

Publication of the Book of Mormon

After returning from Fayette to Manchester in June 1829, Hyrum Smith received a letter from Oliver Cowdery to strengthen Hyrum's resolve since his baptism. Cowdery wrote about "feeling anxious for your steadfastness in the great cause of which you have been called to advocate."¹ A few days later Hyrum received correspondence with a very different thrust from his Uncle Jesse Smith, who resided in Stockholm, New York:

Again you say, if you are decieved God is your deciever, Blasphemous wretch - how dare you utter such a sentence, how dare you harbor such a thot - aye, you never did think so, but being hardened in iniquity, you make use of the holy name of Jehovah! for what, why to cover your neferious designs & impose on the credulity of your Grandfather, one of the oldest men on the earth, Blackness of darkness! . . . You state your father cannot write by reason of a nervous affection this is a poor excuse, worse than none, he can dictate to others and they can write, If he knows not what to write, he can get your Brother's spectacles he would then be as able to dictate a letter, as Joe is to decipher hieroglyphics, if more should be wanting he can employ the same scoundrel of a scribe, and then not only the matter but manner and style would be correct.²

In the same month Joseph Smith had some of his gentlemen believers testify as witnesses to the Book of Mormon gold plates. This took place at the end of June when he finished writing the Book of Mormon. The first set of three witnesses included two known scribes, Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery, and their Fayette friend David Whitmer. Within a few days the second group of witnesses met at Manchester. They included Joseph Smith's father, his brothers Hyrum and Samuel, and members of the Whitmer family who traveled from Fayette. The four Whitmer brothers were Christian, Jacob, Peter Jr., and John. A friend by marriage, Hiram Page, also became a witness. The spiritual experiences and their testimony represent a religious statement about the reality of the Book of Mormon plates.

All eleven witnesses said they saw the engravings that were on the plates. The three men represented their experience as seeing an angel with the plates. For the additional eight men they indicated that they also saw engravings on the plates and with their hands felt the plates that Joseph Smith showed them.

Both the three and eight witnesses believed that Joseph Smith had what appeared to be gold plates. Smith was present at the time with the men at the Fayette and Manchester locations when they made their statements. Because the testimony is not dated or notarized many persons wondered how serious their testimony should be taken. Also, whether the gold plates were

¹ Cowdery to Hyrum Smith, June 14, 1829, transcribed in 1832 into Joseph Smith Letterbook 1:5, CHL.

² Jesse Smith to Hyrum Smith, June 17, 1829, Joseph Smith Letterbook, 2:59-61, CHL. The letter was copied into the letterbook in 1839. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 1:552-53.

objective or subjected has been a question for many inquirers. Whatever one may think about these statements no physical plates were put on display for the general public to examine.

The Palmyra newspaper, *The Wayne Sentinel*, started noticing the claims of Joseph Smith Jr. in its pages. The June 26, 1829 issue included the following background:

Just about in this particular region, for some time past, much speculation has existed, concerning a pretended discovery, through superhuman means, of an ancient record, of a religious and divine nature and origin, written in ancient characters, impossible to be interpreted by any to whom the special gift has not been imparted by inspiration. It is generally known and spoken of as the "*Golden Bible*." Most people entertain an idea that the whole matter is the result of a gross imposition, and a grosser superstition.³

The article stated, "It is pretended that it will be published as soon as the translation is completed." Shortly afterwards, Egbert B. Grandin the editor of the *Wayne Sentinel*, entered into an agreement to publish the Book of Mormon. For \$3,000 Grandin would print and have bound 5,000 copies of the book. As a man of some wealth Book of Mormon witness Martin Harris was looked upon as supplying the financial backing for the printed book. Harris together with Joseph Smith traveled to Rochester, New York, to find a good printer. *The Gem*, a newspaper in Rochester, published the following account of Harris and his story:

A man by the name of Martin Harris, was in this village a few days since endeavouring to make a contract for printing a large quantity of a work called the Golden Bible. He gave something like the following account of it. "In the autumn of 1827 a man named Joseph Smith of Manchester, in Ontario County, said that he had been visited by the spirit of the Almighty in a dream, and informed that in a certain hill in that town, was deposited a Golden Bible, containing an ancient record of divine origin. He states that after a third visit from the same spirit in a dream, he proceeded to the spot, removed earth, and there found the Bible, together with a large pair of spectacles. He had also been directed to let no mortal see them under the penalty of immediate death, which injunction he steadfastly adheres to. The treasure consisted of a number of gold plates, about 8 inches long, 6 wide, and one eighth of an inch thick, on which were engraved hieroglyphics. By placing the spectacles in a hat and looking into it, Smith interprets the characters into the English language.⁴

Smith and Harris decided that it was best to have the work done locally in Palmyra and Harris worked out an agreement with Egbert Grandin to print the book. On August 23, Martin Harris made an indenture between himself and Grandin, "in consideration of the sum of three

³ *The Wayne Sentinel* 6 (June 26, 1829):3; emphasis retained. The *Sentinel* included the first known publication of the title page of the Book of Mormon. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 2:218-19.

⁴ *The Gem, of Literature and Science* 1 (September 5, 1829):70. For a similar account see the *Niagara Courier* 2 (August 27, 1829), Lockport, NY, or the *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph* 3 (August 31, 1829), which reprinted the article from the *Palmyra Freeman*. The *Niagara Courier* and *Palmyra Freeman* included in their articles the title page to the book.

thousand dollars" for typesetting, printing, and binding the Book of Mormon. This was secured by a mortgage for "the same tract of land or farm upon which the said Martin Harris now resides" and was to be paid in eighteen months.⁵

Oliver Cowdery was staying at the log home, where the entire Smith family was living. He began making a copy of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon for the printer to typeset. The manuscript Oliver prepared is known as the printer's manuscript of Book of Mormon. Enough of the text from the original manuscript was copied to supply the typesetter, who was twenty-seven-year-old John H. Gilbert. According to Lucy, "Peter Whitmer was commanded to remain at our house to assist in guarding the writings."⁶

