward Hills is credited with being the first to develop a Book of Mormon geography model that was strictly limited to Mexico and Central America (see illustration below). He apparently seems to correlate Lehi's landing with the Nahuas and Mayas on the Pacific coast of El Salvador. It is also interesting that he apparently correlates the Jaredites with the Quinames and the Mulekites with the Olmecs and has them both coming across the Atlantic Ocean and landing in the Veracruz area of Mexico bordering the Gulf of Mexico. He wrote a number of books which derived their geography from the traditional histories of the ancient Americans written by Ixtlilxochitl and others, and the Popol Vuh. For him the hill Cumorah was in central Mexico, the first place ever suggested other than New York. In the preface of his book he states the following:

after years of teaching and defending the Book, I am convinced that the geography, taken from a close study of location as found in the record itself, is the very best evidence that can be furnished to authenticate the record. Confident that the record gives a true history of ancient Americans who once lived upon this Western Continent, I have tried to make the Book itself give to us the much-to-be-desired map. To God be the honor.

Glenn A. Scott^{xciii} writes the following concerning Louis E. Hills:

[In the years previous to] 1917, a longtime scholar of the Book of Mormon, Louis E. Hills of Independence, Missouri noted that many of the physical features of Panama and South America simply did not agree with the geographical descriptions found in that record. . . . Hill compiled an exhaustive list of every geographical reference in the Book of Mormon which he then carefully cross-indexed. Based on this data he began testing for possible alternatives. The long Isthmus of Mexico and Central America contains a number of narrow places (some proposed as possible routes to the Panama canal) between the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico and Caribbean Sea.

After testing and discarding several areas, he tried the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. To his understandable delight, everything seemed to snap into place. . . . As a result of his research and analysis, Hill drew a new map of Book of Mormon lands and between 1917 and 1923 wrote a series of booklets explaining his rationale. Considering the sketchy knowledge of Latin American geography at that time, his conclusions have stood the test of time and the scrutiny of many scholars remarkably well.

The nearest to an official endorsement of Hills's revolutionary revision came from [RLDS] Apostle Paul M. Hanson in his paper "Archaeology and Geography of the Book of Mormon" which he presented at an institute in 1951. In this paper, (also reprinted in the January 8, 1951 *Saints Herald*) Hanson stated: "Location of the 'narrow neck of land' [is] of great importance as a key to the geography of the Book of Mormon. The Isthmus of Tehuantepec appears to meet the requirements of the Book of Mormon.-- 1951a:91.

Note* In his *Short Work on the Geography of Mexico and Central America* Louis Hills becomes the first person to elaborate a Limited Mesoamerican Theory on Book of Mormon geography. Because all Mesoamerican authors who followed would build on his ideas to a certain extent, I have included an extensive collection of his ideas. Although the ideas have been left intact, I have arranged them at times to conform to the chronology of the Book of Mormon.

Louis Hills contributes the following ideas toward Book of Mormon geography:

Lehi Leaves Jerusalem

. . . Lehi took his family and departed into the wilderness, and later was joined by Ishmael and his family, and Zoram, the servant of Laban. They went down by the Red Sea, across to the Indian Ocean, and there built a ship and sailed across the Pacific Ocean, landing on the west coast of Central America. This place was called the land of their first inheritance. . . . [Hills takes his reasoning for the location of this land of first inheritance from the book of Alma--see discussion]

Nephi and Three Brothers Depart From the First Inheritance

Lehi died and was buried. "And it came to pass that not many days after his death Laman, Lemuel, and the sons of Ishmael were angry with me." . . . they did seek to take away my life." "And it came to pass that the Lord did warn me, that I Nephi, should depart from them, and flee into the wilderness [mountains], and all those who would go with me. . . . ()

It is not likely that they traveled in a straight line, but traveled about in the mountains many days seeking a location. The Indian traditions and legends, handed down for about 2,000 years, would probably become distorted; yet now, as we read the history of the events, known only in legends and traditions by the Indians, we can clearly see the facts revealed in them. Note a tradition of the Quiches of Guatemala:

When they [their ancestors] came into the land of Guatemala [people of Nephi came into Zarahemla], they found it already inhabited by people of a different nation." Nima-Quiche, more beloved than any, *was directed by an oracle to leave with his people.* . . . "Nima-Quiche *was accompanied by his three brothers.*" [Nephi and his three brothers, Sam, Jacob, and Joseph.] ("Travels in Central America," page 326)

"After we had journeyed for the space of many days, we did pitch our tents. And my people would that we should call the name of the place 'Nephi.'" ()

Soon after Nephi and people decided to settle in the valley in the land now called Honduras . . . Here they settled and built a city, and called it the city of Nephi. And the whole country, from the place where they first landed to the city of Nephi, was called "*The Land of Nephi.*"

Location of the Land of Nephi

From descriptions of this land given in the Book of Mormon I locate the land of Nephi as Honduras and Salvador, in Central America.

"And the land of Nephi did run in a *straight course from the east sea to the west.*" ()

Again speaking of the land of Nephi:

"Which was divided from the land of Zarahemla by a narrow strip of wilderness [mountains] which ran from the sea east to the sea west."

This mountain range is a very important factor in discovering locations of the geography of the Book of Mormon. Lamanites converted by Ammon,

"Departed out of the land [of Nephi] and came into the wilderness [mountains] *which divided the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla, and came over* [the mountains].

The Book of Mormon locates the city of Nephi at or near the foot of the mountains that divide the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla. . . . The ruins at Copan, Honduras, are at the foot of the mountains separating Guatemala (Zarahemla) from Honduras (Nephi). Bancroft, in giving the boundary of Honduras, gives the names of the mountain chains which form the boundary line between Honduras and Guatemala, and, describing the antiquities in Honduras, says:

"Copan, the most wonderful of all, and one of the most famous of American ruins. The location is in a most fertile region, *near the Guatemalan boundary*, on the eastern bank of the Rio Copan." ("Native Races," vol. 4, pp. 69-77)

The ruins at Copan, Honduras, Central America, are the remains of a hitherto unknown people, but [h]as works of art, proving that a people once occupied Central America, who were not savages, but skilled in the arts of civilization. Many have sought in vain to penetrate the mystery, who the people were who built and inhabited this great stone city. Mr. John Lloyd Stephens said it was situated in one of the most fertile valleys in Central America, at the foot of the mountain range that separates Guatemala from Honduras, on the left bank of the Copan river, as you ascend the stream. . . . surely the ruins at Copan are the ruins of the city of Nephi, answering indeed wonderfully to location and description of that city as described in that record. . . .

The principal part of the ruins upon the bank of the river is that of a temple. . . . This temple, in the ruins of Copan, is indeed like the temple of Solomon which was built on Mount Moriah. (2 Chron. 3:1-3, Ezek. 43:12)

Departure of the Nephites from the Land of Nephi About 200 B.C.

The Nephites continued to live in the land of Nephi until about 200 B.C., when they were warned to leave this land as follows:

He, Mosiah, being warned of the Lord that he should flee out of the land of Nephi, and as many as would hearken unto the voice of the Lord should also depart out of the land with him into the wilderness, and they were admonished continually by the Lord, and were led by the power of His arm through the wilderness until they came down into the land which is called the land of Zarahemla, and they discovered a people who were called the people of Zarahemla. . . . Behold, and it came to pass that Mosiah discovered that the people of Zarahemla came out from Jerusalem at the time that Zedekiah, king of Judah, was carried away captive into Babylon, and they journeyed into the wilderness, and were brought by the hand of the Lord across the great waters into the land where Mosiah discovered them, and they had dwelt there from that time forward.

An article written by Mr. Bernard Meekham and published June 13th, 1910, has this statement in it: The greatest civilization upon the western continent flourished in the Usumacinta Valley, where stand many majestic ruins. In the once great city of Tikal, Guatemala, evidences were found that they used a kind of paper, prepared from wood fiber, had books and libraries; also had a kind of telescope for astronomical observations; also had a historic chronological calendar. *The gorgeous Aztec and Inca civilizations were lower forms living on the higher that had preceded them, as is attested by the records of their conquerors.*

Place of Landing of People of Zarahemla

Note the names in the beginning of the following quotation, and the history that follows, and notice that this is the place of the landing of Mulek and his people, later called "the people of Zarahemla." The Olmecs and Xicalancas [Ze-cal-an-cas], who were sometimes represented as two nations, and sometimes as a division of the same nation, and regarded by all authorities as Nahuas . . . Tabasco was the region traditionally settled by them. They are regarded as the first of the Nahua nation in this region *and are first noticed by tradition on the southeast coast, whither they had come in ships, from the east* . . . Their national names are derived from those of their first rulers, Olmecatl and Xicalancatl." ("Native Races," vol. V. p. 195)

Two ancient cities called Xicalanco are reported on the Gulf coast, one on a point of land just below Vera Cruz, the other on the point of land at the entrance to Laguna de Terminos. The two Xicalancos may be the two landing-places of the people of Zarahemla. Xicalanco derived from Zarahemla, X having the sound of Z.

Itz-lil-xochitl tells us they occupied the land in the third age [which may mean the third colony], landing on the east coast as far as the land of Papuha [muddy water] or in the region about the Laguna de Terminos.

The Olmecs [Mulkes], seem to have been a very ancient people, bordering on, or mixed with the Xicalancas [Ze-cal-an-cas]. The name Olmec seems to have been the designation of a phase, or era, of the Nahua [Nephite] civilization preceding that known as the Toltecs. . . . ("Native Races," vol. II, p. 113)

After the people of Zarahemla (Ze-cal-an-cas) were discovered by the Nephites, they became people of Nephi, or Nahuas. The people of Zarahemla, before Zarahemla's time, were called the people of Mulek (Olmecs).

The Climate in the Land of Zarahemla (Guatemala)

And there were some who died with fevers, which at some seasons of the year were very frequent in the land. But not so much with fevers, because of the excellent qualities of the many plants and roots, which God had prepared, to remove the cause of diseases to which man was subject *by the nature of the climate.*" () . . .

Fevers are very frequent in Guatemala at some seasons of the year.

The Nahuas (Nephites) in Guatemala (Zarahemla)

The Nahua power in primitive times extended over Guatemala, as did the Maya power, and the long struggle between the two rival powers [Nahua, Nephites, and Maya, Lamanite] was no local contest, but was through the whole country from Anahuac to Guatemala, and perhaps still farther south. (Native Races," vol. V, p. 544)

[A number of citations concerning the overthrow of the Nahua power are quoted]

All these citations, with *many more* that might be given, show the overthrow and migration of the Nahua people from Central America up into Mexico, and I am sure the Nahuas referred to are the people called Nephites in the Book of Mormon that were overthrown and driven north in the fourth century A.D.

Location of the Land of Zarahemla

Comprises Guatemala and British Honduras, and these boundary lines made by the Nephites in ancient times have been changed but very little, if any. The river Sidon is described as flowing through the land of Zarahemla, and the head of the Sidon was near the east sea (Caribbean) in British Honduras; yet this river formed the boundary line of the land of Zarahemla in one place on the west.

The Usumacinta river was the river Sidon, and the head waters of the Rio-de-la-Pasion (now known as a tributary of the Usumacinta river) were the head waters of the Sidon river, and this is the only land and river upon the western continent that fits the description given by the Book of Mormon. (pp. 36-37)

The Borders of the Land of Nephi

King Mosiah granted that sixteen of their strong men might go from Zarahemla to the land of Nephi, to the land of Shilom, which was in the land of Nephi. And when they had wandered forty days they came to a hill [mountain] which is north of the land of Shilom, and there they pitched their tents, and Ammon took three of his brethren *and they went down into the land of Nephi.* ()

The sixteen men coming from the land of Zarahemla did not reach the land of Nephi until they came to Shilom. It is evident that Shilom and Lehi-Nephi were located in the mountains separating the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla, or, as stated in the record, *in the borders of the land of Nephi.*

Alma went about privately among the people of Shilom and Lehi-Nephi to teach the words of Abinadi, and as many as believed him did go forth to a place which was called Mormon, having received its name from the king, *being in the borders of the land.* ()

"Now there was in Mormon a fountain [lake] of pure water." ()

"*All these things were done in the borders of the land,*" or in the narrow strip of wilderness that composed the borders, or boundary line dividing the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla, which ran from the sea east, even to the sea west. ()

Now, as we look along this mountain range separating Honduras and Salvador from Guatemala, we find Lake Guija (Ge-ha), part in Salvador and part in Guatemala, in the mountain range dividing Salvador and Guatemala.

Lake Guija (Ge-Ha) the Waters of Mormon

Lake Guija in the boundary (mountains) between Guatemala and Salvador, at an altitude of three thousand feet, nine miles long and six miles wide, is fine spring water and filled with fish, as we read in the encyclopaedias. It was a beautiful valley, and the record says, "Game was plentiful." It was surrounded by mountains and had an outlet into the river Lempa of Salvador.

In "Native Races," (Vol. IV, pp. 115-116) I read of a ruins called Cinaca Micallao a short distance southwest of Lake Guija, and the description of the ruins had several points of agreement with the description of the city of Shilom as given in the Book of Mormon.

Alma went about privately among the people [of Shilom] and began to teach the words of Abinadi. . . .
Now There was in Mormon a fountain [lake] of pure water, and Alma resorted thither, there being near the water a thicket of small trees, where he did hide himself in the daytime from the searchers of the king." ()

A wall around the city of Shilom; could look over all the land round about; and the statement, "we will pass through the secret pass" (); the ruins a short distance southwest of the lake; the remains of a wall around the ruins of the city; the ruins on a high plateau, with a view all over Salvador; and a subterranean passage-way out of the city found. ("Native Races," vol. Iv, pp. 115-116; "Ancient America," Baldwin, p. 124.)

Land of Many Waters

I will take up and examine the land described in a number of places in the record as a land of many waters, large bodies of water and many rivers, etc. On page 232, verse 60 [], we read of King Limhi sending forty-three men from Lehi-Nephi into the wilderness, that thereby they might find the land of Zarahemla, and might appeal unto their brethren to deliver them out of bondage; and they were lost in the wilderness for the space of many days; yet they were diligent, but found not the land of Zarahemla, but returned to this land, having traveled in a land of many waters having discovered a land that was covered with bones of men and of beasts, etc.; and was also covered with ruins of buildings of every kind.

I call attention to the fact, especially, that these bodies of water, or lakes, were where the bones of men and ruins of buildings were discovered, and the ruins of these cities were of stone and are still standing in Mexico.

Location of the Lamanites, 77 B.C., and the Probable Location of Their Landing Place

Here [in the book of Alma] we get the location of the Lamanites about 500 years after they landed in Central America.

"They were spread through the wilderness [mountains] on the west in the land of Nephi."
Yea, and also *on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders, by the seashore.* [This would be along the Pacific coast in Guatemala] And *on the west in the land of Nephi in the place of their father's first inheritance,* and thus bordering along by the seashore." (B of M., p. 387)

This shows the place of their father's first inheritance. It was bordering along on the Pacific seashore, and was a part of the land of Nephi, and was located by Alma *on the west* in the land of Nephi. (I think the boundary lines of lands described in the Book of Mormon record have never been much changed.) They were led by the Lord across the Pacific Ocean, and from descriptions of the Waters of Sebus (Lake Hopango) I believe Lehi and people landed in *La Union Bay*, on the west side of the Gulf of Fonseca; and it is very probable that Salvador, or the eastern part of Salvador, was the land referred to as "the land of their fathers' first inheritance," yet considered by the Nephites as a part of the land of Nephi.

Isthmus between Desolation and Bountiful (One Isthmus-Tehuantepec)

A mistake in our stating point, in working out the geography of the Book of Mormon, would be fatal to success; and this, I am sure, has been one trouble in the past. The record tells of "a narrow neck of land, where the sea divides the land," "the narrow pass, which led into the land southward," and I, with others made the mistake of assuming this to be the Isthmus of Panama. By studying the following description, I discovered the mistake. On page 388, verses 75-77, I read:

Thus *the land northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful.*

And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey *on the line* Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east sea to the west sea, *there being a narrow neck of land between the land northward and the land southward.*

This clearly shows an isthmus between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation, and makes it clear

that the land northward of the isthmus was called Desolation, and the land southward of the isthmus was called Bountiful . . . the statement "on the line" must mean a boundary line known to them between these two countries. This land the people of Zarahemla called Desolation was so called because of the unburied dead bodies of the Jaredites discovered there when they first landed. Therefore the battle-grounds of the Jaredites and the finding of their bodies caused this boundary line to be made . . .

. . . There are a number of reasons why the isthmus described in the record could not be that of Panama, and must be Tehuantepec. The records says: "There being a *small* neck of land between the land northward [Desolation] and the land southward [Bountiful]" This Isthmus of Panama is 400 miles long. Moroni sent an army to stop Morianton and people from going into the north country. "And it came to pass that they did not head them until they had come to the borders of the land Desolation; and there they did head them by the narrow pass." Surely they did not travel 400 miles in an isthmus before they came to it, as the old map represents. . . . (p. 33)

The boundary line between the land Desolation and Bountiful must have run along somewhere near where the Tehuantepec National Railway now is, from Puerto, Mexico, in the Gulf of Mexico to Salina Cruz, on the Pacific Ocean, given as 188 miles. A runner traveling afoot, knowing the country, could cut that distance down a third, no doubt.

There was a place in this isthmus, fortified by the Nephites, which is referred to as a day's journey for a Nephite. This was in the land Bountiful--the same isthmus, but a shorter distance across than that known as *the line* between the lands Desolation and Bountiful. This, and much other evidence, shows this narrow neck of land, or narrow pass to be the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. We read, "they did preserve the land southward [of the narrow neck of land] for a wilderness to get game"; and we further read, "the land southward was called Bountiful, *it being the wilderness which is filled with all manner of wild game.*" This shows the land Bountiful to be a land southward of the isthmus, and not in it.

The expression "for a Nephite" would imply that Nephite runners excelled the Lamanite runners in speed and endurance. Thus the writer of the record considered it possible for a Nephite to cover the distance in a day, or a day and a half's journey, while possibly the Lamanite runners could not cover the distance so quickly; thus the reason for the expression "the distance for a Nephite." There is a tribe of Apache Indians in Arizona to-day some of whom, while in the employ of the United States Government as scouts and couriers, have been known to travel a hundred miles in a day.

Indian couriers, to run with messages, were exercised from childhood, and encouraged by rewards to excel in speed.

Montezuma had fresh fish every day from the Gulf coast. A relay of couriers were employed in bringing delicacies from afar; and, as the royal table was supplied with fresh fish every day, brought from a sea-coast more than 200 miles distant, by a road passing chiefly through a tropical climate, we can form some idea of the speed with which these couriers traveled. ("Native Races," vol. II, p. 413, p. 175)

Land of Jershon

The Quiche Indians of Guatemala had legends of the seven caves. These Indians, I have no doubt, were descendants of the people of Ammon, and are still living in the land of Jershon. (p. 41)

Land of Many Waters

. . . We turn from this statement to one other:

Therefore Morianton put it into their hearts that they should flee to the land that was northward, which was covered with large bodies of water, and take possession of the land which was northward."

This shows that these men had a knowledge at this time of a land northward, where there were many lakes. Surely one can see that people in South America could not have traveled away up into the United States, and be acquainted with the large bodies of water, as some have supposed, referred to as the Great Lakes of the United States; but it was the beautiful lakes located in the central part of Mexico, and they were going from eastern Guatemala to Mexico, and Moroni sent an army to head them, etc., etc.

Location of the Land of Melek

The valley west of the river Sidon (Usumacinta) and west of the land of Zarahemla, extending from the river Sidon on the west to the borders of the wilderness (mountains). This shows the valley of the Usumacinta river west of the river to the mountains was the land called "Melek." (p. 37)

The City of Mulek

Not in the land Bountiful or Zarahemla, either one. The Lamanite prisoners were marched from the city of Mulek back into the land Bountiful. Nephi and Lehi, sons of Helaman, went forth to teach the word of God among all the people of Nephi, beginning at the city Bountiful, and from thence forth to the city of Gid, and from the city of Gid to the city of Mulek, . . . and to all the people of Nephi in the land southward, and from thence *into the land of Zarahemla*. (pp. 37-38)

Ships Built (Shipping to the Land Northward)

And it came to pass that Hagoth, he being an exceeding curious man, therefore he went forth and built him an exceeding large ship, on the borders of the land Bountiful, by the land Desolation, and launched it forth into the *west sea*, by the narrow neck which led into the land northward.

This verse will bear a very close study. Hagoth, a curious man built a large ship for navigating the Pacific Ocean. No doubt the sea and conditions were much rougher than that upon the Gulf and the first and only record of ship-building upon the Pacific. "In the thirty and eighty year this man built other ships," and in verse 12 we read: "And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth, and whither they did go we know not." The statement "one other ship" implies that it was the last ship that was built on the Pacific coast; but in verse 14, in the thirty and ninth year of the reign of the Judges, we read that one Corianton had gone forth to the land northward in a ship to carry forth provisions unto the people who had gone forth into that land. With these statements we can see that the Nephites were shipping provisions and shipping timber to the Nephites who had gone into the land northward. It must have been from somewhere along on the Bay of Campeche, in the Gulf of Mexico, sailing along the coast up as far as Tampico and intermediate points. . . .

Land of Many Waters

And it came to pass in the forty and sixth year there was much contention and many dissensions, in the which there were an exceeding great many that departed out of the land of Zarahemla, and went forth into the land northward, to inherit the land, and they did travel to an exceeding great distance, insomuch that they came to large bodies of water and many rivers. ()

Many have supposed that this description just referred to, especially the "exceeding great distance," implies a journey from South America, through Central America, to the Great Lakes in the United States; but we must be careful in jumping to conclusions that are altogether unwarranted. The only mode of travel that we know of was on foot. Men, women, and children, and, as we are told in a number of places, they drove their stock, showing that it could not have been a very great journey that they could have made in a day, and that a thousand miles would be an exceeding great distance for a people to travel, burdened with families, stock, etc.

Location of the Land of Desolation (and Land of Moron)

But we read the 5th verse (page 549), which adds a little light:
Yea, and even they did spread forth in all parts of the land, into whatsoever part had not been rendered desolate, and without timber, because of the many inhabitants who had before inhabited the land."

If we stop and think for a moment upon this statement, there is but one conclusion that we can come to,

and that is, that this was not the whole United States. There was no time in the past when the whole of the United States was rendered desolate of timber, etc., and then a people emigrating into that land to spread forth into the whole of the land would take millions of people to spread over the United States and populate it according to the description given in this book.

The following verse:

"And no part of the land was desolate, save it were for timber, etc., but, because of the greatness of the destruction of the people who had before inhabited the land, it was called Desolate."

The land south of where the Jaredites had settled was the land that was later called by the people of Zarahemla the Land of Desolation; south of the land of Moron to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Moron extended north from Cholula to Panuco along the sea-coast, and regions round about. There the ruins are to-day. And the description of the land northward, as given in the record, "sea on the east and sea on the west," etc., shows that it must have been the land of Mexico, and it is very doubtful if it was ever very much above the lakes in the central part of Mexico.

In the 8th verse it tells us that they did multiply and spread and go forth *from the land southward to the land northward*, and did spread insomuch that they began to cover the face of the whole earth, *from the sea south to the sea north, from the sea west to the sea east*. This is peculiar statement, and one we need to look at closely, consulting the map to see how this could be. Mexico runs south and then east through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and at the isthmus there is a sea south and a sea north, and up in the central part of Mexico there is a sea west and a sea east; taking all things into consideration, in the description of this land, this is the only application one can make of these various seas described.

The Narrow Pass, or Isthmus, Fortified

And the Nephites and the armies of Moronihah, were driven even into the land of Bountiful; and there they did fortify against the Lamanites, *from the west sea even to the east*, it being a day's journey for a Nephite on the line which they fortified, *and stationed their armies* to defend their north countries."

The custom of the Nephites in fortifying localities was in building cities and fortifying the cities; for an example, see the 22d chapter of Alma this was done in fortifying the narrow pass; building a number of fortified cities, as stated, *from the west sea to the east*, leading me to the conclusion that their greatest danger was from the approach of the enemy along the Pacific coast, or west sea. . . .

The Hill Cumorah

The Hill Cumorah, where Mormon hid the records the last time, must have been located amongst the lakes north of the land of Desolation in Mexico. This was in 384 A.D. And the abridgment that Mormon made he gave to his son Moroni. We read on page 760 a statement made by Moroni as follows:

For, behold, their wars were exceeding fierce among themselves, and because of their hatred they put to death every Nephite that will not deny the Christ, and I, Moroni will not deny the Christ; wherefore *I wander whithersoever I can for the safety of my own life.*"

And in 421 A.D. he buried the records where found, in New York State.

Now these records that were buried by Mormon had been accumulating for a thousand years; all made upon metal by a great many writers, and must have been quite numerous and very heavy, altogether too heavy for any one man to have carried and the fact that Moroni was fleeing from the Lamanites to save his life shows that there was no possibility for him to have buried them, in the hill he called Cumorah--strong evidence that this hill was located in Mexico. Also we notice that the Nephites, having many heavy battles in and around the city of Desolation, and then gathering in all the Nephite people, men, women, and children, and traveling northward, did not go such a great distance as some have supposed--clear up to New York State. But the records being found in that hill in New York State has led many to believe that there was the one Hill Cumorah, *and that the Hill Ramah was the Hill*

Cumorah, thus making some very unreasonable theories as to the travels and last battles of the Jaredites, as well as the Nephites.

One [unreasonable journey assumption] is the prophet Ether, writing in caves, in the land of Desolation; he was in a cave at the time all the Jaredites were destroyed, and the Lord directed him to *go forth out of the cave* and see the destruction of the people, and he did so, *and finished his record*. Thus it should be seen clearly that the prophet Ether was not taking nightly journeys from the land of Desolation to New York State and back before daylight, as their theories would indicate.

Think of Coriantumr, wounded in a terrible manner, as given in the account of the last of the Jaredite battles, where he lay unconscious upon the battlefield, where he was told by the prophet Ether that he was only to live to see another people coming to inherit the land and that they would bury him, walking from New York State down into South America, to be discovered by the people of Zarahemla, and taking with him all of the dead bodies of the Jaredites from New York State down to scatter them over the land of Desolation, where they were found.

Hill Cumorah

It was *in a land of many waters*, the same land visited by the 43 men sent by Limhi to find the land of Zarahemla, the beautiful plateau of Mexico; historians say that one-tenth of the area was once covered by the lakes. ("Native Races," Vol. II, pp. 87-88) Mormon hid all the records made from the time Lehi landed until they came into his hands in a mountain among the lakes in the Valley of Mexico. But he had made an abridgment which he gave to his son Moroni, who after his father's death and the destruction of the Nephites, wandered whithersoever he could, for the safety of his life, and, 37 years later, the record says, he was about to seal up the records, This must have been in New York State and he hid them in a hill near Manchester. (pp. 39-40)

The Coming of the Jaredite Colony

In the Book of Ether, the Jaredite record, it tells of eight vessels prepared by the brother of Jared, as the Lord directed him, for crossing the Atlantic Ocean. . . .

In their journey across the Atlantic we notice that trade-winds and the Gulf Stream combined would have brought them into the Gulf of Mexico, where the strongest indications are that they landed. With this idea a Quiche legend or tradition agrees.

According to a Quiche tradition, the primitive portion of Nahuas were in the distant east beyond immense seas and lands. Canub and Tlocab were the first who determined to leave their country. They sailed in seven barques, or ships, and it was at Panuco, in the Panuco River, near Tampico, Mexico, where they disembarked. It is not stated from whence they came, but merely that they came out of the region where the sun rises. ("Native Races," vol. III, p. 276)

Bancroft cites Torquemada as follows:

"Certain people came by way of Panuco, passed on *by degrees* [up the Panuco River] to *Tula*, from where they passed on to *Cholula* [Moron]." (Traditions of the Mexican Indian," vol. III, p. 258, "Native Races," footnote.)

In Cholula these people remained and multiplied, and sent colonies to people Upper and Lower Mixteca, and the Zapotecan country; and these, it is said, raised the grand edifices *whose remains* are still to be seen at Mictlan, or Mitla, the great city of the Jaredites; Mictlan meaning *Place of the Dead, or City of Desolation*.

"Cholula was one of the most ancient settlements in the country, with traditions reaching far back into the misty past." ("Hist. of Mex.," Bancroft, p. 236)

"The Mexicans around Cholula had a special legend connecting the escape of a remnant from the great deluge with the often-mentioned story of the origin of the people of Anahuac." ("Native Races," vol. III, p. 67)

These legends are very remarkable ones, as the Jaredites had eight barques, or vessels, and the colony was led by two men, Jared and his brother. A map showing the ruins of Mexico shows one great ruin across the river from Panuco, and then many other ruined cities along down the coast south

and by the eastern lakes near the present site of the city of Mexico, and a ruin now called Tula, a short distance north of the city of Mexico.

The Land Called Desolation

Now the land called Desolation was the place where the Jaredites were destroyed, and the name Desolation was given to the land by the people of Zarahemla because of the unburied dead discovered there when they first landed upon the western continent; and the fact that they called the land southward (south of the Isthmus) Bountiful, and the land north of the Isthmus Desolation, would indicate their first landing was near to the Isthmus, and the unburied dead of the Jaredites was that which established the line called "a day and a half's journey for a Nephite *on the line* Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea." There was a narrower place in this isthmus close to this boundary line, *in the land Bountiful*, that they fortified, or built a number of fortified cities on, and referred to the distance here, from the west sea even unto the east, as a day's journey for a Nephite. "Thus the land on the northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful. . . . There being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward."

The Land of Moron

"Now the land of Moron, where the king dwelt, *was near the* land which is called Desolation by the Nephites."

From legends, we believe we have good reasons to place the land of Moron in regions around Cholula, possibly north to Panuco, and south to the land called Desolation by the Nephites.

. . . The eastern part of Central Mexico from Tampico south to Cholula. The ruins at Cholula are the ruins of the city of Moron, where the Jaredite kings lived during their last war. (p. 39)

Jaredite Population Few in Number Because of Wars, etc.

And the Lord warned Omer in a dream that he should depart out of the land [Moron]; wherefore, Omer departed out of the land with his family, and traveled many days, and came over and passed by the Hill Shim, and came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed, and from thence eastward, and came to a place which was called Ablom, by the seashore, and there he did pitch his tent, and also his sons and his daughters, and all his household, save it were Jared and his family, and Jared was anointed king, and Jared was murdered upon his throne, and Akish reigned in his stead; and there began to be war between the sons of Akish and Akish, which lasted for the space of many years; yea, unto the destruction of nearly all the people of the kingdom; yea, *even all, save it were thirty souls*, and they who fled with the house of Omer; wherefore, Omer was restored again to the land of his inheritance."

I call special attention to the fact of nearly the complete destruction of the Jaredites at this time; thirty souls only being left beside Omer and his household. Then ensued a long period of blessings from the Lord, when they built up many cities and spread over all the face of the land again, and Heth became wicked and tried to dethrone his father; he slew him with his own sword, and reigned in his stead. And there came prophets in the land again crying repentance unto them, or there should come a curse upon the face of the land; yea, *even there should be a great famine*, and they should be destroyed if they did not repent. The people believed not the words of the prophets, but cast them out, and some of them were cast into pits and left to perish. And it came to pass there began to be a great dearth upon the land, *and the inhabitants began to be destroyed, exceeding fast*, because of the dearth; because there was no rain upon the face of the land; and there came forth poisonous serpents again upon the face of the land, and poisoned many people. And it came to pass that their flocks began to flee before the poisonous serpents, towards the land southward *which was called by the Nephites Zarahemla*. (Not from the United States to South America. That could not be.)

I call attention to these facts as recorded, to show that before the Jaredites became very numerous

there were wars and famines and plagues that destroyed them, showing there never could have been a very great population, as some has supposed.

Final Battles of the Jaredites

"And Coriantumr was discovered by the people of Zarahemla, and he dwelt with them for the space of nine moons."

We call attention to the fact that the people of Zarahemla called the place of the *first* landing the land of Desolation because of the dead bodies of the Jaredites lying unburied upon the land. And it must have been at this time that they discovered Coriantumr, and he lived with them for nine months.

Now we follow the fighting of the Jaredites and their last warfare, which took place between the land of Moron and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The mountains south and west of the city of Moron (Cholula) were called the wilderness of Akish, and the valley of Rio Mexicala was called the valley of Gilgal by the Jaredites. . . .

"And it came to pass that Coriantumr did pursue him, and Lib gave battle to him upon the seashore."

This statement of the battle upon the seashore is an important location, showing the Jaredites fighting upon the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, as we shall see by later evidences to corroborate it.

Southern Boundary Line of the Land Desolation

Shiz did pursue Coriantumr *eastward, even to the borders of the seashore*, and there he gave battle unto Shiz for the space of three days. [Just north of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.] Again notice the words *eastward* and seashore. Must have been the Gulf of Mexico. Then follows the retreat of Shiz through the land of Corihor, killing all the inhabitants before them that would not join them; and they pitched their tents in the valley of Corihor. And Coriantumr pitched his tents in the valley of Shur. This must have been in the valley of Villa Alta, and the valley of Corihor must have been the valley just east of the valley of Villa Alta, three hard battles here. Coriantumr, having fainted from loss of blood, was carried away by his army, and Shiz commanded his people that they should not pursue.

Then a season of quiet until Coriantumr had recovered of his wounds; during this time the armies moved north again, possibly to Moron. Then comes another battle, and Coriantumr fled to the waters of Ripliancum.

And it came to pass that he came to the waters of Ripliancum, which, by interpretation, is large, or to exceed all [Pacific Ocean]. Wherefore, when they came to these waters, they pitched their tent, and Shiz also pitched his tent near unto them, and on the morrow he did come to battle." (This is next to the last, or final battle of the Jaredites)

Coriantumr did press upon the armies of Shiz, and did beat them that they caused them to flee before them, and they did flee *southward*, and did pitch their tents in a place which is called Ogath.

And the armies of Coriantumr did pitch their tents by *the Hill Ramah*, and it was the same hill where my father, Mormon, did hide up the records unto the Lord which were sacred.

The Hill Ramah

Many have thought this Hill Ramah of the Jaredites to be the Hill Cumorah, which I am sure is a mistake. We notice on page 697, verses 21-25, that the Nephites and Lamanites were fighting at the city of Desolation in the land of Desolation. And at this time Mormon, seeing that the Lamanites were about to overthrow the land, went *to the Hill Shim* and did take up all the records hidden there. This shows that the Hill Shim is somewhere close to the city of Desolation. If we can discover in the record that Mormon hid the records in the Hill Shim at any time, it would establish the fact of the Hill Ramah of the Jaredites and the Hill Shim of the Nephites being one and the same, instead of the Hill Ramah and the Hill Cumorah being the same.

We turn to page 687 and read an account of Ammoron instructing Mormon at the time he was ten years of age, telling him that when he was about twenty-four years old he should go to the land of Antum, unto

a hill which shall be called Shim, and there had he deposited unto the Lord all the sacred engravings concerning this people. We turn to page 689:

And notwithstanding I, being young, was large in stature; therefore the people of Nephi appointed me that I should be their leader, or the leader of their armies. Therefore it came to pass that in my sixteenth year I did go forth at the head of the army of the Nephites against the Lamanites. Therefore the three hundred and twenty and sixth year had passed away."

