

# SICKLES, SWORDS, AND SERVANTS: THE FOUNDATIONS OF JOSEPH SMITH'S MISSION THEORY

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THE SAME YEAR the Book of Mormon was published, William Orme lamented the absence of Protestant mission theory. “Considering the period during which exertion has been made to propagate christianity [sic] among the heathen,” he wrote in his preface to William Swan’s *Letters on Missions*, “it is surprising that some work what might be called the philosophy of missions, has not yet appeared.” Other works had only hinted at mission theory, and Orme believed missionaries needed better rationale and direction to further their cause and safely navigate their foreign environments. A condensed view of what missionaries had learned and experienced in the last few decades would not only bring “a greater degree of satisfaction and real success” but could save many lives of those working among “the heathen.”<sup>o</sup> The rest of *Letters on Missions* represents what was likely the first Protestant attempt at a synthesis of mission theory and practice.<sup>o</sup> Swan assessed the differences between the local minister and the missionary, defined missionary roles, explored various methods of proselytism, and outlined the qualifications for missionary service. These theoretical elements existed in most of the literature produced by nineteenth-century missionary societies, however Swan made headway for Protestants by assembling these into a coherent and replicable system.

Across the Atlantic from Orme and Swan’s audience, Joseph Smith produced a Mormon missiology equal in depth and scope. His theory

emerged during a period of intense evangelistic excitement in America and Europe, called by one historian the “great age of societies.”<sup>o</sup> Protestant churches at the time generally found mission work too difficult, leaving the cause to voluntary societies like the English Baptist Society (1792), the London Missionary Society (1795), and the Anglican Church Missionary Society (1799).

Noticing the growth of English missionary societies, American Christians anticipated a revival of church expansion throughout their own continent, particularly among Native Americans whom they considered heathens.<sup>o</sup> The reissuing of Jonathan Edwards’ *An Humble Attempt* in 1794 inspired Baptists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed Churches, and Methodists to “carry into execution” Edwards’ suggestions for concerted prayer.<sup>o</sup> Within a decade, each of these groups formed voluntary associations throughout New England with the aim to “christianize the Heathen in North America, and to support and promote Christian Knowledge in the new settlements within the United States.”<sup>o</sup> The mission these societies held in common involved translating the Bible into foreign languages, producing and distributing scriptures and Christian literature to a global audience, and preaching orthodox doctrine, usually with the goal to elicit conversions.<sup>o</sup>

Like these societies which surrounded him, Joseph formulated and administered a church mission that sought the same objectives, except with some significant additions. His missionaries carried the Book of Mormon as their book of scripture and preached a set of Mormon doctrines not altogether different than the ones espoused by their Christian neighbors. As his movement succeeded in drawing converts, however, Smith amplified his mission theory and innovated his theology. By the time he moved to Kirtland, Ohio in 1831, Joseph had set his missionaries on a trajectory that would increasingly depart from the missiological norms of American Christians.

### **Before the Book of Mormon**

Joseph wrote his first missionary statement in the form of a revelation in February 1829. His father, Joseph Smith Sr., had come to Harmony, Pennsylvania to visit Joseph at his new farm. Joseph Sr. expressed a desire to know “what the Lord had for him to do” and perhaps requested to be called to the ministry, to which Joseph provided what remains the first of his revelations directed to someone other than himself.<sup>o</sup> In its opening lines, the revelation invoked a prophecy of Isaiah: “Behold a Marvelous

work is about to come forth among the children of men therefore O ye that embark in the service of God see that ye Serve him with all your heart might mind & Strength that ye may stand blameless before God at the last day[.]”<sup>o</sup> The revelation did not require the missionary to affirm or defend a confessional position, be ordained, nor acquire training to participate in the work. He only needed a desire to serve God. Faith, hope, charity, and love, “with an eye single to the glory of God,” qualified the missionary for service. Joseph used apocalyptic language to describe where Joseph Sr. would find converts, almost quoting directly from Revelation 14:18 and John 4:35. The “field is white already to harvest,” and “he that thrusteth in his sickle with his might” would garner salvation for his soul. The Bible speaks of angels at the eschaton thrusting in sickles to reap grapes that they cast into the winepress of the wrath of God. Such a harvest had already begun, and the missionary could join with the angels in wielding the sickle to harvest souls. By laying up this harvest in store, the missionary would avoid perishing in the final day of judgment, but only if he remembered to practice the cardinal virtues. “Remember temperance, patience, humility, diligence, &c., ask and ye shall receive, knock and it shall be opened unto you.”<sup>o</sup>

The mission theory of the February 1839 revelation remained ambiguous. Joseph suggested that Isaiah’s prophecy would soon be fulfilled through the publication of the Book of Mormon and that his father was called to the ministry because of noble desires, but he did not clarify the overall mission of his nascent movement. Only biblical imagery explained what the Lord invited Joseph Sr. to do. He might reap in a field ready for harvest and thus bring salvation to his soul, yet Joseph eluded giving a concrete definition to this directive. The revelation left out how to proceed with a potential convert, how to proselytize, or how to “thrust in the sickle.” The language anticipates something—a marvelous work not yet brought forth—and focuses on the preparation of the individual. Until the Book of Mormon arrived, all Joseph Sr. could do was wait and cultivate virtue. But the wait would not last long. Joseph’s magnum opus would fill the satchels of itinerant Mormon missionaries about a year later, and some eager individuals like Christian Whitmer, Thomas Marsh, Solomon Chamberlin, and Oliver Cowdery in less than eight months’ time would begin proselytizing with loose sheets taken from the printer during production or would copy by hand and distribute sections of the original manuscript among family members.<sup>o</sup>