The printing was explained by Gilbert, "one sheet of [printed] paper made two copies of 16 pages each, requiring 2500 sheets of paper for each form of 16 pages. There were 37 forms of 16 pages each,—570 [sic; 592] in all. The work was commenced in August 1829, and finished in March 1830—seven months."⁷ The majority of the typesetting was done by John Gilbert, who recalled years later:

When the printer was ready to commence work, [Martin] Harris was notified, and Hyrum Smith brought the first installment of manuscript, of 24 pages, closely written on common foolscap paper,;—he had it under his vest, and [his] vest and coat closely buttoned over it. At night Smith came and got the manuscript, and with the same precaution carried it away. The next morning with the same watchfulness, he brought it again, and at night took it away. This was kept up for several days. . . . After working a few days, I said to [Hyrum] Smith on his handing me the manuscript in the morning; "Mr. Smith, if you would leave this manuscript with me, I would take it home with me at night and read and punctuate it." His reply was, "We are commanded not to leave it." A few mornings after this, when Smith handed me the manuscript, he said to me:—"If you will give your word that this manuscript shall be returned to us when you get through with it, I will leave it with you." I assured Smith that it should be returned all right when I got through with it. For two or three nights I took it home with me and read it, and punctuated it with a lead pencil. . . . Martin Harris, Hyrum Smith and Oliver Cowdery were very frequent visitors to the office during the printing of the Mormon Bible.⁸

After each stick of type was set it was put in a galley until everything was ready to print. Each sheet was printed with thirty-two pages on each side. After drying the paper was then turned over and printed on the reverse. The sheet was then cut in the center to make two half-sheets. Then a half-sheet was folded to make a signature of sixteen pages. When the printing was

⁵ Mortgages, Liber 3:325, Wayne County Courthouse, Lyons, NY.

⁶ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 459. Both the printer's and the original manuscripts were used for the typesetting of the Book of Mormon.

⁷ Memorandum, September 8, 1892, Palmyra, New York, in Wilford C. Wood, *Joseph Smith Begins His Work*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1958), Vol. 1, introductory pages. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 2:545.

⁸ *Ibid.* 2:543-44. Gilbert also wrote: "Hyrum Smith was the only one of the family I had any acquaintance with, and that very slight" (2:526).

completed the thirty-seven signatures were bound. When the books were ready for sale not all of the copies had yet been bound.

Typographical errors were corrected while the sheets were being printed. Some word variations occur in the signatures so that many copies of the first edition actually have a few differences.⁹ Nearly one-sixth of the Book of Mormon text was typeset from the original manuscript and not from the printer's copy because the copying fell behind. Part of Heleman through Mormon of the original manuscript was used by the composer to set type for the book.¹⁰ In the 1830 edition this would cover pages 443-538. When the "printer's manuscript" was produced for this section (but not used by the typesetter) it contained some words that were different than the printed text and the original manuscript. The copying was not done word by word. In fact there are mistakes by the scribes in both manuscripts.

Many persons were involved as the wording of the 1830 Book of Mormon text was produced. It appears from the manuscripts extant that Joseph Smith dictated most of the text to his scribe. Each scribe would take down the dictation differently as far as their particular spelling and make minor mistakes. When the printer's manuscript was made even then copying errors occurred but also some corrections were made. When it got to the typesetter he had the responsibility to produce the book as he thought the author intended it to be. Mistakes were made in reading the handwriting of whatever manuscript was used.

Of interest is what John H. Gilbert said in relation to the text used in the Book of Mormon that has corresponding wording from the King James Version of the Bible. In an interview a reporter wrote, "Gilbert, perceiving that large portions were stolen verbatim from the Bible, used to have a copy of that book on his [type] case to aid him in deciphering the manuscript and putting in the proper punctuation marks."¹¹

Thomas B. Marsh arrived in Palmyra from Massachusetts after hearing from a lady about a golden book found by Joseph Smith. Marsh described visiting the Grandin printing office:

I returned back westward and found Martin Harris at the printing office, in Palmyra, where the first sixteen pages of the Book of Mormon had just been struck off, the proof sheet of which I obtained from the printer and took with me. As soon as Martin Harris found out my intentions he took me to the house of Joseph Smith, sen. . . . Here I found Oliver Cowdery, who gave me all the information concerning the book I desired. After staying there two days I started for Charleston, Mass., highly pleased with the information I had obtained concerning the new found book.¹²

⁹ Later in 1837 the text was modernized and some corrections made.

¹⁰ From about LDS Heleman 13:18 through Mormon 9:37 and RLDS Heleman 5:23 through Mormon 4:103.

¹¹ "Joe Smith. Something About the Early Life of the Mormon Prophet. Story of the Mormon Bible From the Man Who First Printed it. The Men Who Figured in Its Production and Publication," *The Post and Tribune*, December 3, 1877, Detroit, Michigan, as quoted in Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 2:519.

¹² "History of Thos. Baldwin Marsh," *Deseret News* 8 (March 24, 1858):18, Fillmore City, Utah Territory.

Later Thomas Marsh corresponded with Cowdery. It was in November when Cowdery wrote to Joseph Smith: "My dear Brother I cannot hardly feel to close this letter as yet without informing you that we received one [letter] from Mr. Marsh from Boston, Masacuchussets dated the 25th Oct. he informs us that he wishes to hear from us and know of our wellfare he says he has talked conside[r]able to some respecting ou[r] work with freedom but others could not because they had no ears."¹³ Three days later Cowdery responded to a letter from Cornelius C. Blatchly:

Your first inquiry was, whether it was proper to say, that Joseph Smith Jr., was the author? If I rightly understand the meaning of the word author, it is, the first beginner, or mover of any thing, or a writer. Now Joseph Smith Jr., certainly was the writer of the work, called the book of Mormon, which was written in ancient Egyptian characters,—which was a dead record to us until translated. And he, by a gift from God, has translated it into our language. Certainly he was the writer of it, and could be no less than the author.¹⁴

Stephen S. Harding, another visitor, remembered that during the summer of 1829 he went to the *Wayne Sentinel* office, and to the Smiths' residence in Manchester, which he described as "a log house, not exactly a cabin. Upon our arrival, I was ushered into the best room in company with the others." Oliver Cowdery read from the Book of Mormon manuscript. When Harding returned to the printing office a few weeks later, he was given a copy of a proof sheet that included the title page.¹⁵ Another interested individual was Solomon Chamberlain, who also stopped in Palmyra and visited the Smith family:

I soon arrived at the house, and found Hyrum walking the floor; as I entered the room, I said peace be to this house; he looked at me and said "I hope it will be peace." I then said is there any one here that believes in visions and revelations. He [Hyrum] said yes, we are a visionary house. I then said I will give you one of my pamphlets, (which was visionary and of my own composition)¹⁶

¹³ Cowdery to Smith, November 6, 1829, Manchester, New York, transcribed in 1832 into Joseph Smith Letterbook 1:8, CHL.