This shows us that Mormon was born in 310 A.D. On page 691, verses 42-44, I read:

And it came to pass in the three hundred and forty and fifth year the Nephites did begin to flee before the Lamanites, and they were pursued until they came even to the land of Jashon. Now the city of Jashon was near the land where Ammoron had deposited the records unto the Lord. And behold, I *had gone* according to the words of Ammoron and taken up the plates of Nephi and did make a record according to the words of Ammoron.

Here Mormon was thirty-five years old, and he says he did go at the age of twenty-four, eleven years before this time, and took up the plates, *and he must have buried them again in the Hill Shim*; for on page 697 it says, in the three hundred and seventy and fifth year Mormon went again to the Hill Shim and took up the records, forty years after the time he took them up the first time, *showing that he did hide them in the Hill Shim*. And the only logical conclusion that one can come to concerning the Hill Ramah is, that it must have been the Hill Shim in the land of Desolation and near the city of Desolation, where the last battle of the Jaredites was fought.

The Land of Ablom

In Tabasco, Mexico, on the shores of the Bay of Campeche. Omer and family traveled from Cholula southward to the Hill Shim (Mt. Zempoaltepec), and Moroni says they came over by the place where the Nephites were destroyed. It must have been a battle-ground *near the Hill Shim*. (It may have been the one at the city of Boaz.) Thence eastward to Ablom by the seashore.

Location of the Hill Called Ramah by the Jaredites

The hill called Shim by the Nephites, where Mormon kept the records hid for about fifty years. The Hill Cumorah was in the land of many waters. The Hill Ramah was in the land called Desolation by the Nephites. Ether hid by day in a cave, and went out by night, "viewing the destruction which came upon the people by night," There are legends of the Indians in Mexico, telling of seven caves in the land Desolation. Must have been caves occupied by Ether during the last war of the Jaredites. ("Native Races," Vol. III, p. 64, 67. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 372. Bureau of Am. Ethn., Bul. 28, p. 248) The next to the last battle of the Jaredites was fought by the waters of Ripliancum (Pacific Ocean), and from there they went southward to Ogath (Oajaca) and the Hill Ramah. The two armies were close together, one in *the Valley of Oaxaca* and the other near Mt. Zempoaltepec, then called Ramah and later called Shim by the Nephites. (p. 40)

Why Have Mistakes Been Made in the Efforts of the Past?

Why have students of the Book of Mormon failed in the past to discover the correct geography of this wonderful historical record? Several reasons suggest themselves in answer to this question: The Lord may have decreed it to come at a certain time, for some wise purpose. It was not revealed at the time the record was given to the world; this we know. Men may have failed to discover the geography of the record because of lack of faith in the record itself, or because they have tried to *make locations* for the principal cities described in the record from ancient ruins, which have been discovered largely in South America, and not successfully working it out from the record itself. Whatever the trouble, we know the efforts have been a failure in the past; the locations of cities are not in agreement with the descriptions given in the history, as I will note as we pass along with the study. (pp. 29-30) [At the end of his book, Hills makes a double column comparison between the places proposed by the 1894 Committee (Hemispheric Theory) and those he has proposed (Limited Mesoamerican Theory)]

Location of Some of the Cities

Aaron	Naranjo, ruins	Guatemala
Angola	Huin Anguillo, ruins	Mexico
Bountiful	Palenque, ruins	Chiapas, Mexico
Desolation	Mitla, ruins	Mexico
Gid	Piedras Negras, ruins	Chiapas, Mexico
Ishmael	Ruins at Opico	Salvador
Jordan	Jordan, ruins	Mexico
Mulek	Multe, ruins	Mexico
Moron	Cholula, ruins	Mexico
Nephi	Copan, ruins	Honduras
Ogath	Oaxaca, ruins	Mexico
Shilom	Cinaca Micallo, ruins	Guatemala and Salvador
Sidom	Ocosingo, ruins	Chiapas
Shemlon	Sonsonate, ruins	Salvador
Shimnilom	Jiboa, ruins	Salvador
Teancum	Tehuantepec, ruins	Mexico

Location of Lands Described in the Record

Honduras and Salvador	"The land of Nephi"
Guatemala and British Honduras	"Zarahemla"
West Valley of the Usumacinta	"Land of Melek"
From Melek to Isthmus of Tehuantepec	"Bountiful"
From Isthmus to Cholula	"Land of Desolation"
From Cholula to Panuco	"Land of Moron"
"Land of Jershon"	Valleys throughout southern Guatemala
"Land of Antionum"	Valleys of Montagua, southwestern Guatemala

Ancient Indian Tribes of History

Nahuas	Nephites
Olmecs	Muleks
Xicalancas	Zarahemlas
Quiches	Descendants of people of Ammon
Mayas	Lamanites.

[1917 Illustrated Model Louis E. Hills LIMITED MESOAMERICA]

L.S.=South. & East. Mesoamerica / N.N.=Tehuantepec / L.N.=Northern & western Mesoamerica / H.C.= in Valley of Mexico
 Sources: Louis Edward Hills, *Geography of Mexico and Central America from 2234 B.C. to 421 A.D.*, n.p.: Independence, Missouri, 1917. Also Hills' *A Short Work on the Popol Vuh and the Traditional History of the Ancient Americans by Ixt-lil-Xochitl*, Independence, MO; Also *A Study of the Geography of the Book of Mormon*, n.p., 1920. Also *A Friendly Discussion of the Book of Mormon Geography*, n.p.: Independence, Missouri, 1924. See also Hills' *Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America*, 1919.

[1917 Map: Probable Course of the Ancient Colonies across the Ocean. Louis Edward Hills, *Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America*, 1919, p. 6]

1917^ Jeremiah A. Gunsolley "The Study of the Book of Mormon, Supported by Collateral Proof and (Editor--RLDS) Information from Other Reliable Sources, Such As the Bible,

Doctrine

and Covenants, Archaeology, Science, Etc.," in *The Religio Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 2, January, February, March, 1917, p. 3, 36.

Lesson One: A Sacred Record Foretold, The Book of Mormon

...

The Lesson Setting

Lesson Text. 2 Nephi 11: 110-160; 11:16-19.

Where. In the land of Nephi.

When. Between 560 and 545 B.C.

...

Note* From page 36 (lesson ?) we have the following:

Questions

What change in geographical location is introduced in this lesson? (Consult map) What period of time is covered? What five writers wrote the text of this lesson? . . . What migration occurred in Mosiah's reign, and why? . . . In what land did they locate? . . .

[1917 **Map of the Land of Zarahemla and Northern Portion of Nephi.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. "The Study of the Book of Mormon . . .," in *The Religio-Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 2, January, February, March, 1917]

1917^ Jeremiah A. Gunsolley and
(Editor--RLDS)
Doctrine

"The Study of the Book of Mormon, Supported by Collateral Proof and Information from Other Reliable Sources, Such As the Bible, and Covenants, Archaeology, Science, Etc.," in *The Religio Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 3, April, May, June, 1917, pp. 18-19

Lesson Five: finding the People of Zeniff

*Introduction--*A party of sixteen men, in the days of Mosiah the second set out to search for a company who had left Zarahemla in the days of Mosiah the first or Benjamin, to go back to the land of their former possessions. This party of searchers after wandering about forty days, were arrested by the ruler of the land whither they had come and kept in prison two years. . . .

Lesson Setting

Lesson Text. Mosiah 5

When. 120 years B.C.

Where. Zarahemla to Shiblón

Who. Ammon and his party of searchers and the people of Zeniff.

...

Comments on the Text

...

"They wandered forty days in the wilderness." The text says "they knew not the course." It is likely they knew the general direction, but it was a wilderness country and there were no roads nor trails and

they had no experienced guides or scouts. Their fathers who had come up from that land had all died, likely.

"Came to a hill which is north of the land of Shilom." According to conclusions reached by the committee on American archaeology Lehi-Nephi was not the ancient home of the Nephites called Nephi, but was farther north. (See map. Also committee's report, page 30.)

"Land of Shilom." From the map it may be seen that this lies to the northeast of Lehi-Nephi.

. . .

[1917] **Map of the Land of Zarahemla and Northern Portion of Nephi.** Drawn for the Archaeological Com. by G. F. Weston, Buchanan, Mich. "The Study of the Book of Mormon . . .," in *The Religio-Quarterly: Senior Grade*, Lamoni, Iowa: Published Quarterly by Zion's Religio-Literary Society at Herald Publishing House, Volume 15, Number 3, April, May, June, 1917]

1918 (abt. David Whitmer) Joseph F. Smith Journal, April 25, 1918
("Cumorah")

H. Donl Peterson, a faculty member of the BYU religion department published a book (*Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 1983) in which he writes the following:

Joseph, Emma, and Oliver Cowdery left Harmony, Pennsylvania, and traveled with David Whitmer to the home of his parents, Peter and Mary Whitmer, in Fayette township, New York. [see illustration below] The following incident was related by President Joseph F. Smith recollecting [what David Whitmer had said in] an interview with David Whitmer forty years before:

When they started for New York Joseph told them how they would travel over the rolling country and over the prairie. He [David Whitmer] came to one of those rolling prairies as they were driving along and he [David Whitmer] described his wagon just as an ordinary wagon with two long poles in it at each end across the end gates of the wagon box and then two boards laid across that for seats on those hickory poles. Joseph and Emma were on the hind seat and Oliver and David on the front seat. In the middle of this prairie, all of a sudden, there appeared a man walking along the road, and David said he [the man] raised his hat and rubbed his brow as if he were a little warm, and said good morning to them and they said good morning. Oliver and David looked at each other and began to marvel and wonder: Where did he come from, what does it mean? David described him saying he had on something right across his shoulder, and on his back he was carrying something of considerable weight. They looked round to Joseph inquiringly: What does it mean? And Joseph said, "Ask him to ride." So David, who was teamster, asked him if he would get in and ride with them. He said, "No, I am just going over to Cumorah." David said, "Cumorah? Cumorah? What does that mean?" He had never heard of Cumorah, and he said, "I thought I knew this country all around here, but I never heard of Cumorah" and he inquired about it. While he was looking around and trying to ascertain what the mystery was, the man was gone, and when he looked back he did not see him any more. Then he demanded, "What does it mean?" Joseph informed him that the man was Moroni, and that the bundle on his back contained plates which Joseph had delivered to him before they departed from Harmony, Susquehanna County, and that he was taking them for safety, and would return them when he (Joseph) reached father Whitmer's home. There was a long talk about this. [*Joseph F. Smith Journal*, April 25, 1918]

Source: ^H. Donl Peterson, *Moroni: Ancient Prophet-Modern Messenger*, SLC: Deseret Book, 2000, pp. 124-126

Note* According to anti-Mormon Dan Vogel, "Joseph F. Smith's statement of 25 April 1918, which retells his and Pratt's 1879 interview with Whitmer, is tainted by later interpolation and should be used with caution. (*Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, p. 656n. 2) --See the earlier versions of this story in the 1877, 1878, and 1886 notations along with the notes. FIND the record of the 1879 interview.

1918 or earlier

(abt. Joseph F. Smith)

^The Instructor 73, no. 4, April 1938, p. 160

In the *Instructor* of 1938, following a reprinting of the 1890 statement by George Q. Cannon, a letter is printed which is signed, "Frederick J. Pack, Chairman, Gospel Doctrine Committee." It questions the correctness of the statement in the 1884 Richards and Little *Compendium* supposedly revealing the route followed by Lehi. (see 1884 notation) Immediately following the Pack letter is this note:

(Note. The present associate editor [George D. Pyper] of *The Instructor* was one day in the office of the late President Joseph F. Smith [who died in 1918] when some brethren were asking him to approve a map showing the exact landing place of Lehi and his company. President Smith declined to officially approve of the map, saying that the Lord had not yet revealed it, and that if it were officially approved and afterwards found to be in error, it would affect the faith of the people.--Asst. Editor)

Note* While President Joseph F. Smith refused to name Lehi's landing place, some 30 years earlier (1887) George Q. Cannon, the first counselor in the First Presidency, had declared that as far as Book of Mormon geography was concerned, there were only "a few points which can be identified." One of the points that he identified was that Lehi and his family "landed near the Chilean city of Valparaiso." What is even more interesting here is that at the time of Cannon's declaration concerning Lehi's landing place (1887), George Q. Cannon was first counselor in the First Presidency and Joseph F. Smith was second counselor.

(See the 1887 notation; note B. H. Roberts comments in 1909)

1918 Orson F. Whitney

(Talk) October Conference, 1918. *Conference Report*, October 1918, p. 39

There was an American prophet named Nephi. He came from Jerusalem six hundred years before the birth of the Savior--came with his father, Lehi, and an Israelitish colony, and both South and North America were eventually peopled by their descendants. Those who followed Nephi were known as Nephites, while a degenerate faction who had for their leader Nephi's brother Laman, were termed Lamanites. These were the ancestors of the American Indians.

1919 James E. Talmage

The Vitality of Mormonism, Boston, MA: Gorham Press, 1919, pp. 134-135. Reprinted in 1948.

Talmage writes: "The exterminating conflict was fought in the vicinity of Palmyra in the present State of New York."

1919[^] Louis Edward Hills ***Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America***, Independence, MO: n.p., 1919
(RLDS)

In his introduction to an extensive study of traditional Mesoamerican Indian legends, Louis Hills makes some remarks which are pertinent to the study of Book of Mormon geography, especially in light of his previous 1917 publication, *The Geography of Mexico and Central America from 2234B.C. to 421 A.D.* Under the heading, "Who Were the Ancient Americans?" Louis Hills states the following:

The remarkable evidence of ancient civilized nations who once flourished upon the American continent, who built great cities, pyramids and temples, the ruins of which may still be seen, should create an interest in American archaeology, not only among men of science, but among men of intelligence throughout the world.

Who they were or from whence they came have been the subjects of many and varied conjectures, and yet no satisfactory conclusions have been reached. . . .

Geography is an indispensable requisite for the study of history; to associate the geography of a country with its history is the most efficient method of rendering the study both interesting and instructive.

There is a vast amount of traditional history, which, if systematically studied, may furnish sufficient evidence of location to make geography possible. While there may be unreasonable additions and

distortions made by writers and translators of the ancient records, yet they are based upon facts. We may gather the wheat from the chaff by leaving out much of the unreasonable, and condense the facts which are supported by corroborative evidences.

Traditional history of Mexico and Central America tells of three colonies who came to the country from across the sea; one came from where the sun sets (west), or across the Pacific, and two came from where the sun rises (east), or across the Atlantic. . . .

[1919 **Map of Mexico and Central America From 2234 B.C. to 421 A.D.** Louis Hills. Louis Edward Hills, *Historical Data from Ancient Records and Ruins of Mexico and Central America*, Independence, MO: n.p., 1919]

Note* Much of what is in this book is referred to in the volumes on Indian Origins and External Evidences. For a much clearer explanation of Louis Hills' views on Book of Mormon geography, see his 1920 paper and his 1924 book.

1919^ Ralph W. Farrell "Book of Mormon Geography," in *The Saints Herald* 66, March 12, 1919 p. 249.
(RLDS)

The study of the Book of Mormon claims is interesting and vital. The matter dealing with its archaeology, as presented by Brother L. E. Hills, is as fascinating as it is probably correct. Surely we cannot brush it aside without sufficient reasons, and though I have heard others adversely criticize our brother's findings, yet I have neither heard nor seen proofs that contradicted his positions. The very hasty and brief investigation I have made of the latest publications have confirmed me in the belief that Central America is the place where the Nephites landed when the rediscovered this country. . . . One of Guatemala's lakes, Atitlan, is described: "A vast lake 27 miles in greatest length and 12 miles wide, . . . depth of more than 1,000 feet. Its surface is more than 5,000 feet above the level of the sea." A severe earthquake, in 1773, destroyed the large city Antiqua. This wonderful lake resembles Lake Guija, which is about 160 miles further south, and is supposed by some to be the Waters of Mormon.

Note* It is hard to know what Mr. Farrell is implying about Lake Atitlan. If he is possibly suggesting Lake Atitlan as another candidate for the Waters of Mormon, he would be the first known person to do so.

1919^ C. W. Clark "Book of Mormon Evidences - Part 4," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, Vol. 32, No. 3 (March), pp. 170-174
(RLDS)

Accompanying maps on page 171, C.W. Clark writes:

The above maps were used to illustrate an article by the author appearing in the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications for April, 1917, on "The Mound Builder and the Indian." By kind permission of the publishers, they are reproduced here.

[1919 **Map: Maps of Jaredite and Nephite Migrations.** C. W. Clark, "Book of Mormon Evidences - Part 4," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, Vol. 32, No. 3 (March), p. 171.]

1919^ Ina B. Shelley "Book of Mormon," [Poem] in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 32, No. 6 (June 1919), pp. 285-286.
(RLDS)

Book of Mormon, truthful record,
Saints, oh, hail the joyful sound;
Book of Mormon, hid for ages
In Cumorah's lonely ground.

1919^ C. W. Clark "Book of Mormon Evidences - Part 9," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed.,
ed.,
(RLDS) Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, Vol. 32, No. 8 (Aug), pp. 349-352

Part 9

The Nephites and the people of Zarahemla became one people. They were not two civilizations, both having arrived from Jerusalem, but **the people of Zarahemla when they landed on the northeastern coast of South America about where Venezuela is located**, did find a man whose name was Coriantumr who was the last of a race that had preceded them. . . .

Note* Clark has the people of Zarahemla landing "on the northeastern coast of South America about where Venezuela is." This would probably indicate an Atlantic coast crossing.

[1919 **Illustration: Maps of Jaredite and Nephite Migrations.** The above maps were used to illustrate an article by the author appearing in the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications for April, 1917, on "The Mound Builder and the Indian." C. W. Clark, "Book of Mormon Evidences," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 32, No. 4 (April), p. 171.]

1920^ G. Wellington Robley "The Hill Cumorah," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni,
(RLDS) Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April), pp. 147-148.

Lonely and sedate it sits as though raised by the hand of man, instead of by the hand of God in some mighty convulsion of nature. What a wealth of memories cluster around this hill, and how many conflicting thoughts it calls to mind! . . . The present fades, and I stand with Mormon and Moroni on the hill where the mighty warriors of the vanished nation made their last stand for their rights and their homes, against a vigorous and determined foe.

What an awful scene is presented to view! The hillside is covered with the slain; thousands upon thousands are sleeping the last long sleep. As far as the eyes can reach, we see them on every side. Two hundred and thirty thousand of them! Dead . . .

The Hill Cumorah stands almost naked and apart from all around it. It is distinct; a fit representation of past greatness and a past age . . .

[1920 **Photograph: The Hill Cumorah.** The arrow points to the spot where the plates were deposited by Mormon about 421 A.D. G. Wellington Robley, "The Hill Cumorah," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 33, No. 4 (April), p. 147]

1920^ Fred W. Smith "Hogath Son of Jacob," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed.,
(RLDS) Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 33: No. 6 (June 1920),
pp. 243-245, 263-265, No. 7 (July), pp. 317-322, 327; No. 8 (Aug),
pp. 355-361; No. 9 (Sept), pp. 404-410; No. 10 (Oct), pp. 449-457;
No. 11 (Nov.), pp. 504-509; No. 12 (Dec), pp. 550-556

A fictional story about fictional Book of Mormon people. Although no specific mention is made of Book of Mormon geographical sites or locations, some of these articles include a map "of South America, showing the places involved in the story."

[1920 **Map: A section of South America, showing the places involved in the story.** Note comparative area, shown by the map of Pennsylvania drawn to the same scale. Fred W. Smith, "Hoagath Son of Jacob," in *Autumn Leaves*, Elbert A. Smith ed., Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House. Vol. 33, No. 9 (Sept); p. 408. No. 11 (Nov), p. 508; No. 12 (Dec), p. 555.]

1920^

"Archaeological Testimony of the Book of Mormon," in *Relief Society Magazine* 7, November 1920, pp. 665-671.

Lesson III Book of Mormon Third Week in December (Optional)

Subject: Positions of the Book Sustained by Archaeological Testimony. . . .

. . . Three civilizations have existed, flourished, and decayed, upon parts of the continent, and one on nearly every part. Tersely stated, the book [of Mormon] contends that upon this continent there were different civilizations by different peoples, namely: there was the Jaredite era, the oldest, then the Nephite era which absorbed the people of Mulek, after which the Lamanites reigned undisputed. The Jaredites confined themselves principally to North America, while the Nephites occupied both South and North America, as did also their conquerors, the Lamanites.

Leading authorities on American antiquities and archaeology do not hesitate to declare that there were different peoples and correspondingly different periods of civilization preceding the Aztec and the Inca period which dominated the southern division of the continent at the time of the invasion by the Spanish party headed by Cortez.

Now as to corroborative evidences of this contention the following is submitted:

The most ancient civilization on this continent, judging from the combined testimony of tradition, records, and architectural remains, was that which grew up under the favorable climate and geographical surroundings which the Central American region southward of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec afforded. (*Short's North Americans of Antiquity*, page 203) . . .

Baldwin says:

To find the chief seats and most abundant remains of the most remarkable civilization of this old American race, we must go still further south into Central America and some of the more southern states of Mexico. Here, ruins of ancient cities have been discovered, cities which must have been deserted and left to decay in ages previous to the beginning of the Aztec supremacy.--(*Ancient America* , page 93.)

Bancroft declares:

The oldest civilization in America which has left any traces for our consideration, whatever may have been its prehistoric origin, was that in the Usumacinta (Central American region) represented by the Palenque group of Guinn. (*Bancroft's Native Races* , vol. 5, page 158, also page 230).

We could go on multiplying the evidence in this particular, but it is not necessary. The foregoing is sufficient to show that archaeology definitely fixes the oldest civilization of America where the "Book of Morn" just as definitely describes it to have flourished.

As to the Nephite era, coming centuries later than that of the Jaredites, it is almost universally agreed by noted writers on American antiquities and archaeology, that the semi-civilized peoples, the Incas and the Aztecs, reflected a civilization antedating their time. Prescott asserts that the source of this civilization (the Nephite) "is traced to the Valley of Cuzco, the central region of Peru;" a conclusion that is confirmed by "nearly every tradition," he says, and "by the imposing architectural remains which still endure, after the lapse of so many years," on the borders of Lake Titicaca, South America.

Baldwin says:

The uniform and constant report of Peruvian tradition places the beginning of this old civilization in the Valley of Cuzco, near Lake Titicaca. There appeared the first civilizers and the first civilized communities. (*Ancient America*, page 236.)

. . . Again, in a work entitled, *Mound Builders' Works and Relics*, by S. D. Peet, page 21 we read:

We may say that the evidences are numerous, that the people who built the mounds in the Mississippi valley belonged to different races and occupied the country at different periods, and may have

come from different sources. Traditions of the [North American] Indians prove that the lands have been inhabited by different races and at different periods. Nowhere, however, is it claimed that the Indians were the first people who occupied the country, or that their ancestors were the first race who built the mounds.

1920 LDS Church Committee Reviews Geography for the 1920 Edition of the Book of Mormon

On 18 March 1920 Elder George F. Richards was appointed chairman of a committee to revise and correct the Book of Mormon. The Church committee (composed of Orson F. Whitney, Anthony W. Ivins, Joseph Fielding Smith, Melvin J. Ballard, George F. Richards, and James E. Talmage) was given, as part of their assignment, the duty of evaluating Orson Pratt's geographical footnotes. After hearing many hours of presentations on the geography of the Book of Mormon, they saw fit to delete all of Orson Pratt's geographical footnotes from the new edition of the Book of Mormon. The work of the committee continued until the new edition of the Book of Mormon came from the press in December, 1920. In early 1921 the committee continued to meet to discuss Book of Mormon geography and associated subjects; by February, a new assignment was being planned for them. James E. Talmage intimated that a complete revision of the Doctrine and Covenants was to be undertaken.

Source: ^Robert L. Millet and Kent P. Jackson, eds., *Studies in Scripture*, Vol. 1: *The Doctrine and Covenants* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989], p. 17. For a specific listing of all the material changed by the Talmage Committee, see ^V. Mack Sumner, "An Exploration of the Footnotes in the 1911 Edition, Used by the Talmage Committee," written for Daniel Ludlow's course--Graduate Religion 622, External Evidences, August, 1967.

Note* Some of the people who presented their views and perspectives on Book of Mormon geography to the committee were Janne Sjodahl, B. H. Roberts, Joel Ricks, Anthony Ivins and Willard Young. Sjodahl would record these theories together with another one by Stuart Bagley in *The Improvement Era* in 1927 (^"Suggested Key to Book of Mormon Geography," *The Improvement Era*, 30, September 1927, 974-87, 1002)

(See the notations for 1879, 1921, 1927)

1920 abt. James E. Talmage

^Riley L. Dixon, *Just One Cumorah*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, Inc., 1958, pp. 147-149.

Riley Dixon writes concerning a letter written to him by Elder Golden Jensen on June 10, 1954 in which Elder Jensen writes:

Dear Brother Dixon,

In keeping with your request, I will endeavor to give you herein an account of an experience which I greatly enjoyed while laboring as secretary of the Eastern States Mission.

In the summer of 1920, I received an assignment to attend a special meeting with the missionaries laboring in Buffalo, New York. The day following the meeting I met George W. McCune, my mission president, and the late Dr. James E. Talmage who had driven to Buffalo from Detroit, Michigan. At their invitation I accompanied them to New York City. Enroute, however, we proceeded to Rochester, thence to the city of Palmyra, where we visited briefly. We then proceeded to the Joseph Smith Farm, where we left our car and walked to the sacred grove. As we were about to enter the grove, Dr.

Talmage stopped, removed his shoes, and requested that President McCune and I remain where we were while he entered and prayed, alone in that sacred and holy spot, to the Living God.

After a while he called us to join him, whereupon he retold the story of the boy Prophet and of the glorious vision which Joseph had beheld, while President McCune and I sat and wept with joy.

Leaving the grove we went immediately to the Hill Cumorah and viewed the spot where the Angel Moroni had, ages before, deposited the golden plates according to the instructions of the Lord. These records were later revealed and delivered to Joseph the Prophet and were translated by him forth to the world The Book of Mormon.

All the while I was being thrilled and edified by the continuous flow of information and wisdom that came

from the marvelous store of knowledge of Elder Talmage. I think I shall never forget how he looked, standing with bared head on the crest of the Hill Cumorah and with outstretched arm describing as he seemed to visualize the last great battle between the armies of the Nephites and Lamanites, calling attention to the significance of the hill as a vantage point for the forces who might gain control or possession of it.

At this time he [Talmage] stated that he had found as a result of a survey and extensive analysis made by him, while a student in an eastern university, the soils of the surrounding area to be very rich in calcium, and phosphate content, in the soils particularly adjacent to the Hill Cumorah. With further investigation he discovered that there was a lack of these elements in the land which lay further than a few miles in radius in any direction from the Hill Cumorah. To him, this discovery was indicative of the fact that there was decaying of bones of the Nephite and Lamanite armies that perished there.

To Apostle Talmage there was no doubt as to the reality of those great events as related in the Book of Mormon, nor was there any doubt in his mind as to the place where they had occurred.

I commend you, Brother Dixon, for your keen interest in the visible and physical evidences which declare the truth of the Book of Mormon; and may the Lord bless you in your endeavor to bring attention of same to closer view.

Sincerely your brother,
J. Golden Jensen

Additional Source: ^John K. Child, "Book of Mormon Geography," Graduate Religion 622, Dr. Daniel Ludlow, August 16, 1965, p. 19.

1920^ L[ouis] E. Hills "Some of the Ancient Americans, Hidden Israelites," 1920

In this 6-page article we find the following:

A reasonably accurate geography for the ancient American history may be worked out from the ancient records and traditions of the Indians.

To associate the geography of a country with its history is the most efficient method for rendering the study both interesting and instructive.

In the records and traditions of the Indians there are a number of references to different colonies, telling of the directions they came from across the sea, and where they disembarked upon this continent; also giving descriptions of locations; and also of their migrations on this continent.

It is apparent to Book of Mormon students in the church that map locations made to supply a geography for the Book of Mormon history, and was adopted by the church in 1898, are incorrect in every particular.

It appears that the locations that the committee made, and the development of their maps, were based upon the theory, "That the small neck of land, or narrow pass," referred to in seven or more places in the Book of Mormon, was the Isthmus of Panama; and working upon this theory they tried to make the history account for all ancient American ruins in North, South and Central America, to date.

Locations for the landing places of the three colonies were made from this theory; and, then, without knowledge as to what epoch the different ruins belonged, designated a few known ruins as those of important cities described in the record, thus trying to make the record fit the ruins and the ruins fit the record. . . .

Hills then cites a number of discrepancies in the Hemispheric Theory including the one below:

The Book of Mormon shows the city of Nephi to be near the foot of the narrow strip of wilderness (narrow range of mountains). P. 476, verses 111-113. The committee maps locate the city of Nephi at Cuzco, Peru, about two thousand miles from the narrow strip of wilderness the committee pointed out, located in their maps in U. S. of Colombia, S.A.

When Nephi, Sam, Jacob, Joseph and Zoram, with their families settled in the place where the city of Nephi was built, we read: "We did sow seeds, and did reap again in abundance; and we began to raise flocks and herds, and animals of every kind." P. 95, vs. 8-16. The following is a description of Cuzco and vicinity, by Nadailic, in Pre-Historic America, p. 387: "Potosi, the most elevated town of the globe, 13,330 feet above the level of the sea; on the north is Cuzco the ancient capital of the Incas; whilst between them lies lake Titicaca, the grandest body of fresh water in South America. The whole country

is dreary and desolate; no luxuriant vegetation breaks the gloom of the landscape; cereals cannot ripen, and animals are rare." Thus we see, Cuzco at such a high altitude was not where the city of Nephi was located, where the Nephites plated their seeds, and "did reap again in abundance." . . .

Working out correct geographical locations for the Book of Mormon history, without a modern name given for a single location, is no easy task. But it can be done by the joint use of descriptions given of locations in the Book of Mormon with descriptions given of locations in traditional history of the ancient Americans. The ruins in such cases would be corroborative evidence.

The Popol Vuh, national record found among the Quiche Indians of Guatemala, and ancient picture writings of the Nahuas, translated by Ferdinand de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (Ist-lil-zoch-i-te), a native Chichimec of Nahua descent; quoted from extensively in Native Races, by Mr. Bancroft, which are indeed, very valuable historical records. . . .

The Narrow Pass

Teancum, a leader under Moroni, was the first man to fortify the narrow pass or isthmus, (65 B.C, p. 495, v. 5-10), choosing strong locations for cities, or camps, and fortifying them with stone walls round about. Thirty years later (35 B.C.) the Nephite armies under Moronihah fortified this narrow pass still more. (p. 553, v. 39). And about four hundred years later the Nephite armies under Mormon again fortified this locality (p. 693, vs. 69-71) including the city Desolation. Book of Mormon, p. 695, vs. 3-4, we discover, in Mormon's time, a fortified city named Teancum. "It lay in the borders by the sea shore; and it was also near the city Desolation." This, no doubt, was one of the places Teancum fortified about four hundred years before Mormon's time, and is today called the city of Tehuantepec [sic], and I am led to believe the narrow pass today is named for Teancum, "The Isthmus of Tehuantepec," [sic] as he was the first man to fortify the narrow pass, or the Isthmus.

"Five or six leagues (north) from the city of Tehuantepec, the capital of the province of the same name, and in the southwestern corner of the province of Tehuantepec, have been found remains of aboriginal fortifications, or a fortified town." "The principal remains are on a lofty hill, the *cero* of Guiengola, but the fortified territory is said to extend over an area measuring one and a half by over four leagues, the outer walls being visible throughout the entire circumference at every naturally accessible point. Besides the protecting walls there are remains of dwellings, all with stone without mortar, except a cornice on the larger walls. Three fortresses covered with a coating of hard plaster are mentioned. Ditches accompanying the walls add to the strength of the works. . . .

A prominent German traveler by the name of Muller describes this fortified city of Guiengola as follows: "there were vestiges of dwellings scattered throughout the vicinity; also a well preserved tumulus standing in a valley close by. It was thirty-three feet high, with a base of ninety by one hundred and five feet. At the side of this tumulus was a quadrilateral elevation covering an area of about two acres, and enclosed by a stone wall eight feet high and twelve feet thick."

A correspondent of the Hutchings Magazine in describing this locality in 1858, says: "Here a wall of rough stones four feet thick and thirty feet high, extend nine miles." (Native Races, vol. 4, p. 369; B. of M., p. 478, v. 129).

Nearly One Hundred Miles of Fortifications in Guatemala

Extending eastward from the region Huehuetenango to that of Salama in the province of Vera Paz, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, there seems to be a line of ruins occurring at frequent intervals, particularly in the valley of the Rabinal and about the town of that name. A map of Guatemala (Zarahemla), now before me, locate seventeen of these ruins. All the ruins along this line would seem to be the remains of fortifications or fortified towns. Opposite the mouth of the river Rabinal are situated on both sides of the stream, in a fine mountain-girt valley, the approach to which was guarded by a long line of fortifications, pyramidal mounds and watch-towers, whose remains may yet be seen. (Native Races, vol. 4, pp. 130 and 131; B. of M., p. 485, vs. 1-4, and p. 486, v. 11). . . .

The ancient fortifications of Mexico and Central America are valuable in establishing locations described in the Book of Mormon, and add to the credibility of the record. It is a true history, wonderful in prophecy, in doctrine and in purpose, proven by archaeology.

L. E. Hills

1920 A New Edition of the Book of Mormon Comes Off the Presses in December, 1920.

Appendix A: Thematic Listings

NOTE* THE FOLLOWING LISTS ARE UPDATED: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5

(1) The following are early comments (mostly authoritative) made during the lifetime of Joseph Smith and referring to the Manchester, New York hill with the term "Cumorah":

- 1823 Lucy Mack Smith (abt. Joseph), "The History of Lucy Smith ca. 1845," manuscript in LDS Church Archives
- 1827 Lucy Mack Smith (abt. Joseph), *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853)
- 1829 Orson Pratt & Joseph F. Smith (abt. David Whitmer), *Millennial Star* 40 (1878), p. 722.
- 1831 Parley P. Pratt (abt. Oliver Cowdery), *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, SLC, 1938, pp. 55-56
- 1833 W. W. Phelps, ed., "The Book of Mormon," *The Evening and Morning Star*, January 1833, p. 1.
- 1834 Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 1:10. Original in the LDS Church Archives.
- 1835 Oliver Cowdery, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159
(Reprinted in *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, pp. 729-734)
- 1835 Edward Partridge, "The Journal of Bishop Edward Partridge" (Provo), 22-23
- 1835 W. W. Phelps, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, vol. 2 November, 1835, no. 14, p. 221.
- 1840 Orson Pratt, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient American Records*, Edinburgh: Printed by Ballalntyne and Hughes, 1840, pp. 15-21.