Another revelation the following April would further articulate Joseph’s emerging mission theory. Adding to the biblical references of the February 1829 revelation, this one quoted Hebrews 4:12—“I am God, and

give heed unto my word, which is quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, to the dividing asunder of both joints and marrow”—and mentioned the “cause of Zion,” which they were to establish among their generation.<sup>o</sup> They had a duty to keep the commandments or risk holding back scripture. Wickedness in times past had prevented other sacred records from coming to light, and the Book of Mormon was no exception. “I command you, that if you have good desires . . . then shall you assist in bringing to light, with your gift, those parts of my scriptures which have been hidden because of iniquity.” Oliver Cowdery as principal scribe and Joseph both possessed the “keys of this gift, which shall bring to light this ministry; and in the mouth of two or three witnesses, shall every word be established.” Their message was to avoid technicalities and polemics. Though the revelation invited them to search out the mysteries of God, which mysteries formed a prerequisite for convincing others of gospel truth, yet they were to remember the sacred character of their gift and to exercise that gift for bringing “many to the knowledge of the truth.” Two injunctions tempered the use of these spiritual gifts: they were told to “say nothing but repentance” and to only share knowledge of their gifts with those of the faith. “Trifle not with sacred things,” the revelation warned.<sup>o</sup> The mission objective was clear: serve God by finishing the translation project and producing the Book of Mormon, testify of the book’s authenticity to others, endure rejection, and keep the commandments. Should they pursue this mission and ministry, not even the combination of earth and hell could prevent them from having “joy in the fruit of [their] labors.”<sup>o</sup>

Anticipation of not only the Book of Mormon but of an incorporated church increased throughout the rest of the year. Interest among family members prompted Joseph’s brothers Samuel and Hyrum to take trips to Harmony in May. Both experienced conversions and expressed a desire to evangelize.<sup>o</sup> Hyrum was advised in a revelation to wait not just for the completion of the Book of Mormon but for a correct foundation before seeking a calling to preach. He must first obtain the Book of Mormon and the Holy Spirit before he could have “the power of God unto the convincing of men.” Then, if he wished, he could declare “my word which shall come forth . . . or that which you are translating.” Through study of the Bible and available portions of the Book of Mormon, “all who [had] good desires, and [had] thrust in their sickles to reap” would adequately prepare themselves for the work. The time when Joseph would found a church lay on the horizon, and a new book of scripture was essential for that foundation to endure.<sup>o</sup>

The idea of leaving testimony of the Book of Mormon received atten-

tion in a June 1829 revelation. To formulate and express an effective gospel witness, the missionary had to appeal to the Holy Spirit. David Whitmer, to whom Joseph directed the revelation, could not stand as a witness “of the things of which you shall both hear and see” (referring to a vision he would experience a month later as one of three official witnesses of the gold plates) unless he appealed to the Father in the name of Christ for the Holy Ghost, “which giveth utterance.” That same appeal must also precede any declaration of repentance as a witness. “I must bring forth the fulness of my gospel,” the revelation continued, “from the Gentiles unto the house of Israel.” If Whitmer fulfilled his calling to assist, he would receive spiritual and temporal blessings.<sup>o</sup>

Prior to the publication of the Book of Mormon, Joseph fleshed out his missiology the most in a revelation received probably before June 14, right as Joseph and Oliver neared completing the translation.<sup>o</sup> The epistemology from which they would derive their witness and convictions relied on spiritual manifestation, not empirical or practical experience. While each of those to whom the revelation was directed composed affidavits testifying of tangible evidences like gold plates and “the interpreters” in an attempt to authenticate the Book of Mormon, their individual encounters with the Holy Spirit should confirm their knowledge of what they had written. It followed that such a knowledge compelled them to “rely upon the things which are written; for in them are all things written, concerning my church, my gospel, and my rock.” Prior revelations had stated the mission as one of bringing forth a new book of scripture and publishing it to the world. A church now occupied a central location in that objective, one built upon a rock against which the gates of hell could not prevail.<sup>o</sup> This clear reference to the Petrine Doctrine attached apostolic significance to their missionary work. “I speak unto you, [Oliver and David] even as unto Paul mine apostle, for you are called even with that same calling with which he was called.”

Joseph saw himself as a modern-day apostle charged with the same commission given by Christ in the New Testament. This apostolic calling was extended to others, including Cowdery and Whitmer and a group of twelve disciples, which described the basic ecclesiology of their mission work. The apostles would direct the evangelism of the church as the ones entrusted to preach the gospel to every creature in all the world while others would observe a more freelance approach to proselytism, declaring the gospel to whomever they could without any predetermined geographic assignment. Apostles, on the other hand, were ordained to baptize and were bound by scripture in how they would perform their missionary task. They could call upon priests and teachers for assistance and

perform ecclesiastical ordinations.

The content of their preaching followed a basic formula. “You must preach unto the world, saying, you must repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ: For all men must repent and be baptized; and not only men, but women and children, which have arrived to the years of accountability.” Just as previous revelations stipulated, they should preach nothing but repentance and avoid contending against churches, “save it be the church of the devil.” This revelation made clear the soteriology behind these declarations of repentance. Salvation came to individuals who repented, were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, endured to the end, and took upon themselves “the name which is given of the Father, for in that name shall they be called at the last day: Wherefore if they know not the name by which they are called, they cannot have place in the kingdom of my Father.”<sup>o</sup>