¹⁴ Cowdery to Blatchly, November 9, 1829, Palmyra, New York, in "The New Bible," *Gospel Luminary* 2 (December 10, 1829):194, New York City, emphasis omitted. Brought to my attention by Erin Jennings.

¹⁵ Letter of Stephen S. Harding, dated February 1882, in Thomas Gregg, *The Prophet of Palmyra* (New York: John B. Alden, 1890), 41, 48, 52. Harding mentioned that after the candle had burned, "Mother Smith loaded a clay pipe with tobacco, which she ground up in her hands" (43). Compare Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 284. For a photograph of the title page Harding received and on which Joseph Smith was identified as "author and proprietor," see *Church History in the Fulness of Times* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 64.

¹⁶ Account of Solomon Chamberlain, published in Dean C. Jessee, ed., "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," *Brigham Young University Studies* 23 (Summer 1983):45, copied into Taylor's diary in the spring of 1845. One pamphlet which contained some background material on Chamberlain was titled *A Sketch of the Experience of Solomon Chamberlin, to Which Is Added a Remarkable*

From another account of his experiences Solomon wrote:

They then called the people together, which consisted of five or six men who were out at the door. Father Smith was one and some of the Whitmer's. They then sat down and read my pamphlet. Hyrum read first, but was so affected he could not read it, He then gave it to a man, which I learned was Christian Whitmer, he finished reading it. I then opened my mouth and began to preach to them, in the words that the angel had made known to me in the vision, that all Churches and Denominations on the earth had become corrupt, and [that] no Church of God [was] on earth but that he would shortly raise up a Church, that would never be confounded nor brought down and be like unto the Apostolic Church. They wondered greatly who had been telling me these things, for said they we have the same things wrote down in our house, taken from the Gold record, that you are preaching to us.¹⁷

Chamberlain then asked the Smiths whether they were a visionary household:

If you are a visionary house, I wish you would make known some of your discoveries, I think I can bear them. Then they began to make known to me, that they had obtained a gold record, and had just finished translating it. Here I staid [stayed], and they instructed me in the manuscripts of the Book of Mormon; after I had been there two days, I went with Hyrum and some others to [the] Palmyra printing office, where they began to print the Book of Mormon; and as soon as they had printed sixty-four pages I took them and started for Canada.¹⁸

During the last week of October, Martin Harris and Hyrum Smith went to Fayette to visit the Whitmers. Oliver Cowdery wrote to Joseph, "Hyrum and Martin went out to Fayette last week they had a joyful time and found all in as good health as could be expected."¹⁹

Abner Cole, a free-thinking Palmyra lawyer, had his office located in the center of town on Main Street as early as 1812. In September 1829, Cole began a satirical paper called *The Reflector*. He presented his commentary on village life under the pen name of Obadiah Dogberry. Cole arranged to use the press of the *Wayne Sentinel* on evenings and Sundays to print his paper. A "New Series" continued with the issue of December 22, 1829. At a later date Cole moved to Rochester and started another newspaper, the *Liberal Advocate*, using the same pen name, Obadiah Dogberry. The masthead, like that of the Palmyra *Reflector*, included the

Revelation, or Trance, of His Father-in-Law Philip Haskins: How His Soul Actually Left His Body and Was Guided by a Holy Angel to Eternal Day (Lyons, New York, 1829); copy at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. See Larry C. Porter, "Solomon Chamberlain's Missing Pamphlet: Dreams, Visions, and Angelic Ministrants," *Brigham Young University Studies* 37, no. 2 (1997-98):113-29.

¹⁷ Larry C. Porter, "Solomon Chamberlain—Early Missionary," *Brigham Young University Studies* 12 (Spring 1972):316-17, dated July 11, 1858.

¹⁸ "John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 45-46. Chamberlain picked up four signatures of sixteen pages each for the total of sixty-four pages.

¹⁹ Cowdery to Joseph Smith, November 6, 1829, Joseph Smith Letterbook 1:8, CHL.

quotation from Alexander Pope: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan! The proper study of mankind is man."²⁰ Abner Cole probably heard much talk around town about Joseph Smith's new Bible and was intrigued by the sheets of the Book of Mormon that he found around the printing office.

Lucy Smith remembered that in January 1830 on "one Su[n]day <afternoon> Hyrum became very uneasy, he told Oliver that his peculiar feelings [feelings] led him to believe that something <going> was [sic; was going] wrong at [the] printing Office." Oliver and Hyrum went to Grandin's printing establishment and found Abner Cole "at work printing a paper which seemed to be a <weekly> periodi<cal>." Hyrum discovered that Cole was printing portions of the Book of Mormon in his paper. Thus *The Reflector* became the first publication to print extracts from the text of the Book of Mormon even before its issuance in March 1830.²¹

"Mr. Cole, said he [Hyrum], what right have <you> to print the book of Mormon in this way, do you not know that we have secured a copy right." Lucy continued:

Hyrum <&> Oliver returned immediately home and after counseling with Mr. Smith it was considered neces[s]ary that Joseph should be sent for. Accordingly My husband set out as soon as possible for Penn.²²

Joseph made a trip north from Harmony to talk to Cole and told him to desist from publishing any more from his book. The last issue of *The Reflector* that printed any text from the forthcoming Book of Mormon was an "Extra," dated January 22, 1830. The Smiths maintained control over the printing and sale of the book. Joseph Sr. signed the following agreement with Martin Harris:

I hereby agree that Martin Harris shall have an equal privilege with me & my friends of selling the Book of Mormon of the Edition now printing by Egbert B. Grandin until enough of them shall be sold to pay for the printing of the same or until such times as the said Grandin shall be paid for the printing the aforesaid Books or copies.