- 1841 Benjamin Winchester, "The Clalims of the Book of Mormon Established--It Also Defended," in *The Gospel Reflector* 1 (15 March 1841), pp. 105-23.
- 1842 Parley P. Pratt, "Ruins in Central America," in *Millennial Star* 2, March 1842, pp. 161-165.
- 1842 Joseph Smith, *D&C* 128:19-20, September 6, 1942
- 1842 J. B. Turner (anti-Mormon), *Mormonism in All Ages: or the Rise, Progress, and Causes of Mormonism with the Biography of Its Author and Founder, Joseph Smith, Junior*, New York: Platt & Peters, 1842.
- 1843 Willard Richards, *Manuscript History of the Church*, Book A-1
- 1843 William Hyde, "The Private Journal of William Hyde," photocopy, p. 11.
- 1845 Lucy Mack Smith, "The History of Lucy Smith ca. 1845," manuscript in LDS Church Archives (Salt Lake City: ca. 1845. Compare *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1853)
- 1846 "History of Joseph Smith," *Times and Seasons*, 1 January 1846, p. 1076.

(2) The following are Cave Story references (mostly authoritative) implying the hiding up of all the Nephite records in the New York hill:

- 1829 The Cave Story is examined from many persectives and commentaries in its setting of 1829.
- 1835 Possible reference by Oliver Cowdery (*Patriarchal Blessings Book*, Vol. 2:28) (This is located at the end of the Summary notes in the 1829 Brigham Young notation.)
- 1835 Oliver Cowdery, *Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159.
- 1840 John Young, "A Vision of John Young," abt. 1840, Manuscript, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. (This is located in the 1829 Brigham Young notation.)
- 1841 Willard Richards, "Willard Richards Diary," [Dec. 26, 1836] 1837 - May 31, 1843, entry for July 22, 1841.
- 1841 Interview of William Smith, *The Congregational Observer* 3, July 3 1841, p. 1.
- 1849 Reference to stories abt. treasures in the Hill Cumorah (*Manuscript History of the Church*)
- 1849 Reference to stories abt. treasures in the Hill Cumorah (*Quorum of the Twelve Minutes*)
- 1855 W. W. Phelps story from Hyrum Smith (quoted in William Horen Dame Diary)
- 1856 Heber C. Kimball speech (at the Bowery, SLC, in *Journal of Discourses* 4:105)
- 1860s John Heinerman abt. Jacob Hamblin, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient American Cultures*, Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2001, pp. 167-174.
- 1866 Article by Orson Pratt abt. the grand repository of records (*Millennial Star*, 28)

- 1867 Reference to Heber C. Kimball speech (Brigham Young Manuscript History)
- 1869 Reference to Brigham Young School of the Prophets speech. (Wilford Woodruff Journal)
- 1870-71 Interview of David Whitmer (Edward Stevenson later published in 1893)
- 1872 Orson Pratt, Journal of Discourses 14 (11 Feb. 1872), pp. 324-331, 333
- 1872 Orson Pratt, Journal of Discourses 15 (Sept. 22, 1872), pp. 190-191.
- 1873 Reference by Orson Pratt to records slumbering in Hill Cumorah (*Journal of Discourses* 16:57)
- 1873 Reference to Brigham Young story (Elizabeth Kane Journal)
- 1873 *Tunnels and trenches have been dug in search for the Plates*
- 1874 Reference to Brigham Young speech at Cedar City (Journal of Jesse Nathaniel Smith)
- 1874 Orson Pratt, Discourse delivered in Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, April 6, 1874, *Journal of Discourses* 17, pp. 35-36.
- 1877 Brigham Young Speech (at Farmington, Utah, in Journal of Discourses 19:37-38)
- 1877 2nd version of Brigham Young speech at Farmington ("Life Sketch of William Blood")
- 1878 Interview with David Whitmer "Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* vol. 40, No. 49, December 9, 1878, pp. 769-774.
- 1878 Interview with David Whitmer "Report of Elders Orson Pratt and Joseph F. Smith," in *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* vol. 40, No. 49, December 9, 1878, pp. 785-789.
- 1882 Orson Pratt, "Cumorah," *The Contributor*, September, 1882, p. 357.
- 1883 Hubert Howe Bancroft (non-LDS), *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: The Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols., San Francisco, CA: A. L. Bancroft, 1883.
- 1883 George Q. Cannon
- 1884 "Letter from Edmund C. Briggs to Joseph SMith III," 4 June 1884, *Saints Herald* 31, June 21 1884, pp. 396-397.
- 1888 George Reynolds, *The Story of the Book of Mormon, SLC: J. H. Parry, 1888, p. 329.*
- 1889 Joseph F. Smith, "Letter to Elder Edward Stevenson, December 5, 1889," in *President Joseph F. Smith, Personal Letterbooks*, pp. 396-397, LDS Church Archives, Ms f 271, Film Reel #4, Book #2.
- 1891 George Reynolds, *The Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, SLC: Jos. Hyrum Parry, 1891, pp. 108-109.
- 1893 Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893, pp. 10-15.
- 1898 RLDS Committee, *A Report of the Committee on American Archaeology*, 1898, pp. 64-66
- 1899 Oliver Cowdery, *The Improvmeent ERA* 2, 1899, pp. 729-234. Reprint of *Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159.

(3) The following are direct authoritative references stating that the Hill Cumorah in New York was the site of the final Nephite and Jaredite battles:

- 1835 Oliver Cowdery, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159. (Reprinted in *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, pp. 729-734)
- 1835 W. W. Phelps, *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, November 1835, 2:221.
- 1838 (abt. Joseph Smith) Samuel D. Tyler, Manuscript History Sept 25, 1838, p. 829, Book B-1
- 1840 Orson Pratt, *An Interesting Account of Several Remarkable Visions, and of the Late Discovery of Ancient Records*, 1840. Third American edition, New York, 1842, p. 18.
- 1853 Heber C. Kimball, Journal of Discourses, 2:220, 13 August 1853.
- 1866 Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star* 28 (16 June 1866),
- 1866 Orson Pratt, *Millennial Star* (28 (27): 417), July 7, 1866
- 1866 Wilford Woodruff (abt. Heber C. Kimball), Wilford Woodruff's Journal 6:305, December 17, 1866
- 1868 Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool) 1869, vol. 12, pp. 340-342
- 1872 Orson Pratt, Journal of Discourses 14 (11 Feb. 1872), pp. 324-331, 333
- 1873 Brigham Young, Jr. and George Q. Cannon, *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, (35 (33): 513-16), Tuesday, August 19th, 1873
- 1877 Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (S. L. C.: Edward Stevenson, 1893), pp. 14-15.
- 1879 Orson Pratt, *Book of Mormon* (Geographical Footnotes), 1879-1920

- 1882 R. W. Young, "In the Wake of the Church," in the Contributor, vol. 4, October 1882, p. 20.
- 1899 Oliver Cowdery, *The Improvement Era* 2, 1899, pp. 729-734
(Reprint of *Messenger and Advocate*, July 1835, pp. 158-159)
- 1900 George Reynolds, *Complete Concordance of the Book of Mormon*, SLC: Deseret Book,
- 1906 George Albert Smith, "The Hill Cumorah," *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XLI, No. 5, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 1, 1906, pp. 129-130.

(4) EARLY MODIFICATIONS TO THE HEMISPHERIC VIEW: The Hemispheric view of Book of Mormon geography was the dominant authoritative perspective during the first period of time from the beginnings until 1920. However, certain modifications were proposed during this time. These had to do with the following:

- A. moving Lehi's landing site northward from Chile
- B. moving the land of first inheritance much farther northward from Lehi's landing site in Chile.
- C. making multiple local "lands of Nephi" in an extended string northward to Peru.
- D. making a distinction between the local land of Lehi-Nephi and the local land of Nephi, then moving the local land of Nephi-Lehi northward of the original local land of Nephi.
- E. stretching the narrow neck of land to encompass all of Mexico and Central America, allowing Nephite lands (Zarahemla) to be moved into Central America and allowing the boundary between the land of Desolation and the land of Bountiful to be pushed northward (the Isthmus of Tehuantepec). Note* This view predominantly (but not exclusively) still maintained that the Hill Cumorah was located in New York.
- F. Situating Lehi's landing, all Nephite lands and the Hill Cumorah wholly in Mesoamerica (see Part 5: Limited Mesoamerican View).
- G. Deleting from the 1920 edition of the Book of Mormon the Hemispheric footnotes written by Orson Pratt and included in the 1879 edition.

The following excerpts illustrate at least part of the reasoning that led to hemispheric views and the ideas that led to modifications of those hemispheric views:

- 1758 Edmund Burke The New World, "is composed of two vast continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the great kingdom of Mexico, which forms a sort of isthmus fifteen hundred miles long, and in one part, at Darien, so extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult."
- 1824 Jedediah Morse "North America is bounded on the E. by the Atlantic Ocean; on the S. E. it is separated from South America by the isthmus of Darien"
- 1828^ Frederick Butler North America
"Q. What is the situation and extent of North America?
A. North America . . . is bounded on the north by the Northern ocean, on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by the isthmus of Darien and the gulf of Mexico, and on the west by the Pacific. . . ."
- 1830 Oliver Cowdery, P.P. Pratt Lehi is said to have "landed on the coast of Chili"
Peter Whitmer, Jr. Ziba
Peterson, Frederick G. Williams
- 1832 (Mormon Missionaries) --After that the inhabitants divided and wars ensued, in which the pagans prevailed.--The first battle was fought nigh to the straits of Darien [Panama], and the last at a hill called Comoro [sic], when all the Christians were hewn down but one prophet.* (*This prophet they say is Mormon)

- 1832 (Orson Pratt & Lyman Johnson) The last battle that was fought among these parties was on the very ground where the plates were found, but it had been a running battle, for they commenced at the Isthmus of Darien and ended at Manchester.--
- 1834 Jason Whitman (non-LDS) There is, incidentally, mention made of a narrow neck of land which connects the North country with the South, which, we suppose, means the Isthmus of Darien.
- 1840 Orson Pratt The persecuted nation [the Nephites] emigrated towards the northern parts of South America, leaving the wicked nation [Lamanites] in possession of the middle and southern parts of the same. . . .And in process of time, the Nephites began to build ships near the Isthmus of Darien, and launch them forth into the western ocean, in which great numbers sailed a great distance to the northward, and began to colonize North America. Other colonies emigrated by land, and in a few centuries the whole continent became peopled. . . . A great and terrible war commenced between them, which lasted for many years, and resulted in the complete overthrow and destruction of the Nephites. This war commenced at the Isthmus of Darien
- 1841 Charles B. Thompson Ruins of the city of **Otolom [Palenque]**, discovered in central America, extracted from American antiquities, by Joseph Priest, page 241: The ruins of this city were surveyed by Capt. Del Rio in 1787, an account of which was published in English in 1822. . . .
The following is the account of the building of that city, by this wealthy nation, contained in the record of Ether Book of Mormon, page 590, second edition: "And they built **a great city by the narrow neck of land**, by the place where the sea divides the land. And they did preserve the land southward for a wilderness to get game.--And the whole face of the land northward was covered with inhabitants; and they were exceeding industrious . . . [p. 93]
- 1841 Benjamin Winchester They were constantly emigrating to the North. At length they commenced settlements in the region of country, not far from the Isthmus of Darien, and while in those parts they advanced farther in science and arts, than at any time previous. .
- 1842 Parley P. Pratt This article contains a book review from an American paper of Stephen's *Incidents of Travel in **Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan.***" Comments by the editor, Parley P. Pratt then follow:
. . . It is a striking and extraordinary coincidence, that, in the Book of Mormon, commencing page 563, **there is an account of many cities as existing among the Nephites on the "narrow neck of land which connected the north country with the south country;" and Mormon names a number of them**, which were strongly fortified, and were the theatres of tremendous battles, and that finally the Nephites were destroyed or driven to the northward, from year to year, and their towns and country made most desolate, until the remnant became extinct on the memorable heights of Cumorah (now western New York)
The very cities whose ruins are in his estimation without a name, are called in the Book of Mormon, "**Teancum, Boaz, Jordan, Desolation,**" &c.
- 1842^ John E. Page The other will tell the mournful story of Horonihah [Moronihah], Zarahemla, and others, to the amount of fourteen cities named in the book of Mormon on the 259-480 pages [Destruction at Christ's death]. And how was you destroyed? was the inquiry of those efficient antiquarians Messrs. Catherwood and Stephens, as they sit on the wondrous walls of "**Copan,**" **situated near the western extremity of the Bay of Honduras, in the narrowest neck of land between**

the waters of the Atlantic ocean and the Pacific ocean, the very great city, on the narrow neck of land between the two seas. . . . How was this city, with seven or eight others, which Mr. Stevens gives us an account of, destroyed? Read the book of Mormon, and that will tell the story of their sad disasters . . .

1842 John Taylor or J.S. This is an extract of details regarding the ruins of Palenque found in John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, and following that an editorial review . . . Let us turn our subject, however, to the Book of Mormon where these wonderful ruins of Palenque are among the mighty works of the Nephites:--and the mystery is solved. . . .
And on page 280-1 is a full description of the Isthmus.
Mr. Stephens' great developments of antiquities are made bare to the eyes of all the people by reading the history of the Nephites in the Book of Mormon. They lived about the narrow neck of land, which now embraces Central America, with all the cities that can be found. . . . Read the destruction of cities at the crucifixion of Christ, pages 459-60

1842 John Taylor or J.S. (15 Sept 1842) Lehi went down by the Red Sea to the great Southern Ocean, and crossed over to this land and *landed a little south of the Isthmus of Darien*, and improved the country according to the word of the Lord,

1842 John Taylor or J.S. (1 October 1842) This is an editorial comment on John Lloyd Stephens' *Incidents of Travel in Central America*. The following appears:
Zarahemla. Since our 'Extract' was published from Mr. Stephens' "Incidents of Travel," &c., we have found another important fact relating to the truth of the Book of Mormon. Central America, or *Guatemala [sic] is situated north of the Isthmus of Darien and once embraced several hundred miles of territory from north to south--The city of Zarahemla, burnt at the crucifixion of the Savior, and rebuilt afterwards, stood upon this land* as will be seen from the following words in the book of Alma:[22:32]
And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey for a Nephite, on the line Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east to the west sea; and thus the land of Nephi, and the land of Zarahemla was nearly surrounded by water: there being a small neck of land between the land northward and the land southward [See Book of Mormon 3d edition, page 280-81 (Alma 22:32)].

It is certainly a good thing for the excellency and veracity, of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon, that the ruins of Zarahemla have been found where the Nephites left them, and that a large stone with engravings upon it, as Mosiah said; and a 'large round stone, with sides sculptured in hieroglyphics,' as Mr. Stephens has published, is also among the left remembrances of the, (to him,) lost and unknown. **We are not agoing [sic] to declare positively that the ruins of Quirigua are those of Zarahemla**, but when the land and the stones and the books tell the story so plain, we are of the opinion, that it would require more proof than the Jews could bring to prove the disciples stole the body of Jesus from the tomb, to prove that the ruins of the city in question, are not one of those referred to in the Book of Mormon. . . .

1844? Charles Lowell Walker Note* In a 1881 diary notation, Charles Walker notes that in a speech in the temple, a Br. McBride related some travels of Moroni in which Central America might have been equated with the land Bountiful (see the 1881 notation)
Note* This information in these two statements might imply that the "Isthmus" was the narrow neck and was somewhere north of Copan (in Honduras), but see the 1881 notation notes.

- 1848 John Page Lehi was said to have landed "on the Pacific side of the southern part of central America" Note* John Page was excommunicated and with the Strangites at this time.
- 1865 Joseph F. Smith On May 8th, 1865, Joseph F. Smith recorded the following on **Lehi's Travels**:
 "The Course that Lehi travelled from the City of Jerusalem to the place where he and his family took ship:
 They travelled nearly a south-south-east direction until they came to the 19th deg. of north latitude, then nearly east to the sea of Arabia, then sailed in a south-east direction and landed on the continent of South America in Chili, 30 degrees south latitude."
 The foregoing was copied from F. G. Williams own handwriting May 8th 1865. Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, by JOS. F. SMITH.
- 1866 Orson Pratt And we have the strongest reasons for believing that he [Nephi], at the time, resided in the northwestern portions of South America, near a temple which they had built in the land Bountiful, which the record informs us was not far south of the narrow neck of land, connecting the land south with the land north; but which we, in these days, call the Isthmus of Darien. Nephi, the historian, and Prophet of God, was present with the multitude who had gathered around this temple, at the time that Jesus descended from heaven among them
- 1866 Orson Pratt Mulek was consequently a descendant of Judah, through the lineage of king David. This last company landed in North America, some distance North of the Isthmus of Darien, and soon after, emigrated into the northern portions of South America, where they dwelt, until they were discovered by the Nephites
- 1868 George A. Smith[Final Battles] They drove the Nephites out of Zarahemla, and the Isthmus of Darien became the dividing line between the two powers, remaining so for a great many years. . . . After this Mormon again assumed command, . . . the Nephites were gradually driven north, and at last were totally destroyed near the hill of Cumorah, in the State of New York
- 1872 Orson Pratt They built many ships, launching them forth into the western ocean. The place of the building of these ships was near the Isthmus of Darien.
- 1873 H. A. Stebbins The isthmus of Panama is mentioned six times in the Book of Mormon, being (RLDS) called the "narrow pass between the land northward and the land southward," and from the above extract and from all the other descriptions, it is apparent that the Jaredites were most numerous in Central America, or north of the isthmus and from there in time a Civil War certain people under Omer's leadership and guided by the Lord, fled north-east to what are now the Middle States of the Union, "by the place where the Nephites were destroyed . . ." . .
- 1875 G. M. Ottinger [The Mulekites] eventually landed somewhere north of the Isthmus of Darien, and journeyed southward into the country now called the United States of Colombia
- 1876 G[eorge] M. O[ttinger] **Lehi landed "near the present city of Lima in Peru"** . . .
 [The Mulekites] eventually landed somewhere north of the Isthmus of Darien, and journeyed southward into the country now called the United States of Colombia.
- 1879 Orson Pratt The 1879 footnotes state that the Lord brought them "on the Western coast [of North America], and probably South of the Gulf of California, and North of the Land of Desolation, which was North of the Isthmus [of Darien]."

1881 Charles L. Walker *Wend 26th Jan. 1881* At the Temple all day. At night went to Prayer Meeting. . . . Father McBride spoke . . . Br. McBride also related that Joseph marked with his cane in the sand the track the saints would take to the Rocky Mountains. . . . Said we should make stations and build up settlements all the way to new, and **old Mexico Until we crossed the Isthmus** and get back to the place where the Covenant was broke [i.e., the United Order] by the old Nephites. Spoke of the Great Temple in Central America unfinished . . . This temple was situated by the River Copan anciently called the River of Nephi. . . . Spoke of the Route the old Nephites took travelling to Cumorah from the South and south west; of having to bury their tr[e]asures as they journeyed and finally burying the Records and precious things in the Hill Cumorah; of Moroni dedicating the Temple site of what we now call St George, Nauvoo, Jackson Co., Kirtland and others we know not of as yet. . . .

Note* In a 1995 article H. Donl Peterson writes the following:

Several years ago, I came across two copies of a map in the Archives Division of the Historical Department of the Church relative to Moroni's North American journeys (see Figures 1 and 2). On the back of the map in Figure 1 is written the following:

A chart, and description of Moroni's travels through this country. Got it from Br. Robert Dickson. He got it from Patriarch Wm. McBride at Richfield in the Sevier and also from Andrew M. Hamilton of the same place. And they got it from Joseph Smith the Prophet.

On the map "land Bountifull [sic]" is listed in "Sentral [sic] America." The cartographer wrote "starting point" below the reference to Central America.

Note* One might suppose that if Joseph Smith spoke of the land Bountiful being in Central America, and that according to the text of the Book of Mormon the land Bountiful was in the Land Southward, then those members at this period of time would have envisioned the narrow neck of land as being north of Central America. We also have a statement attributed to the Prophet in the 1842 *Times and Seasons* in which the city of Zarahemla was said to have been in "Central America or Guatemala [sic], and associated with "the ruins of Quirigua [Guatemala]." Yet despite the inviting prospects reflected by the above ideas, those ideas probably do not reflect the thinking involved with these sketches. Rather **the thinking was probably a vague concept in which "the land of Bountifull" occupied all or part of the narrow neck of land which connected the United States with South America, of which "Sentril America" was a part.** Nevertheless, in the last years of his life Joseph Smith can be said to have been espousing, at the minimum, a modified hemispheric model. A more formal Modified Hemispheric concept in which the narrow neck of land was associated with the Isthmus of Tehuantepec would be investigated by the the Cluff Expedition in 1900 and would later be proposed by Sjordahl in his writings of 1927.

1882 Richards & Little *Compendium* The *Compendium* quote appears as follows on page 289:

LEHI'S TRAVELS--*Revelation to Joseph the Seer.*

The course that Lehi and his company traveled from Jerusalem to the place of their destination:

They traveled nearly a south-southeast direction until they came to the nineteenth degree of north latitude; then, nearly east to the Sea of Arabia, then sailed in a southeast direction, and landed on the continent of South America, in Chili, thirty degrees south latitude.

1883 George Q. Cannon

- 1883 William Smith (RLDS?) This war commenced at the Isthmus of Darien [in Panama], and was more or less destructive to both nations. At length the Nephites were driven before their enemies north and north-east to a great distance. [While] gathering their whole nation together both men, women, and children, they encamped on and around about the hill Cumorah near where Palmyra, NY now stands
- 1886 *Plain Facts* Note* **The author lists the land of first inheritance in "the great Cauca valley"**. . . "this locality forms part of the first inheritance where both Nephites and Lamanites lived together for about ten years or more; till after the death of their father Lehi." The author does NOT note in his text nor on his map the specific location of Lehi's landing. While this might imply a landing "just a little south of the Isthmus of Darien" as proposed by Joseph Smith or John Taylor in 1842 one cannot say with certainty. In 1776, Ottinger had also proposed that Lehi had landed in Peru but this is also not noted. On the other hand, nobody had previously proposed that Lehi had landed in Chile and then moved much farther northward before establishing the land of first inheritance. This slight modification to the hemispheric approach would not formally be proposed until Reynolds in 1888. **Thus the author of *Plain Facts* can probably be credited with the first Modified Hemispheric view.**
The author also moves the final battles of the Jaredites to Central America. He notes: "The land Antum, where hill Shim is, must be between Honduras and Nicaragua." . . . "the destruction of the Jaredites was recent and had happened not by the hill of Cumorah [in New York] as generally reported, but over 1500 miles southward: Not far from hill Shim or possibly near the mountains of the Holy Ghost, or the western cordillera of the Andes; in a place not very far from Zarahemla." What the author does NOT do is to specifically locate the final battles of the Nephites (whether in New York or in Central America). However, by the use of the term "hill of Cumorah" implying the location in New York, one can probably assume that the author did not make the jump to associate the location of the final battles of the Nephites at Cumorah with the location of the final battles of the Jaredites at Ramah even though in the text we find that the hill Ramah was "that same hill where [Moroni's] father Mormon did hide up the records unto the Lord" (Ether 15:11), and Mormon hid up in the hill Cumorah "all the records which had been entrusted to [him] by the hand of the Lord" (Mormon 6:6) Nevertheless, **the author of *Plain Facts* represents the first person to encroach upon the idea that the hill Cumorah in New York was the site of the final battles of the Nephites.**
 The "model" also seems to emphasize Mesoamerica as the "land of many waters" to which many Nephites and converted Lamanites migrated in the times of Helaman-- a region bordering on a land of desolation, a region that was surrounded by four seas (Helaman 3:3-8), and a region in which this people became industrious, building many cities and temples of cement and wood. (Helaman 3:9-14).
- 1887 M. T. Lamb (non-LDS) Well now the facts are that **the narrow neck of land dividing the two continents happens to be a very long neck, not less than 800 miles, and is one continuous strip of mountain ranges, rough, inaccessible, and uninhabitable in a large measure; then you must travel through the entire length of Central America and Old Mexico 2,500 miles farther, before you reach the southern boundaries of the United states--Mr. Smith's land Desolation, that he evidently supposed just over the line, separated by a narrow bay from his land Beautiful!**
- 1887 George Q. Cannon ed.Note* Cannon believed that "beyond these few points, it may be said that the sites of the cities of the Nephites are left to conjecture." [The points being (1) that Lehi landed in Chile, (2) that the river Sidon was the Magdalena River in Colombia, and (3) that the final battles happened in New York] It is also worthy of note that Cannon had already declared the Polynesians to be descendants of Hagoth with the implication being that Hagoth departed from the narrow neck in Panama--another "point" defining the general Hemispheric

nature of authoritative Book of Mormon geography.

1888 George Reynolds The exact place where Lehi and his little colony landed on this continent is not stated in the Book of Mormon: but it is generally believed among the Latter-day Saints to have been on the coast of Chili in thirty degrees south latitude. In fact, the Prophet Joseph Smith so stated. We do not think it possible, without divine revelation, to determine with accuracy the identical spot where Lehi and his colony landed. We believe that the coast line of that region has entirely changed since those days. Even if we do not take into consideration the overwhelming convulsions that took place at the crucifixion of our Lord, which changed the entire face of nature, there remains the general elevation or subsistence of the land which is continually taking place the world over. Some coasts are rising, some are falling. The land in South America, on its western or Pacific shores, has long been rising, some think for centuries.

In this happy country [Chile] the Nephites dwelt, prospered and increased until **they again moved northward. Perhaps not once nor twice they migrated, but several times**; for we hold it to be inconsistent with the story of the record and with good judgment to believe that in their first journey they traveled as far north as they were found four hundred years afterwards, when they again took up their line of march, and finally settled in the land of Zarahemla. . . . To have taken a journey of a few hundred miles would have placed them out of the reach of the Lamanites; there was no need for them to travel thousands. Again, in a few years the Lamanites had followed and come up to them; it is altogether inconsistent to think that that people, with its racial characteristics, would in so short a time have accomplished so marvelous a triumph as to follow, hunt up and attack their late brethren if the latter had placed all the distance from Chili to Ecuador between them and their pursuers. . . .

In what portion of the South American continent lay the home of the Nephites in the days of Mosiah? This cannot be answered authoritatively. We are nowhere told its exact situation. Still, there are many references in the Book of Mormon from which we can judge, to some extent, of its location. Elder Orson Pratt suggests that it was in the country we now call Ecuador. The writer entirely agrees with Elder Pratt's suggestion. Other brethren have placed it considerably farther south; but in our reading of the Book of Mormon we have found no evidence to confirm their suppositions, but much to contradict them.

The land of Nephi covered a much larger area of country than did the land of Zarahemla. The two countries were separated by the wilderness which extended entirely across the continent from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. The northern edge of this wilderness ran in a line almost due east and west, and passed near the head of the river Sidon. The Sidon is generally understood to be the river in these days called the Magdalena. . . . On the western bank of the river Sidon was built the city of Zarahemla.

1890 George Q. Cannon The First Presidency have often been asked to prepare some suggestive map illustrative of Nephite geography, but have never consented to do so. Nor are we acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles who would undertake such a task. The reason is, that without further information **they are not prepared even to suggest.**

Note* Compare this statement with that of 1887

1894 H. A. Stebbins Lehi landed "upon **the west coast of Peru.** We do not know exactly where, (RLDS) but in that region" (Note* Although the original lectures were given in 1894, they were revised before publishing in 1901. This information might have been added at that time.)

1898 RLDS Com. During the conflicts which were of long continuation (see Omni), the Nephites, who were the

weaker body, had probably been **driven by the Lamanites from the old city of Nephi (Cuzco) into northern Peru; and it was from this place that they took their departure under Mosiah**, into the wilderness, to go to the land of Zarahemla. . . .

Here they found a new people, whose fathers left Jerusalem at the time of the captivity, in the days of Zedekiah, and landed in Central America, and came down to where Mosiah found them--Zarahemla. . .

The Lamanites now held undisputed control of Peru, and part of Ecuador, where the Nephites had dwelt for nearly three centuries, and also Bolivia, Paraguay, Chile, the Argentine Republic, Uruguay, and the habitable parts of Brazil. . . .

Zarahemla, the capital city, was situated on the west side of the Magdalena River, and as we conclude, between the modern towns of Neva and Honda, state of Colombia, in the northern part of South America (**see map**) and three thousand miles distant from the first Nephite settlement, and over one thousand miles, on a direct line, from the city of Nephi (Cuzco), . . .

This great battle [of Teancum] was fought on the shores of the Gulf of Darien. . . .

Moroni sent orders to Teancum to fortify the land Bountiful, and secure the narrow pass which led into the land northward. () This "narrow pass" was the Isthmus of Panama, between the Gulf of San Miguel on the Pacific, and the Gulf of Darien on the Atlantic, Caribbean Sea, a distance of thirty-one miles.

They [the Jaredites] built **a great city by the narrow neck of land**, by the place where the sea divides the land. This "narrow neck of land" of Ether () we believe to be the "small neck" of Alma () and "the narrow pass" of Alma (), and the narrow pass of Alma (), and "the narrow neck" of Alma (), and "the narrow passage" of Mormon.

This Jaredite city was near the boundary line between Costa Rica and Colombia. And from there northward were the countries occupied by the Jaredites; namely, Central America, Mexico, and the United States, parts of which had a dense population

[Conclusions] . . . 2. That they landed upon the west coast of South America on the coast of Chili. . . . That Nephi, the capital, was located somewhere in Southern Peru, and no great distance from Lake Titicaca, and we conclude it was at Cuzco. That Peru and Chili, Ecuador, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic were the principal countries inhabited by both Nephites and Lamanites for four centuries after their arrival on the continent. . . .

That **the Isthmus of Panama was largely the land Bountiful.** But at one time it included some of the territory of the land of Jershon, but at the time may not have had a well-defined southern boundary line. That "the narrow neck of land," which was but a day's journey across it for a Nephite, was a part of the present isthmus of Panama, at the point as marked on the map.

Note* One other landmark idea was implied by this official committee at the end of their report--that the landing site of Lehi was not necessarily affirmed by revelation to the Prophet Joseph Smith:

Neither are we certain that the Nephites landed as far south on the coast of Chili as the thirtieth parallel of latitude. . . . there was an inviting landing place favorable for settlement five or six degrees to the north of the thirtieth parallel just south of the desert of Atacama, and that the landing place was there. [Antofagasta, Chile]

1899 James E. TalmageNote* The contents of chapter 14 have been edited over the years from the 1899 edition. Those phrases lined through have been edited out since 1899, and those phrases underlined have been added since 1899.

It is believed that their voyage must have carried them eastward across the Indian Ocean, then over the ~~south~~ Pacific Ocean to the western coast of ~~South~~ America, whereon they landed about 590 B.C. ~~probably somewhere near the site of the present city of Valparaiso in Chile.~~ The landing place is not

described in the book itself with such detail as to warrant definite conclusions.
. . . It is traditionally believed that they [the Nephites] spread northward, occupying the northern part of South America; then, crossing the Isthmus, they extended their domain over the southern, central and eastern portions of what is now the United States of America. occupying a considerable area in Central America, and then expanded eastward and northward over part of what is now the United States of America. . . . The final struggles between Nephites and Lamanites were waged in the vicinity of the Hill Cumorah, in what is now the State of New York,

1900 B. Y. Academy Expedition to South and Central America:

Regarding the accomplishments of the expedition, Cluff wrote that the expedition probably furnished some evidence to corroborate the theory of Anthony Ivins and other Book of Mormon authorities that **the narrow neck of land** spoken of in the Book of Mormon as being "a Sabbath day's" journey for a Nephite from sea to sea, **is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.**

Note* This theory was apparently not part of any limited Mesoamerican theory. Ivins remarks in 1928 imply that he defended the New York hill Cumorah as the site of the final battles (see the notation for 1928). It is my guess that Ivins's theory seems to be a justification for the many ruins in Central America. I believe that Ivins was one of the first to promote a modified Continental Theory--that is, a modified hemispheric approach in which all of Central America represented the narrow neck of land (which included the land Bountiful), and that Tehuantepec represented the line between the land of Desolation and the land of Bountiful.

1900 William Woodhead (RLDS) The South American colony landed on the Pacific coast. The first traces of them are in the Titicaca region and to the southward. Four brothers located at Cuzco, and were directed there in the first settlement by a miraculous golden branch, or rod or wedge. The youngest of three brothers in most of the myths, became the first ruler in Peru.

In the Book of Mormon, Nephi located a colony at Nephi, and became the first king there. He was soon followed up by his brothers, and war followed. This city of Nephi became the center of civilization for several centuries; first for the Nephites, and afterward for the Lamanites. They built roads leading from city to city; that is what the record says. These roads, then, will point to Nephi, which was the "chief city." (Alma 21:24)

Four great roads lead into Cuzco; one from each one of the four divisions of the empire. (Prescott's *Conquest of Peru*, vol. 1, book 1, chap. 2, p. 52) Two of these roads went northward and two southward. One of them passed over the grand plateau northward to Quito; a second went down to the coast, and then northward along the lowlands, on the borders of the ocean; a third went down southward into Chili; a fourth went southeast, past the Titicaca region to Potosi, in Southern Bolivia. These roads point to Cuzco as a center of civilization. So the roads point to Nephi, the "chief city." The four brothers were at Nephi, or in its neighborhood; and the four brothers were at Cuzco. In the myths they came to Cuzco from the south or southeast. In the Book of Mormon they made two journeys before they reached Nephi. **Nephi, likely is Cuzco.** Cuzco was built on the ruins of an old city, and that gave it its name, "coscos," or Cuzco. The old city was Nephi, and the new one Cuzco.

1901 H. A. Stebbins (RLDS) **Lehi landed "upon the west coast of Peru."** . . . the Nephites and Lamanites came together from Jerusalem about sixteen hundred years after the Jaredites arrived from Babylon, and they located in Central Peru . . . The ruins of massive stone structures yet exist as evidence of a remarkable people having dwelt there in ages past, including some ruins on an island or

islands in Lake Titicaca. . . . Page 267 and elsewhere in the Book of Mormon indicate plainly the location of that people on the west coast of South America. . . . From Peru they gradually migrated northward until they came to the isthmus, which the book speaks of repeatedly. . . .

1902 H. N. Davis Note* This is a landmark article because while Davis attempted to refute their arguments, **he acknowledges the point that some Book of Mormon students had begun to locate the land of Cumorah in some place other than New York (Mexico to be exact).** Yet those advocates of a more southerly land of Cumorah DID NOT attempt to propose a Limited Mesoamerican setting for they still had the land of Zarahemla located in South America. What is even more interesting, H. N. Davis derides these students' belief in a South American location of Zarahemla because a Modified Hemispheric approach was more reasonable. **In this Modified Hemispheric theory there were two lands of Nephi: "one in what is now South America, the other in Central America," and thus the land of Zarahemla would have also been in Central America.** Interestingly Davis also derides these students for not allowing a huge distance to be covered by the Nephite armies in the final battles. He assumes that during the last 24 years of battle, the Nephites were fleeing northward. Calculating the distance from Central America to New York by 24 years, he not only throws out distance as a factor, but favors New York because it is FARTHER away from Central America.

The advocates of this southern theory place the land of Zarahemla too far south by locating it in South America. They seem to overlook or ignore the fact that there are two lands of Nephi spoken of in the Book of Mormon: one in what is now South America, the other in Central America. . . .

In proof of the statement that there were two lands of Nephi we quote from Alma 13:61: "Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness, and dwelt in tents; and they were spread through the wilderness, on the west, in the land of Nephi: yea, and also on the west of the land of Zarahemla, in the borders, by the seashore, and on the west, in the land of Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance."