Joseph’s rationale for why missionaries should declare repentance had little to do with adding numbers to the church. They literally could amplify God’s joy and ease his suffering by helping individuals repent. “Remember the worth of souls is great in the sight of God: For behold the Lord your God suffered death in the flesh: wherefore he suffered the pain of all men, that all men might repent and come unto him.” Christ did not rise from the dead for reasons commonly held by earlier Christians, for some kind of ultimate appeasement of life and death or some triumphant subordination of death’s grip; he arose because somehow it served as a mechanism for reclaiming souls. “And how great is his joy in the soul that repenteth. Wherefore you are called to cry repentance unto this people.” The missionaries had a responsibility to participate in bringing souls to Christ for Christ’s sake, not their own. Their mission encompassed the work of healing God himself.<sup>o</sup> Joseph further oriented missionaries toward the divine joys of bringing souls to Christ in revelations received soon thereafter. To John and Peter Whitmer he advised that they declare repentance in order to rest with converts in the kingdom of the Father, “which thing will be of the most worth unto you.”<sup>o</sup>

Once Joseph applied for a copyright of the Book of Mormon on June 11, news spread of the book’s spectacular origins which frequently emphasized the gold plates. Early efforts by those closest to Joseph to spread the word among family and friends attracted negative attention at times. Hostility to the book only reinforced the absolutist language of Joseph’s mission theory. He already saw the marvelous work as appearing in the midst of a duality between God’s foretold season of renewal and the heightened pitch of wickedness immediately preceding the apocalypse. This conditioned himself and the first Mormon missionaries to perceive

themselves as engaging in a bitter struggle against Satanic influences that would target them because they possessed a fullness of truth. Oliver Cowdery encouraged Hyrum Smith as a “fellow labourer in the cause of Zion” to “Stir up the minds of our friends against the time we come unto you,” which Hyrum had already done among his own extended family.<sup>o</sup> Hyrum had sent a letter to his grandfather, Asael Smith, about his younger brother’s progress with the translation project which drew fire from his uncle Jesse Smith. Days after receiving Oliver’s June 14 letter, Hyrum received a scathing rebuke, accusing him of trying to fool his grandfather, “one of the oldest men on earth,” with the outrageous claims of gold and angels, which Jesse believed only made obvious Joseph’s pact with the devil to gain an upper hand over Palmyra.<sup>o</sup> Joseph reacted to such criticisms dramatically and thought of his critics as enemies bent on defaming him. He wrote to Oliver on October 22 about “formadable persecutors and enimies” who came out of the woodwork once “a great call for our books in this country” surfaced at the news that a copyright for the Book of Mormon had been issued. The “minds of the people are very much excited when they find ... that there is really [a] book, about to be printed.”<sup>o</sup> Joseph added a preface to the Book of Mormon clearing his name of any possible attacks resulting from the loss of 116 manuscript pages more than a year before. He acknowledged “many false reports” in circulation about the Book of Mormon and fired back at criminals who through “unlawful measures” had tried to destroy him. All of this opposition evinced how Satanic influences were trained on Joseph’s work, but God was the wiser and had confounded these enemies through prophetic revelation. Since Satan intended to battle God through the printed word, God would defeat the cunning of the devil by publishing to all what enemies were plotting behind closed doors.<sup>o</sup>

The fall of 1829 saw the beginnings of the first Mormon efforts to effectively proselytize. By now the Grandin press had begun printing the Book of Mormon at full speed. No sooner did proof sheets become available than missionaries started preaching the new scripture. David Whitmer averred that as early as August 1829 they “continued to bear testimony and give information, as far as we had opportunity.”<sup>o</sup> Cowdery reported to Joseph in November that Thomas B. Marsh had “talked considerable to some respecting our work,” suggesting that Marsh engaged hearers with news of the Book of Mormon in the Charleston-Boston area of Massachusetts.<sup>o</sup> Solomon Chamberlin traveled over 800 miles carrying four sixteen-page press signatures. Along the way into Upper Canada and Massachusetts, he enjoined passers by to accept the authenticity of the forthcoming Book of Mormon or suffer in the Second Coming. Warren

A. Cowdery shared loose sheets from the press in Freedom, New York, sometime before the book was published in March 1830. William Hyde confirmed that Warren had obtained the sheets from his brother Oliver, “which we had the privilege of perusing, and we did not peruse any faster than we believed.”<sup>o</sup> Joseph also participated in advertising his book using press signatures, which some described as a mission to his relatives and neighbors. One Palmyra resident noticed Martin Harris’ proselytism. “Harris ... gave up his entire time to advertising the Bible to his neighbors and the public generally in the vicinity of Palmyra,” Albert Chandler wrote. Harris would hold public meetings and with enthusiasm preach of the spiritual power given to Joseph Smith. Despite all of their efforts, at least to Chandler, “the Book of Mormon scarcely made a ripple of excitement in Palmyra.”<sup>o</sup>

These missionaries appear to practice what theoretical elements the early revelations described. They focused almost all of their attention on the Book of Mormon, particularly the supernatural origins of the book and not as much on the content.<sup>o</sup> They expected conversions to the book rather than to a church or kingdom and considered their testimonies as binding on the hearer, regardless of whether their message was rejected. Their language pointed to the Second Coming as imminent and their gospel as the only sure protection, leaving no room between accepting or rejecting that gospel as viable options. By personalizing the revelations, or at least producing them within the context of an interpersonal relationship between the missionary and the prophet, Joseph directly impacted the praxis of his small contingent of active evangelists.