Manchester January the 16th 1830 Joseph Smith Sr.

Witness Oliver H P Cowdery²³

²⁰ Cole died on July 13, 1835, and the local newspaper reported his death: "In this city, on the 13th inst Abner Cole, Esq. Editor of the 'Liberal Advocate.'" *Rochester Daily Democrat*, July 15, 1835. For additional material on "Obadiah Dogberry" (Abner Cole), see M. Hamlin Cannon, "Contemporary Views of Mormon Origins (1830)," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 31 (June 1944):261-66; Russell R. Rich, "The Dogberry Papers and the Book of Mormon," *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (Spring 1970):315-20; and Joseph W. Barnes, "Obediah [sic] Dogberry Rochester Freethinker," *Rochester History* 36 (July 1974):1-24.

²¹ Lucy Mack Smith, manuscript draft; see *Lucy's Book*, 470-71. Lucy recalled the newspaper as "Dogberry paper [on] Winter Hill." In fact, *The Reflector* was issued from "his `Bower' on Winter Green Hill." *The Reflector* 1 (September 2, 1829):1.

²² Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 472-73.

²³ In Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 8, Box 17 (American Miscellaneous), under Smith, Joseph, Sr., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Used by permission.

The cost of printing each book, including binding, was sixty cents. As mentioned, with a total of 5,000 copies printed, the total cost was \$3,000. Martin Harris was assured of having enough books to sell to recover his investment in the printing. One incident which occurred about January 1830 while the Book of Mormon was at the printer's throws light on the importance Joseph Smith placed on his copyright to the book.

Hiram Page told about Joseph Smith Jr. wanting to sell the copyright to the Book of Mormon in Canada. Page, one of the eight witnesses to the book, related his experience to William E. McLellin in 1848, eighteen years later. In his letter, Hiram Page criticized Joseph Smith because the expected outcome of their trip was unfulfilled:

Joseph heard that there was a chance to sell a copyright in Canada for any useful book that was used in the states. Joseph thought this would be a good opportunity to get a handsom[e] sum of money which was to be (after the expenses were taken out) for th[e] exclusive benefit of the Smith family and was to be at the disposal of Joseph accordingly Oliver Cowdrey. Joseph Knights. Hiram Page and Joseah Stoel [Josiah Stowell] were chosen ([as I understoo]d by revelation) to do the business; we were [living from] 30 to 100 miles apart the necessary preparation was [made] (by them) in a sly manor [manner] So as to keep Martin Harris from dra[w]ing a s[hare] of the money, it was told me we were to go by revelation but when we had assembled at father Smiths; the[re was] no revelation for us to go but we were all anxious to get a revelation to go; and when it came we were to go to Kingston where we were to sell if they would not harden their hearts; but when [we] got their; there was n[o] purchaser neither were they authorized at Kingston to buy rights for the province; but Little York was the place where such business had to be done; we were to get 8000 dollars [we] were treated with the best of respects by all we met with in Kingston - - by the above we may learn how a revelation may be received and the person receiving it not be benefitted.²⁴

As indicated the travelers returned empty-handed. Eight thousand dollars was a great deal of money in Smith's time. It is unlikely that anyone would have invested such a large amount of money for a copyright.

Hiram Page did not see anything wrong with Joseph Smith wanting to sell the copyright. David Whitmer, who recounted the event many years later, did not seem concerned either but was disturbed because Smith received a revelation through the seer stone that did not come to pass.²⁵ The revelation to sell the copyright in Canada was written down and recorded but never published. William McLellin, who joined the church in August 1831, wrote in 1872 the following:

Photographs have been published in *Ensign* 13 (December 1983):44; *Church History in the Fulness of Times*, 65; and Marquardt and Walters, *Inventing Mormonism*, after the conclusion.

²⁴ Page to McLellin, February 2, 1848, Fishing River, Missouri, photocopy, CCLA. The above is my standardized version, also in CCLA.

²⁵ David Whitmer in an interview published in the *Des Moines Daily News*, October 16, 1886, and David Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ* (Richmond, MO: Author, 1887), 30-31.

But again, Joseph [Smith] had a revelation for Oliver [Cowdery] and friends to go to Canada to get a copy-right secured in that Dominion to the Book of Mormon. It proved so false that he never would have it recorded, printed or published, I have seen and read a copy of it, so that I know it existed.²⁶

William McLellin's comment that the revelation was not recorded is not correct, as it was recorded in 1831 by John Whitmer in his Book of Commandments and Revelations volume. It was decided not include it in the final printed Book of Commandments. McLellin also wrote in 1877, "[Joseph] Smith's revelation for Cowdery to go to Canada was never printed. M[artin]. Harris had the copy that I read in Manuscript."²⁷ As John Whitmer recorded it, the text indicated a successful trip with good results. There is some indication that the idea of obtaining this copyright was something they were to do without the involvement of Martin Harris. The revelation was received by Joseph Smith at the Smith home in Manchester Township. The instructions read in part:

Wherefor[e] I say unto you that ye shall go to Kingston [Canada] seeking me continually through mine only Begotten & if ye do this ye shall have my spirit to go with you & ye shall have an addition of all things which is expedient in me & I grant unto my servent a privelige that he may sell a copyright through you speaking after the manner of men for the four Provinces if the People harden not their hearts against the enticeings of my spirit & my word for Behold it lieth in themselves to their condemnation or to their salvation Behold my way is before you & the means I will prepare & the Blessing I hold in mine own hand & if ye are faithful I will pour out upon you even as much as ye are able to Bear.²⁸

David Whitmer wrote about the return of the men from Canada. Whitmer said that he was present with Joseph Smith in Fayette:

Joseph was at my father's house when they returned. I was there also, and am an eye witness to these facts. Jacob Whitmer and John Whitmer were also present when Hiram Page and Oliver Cowdery returned from Canada. Well, we were all in great trouble; and we asked Joseph how it was that he had received a revelation from the Lord for some brethren to go to Toronto [sic] and sell the copy-right, and the brethren had utterly failed in their understanding. Joseph did not know how it

²⁶ McLellin to Joseph Smith III, commenced July 1872, CCLA. McLellin also related that the revelation was received in 1829. See Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Life of Joseph F. Smith, Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 240, and in a Notebook (21), J. L. Traughber Collection, Manuscript 666, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

²⁷ McLellin to John L. Traughber, May 7, 1877, copied by Traughber, Traughber Collection, Accession 1446, Box 2, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library.