Three lands or countries are here spoken of; two lands of Nephi, the "land of Nephi" and the "land of Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance," and "the land of Zarahemla."

1903 Robert Holmes **From the landing place of Lehi, his people, after a few years, "seemed to have moved some two thousand miles, more or less, to what is now known as Ecuador."**
His reasoning in the pages which follow is not entirely clear, but it ends up with the Nephite people in Mexico and Central America. Holmes has Mosiah and the Nephites south of Panama (in the land of Nephi). The narrow strip of wilderness was Panama & Central America. Mosiah left South America and went through this to Zarahemla, which must be in Honduras.
 . . .
The Usumacinta River is the Sidon. Manti is at the head in Guatemala. . .
The Waters of Mormon is Lake Nicaragua. Shilom, Lehi-Nephi and other Lamanite cities seem to lay east and southeast of that lake. . .
 The ruins in Arizona bear witness of the land northward.

1903 B. H. Roberts . . . From the Book of Mormon and the word of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith it is learned that Lehi's colony . . . landed on the continent of South America, in about thirty degrees south latitude.^{xciv} . . .
 Accordingly, after some years spent upon the promised land, Nephi was warned by the

Lord to depart from his elder brothers in the wilderness, with all those whom he could persuade to go with him. Neither the distance nor the direction of this first remove of the righteous part of the colony from the more wicked part, can be definitely determined from the Book of Mormon, except from the location of the people of Nephi in subsequent times; and as this location was far northward from their first place of landing, it is generally supposed that this first remove was northward. . . .

It is supposed that the first remove of the Nephites from their brethren covered no great distance; as only a few years passed before they were in contact with one another again, at least in warfare. Indeed Elder George Reynolds, in his *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, holds to the theory that there may have been several removals of the Nephites between their first separation from the Lamanites under the First Nephi, and the very noted hegira under Mosiah I, about the fourth century of the Nephite annals. The author of the *Dictionary* urges as the reasons for his theory that it would be inconsistent with the story of the record (Book of Mormon), and with good judgment, to believe that in their first journey the Nephites traveled as far north as they were found four hundred years later,^{xcv} when the very noted remove was made under Mosiah I. I believe the reasons of Elder Reynolds are quite sufficient for his theory.

The movements of the Nephites were most probably as follows: [1] Whatever of conquest was made by the Lamanites upon the Nephite possessions, during the first four centuries of their occupancy of the promised land, was made upon their southern borders. . . . [2] the Nephite settlements were extended on that side of their possessions least likely to be assailed by their enemies, where there was least danger, that is, on the north. These two circumstances combined to give their colonization movement a northerly direction; until about the close of the fourth Nephite century they are supposed to have been in possession of that part of the continent of South America corresponding to the country now called Ecuador.^{xcvi} . . . the whole distance from the place selected by the First Nephi after separating from his brothers to the place they occupied at the close of the fourth century of their annals--this whole country--the Nephites called the Land of Nephi, or the Land of their father's first inheritance. (2 Ne. 5:8; Omni 1:12, 27; Mos. 7; Mos. 9:1. See collection of ref. under "b." 2 Nephi 5) . . .

1904[^] Joel Ricks

The city of [Lehi]-Nephi was located somewhere south of the headwaters of the Sidon (Alma 50:7) That it was located in the high plateau region seems certain from the fact that there was a region lying west of it inhabited by indolent Lamanites (Alma 22:27). We are told that corn, wheat, and barley, were grown in Nephi and Shilom (Mosiah 9:9). In the tropics, corn does not thrive at an elevation greater than 8,000 feet, wheat does not grow below 3,000 feet, nor barley below 7,000 feet; therefore, it seems certain that these cities were above the lowest limit for barley, which would place them in the plateau region. . . .

The question has often been raised, "Was the city of Nephi inhabited by Zeniff, the same as that founded by the first Nephi?" We do not think so, for the following reasons: 1st. Its greatest distance (more than 2,500 miles) from the place of the first landing; 2nd. the following from Alma (chapters 22 and 28), "Now the more idle part of the Lamanites lived in the wilderness and dwelt in tents and they were spread through the wilderness on the west in the land Nephi, yea and also on the west of the land Zarahemla in the borders by the seashore and on the west in the land Nephi, in the place of their father's first inheritance, and thus bordering along the seashore."

The above would indicate that the place of their first inheritance was considerable distance south of the city of Lehi-Nephi, and that there was another extensive region lying between it and the sea. We believe we are

justified in the opinion that the place of their first inheritance was probably in the mountain valleys of southern Peru. . . .

If we accept this view and allow that Alma could travel 300 miles in twenty-two days, and measure southward from Manti, this would place the city of [Lehi]-Nephi in one of the valleys of northern Equador, a region that would answer all of the requirements of the Lamanite capital as to elevation, climate, and other conditions. . . .

The city Bountiful seems to have been located near the head of the Gulf of Darien, probably on the east side of the Atrato river. . . .

1908[^] Ed. *Juvenile Instructor* Note* In the September 1, 1908 issue of *Juvenile Instructor* the following editorial is found. At the time we find "Joseph F. Smith, Editor; George Reynolds, J. M. Tanner, Assistant Editors."

The Ricks Map

Everyone who has ever taught Book of Mormon history has felt the need of a good suggestive map of Book of Mormon lands. For a long time, the making of such a map was discouraged. And since we have not had one such map, each teacher has made his own, and we have had a hundred.

Such a condition is almost worse than having no map at all. It leads to endless dispute; and it leaves the pupil with a far worse impression than one map alone, though wrong, or than no map whatever. We are very glad to note, therefore, that at last a Book of Mormon map may be had for use in all classes making a study of that sacred book. The map is prepared by Joel Ricks. Elder Ricks spent considerable time in South America for the sole purpose of locating Nephite historical points. **The map is, therefore, prepared by one who has made a special study of Book of Mormon geography. And the map comes endorsed. That is, it is published with the approval and sanction of the presidency of the Church. Of course, the map is not correct in every detail. Indeed such a thing is impossible without special revelation. But this map of Bro. Ricks' is suggestive and helpful. We cannot see how the Book of Mormon can now be successfully [sic] studied without it.**

Note* It is unbelievable, in view of the fact that the 1890 George Q. Cannon cautionary statement of 1890 would be quoted hundreds of times in the future in defense of avoiding geography in our studies of the Book of Mormon, that this statement would never be quoted in the future to give some kind of perspective to the matter--that perspective being that Book of Mormon maps were okay if some sort of scientific reasoning and critical discussion were applied to their formulation rather than someone just putting some dots on a map. With such investigative effort, the map then becomes "suggestive and helpful." In fact, some very high officers in Church educational instruction could not "see how the Book of Mormon can now be successfully studied without it."

1909 B. H. Roberts **Note* The Lehi's Travels statement is questioned.**

1911 H. A. Stebbins **To return especially to the location of the original hill Cumorah: We find no word by angels or by the voice of the Lord that the hill where Joseph found the plates was the historic hill. No revelation in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants so designates it, and nowhere in his history did Joseph Smith write of it as Cumorah. . . . I have no objection to that hill being also called Cumorah, with the understanding that the ancient hill Cumorah is still undiscovered, and that sometime its secrets will be revealed and**

come to the knowledge of God's people. . . .

For thirty-five years I held the error about Cumorah, until Earle Corthell, of Independence, took the blinds off, and then study made all plain to me. But there have been so many controversies that **I have hesitated for years about writing on this matter** for publication, although urged to do so. But now, because **many** are dissatisfied with the old theory, I present this article in the interest of truth, that error be removed and the truth be made plain.

1920 LDS Committee **Orson Pratt's Hemispheric footnotes are eliminated** from the 1920 edition of the Book of Mormon

(5) LIMITED MESOAMERICAN VIEW: References concerning a limited Mesoamerican view of Book of Mormon geography:

1909 Alvin Knisley Cu-mo'rah-- The hill where the Prophet Mormon buried the B. M. plates. It was known as Ramah to the Jaredites, C.[umorah] being the Nephite appellation. It was here where the Jaredites had their final struggle about 600 B.c. and where the last Nephite-Lamanite battle was fought 384 A.D. Mormon having taken up the records (375-379 A.D.) which Ammaron had hid in the hill Shim, (321 A.D.), now hides them in the hill C.[umorah] (384 A.D.); save a few plates which he entrusts to Moroni, who finishes the record (A.D. 400-420) and hides them where they were obtained by Joseph Smith in 1827 in the State of New York; **whence the name C.[umorah] was applied to the latter hill under the belief that it was in identity with the ancient C.[umorah] and Ramah.**

Le'hi-Ne'phi, or Ne'phi, City of-- In the land of Nephi. **It was probably situated in Honduras.** The country immediately surrounding was called the land of L.[ehi]-N.[ephi]. . .

Note* This is the earliest RLDS mention of Honduras as a candidate for the city of Nephi (and for the possible landing site of Lehi)

1917 Louis Edward Hills. . . Lehi took his family and departed into the wilderness, and later was joined by Ishmael and his family, and Zoram, the servant of Laban. They went down by the Red Sea, across to the Indian Ocean, and there built a ship and sailed across the Pacific Ocean, **landing on the west coast of Central America.** This place was called the land of their first inheritance. . . . [Hills takes his reasoning for the location of this land of first inheritance from the book of Alma--see discussion] . . .

They were led by the Lord across the Pacific Ocean, and from descriptions of the Waters of Sebus (Lake Hopango) **I believe Lehi and people landed in La Union Bay, on the west side of the Gulf of Fonseca;** and it is very probable that Salvador, or the eastern part of Salvador, was the land referred to as "the land of their fathers' first inheritance," yet considered by the Nephites as a part of the land of Nephi.

The Book of Mormon locates the city of Nephi at or near the foot of the mountains that divide the land of Nephi from the land of Zarahemla. . . . The ruins at Copan, Honduras, are at the foot of the mountains separating Guatemala (Zarahemla) from Honduras (Nephi).

Isthmus between Desolation and Bountiful (One Isthmus-Tehuantepec)

A mistake in our stating point, in working out the geography of the Book of Mormon, would be fatal to success; and this, I am sure, has been one trouble in the past. The record tells of "a narrow neck of land, where the sea divides the land," "the narrow pass, which led into the land southward," and I, with others made the

mistake of assuming this to be the Isthmus of Panama. By studying the following description, I discovered the mistake. On page 388, verses 75-77, I read:

Thus *the land northward was called Desolation, and the land on the southward was called Bountiful*. And now it was only the distance of a day and a half's journey *on the line* Bountiful and the land Desolation, from the east sea to the west sea, *there being a narrow neck of land between the land northward and the land southward*.

This clearly shows an isthmus between the land Bountiful and the land Desolation, and makes it clear that the land northward of the isthmus was called Desolation, and the land southward of the isthmus was called Bountiful. . . the statement "on the line" must mean a boundary line known to them between these two countries. . . .

. . . There are a number of reasons why the isthmus described in the record could not be that of Panama, and must be Tehuantepec. The records says: "There being a *small* neck of land between the land northward [Desolation] and the land southward [Bountiful]" This Isthmus of Panama is 400 miles long. Moroni sent an army to stop Morianton and people from going into the north country. "And it came to pass that they did not head them until they had come to the borders of the land Desolation; and there they did head them by the narrow pass." Surely they did not travel 400 miles in an isthmus before they came to it, as the old map represents. . . .

The boundary line between the land Desolation and Bountiful must have run along somewhere near where the Tehuantepec National Railway now is, from Puerto, Mexico, in the Gulf of Mexico to Salina Cruz, on the Pacific Ocean, given as 188 miles. A runner traveling afoot, knowing the country, could cut that distance down a third, no doubt.

There was a place in this isthmus, fortified by the Nephites, which is referred to as a day's journey for a Nephite. This was in the land Bountiful--the same isthmus, but a shorter distance across than that known as *the line* between the lands Desolation and Bountiful. This, and much other evidence, shows this narrow neck of land, or narrow pass to be the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. We read, "they did preserve the land southward [of the narrow neck of land] for a wilderness to get game"; and we further read, "the land southward was called Bountiful, *it being the wilderness which is filled with all manner of wild game*." **This shows the land Bountiful to be a land southward of the isthmus, and not in it.**

Land of Many Waters

. . . Surely one can see that people in South America could not have traveled away up into the United States, and be acquainted with the large bodies of water, as some have supposed, referred to as the Great Lakes of the United States; but **it was the beautiful lakes located in the central part of Mexico**, and they were going from eastern Guatemala to Mexico . . .

The Hill Cumorah

The Hill Cumorah, where Mormon hid the records the last time, must have been located amongst the lakes north of the land of Desolation in Mexico. This was in 384 A.D. And the abridgment that Mormon made he gave to his son Moroni. . . . And in 421 A.D. he buried the records where found, in New York State.

Now these records that were buried by Mormon had been accumulating for a thousand years; all made upon metal by a great many writers, and must have been quite numerous and very heavy, altogether too heavy for any one man to have carried and the fact that Moroni was fleeing from the Lamanites to save his life shows that there was no possibility for him to have buried them, in the hill he called Cumorah--strong evidence that this hill was located in Mexico. Also we notice that the Nephites, having many heavy battles in and around the city of Desolation, and then gathering in all the Nephite people, men, women, and children, and traveling northward, did not go such a great distance as some have supposed--clear up to New York State. But the records being found in that hill in New York State has led many to believe that there was the one Hill Cumorah, *and that the Hill Ramah was the Hill Cumorah*, thus making some very unreasonable theories as to the travels and last battles of the Jaredites, as well as the Nephites.

One [unreasonable journey assumption] is the prophet Ether, writing in caves, in the land of Desolation; he was in a cave at the time all the Jaredites were destroyed, and the Lord directed him to *go forth out of the cave* and see the destruction of the people, and he did so, *and finished his record*. Thus it should be seen clearly that the prophet Ether was not taking nightly journeys from the land of Desolation to New York State and back before daylight, as their theories would indicate.

Think of Coriantumr, wounded in a terrible manner, as given in the account of the last of the Jaredite battles, where he lay unconscious upon the battlefield, where he was told by the prophet Ether that he was only to live to see another people coming to inherit the land and that they would bury him, walking from New York State down into South America, to be discovered by the people of Zarahemla, and taking with him all of the dead bodies of the Jaredites from New York State down to scatter them over the land of Desolation, where they were found.

Hill Cumorah

It was *in a land of many waters*, the same land visited by the 43 men sent by Limhi to find the land of Zarahemla, the beautiful plateau of Mexico; historians say that one-tenth of the area was once covered by the lakes. ("Native Races," Vol. II, pp. 87-88) Mormon hid all the records made from the time Lehi landed until they came into his hands in **a mountain among the lakes in the Valley of Mexico**. But he had made an abridgment which he gave to his son Moroni, who after his father's death and the destruction of the Nephites, wandered whithersoever he could, for the safety of his life, and, 37 years later, the record says, he was about to seal up the records, This must have been in New York State and he hid them in a hill near Manchester.

The ruins at Cholula are the ruins of the city of Moron, where the Jaredite kings lived during their last war.

The Hill Ramah

Many have thought this Hill Ramah of the Jaredites to be the Hill Cumorah, which I am sure is a mistake. We notice on page 697, verses 21-25, that the Nephites and Lamanites were fighting at the city of Desolation in the land of Desolation. And at this time Mormon, seeing that the Lamanites were about to overthrow the land, went *to the Hill Shim* and did take up all the records hidden there. This shows that the Hill Shim is somewhere close to the city of Desolation. If we can discover in the record that Mormon hid the records in the Hill Shim at any time, **it would establish the fact of the Hill Ramah of the Jaredites and the Hill Shim of the Nephites being one and the same**, instead of the Hill

Ramah and the Hill Cumorah being the same.

Location of the Hill Called Ramah by the Jaredites

The next to the last battle of the Jaredites was fought by the waters of Ripliancum (Pacific Ocean), and from there they went southward to Ogath (Oajaca) and the Hill Ramah. **The two armies were close together, one in *the Valley of Oaxaca* and the other near Mt. Zempoaltepec, then called Ramah and later called Shim by the Nephites.**

pre-1920?

Willard YoungIn the time just preceding 1920, apparently Willard Young became the **first LDS proponent of a Limited Mesoamerican theory** for Book of Mormon geography. Whether or not he derived any of his ideas at that time from noted RLDS scholar Louis Hills, who in 1917 became the first to propose a detailed limited Mesoamerican setting is unknown. What is known is that he was one of several scholars with different Book of Mormon geographical views invited to attend committee meetings that considered whether to change the geographical footnotes from the 1879 edition while making revisions for the new 1920 edition of the Book of Mormon. The only written evidence of Young's ideas come from two sources: (1) an undated manuscript with notes citing verses (page numbers) from the 1820 edition of the Book of Mormon; and (2) from the writings of Janne Sjordahl published some seven years later in 1927. Whether any of Young's ideas had changed or evolved by that time is unknown. What we find in the post-1920 manuscript notes is that "Lehi landed in the Bay of Fonseca and his son Nephi soon went north up the R. Goascoran." In Sjordahl's 1927 writings he notes the following:
A theory, of more recent date, holds that the geographical scene of the history of the Book of Mormon is confined to a comparatively small area of Central America, viz., Guatemala, British Honduras, part of Yucatan, and Salvador. In this area, it is thought, the Jaredites, the Mulekites and the followers of Lehi, all established their first colonies."

APPENDIX B: NON-LDS STORIES RELATED TO THE CAVE STORY

These non-Mormon (anti-Mormon?) accounts have information (questionable though some of it might be from an LDS perspective) that relates to the Cave Story. Rather than dismiss them entirely, I will present them all here so that the Book of Mormon geography student might know their source and their perspective. Before I do I would like to thank Sandra Tanner for opening her extensive files to me. I would also like to acknowledge the four volumes of *Early Mormon Documents* by Dan Vogel for their extensive collection of documents--both Mormon and non-Mormon. Having said this, the accounts are as follows:

1830 Peter Bauder ***The Kingdom and Gospel of Jesus Christ: Contrasted with That of Anti-Christ. A Brief Review of Some of the Most Interesting Circumstances, Which Have Transpired Since the Institution of the Gospel of Christ, from the Days of the Apostles,*** Canajoharie, New York: Printed by A. H. Calhoun, 1834, pp. 36-38.

. . . Among these imposters there has one arisen by the name of Joseph Smith, Jr. who commenced his system of church government in this state (New York) in the year 1830. . . . I conceive it my duty to expose this diabolical system for two special reasons--first, because I have had an opportunity with Smith, in his first setting out, to discover his plan; secondly, because I learn since they were broke up in New York State, they have gone to the western States, and are deceiving themselves and the people, and are increasing very fast. . . .

. . . He [Joseph Smith] says he was not allowed to let the plate be seen only by a few individuals named by the angel and after he had a part translated, the angel commanded him to carry the plate into a certain piece of woods, which he did;--the angel took them and carried them to parts unknown to him.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996, pp. 16-17.

1831 Abner Cole **"Gold Bible** **" *The Palmyra Reflector*, Palmyra, New York, January 18, 1831**

1831 Abner Cole **"Gold Bible No. 4," *The Palmyra Reflector*, Palmyra, New York, Feb 14, 1831**

Dan Vogel writes:

Between 1829 and 1831, the *Palmyra Reflector* published numerous items dealing with Mormon origins in the Palmyra/Manchester area. . . . In the words of one nineteenth-century historian, the paper was devoted to "science, amusement, and ironical castigation" (McIntosh 1877, 145). The Lyons *Countryman* of 7 September 1830 called it "a sarcastical, obscene little paper," and said the weekly was "well known in this quarter." . . .

The editor was "O[bediah]. Dogberry Jr.," a pseudonym for Abner Cole (c. 1782-1835), . . . who used the printing press of "E. B. Grandin & Co." during the evenings and on Sundays. . . .

One puzzle has been how Cole knew so much about Joseph Smith's treasure-seeking activities in Manchester, especially in connection with "Walters the Magician," recently identified as Luman Walters (c. 1788-1860) of Gorham, New York (Quinn 1987, 82-84, 85-97). According to Lorenzo Saunders, Walters was associated with the Smith and Chase families in digging a cave in a hill on Manchester Lot 2 sometime before 1825 (see III.B.15, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 12 Nov 1884, 8-9, 12). County records indicate that Cole owned this property since 1816, mortgaged it in 1820, continued paying taxes on it until at least 1823, and probably lost it in 1824 (see *ibid*, n. 27). Saunders, who was a witness to the digging, was told by Joseph Smith, Sr., that Joseph Jr. "could see in his peep stone what there was in that cave." Perhaps the digging on the hill began while Cole was owner and with his permission.

[14 February 1831]

GOLD BIBLE, NO. 4.

. . . In the commencement, the imposture of the "book of Mormon," had no regular plan or features. At a time when the money digging ardor was somewhat abated, the elder Smith declared that his son Jo had seen the *spritt*, (which he then described as a little old man with a long beard,) and was informed that he (Jo) under *certain* circumstances, eventually should obtain great treasures, and that in due time he (the spirit) would furnish him (Jo) with a book, which would give an account of the Ancient inhabitants (antideluvians,) of this country, and where they had deposited their substance, consisting of costly furniture, &c, at the approach of the great deluge, which had ever since that time remained secure in his (the spirits) charge, in large and spacious *chambers*, in sundry places in the vicinity,¹ and these tidings corresponded precisely with revelations made to, and predictions made by the elder Smith, a number of years before.²

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 2:223-225, 36?

Note* In 2002, Grant Palmer would write that Cole wrote in his 1831 newspaper article that the Smiths said the hill contained "large and spacious chambers." . . . Joseph Sr. said the rooms contained "substance, consisting of costly furniture, etc"

Source: ^Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002, pp. 158-159.

1831 James Gordon Bennett

James Gordon Bennett Diary, 7 Aug. 1831, Rare books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library. Also "Mormonism--Religious Fanaticism-Church and State Party," Part I, "*Morning Courier and Enquirer*, August 31. Reprinted in *Christian Register* (Boston), 24 September 1831.

Dan Vogel writes:

James Gordon Bennett . . . first received national recognition when, in 1827, he became the Washington, D.C., correspondent for the *New York Enquirer*. In 1829 he received financial backing from the supporters of Andrew Jackson to purchase the *Enquirer*. He then combined that paper with the *Courier* to publish the *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*.. Under Bennett's four-year associate editorship (1829-1832), the *Courier and Enquirer* became one of the leading eastern newspapers. . . .

From 12 June to 18 August 1831, Bennett went on an interviewing tour of upstate New York with Martin Van Buren and Nathaniel S. Benton. Bennett's personal diary of this trip is in the Manuscripts Division of the New York Public Library. He recorded in his diary various topics of interest, but of importance to early Mormon studies are the two entries (7 and 8 August 1831) he made at Geneva, a town about sixteen miles southeast of the Smith farm in Manchester. While in Canandaigua on 15 August, Bennett wrote an account of early Mormonism that drew on his diary entries . . .

¹ Vogel writes:

Cole's claim that Joseph Smith anticipated the discovery of a book containing the locations of ancient treasures is supported by Parley Chase who reported that "when Smith first told of getting the book of plates he said it would tell him how to get hidden treasures in the earth" (III.J.11. Parley Chase to [James T. Cobb?], 3 Apr 1879) Cole's mention of "costly furniture" is intriguing in light of his ownership of the hill on Manchester Lot 2 (see introduction). Prior to digging a tunnel in the hill, Joseph Jr., according to Lorenzo Saunders, saw in his stone "a man sitting in a gold chair" (III.B.12, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 17 Sep 1884, 7). Sylvia Walker, apparently describing the same cave, said that Smith reportedly "claimed to receive a revelation to dig forty feet into a hill . . . where he would find a cave that contained gold furniture, chairs and table" (III.D.w., Sylvia Walker Statement, 20 Mar 1885).

² Vogel writes: "A possible reference to the dream visions of Joseph Smith, Sr., which Lucy Smith attempted to record in her 1845 History."

From the Diary account we find the following:

Geneva Aug[us]t 7--1831--

Mormonism-- . . . Young [Joseph] Smith was careless, idle, indolent fellow--22 years old--brought up to live by his wits--which means a broker of small wants--[Martin] Harris was a hardy industrious farmer of Palmyra--with some money--could speak off the Bible by heart--Henry Rign [Sidney Rigdon] a parson in general--smart fellow--he is the author of the Bible--they dig first for money--a great many hills--the Golden Bible Hill where there is a hole 30 or forty feet into the side--6 feet diameter--dug [among?] and the chest fled his approach--turned it into a religious plot and gave out the golden plates--the Hill a long <narrow> hill which spreads out broad to the South--covered with Beach[,] Maple, Basswood and White Wood--the north end quite naked--the trees cut off in the road from Canandaigua to Palmyra between Manchester & Palmyra--several fine orchards on the east--~~the~~ and fine farms on the west--here the ground is hilly--but small hills--very uneven--the outlet [of Lake Canandaigua] runs past part of it . . .

Note* Here it should be noted that Bennett's diary account does not distinguish as to where his information came from. Presumably it came as much (if not more) from interviews rather than actual personal experience. These interviews would probably have been with people in the area who had been exposed to any number of stories concerning the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. In regards to the subsequent August 15th article by Bennett, Vogel himself notes (*Documents*, p. 286) that "Bennett apparently conflated separate stories then circulating in the Palmyra/Manchester area." In this fanciful anti-Mormon article we find the following:

You have heard of MORMONISM--who has not? Paragraph has followed paragraph in the newspapers, recounting the movements, detailing their opinions and surprising distant readers with the traits of a singularly new religious sect which had its origin in this state. Mormonism is the latest device of roguery, ingenuity, ignorance and religious excitement combined, and acting on materials prepared by those who ought to know better. . . .

A few years ago the Smith's and others who were influenced by their notions, caught an idea that money was hid in several of the hills which give variety to the country between the Canandaigua Lake and Palmyra on the Erie Canal. . . . With this view the Smith's and their associates commenced digging, in the numerous hills which diversify the face of the country in the town of Manchester. The sensible country people paid slight attention to them at first. They knew them to be a thriftless set, more addicted to exerting their wits than their industry, readier at inventing stories and tales than attending church or engaging in any industrious trade. On the sides & in the slopes of several of these hills, these excavations are still to be seen. . . . They dug these holes by day, and at night talked and dreamed over the counties' riches they should enjoy . . . In excavating the grounds, they began by taking up the green sod in the form of a circle of six feet diameter--then would continue to dig to the depth of ten, twenty, and sometimes thirty feet. . . .

About the time that this person [Sidney Rigdon] appeared among them, a splendid excavation was begun in a long narrow hill, between Manchester and Palmyra. This hill has since been called by some, the *Golden Bible Hill*. The road from Canandaigua to Palmyra, runs along its western base. At the northern extremity the hill is quite abrupt and narrow. . . . the northern extremity is quite bare of trees. In the face of this hill, the money diggers renewed their work with fresh ardour, Ringdon [Rigdon] partly uniting with them in their operations.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Vol. 3, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 281-286.

Note* Martin H. Raish notes that the above articles by James Gordon Bennett were reprinted, summarized, paraphrased, or embellished by many newspapers. A partial list includes the following: *Vermont Gazette*, 13 September 1831 (adapted and paraphrased); *Cleveland (OH) Herald*, 15 September 1831 (reprinted); *Boston Christian Register*, 24 September 1831 (reprinted); *St. Johnsbury (OH) Farmer's Herald*, 23 October 1831 (paraphrased, with additional material from other sources) and 18 January 1832 (reprinted, with corrections); and *New York Churchman*, 4 February 1832 (paraphrased, with corrections). It also appeared in

the *Salem (MA) Gazette* in late 1831 or early 1832 and the *Philadelphia U. S. Gazette* in January 1832.

A modern reprint can be found in Leonard J. Arrington, "James Gordon Bennett's 1831 Report on 'The Mormonites,'" in *BYU Studies* 10/3 (Spring 1970); 353-64. Arrington also provides additional glimpses from entries in Bennett's diary. For 7 August 1831, Bennett noted "the Golden Bible Hill where there is a hole 30 or forty feet deep into the side--6 feet diameter--dug among and the chest fled his approach." (Martin H. Raish, "Encounters with Cumorah: A Selective, Personal Bibliography," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 170, n. 3.)

Note* In a 1994 paper (Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), pp. 198, 211.), Vogel would cite these sources with the following:

In August 1831, James Gordon Bennett noted that on "Golden Bible Hill . . . there is a hole 30 or forty feet into the side--6 feet diameter."

Non-Mormon journalist James Gordon Bennett, who visited the Palmyra/Manchester, New York, area in August 1831, wrote that "[o]n the sides & in the slopes of several of these hills" in Manchester, Joseph Smith-inspired "excavations are still to be seen."

Note* See the Edward Stevenson notation for 1870 where a large excavation on Mormon Hill (Gold Bible Hill) is attributed to the Rochester Company. See the discussion in the 1994 Dan Vogel notation.

1831 Lemman Copley **Joseph Smith Interview with Lemman Copley, 1831 in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled: or, A Faithful Account of That Singular Imposition and Delusion, from Its Rise to the Present Time*, Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834, pp. 276-277.**

Dan Vogel notes:

In early 1831 he [Lemman Copley] was baptized and ordained a Mormon elder. . . . Copley owned large tracts of land in Thompson, Ohio, and promised to allow Mormons from New York to settle there. However, by June 1831 Copley had broken his promise, prompting the Colesville members to move to Missouri. In the summer of 1831 church leaders withdrew fellowship from Copley, but by October 1832 he was restored to church fellowship. During a trial held at Kirtland about 27-29 December 1833 and at Chardon on 2-3 April 1834, involving Joseph Smith and Philastus Hurlbut, Copley testified against Smith. Copley was again disfellowshipped. . . . The following account of Copley's interview with Smith was published by E. D. Howe during Copley's estrangement from the church and before his confession and rebaptism. According to Howe, "[the] story was related by *Lemman Copley* . . . under oath, before two magistrates, of Painesville Township, during the case of the State vs. Hurlbut.

The account reads as follows:

Mr. Copley testified, that after the Mormon brethren arrived here from the Susquehannah, one of them, by the name of Joseph Knight, related to him a story as having been related to him by Joseph Smith, Jun. which excited some curiosity in his mind, he determined to ask Joseph more particularly about it, on the first opportunity. Not long after it was confirmed to him by Joseph himself, who again related it in the following manner: "After he had finished translating the Book of Mormon, he again buried up the plates in the side of a mountain, by command of the Lord [see note "A" below]; some time after this, he was going through a piece of woods, on a by-path, when he discovered an old man dressed in ordinary gray apparel, sitting upon a long, having in his hand or near by, a small box. On approaching him, he asked him what he had in his box. To which the old man replied, that he had a MONKEY, and for five coppers he might see it. Joseph answered, that he would not give a cent to see a monkey, for he had seen a hundred of them. He then asked the old man where he was going, who said he was going to *Charzee*. Joseph then passed on, and not recollecting any such place in that part of the country, began to poinder over the strange interview, and finally asked the Lord the meaning of it. The Lord told him that the man he saw was MORONI, with the plates, and if he had given him the five coppers, he might have got his plates again." . . .

Note "A" Dan Vogel writes:

William Smith said his brother was directed in vision to bury the plates "in the same manner" as he had found them (see the 1841 Smith notation)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996, pp. 23-25.

1833 Peter Ingersoll "Statement," Palmyra, Wayne Co. N.Y. Dec. 2d, 1833
(abt. a cave)

Peter Ingersoll (c. 1789-1867) appears along with his wife, Catherine Todd and nine children in the 1830 census of Palmyra, Wayne County, New York. According to Lorenzo Saunders, Ingersoll's "land joined the Smith farm on the north" [see map below] and quite possibly he lived in the cabin that the Smiths had first occupied prior to building their own cabin on their Manchester land. Ingersoll claimed to have been a close friend of the Smith family. . . . Ingersoll makes this statement from "Palmy[r]aa, Wayne Co. N.Y. Dec. 2d, 1833":

I, Peter Ingersoll, first became acquainted with the family of Jopesh [Joseph] Smith, Sen. in the year of our Lord, 1822.--I lived in the neighborhood of said family, until about 1830; during which time the following facts came under my observation.

The general employments of the family, was digging for money. I had frequent invitations to join the company, but always declined being one of their number. . . . Joseph, Sen. told me that the best time for digging money, was, in the heat of summer, when the heat of the sun caused the chests of money to rise near the top of the ground. You notice, said he, the large stones on the top of the ground--we call them rocks, and they truly appear so, but they are, in fact, most of them chests of money raised by the heat of the sun.

At another time, he told me that the ancient inhabitants of this country used camels instead of horses. For proof of this fact, *he stated that in a certain hill on the farm of Mr. Cuyler, there was a cave containing an immense value of gold and silver, stands of arms, also, a saddle for a camel, hanging on a peg at one side of the cave.* . . .

Source: ^Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), pp. 232-237, 248-249. Also Francis W. Kirkham, *A New Witness for Christ in America*, 2 vols., vol. 2, pp. 133-136. ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 2000, pp. 39-42.

[A1833 **Illustration: Map of Palmyra and Manchester Townships.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, p. 2]

1833 (Affidavit) Palmyra, N. Y., Dec. 4, 1833

"We, the undersigned, having been acquainted with the Smith family for a number of years, while they resided near this place, have no hesitation in saying, that we consider them destitute of that moral character which ought to entitle them to the confidence of any community. They were particularly famous for visionary projects, spent much of their time in digging for money, which they pretended was hid in the earth; and to this day *large excavations may be seen in the earth, not far from their residence*, where they used to spend their time in digging for hidden treasures. . . .

Signed:Geo. N. Williams, Clark Robinson, Lemuel Durfee, E. S. Townsend, Henry P. Alger, C. E. Thayer, L. Williams, Geo. W. Crosby, Levi Thayer, N. S. Williams, Henry Jessup, Joel Thayer, Israel F. Chilson, H. Linnelli, Jas. Jenner, Josiah Rice, S. Ackley, Jesse Townsend, Richard D. Clark, Th. P. Baldwin, John Sothington, Thomas Robers, 2d., Wm. Parke, Josiah Francis, Amos Holister, G. A. Hathaway, David G. Ely, H. K. Jerome, G. Beckwith, Lewis Foster, Hiram Payne, P. Grandin, Asahel Mmillard, H. P. thayer, P. Sexton, M. Butterfield, S. P. Seymour, D. S. Jackways, John Hurlbut, N.H. Beckwith, Philo Durfee, Giles S. Ely, Durfey Chase, Wells Anderson, Linus North, E. D. Robinson, G. W.

Source: J. B. Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages*. New York: Platt & Peters, 1842, p. 152-153.