The last revelation recorded before the Book of Mormon went for sale assigned Martin Harris to a lifelong mode of proselytism. “Speak freely to all,” it commanded, “yea, preach, exhort, declare the truth, even with a loud voice; with a sound of rejoicing.” Unlike the earlier revelations, this one referred to the Book of Mormon by name. It contained “the truth and the word of God ... that soon it may go to the Jew, of which the Lamanites are a remnant.” The Book of Mormon served the function of converting the Native Americans and the Jews to Christ. Whereas Joseph had previously spoken of the Book of Mormon as the location of conversion, or the thing to be converted to, he now identified it as the connection between the convert and the Messiah “which [had] already come.” The order the missionary presented the message mattered a great deal. If Harris was not careful, he might offer “meat” when the listener could only stomach “milk” and thus endanger the listener’s soul. Declaring repentance required preaching the Book of Mormon without talk of tenets or reviling back at critics. This revelation brought dreadful consequences into this

missiology. “Misery thou shalt receive,” it cautioned, “if thou wilt slight these counsels: Yea, even destruction of thyself and property.”<sup>o</sup>

### Mission Theory after the Book of Mormon

The Book of Mormon introduced an elaborate scriptural narrative superimposed on the same lands through which the Mormon missionaries would venture. Stories of Nephite missionaries and myriad doctrinal statements amplified what Joseph had delivered through his revelations. The book represented Joseph’s preeminent revelation, nearly 600 pages in length and delivered by the “gift and power of God” as convincing evidence that Jesus Christ was at work reclaiming fallen Israel.<sup>o</sup> No other document in Joseph’s portfolio provides more textual imagery to his mission theory.

Missionary attributes such as faith in Jesus Christ, patience and long-suffering in afflictions, courage, trust, humility, devotion, compassion, and boldness (but not overbearance) are all celebrated in the ministries and experiences of Book of Mormon characters.<sup>o</sup> The most successful missionaries embrace intercultural exchange, even with sworn enemies.<sup>o</sup> Some characters undertake ambitious projects like preaching multiple times in aggressive cities, enduring prison and starvation, combating the enemies of their proselytes, and engaging whole nations and large congregations. The Book of Mormon consistently affirms repentance as the main mission and message of the churches of God, and missionaries repeatedly intend to lead proselytes to baptism by immersion.

This work spells out mission methods better than any prior statement or document Joseph produced and proved an effective medium for demonstrating the various causes and effects of missionary behaviors and teachings. Rather than positing a missiological position through argument, the Book of Mormon narrates conversion processes of individuals and nations: A thunderous angel sparks the transformation of a vile sinner into a paragon of missionary courage and righteousness; a nation of fierce warriors convert to Christianity and bury their weapons as a testament to their vows of pacifism made to God; a pluralistic missionary impresses a pagan warrior chieftain through pure service and unflinching loyalty, which leads to tens of thousands of conversions. Missionaries in the Book of Mormon generally avoid contention, teach with spiritual force, appeal to the Holy Spirit, espouse holy living, and perform miracles. Their strategy is to build churches and prepare Native American peoples for the coming of Christ.<sup>o</sup> Joseph’s narrative blend of mission

theory and scriptural prose in the Book of Mormon stands out as one of the more unique missional works of American literature.<sup>o</sup>

The early Mormon missionary could find direct parallels to his own mission throughout the Book of Mormon much in the same way the New Testament informed Christian missionaries. When warning her brother of the vengeance God would soon pour out upon the earth, Lucy Smith situated their family within the overall Nephite history. Many of their neighbors, and she insinuated even family members, rejected this new work of scripture because they already had the Bible and did not see the need for more revelation. Nephi's siblings had done the same and had received a sore cursing from the Lord as a consequence. Lehi declared repentance to the people of Jerusalem who he prophesied lived under threat of invasion, but their rejections forced him to flee for his life. Lucy's own nuclear family had struggled against persecutors who, like the Lamanites, wanted to destroy the sacred writings, but God saw their situation and with compassion established a church "as it was in the days of the Apostles." She, like other servants sent to "prune his vine[y]ard for the last time," preached the gospel and urged her brother to receive the promises expressed in the New Testament by embracing the Book of Mormon and being baptized. "I want you to think seriously of these things for they are the turths of the living God," she closed.<sup>o</sup>

Scarcely had the Book of Mormon reached the Grandin bookstore than Joseph set out to organize a church around it. About two weeks later, he composed "Church Articles & Covenants," which he presented to a conference of the new church for a sustaining vote the following June. The ecclesiology outlined in the Articles and Covenants provided added structure to initiating new converts and carrying out their mission. Apostles, elders, and priests held authority to baptize and review converts for admission into the faith. They could approve initiates for baptism who confessed a broken heart and contrite spirit, witnessed that they had truly repented of all their sins, and showed a determination to serve Christ to the end. The Articles and Covenants prohibited infant baptism; only those who arrived at "the years of accountability and capable of repentance" could become members of the church.<sup>o</sup>

The Articles and Covenants formed part of the content of early Mormon preaching. Only the subject of the Book of Mormon outnumbered the Articles and Covenants in William McLellan's sermons throughout his missions to fellow Americans in 1831.<sup>o</sup> The correct structure for administering baptism through the authority of priesthood officers signaled the return of apostolic Christianity. For some, just as the Book of Mormon served as proof of biblical prophecy regarding the gathering of Israel, the

Articles and Covenants added to the authenticity of the church for its soundness of regulation and ecclesiastical structure.<sup>o</sup>

Joseph immediately commenced new projects after he incorporated the church and published the Book of Mormon. Rather than perform missionary work himself, he took an administrative role and directly oversaw the propagation of his movement. He also began work on a translation of the Bible, producing by June 1830 the first chapter of what he would later call *The Book of Moses*. By December, he nearly completed this revision of Genesis, and true to the form of the Book of Mormon, Joseph constructed a unique retelling of human history, this time starting with Adam and finishing with Noah before the flood. He fixed new identities to each major character, further elucidating the theological categories of prophet and seer. Prophets here closely resemble the Mormon missionaries of the 1830s, except with a visionary acumen not associated with the priests and teachers of the church. But they, like missionaries, preach with the aim to build up a church, warn the world of cataclysm, and administer baptism.