²⁸ Book of Commandments and Revelations, 31, CHL; this text is reproduced in Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition; The Joseph Smith Papers*, general editors: Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2009), 32-33.

was, so he enquired of the Lord about it, and behold the following revelation came through the stone: "*Some revelations are of God: some revelations are of man: and some revelations are of the devil.*"²⁹ So we see that the revelation to go to Toronto [sic] and sell the copy-right was not of God, but was of the devil or of the heart of man.³⁰

John L. Traugher had information from both McLellan and Whitmer concerning the revelation. He wrote:

Dr. William E. McLellan, who was one of the original Mormon "Twelve," has stated to me time and again that he saw and read a long revelation which Joseph Smith delivered to Oliver Cowdery and Hiram Page to go to Kingston, Canada and get out a copyright for the Book of Mormon under that dominion, and sell it for the purpose of paying E.B. Grandin of Palmyra, New York, for printing the first edition of the Book of Mormon. Dr. McLellan stated emphatically that the revelation promised complete success to Cowdery and Page in their mission to Canada. In September, 1879, I closely questioned David Whitmer as to the facts concerning the revelation on the copyright. He stated that it was delivered in January, 1830, and that Cowdery and Page crossed the lake on the ice and went to Kingston, and did just as the revelation required them to do; but they completely failed in their endeavor to get a copyright.³¹

In another area of concern was an old debt incurred by Joseph Sr. which resulted in legal action against him. When Lemuel Durfee Sr.'s estate was inventoried, it included a note signed by Joseph Sr. and by Abraham Fish with his "x" for the amount of \$36.50 plus interest. On January 19, Lemuel Jr. entered a plea before Justice Nathan Pierce against Smith and Fish, and the two signed consent for judgment. It was turned over to Constable S. Southworth for collection and was resolved in September.³²

²⁹ A March 1831 revelation says, "that ye may not be seduced by evil spirits, or doctrines of devils, or the commandments of men, for some are of men, and others of devils." Book of Commandments 49:9; LDS D&C 46:7; RLDS D&C 46:3.

³⁰ Whitmer, *An Address to All Believers in Christ*, 31, emphasis in original. See also interview with Whitmer in the *Omaha Herald*, October 17, 1886; reprinted in Lyndon W. Cook, ed., *David Whitmer Interviews: A Restoration Witness* (Orem, UT: Grandin Book, 1991), 203.

³¹ J. L. Traugher, "False Prophecies," 1, Traugher Collection, Box 2, folder 43, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library. McLellan changed the way he spelled his last name to McLellan.

³² Probate Papers, Box 053, filed by executors Oliver Durfee and Lemuel Durfee Jr., filed on January 22, 1830, Surrogate's Court, Wayne County Courthouse, Lyons, New York. For the collection process, see Nathan Pierce Docket Book, 1827-30, Manchester Town Office, 25. The signature of Joseph Smith Sr., appears to be different from the one in the Simon Gratz Autograph Collection. This could be accounted for by the "nervous affection" Jesse Smith mentions, by the quill he used to sign his name, or by his using a different angle when signing.

Since about September 1828, Lucy as well as Hyrum and Samuel Harrison stopped attending the Palmyra Presbyterian Church and partaking of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.³³ By the spring of 1830, the pastor and elders of the church had become concerned:

March 3d 1830 Session met pursuant to notice - opened with prayer Present Revd Alfred E. Campbell Moderr [Moderator]

Henry Jessup
Geo Beckwith
David White Elders
Pelatiah West
Newton Foster

. . . Resolved that the Revd A. E. Campbell and H Jessup be a committee to visit Hiram Smith Lucy Smith and Samuel Harrison Smith and report at the next meeting of session

Closed with prayer -

Recorded from the Moderators minutes

[Signed] Geo. N. Williams Clk [Clerk]

A week later the session met again and received the report of their committee's visit: "The committee appointed to visit Hiram Smith Lucy Smith and Samuel Harrison Smith reported that they had visited them and received no satisfaction. They acknowledged that they had entirely neglected the ordinances of the church for the last eighteen months and that they did not wish to unite with us anymore." The session accordingly cited them to appear before it in two weeks to answer the charge of "neglect of public worship and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for the last eighteen months."³⁴

Lucy Smith remembered the visit from three men, one of whom she called "Deacon Beckwith." George Beckwith had been appointed to be the advocate to manage their defense and either went with the committee or on his own to do what he could to bring them back to the church. Lucy reported her firm resistance to Deacon Beckwith's pleas:

No sir, said I, it is <of> no use; you cannot effect any thing by all that you can say - he then bid me farewell and went out to see Hyrum. They asked him if he really did believe that his brother had got the record which he pretended to have. Hyrum <testified boldly to the truth and>, told him that if he would take the book of Mormon when it was finished [being printed and bound] and read it asking God for a witness to the truth of [it] he would receive what he desire<d> and now, sa<i>d he [Hyrum], Deacon Beckwith just try it and see if I do not tell you [the] truth.³⁵

³³ "Records of the Session of the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra," 2 (March 10, 1830):11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

³⁵ Lucy Mack Smith, manuscript draft; see *Lucy's Book*, 469. The 1853 edition reads: "Hyrum. 'I will tell you what I will do, Mr. Beckwith, if you do get a testimony from God, that the book is not true, I will confess to you that it is not true.'" Lucy stated in her manuscript that one of the men said that they had "belonged to our church a whole year." This is clearly an error on her part as they were active for three years.

Beckwith remained unconvinced.