1833 William Stafford "Statement," Manchester, Ontario Co. N.Y. Dec. 8th, 1833.
(abt. caves)

Dan Vogel notes that William Stafford (c. 1786-1863), after whom Palmyra's Stafford Street was named, was one of the first settlers in that town. Later he moved farther south on Stafford Road, locating in Manchester on a farm about a mile south of what subsequently became the Smiths' land. [see map below] Pomeroy Tucker described him as "a respectable farmer in comfortable circumstances" (Tucker 1867, 24) . . . Stafford made the following statement from "Manchester, Ontario Co. N.Y. Dec. 8th, 1833":

I, William Stafford . . . first became acquainted with Joseph, Sen., and his family in the year 1820. They lived, at that time, in Palmyra, about one mile and a half from my residence. A great part of their time was devoted to digging for money: especially in the night time, when they said the money could be most easily obtained. I have heard them tell marvellous tales, respecting the discoveries they had made in their peculiar occupation of money digging. They would say, for instance, that in such a place, in such a hill, on a certain man's farm, there were deposited keys, barrels and hogsheads of coined silver and gold--bars of gold, golden images, brass kettles filled with gold and silver--gold candlesticks, swords, etc., etc. *They would say, also, that nearly all the hills in this part of New York, were thrown up by human hands, and in them were large caves, which Joseph, Jr., could see, by placing a stone of singular appearance in his hat, [see Note* below] in such a manner as to exclude all light; at which time they pretended he could see all things within and under the earth,--that he could see within the above mentioned caves, large gold bars and silver plates--that he could also discover the spirits in whose charge these treasures were, clothed in ancient dress. At certain times, these treasures could be obtained very easily; at others, the obtaining of them was difficult. . . .*

Source: ^Eber D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Painesville, Ohio: E. D. Howe, 1834), pp. 237-240. Also ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 3, 2000, pp. 59-60.

Note* This idea, that "nearly all the hills in this part of New York were thrown up by human hands" is also reflected in an 1835 statement by W. W. Phelps (*Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*, November 1835) in which he says, "Cumorah, the artificial hill of North America is well calculated to stand in this generation as a monument . . ."

[A1833 **Illustration: Map of Palmyra and Manchester Townships.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, p. 2]

1841 William Smith **James Murdock to *Congregational Observer***, 19 June 1841, "The Mormons and Their Prophet," *Congregational Observer* (Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut) 2 (3 July 1841): 1. Reprinted in *Peoria Register and North-Western Gazetteer* (Peoria, Illinois), 3 September 1841.

Dan Vogel notes that James Murdock was a graduate of Yale, had pastored a congregation in Prenceton, Massachusetts, from 1802-1805, had become a professor of ancient languages at the University of Vermont, and then had become a professor of sacred rhetoric and ecclesiastical history at Andover Theological Seminary from 1819-28. Vogel writes:

James Murdock interviewed William Smith aboard an Ohio River boat on 18 April 1841. At the time of the interview William was a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles . . . Murdock claims that his interview was corrected by Smith. However, several obvious errors may be the result of Murdock's later "enlargement to render it more intelligible." William was young when many of the events he described took place, and he is known to be inaccurate in other sources when describing early Smith family history.

In this interview Murdock relates the following information as coming from William Smith:

. . . After this, he [Joseph Smith] had other similar visions, in one of which the existence of certain metallic plates was revealed to him and their location described--about three miles off, in a pasture ground. The next day he went alone to the spot, and by digging discovered the plates in a sort of rude stone box. . . . He kept the plates a long time in his chamber, and after translating from them, he repeatedly showed them to his parents and to other friends. But my informant [William Smith] said he had never seen them. At length he [Joseph Smith] was directed by a vision to bury the plates again in the same manner; which he accordingly did.

1861 (British Novel)

1867[^] **Pomeroy Tucker** *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867, 11-83, 117-19, 129-130.
(abt. a cave)

Dan Vogel notes:

A significant source for Mormon origins, Tucker's 1867 book has its weaknesses. As Richard L. Anderson has observed: "From the point of view of history, . . . [it] is a disappointing performance. With access to the generation that remembered the establishment of the Prophet's work, the experienced editor is content to quote the [anti-Mormon] Hurlbut-Howe affidavits, to repeat common gossip, to quote extensive portions of the Book of Mormon and articles about Brigham Young for the bulk of the book" (R. L. Anderson 1969a, 382). . . . Yet there is much to commend in Tucker's account of early Mormonism. As Anderson continues: "Tucker does relate much valuable information concerning the period of the publication of the Book of Mormon. He also claims knowledge of the Smiths "since their removal to Palmyra from Vermont in 1816, and during their continuance there and in the adjoining particulars of the Smiths' early Palmyra life are probably based on his observation" (R. L. Anderson 1969a, 382). In his preface Tucker claims that he "was equally acquainted with Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery, and with most of the earlier followers of Smith, either as money-diggers or Mormons," and that during the printing of the Book of Mormon he "had frequent and familiar interviews with the pioneer Mormons, Smith, Cowdery, and Harris" (Tucker 1867, 4, 5).

Pomeroy Tucker writes:

The spot from which the book is alleged to have been taken is the yet partially visible pit where the money speculators had previously dug for another kind of treasure, which is upon the summit of what has ever since been known as "Mormon Hill," now owned by Mr. Anson Robinson, in the town of Manchester, New York.

[Note* Here Tucker associates the spot "where the money speculators had previously dug for another kind of treasure" with a "pit." A pit seems to imply a vertical depression. This "pit" was said to have been located "upon the summit" of "Mormon Hill." Lorenzo Saunders later said that he had seen an excavation on Mormon Hill just after the time Joseph Smith retrieved the plates from the hill in September, 1827, but that it was on the northeast side of the hill. (See the 1885 letter of Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg.)]

. . . The loss of the first translations [116-pages] checked for a time the progress of Mormon events. But Smith, Harris, and their abiding associates were seemingly undismayed. Some six months passed when the announcement was given out that a new and complete translation of the Book of Mormon had been made by the prophet, which was ready for the press. . . . The second manuscripts, like the first, were in Cowdery's handwriting.

The work of translation this time had been done in the recess of a dark artificial cave, which Smith had caused to be dug in the east side of the forest-hill near his residence, now owned by Mr. Amos Miner. [see map above] At least such was one account given out by the Mormon fraternity; though another version was, that the prophet continued to pursue his former mode of translating behind the curtain at his house, and only went into the cave to pay his spiritual devotions and seek the continued favor of Divine Wisdom. His stays in the cave varied from fifteen minutes to an hour or over--the entrance

meanwhile being guarded by one or more of his disciples. The ceremony scarcely attracted the curiosity of outsiders, though it was occasionally witnessed by men and boys living near the scene.³ *This excavation was at the time said to be one hundred and sixty feet in extent, though that is probably an exaggeration. It had a substantial door of two-inch plank, secured by a corresponding lock. From the lapse of time and natural causes the cave has been closed for years, very little mark of its former existence remaining to be seen.*

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 87, 104, 112.

1867 Hamilton Child ***Gazetteer and Business Directory of Wayne County, N.Y. for 1867-8,***
Syracuse, New York: Journal Office, 1867, pp. 52-54.

. . . Here [Palmyra, Wayne County, New York] the insidious monster, Mormonism, was nursed and cradled; which, like the 'serpent in Eden,' has chosen for its victims the fairest of God's creatures. For 37 years it has dragged its slimy footsteps through the annals of American history. . . Joseph Smith would repair at night to a cave in the hillside, and dictate to his amanuensis, (Oliver Cowdery,) what he "mysteriously translated from golden plates," which he pretended to have found while digging for money in Sept. 1823, by spirit of revelation, but was not permitted to take them from the earth until 1827, about the time the Bible was commenced. The greatest secrecy was observed during the pretended revelations, which were only given in the cave at night, without any light, no one else being able to read the inscription on the plates but he.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 361-362.

1877 W. H. McIntosh ***History of Wayne County, New York,*** Philadelphia: Everts,
Ensign & Everts, 1877, 149-151.

Dan Vogel notes that "Under the subheading 'Mormonism and Its Founder,' W. H. McIntosh gives an account of Mormon origins in Wayne and Ontario Counties. His account is largely based on Pomeroy Tucker's 1867 history." The pertinent excerpt reads as follows:

. . . Martin Harris desired the new book printed, and avowed to his wife his intention of incurring the expense. She knew that the result would be a loss of the farm, and while her husband slept secured and burnt the manuscript. The burning she kept secret, and Smith and Harris, fearing that they might be produced, dared not rewrite the manuscript. Again translation was effected, this time within a cave dug in the east side of the forest hill, and guarded by one or more disciples. In June, 1829, Smith, accompanied by his brother Hiram, Cowdery, and Harris, called on Egbert B. Grandin, publisher of the *Wayne Sentinel*, at Palmyra, and inquired the cost of an edition of three thousand copies. . .

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 371, 375-376.

1878 abt. David Whitmer? **"David Whitmer Interviews,"** *Deseret Evening News*, August 16,
(Cave Story) 1878, pp. 19-24.

The following is a purported interview of David Whitmer by P. Wilhelm Poulson at Richmond Missouri, early in 1878, and which appeared in the *Deseret Evening News* as a follow-up to another article concerning John Whitmer. The reader should be advised that although Poulson declares that "This conversation was mostly written down word for word half an hour after the interview with David Whitmer, Esq., who will recognize it as his

³ Vogel notes: "See II.B.12, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 17 Sep 1884, 8; II.B.15, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 12 Nov 1884, 8."

words," David Whitmer in fact did NOT recognize it as his words. In a letter to S. T. Mouch, dated 18 November 1882, David Whitmer accused Poulson of inventing dialogue. (See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3, p. 468). But for the benefit of the reader, in case they are confronted with this information, the article is as follows:

Several persons have inquired of me about David Whitmer, especially since the publication in the *News* of the letter about the late John Whitmer. If the *Deseret News* will give the space in its columns, it will afford me pleasure to write what I know about him from my visit to Richmond, Mo., and also my personal conversation with him. He is now 73 years old, but is a wonderfully well preserved man . . .

After a self introduction to David Whitmer and some general conversation, I remarked to him:

. . . I--"Did the eight witnesses not handle the plates as a material substance?"

He--"We did not, but they did, because the faith of Joseph became so great that the angel, the guardian of the plates, gave the plates up to Joseph for a time, that those eight witnesses could see and handle them."

I--"Did not Joseph, at an earlier period, have the full possession of those plates?"

He--"Yes, he did so in the commencement, but the persecution grew so hot that the angel took possession of the records, and showed those things, as he did, to Cowdery, Harris and me, in the presence of Joseph, and afterwards he was allowed to show the plates to the eight witnesses."

I--"Where are the plates now?"

He--"In a cave, where the angel has hidden them up till the time arrives when the plates, which are sealed, shall be translated. God will yet raise up a mighty one, who shall do his work till it is finished and Jesus comes again."

I--"*Where is that cave?*"

He--"*In the state of New York.*"

I--"*In the Hill of Cumorah?*"

He--"*No, but not far away from that place.* I saw the place where the plates were found, and a great many did so, and it awakened an excitement at the time . . .so [Joseph] was in constant danger of being robbed and killed."

I--"How did the place look?"

He--"It was a stone box, and the stones looked to me as if they were cemented together. That was on the side of the hill, and a little down from the top."

Source: ^Fred C. Collier, *Unpublished Revelations of the Prophets and Presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, vol. 2. SLC: Collier's Publishing Co., 1993, pp. 106-107.

Note* Cameron J. Packer writes of the above quote:

It is interesting that his account differs from the others regarding the exact location of the cave, and yet it should be remembered that Whitmer's statmeent "not far away from that place" may have been referring to the exact place where the plates were found, and therefore the cave, which was nearby, could have still been in the hill proper. Another possibility is that, for some reason, Whitmer was thinking of Miner's Hill, which is just north of the Hill Cumorah and was said to feature a cave dug by Mormons: see Cameron Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002), 59-62.) Source: Cameron J.

Packer, "Cumorah's Cave," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, Vol. 13, Num. 1-2, Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2005, p. 171 n. 3

It is difficult to tell just how much speculation is implied here concerning the location of the cave. In my view, Packer's first solution is strained. There is only one antecedent of "place" that makes any sense, and that is "the Hill Cumorah." Miner's cave, while a possibility, is not a top choice because the location was specifically known. However a couple of other explanations to the above quote seem more plausible to me: (1) Perhaps Whitmer was avoiding a definite location for the incident because he didn't know. In other words, by him saying "No, but not far away from that place," Whitmer was avoiding the fact that he didn't know, that he had never taken part in the Cave Story (despite W. W. Phelps' 1855 remarks) and had never been told by Oliver Cowdery the specific location of the cave; and/or (2) In his 1884 interview, David Whitmer said that he saw the cave while in the spirit at Fayette, New York, a few miles ("not far"?) from Palmyra. Thus, although he felt he could testify of the certainty of the Cave Story, perhaps the specific location of the cave that he saw "while in the spirit at Fayette" was not revealed to him--perhaps he was just allowed to view the immediate entrance and interior of the cave with its contents.

1880 Clark Braden *Cadillac Weekly News*, April 6, 1880.

1880 James H. Smith *History of Chenango and Madison Counties, New York*,
Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Co., 1880, pp. 153-155.

In his 1880 *History of Chenango and Madison Counties*, James H. Smith includes an account of Mormonism in that area. A reference to a cave in that area is included as follows:

Smith repaired at night to a cave in the hillside, and dictated to his amanuensis, Oliver Cowdery, what he "mysteriously translated from golden plates," which he pretended to have found while digging for money in September, 1823, by the aid of spirit revelation, but was not permitted to take them from the earth until 1827, about the time the Bible was commenced. The greatest secrecy was observed during these pretended revelations, which were only given in the cave at night, without any light, no one else but he being able to read the inscription on the plates. When it was completed, they were in a quandary as to how to get it printed.

Note* Chenango County, New York is where Josiah Stowell lived. (See Maps below) While visiting his son Simpson in Manchester, New York previous to November, 1825, Stowell learned of Joseph Smith Jr.'s talent for being able to see things in vision by means of a seer stone. After a satisfactory demonstration and some coaxing, Stowell hired him to help in a search for lost treasure in an old Spanish mine which, according to legend, had been abandoned by the Spanish sometime in the late eighteenth century. In a letter to W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery gave some specifics concerning this mine:

"in the town of Harmony, Susquehanna county, Pa. is said to be a cave or subterraneous recess, whether entirely formed by art or not I am uninformed . . . where a company of Spaniards, a long time since, when the country was uninhabited by white settlers, excavated from the bowels of the earth ore, and coined a large quantity of money; after which they secured the cavity and evacuated, leaving part still in the cave purposing to return at some distant period. A long time elapsed and this account came from one of the individuals who was first engaged in this mining business. . . . Enough however, was credited to the Spaniards' story, to excite the belief of many that there was a fine sum of the precious metal lying coined in this subterraneous vault, among whom was our employer [Josiah Stowell]; and according to our brother [Joseph Smith] was required to spend a few months with some others in excavating the earth, in pursuit of this treasure" (Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps, Oct 1835, 201.)

The agreement stated that the company expected to find "a valuable mine of either Gold or Silver . . . coined money and bars or ingots of Gold or Silver." The mine was said to have been located in the foothills of Oquago Mountain somewhat north of Harmony township.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 4, 2002, pp. 227, 275-278, 407-413.

[A1880 **Illustration: Map 1: Chenango County and Broome County, New York.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 4, 2002, p. 2.]

[A1880 **Illustration: Map 2: Relationship of Harmony, Pennsylvania to Broome County, New York.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 4, 2002, p. 274.]

Note* Since the translation was effected by Joseph and Oliver in Harmony, Pennsylvania, then the implication here is apparently that the cave where the translation took place was also located in Harmony.

THE KELLEY INTERVIEWS

Dan Vogel notes the following:

William H. Kelley (1841-1915) . . . served in the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS) as a member of the quorum of seventy from 1860 to 1873, then as an apostle until 1913.

. . .

[He] was engaged in his missionary labors in Michigan in July 1881 when a local newspaper printed an article by the Reverent C. C. Thorne of Canandaigua, New York, which contained disparaging statements about Joseph Smith by former neighbors . . . Believing these statements were "a trumped up thing," Kelley decided to visit the Palmyra/Manchester area and interview the . . . parties for himself . . . Joined by his brother Edmund, William Kelley arrived in the Palmyra/Manchester area in early March 1881. The published account of the Kelley interviews indicates that they were conducted on 5 March 1881 . . . but a note on the back of page 2 of their notebook seems to indicate that the interviews took place on 6 March ("1881 made these visits March 6"). . . . Despite William Kelley's claim that the interviews were published "just as they occurred," and E. L. Kelley's statement that the language of those interviewed "was taken down at the time" in their "own words" . . . the Kelleys were actually poor note-takers. An examination of their small notebook at the RLDS Church Library-Archives in Independence, Missouri, reveals that the interviews were written in pencil in a terse, fragmentary fashion.

Perhaps a month or two months later, William Kelley fleshed out the interview notes to produce what probably sounded like actual transcripts and then published them in the 1 June 1881 issue of the RLDS church's *Saint' Herald*. After publication, the Kelleys apparently sent copies of the article to "all the families or parties whom they had interviewed" . . . Some of those interviewed by the Kelleys apparently did not like what they read . . .

In 1884 the Kelleys visited Hillsdale County, Michigan, and conducted several interviews with Lorenzo and Benjamin Saunders. Unlike the earlier interviews, these 1884 interviews were more carefully taken down and sometimes signed.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 81-82)

1881 Ezra Pierce **William H. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," *Saints' Herald* 28 (1 June 1881): 163.**
(abt. a cave)

Were you acquainted with the Smith family?

"Oh, yes; I pulled sticks with Joe for a gallon of brandy once at a log rolling; he was about my age. I was born in 1806. I lived about three miles from the Smiths. Was not very well acquainted with them; but knew them when I saw them. I knew young Joe, who claimed to have found the plates, and old Joe, his father."

Did young Joe drink?

"Every body drank them times."

Did you ever see young Joe drink.

"No, I never did; it was customary in those early days for every body to drink, more or less. They would have it at huskings, and in the harvest field, and places of gathering; the Smiths did not drink more than others." . . .

Who said they dug for money?

"Oh, I have heard it lots of times. If my brother was living, he could tell you all about it."

Others dug besides the Smiths, did they?

"Yes; there were others who dug; but I always heard that the Smiths dug the most; one of the Chase's, a young lady, had a stone which she claimed she could look through and see money buried." . . .

Who was this Miss Chase? Where does she live?

"She is dead now; she was a sister to Abel Chase, who lives upon the Palmyra Road. Have you seen him? He will know all about this. *He has been in the cave with the Smiths* where the sheep bones were found--people used to think they were making counterfeit money."

Did you ever see any of it?

"No."

Did any of the neighbors?

"No; I never heard any say they did. . . . I never heard it while they lived here; after they went to Kirtland, Ohio, people were talking it." . . .

Tell us about the cave you spoke of?

"The cave is over there in the hill now--a large cave."

In what hill? The hill they call "Mormon Hill"?

"No; *it is about a mile from that*, but what are you so particular about it for?"

We want to go and see it--we want to see the thing itself. Now you have been there; give us the description, while we write it down, so that we can find it.

"No; *I never saw it; besides it is all caved in now, so you could not see anything. There is no cave there now, it is all fallen in.*"

Note* According to Dan Vogel, Ezra Pierce (1806-?) appears in the 1830 federal census of Manchester, New York. His 127-acre farm was situated northwest of Manchester Village on Lots 13 and 15.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 95-98)

1881 John H. Gilbert

William H. Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," in *Saints' Herald* 28, 1 June 1881, pp. 165-166.

Note* John H. Gilbert was the chief typesetter of the Book of Mormon.

Early in the evening we called upon Mr. John H. Gilbert, at his residence, and made known our desire for an interview, &c. He seemed quite free to give us all the information he had upon the subject, and said he had been for the past forty-five or fifty years doing all he could to find out what he could about the Smiths and Book of Mormon. He is a man seventy-nine years of age, and quite active even in this time of life.

What did you know about the Smiths, Mr. Gilbert?

"I knew nothing myself; have seen Joseph Smith a few times, but not acquainted with him. Saw Hyrum quite often. I am the party that set the type from the original manuscript for the Book of Mormon. They translated it in a cave. (see note A. below)

Note A. Dan Vogel writes:

There is nothing in the Kelleys' notes about Gilbert's mention of a cave, but he did mention hearing about the cave in an 1893 interview (see III.H.11, JOHN GILBERT INTERVIEW, 1893). Pomeroy Tucker also reported the rumor that Smith had initially translated in a cave near the Amos Miner residence in Palmyra (III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 48-49). According to Lorenzo Saunders, however, the cave was closed by October 1825 (see III.B.15, LORENZO SAUNDERS INTERVIEW, 12 Nov 1884, 8).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 107-108.

1884 Lorenzo Saunders **Lorenzo Saunders Interview**, by William H. Kelley, 17 September 1884, 1-18, E. L. Kelley Papers, RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

Dan Vogel notes that Lorenzo Saunders (1811-88) was born at Palmyra, New York. A carpenter by trade, Saunders built a cider mill in the 1840s but sold out in 1854 and moved to Hillsdale County, Michigan. Part of the interview from "Reading Ind. [Michigan] Sep. 17 1884" is as follows:

Q. Did you ever see the Smiths dig ~~yourself or [others?]~~ for money?

A. I never saw them digging for money. I saw them dig in a hill, said to be for that purpose; that young Joe could look in his peep stone and see a man sitting in a gold chair. Old Joe said he was king i.e. the man in the chair; a king of one of the ~~Nephites or Lamanites~~ <tribes> who was shut in there in the time of one of their big battles. *This digging was a mile from Smiths. Don't know as there was ever anything in the cave. The cave was on our place. This was in 1826. The cave had a door to it. We tore it off and sunk it in a pit of water where they got dirt to cover a cole [coal] pit.*

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 125, 130-131.

1884 Lorenzo Saunders Lorenzo Saunders, Interviewed by E. L. Kelley, 12 November 1884, 1-22, E. L. Kelley Papers, "Miscellany," RLDS Church Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

E.L.K. How are you enabled to identify the time[?]

Mr. S. Because, I know it was before Jo. claimed to have taken the plates from the hill Cummorah. And there was some two or three of us traveled that ground over & we could not find a hole. There was a great raft of them digging for money.

E.L.K. Who was at the head?

Mr. S. Jo. Smith with his peep Stone. I never saw Jo. Smith digging[.] . . .

E.L.K.You see I have been up there and look after these Chases. His brother Able Chase says he never saw any digging there.

Mr. S.(Excited) I tell you, sir, I am one of them that saw digging there & I will Swear to it. *I am one of them that went & tore the door down to the cave. My Father was in possession & he ordered us to break that door down & put the hole up.*⁴

Benjamin Tabor owned the land at that time. The cave was situated on the East side of the hill. It was a farm of a hundred acres; He had it on<on> an article & his article run out & he was likely to lose it. I went to Albany & I sold it to Amos Macy.⁵ *I never Saw young Jo. Smith there by the cave. I will tell you I take the evidence from what the old man said respecting that; The old man said; what: Jo. could see in his peep stone what there was in that cave. & the old man said that Joseph could see.*

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 152-153.

Note* Vogel also notes on pp. 223-225 (vol. 2) that county records indicate that Abner Cole, who under the pseudonym of Obediah Dogberry Jr. edited the *Palmyra Reflector* (which published numerous items between 1829 and 1831 dealing with Mormon origins in the Palmyra/Manchester area) owned this property since 1816, mortgaged it in 1820, continued paying taxes on it until at least 1823, and probably lost it in 1824. And that perhaps the digging on the hill began while Cole was owner.

[A1884 **Illustration: Map of Palmyra and Manchester Townships.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, p. 2]

1884 Samantha Payne **Samantha (Stafford) Payne Statement**, abt. 1884. Quoted in Clark Braden and E. L. Kelley, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884 Between E. L. Kelley, of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and Clark Braden, of the Church of Christ* (St. Louis: Clark Braden, [1884], p. 350.

She [Samantha Stafford Payne] was a schoolmate of Smith. His reputation was bad; . . . The Smith's dug for money on nearly every farm for miles around; their excavations can be seen to-day. Some are on the farm on which I now live. The digging was done at night with most absurd superstitious acts. It was done by a gang of men and women of low reputation. They told many absurd stories about it. After Smith came back from Pennsylvania his followers dug a cave in a hillside not far from here.⁶ They conducted the work of getting up Mormonism in it. I was in it once. It can be seen to-day. The present owner of the farm, Mr. [Wallace] Miner [see his 1930 notation], dug out the cave, which had fallen in. The cave had a large, heavy plank door and a padlock on it. The neighbors broke it open

⁴ Vogel notes that "since Lorenzo Saunders's father, Enoch, died on 10 October 1825, the events Saunders describes in connection with the cave necessarily occurred before that date."

⁵ Vogel notes that in actuality, "on 26 November 1836 Saunders obtained a letter of patent on a portion of Manchester Lot 2 from Governor William L. Marcy at Albany (Deeds, Liber 61, 376-77), Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York). On 28 January 1839 Saunders deeded a portion of this land to Amos Miner for \$3,000 (Deeds, Liber 65, 177-78)."

⁶ Vogel notes that Joseph Smith returned to Manchester from his first excursion to Pennsylvania about March 1826, but according to Lorenzo Saunders [see his 1884 notation], whose family lived on the land where the cave was dug, the cave had been completed before his father's death on 10 October 1825.

one night, and found in it a barrel of flour, some mutton, some sheep pelts, and two sides of leather.⁷

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 3, 2000, pp. 173-174.

1885 Lorenzo Saunders "Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 January 1885. Printed in Charles A.

Shook, *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon*, Cincinnati, Ohio: Standard Publishing Co., [1914], pp. 134-35.

In 1885 Thomas Gregg, a newspaper editor and publisher from Hamilton, Illinois was doing research for a book which he would ultimately publish in 1890 (Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra*, New York: John B. Alden, 1890). As part of that preparation he wrote a letter on January 19 to Lorenzo Saunders, then living near Reading, Michigan, requesting information about his knowledge of Mormon origins, as Saunders had lived near Joseph Smith during the time of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. Saunders replied in a letter dated January 28, 1885. Dan Vogel reports the following on this letter of reply:

The original letter cannot be located, but it was published by Charles A. Shook in 1914. Shook reports that at the time of publication the item was in the R. B. Neal Collection of Thomas Gregg letters in the American Anti-Mormon Association. I have been unable to trace the location of the now defunct association's papers.

However, Vogel includes the content of an affidavit that Shook included attesting to the letter's existence.

The pertinent part of Saunders's letter to Gregg is as follows:

Reading, January 28, 1885

Mr. Gregg,

Dear Sir. I received your note ready at hand and will try (to) answer the best I can and give all the information I can as respecting Mormonism and the first origin. . . .
. . . The time he [Joseph Smith] claimed to have taken the plates from the hill was on the 22 day of September, in 1827, and I went on the next Sunday following⁸ with five or six other ones and we hunted the side hill by course and could not find no place where the ground had been broke. There was a large hole where the money diggers had dug a year or two before, but no fresh dirt. There never was such a hole; there never was any plates taken out of that hill nor any other hill in that country, was [or?] in Wayne county. It is all a lie. . . .

Yours With Respect,
From Lorenzo Saunders.

⁷ Dan Vogel notes: "During his famous debate with E. L. Kelley, Clark Braden quoted the following statement of Samantha (Stafford) Payne from an unidentified source. Either Braden had someone interview Payne for his own purposes, or, as the context suggests, Braden excerpted from the now lost 6 April 1880 *Cadillac Weekly News* (see III.C.1, *CADILLAC [MI] WEEKLY NEWS, 6 APR 1880*; compare III.C.3, *SAMANTHA PAYNE AFFIDAVIT, 29 JUN 1881*.)"

It is interesting, however, that in the Samantha Payne Affidavit of 1881 (see Vogel's vol. 2, p. 172), no references to a "cave" are found. However, with that notation, Vogel does cite some interesting historical data. He writes:

Samantha Payne (1808-?), daughter of William Stafford, was born in Manchester, New York. She is listed with her husband, David Payne . . . in the 1860 census of Manchester (1860:470). After the death of her husband, she lived with her son Cuyler W. Payne, with whom she is listed in the 1880 Manchester census . . .

⁸ In another statement, Saunders referred to "the Sunday following" (III.D.9, *LORENZO SAUNDERS STATEMENT, 21 Jul 1887*; cf. III.J.8, *POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 35*).

Source: Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, Volume 3, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 152, 175-179.

1885 Mrs. Sylvia Walker "Statement" signed and witnessed on March 20, 1885.

Mrs. Sylvia Walker's Statement.

I was born in Manchester, Ontario County, N. Y., August 27, 1818, and lived there until 1852, when I came to Ohio. The Mormon Smith family lived in sight of my parents' house. I attended school to Oliver Cowdery with Carlos, Sam, Bill, Catherine, and Lucy Smith, who were very poor scholars. Jo, Hyrum and Sophrona, the other children, were older. I have been at their house. They were the lowest family I ever knew. They worked very little and had the reputation of stealing everything they could lay their hands on. Ol Jo was very intemperate. When Jo told his neighbors about finding gold plates no one believed him nor paid any attention to it, he had humbugged them so much. . . .
Jo claimed to receive a revelation to dig forty feet into a hill about two miles north of where he pretended to find the gold plates of the "Book of Mormon," where he would find a cave that contained gold furniture, chairs and table. The Mormons dug into the hill horizontally over forty feet without finding any cave. The boys troubled them so they placed a door with lock at the entrance. The boys placed brush against it and destroyed it with fire. The Mormons abandoned it. I heard our neighbors say probably Jo Smith dug his fat sheep and barrels of flour out of it.

{Signed} Mrs. Sylvia Walker

Witnessed by:

Mrs. Albert Phinney
(Daughter)

Miss Lula Phinney
(Granddaughter)

Chester, Ohio, March 20, 1885.

Source: Arthur B. Deming, *Startling Revelations! Naked Truths about Mormonism*, Published Monthly by Deming & Co., 850 Market St., Oakland. Vol. 1, No. 2, April, 1888.

1885 Mrs. W. C. E. Smith "Statement" signed and witnessed on March 25, 1885.

Mrs. W. C. E. Smith's Statement.

I was born in Belchertown, Mass., May 1, 1817. When I was five or six years old my parents moved to Manchester, N. Y., one mile from the Mormon Smith family, and I attended school with their children. There was considerable digging for money in our neighborhood by men, women and children. I never knew of their finding any. I saw a large hole dug on Nathaniel Smith's farm, which was sandy. I saw Joshua Stafford's peepstone which looked like white marble and had a hole through the center. Sallie Chase, a Methodist, had one and people would go for her to find lost and hidden or stolen things. My mother was one of the first Mormon converts. . . . Catherine Smith, sister of the prophet, showed me in their house a chest with lock where the plates were kept, but they feared they would be stolen, and then she took up four bricks in the hearth and said they had been buried there. . . . My brother, Orrin Porter Rockwell made me a visit in 1841 or '45. . . .

{Signed} Mrs. M. C. R. Smith

Witnessed by:

A. B. Deming,
B. N. Shaw,

Hamden, Ohio, March 25, 1885.

Source: Arthur B. Deming, *Startling Revelations! Naked Truths about Mormonism*, Published Monthly by

1887 Joseph Rogers "Statement" sworn before a Notary Public on May 16th, 1887.

Joseph Rogers' Statement.

I was born in Western, Oneida Co., N. Y., feb 10, 1805. Our family moved to Phelpsstown a few miles south of Palmyra, N. Y. in 1815, where I resided until 1842. I was often in Palmyra, and was well acquainted with Jo Smith, who became the Mormon prophet. When a young man he claimed to receive revelations from the Lord where treasures were buried. He told Peter Rupert and Mr. Cunningham, a blacksmith (simple-minded old men), that there was a chest of gold buried on my brother-in-law, Henry Murphy's farm, under a beech tree. Henry's younger brother, Jack, said that must be stopped, and he obtained some filth in a sap bucket and got up in the beech tree before they arrived in the evening. They came and Mr. Rupert held the bible open and a lighted candle as prophet Jo directed, while Peter dug for the chest of gold. Jack called Peter three times and he looked up and said, "Here am I, Lord," and received the filth in his face. Peter told me and others that the Lord chastised him and he had to stop his digging. He said he paid Jo for the information. I told him he ought not to believe Jo, for he was a liar and imposter. He said Jo would put a spell on him and that he would have to stand still two weeks. He said Jo had perfect command over men. He believed he was a prophet. Jack was called Lord Murphy afterwards. There were many others similarly duped by Jo. Man of Jo's victims were from New Jersey and believed in witches and ghosts. He could not fool the New England or York State Yankees. *Jo Smith and his adherents dug a cave in a hill in Manchester, N. Y. and used to go there, he said to consult with the Lord.* He had a door at the entrance fastened with a padlock. The sheriff took possession and found much property which had been stolen from farmers about there. Jo had left for Ohio. It was believed that Jo intended to remove the property. . . .

{Signed} Joseph Rogers

{Seal}

Witnessed by:

Helen Rogers (Daughter)

Los Gatos, Cal, May 16, 1887.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of May, A. D., 1887.

John F. Tobin,

Notary Public

Source: Arthur B. Deming, *Startling Revelations! Naked Truths about Mormonism*, Published Monthly by Deming & Co., 850 Market St., Oakland. Vol. 1, No. 2, April, 1888.

1888 Arthur B. Deming *Startling Revelations! Naked Truths about Mormonism*, Published Monthly by Deming & Co., 850 Market St., Oakland. Vol. 1, No. 2, April, 1888.
(abt. a cave)

This published article contains Mrs. Sylvia Walker's Statement (see the 1885 notation), Mrs. W. C. E. Smith's Statement (see the 1885 notation), and Joseph Rogers' Statement (see the 1887 notation) .

1891^ Rev. Dr. William H. Whitsitt "Sidney Rigdon, The Real Founder of Mormonism," (Manuscript), 1891

On pp. 394-396 Whitsitt says:

"Lucy Smith declares that . . . 'my husband, Samuel and Hyrum retired to a place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God' . . . likely the cave that is mentioned by Pomeroy Tucker, who says that Smith had caused a dark artificial cave to be dug in the east side of the forest hill near his residence, now owned by Mr. Amos Miner. Mr. Tucker adds that Joseph was accustomed to

spend some of his time in this cave, of which the entrance was meanwhile guarded by one or more of his disciples . . . [here] it would be easy for Sidney [Rigdon] to secrete himself . . . [and] When the eight fresh witnesses were duly assembled in this favorable situation, Mr. Rigdon would experience no special embarrassment in playing the role of an angel . . . It may be supposed that Rigdon had the entire [Spalding] manuscript at hand in a . . . rear portion of the cave . . . [wher] the witnesses were invited to inspect . . . the matter . . . Lucy Smith reports . . . the angel again made his appearance to Joseph, at which time Joseph delivered up the plates into the angel's hands' . . . [this] signifies that Sidney came forward from the recesses of the cavern to which he had recently retired, took . . . the manuscript, and set forth on his journey back to his home in Mentor, Ohio."

On pp. 515-516 Whitsitt adds the following to his reconstruction:

"Lucy Smith declares . . . the family were ejected . . . during the Spring of 1829, and went to reside with their son Hyrum Smith . . . in Manchester . . . Hither was brought . . . the recently completed manuscript of the Book of Mormon; here was prepared the curious artificial cave . . . for the purpose of guarding that treasure from harm . . . hence were carried from day to day that portion of the copy . . . [which was] safe to intrust tot he printers . . . The homestead is now said to be owned by Mr. Amos Miner . . . "

- 1893 Daniel Hendrix **"Origin of Mormonism. Joe Smith and His Early Habits. How He Found the Golden Plates. A Contemporary of the Prophet Relates Some Interesting Facts,"** *San Francisco Chronicle*, 14 May 1893, p. 12. (The information was apparently recorded by "Henry G. Tinsley, Pomona, May 3, 1893." ⁹

I helped to read proof on many pages of the book, and at odd times set some type. The copy was about half ready for the printer when there came a halt in the proceedings, for Mrs. Harris, wife of Martin Harris, had become so disgusted with her husband's conversion to the new religion and his abandonment of his fine farm for preaching Mormonism, that she one morning threw in the fire all the Bible manuscript that had been brought to him for review by Smith. It was weeks before Joe Smith and Rigdon recovered from their dismay at this act. Harris went down into his pockets for \$300 to repay the loss caused by his wife's destruction of the manuscript.