Joseph made Adam into a Christian, who after the Fall finds redemption through baptism by immersion and the atonement of Jesus Christ. Adam and Eve understand their ejection from Eden as necessary and begin preaching the gospel of repentance and baptism to their family. Because Cain entered into a pact with the devil, forces for good and evil polarized, thus perpetuating the constant competition over winning souls.<sup>o</sup>

Enoch, who receives barely any mention in the Bible, becomes a central figure in Joseph's revision. God promises the inexperienced prophet that the Holy Ghost would justify all of Enoch's words and as he would open his mouth to preach, it would be filled. A book of remembrance had been kept of Adam's preaching given in their own language and handed down by the fathers, resembling what Joseph Smith claimed of the Nephite record in the Book of Mormon. It now served as a concise gospel message that frightened enemies of Zion when preached.<sup>o</sup> Enoch employs the same method of preaching as the missionaries. He quotes from the book of remembrance and distills the gospel into a brief set of fundamentals that he traced back to Adam; missionaries reasoned out the Bible, referred to the Book of Mormon and at times quoted from it, and emphasized a packaged set of doctrines necessary for salvation. Through Enoch, Joseph reiterated the common themes of the early revelations and the missiology advanced there, giving particular attention to the doctrine of original sin, the declaration of repentance, and the mandate to teach the true gospel to all:

Therefore I give unto you a commandment, to teach these things freely unto your children, saying: That by reason of transgression cometh the fall, which fall bringeth death, and inasmuch as ye were born into the world by water, and blood, and the spirit, which I have made ... even so ye must be born again into the kingdom of heaven, of water, and of the Spirit, and be cleansed by blood, even the blood of mine Only Begotten; that ye might be sanctified from all sin, and enjoy the words of eternal life in this world, and eternal life in the world to come, even immortal glory; For by the water ye keep the commandment; by the Spirit ye are justified, and by the blood ye are sanctified; ... And now, behold, I say unto you: This is the plan of salvation unto all men, through the blood of mine Only Begotten, who shall come in the meridian of time.°

The *Book of Moses* enlarged the scope of Mormon theology such that the location of God in the soteriology became more apparent. God declares to Moses in a vision that his work and glory is to realize the immortality and eternal life of humankind and he weeps before Enoch in another vision over the wickedness he observes among those that “hate their own blood” and reject their Father. Embarking in the service of God directly affects God’s emotions, just as the June 1829 revelation taught. Once Enoch sees Jesus atone for sin in the vision, he finds the Father comforted and reassured, and in turn he more vigorously declares repentance and faith in Christ. Doing so brings unity to Christ on such a scale that God lifts up the city of Zion into heaven in a dramatic show that causes all outsiders to fear and tremble.° Joseph conceived of the cause of Zion in terms of physically uniting earth and heaven, and the missionaries would need to gather converts to the church no longer to expand the church but to cultivate a holy society prepared to welcome God into their midst.

The immediacy of the Second Coming only intensified in mission theoretical discourse with the addition of a Zion concept. Talk of the Millennium accompanied almost every missionary sermon, the *Book of Mormon* its chief harbinger. Missionaries interpreted each component of their work as apocalyptic in one way or another, usually seeing themselves as messengers making one final call for repentance in the Lord’s vineyard. Joseph reinforced these ideas in how he administered the mission effort.

Before moving to Kirtland in February 1831, Joseph issued several calls using pre-Millennial language. A revelation on April 6, 1830 declared Oliver Cowdery “the first Preacher of this Church onto the Church & before the world” and a laborer in the vineyard.° Days later, a revelation instructed missionaries on requiring baptisms even of non-Mormon

Christians, because the Church of Christ as established in the last days was a “New & an everlasting covenant” that had superceded the dead works of an old covenant.° An early 1830 revelation promised Joseph that the work would not fall victim to the designs of “workers of iniquity” because they were only ripening in sin and would be left to their own destruction and damnation as a consequence.° Cowdery was told in a July 1830 revelation to continue to preach before the world, and if rejected, the time had come to pronounce a ritual cursing by washing his feet by the wayside as a testimony against deniers. This was a calling to “prune my vineyard with a mighty pruning yea even for the last time.”° Joseph repeatedly emphasized the end times and identified current events as signs of the increasing commotion which would attend the Second Coming. To a small group of new converts in Colesville, New York, he wrote that their prayers had staved off the thundering wrath of God upon their wicked and ravenous neighbors. “Behold the angel cries,” he continued, “thrust in your sickle for the harvest is fully ripe, and the earth will soon be reaped, that is, the wicked must soon be destroyed from off the face of the earth.”° Tribulation awaited those unelect persons that rejected the Saints’ appeals to gather to Zion, Joseph explained in a missionary call in September. “Ye are called to bring to pass the gethering of mine Elect,” it stated, “for mine Elect hear my voice & harden not their hearts.” The gathering would take place “upon the face of this land” in preparation for “the day when tribulation & desolation are sent forth upon the wicked for the hour is nigh & the day is soon at hand.” The Lord of Hosts promised to “burn them up” in the near future. Grotesque language stressed how urgently the Saints needed to serve. The consequences for rejecting the gospel message were so severe, the cup of God’s indignation would overflow and the blood of Christ “shall not cleanse them”; the flesh of the deniers would “fall from off their Bones & their eyes from their sockets,” and flies and maggots would consume them. On the other hand, the benefits of choosing to gather to Zion provided protection and a crown of eternal life at the final judgment.°