When the Smiths did not appear before the session on the appointed day, they were cited to appear five days later. Pelatiah West was appointed to serve the citation and be sure they received it. The Palmyra session records for the trial read:

March 29th 1830 Session met pursuant to adjournment

Opened with prayer

Present Revd Alfred E. Campbell Modr

Geo Beckwith

Newton Foster

Pelatiah West Elders

Henry Jessup

The persons before cited to wit. Hiram Smith Lucy Smith and Samuel Harrison Smith not appearing and the Session having satisfactory evidence that the citations were duly served Resolved that they be censured for their contumacy Resolved that George Beckwith manage their defense. The charge in the above case being fully sustained by the testimony of Henry Jessup, Harvey Shel, Robert W. Smith and Frederick U. Sheffield (see minutes of testimony, on file with the clerk) the Session after duly considering the matter were unanimously of opinion that Hiram Smith, Lucy Smith and Samuel Harrison Smith ought to be Suspended. Resolved that Hiram Smith, Lucy Smith and Samuel Harrison Smith be and they hereby are suspended from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Closed with prayer - Adjourned

Recorded from the minutes of the Moderator.

[Signed] Geo. N. Williams Clk³⁶

As this was occurring, the Book of Mormon was being offered for sale.³⁷ The book was first sold for fourteen shillings (\$1.75), and later the cost was reduced to ten shillings (\$1.25). Henry Harris recalled talking with Martin Harris: "After the Book was published, I frequently bantered him for a copy. He asked fourteen shillings a piece for them; I told him I would not give so much; he told me [they] had had a revelation that they must be sold at that price. Sometime afterwards I talked with Martin Harris about buying one of the Books and he told me they had had a new revelation, that they might be sold at ten shillings a piece."³⁸

A week later the Church of Christ was organized at the Manchester log house on April 6, 1830. Joseph Jr. returned to his home in Harmony, and Hyrum became the central figure in the new church in the Palmyra area. For example, in August 1830, Hyrum was visited by Parley P. Pratt, who later recalled:

³⁶ "Records of the Session of the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra," 2:13.

³⁷ Copies of the Book of Mormon were ready for sale by March 26, 1830. See *Wayne Sentinel* 7 (March 26, 1830):3. Compare Tucker, *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 55.

³⁸ Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, 252. Sylvia Walker remembered that the price of the Book of Mormon was lowered: "The Mormons said the price of the 'Book of Mormon' was established at \$1.75 by revelation. It did not sell well and they claimed to receive another to sell it at \$1.25." *Naked Truths about Mormonism* 1 (April 1888):1.

I accordingly visited the village of Palmyra, and inquired for the residence of Mr. Joseph Smith. I found it some two or three miles from the village. As I approached the house at the close of the day I overtook a man who was driving some cows, and inquired of him for Mr. Joseph Smith, the translator of the "Book of Mormon." He informed me that he now resided in Pennsylvania; some one hundred miles distant. I inquired for his father, or for any of the family. He told me that his father had gone [on] a journey; but that his residence was a small house just before me; and, said he, I am his brother. It was Mr. Hyrum Smith. . . . He welcomed me to his house.³⁹

Pratt left for a few days but soon returned to Hyrum's house:

I now returned immediately to Hyrum Smith's residence, and demanded baptism at his hands. I tarried with him one night, and the next day we walked some twenty-five miles to the residence of Mr. Whitmer, in Seneca County. Here we arrived in the evening, and found a most welcome reception. . . . I found the little branch of the church in this place [Fayette] full of joy, faith, humility and charity. We rested that night, and on the next day, being about the 1st of September, 1830, I was baptized by the hand of an Apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ, by the name of Oliver Cowdery. This took place in Seneca Lake, a beautiful and transparent sheet of water in Western New York. A meeting was held the same evening, and after singing a hymn and prayer, Elder Cowdery and others proceeded to lay their hands upon my head in the name of Jesus, for the gift of the Holy Ghost. After which I was ordained to the office of an Elder in the Church.⁴⁰

Parley P. Pratt returned to Manchester in October 1830 after baptizing his brother Orson. Parley wrote the following:

I now took leave, and repaired again to the western part of New York, and to the body of the Church. On our arrival, we found that brother Joseph Smith, the translator of the Book of Mormon, had returned from Pennsylvania to his father's residence in Manchester, near Palmyra, and here I had the pleasure of seeing him for the first time. . . . On Sunday we held meeting at his house; the two large

³⁹ Parley P. Pratt [Jr.], ed., *The Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (New York: Published for the Editor and Proprietor by Russell Brothers, 1874), 38-39; (1994 ed.), 20. Pratt recalled, "He [Hyrum] invited me to his home, where I saw mother Smith and Hyrum Smith's wife, and sister Rockwell, the mother of Orin Porter Rockwell." *Journal of Discourses* 5:194, discourse delivered on September 7, 1856.

⁴⁰ *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (1874), 42-43; (1994 ed.), 24, 27. For Joseph Smith's presence in Harmony, Pennsylvania, see Book of Commandments 28, "given in Harmony, Pennsylvania, September 4, 1830" (Marquardt, *Joseph Smith Revelations*, 72) and the reverse side of the deed of land from Isaac Hale to his son-in-law, dated April 6, 1829, noting that payment was received in full "Harmony August 26th 1830." Joseph Smith Collection, CHL. The indenture was made on August 25, 1830, and witnessed by John Whitmer. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 4:428-30.

rooms were filled with attentive listeners, and he invited me to preach. . . . We repaired from the meeting to the water's edge, and, at his request, I baptized several persons.⁴¹

One of those baptized at this time was Ezra Thayer. He recalled that his half brother and a nephew also heard Hyrum preach before Joseph returned. What follows are excerpts from his account:

I had a half brother living with me and a nephew, and they took my horses and went to meeting, to hear Hyrum preach while I was gone. . . . My half brother said that Hyrum said that Joseph had seen an angel. My nephew said that there was something in it, and that I had better go and hear him. . . . The next Sunday I went and there was a large concourse of people around his father's house, so that they extended to the road, filling up the large lot. . . . Hyrum began to speak. . . . Joseph was then in Harmony, Pa., and the next Sunday he came to his father's house, and we assembled to see him. . . . He then asked me what hindered me from going into the water, as Oliver Cowdery's mother was going to be baptized. . . . Then we started to the water. . . . We were baptized just below the mill. . . . Parley P. Pratt baptized us.⁴²