The copy for the "Book of Mormon" was prepared in a cave that Smith and others dug near the scene of the finding of the golden plates on Gold [Bible] hill. I went out there frequently for a Sunday walk during the process of the translation of the plates, and the printing of the book. Some one of the converts was constantly about the entrance to the cave, and no one but Smith and Alvin [Oliver] Cowdry, a school teacher there, who had proselyted that season, was allowed to go through the door to the cave. Rigdon had some hopes of converting me, and I was permitted to go near the door, but not so much as to peep inside. Smith told me later that no one had ever seen the golden plates but himself, and that he wore the glasses found with the plates, and was thus able to translate the new message from heaven to the people. He read aloud, and Cowdry, who was seated on the other side of a screen or partition in the cave, wrote down the words as pronounced by Joe.

Dan Vogel notes:

The reliability of Daniel Hendrix's statement has been challenged by Richard L. Anderson, who writes: "The lateness of the 'recollection' demands verification. . . . To date rather diligent investigation has failed to verify the existence of Daniel Hendrix (whose other rambling descriptions are not notably accurate): (R. L. Anderson 1970, 310, n. 53). I also have failed to verify the existence of Daniel Hendrix in civil records, although I have located a purported photograph of Hendrix and additional biographical information. Various dates have been given for Hendrix's birth, 1806, September 1809,

⁹ This article was reprinted in *New York Times*, 15 July 1895, 5; *St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat*, 21 February 1897, 34; *New York Sun*, 21 March 1897; and *New York Advertiser*, 28 May 1897; unidentified newspaper clipping, 16 April 1897, William H. Samson Scrapbooks, 78:2-3, Rochester Public Library, Local History Room, Rochester, New York; unidentified newspaper clipping, April 24 [1897?], Arthur B. Deming Collection, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois; unidentified newspaper clipping, undated [1897?], "Journal History," 1930 section, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah; and *Buffalo Courier*, 6 August 1899.

and 1811. Following his move from Palmyra about 1830, nothing is known of his life until the late 1880s when he relocated from Ohio to southern California to be near his children and grandchildren. . . .

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 3, 2000, pp. 208-217.

1893 John H. Gilbert **"Mormon Leaders at Their Mecca. Western New York the Scene of a Powerful and Interesting Revival of Mormonism. Joe Smith's Life at Palmyra. Beginning by Selling Cakes and Ale, and Then Taking a Hand at Receiving Revelations. The Rise of Mormonism. Dramatic Events in the Development of the Church of Latter Day Saints,"** *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893, p. 12.

Vogel Notes: "The following interview with John H. Gilbert was conducted by a correspondent of the *New York Herald* on 23 June 1893 in Palmyra, New York."

Major John H. Gilbert, who had formerly owned the printing office and subsequently sold it to Mr. Grandin, was an expert print. he was asked if he would undertake the job of setting up the Mormon Bible, as they wished him to do the work. . . . A asked the Major yesterday if he would give the Herald an interview on the subject. He would do it cheerfully. "That was a long time ago," he said--sixty-three years--yet I remember the incidents connected with the printing of that Bible as plainly as if they had happened yesterday. . . .

Continuing, Major Gilbert said: . . . "Joe Smith was not at the office at all. I never saw him except once or twice during the preparation, seven months. All the business was done by proxy. Joe Smith was in his cave or room where the translating had been done, getting new revelations, I suppose, from the angel. . . ."

: . . . As I understood it, those golden plates were taken from the mountain to Smith's house and put in a bag. He was so frightened at first after he had recovered them from the guardianship of the angel that he hid them for a day and then took them to his house. Later the alleged plates were carried to a cave for translation. (see note A. below)

Note A. Dan Vogel notes:

See also III.B.8 JOHN H. GILBERT INTERVIEW, 1881; Gilbert probably heard from Pomeroy Tucker about Smith translating the plates in a cave. (see III.J.8, POMEROY TUCKER ACCOUNT, 1867, 48-49).

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 2, 1998, pp. 549-551.

1904 Charles W. Brown ***Shortsville Enterprise*, 11 March 1904 and 18 March 1904.**
(abt. a cave)

Dan Vogel notes that in 1904, Charles W. Brown published a series of articles on early Manchester history in the *Shortsville Enterprise*, 11 March 1904 and 18 March 1904 (see Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, B.Y.U., Provo, Utah). Brown relied heavily on the anti-Mormon accounts of Orsamus Turner and Pomeroy Tucker. Brown writes:

As was stated in the preceding article, the Smith family were firm believers in the truth of various legends which designated Mormon Hill as the depository of large deposits of untold treasure. Night after night had the father and sons, Alvah [Alvin] and Joseph, delved and dug in different spots, but so far as the outer world knew their search was never rewarded with success. Occasionally they would

tell of important discoveries, but these stories were always related to some person whose pecuniary or other substantial assistance they desired, and so their marvelous tales soon came to be received with many grains of allowance, and finally were greeted with the cold stare of unbelief. They claimed to have in their possession a miraculous stone which although it was densely opaque to ordinary eyes, was still luminous and transparent to the orbs of Joseph, Jr. This stone was one of the common horn blende variety; some of which may be picked up any day on the shores of Lake Ontario. It was kept in a mysterious box, carefully wrapped in cotton.¹⁰ As an illustration of the ludicrous manner in which this stone was made to innure [inure] to the physical prosperity of its owners, the following well authenticated anecdote is related: It was claimed that Joseph Jr., by placing it in a hat could discover by looking into the hat the precise spot where the hidden treasure was buried. . . .

Soon other stories of a more mysterious and uncanny nature still began to be put in circulation, the most notable of which was the following: They pretended that "while digging for money at Mormon Hill they came across a chest, three by two feet in size, covered with a dark colored stone. In the center of the stone was a white spot about the size of a six pence. Enlarging, the spot increased to the size of a twenty-four pound shot, and then exploded with a terrible noise. The chest vanished and all was utter darkness."¹¹

. . . when it was announced that Joseph had actually found the massive golden tablets, there were some whose credulity led them to believe that the story was a truthful one, because it had been predicted, while still another class who had doubted the prophecy, began to have faith in it because of the seeming confirmation of it which was made by the discovery of the tablets. But by far the major portion of the community had sense enough to see that neither the prophecy nor the even had any proof of their verity, except what came from the Smiths, and to see that if their statements were to be unquestionably accepted as the truth, it was easy enough to manufacture any pretended event, to confirm the prophecies which had fell from their lips. While these mysterious hints were being circulated thro[ugh] the community, *the conspirators had excavated for their own use a hole in the ground. This was nothing more nor less than an artificial cave which they had dug in the side hill now owned by the Chauncey Miner heirs.*¹² [see map below] This hill may be found at any time on lot 77 of the original survey¹³ to the south of the highway running from the Palmyra Plank road [Canandaigua Road] to the residence of Mark Jefferson.¹⁴ It is situated about equi-distance between the termini of the road and faces to the north. The entrance to this cave was guarded by an iron-plated door.¹⁵ *The cave itself was about sixty feet in length and ten feet high. From the door for a distance of forty feet, there was a hall fifteen feet wide which led to the chamber beyond. This chamber or audience room was twenty feet square, and was furnished with one rude table and half a dozen uncouth stools.*¹⁶ It was here that the secret meetings of the plotters were held up to the time they commenced holding public meetings for the purpose of making converts. In this small recess, secure from any interference by skeptical persons, by the flaring light of a tallow candle, was the plan of operations fully discussed and decided upon. It is stated that Darius Pierce,¹⁷ one of the sons of Nathan, at the head of a party of

¹⁰ Vogel writes: "This introductory material is a reworking of III.J. 2, Orsamus Turner Account, 1851."

¹¹ Vogel writes: "This quote, as well as the preceding two sentences, are from III.J.2, Orsamus Turner Account, 1851, 216."

¹² Vogel writes: "See III.B.12, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 17 Sep 1884, 7-8; and III.B.15, Lorenzo Saunders Interview, 12 Nov 1884, 8."

¹³ Vogel writes: "The major portion of the hill is situated on Manchester Lot 2 with a small portion on Lot 77."

¹⁴ Vogel writes: "The present name of this 'highway' is Miner Road."

¹⁵ Vogel writes: "According to Pomeroy Tucker, the door was made of wood (III.J.8, Pomeroy Tucker Account, 1867, 49)."

¹⁶ Vogel writes: "This description of the cave is incorrect. When it was reopened in 1974 by then owner Andrew H. Kommer, the cave was "about six feet high at the largest point in the middle and 10-12 feet long" ("Palmyra Farmer Claims Cave Dug by Mormon Prophet, Church Founder," *Palmyra Courier Journal*, 1 May 1974)."

¹⁷ Vogel writes: "Darius Pierce, son of Justice Nathan Pierce, is also mentioned in III.B.1, Kelly Notes, 6 Mar 1881, 3, back; see also

his associates surprised the parties when they were assembled together in one of their noctur[n]al consultations and that a lively time ensued. And now the fulness of time had come, "all things had conspired together for good," and the incipient fraud was on the eve of its consummation. One morning as the settlers went to their daily work a strange rumor was passed from mouth to mouth that the night before, the Smiths in one of their midnight expeditions had commenced digging on the north-western spur of Mormon Hill, and had been rewarded by the discovery of several golden tablets, which were covered with hieroglyphics. The rumor spread from house to house, but diligent inquiry failed to discover any evidence beyond that of the Smiths themselves, which would serve in the least to verify the statement.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 228-233

[A1904 **Illustration: The Hill Cumorah.** Note* This sketch appears on the cover of the photoreprint of E.D. Howe's *Mormonism Unveiled*. At the present time the original source has not been traced. By the looks of the picture, the time appears to be near the turn of the century.]

[A1904 **Illustration: Map of Palmyra and Manchester Townships.** Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, p. 2]

1904 W. C. Account *Wayne County Journal*, 24 March 1904
(abt. a cave)

According to Dan Vogel, an account in the *Wayne County Journal* is attributed to a "W. C.," apparently a longtime resident in the vicinity of Palmyra, perhaps William Chapman, then owner of the Smiths' former Manchester property. This account is similar to William Chapman's statement to a reporter of the *New York Herald* in 1893.

. . . That Joseph Smith has gone to a better land is not believed by those of the old inhabitants who knew him as a neighbor. They say he was idle and shiftless; a dreamer, a treasure seeker and addicted to chicken raising.

The place where this splendid fraud was planned was an artificial cave which the conspirators had dug in a side hill to the south of the highway running from the old Palmyra plank road [Canandaigua Road] to the residence of Mark Jefferson. The entrance of the cave was guarded by an iron-plated door, and the cave was fully sixty feet in length and ten feet high. At the end was a broad chamber furnished with a rude table and stools. Here it was that the treasure seekers were want to meet and consult the "peek stone," and in the latter days the first converts to the new faith made their rendezvous before they began to hold public meetings for the purpose of making converts. It is stated that Darius Pierce, at the head of a party of neighbors surprised one of the nocturnal assemblies and that a lively time ensued.

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, Vol 3, 2000, p. 235.

1906 Postcards of Cumorah begin to Appear--One Denotes a "Cave"

Richard N. Holzapfel and Cameron J. Packer write:

America's first official picture postcards were sold at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

. . . Elizabeth Power Smith donated three images of Cumorah to the Ontario County Historical Society in Canandaigua, New York [see illustration below]

[A1906 **Photograph: "Summit of Gold Bible Hill, Manchester N.Y. Viewing Cave Where Plates Were Taken," ca. 1906;** looking north. . . . Courtesy of Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua, New York. Illustration in Richard N. Holzapfel and

III.J.38, Carlos Osgood Statement, 1932; and III.D.2, Sylvia Walker Statement, 20 Mar 1885."

cave [but Major Gilbert made the ascent without difficulty and rather gloried in the vigor of his ninety-one years]" (*New York Herald*, 25 June 1893). *The cave remained closed until April 1974, when Andrew H. Kommer, then the owner of the property, cleared the cave's opening with a bulldozer. At that time the cave was described as "about six feet high at the largest point in the middle and 10-12 feet long," and "carved into a rock-hard clay hillside. . . . The walls and ceiling of the cave appear to have been dug or picked by hand" (Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1 May 1974; and Rochester Times-Union, 25 April 1974). Today the entrance of the cave is again closed and overgrown with foliage.* (p. 249, n. 22)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 243-249.

[A1930 **Illustration: SACRED CAVE?**--Andrew Kommer, who uncovered a cave on property he owns near Hill Cumorah, Palmyra, says the site is where prophet and founder of the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith, translated the golden tablets. Neighbors helped Kommer close off the site last week to keep tourists from disturbing the cave which was supposed to have been dug 150 years ago. (Courier-Journal photo). *Palmyra Courier-Journal*, 1 May 1974]

1930 abt. Wallace Miner "Wallace Miner Reminiscence" in Thomas L. Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity* (Palmyra, New York: Press of the Palmyra Courier-Journal, 1930), p. 222.

Vogel notes:

. . . Wallace W. Miner (1843-?), son of Chauncey Miner and grandson of Amos Miner, was born in Palmyra, New York. . . . Miner spent his last years alone, living on the land on which was located the cave that had been dug under Joseph Smith's direction in the early 1820s (T. Cook 1930, 46, 221, 238, 241-42).

Wallace Miner's visit to Salt Lake City in 1915 was noticed by the editors of the *Deseret Evening News*: "W. W. Miner of Palmyra, N.Y., and Mr. and Mrs. A.M. Miner of Rochester, N.Y. are visitors in the city. This morning they called at the office of the First Presidency. They are being shown about the city by Elder George Albert Smith of the Council of the Twelve, who has known the family for many years, back in their eastern home. . . . "As a boy," said Mr. [Wallace] Miner, "I heard all these stories about Joseph Smith. In our neighborhood he was considered an eccentric character because he did different things from other people. At the same time I never heard anything bad of his character, but much of interest. . . ."

After meeting Miner in 1927, RLDS president Frederick M. Smith wrote of him: "[He] seems to think he is 'authority' on early Palmyra history. He regaled us right then and there with a run of years of the sheep stealing, treasure digging, holy-cave making activities of 'Joe' Smith, which are amusing though *ad nauseam!* Bah! how long will these old women's yarns pass for 'history'" (*Saints' Herald* 74 [27 July 1927]: 858). (p. 251)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, p. 251.

1932 Wallace Miner (abt. a cave) Mr. Wilford Poulson, "Notebook containing statements made by residents of Palmyra, N.Y., Manchester, N.Y., and other areas . . .," 1932, [21-22], M. Wilford Poulson Collection, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

In a 1932 interview of Wallace Miner by Brigham Young University professor M. Wilford Poulson, the 93 year old Miner is recorded as saying the following:

I was in S[alt]. L[ake]. C[ity]. in 1815 [1915] and J[oseph]. F. S[mith] said he couldn't believe J[oseph]. S[mith]. went around digging in the earth. But I know that he did but this isn't against Smith. *He dug a 40 ft. cave right on this vary farm. He used [to] live near the village. He dug in about 20 ft. and the angel told him this was not holy ground, but to move south.* (pp. 254-255)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 3. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2000, pp. 254-255.

1974^ Lou Ziegler
(cave)

"Palmyra Cave Mormon 'Holy Ground?' ", *The Times-Union*, vol. ?, no.?,
Rochester N.Y., April 25, 1974

PALMYRA -- A cave that may have been used by Mormon prophet Joseph Smith about 150 years ago is being uncovered by a local farmer. Smith, who was born in Palmyra founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon). Children discovered the cave about 11 years ago, but eventually mud and dirt blocked the entrance. Bulldozers have cleared the cave opening after the farmer decided last week to investigate the *20-foot long cave*.

"I really think I've got something here," said Andrew H. Kommer, the farmer on whose land the cave is located.

The cave is about 7 feet high and 8 feet wide and is carved into a rock-hard clay hillside. It is about a quarter mile off Miner Road south of Palmyra. Yesterday Kommer and two other men prepared to protect the cave from the public by installing 1 1/2 inch iron bars and locked doors. Kommer, who is not a Mormon, said that "ever since my childhood I have heard rumors about a cave." Kommer purchased his Palmyra farm in 1952. Shortly afterward he hired a bulldozer operator to uproot bushes on the hill, he said.

"This was done in the fall," he said. "During the following spring the rains washed the soil down the hill and a small cavity developed on the east side of the hill. I became aware of the opening by some children in the neighborhood who had been scouting around on the slope of the hill."

The children walked through the hole and into the cave. They reported the discovery to their parents.

"It happened about 11 years ago," said Donald Nichols, father of one of the children involved. Nichols yesterday helped Kommer and Gerald Henderson at Palmyra fasten bars and doors to the cave. Over the past decade the hole leading to the cave filled with dirt.

"I have always hoped to learn what might exist underground at that particular spot," said Kommer yesterday. He said a bulldozer was hired to do work on his farm last week and that he decided to have the dozer dig near the cave site.

The cave was built so that water would drain away from it. The walls and ceiling of the cave appear to have been dug or picked by hand. According to Kommer, a few years ago a Mormon visiting Palmyra tried to reach the cave but was stymied by the concrete-like hillside.

An article in the *New York Herald* on June 25, 1893, told of the cave being located on the hill. A landslide made the cave inaccessible to the public. The Mormon prophet had evidently constructed doors to the cave, which have since rotted, the article said. In digging this week some rotten door planks were uncovered.

The unearthing of the cave this week may clear up a mystery about the exact location of the cave. According to a book written in the 1920s by historian Thomas Cook, "no trace of the old Joe Smith cave can be found."

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1974^
XLVI,
(cave)

"Cave Dug by Mormon Prophet, Church Founder," *Courier-Journal*, vol.
no. 18, Palmyra, N. Y., May 1, 1974

PALMYRA -- Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City, Utah, are playing it down, but Palmyra dairy farmer Andrew Kommer says he thinks he's "got something" and has already begun taking measures to protect it. Last week Kommer brought bulldozers to a site on Miner's Hill, on Miner Road, to uncover a cave that he says was dug by prophet and founder of the Mormon Church, Joseph Smith, 150 years ago. A bulldozed path leads the way to the side of the hill where Kommer and two workers spent most of last week clearing the cave and erecting iron bars to "keep the sightseers from hurting themselves." An official in the Mormon historians office in Utah said no records could be found to indicate that Joseph Smith dug the caves in question. But a local history written by historian Thomas Cook in the 1920s said that Smith dug several caves in search of holy ground in which to translate the hieroglyphics found on golden plates containing the text of the Book of Mormon. According to Cook's account, Smith was told by a guardian angel that the first two caves he dug were not on holy ground. A third site, on the east side of Miner's Hill, was satisfactory to the Angel Moroni, so **Smith dug a forty-foot cave**. Doors were fastened and "every evening, just at twilight, for the next three months he visited the cave, always accompanied by two or more, but always entering the cave alone."

"For several years this cave remained practically intact. After it had commenced to fall in, Wallace W. Miner, a grandson of Amos Miner, the owner of the hill at that time, partly restored the old cave. The grandson, who is now over eighty years of age, owns and occupies the farm, but no trace of the old Joe Smith cave can be found" the early 1920[s] account reports.

A New York Herald newspaper article in June, 1893 also makes reference to the site. The reporter said he visited Cave Hill "where the Mormon plates were translated . . . exactly halfway between Mormon Hill and Palmyra." Miner's hill is about halfway between Hill Cumorah and Palmyra. He said the cave was still sound and partly visible, but the "earth has been washed down by storms and the opening to the cave nearly filled so that it cannot be entered at present."

Jim Young, 26; 171 Canandaigua Road, Palmyra said when he was 12 or 13" he and another boy, Dick Van Haneghan, discovered the cave on Miner Hill while exploring. He said they could crawl a "few feet" into the cave on their hands and knees, but could not stand up or penetrate further than that. Kommer said he had known about the cave "all along" and had wanted to uncover it, but had not had the chance until now. "The dairy business is a little slow, and I'm partially retired, so I thought I'd take a look under," he said.

Kommer said he may sell the land to the Mormons if they are interested or may allow tourists, who flock 200,000 strong along nearby Canandaigua Road to Hill Cumorah to see the annual "America's Witness For Christ" (Mormon Pageant), to view the site. Tourists will not be allowed into the cave.

[1974 Photograph: "Andrew Kommer, right, assisted by Don Nichols, left, and Gerald Henderson, enclose entrance to cave that may have been used by Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Lou Ziegler, "Cave Dug by Mormon Prophet, Church Founder," *Courier-Journal*, vol. XLVI, no. 18, Palmyra, N. Y., May 1, 1974]

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1974^ "Mormons Find No Cave Link," *The Post-Standard*, vol. ?, no.?, Syracuse, N. Y.,
(cave) May 1, 1974

PALMYRA -- Authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City announce that no apparent record has been found to indicate a cave recently uncovered near Palmyra was dug by Mormon prophet Joseph founder of the Church. Hill Cumorah is two miles south of the cave uncovered on Miner's Hill by Andrew Kommer, a Palmyra farmer. A spokesman for the church -- [the] church's historian could not find any apparent record of Joseph Smith ever having dug such a [cave]. he said the only reference to such a cave in Church history was made in a speech by Brigham Young in 1877. Young said he was told that the gold plates on which the Book of Mormon was written were contained in a cave on Hill Cumorah, now the site of this church's annual pageant. A local history written in the

1920s and an article which appeared in the New York Herald in 1893 said there was a cave on holy ground on Miner's Hill. The reporter said he visited the cave. According to those reports, [the] Mormon angel Moroni instructed Smith to dig a cave at the hill and to translate the plates there. The cave found by Kommer is seven feet by eight, the approximate size of the cave referred to in the newspaper article. The newspaper article and book descriptions of the cave are considered legend rather than authenticated stories by the church. The Church spokesman said Smith translated the gold plates in many places throughout the area in the 1820s.

Note: Essentially the same article appeared in the *Syracuse Herald Journal* on Monday, May 6, 1974.

Source: "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

1994 Dan Vogel "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), pp. 197-231:

This lengthy study by Dan Vogel uses evidence (much very speculative) in order to identify eighteen locations of Joseph Smith's early treasure quests (see Chart 1 below). Concerning the cave in Miners hill, he writes the following, starting on page 204:

Probably the most extensive Smith-inspired dig resulted in the excavation of a cave in a hill known to later Manchester residents as "Miner's Hill"¹⁸ on land subsequently owned by Amos Miner and his heirs (see Photo 2). Lorenzo Saunders, a Smith family friend and former resident of Palmyra, was an eye-witness to the digging on the hill's northeast side. "I used to go there & see them work," he recalled in 1884. "I seen the old man [Smith] dig there day in and day out. . . . Joseph Smith [Jr.] never did work."¹⁹ Joseph Jr. had a different role in the quest. Joseph Sr. told Saunders that "Jo. [Jr.] could see in his peep stone what there was in that cave," and that "young Joe could . . . see a man sitting in a gold chair. Old Joe said he was king i.e., the man in the chair; a king of one of the . . . [Indian] <tribes> who was shut in there in the time of one of their big battles."²⁰ After a tunnel of considerable length had been excavated, the diggers placed a heavy wooden door at the entrance.

While Saunders believed the cave had been dug in 1826,²¹ historical context suggests an earlier date. Saunders declared, "I am one of them that went & tore the door down to the cafe. My Father was in

¹⁸ Some residents also referred to this hill as "Mormon Hill," which caused some confusion since the Hill Cumorah was sometimes called "Mormon Hill." During a visit to Manchester in the early 1870s George Q. Cannon was shown this hill by an area resident who explained that it was called "Mormon Hill" because "there was a cave in that hill which the 'Mormon' had dug and some of them had lived in it, so the people said; and, therefore it was known by that name" (George Q. Cannon, "Visit to the Land and Hill of Cumorah," *Juvenile Instructor* 8 [5 July 1873]: 108).

¹⁹ Lorenzo Saunders, Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 12, E. L. Kelley Papers, Library-Archives, the Auditorium, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri (hereafter RLDS archives).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 8; see also Lorenzo Saunders, Interview with William H. Kelley, 17 Sept. 1884, 7-8, E. L. Kelley Papers, RLDS archives. Independent of Saunders, Sylvia Walker, daughter of early Manchester resident pardon Butts, said "Jo [Smith] claimed to receive a revelation to dig forty feet into a hill about two miles north of where he pretended to find the gold plates of the 'Book of Mormon,' where he would find a cave that contained gold furniture, chairs and table" (Sylvia Walker, Statement to Arthur B. Deming, 20 Mar. 1885, in *Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Apr. 1888, 1).

²¹ Interview with William H. Kelley, 17 Sept. 1884, 8. Samantha Payne believed the cave had been dug "[a]fter Smith came back from Pennsylvania." See Samantha Payne, Statement in Clark Braden and E. L. Kelley, *Public Discussion of the Issues Between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and the Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio . . .* St. Louis: Clark Braden, [1884], 350.

possession & he ordered us to break that door down & Put the hole up."²² The cave had evidently been completed before the death of Enoch Saunders on 10 October 1825.²³

Although before his death Enoch Saunders was "in possession" of, or leased, the land on which the hill and cave were situated, Lorenzo Saunders revealed that at the time the door was removed and the cave's entrance blocked "Benjamin Tabor owned the land. . . . It was a farm of a hundred acres; He had it on an article."²⁴ County records confirm Tabor's ownership, although the exact date of purchase cannot be determined.²⁵ County records also suggest that the previous owner was Abner Cole,²⁶ who as editor of the *Palmyra Reflector* later ridiculed Joseph Smith's treasure-seeking activities. Cole mortgaged the property in 1820 but continued paying taxes on it until at least 1823.²⁷ In 1824 Cole experienced great financial difficulty which resulted in the seizure of several properties in Palmyra and Macedon, including his office lot on Palmyra's Main Street.²⁸ About this time Cole also lost possession of Manchester Lot 2.

Cole's interest in Manchester Lot 2 explains his awareness of Smith's treasure-seeking activities, particularly his knowledge of "Walters the Magician," who has since been identified as Luman Walters (ca. 1788-1860) of Gorham, New York.²⁹ According to Saunders, "At the time the big hole was dug in the hill they was duped by one Walters who pretended to be a conjurer, I heard Willard Chase say that he was duped. They could not be deceived in it after he had gone through with a certain movements & . . . charged them \$7."³⁰ Cole claimed that after Walters's departure from Manchester, "his *mantle* fell

²² Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8.

²³ On the death date of Enoch Saunders, see *Wayne Sentinel*, 18 Oct. 1825.

²⁴ Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8. See also Interview with William H. Kelley, 13 Sept. 1884, 8, where Saunders states that "The cave was on our place." Saunders was related to Benjamin Tabor by marriage, having married Calista Tabor, daughter of Franklin B. Tabor, in 1833 (Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 239; *Portrait and Biographical Album of Hillsdale County, Mich.* [Chicago: Chapman Brothers, 1888], 446).

²⁵ The incomplete assessment records indicate that Tabor was taxed for 100 acres on Manchester Lot 2 in 1830 (Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York; assessment records between 1823 and 1830 are missing). On 23 January 1834, Tabor deeded the land on Manchester Lot 2 to Lorenzo Saunders for \$3,000 (Deeds, Liber 55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

²⁶ When Tabor deeded the land to Saunders on 23 January 1834, the record stated that the 100 acres on Lot 2 was "the same lot formerly owned by Abner Cole and since became the property of the state of new York by foreclosure of a mortgage by said Cole to the state, and by the Commissioner of the land office of the state sold to the said Benjamin Tabor" (Deeds, Liber 55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

²⁷ Extant Manchester tax records list Cole's ownership of Lot 2 for the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823 (Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York).

²⁸ Announcement of Cole's mortgage default first appeared in 1822 (see *Palmyra Herald*, 24 July 1822-5 Sept. 1822; *Western Farmer*, 5 June 1822). For announcement of the seizure of Cole's land in Palmyra and macedon (by "S[amuel]. Lawrence, late Sheriff"), see *Wayne Sentinel*, 7, 14 Jan. 1824, 18 Feb. 1824. For announcement of the sale of Cole's lands, including several postponements (until 5 March 1824; until 16 April 1824, until 17 May 1824, until 7 July 1824, until 19 August 1824), see *Wayne Sentinel*, 17 Mar., 14 Apr., 5, 12, 19 May, 14 July, and 8 Aug. 1824.

²⁹ On Luman Walters, see Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, 82-84, 85-97. A document which has recently come to my attention confirms this identification. The document, written by Diedrich Willers, Jr. (1820-1908), of Fayette, New York, reads: "Fortune tellers are consulted as to the future, many in this neighborhood where ever they wish to find out something <anything> which is lost, or pry into the <hidden> mysteries of hidden things will consult Dr Walters" ("Ambition and Superstition," Miscellaneous Undated Items, Diedrich Willers Papers, Box 1, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York). This was evidently written before Walters's death in 1860.

³⁰ Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 12.

upon the *prophet* Jo. Smith Jun."³¹

On 23 January 1834, Benjamin Tabor deeded about 100 acres of land on Manchester Lot 2 to Lorenzo Saunders for \$3,000.³² On 26 November 1836, Saunders visited Albany and obtained a Letter of Patent from the state for the same property.³³ On 28 January 1839, Saunders deeded about forty eight acres of this land to Amos Miner, who then became owner of the hill and cave.³⁴ Miner's heirs held the property for three generations, and the family's understanding regarding the cave is best explained by grandson Wallace Miner (b. 1843), who told Brigham Young University professor M. Wilford Poulson in 1932 that

He [Smith] dug a 40 ft. cave right on this vary farm. . . . He dug in about 20 ft. and the angel told him this was not holy ground, but to move south [to Cumorah]. Martin Harris stayed at this home when I was about 13 yrs. of age [ca. 1856] and I used to go over to the diggings about 100 rods or a little less S.E. [southeast] of this house. It is near a clump of bushes. Martin Harris regarded it as fully as sacred as the Mormon Hill diggings.³⁵

[Note* This is an interpretation by Vogel and there are reasons to believe it is a false interpretation-- see Note* below]

Christopher M. Stafford, a nephew of William Stafford who moved from Manchester to Ohio in 1831, claimed to have been inside the cave, evidently before it was closed by the Saunders family.³⁶ In 1867, Pomeroy Tucker reported that "[f]rom the lapse of time and natural causes the cave has been closed for years, very little mark of its former existence remaining to be seen."³⁷ Manchester resident Ezra Pierce told the Kelleys in 1881 that the cave was still closed.³⁸ But in 1884, Samantha Payne said that the cave "can be seen to-day. The present owner of the farm, Mr. [Wallace] Miner, dug out the cave, which

³¹ "The Book of Pukei. --Chap. 1," *Palmyra Reflector*, 12 June 1830, 37.

³² Deeds, Liber 55, p. 368, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York.

³³ Deeds, Liber 61, pp. 376-77, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York. The Letter of Patent identifies the property as "being part of the lands mortgaged to us by Abner Cole by Indenture of Mortgage bearing date the 23d day of August 1820."

³⁴ Deeds, Liber 65, pp. 177-78, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York. With imperfect memory, Saunders said when Tabor's "article run out & he was likely to lose it[,] I went to Albany & I sold it to Amos Macy" (Interview with E. L. Kelley, 12 Nov. 1884, 8). Saunders's Letter of Patent was obtained from Governor William L. Marcy on 26 November 1836; he deeded the land to Amos Miner on 28 January 1839.

³⁵ Wallace Miner, Statement to M. Wilford Poulson, 1932, "Notebook containing statements made by residents of Palmyra, N.Y., and other areas . . .," M. Wilford Poulson Collection, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

³⁶ Christopher M. Stafford, Statement to Arthur B. Deming, 23 Mar. 1885 (*Naked Truths About Mormonism*, Apr. 1888, 1). Lorenzo Saunders's memory that the cave was ordered closed by his father before his death in October 1825 apparently contradicts other late accounts, traceable to Pomeroy Tucker, which claim Joseph Smith translated in the cave (Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 48-49; Kelley, "The Hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," 165; John H. Gilbert, Interview, *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893).

[Note* If, according to Vogel, "Lorenzo Saunders's memory that the cave was ordered closed by his father before his death in October 1825 apparently contradicts other late accounts, traceable to Pomeroy Tucker, which claim Joseph Smith translated in the cave" (see Note "S" above), and if "With imperfect memory, Saunders said when Tabor's "article run out & he was likely to lose it[,] I went to Albany & I sold it to Amos Macy" (see Note "Q" above), then how can we trust the other parts of Saunders's testimony?]

³⁷ Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 49.

³⁸ Kelly, "The hill Cumorah, and the Book of Mormon," 163.

had fallen in," and that she had been in it once³⁹ Orson Saunders, a nephew of Lorenzo Saunders, who also visited the cave about this time, said that "he found quite a large chamber many feet in extent, with the marks of the pick plainly visible in the light of his candles. The passageway within the chamber was eight feet wide and seven feet high."⁴⁰

In 1893, a reporter from the *New York Herald*, accompanied by Orson Saunders and John H. Gilbert, visited the cave and reported that "[t]he door jambs leading into the cave are still sound and partly visible, but the earth has been washed down by storms and the opening to the cave nearly filled so that it cannot be entered at present. . . . The door jamb is heavy plank of beech or maple, and the inscriptions, which had evidently been cut deeply by a sharp knife, were partially worn away."⁴¹ By 1932, Palmyra historian Thomas L. Cook reported that "no trace of the old Joe Smith cave can be found."⁴² The cave remained closed until April 1974 when Andrew H. Kommer, owner of the property, cleared the cave's opening with a bulldozer (see Photo 3). At that time the cave was described as "about six feet high at the largest point in the middle and 10-12 feet long," and "carved into a rock-hard clay hillside. . . . The walls and ceiling of the cave appear to have been dug or picked by hand."⁴³ Today the entrance of the cave is closed and overgrown with foliage (see Photo 3).

Undoubtedly the most significant of Smith's treasure quests occurred on a prominent hill, now known as the "Hill Cumorah," situated on the east side of Canandaigua Road in the northwest quadrant of Manchester Lot 85, then part of the Randall Robinson farm (see Photo 4).⁴⁴ Certainly Smith's discovery of the gold plates in 1823 and subsequent activities on the hill occurred within a treasure-seeking context.⁴⁵ Of particular interest is the claim that Smith and his friends dug on the hill sometime before Smith removed the plates on 22 September 1827.

One unidentified Manchester resident said that "'Mormon Hill' had been long designated 'as the place in which countless treasures were buried;' Joseph, the elder, had 'spaded' up many a foot of the hill side to find them, and Joseph Jr., had on more than one occasion accompanied him."⁴⁶ In 1880, Frederick G.