### **Missionary Societies in America before 1830**

Many Protestant Christians organized missionary societies in the early nineteenth century to attract converts, civilize the heathen, and prepare for the Millennium. They considered the Bible the main medium through which the word of God would transform society and counted on it to counteract the negative effects of scientific advancement. The Ameri-

can Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1813 called for an increased effort to translate the Bible and preach the gospel to achieve the “general conversion of mankind.” Providing or selling Bibles to other ethnic groups was not sufficient. Conversions came by preaching the word of the Bible in their hearers’ native languages.<sup>o</sup> Missionaries like Elijah Parish and John M. Mason wanted to simplify the preaching of the gospel by teaching basic declarations of repentance and making scripture available. They campaigned before missionary societies in New York and Boston for a “scheme of mercy” modeled after the apostles to renew the continent and redeem the world. The simple gospel, Parish believed, “alleviates the heaviest woes of man, and is a source of consolation in his most deplorable necessities.”<sup>o</sup> Mason felt the simple gospel message could produce no conversion without the accompanying effect of the Holy Spirit. This quickening power of the Spirit cut asunder the joints and marrow and converted the once depraved soul into a willing subject of Jesus Christ.<sup>o</sup>

Sereno Edwards Dwight bluntly expressed to the Foreign Mission Society of Boston in 1820 what most Protestant missionaries considered their objective—“that all mankind may become christian.”<sup>o</sup> Many preachers imagined the civilized culture of Europe and the United States extending to all the globe and frequently hearkened to the harvest as the symbol for material prosperity and cutting-edge technology; agricultural innovation signified the highest level of society. The farms might still fail, but as with all things divine, the harvest of souls would not. The Standing Committee on Missions of the Presbyterian General Assembly imagined the law of the harvest as the universalization of civilized society. Its preachers measured the reach of the divine harvest by the rise in established nations throughout the world.<sup>o</sup> The Baptist Foreign Mission Society by 1823 broadened the idea of building nations in uncivilized parts of the world and proposed that their mission was to effect a moral conversion of the entire human race.<sup>o</sup> Two targets attracted their special attention: the Indians and the islands of the sea. The Native Americans represented to them how close they lived to a degraded society. Missionaries continually felt pulled toward the frontiers to proselytize and reform the Indians from tribal and warlike communities into civilized Christians. Slavery and early colonialism had introduced them to Africans and Hispanics, and their knowledge of Asian and Middle Eastern cultures grew directly out of their engagement in foreign missions. The islands of the sea appeared the most distant and adventurous; reaching them with the gospel meant they were witnessing a truly global enterprise unfold. These societies expected to convert Native Americans and islanders within the century, so giant were their ambitions.<sup>o</sup>

The shortage of Christianized cultures in the world appeared like a pall of darkness covering the earth. Christian mission would change that by reversing the scattering of Israel influenced by a hard-at-work Satan. One preacher declared during the ordination of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands in 1819 that they would harvest the world with the cross and then the wilderness would become the heritage of Zion.<sup>o</sup> Other preachers saw the establishment of Zion as indicative of the impending final judgment. Francis Brown told the Maine Missionary Society that the events of current history placed them at the precipice of the ages. “We behold harbingers of the approach of the King of Zion to build up and beautify his church,” he proclaimed in 1814.<sup>o</sup> For Robert H. Bishop, preaching at the annual meeting of the Bible Society of Kentucky, Zion would emerge among all the nations of the earth, through every corner of the world, and erect an empire to endure into the Millennium. Their church of the last days “shall awake from the slumber of many generations,” he affirmed in 1815, “[and] shall shake herself from the dust, and raise her triumphant head amidst the wreck of empires.”<sup>o</sup>

By comparison, Joseph Smith shared many of these expectations for his mission movement. Missionary identity was so closely linked to the overall Mormon identity that each feature of their religion pertained to their missionary effort and vice versa.<sup>o</sup> Though in practice Mormons differed from Protestant missionaries of the time, they all sought the transformation of the world and felt as though they contributed to the cause of Zion. Mormons imagined Lamanites where Protestants pictured heathens, but the two could not ignore the frontier just the same and made repeated attempts to evangelize the Native Americans. Both groups saw God as intimately connected with their mission and themselves as being sent as servants in the vineyard or the field delivering the word of God. Mormons carried a new book of scripture; Protestants carried the Bible. Missionary societies thrived on a volunteer system and accepted many missionaries without expert or clerical credentials. Joseph from the start encouraged volunteers to step forward and embark in the service of God. The missionary could be more effective by pursuing a godly lifestyle in both communities, and many preachers dedicated sermons to encouraging missionaries toward personal righteousness. Joseph referenced lists of virtues from the Bible as prime qualifications to enter the ministry.<sup>o</sup>

## A New Trajectory

After Joseph formalized his movement in April 1830, the initial effort

to proclaim the new church and the Book of Mormon suddenly gained strength. Between September 1830 and the end of the year, Joseph received revelations enlisting missionaries in the work—Oliver Cowdery; David, Peter and John Whitmer; Thomas B. Marsh; Ezra Thayer; Northrop Sweet; Parley and Orson Pratt; Sidney Rigdon; and Edward Partridge.° Others like Solomon Chamberlin, John Murdock, Ziba Peterson, Samuel Smith, and Phineas Young set out on their own, and in a couple of cases under Joseph’s direction, reaching Upper Canada and New England.° Each of them were exhorted to declare repentance and gather the elect. Reactions to these missions appeared in the press, highlighting the apocalyptic tenor of their message. The *Painesville* [Ohio] *Telegraph* reported some persons, “one of whom pretends to have seen Angels, and assisted in translating the plates,” had proclaimed destruction upon the world within a few years. Oliver Cowdery, it went on, had claimed that “the ordinances of the gospel, have not been regularly administered since the days of the Apostles, till the said Smith and himself commenced the work.”° In December the same newspaper said of Cowdery that he taught “all who do not believe *their* testimony, and be baptised by them for the remission of sins, and come under the imposition of *their* hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost . . . must be forever miserable.”°