In August 1830, about the time Parley Pratt visited Hyrum, the census was taken of those living in the Smith family house in Manchester. It had been a decade since the previous census and the families of both Joseph Sr. and Hyrum were listed as one household.⁴³ The ages of the male family members were: 10-15, one (Don Carlos); 15-20, one (William); 20-30, two (Hyrum and Samuel Harrison), and 50-60, one (Joseph Sr.). Females members were: under 5, two (Lovina and Mary, daughters of Jerusha and Hyrum); 5-10, one (Lucy); 20-30, one (Jerusha); 30-

⁴¹ *Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt* (1874), 46-47; (1994 ed.), 31. Pratt's description of the log home agrees with that of Pomeroy Tucker who stated, "This house was divided into two rooms" and that a bedroom wing was added later. *Origin, Rise, and Progress of Mormonism*, 13. Pratt wrote elsewhere: "Then, after finishing my visit to Columbia Co., I returned to the brethren in Ontario Co., where for the first time, I saw Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr., who had just returned from Pennsylvania, to his father's house, in Manchester." Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled* (New-York: Published by O. Pratt & E. Fordham, Third Edition, 1838), 41. The "History of Parley P. Pratt" also mentions: "I saw for the first time Joseph Smith, the Prophet, at his father's house, in Manchester." *Deseret News* 8 (May 19, 1858):53.

⁴² *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* 3 (October 1862):79-83. When Thayer asked what the price of the Book of Mormon was, "Fourteen shillings" [\$1.75] was the reply. He bought a copy (80). See Book of Commandments 35:14; LDS D&C 33:15; RLDS D&C 32:3, where it is clear that Thayer and Northrop Sweet had already been ordained elders in the church because they could lay hands on individuals for the gift of the Holy Ghost. The "History of Parley P. Pratt" states that Pratt preached and at the close of the meeting there were "baptized seven persons." *Deseret News* 8 (May 19, 1858):53. Those baptized included Ezra Thayer, Northrop Sweet and Oliver Cowdery's step mother Keziah Cowdery.

⁴³ 1830 U.S. Census, Manchester, Ontario County, New York, 170, Family 124, microfilm 017161, LDS Family History Library.

40, one (not identified), and 50-60, one (Lucy Mack Smith). Catherine (age seventeen) was not listed.

By August growing financial complications would shortly result in the family quitting the area entirely. On the day after the founding of the Church of Christ, April 7, 1830, Hyrum Smith signed a note for shoeing horses with Levi Daggett of Palmyra. When this was not repaid, Daggett brought suit before Nathan Pierce, a justice of the peace in Manchester.⁴⁴

The fact that this summons was brought before Justice Nathan Pierce of Manchester, Ontario County, is further evidence that in June 1830 Hyrum Smith resided in Manchester rather than in Palmyra, Wayne County.⁴⁵ A summons was served by Constable Southworth on June 8, the day before the first church conference in Fayette. Ten days later, another summons was issued. On the June 28, Joseph Sr. appeared on his son's behalf. The docket book reads:

28th June 1830 Joseph <Smith> father of the Defendant appeared and the Case was called and the plaintiff[f] declared for a note and account Note dated 7th April 1830 for \$20.07 on Interest and on account for Shoeing horses of ballance due on account \$0.69 Joseph Smith sworn and saith that his Son the Defendant engaged him to Come down at the return of the summons and direct the Justice to enter Judgment against the defendant for the amount of the note & account Judgment for the plaintiff for twenty one dollars seven cents \$21.07

August came and Daggett still had not been paid. Thus on August 14 Pierce issued an execution:

THESE are therefore to command you to levy on the goods and chattels of the said defendant (except such as are by law exempted from execution) the amount of the said judgment, and bring the money before me, on the *13th*- day of *September* 1830 at my office in the town of *Manchester*. . . . And if no goods or chattels can be found, or not sufficient to satisfy this execution, then you are hereby commanded to take the body of the said defendant and convey *him* to the common Jail of the county aforesaid.⁴⁶

Constable Nathan Harrington collected \$12.81 from Hyrum and, after court costs, paid Daggett \$9.94 of the amount owed him on September 13. This was not quite half of the debt. On

⁴⁴ Nathan Pierce Docket Book, Manchester Town Office; microfilm of docket book, film 900, reel 62, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

⁴⁵ See *Laws of the State of New York* (Albany: Printed by Leake & Crosswell, 1824), 280. In the 1830 assessment records, Hyrum Smith was taxed for fifteen acres on Lot 1. See 1830 Assessment Records of Manchester, New York, July 5, 1830, 23, Ontario County Historical Society, Canandaigua. Don Enders brought this document to our attention.

⁴⁶ Printed Execution found unbound in Nathan Pierce Docket Book, Manchester Town Office. The italics indicate where a blank in the printed form was filled in by hand. The reverse side of the execution records that \$9.94 was received for "Levi Daggett by A K Daggett." This is probably Augustus K. Daggett, son of Levi Daggett Sr. See microfilm 017177, LDS Family History Library. See also Samuel Bradlee Daggett, *A History of the Doggett-Daggett Family* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1973), 149-50, 199.

September 27, the execution was renewed by Justice Pierce with additional fees and again the threat of jail. After nearly a month, Harrington came with the execution to collect the remainder and found neither Hyrum nor anything of value. He wrote on the execution: "No property to be found Nor Boddy [Body] and I return this Execution October the 26 1830."⁴⁷ Hyrum had left for Colesville, New York.

In these hard times, when people heard that their neighbors were going to move they wanted hard cash.⁴⁸ Lucy commented that Joseph and Emma traveled to Manchester and stopped at the Smith home. About October 1830 when they arrived, "Hyrum had settled up his business, for the purpose of being at liberty to do whatever the Lord required of him." Thus Hyrum, his wife, and their two daughters were to "go immediately to Colesville."⁴⁹

About the same time Hyrum left for Colesville, an elderly Quaker came to the house with a note owed by Joseph Sr. and demanded payment. According to Lucy, the man offered to forfeit the note if Smith would burn the copies of the Book of Mormon, but he received neither payment nor satisfaction. A constable was ordered to arrest Smith and take him to the Canandaigua Jail, where he became "an imprisoned debtor."