³⁹ Braden and Kelley, *Public discussion*, 350. According to Thomas L. Cook, "for several years this cave remained practically intact. After it had commenced to fall in, Wallace W. Miner, a grandson of Amos Miner, the owner of the hill at that time, partly restored the old cave" (*Palmyra and Vicinity*, 238).

⁴⁰ *New York Herald*, 25 June 1893.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 238. After the cave closed, some exaggerated descriptions surfaced. Manchester resident Charles W. Brown (b. ca. 1849), for instance, described the cave as follows: "The cave itself was about sixty feet in length and ten feet high. From the door for the distance of forty feet, there was a hall fifteen feet wide which led to the chamber beyond. This chamber or audience room was twenty feet square, and was furnished with one rude table and half a dozen uncouth stools" ([Charles W. Brown], "Manchester in the Early Days," *Shortsville Enterprise*, 18 Mar. 1904).

[Note* If, according to Vogel's narrative above, the cave was closed by the Saunders family "before the death of Enoch Saunders on 10 October 1825," and if according to Vogel, "After the cave closed, some exaggerated descriptions surfaced," and if most every description of the cave occurred after 10 October 1825, then how does the reader determine which descriptions are exaggerated and which are not? Charles Brown evidently was born after the cave was closed, but lived during the time that Wallace Miner had the cave dug out. Was Charles Brown equating the cave dimensions of Wallace Miner with the cave dimensions prior to the closing of the cave by the Saunders family in 1825?]

⁴³ "Palmyra Farmer Claims: Cave Dug by Mormon Prophet, Church Founder," *Courier Journal* (Palmyra), 1 May 1974; Lou Ziegler, "Palmyra Cave Mormon Holy Ground," *Times-Union* (Rochester), 25 April 1974.

⁴⁴ See Cook, *Palmyra and Vicinity*, 246; and Manchester Assessment Records, 1830, Ontario County Records Center and Archives, Canandaigua, New York.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the treasure-seeking context of Smith's discovery of the plates and subsequent activities on the hill, see Quinn 114-43.

⁴⁶ "Mormonism in Its Infancy," *Newark*[New Jersey] *Daily Advertiser*, ca. Aug. 1856, newspaper clipping in Charles Woodward,

Mather said, "Returning to the vicinity of Palmyra [from Pennsylvania], Smith and his followers began to dig for the plates on the eastern side of the hill."⁴⁷ Mather connected this digging with events of 22 September 1827, but five years later Lorenzo Saunders corrected Mather's dating. Saunders, who visited the hill within days after Smith removed the plates, said he found no disturbance of the earth except "a large hole" which had been dug by the "money diggers" about "a year or two before."⁴⁸ In August 1831, James Gordon Bennett noted that on "Golden Bible Hill . . . there is a hole 30 or forty feet into the side--6 feet diameter."⁴⁹ The existence of this hole on the northeast side of the hill in 1867 was verified by Pomeroy Tucker, who said that the excavation was "yet partially visible,"⁵⁰ and by Edward Stevenson, who reported seeing the hole in 1871.⁵¹ Early residents of Palmyra / Manchester mistook this northeastern excavation for the location of the plates' repository, which Oliver Cowdery later said was "on the west side of the hill, not far from the top down it side."⁵²

[Note* Vogel seems to want to attribute a 30 foot hole on Cumorah to Joseph Smith, but the facts do not clearly warrant such a statement. Vogel notes that Wallace Miner (b. 1843), told Brigham Young University professor M. Wilford Poulson in 1932 that "He [Smith] dug a 40 ft. cave right on this vary farm. . . . He dug in about 20 ft. and the angel told him this was not holy ground, but to move south" [to Cumorah]. Note that Vogel has inserted "to Cumorah" as an interpretation of the words "to move south." However, according to Thomas L. Cook (*Palmyra and Vicinty*, 1930) who moved to Palmyra in 1844, Joseph started digging on "Old Sharp" (note

Scrapbook, 1:125, New York Public Library.

⁴⁷ Mather, "The Early Days of Mormonism," 200. See also O[r]samus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* (Rochester, New York: William Alling, 1851), 216, who also mentions the Smiths' previous digging on the Hill Cumorah.

⁴⁸ Saunders's statement to Gregg is as follows: "I went on the next Sunday following with five or six other ones and we hunted the side hill by course and could not find no place where the ground had been broke. There was a large hole where the money diggers had dug a year or two before, but no fresh dirt" (Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 Jan. 1885, in Charles A. Shook, *The True Origin of the Book of Mormon* [Cincinnati, OH: Standard Publishing Co., [1914]], 135). Saunders similarly told William H. Kelley: "We went there & we examined the hill all over where he claimed to got the plates & we could not find a place that was broke & there was no plates on the ground where the hill was not broke. Robinson said he tried many times to find the hole where he took them out, that is on the west hill it was cleared off" (Interview of 12 Nov. 1884, 16-17, E. L. Kelley Papers, RLDS archives).

Note* What was the date corresponding to "the next Sunday following" ?

⁴⁹ James Gordon Bennett Diary, 7 Aug. 1831, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library.

⁵⁰ Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 34.

Note* Tucker actually located the hole on "the summit" (see the 1867 interview notation)

⁵¹ Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893), 12-13. Stevenson was incorrectly told that the hole was made by a company of treasure seekers from Rochester.

⁵² David Whitmer, who visited Manchester in 1828 and discussed the plates with Oliver Cowdery, reported conversations with "several young men" who claimed to have seen "the plates [place] in the hill that he [Smith] took them out of just as he described it to us before he obtained them" ("Mormonism," *Kansas City Journal*, 5 June 1881; for Whitmer's correction of "plates" to "place," see *ibid.*, 19 June 1881; see also *Chicago Times*, 14 Oct. 1881). In a letter to E. D. Howe, dated 15 January 1831, W. W. Phelps reported that "[t]he places where they dug for the plates, in Manchester, are to be seen" (Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 273). John A. Clark, who visited Manchester in 1840, reported seeing "an excavation in the side of a hill, from whence, according to the assertion of the Mormon prophet, the metallic plates, sometimes called THE GOLDEN BIBLE, were disinterred" (*Episcopal Recorder* 18 [5 Sept. 1840]: 94). Cowdery's statement is found in his letter to W. W. Phelps, *Latter Day Saints' Messentger and Advocate* 2 (Oct 1835): 196 (cf. the addition to Joseph Smith's 1839 history in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith. Volume 1: Autobiographical and Historical Writings* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1989], 281).

[Note* If Phelps noted "places where they dug for the plates," who dug and to what extent?]

Miner's Hill) and it was "Old Sharp" that was deemed "not holy ground." "He then repaired to the east side of Miner's Hill . . . and after digging twenty feet it was made known to him that this was the accepted spot and to dig twenty feet more, making nearly forty feet." Thus a more likely interpretation of the words "to the south" was that from "Old Sharp" Joseph was "to move south" to Miners Hill. (See Map 2. Manchester Township. Also keep in mind that I am just trying to make sense of a story, not ascertain an exact truth about Joseph Smith)

The Cumorah hole was seen by Edward Stevenson, while visiting the Hill Cumorah in 1870 and attributed specifically to the Rochester Company --"treasure seekers" (see the 1870-71 notation). This is discounted as false by Vogel because of his apparently incorrect interpretation. In that 1870 notation, Stevenson says the following: "My loquacious guide showed me another and much deeper cavity made on the east side of the hill [Cumorah] by the above named Rochester treasure seekers, a company of prospectors." Edward Stevenson visited the Palmyra/Manchester, New York, area in 1870 and 1871. This visit was described in a selection from his 1893 *Reminiscences of Joseph, the Prophet and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon*, Salt Lake City: Edward Stevenson, 1893, pp. 10-13.]

[A1994 **Illustration: Chart 1: Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests.** Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), p. 230]

[A1994 **Illustration: Photograph 2. Northeast view of "Miner's Hill." Cave site is behind the house near the summit of the hill (photo by Dan Vogel, 1992).** Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), p. 205]

[A1994 **Illustration: Map 2. Manchester Township,** W. H. McIntosh, *History of Ontario Co., New York* (Philadelphia: Everts, Ensign and Everts, 1876), 4. Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), p. 200]

[A1994 **Illustration: Photograph 3. Andrew Kommer standing in "Miner's Hill" cave (Palmyra Courier Journal, 1 May 1974).** Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994), p. 210]

1998^ **D. Michael Quinn** *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, pp. 117-120.

In discussing occult advisers and mentors to Joseph Smith, Michael Quinn writes:

In an 1830 parody of the *Book of Mormon*, newspaper editor Abner Cole named a man who allegedly gave occult instruction to the Smiths in the 1820s. Palmyra's newspaper claimed that "the Idle and slothful said one to another, let us send for Walters the Magician, who has strange books, and deals with familiar spirits. . . . And the Magician led the *rabble* into a dark grove, in a place called *Manchester* [ad]jacent to Palmyra, where after drawing a Magic circle, with a rusty sword, and collecting his motley crew of *latter-demallions*, within the centre, he sacrificed a Cock (a bird sacred to Minerva) for the purpose of propitiating the *prince of spirits* . . . Cole was not reporting rumors. From 1820 through 1823 he had owned the land on which Walter(s) conducted this treasure-digging (apparently in 1822-23).⁵³

Palmyra neighbor Lorenzo Saunders (b. 1811) said that he watched Joseph Smith, Sr., dig at the direction of "one Walters who pretended to be a conjurer." Saunders said this dig began "after he [Walter(s)] had gone through with a certain movements [sic] & charged them \$7. I seen the old man dig there day in a[nd] day out; he was close by. I used to go there & see them work." Careful not to overstate what he had witnessed, Lorenzo added: "Joseph Smith never did work [there]," and specified: "I never saw Jo Smith digging."⁵⁴ But Lorenzo Saunders did see Joseph Sr. digging for treasure with

⁵³ Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994): 207, and 207n31, "Extant Manchester tax records list Cole's membership of Lot 2 for the years 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1823.

⁵⁴ Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12 (for first set of quotes), 7 (for last quote), fd 8, box 1, E. L. Kelley papers, Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol.

Luman Walter(s) during a several-day period.

Alva(h) Be(a)man's daughter Artemisia, wife of Apostle Erastus Snow, gave a detailed account of Luman Walter(s) and his association with her father in the treasure-quest during the 1820s in Manchester, New York. Wife of Mormon benefactor Thomas L. Kane, Mrs. Elizabeth Kane's diary recorded what Artemisia said: "A man named Walters . . . was sent for three times to go to the hill Cumorah to dig for treasure. People knew there was treasure there. [Alv(h)] Beman was one of those who sent for him. He came. Each time he said there was treasure there, but that he couldn't get it; though there was one that could. The last time he came he pointed out Joseph Smith, [Jr.] who was sitting quietly among a group of men in the tavern, and [Walter(s)] said There was the young man that could find it, and cursed and swore about him in a scientific manner: awful!" (emphasis in original).⁵⁵ . . . Decades later Lorenzo Saunders reminisced about "the time the big hole was dug in the hill [between 1822 and October 1825]." He said: "I heard Willard Chase say that he was duped" by Walter(s) in this treasure-dig.⁵⁶ This was not the Hill Cumorah (connected with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon) but was Miner's Hill, named after the family which later owned the property.⁵⁷ . . .

Walter(s) "the Magician" was several hours away from Palmyra/Manchester by horseback, and he obviously stayed there overnight while directing Joseph Sr. and others in treasure-quests on Abner Cole's property.

Walter(s) also lived about thirty miles northeast from Brigham Young's home in Mendon, New York. The round-trip distance may have been the basis for Young's later description of "a fortune-teller, a necromancer, an astrologer, a soothsayer." this unnamed man in western New York "to get the plates, rode over sixty miles three times the same season they were obtained by Joseph Smith." Young added that "this fortune-teller, whose name I do not remember, was a man of profound learning. He had put himself in possession of all the learning in the States,--had been to France, Germany, Italy, and through the world." Brigham Young was a personal acquaintance of this occult practitioner: "I never heard of a man who could swear like that astrologer."⁵⁸ Lucy Smith also remembered that this "conjurer" had traveled "sixty or seventy miles,"⁵⁹ Be(a)man's daughter also said "fortune-teller" Walter's "swore."

See endnotes on page 446-448

2002^ Grant H. Palmer ***An Insider's View of Mormon Origins***, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 2002, pp. 135-145.

In discussing how popular beliefs about the supernatural became part of Joseph Smith's narratives about his life, Grant Palmer writes:

Many of the American assumptions about supernatural beings and phenomena derived from Old World stories about ancient mines and lost civilizations and their forgotten wisdom. People believed that forest and dale held spirits and hidden treasures that the spirits guarded. A pick and shovel would be

2., forthcoming.

⁵⁵ Norman R. Bowen, ed., *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872-73; Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund/University of Utah Library, 1995), 72.

⁵⁶ Lorenzo Saunders interview (12 Nov. 1884), 12; also Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 2 (forthcoming); for the dating, see Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 206.

⁵⁷ Vogel, "Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," 204, with photos on 205, 210.

⁵⁸ *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London and Liverpool: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:180-81 (B. Young/1855) for first and last quotes, and 5:55 (B. Young/1857) for middle quote about "profound learning."

⁵⁹ Lucy Mack Smith manuscript history (1845), 69 (as typed-in pagination), transcribed by Martha Jane Coral, photocopy, Marriott Library; Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*, 102; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:331.

insufficient to find and exhume such wonders. . . .

Among Joseph Smith's acquaintances . . . was Luman Walters, of Sodas, Wayne County, New York. That the Smith family had contact with Walters in 1822-23 shortly after his move to Sodas is confirmed by Brigham Young, Lorenzo Saunders, Abner Cole, and others. (Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, 131) Sodas was twenty-five miles from Palmyra and thirty miles from Mendon where Brigham Young lived. . . .

Clark Braden, a Campbellite college president in Kirtland, Ohio, said that Walters lived in Europe before he met Joseph Smith. His investigations in Palmyra showed that "[w]hile acting in his primitive, supernatural capacity as water-witch and money-digger, [Joseph] Smith made the acquaintance of a . . .

Walters, who had been a physician in Europe. This person had learned in Europe the secret of Mesmerism or animal magnetism. This was entirely unknown in America except to a few in large cities . . . (Edmund L. Kelley and Clark Braden, *Public Discussion of the Issues between the RLDS Church and the Church of Christ (Disciples) Held in Kirtland, Ohio, Beginning February 12, and Closing March 8, 1884*. Lamoni, IA: Herald Publishing House, 1913, 367. . . .) . . .

Although Walters practiced medicine, he earlier dabbled in the occult and was a "clairvoyant," according to family tradition. (Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, 118) Abner Cole reported that he was skilled in the magical arts and conducted treasure digging with Joseph Smith and others at Miner's Hill in Manchester. Cole was interested in these activities because he owned the property at Miner's Hill from 1820 through 1823. (Dan Vogel, "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27, Fall 1994, pp. 204-207n31) . . .

One of Joseph Smith's neighbors, Lorenzo Saunders, who also lived close to Miner's Hill (fig. 30), remembered that Walters and the Smiths dug there before Alvin Smith died in late 1823.

[A2002] **Fig. 30: Map of Palmyra and Manchester townships.** Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins*, Salt Lake City, Signature Books, 2002, p. 143]

In Lorenzo's interview with a counselor in the RLDS presiding bishopric, Edmund L. Kelley, Lorenzo said, "I am one of them that saw digging there [Miner's Hill] . . . Well I will tell you they did dig; Willard Chase & Alvin, the one that died; they dug before Alvin died" (Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:152-53; . . .) Saunders continues:

At the time the big hole was dug in the hill they was duped by one Walters who pretended to be a conjurer, I heard Willard Chase say that he was duped. They could not be deceived in it after he had gone through with a certain movements & charged them \$7. I seen the old man [Joseph Sr.] dig there day in and day out; He was close by. I used to go there & see them work. (Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 2:156-57; see also 2:233n23. . . .)

2004^ Cameron J. Packer "Cumorah's Cave," in *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, vol. 13, Issue 12, 2004, pp. 50-57

CHECK HIS REFERENCES WITH THOSE LISTED HERE AND IN REFERENCE TO THE HILL CUMORAH.

2007^ Dale Broadhurst "Uncle Dale's Old Mormon Articles," (cave)
(www.sidneyrigdon.com/dbroadhu, 4/19/2007)

Dale Broadhurst notes the following in conjunction with a 1974 article by Lou Ziegler entitled, "Palmyra Cave Mormon 'Holy Ground?' " (*The Times-Union*, vol. ?, no.?, Rochester N.Y., April 25, 1974):

Note 1: A photograph accompanying the above article bears this caption: "Andrew Kommer, right, assisted by Don Nichols, left, and Gerald Henderson, enclose entrance to cave that may have been used by Joseph Smith, founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Note 2: Palmyra editor Abner Cole was perhaps the first person to publicize Joseph Smith's excavation exploits south of Palmyra. According to Dan Vogel, Cole was particularly interested in Smith's activities around what later came to be called "Miner's Hill," because he had owned that piece of property a few

years before the proto-Mormons dug their tunnel into the hillside: "The Locations of Joseph Smith's Early Treasure Quests," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (Fall 1994) pp. 204-207. In his *Reflector* for Jan. 18, 1831, Cole contrasts the prophetic careers of Smith and "the impostor of Mecca," noting that "Mahomet . . . retired to a cave in mount Hara, where he . . . [received] passages which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministering angel." In his issue of Feb. 14, 1831 Mr. Cole says a little about the Smith family's money-digging and mention is the money-diggers' claims that "great treasures" of the "Ancient inhabitants" of the region "remained secure" from theft" in large and spacious chambers" int he earth in and around Ontario county, New York. In his 1830 "Book of Pukei" satires, Cole makes further mention of the local money-diggers' preoccupation with "treasures, hidden in the bowels of the earth," but he does not specifically refer to their activities at Miner's Hill.

Note 3: The next writer to offer significant relevant comments on the Ontario county digging was reporter James G. Bennett of the New York City *Morning Courier and Enquirer*. In that paper's issue for Aug. 31, 1831 Bennett informed his readers, that "A few years ago the Smith's . . . caught an idea that money was hid in several of the hills which give variety to the country between the Canandaigua Lake and Palmyra . . . the Smith's and their associates commenced digging, in the numerous hills . . . in the town of Manchester . . . On the sides & in the slopes of several of these hills, these excavations are still to be seen." To this report, Bennett added the strange intelligence, that a "famous Ohio man made his appearance" in the midst of the New York money-diggers -- a "Henry Rangdon or Ringdon" -- and that when "this person" (the Rev. Sidney Rigdon) "appeared among them, a splendid excavation was begun in a long narrow hill, between Manchester and Palmyra . . . Ringdon partly uniting with them in their operations." How much truth may reside in this story, it is difficult to say; but from 1831 forward there were certain people who declared that Sidney Rigdon was more or less secretly connected with the mysterious hillside excavations made south of the Smith home.

[My note* Oliver Cowdery was baptized into the LDS Church by Oliver Cowdery in Ohio on November 8, 1830. Parley P. Pratt stated in 1838 that, "Early in 1831, Mr. Rigdon having been ordained, under our hands, visited elder J. Smith, Jr., in the state of New-York, for the first time; and from that time forth, rumor began to circulate, that he (Rigdon) was the author of the Book of Mormon." ^{xcvii}]

Note 4: Eber D. Howe's 1834 book, *Mormonism Unveiled*, was written and published at a considerable distance away from the Ontario digs, but Howe's associate, D. P. Hurlbut, in 1833, managed to collect a few scraps of useful information in the Palmyra area. In a statement signed by 51 citizens of Palmyra, those local folks certified that the Smiths "spent much of their time in digging for money which they pretended was hid in the earth; and to this day, large excavations may be seen in the earth, not far from their residence, where they used to spend their time in digging for hidden treasures." William Stafford, a Manchester resident interviewed by Hurlbut, testified that the Smiths "would say, also, that nearly all the hills in this part of New York, were thrown up by human hands, and in them were large caves" and that in these hidden hill chambers were "large gold bars and silver plates." In examining the 1833 statements collected by Hurlbut, the modern reader gains the impression that the Mormon Smith family asserted that practically every pile of glacial gravel in their neighborhood was an ancient Nephite mound, full of secret chambers, accessible only by tunneling in from the outside.

Note 5: Although local residents in the Manchester area knew, from an early day, that Joseph Smith, Jr. and his diggers had tunneled into Miner's Hill, further publication of information on the cave construction appears to have been lacking until Pomeroy Tucker's *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism* came out in 1867. Tucker wrote about Joseph Smith's money digging and occasional concealment in dark chambers, as early as May 26, 1858, but he did not provide any specific details regarding the cave in Miner's Hill until his 1867 book was published. On pp. 48-49 of that work, Tucker reports:

"The work of [Book of Mormon] translation this time [1829] had been done in the recess of a dark artificial cave, which Smith had caused to be dug in the east side of the forest-hill near his residence, now owned by Mr. Amos Miner . . . [others said he] only went into the cave to pay his spiritual devotions and seek the continued favor of Divine Wisdom. His stays in the cave varied from fifteen minutes to an hour or over -- the entrance meanwhile being guarded by one

or more of this disciples . . . This excavation was at the time said to be one hundred and sixty feet in extent . . . [with] a substantial door of two-inch plank, secured by a corresponding lock. From the lapse of time and natural causes the cave has been closed for years, very little mark of its former existence remaining to be seen.

Like James G. Bennett before him, Tucker introduced the secretive presence of Sidney Rigdon into his telling of the Mormon story. Although Tucker's account allows for the possibility that Rigdon occasionally "hid up" his reverend self in the Miner's Hill cave, the writer does not specifically make that claim -- nor does he offer much in the way of evidence demonstrating Rigdon's secret presence among the Smiths in New York or Pennsylvania.

Note 6: Most subsequent accounts of Smith's Miner's Hill tunnel appear to have been directly or indirectly influenced by Tucker's 1867 account. One narrative not dependent upon Tucker was an 1861 British novel, that put Smith and Rigdon together, operating both money and scriptural counterfeiting schemes, by torch-light, inside just such a cave -- the novel even supplies a fanciful illustration of the nefarious business. A more substantive account was offered as supplementary evidence by Rev. Clark Braden quotes Samantha Stafford Payne thusly:

She was a schoolmate of Smith. His reputation was bad . . . After Smith came back from Pennsylvania, his followers dug a cave in a hillside not far from here. They conducted the work of getting up Mormonism in it. I was in it once. It can be seen to-day. The present owner of the farm, Mr. Miner, dug out the cave, which had fallen in. The cave had a large, heavy plate door and a padlock on it. The neighbors broke it open one night, and found in it a barrel of flour, some mutton, some sheep pelts, and two sides of leather . . . "

Braden probably quoted Samantha's testimony from a now lost article published in the *Michigan Cadillac Weekly News* of April 6, 1880. A Samantha Payne affidavit, dated June 29, 1881, was published in the *Ontario County Times* of July 27, 1881, but it contains no mention of Miner's Hill.

Note 7: The publication of statements like those made by Samantha Payne stirred some Mormon elders to conduct interviews among the Smith's old neighbors and publish the more or less favorable results in their own periodicals. The RLDS *Saints' Herald* of June 1, 1881 contains a number of these generally positive reminiscences regarding the Mormon Smith family. However, since the interview texts were censored prior to publication, the unpublished interviewers' notes (now in the Dan Vogel document series) should be consulted to obtain more accurate and complete readings. Lorenzo Saunders saw the Smiths digging in Miner's Hill prior to the close of 1825. Saunders also told one interviewer that Smith informed him that it was "in a cave, where I began the first translation of the inspired pages." Ezra Pierce recalled that Abel Chase had visited "the cave with the Smiths where the sheep bones were found." He added, "people used to think they were making counterfeit money" in the tunnel -- which, by 1881, was "all caved in." Major John H. Gilbert said that Smith and his helper(s) "translated" the Book of Mormon "in a cave;" but he probably took this idea from Tucker's book. Nevertheless, Elder George Reynolds reprinted Gilbert's allegation in his "Joseph Smith's Youthful Life," published in the *Juvenile Instructor* for Oct. 1, 1882, and Elder Rudolph Etzenhouser repeated the same in his 1894 book, *From Palmyra to Independence*. See also George Q. Cannon's acknowledgment of the mysterious cave in his July 5, 1873 *Juvenile Instructor* piece, "Visit to the Land and Hill of Cumorah."

Note 8: Around the turn of the century the old neighbors' recollections of events at Miner's Hill began to take on a surrealistic tone. Following Tucker's 187 lead, the survivors and their interviewers seemed convinced that Joseph Smith did his Book of Mormon translation in a hidden chamber, such as the one he dug in Miner's Hill. Palmyra historian Thomas Cook says, in his *Palmyra and Vicinity, that Smith encountered his ministering angel in "a cave. There he would meet him and reveal to him the hieroglyphics on the golden plates."* Walter H. McIntosh, in his *History of Wayne Co., N. Y.* states that the final state of the Book of Mormon translation "was effected within a cave dug in the east side of the forest hill." Accounts by Daniel Hendrix were published in 1899 and 1905, in which he asserted that "The copy for the Book of Mormon was prepared in a cave that Smith and other dug . . . on Gold Hill . . . Some one of the converts was constantly about the mouth of the cave, and no one but Smith and Alvin [sic, Oliver?] Cowdry . . . were allowed to go through the mouth of the cave. Rigdon

had some hopes of converting me, and I was permitted to go near the door, but not so much as to peep inside. Smith . . . read aloud, and Cowdry, who was seated on the other side of a screen or partition in the cave, wrote down the words as pronounced by Joe."

Note 9: Perhaps the most whimsical reconstruction of events inside Miner's Hill was the account penned by the Rev. Dr. William H. Whitsitt, in his 1891 manuscript, "Sidney Rigdon, The Real Founder of Mormonism." On pp. 394-396 Whitsitt says:

"Lucy Smith declares that . . . 'my husband, Samuel and Hyrum retired to a place where the family were in the habit of offering up their secret devotions to God' . . . likely the cave that is mentioned by Pomeroy Tucker, who says that Smith had caused a dark artificial cave to be dug in the east side of the forest hill near his residence, now owned by Mr. Amos Miner. Mr. Tucker adds that Joseph was accustomed to spend some of his time in this cave, of which the entrance was meanwhile guarded by one or more of his disciples . . . [here] it would be easy for Sidney [Rigdon] to secrete himself . . . [and] When the eight fresh witnesses were duly assembled in this favorable situation, Mr. Rigdon would experience no special embarrassment in playing the role of an angel . . . It may be supposed that Rigdon had the entire [Spalding] manuscript at hand in a . . . rear portion of the cave . . . [wher] the witnesses were invited to inspect . . . the matter . . . Lucy Smith reports . . . the angel again made his appearance to Joseph, at which time Joseph delivered up the plates into the angel's hands' . . . [this] signifies that Sidney came forward from the recesses of the cavern to which he had recently retired, took . . . the manuscript, and set forth on his journey back to his home in Mentor, Ohio."

On pp. 515-516 Whitsitt adds the following to his reconstruction:

"Lucy Smith declares . . . the family were ejected . . . during the Spring of 1829, and went to reside with their son Hyrum Smith . . . in Manchester . . . Hither was brought . . . the recently completed manuscript of the Book of Mormon; here was prepared the curious artificial cave . . . for the purpose of guarding that treasure from harm . . . hence were carried from day to day that portion of the copy . . . [which was] safe to intrust tot he printers . . . The homestead is now said to be owned by Mr. Amos Miner . . . "

Whitsitt is obviously wrong in many particulars of time and space -- but he still manages to offer his readers a fascinating tale of Sidney Rigdon's intrigues in the artificial cave.

n.d. F. W. Morton "Visit To Miner's Hill: One of the Places Celebrated in the History of the Mormons," in *Chicago Times*, n.p., n.d.

Morton wrote that Joseph Smith pretended to find the gold plates and the Urim and Thummim in Miner's Hill, confusing it with the Hill Cumorah.

Final Comment* If the 1878 account of David Whitmer is accurate in which he stated that the plates are in a cave but not the Hill Cumorah in New York, "but not far away from that place," perhaps he was referring to the fact that there was a "cave" dug the remains of which were located on the northeastern side of the Hill Cumorah. The location where Joseph Smith found the plates has traditionally been located on the northwestern side of the hill. Therefore, according to David Whitmer, the actual location from where Joseph retrieved the plates was "not far away from that place [the cave]" On the other hand, if reference to the accounts concerning Joseph's digging a cave in Miner's hill are accurate, and if the accounts concerning Joseph's use of the cave in Miner's hill with other people for spiritual purposes are accurate, and if the latter part of June, 1829 was the only time period in which Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith were close to the Hill Cumorah (and Miner's hill) when the plates were returned to the angel Moroni, then one might propose that the Cave Story could have involved the cave at Miner's hill. However, in saying this one leaves himself open to a number of questions.

(1) Why do the dimensions of the actual cave at Miner's hill not match the size of the cave in the Cave Story or the multiple accounts by supposed village witnesses?

(2) How did the Nephite treasures and records in the Cave Story get in Miner's hill? And where did these apparently valuable items disappear to?

(3) How does one account for the experience of the three witnesses who saw the Nephite records and regalia (seen in the Cave Story) in vision while sitting on a log (apparently in the open) in Fayette in broad daylight and with an angel in charge of them?

(4) If Oliver supposedly helped translate the plates in Miner's cave, then surely he would be able to distinguish Miner's cave from the cave in the Cave Story, or identify them as the same cave. Why is there no account of such? Why do we not have Miner's cave mentioned by either Joseph or Oliver in Church history?

(5) If early members met for spiritual (or ritual) meetings in Miner's cave, Why do we not have Miner's cave mentioned in early Church history? Why do we not have record of early members or pioneer members returning to confirm where Miner's cave was located?

Notes

i. In 1999 FARMS printed the following:

In 1982, Erich Robert Paul published an article in *BYU Studies* entitled "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library." (See *BYU Studies* 22/3, 1982, pp. 333-356) Essentially Paul shows that, while Joseph Smith had potential access to a wide range of books there, "it is likely that during the 1820s he simply was not a part of the literary culture." (Robert Paul, "Joseph Smith and the Manchester (New York) Library," *BYU Studies* 22/3, 1982, pp. 333-356.

Because Joseph spent little time, however, in the Manchester/Palmyra area from 1825 to 1829 (he moved to Harmony, Pennsylvania, in 1827 when he and Emma married), the logical extension of Paul's study is to ask the further question, "But was there a library in Harmony, Pennsylvania?" Even more significant than the information environment of Palmyra was that of Harmony. If Joseph Smith had wanted to do any kind of research while he was translating the book of Lehi onto the 116 pages in 1828 or while he was translating the bulk of the Book of Mormon during April and May, 1829, he would have needed to use libraries or information sources in or around Harmony where he was living at the time.

Harmony was a small town on the border between the states of New York and Pennsylvania. The region was very remote and rural. Recently we asked Erich Paul if he had ever explored the possibility that any libraries existed around Harmony in the 1820s which Joseph Smith might have used. He responded: "In fact, I checked into this possibility only to discover that not only does Harmony and its environs hardly exist any more, but there is no evidence of a library even existing at the time of Joseph's work."

Accordingly, those who have considered western New York as the information environment for the Book of Mormon may be 120 miles or more off target. One should think of Joseph translating in the Harmony area and, as far as that goes, in a resource vacuum.

Even if Joseph had wanted to pause to check his details against reputable sources, to scrutinize the latest theories, to learn about scholarly biblical interpretations or Jewish customs, or to verify any Book of Mormon claims against the wisdom or theologies of his day--even if he had wanted to go to a library to check such things (something he showed no inclination to do until later)--there simply was no library anywhere nearby for him to sue.

While this is only a piece of circumstantial evidence for the Book of Mormon, it is still a piece. Perhaps a significant one.

Source: "Was There a Library in Harmony, Pennsylvania?" in *Pressing Forward with the Book of Mormon: The FARMS Updates of the 1990s*, John W. Welch & Melvin J. Thorne eds., Provo, Ut: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1999, pp. 283-284. Research by John W. Welch, originally published as a FARMS Update in *Insights* (January 1994): 2.

ii. For a thorough review of all anti-Mormon literature and their methodology up until the times of publication, the reader is referred to the 2-volume work of Francis W. Kirkham, LL.B., PH.D. Volume 1 (*A New Witness For Christ in America, The Book of Mormon: Evidence of Divine Power in the "Coming Forth" of the Book of Mormon*) was initially published in 1942, an enlarged second edition came out in 1947 and an enlarged third edition was published in 1951. A special 4th edition was printed in 1967. Volume 2 (*A New Witness For Christ in America, The Book of Mormon: Attempts to Prove the Book of Mormon Man-Made Analyzed and Answered*) was initially published in 1959, with a revised edition printed in 1959 and 1963.

For anti-Mormon literature published subsequent to this 2-volume work, the reader is referred to the issues of *FARMS Review of Books on the Book of Mormon*, which have dealt with these continuing claims. (see the FARMS notation for 1979)

iii. In the 1838 notations concerning Manti there is an extensive endnote concerning the writing and compilation of the documentary sources for the *History of Joseph Smith*. They reveal that Joseph Smith did not actually write but rather dictated many of the documents attributed to him. In some instances the scribes were also free to edit and bring in material from other sources while still using a first-person style..

iv. Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, pp. 41-42.

v. Larry E. Morris, " 'I Should Have an Eye Single to the Glory of God': Joseph Smith's Account of the Angel and the Plates." Review of *From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni: Changing Dramatis Personae in Early Mormonism* by Ronald V. Huggins, *Dialogue*. 36/4 (2003): 17-42. In *The FARMS Review*, Volume 17, Issue 1, 2005, pp. 11-82.

vi.

vii. See Robert J. Woodford, "Book of Mormon Personalities Known by Joseph Smith" *The Ensign*, Vol. 8, No. 8, August 1978, pp. 12-15; also "The Story of the Doctrine and Covenants," i.b.i.d., Vol. 14, No. 12, December 1984, pp. 32-39.

viii. In the course of our evening conversations Joseph would give us some of the most amusing recitals which could be imagined he would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent their dress thier manner of traveling the animals which they rode The cities that were built by them the structure of their buildings with every particular of their mode of warfare their religious worship--as particularly as though he had spent his life with them

Source: Lavina Fielding Anderson, *Lucy's Book: A Critical Edition of Lucy Mack Smith's Family Memoiri*, edited by Lavina Fielding Anderson, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2001, p. 345.

ix. JS--H 1:30-49; *Journal of Discourses*, 17:374.

x. *JD* 21:94.

xi. *JD* 21:161.

xii. *Times and Seasons* 6:788.

xiii. *JD* 17:374.

xiv. *JD* 13:47.

xv. Perhaps this incident is the same as one related to Ole A. Jensen by Martin Harris in July 1875:
... Brother Harris then turned himself as though he had no more to say and we made ready to go. He then spoke again and said: "I will tell you th a wonderful thing that happened after Joseph had found the plates: three of us took a notion to take some ef tools and go to the hill and hunt for some more boxes or gold or something, and Indeed we found a stone box; we got quiet [quite] excited about it; and dug quiet [quite] carefully around it; we were ready to take it up: but behold <by> some unseen power it slipped and back into the hill; we stood there and looked at it; One of us took a crowbar and tried to hold <drive> it through the lid to hold it; but it glanced and only broke one corner off of the box. Some time that box will be found and you will see the corner broken off; then you will know I have told you the truth.["]

Source: Ole A. Jensen, "Testimony of Martin Harris (One of the Witnesses of the Book of Mormon),," undated (c. 1918), original in private possession (Photocopies at Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; LDS Church Archives, Salt lake City, Utah; and Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Provo, Utah). Published in *Star Valley Independent* (Fairview, Wyoming), 13 December 1918. A portion was published in the *Improvement Era* 26 (September 1923), pp. 900-901. See also *Early Mormon Documents* vol. 2, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998, pp. 375-376.

xvi. Edward Stevenson's report of an interview with David Whitmer notes Whitmer as saying that when Joseph and Oliver invited him to accompany them, he tied his team to the fence and "the 3 went about 40 rods from his Fathers House [and] while sitting on a log an angel appeared in the midst of a brightness that preceded him." (see Edward Stevenson, *Journal of Edward Stevenson*, 2 January 1887, LDS Church Archives)

xvii. In a "Letter From Elder W. H. Kelley" printed in the *Saints' Herald* (1 March 1882) we find David Whitmer quoted as saying the following:

I was plowing in the field one morning and Joseph and Oliver came along with a revelation stating that I was to be one of the witnesses to the Book of Mormon. I got over the fence and we went out into the woods, near by, and sat down on a log and talked awhile. We then kneeled down and prayed. Joseph prayed. We then got up and sat on the log and were talking, when all at once a light came down from above us and encircled us for quite a little distance around; and the angel stood before us. He was dressed in white, and spoke and called me by name and said, "Blessed is he that keepeth His commandments." This is all that I heard the angel say. A table was set before us and on it the records were placed. The Records of the Nephites, from which the Book of Mormon was translated, the brass plates, the Ball of Directors, the sword of Laban and other plates. While we were viewing them the voice of God spoke out of heaven saying that the Book was true and the translation correct.

xviii. While this is the first *account* of the Cave Story, the following is recorded for May 6, 1849 in the *Manuscript History of the Church*:

[Brigham Young says] I met with President W. Richards and the Twelve on the 6th. We spent the time in interesting conversation upon old times, Joseph, the plates, Mount Cumorah, treasures and records known to be hid in the earth, the gift of seeing, and how Joseph obtained his first seer stone.