Within six months, the main center of Mormonism shifted to Kirtland as hundreds joined with the church, prompting Joseph and his family to move from New York to Ohio at the start of 1831. Signing a covenant to uphold Cowdery in a mission to the Lamanites in October 1830, Cowdery, Ziba Peterson, Parley Pratt, and Peter Whitmer Jr. set out to preach Mormonism to Native Americans. On the way to Missouri, they passed through Ohio, calling on Sidney Rigdon who had a year before had brought Pratt to the Disciples of Christ movement. They persuaded Rigdon and others of his local congregation that Mormon elders had received divine authority to baptize and that the Book of Mormon demonstrated the gift of revelation. As news spread of the Mormon message, dozens of former Campbellites converted, feeling that none of the other churches of the day rightly taught New Testament doctrine like the Book of Mormon. Within the month the missionaries baptized over 130 converts, forming a critical mass that would establish Kirtland as a base of operations, first for missionary work and eventually for the whole church until 1838. By the summer of 1831, the number of professing Mormons had grown to over a thousand.°

In practice, Joseph’s 1829–1830 mission theory had proven effective. Rigdon’s followers felt especially drawn to the Book of Mormon as evidence of Joseph’s gift of revelation and to the missionaries’ insistence on

being baptized by divine authority for the remission of sins. Pratt's talk of the approaching reign of Christ and his positive valuation of spiritual knowledge influenced several of the principal Ohio converts. Lyman Wight attributed his conversion to a sense that the Millennium was close at hand and that the spiritual gifts he sought in the true church were manifest in the translation of the gold plates. The effect of testifying of the work impressed many who sought for evidence of an apostolic ministry. The quality and tenor of the missionaries' witness convinced them that the Spirit of God was at work in America and that the Second Coming was approaching.<sup>o</sup>

Once he relocated to Kirtland, Joseph unleashed a tide of revelations that took Mormonism in a new creative direction. He remained fixed on the Second Coming and on preaching the simple gospel, but he significantly elevated the mission theoretical discourse to include ambitions of building a physically transcendent society. Whereas the Protestant missionaries of his day expected to Christianize the world by civilizing heathen nations, Joseph began to conceive of Mormonizing the world by bringing down angels and Jesus himself to the New Jerusalem. When Protestant mission theory called for an improvement in personal morality, Joseph expected his missionaries to perfect their souls in order to entertain visions and ascend into celestial glory.

Before internal pressures and an economic collapse compelled Joseph to migrate his movement to Missouri in 1838, he had attempted a communal society which he merged with the church polity. The mission to gather the elect to Zion soon assumed elevated ideals of living a divine order apart from the wicked world. Missionaries oriented their message toward the heavenly economic order and once Heber Kimball began baptizing in England in 1837, scores of new converts emigrated to the United States.<sup>o</sup>

At Kirtland, Far West, and Nauvoo, Joseph introduced a new image to his evolving mission theory that came to occupy the center of his theology and the total height of his ambitions: the temple. Like the Book of Mormon, the edifice served as a tangible witness of the heavenly uniting with the earth and it became the location where Mormon missionary work reached its highest aims. By the 1840s, Joseph amplified their mission to include binding families together through ordinance and baptizing by proxy for the deceased in sacred buildings set apart for that work. The temple was the space where the conversion of the unevangelized, or the millions of souls who had missed the opportunity to learn of Christ and accept his gospel, was actualized. The mission now included a field of labor the extended into family trees and census records. Before his death

in 1844, Joseph had successfully added the concept of exaltation to the soteriology and mission of the Latter-day Saints. Salvation had been the end point for his first corps of missionaries in New York; before leaving Nauvoo for Utah, the missionaries saw exaltation through temple ordinance as their objective. Consequently, Joseph placed his missiology on a trajectory that led well beyond baptism and the traditional notion of salvation Protestant missionaries followed into the twentieth century. The Protestants sought to turn converts into saved Christians—the Mormons, their investigators into exalted gods.

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- 1 **“heathen”**] William Orme, “Introductory Preface” in William Swan, *Letters on Missions* (London: Westley and Davis, 1830), ix–xi.
- 1 **practice**] Wilbert R. Shenk in Gerald H. Anderson, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1998), 652.
- 2 **“societies”**] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), 252.
- 2 **heathens**] Ministers in New York wrote in 1800 of the organization of the New York Missionary Society a couple of years before that they, “being informed of the exertions which were then, and had been for some time, making in Great Britain, to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen, became impressed with the duty of making a similar attempt in America.” *The New York Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, 1 (January 1800), 9.
- 2 **prayer**] Jonathan Edwards, *An humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God’s people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ’s kingdom on earth, pursuant to Scripture-promises and prophecies concerning the last time* (D. Henchman, 1747); Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1976), 157.
- 2 **“United States”**] Meeting of the General Association of the State of Connecticut, June 19, 1798 in *The Records of the General Association of Ye Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, Conn.: Press of the Case, Lockwood, and Brainard Company, 1888),
- 2 **conversions**] Neill, 252–54.
- 2 **himself**] Joseph Smith Jr., *A Book of Commandments & Revelations of the Lord given to Joseph the Seer & others by the Inspiration of God & gift & power of the Holy Ghost which Beareth Re[c]ord of the Father & Son & Holy Ghost which is one God Infinite & eternal World without end Amen* (1831–35), 2; Robin Scott Jensen, et al., *The Joseph Smith Papers: Revelations and Translations* (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian’s Press, 2009), Vol. 1, 11; Joseph Smith, *History* (1839), 9; Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 2 vols., 1:288.
- 3 **“day”**] *Joseph Smith Papers*, 11; cf. Isaiah 29:14.