Samuel Harrison visited his father in jail. Lucy reported that her "husband [was] confined in the same dungeon with a man committed for murder." The elder Smith remained at the jail yard "until he was released, which was thirty days."⁵⁰ The man mentioned by Lucy was Eli Bruce. Bruce had been convicted on charges dealing with the abduction and murder of William Morgan, reportedly by Masons. In his diary Bruce recorded:

November 5th – Not so much pain in my head as yesterday. Had a long talk with the father of *the Smith*, (Joseph Smith,) who, according to the old man's account, is the particular favorite of Heaven! To him Heaven has vouchsafed to reveal its mysteries; he is the herald of the latter-day glory. The old man avers that he is commissioned by God to baptize and preach this new doctrine. He says that our Bible is much abridged and deficient; that soon the Divine will is to be known to all, as written in the *new Bible*, or *Book of Mormon*.⁵¹

Samuel helped move the family to Waterloo, near the Peter Whitmer farm in Fayette. There were still threats from creditors. Joseph Jr., who had since moved to Kirtland, Ohio, warned Hyrum in March 1831 that David Jackaway was planning to arrest his father. "I <have> had much Concirn about you but I always remember you in <my> prayers Calling upon God to keep <you> Safe in spite <of> men or devils. I think <you> had better Come into this Country

⁴⁷ The final item written in the docket book for this case was "Paid by Justice 4th April 1831," and the amount of \$21.07 plus \$1.60 for a total of \$22.67. The reverse side of the execution contains the amount of \$24.75, probably including the \$12.81 already paid.

⁴⁸ Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 172.

⁴⁹ Anderson, *Lucy's Book*, 487, also 502.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 493, 495-97.

⁵¹ Diary of Eli Bruce, November 5, 1830, as cited in Rob Morris, *The Masonic Martyr: The Biography of Eli Bruce, Sheriff of Niagara County, New York* (Louisville, KY: Morris & Monsarrat, 1861), 266-67; emphasis retained.

immediately for the Lord has Commanded us that we should Call the Elders of this Chursh [sic] to gether unto this plase [place] as soon as possible." In a postscript he wrote:

Harrison [Smith] and O[r]son Prat[t] arrived here on Feb. 27th. They left our folks well. David Jackways has threatened to take father with a supreme writ in the spring. You had <bet[t]er> Come to Fayette and take father along with you. Come in a one horse wagon if you Can. Do not Come threw [through] Buf[f]alo for th[e]y will lie in wait for you. God protect you. I am Joseph.⁵²

That December Orson Pratt arrived from Fayette with a letter from Joseph Smith and John Whitmer. Pratt and Hyrum traveled from Colesville to Fayette to attend the third church conference on January 2, 1831.⁵³ Previous to the conference, Joseph Jr. received a revelation that the whole church should move to the state of Ohio.⁵⁴

When Hyrum left Colesville for the last time in March 1831, the leadership of the branch transferred to Newel Knight. Hyrum and his family probably went to Fayette to get his father, and then they moved to the new gathering place at Kirtland, Ohio, where the Smith family began its efforts anew.

Sometime after the Book of Mormon's publication, Martin Harris visited Charles Anthon again in New York City and presented to him the printed Book of Mormon. Anthon declined to receive it.⁵⁵ A "List of Articles belonging to Martin Harris & left in the hands of Thomas Lakely for safe keeping not to be delivered to any person except by the written order of the said Harris Dated May 3. 1831" lists "300 Books of Mormon to be sold for \$1.25 & account to the said Harris \$1.00 for each copy, or deliver the said books to any person presenting the written order of the said Harris."⁵⁶

In a letter to Reverend Ancil Beach dated January 1832, six leading citizens of Canandaigua wrote: "Martin Harris lately testified on a trial which related to the work of printing

⁵² Joseph Smith Jr. to Hyrum Smith, March 3-4, 1831, Joseph Smith Collection, CHL; Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 257-58. Joseph Smith wrote to Martin Harris on February 22, 1831: "See that Father Smiths family are taken care of and sent on. You will send to Colesville and have either Hiram [Smith] or Newel [Knight] to come immediately or both if they can be spared. You will not sell the books for less than 10 Shillings [\$1.25]." Joseph Smith Collection, CHL, not in Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*.

⁵³ William G. Hartley, *Stand by My Servant Joseph: The Story of the Joseph Knight Family and the Restoration* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History and Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 95. The letter termed Pratt "another servant and Apostle" and called the Colesville area "the seat of Satan." Compare an 1836 letter regarding the south part of Bainbridge, New York, in *History of Chenango and Madison Counties, New York*, 147. See also Elden J. Watson, comp., *The Orson Pratt Journals* (Salt Lake City: Watson, 1975), 10.

⁵⁴ Marquardt, *Joseph Smith Revelations*, 98; BC 39:4; LDS D&C 37:3; RLDS D&C 37:2 (December 1830).

⁵⁵ Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 4:380, 385-86. In his 1841 letter Anthon thought the visitor was Joseph Smith but it was Martin Harris.

⁵⁶ The list was signed by Harris and is located in the Palmyra Library Vertical files, Thomas Lakey's "Record of Court Proceedings 1827-1830," in the King's Daughters Library, Palmyra, New York.

and publishing the Book that he had sent 2300 copies of it to the west."⁵⁷ Hyrum Smith's journal indicates that in 1832 he sold the Book of Mormon in Ohio for \$1.25 a copy. The Book of Mormon was also used as an object of barter.⁵⁸ The next chapter will examine the Book of Mormon as a religious document.

⁵⁷ Nathaniel W. Howell, Walter Hubbell, Ansel D. Eddy, Henry Chapin, Jared Willson, and Lewis Jenkins to Ancil Beach, January 1832, copy of letter in the Walter Hubbell Collection, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey. See Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* 3:16.

⁵⁸ Jeffrey S. O'Driscoll, *Hyrum Smith: A Life of Integrity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 64.