This conversation is also referred to in the *Quorum of the Twelve Minutes for 6 May 1849*:

... evening in conversation upon many little incidents connected with finding the Plates, preserving them from the hand of the wicked, & returning them again to Cumorah, who did it &, also about the gift of seeing & how Joseph obtained his first seer stone. Treasures known to exist in the earth of money &, records.

xix. There are a number of references by Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer to the effect that while the experience of the three witnesses could be termed a "vision," that is not to say that they were asleep, or dreaming, or that they did not see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears that which took place. For examples, see *Early Mormon Documents* vol. 2, compiled and edited by Dan Vogel, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998.

xx. Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, p. 51, n. 35.

xxi. Larry E. Morris, "'I Should Have an Eye Single to the Glory of God': Joseph Smith's Account of the Angel and the Plates." Review of *From Captain Kidd's Treasure Ghost to the Angel Moroni: Changing Dramatis Personae in Early Mormonism* by Ronald V. Huggins, *Dialogue*. 36/4 (2003): 17-42. In *The FARMS Review*, Volume 17, Issue 1, 2005, pp. 11-82.

xxii.

xxiii. This information was quoted by editors Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe in their "Editors' Introduction," *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon*, p. vii.

xxiv. Doctrine and Covenants, 32:2; Parley P. Pratt, *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt*, 5th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1961), pp. 47, 53-57.

xxv. Olaf H. Prufer, in "Hopewellian Studies," *Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers* (Springfield 1964), Vol. 12. See also Robert Silverberg, *Mound Builders of Ancient America: The Archaeology of a Myth* (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1968), p. 293

xxvi. Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western

New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, p. 39.

xxvii. The idea of an "artificial hill" is also reflected in a statement made in 1833 by William Stafford, a resident of Manchester, New York, about the Joseph Smith family--see previous footnote #6.

xxviii. Howard Clair Searle, "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858" (copyrighted in 1980), Los Angeles: University of California. pp. 106-107.

xxix. Ivan J. Barrett writes that the School of the Prophets commenced on January 24, 1833. (*Journal History*, SLC: Office of the Church Historian, Jan. 24, 1833.) The Prophet took the lead, and all the members of the school looked for to him for guidance and instruction. Joseph gave seven formal lectures on the fundamental principles of the restored gospel. (later published in the D&C as the *Lectures on Faith*) The curriculum expanded to include science, history, and English grammar (JH, Jan. 24, 1833). Some of the texts were *Whelpley's Compend of History*, *Kirkham's Grammar*, *Olney's Geography*, and *Jacobs's Latin Grammar*. (JD, Vol. 6, p. 84.)

Although the first sessions of the school were held in a room over the prophet's kitchen, in a house he rented from Newel K. Whitney, after the Kirtland Temple was finished, they used the upstairs rooms. It was at this time that the brethren studied Hebrew and Greek for seven weeks under Professor Joshua Seixas from Hudson, Ohio. After just three weeks, ten of the most progressive students, including the Prophet, Oliver Cowdery, and Orson Pratt were placed in an advanced class.

Source: Ivan J. Barrett, *Joseph Smith and the Restoration*, Provo: BYU Press, 1967, pp. 151-152.

xxx. It has been brought to my attention that in a Videohistory of the Kirtland Temple, the heavenly messenger was named as "Peter." I am still looking for the source.

xxxi. LaMar C. Berrett General Editor, Max H. Parkin editor for Missouri, *Sacred Places: Missouri: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, Volume 4: Missouri*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2004, p. 385.

xxxii. LaMar C. Berrett General Editor, Max H. Parkin editor for Missouri, *Sacred Places: Missouri: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, Volume 4: Missouri*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2004, pp. 384-385.

xxxiii. On page 367, Backman also notes that some of the best accounts of the journey of the Saints to Missouri in 1838 are found in the following works: autobiography of Anson Call, pp. 3-5; journal of John Smith, April 5, 1838, to June 16, 1838; Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, pp. 252-53; Snow, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*, pp. 24-25; HC 3:1-3, 8, 43, 100-148; diary of Samuel D. Tyler, pp. 1-56; and autobiography of Luman Andros Shurtliff, pp. 31-32.

xxxiv. There are a number of studies on the writing of the *History of Joseph Smith*. Among the excellent ones that I have read are:

Dean C. Jessee, "the Writing of Joseph Smith's History," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 11, num. 4, Summer 1971, pp. 439-473

Dean C. Jessee, "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's history," in *Journal of Mormon History*, vol. 3, 1976, pp. 23-46.

Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, pp. 101-122

Additionally, Howard Searle has written a 520-page Ph.D Thesis entitled "Early Mormon historiography: writing the history of the Mormons, 1830-1858."

Within these works there are a number of charts and ideas that are essential to the reader trying to evaluate this 1838 incident as well as other quotes or actions attributed to Joseph Smith in the *History of the*

Church. The following ideas and charts are taken from Howard Searle's 1981 BYU Studies article by permission of the author. As stated above, this article followed two years after Searle had finished a 520-page Ph.D Thesis. By way of background, in 1981 Howard Searle was a Church Educational System college curriculum writer and instructor at the Salt Lake Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah. He writes:

Anyone familiar with the methodology involved in the compilation of the *History of the Church* will recognize that one of its main problems is the confused and misleading authorship. To quote reliably from this source, one should first answer two questions: (1) Who wrote the original source? and (2) How has it been edited for publication? . . . many of the first-person passages . . . in Joseph's personal writings are neither the Prophet's personal writings nor even his dictations. . . . Cognizant that he needed help in his writing, the Prophet called men with writing experience and skill to aid him in the various literary projects of the Church. Over twenty-four scribes and ghostwriters are known to have assisted him during the fifteen years from 1829 to 1844--the period of his "writing" (see Table 1). . . .

[1838n. **Table 1: Major Scribes Assisting Joseph Smith from 1829 to 1844.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, pp 104]

To what extent are the sources, rough drafts, and manuscripts of the *History of the Church* the personal writing of Joseph Smith? As early as 1832 the Prophet established the precedent of keeping a personal diary and a letterbook, but only a few pages of these early sources are in his handwriting. . . . most of this diary is in the handwriting of scribes. . . . Except for [a] few pages, all the sources and manuscripts connected with the compilation of the *History of the Church* are in the handwriting of scribes (see Table 2). . . .

[1838n. **Table 2 (part-1): Major Church History Sources Recorded by Scribes.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 106]

[1838n. **Table 2 (part-2): Major Church History Sources Recorded by Scribes.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 107]

[1838n. **Table 2 (part-3): Major Church History Sources Recorded by Scribes.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 108]

If Joseph Smith did not personally write most of the material in his diaries and the manuscripts of his history, how much of it did he dictate? It is clear from the Prophet's diaries, as well as the journals of the scribes, that he often dictated to his assistants, but it is equally clear that the scribes and clerks often composed and recorded information on their own. Many diary entries by the scribes were only brief, incomplete notes--some in the third person--that had to be deciphered and filled out by the later compilers of the Church annals. Much of this editing was done after the original writers and the Prophet were dead. Such material would hardly qualify as verbatim dictation. . . .

Because of numerous setbacks and difficulties at Nauvoo, progress on the history was very slow until the appointment of Willard Richards as the Prophet's "private Sect. and Historian" on 21 December 1842. At this time the history had been written only to 1 November 1831. Dr. Richards's handwriting begins on page 158 of Book A-1 in the manuscript, which is page 222 of volume 1 of the *History of the Church* (see tables 3 and 4) . . . Dr. Richards boarded with the Prophet for several weeks in 1841 and later shared President Smith's upstairs office in the brick store at Nauvoo. He undoubtedly obtained much information for the diaries and manuscript history directly from the Prophet, but he frequently recorded this material in his own words--usually in abbreviated notes. . . .

[1838n. **Table 3: Scribes Writing the Manuscript History of Joseph Smith.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 110]

[1838n. **Table 4: Time Schedule for Writing the Manuscript History of Joseph Smith.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 112]

At the time of the Martyrdom, Willard Richards had completed the manuscript history to page 812 in Book B-1. . . . At this point Dr. Richards had completed the history to 5 August 1838. (see tables 4 and 5) . . .

[1838n. **Table 5: Publication of Joseph Smith's History.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 113]

As Willard Richards and his chief assistant, Thomas Bullock, commenced the posthumous writing of the "History of Joseph Smith," a rough draft was prepared that is still well preserved in the Church Archives. . . . The surviving rough draft is written on loose foolscap, and the pagination periodically starts over again (see Table 6) The rough draft begins with 6 August 1838 and is in the handwritings of Willard Richards. . . Dr. Richards inserted cross-references to materials from various sources that were to be copied into the completed history and also made many corrections and additions right in the rough draft. . . . Although Willard Richards had proceeded with the history after the Prophet's death, he continued the first-person narrative that characterized the Prophet's early dictation. . . . Thomas Bullock started copying the history [rough draft] into the manuscript history journal . . .

Did Joseph Smith have an opportunity to review carefully all the history written for him by his scribes? Both circumstantial and documentary evidence suggest that the Prophet did not have the opportunity to review and revise very much of the history. . . . President Joseph Smith had corrected forty-two pages before his massacre. . . . the history was "revised" by President Young "almost without any alteration." Brigham continued the practice of allowing clerks to write in the first person for Joseph until it was finished in 1857. . . .

Willard Richards died on 11 March 1854; George A. Smith was sustained as the new Church Historian at General conference on 7 April 1854 and commenced compiling the history on 18 April 1854. . . . Wilford Woodruff was called as Assistant Church Historian in 1856, and although he contributed information from his journals and collected other materials for the history, his handwriting does not appear in the rough or completed manuscripts (see tables 3 and 6)

[1838n. **Table 6: Rough Draft of the History of Joseph Smith.** Howard Searle: authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, p. 113]

After the deaths of the original compilers of the history, there was a tendency in the Church to forget or ignore the methodology of the early scribes and Church historians who wrote it and to attribute all of the first-person material in the history to Joseph Smith himself. . . .

xxxv. In a 1981 article ("Authorship of the History of Joseph Smith: a Review Essay," in *BYU Studies*, vol. 21 (1981), Number 1-Winter 1981, pp. 101-122) by Howard Searle, he writes the following starting on page 119:

After the deaths of the original compilers of the history, there was a tendency in the Church to forget or ignore the methodology of the early scribes and Church historians who wrote it and to attribute all of the first-person material in the history to Joseph Smith himself. Orson Pratt, Church Historian from 1874 to 1881, was well acquainted with the men who worked on the history and was familiar with their procedures. When a Church member wrote to him to inquire about a rather obvious error in the history, he frankly admitted:

"The discrepancy in the history to which you refer may have occurred through the ignorance or carelessness of the historian or transcriber. It is true that history reads as though the Prophet himself was writing; but the prophet was a slow and awkward writer; and many events recorded were written by his scribes who undoubtedly trusted too much to their memories, and the items probably were not sufficiently scanned by Bro. Joseph, before they got into print. (See Note "A" below)

Whether by ignorance of design, Elder Pratt's successors in the Historian's Office apparently said nothing about the methodology involved in compiling the early history of the Church, and by the end of the nineteenth century it was frequently assumed that all the history had been written or dictated by the Prophet.

By the turn of the century the project of publishing the entire history in accessible book form was undertaken by George Q. Cannon a member of the First Presidency. In an unpublished preface, he asserted that the history "was written by the Prophet himself or under his own direction during his lifetime." He further explained: "While it is in a sense personal and autobiographical, it nevertheless constitutes the true history of the Church and its happenings stated in his language, up to within a very few days of his martyrdom." (See Note "B" below) In less than fifty years from the time the history was completed, the methods involved in its compilation were either obscured or ignored to the point that it was commonly assumed the history was the personal writing or dictation of the Prophet. In spite of several recent articles on the subject, nothing has significantly modified this belief as far as the general Church membership is concerned.

The *History of the Church* in its present form was edited by B. H. Roberts, who was assigned the project on 23 May 1901, about six weeks after the death of George Q. Cannon. (See Note "C" below) The first six volumes, containing the "History of Joseph Smith" were published from 1902 to 1912, and although Elder Roberts made significant contributions to the history through his editing, he also created many problems. His most serious shortcoming was that he did not come to grips with the question of the history's authorship nor the methodology associated with its original compilation. He not only perpetuated the myth that the entire narrative was the Prophet's own writing or words, (See Note "D" below) but he also made additions and deletions right in the text, without any annotation, as if these too were the product of the Prophet's own mind. (See Note "E" below) In doing this, he corrupted the text as he tried to correct it and actually widened the gap between the real Joseph Smith and what was being published as his personal writing. If Joseph Smith's declaration that "no man knows my history," were true in his own lifetime, it was even more true after Roberts's revisions, for the Prophet actual personality, character, and style were further obscured by an often misleading editorial screen.

B. H. Roberts should have gone back to the original sources to ascertain the actual origin and authorship of the materials being edited; misleading transpositions of the other men's words into first-person statements of Joseph Smith should have been at least identified and in some cases corrected; Roberts's own modifications should have been identified or confined to the footnotes, so his work could be distinguished from that of the former compilers; variant passages in the manuscripts should have been noted and evaluated; and the whole editorial process explained and annotated more clearly. Elder Roberts's editorial work is at best incomplete and at worst misleading. . . .

As a narrative and witness of the Latter-day restoration, the "History of Joseph Smith" has contributed significantly to the faith and understanding of its readers since the time it made its first appearance in the Church's periodicals over a century ago. The great value of this enduring work should justify a painstaking and forthright re-editing, which would identify the history's authors and sources . . . Most of the original sources used in the compilation of the history are in an excellent state of preservation in the Church Archives, and it is still possible to identify the authors and original content of many of the primary sources. . . . It could be argued that the history is reliable regardless of its authorship, but this in no way justifies representing quotations from its contents as the personal compositions of the Prophet, when they are actually the work of other men.

Note "A": Orson Pratt to John Christensen. 11 March 1876, Church Archives.

Note "B": George Q. Cannon, Unfinished preface to a history of the Church, c. 1901, Church Archives.

Note "C": Robert H. Malan, *B. H. Roberts, a Biography* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1966), p. 92.

Note "D": B. H. Roberts, ed., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1902), 1: title page.

Note "E": Ibid. 1: iv.

xxxvi. LaMar C. Berrett General Editor, Max H. Parkin editor for Missouri, *Sacred Places: Missouri: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, Volume 4: Missouri*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 2004, pp. 520-523

xxxvii. *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1855-86), 7:177-78; also Elden J. Watson, comp., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Elden Jay Watson, 1975), p. 9.

xxxviii. *Journals*, p. 9.

xxxix. *Journals*, pp. 16, 26.

xl. *Journals*, p. 16.

xli. *Journals*, p. 75; *JD* 18:132.

xlii. *Journals*, pp. 119-22; England, *The Orson Pratt Journals*, pp. 66-67; David Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1982), pp. 114-15.

xliii. An English translation of the portion of Orson Hyde's pamphlet discussing the First Vision has been printed in Milton V. Backman, Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), pp. 173-75.

xliv. Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Cumorah---Where?*, Independence: Zions Printing & Pub. Co., 1947, p. 71.

xlvi. Milton V. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft Inc., 1971, p. 13.

xlvi. *Historical Collections of the State of New York: Containing a General Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc. Relating to Its History and Antiquities, with Geographical Descriptions of Every Township in the State* (New York: John W. Barber and Henry Howe by S. Tuttle, 1841).

xlvii. This last sentence of information was communicated from Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, p. 39.

xlviii. Francis M. Gibbons, *John Taylor, Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, pp. 48-49.

xlix. Cameron J. Packer, "A Study of the Hill Cumorah: A Significant Latter-day Saint Landmark in Western New York," Master of Arts Thesis, Religious Education, Brigham Young University, December 2002, pp. 41-42.

I. These Three Nephties are the most prominent characters in early Mormon folklore of the 19th century. The best study ever done on this cultural phenomena is ethnologist Hector Lee's 1947 doctoral dissertation for the University of New Mexico entitled, *The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of the Legend in Folklore*.

ii. See Charles Ora Card Diary entry for 21 Jan. 1887.

iii. 25 Nov. 1868 revelation listed as section 48 in Copying Book A, box 1, fd. 17.

liii. Listed in Post Collection as section 57 in Copying Book A, box 2, fd. 6

liv.

Iv. This allusion to Nephites as Eskimos was first made in a February 1870 communique "To the first presidency and the children of Zion":

I the Lord your god maketh known unto you a great mystery which men seeth but understandeth not. . . . It is for the revealer of secrets to throw light into the midst of this darkness[.] You read in the book of Mormon that Lehi gave a promise to his son Joseph that his seed should not be "destroyed." . . . [B]y virtue of this promise a remnant of this seed was preserved, at the time of the d[e]struction of the Nephites and their descendents remain to this day; a people whose history is hid from all the world and always was[.] . . . Now behold and be amazed saith the Lord your god for I the Lord reveal the great fact unto you. . . . there are . . . Nephite children of the pure blood this day[.] By the gentiles they are known by the name of Esquimeaus (Post Collection, box 3, fd. 1; also listed as section 58 in Copying Book A, box 3, fd. 12).

Ivi. Rigdon to Post, 9 Oct. 1873, Post Collection, box 2, fd. 12; also listed as section 80 in Copying Book B, box 3, fd. 13.

Ivii. Dan Vogel notes: Edward Holt of the South Jordan Ward had a vision of the Hill Cumorah, which as described by Stevenson included a single tree near its northern summit.

Iviii. Dan Vogel notes: Earlier the same year, Andrew Galloway had visited the Hill Cumorah and later reported: "I spent one day on the Hill, and saw the Box that had contained the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated. The Box as far as I remember was something like three feet long and a little over two feet wide and two feet in depth. The Box and lid showed no marks of any tools having been used. The Box was made of lightish gray rock, of what I think geologists would say of the Carboniferous Period" (Andrew Galloway Collection, LDS Church Archives, cited in Holzapfel 1995, 45). The impression that Galloway saw the stone box intact at the top of the hill is contradicted by Stevenson and others. Galloway likely saw the rocks at the bottom of the hill and mentally reconstructed the box (see Vogel 1995).

lix. Dan Vogel notes: The Rochester money-digging company was well-known (see III.K.1, Rochester Gem, 15 May 1830), but it is unlikely that they were responsible for the excavation on the eastern slope of the Hill Cumorah. The hole was probably the work of Joseph Smith and his former money-digging associates. Lorenzo Saunders said the hole was dug one or two years previous to Joseph Smith's removal of the plates in September 1827 (III.J.20, Lorenzo Saunders to Thomas Gregg, 28 Jan 1885)

lx. (Ibid., p. 29)

lxi. (Ibid., p. 33)

lxii. E. Cecil McGavin, *Cumorah's Gold Bible*, Salt Lake City: Deseret New Press, 1940, p. 49

lxiii. A. Karl and Katharine Larson note:

McBride's memory of the date is faulty, but his memory of happenings is keen enough. The event McBride describes took place on June 18, 1844. What the Prophet said at his last meeting with the Nauvoo Legion was compiled by George A. Smith from "verbal reports of Joseph G. Hovey, William G. Sterrett, Robert Campbell, and many others who heard the Prophet on the occasion." See Joseph Smith, *History of the Church*, VI: 497-500.

lxiv. A. Karl and Katharine Larson note:

Brother McBride here makes it appear that Joseph Smith marked the route that the Saints would take to the Rocky Mountains at the same time he last addressed the legion (see preceding note), although this seeming error could be attributed to C. L. Walker's hasty recording of McBride's remarks. On February 20, 1844, Joseph wrote: "I instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation and investigate the locations of California and Oregon [Utah was then spoken of as a part of California], and investigate the locations where we can remove to after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own, get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthful climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to." Smith, *ibid.*, p. 222; see also *ibid.*, p. 224. The Prophet asked for

25 men for the expedition. About four-fifths of the number volunteered within the next four or five days. Ibid., pp. 224-27.

Joseph Smith had foreseen the probability of having to move west before the foregoing events. On August 6, 1842, at Montrose, Iowa, he said, "I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by our persecutors or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease, and some of you will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains." Ibid., V:85.

It will be of interest, too, to note the comments of Leland H. Creer, *The Founding of an Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1947), pp. 218-21, in which he clearly elucidates the great store of information available to and searched by the leaders of the church concerning the West, including the great valleys of Utah.

Ixv. A. Karl and Katharine Larson note:

At this point in the journal Walker inserted "X"; then at the bottom of the page he placed a footnote thus: "X United Order."

Ixvi. According to information published by the Juvenile Instructor Office, the following is the list of books in this "faith-promoting series": (1) My first mission, By George Q. Cannon. (2) A String of Pearls (3) Leaves from My Journal, by W. Woodruff. (4) Gems For the Young Folks (5) Jacob Hamblin by James A. Little (6) Fragments of Experience (7) President Heber C. Kimball's Journal (8) Early Scenes in Church History (9) The Life of Nephi, by George Q. Cannon (10) Scraps of Biography

Ixvii. Vogel writes:

The morning after David Whitmer's arrival in Harmony, the men probably began loading the wagon with what Joseph Smith would need during his stay in Fayette. Among his baggage would have been the nearly finished Book of Mormon manuscript--although not the gold plates, which were left behind hidden somewhere in the hills. . . . For unspecified reasons, Emma decided to remain in Harmony. After bidding his wife farewell, Joseph climbed into the bed of Whitmer's wagon and situated himself on the straw among the supplies. . . .

Sometime during their three days on the road, Whitmer had a strange encounter which he would later recount with varying detail. In 1877, he told Edward Stevenson that while returning to Fayette, he saw "an aged man about 5 feet 10, heavy set and [see the 1877 notation]

This story was repeated for the benefit of Joseph F. Smith and Orson Pratt in 1878 and again for Edward Stevenson in 1886. (Note 2--see the 1878 and 1886 notations) Whitmer told Smith and Pratt that the stranger was "a very pleasant, nice looking old man . . . about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches and heavy set . . . dressed in a suit of brown, woolen clothes; his hair and beard were white." In this version, the square object in the man's sack was "shaped like a book." In addition, the invitation for the stranger to ride is prefaced "by a sign from Joseph," presumably a salute or greeting. This is absent from the Stevenson interviews. In the 1877 Stevenson version, Whitmer is not surprised when the stranger mentions the "hill Cumorah." But the following year, Whitmer tells Smith and Pratt: "This was something new to me, I did not know what Cumorah meant." In the published version of Smith's and Pratt's interview [1878], Whitmer says: "We all gazed at him [the stranger] and at each other, and as I looked round inquiringly of Joseph the old man instantly disappeared, so that I did not see him again." Whitmer told Stevenson that they noticed the man's absence sometime later when they had a strange feeling.

The Stevenson interview of 1886 adds minor details such as that the stranger put his "hand on the wagon bed," that the "Strap" of the "knapsack . . . crossed on his breast,," and that the man used a "handkerchief" to wipe the sweat from his face--whereas the Smith-Pratt version has the man wipe his face with his hand. Declining Whitmer's invitation for a ride, the stranger states in the 1886 version: "I am only going over to Cumorah," upon which he "suddenly disappeared." The implication is that the three men saw the stranger disappear; that "they stopped the team amazed at the sudden disappearance of the fine looking stranger." This is when "they all felt so strangely . . . [and] they asked the Prophet to enquire of the Lord who this stranger was," whereupon "they turned around and Joseph looked pale almost transparent and said that "the man] was one of the Nephites, and [that] he had the plates of the Book of Mormon in the knapsack."

Interpreting this event is difficult, not only because of the conflicting details, but because of Whitmer's need to tell the story in such a way as to head off skepticism. In 1877, he told Stevenson that he and the others felt strange, stopped the wagon, and then noticed that the stranger was gone. This version leaves open the possibility that the stranger had simply left the road unnoticed. The following year, Whitmer told Smith and Pratt that the man seemed to vanish into thin air when Whitmer momentarily turned to look at Smith, which makes a naturalistic explanation more difficult. Nearly a decade later, Whitmer would remove speculation by rearranging the story's elements so that they see the stranger disappear, stop the wagon, and then experience a strange feeling. This seems to be an instance where Whitmer's fairly reliable memory shifted over time to conform to his subsequent psychological needs. The first version is likely closer to the truth, at least as initially perceived by Whitmer.

Another indication that the story evolved is where the stranger mentions "Cumorah." In 1877, this elicits no reaction from Whitmer, who continues to drive until he gets a strange feeling. By 1878, Whitmer has become certain that he had never heard of Cumorah before, and this was proof to those interviewing him, and perhaps to himself, that the man was neither ordinary nor imaginary. However, the mention of Cumorah is problematic since the road to Fayette was in line with Manchester and, presumably, the stranger would have been happy to accept a ride. The 1877 version again seems closer to the truth. *If all were otherwise normal, one wonders why the mention of Cumorah would cause Whitmer to turn to look "inquiringly" at Smith, as if Smith would know something about Cumorah. It is possible that in later years, Whitmer convinced himself that the Cumorah designation had come from the stranger rather than from Smith in explaining who the stranger was.*

By giving the 1877 version priority, we can imagine that the stranger left the road and passed into the woods or disappeared behind a bluff while Whitmer and the others were distracted. Oddly, the account suggests this by explaining that they noticed the stranger's absence "soon after they passed." Was this soon after they passed the stranger or when they passed something else--some change in the terrain such as a clearing, woods, or gully? Smith may have given this a supernatural interpretation [by his mention of a "Nephite" and "Cumorah"] when, in reality, it was merely an old Methodist circuit preacher carrying his Bible to his next meeting.

Whitmer told Stevenson in 1877 that when they arrived at Whitmer's father's home in Fayette, "they were impressed that the same person was under the shed and again they were informed [by Smith] that it was so." (Note 3) Elaborating in 1886, Whitmer said "the[y] felt the influence of this same personage around them for . . . there was a heavenly feeling with this Nephite." (Note 4) In 1878, Whitmer said that soon after their arrival in Fayette, "I saw something which led me to the belief that the plates were placed or concealed in my father's barn. I frankly asked Joseph if my supposition was right, and he told me it was." (Note 5)

The Whitmer family may have stayed up late that first night to hear all about the gold plates, and Smith may have read portions of the manuscript to them. The next morning, when David's mother, Mary, went to the barn to milk the cows, she saw the same old man that her son had seen on the road. David recalled in 1877 that she "saw the person at the shed and he took the plates from a box and showed them to her . . . [and] he turned the leaves over [and] this was a satisfaction to her." (note 6) According to David, the messenger spoke comforting words to his mother, who was troubled by the burden of feeding two more mouths: "You have been very faithful and diligent in your labors but you are tried because of the increase of your toil, it is proper therefore that you should receive a witness, that your faith may be strengthened." (note 7) Whitmer remembered that his mother correctly described the plates, including that a portion of them was sealed. (note 8)

Source: ^Dan Vogel, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet*, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2004, pp. 379-381, 656n 1-8.

Note* According to Vogel, Joseph Smith caused David Whitmer to not only invent the circumstances of the stranger on the road, but again to invent what happened between the stranger and his mother Mary. According to Vogel, if there were no plates ("the gold plates . . . were left behind hidden somewhere in the hills"), the stranger had to be carrying something else, and also be someone else, and thus be going somewhere else besides "Cumorah." Vogel writes: "Interpreting this event is difficult, not only because of

the conflicting details, but because of Whitmer's need to tell the story in such a way as to head off skepticism." Vogel thus identifies a possible reason (skepticism) for Whitmer clarifying details of the story, but rather than accept clarification as a possibility, he skeptically implies subterfuge on Whitmer's part. Vogel writes that "Whitmer's fairly reliable memory shifted over time to conform to his subsequent psychological needs." In other words, it is Whitmer, the personal eyewitness, whose mind is unfirm; Vogel refuses to acknowledge that it could be the thinking in his own mind that is suspect. In his own words, Vogel notes, "Arguing that skeptics like me are victims of their own 'naturalistic assumptions' diverts attention from the fact that there is simply no reliable proof for the existence of the supernatural. Naturalism is part of our everyday experience; supernaturalism is not." [p. xvi] Thus the naturalistic Vogel, while acknowledging that one account might be better than another, ultimately he cannot believe in any supernatural account, whether it be of David Whitmer or of Joseph Smith

Ixviii. One of these theories connected the Zuni people to the Welsh. Baker writes:

If then, the Zuni people are not Indian, or of Lamantie extraction, but of a higher and more civilized type of the race, there is but one other people which it is possible for them to be. True, several shiploads of Welsh, under Prince Madoc, colonized on the Atlantic coast in the latter part of the twelfth century, whose fate was entirely lost to the European world. But they were not equal to the conflict against barbarism, and fell to the dead level of their surroundings.

They were successfully traced by the Rev. Morgan Jones and others to the Doeg Indians of Virginia, near the close of the seventeenth century. Those Indians after five hundred years still spoke passable Welsh, and were then preached to in that language. Also I make the first reference in print to a tribe of Indians using mutilated Welsh dialect, that now live in Arizona. They were visited eight years ago by a Welsh miner, who reported that he suddenly came upon some small peach trees in a little valley of the Colorado, and thereby knew that he was near a tribe of Indians, and passing further up the valley soon found them. Upon speaking he was astonished to find that they understood some of his Welsh words, and after further investigation, found that several hundred words in their language were the purest Welsh. This statement will doubtless be verified in the future. . . .

Ixix. Glenn A. Scott, "Locating the Land and City of Nephi," in *The Witness*, Winter 1991, no. 75, pp. 6-7.

Ixx. Givens notes on page 272, note 65:

An overview of the expedition is found in Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 151-62.

Another appraisal, much harsher than theirs (and Cluff's), is that the venture "ended in embarrassment for all involved, [and] affected the school's academic advancement over the next three decades." Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), 10. Journals from several expedition members and several photographs are housed in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah."

Ixxi. Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story*, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1981, 160-178; B. H. Roberts, "Life Story of B. H. Roberts," (typescript), 154, 161, Maraud Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; B. H. Roberts, *New Witnesses for God*, 3 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909.

Ixxii. B. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Period I. *History of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, By Himself*, Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902.

. . . A more serious challenge to Roberts's editorial methodology was his deletion of significant passages, ranging from an omission of the definition of the word *Mormon* as being "more good," which the editor thought was "based on inaccurate premises and was offensively pedantic." . . .

Ixxiii. Roberts, "Life Story," 210.

- lxxiv. Richards' and Little's *Compendium*, p. 273; 1 Nephi 16:13, 14, 43. Also chapter 17:1.
- lxxv. Richards' and Little's *Compendium*, pp. 272-273
- lxxvi. *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, Art. Nephi, Land of p. 295.
- lxxvii. Such is the theory of Orson Pratt--see note "g," Book of Omni, old edition Book of Mormon.
- lxxviii. Roberts notes here concerning Lehi-Nephi: "A small division of the land of Nephi, originally settled by the Nephites, but after their departure it was taken possession of by the Lamanites, and by them made the chief centre of their government. It appears to have been simply the valley in which the city of Lehi-Nephi stood, but because it at one time comprised all the territory occupied by the Nephites, where they spread out and colonized, it is more often called the land of Nephi than the land of Lehi-Nephi (Dict. B. of M., Reynolds, pp. 222-3)
- lxxix. See Orson Pratt's notes "i" and "j" Helaman III (old edition).
- lxxx. The land visited by Limhi's expeditions in search of Zarahemla, and who went to the land desolation, on their return described that as a land "among many waters," Mosiah 8:8.
- lxxxi. Madsen, introduction to Roberts, B. H. Roberts, *Studies of the Book of Mormon*, 2nd ed. ed. Brigham D. Madsen, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992, 3.
- lxxxii. Such is the theory of the late Orson Pratt. See foot note "h" Book of Ether, chap. 2, old edition Book of Mormon.
- lxxxiii. According to Orson Pratt. See foot note "h," Book of Ether, chap. 6:12. Also Book of Ether, chap. 7:6.
- lxxxiv. Note "h" on Ether 6:12 old edition Book of Mormon
- lxxxv. *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, Art. Mormon, p. 245.
- lxxxvi. See foot note to Ether 9:3 old edition Book of Mormon.
- lxxxvii. Richards' and Little's *Compendium*, p. 273; 1 Nephi 16:13, 14, 43. Also chapter 17:1.
- lxxxviii. Richards' and Little's *Compendium*, pp. 272-273
- lxxxix. *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, Art. Nephi, Land of p. 295.
- xc. Such is the theory of Orson Pratt--see note "g," Book of Omni, old edition Book of Mormon.
- xci. See Orson Pratt's notes "i" and "j" Helaman III (old edition).
- xcii. The land visited by Limhi's expeditions in search of Zarahemla, and who went to the land desolation, on their return described that as a land "among many waters," Mosiah 8:8.
- xciii. Glenn A. Scott, "Locating the Land and City of Nephi," in *The Witness*, Winter 1991, no. 75, pp. 6-7.
- xciv. Richards' and Little's *Compendium*, pp. 272-273
- xcv. *Dictionary of the Book of Mormon*, Art. Nephi, Land of p. 295.
- xcvi. Such is the theory of Orson Pratt--see note "g," Book of Omni, old edition Book of Mormon.