- 3 “you”]** *A Book of Commandments, for the Government of the Church of Christ, Organized According to Law, on the 6th of April, 1830* (W. W. Phelps & co., 1833), 9. Smith later added to this list of virtues and ordered them following 2 Peter 1:5–8; cf. *Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 7 [D&C 4:6].
- 3 members]** Terry L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 56–58; Larry C. Porter, “‘The Field Is White Already to Harvest’: Earliest Missionary Labors and the Book of Mormon,” Chap. 5 in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, edited by Susan Easton Black and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988): 73–89.
- 4 generation]** *Book of Commandments*, 14 [D&C 6].
- 4 warned]** *Book of Commandments*, 15.
- 4 “labors”]** *Book of Commandments*, 16–17.
- 4 evangelize]** Smith, *History* (1839), 17–18; Jesse, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:292.
- 4 endure]** *Book of Commandments*, 28–30 [D&C 11].
- 5 blessings]** *Book of Commandments*, 32–33 [D&C 14].
- 5 translation]** In a letter to Hyrum Smith dated June 14, 1829, Oliver Cowdery appears to quote from this revelation. See also H. Michael Marquardt, *The Joseph Smith Revelations: Text and Commentary* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 46n32. Givens, 37n119.
- 5 prevail]** *Book of Commandments*, 34–35 [D&C 18].
- 6 “Father”]** *Book of Commandments*, 36–37.
- 6 himself]** *Book of Commandments*, 35–36.
- 6 “you”]** *Book of Commandments*, 33–34 [D&C 15–16].
- 7 family]** Oliver Cowdery to Hyrum Smith, June 14, 1829 in Stanley R. Gunn, *Oliver Cowdery: Second Elder and Scribe* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962).
- 7 Palmyra]** Jesse Smith to Hyrum Smith, June 17, 1829 in Dan Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), Vol. 1, 551–52.
- 7 “printed”]** Joseph Smith to Oliver Cowdery, October 22, 1829; Dean C. Jesse, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Provo, Utah; Salt Lake City: Brigham Young University Press; Deseret Book, 2002) rev. ed., 251–52.
- 7 doors]** Joseph Smith, “Preface” in *The Book of Mormon: An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon, Upon Plates Taken from the Plates of Nephi* (Palmyra, N.Y.: E.B. Grandin, 1830); D&C 10.
- 7 “opportunity”]** Brigham H. Roberts, ed., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1932–51), 1:74–75.
- 7 Massachusetts]** Porter, 85–86.

- 8 “believed”]** William Hyde, Journal, 46.
- 8 “Palmyra”]** Alexander Linn, *The Story of the Mormons: From the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), 48–49.
- 8 content]** Givens, 85.
- 9 “property”]** *Book of Commandments*, 41–42 [D&C 19].
- 9 Israel]** Smith, *Book of Mormon* (1830), 3.
- 9 characters]** Ether 12:15; Alma 17:11–13, 18:10–16, 18:36–40, 20:26, 22:10–14, 38:3–12, Enos 1:2–11.
- 9 enemies]** Alma 17.
- 9 Christ]** Passages in Alma narrate the bulk of missionary activities offered by the Book of Mormon, especially chapters 17, 18, 26, 36–38.
- 10 literature]** Givens, 242.
- 10 closed]** Lucy Smith to Solomon Mack Jr., January 6, 1831; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:214–17.
- 10 church]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 75; Marquardt, 62n8; Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 112.
- 10 1831]** John W. Welch, “The Acts of the Apostle William E. McLellin,” in Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, *The Journals of William E. McLellin: 1831–1836* (Provo, Utah; Urbana and Chicago: Brigham Young University Press; University of Illinois Press, 1994), 19.
- 11 structure]** McLellin and Parley Pratt preached using the Articles and Covenants in early 1833, telling others that the beauties of Mormons’ regulations attested to their correctness of following Galatians 1; Shipps and Welch, *Journals of William E. McLellin*, 109–11.
- 11 souls]** Moses 5:9–55.
- 11 preached]** Moses 6:32–47.
- 12 time]** Moses 6:58–62.
- 12 tremble]** Moses 5–7.
- 12 vineyard]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 29.
- 13 covenant]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 35.
- 13 consequence]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 31–33.
- 13 “time”]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 35–39.
- 13 “earth”]** Letter to Colesville Saints, August 28, 1830; Vogel, *Early Mormon Documents*, 1:11.
- 13 judgment]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 43–51.
- 14 languages]** American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, *Annual Reports* (1813), 69.

- 14 “necessities”]** Elijah Parish, *A Sermon Preached at Boston, November 3, 1814, Before the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America* (Boston: Nathaniel Willis, 1814), 3.
- 14 Christ]** John M. Mason, *Hope for the Heathen: A Sermon Preached in the Old Presbyterian Church, Before the New York Missionary Society, at Their Annual Meeting, November 7, 1797* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1797), 139–40.
- 14 “christian”]** Sereno Edwards Dwight, *Thy Kingdom Come: A Sermon Delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, Before the Foreign Mission Society of Boston and the Vicinity, January 3, 1820* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1820).
- 14 world]** Eliphalet Nott, *A Sermon Preached Before the General Assembly of the Church in the United States of America by Appointment of Their Standing Committee of Missions, May 19, 1806* (Newburyport, Mass.: Samuel Doel, 1808); *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America From Its Organization A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1820 Inclusive* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847).
- 14 race]** Francis Wayland, *The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise: A Sermon Delivered before the Boston Baptist Foreign Mission Society on the Evening of October 26, and Before the Salem Bible Translation Society on the Evening of November 4, 1823*, 3rd ed. (Boston: James Loring, 1824);
- 14 ambitions]** Chaney, 244–45.
- 15 Zion]** Heman Humphery, *The Promised Land: A Sermon, Delivered at Goshen [Connecticut] at the Ordination of the Rev. Messrs. Hiram Bingham & Asa Thurston, as Missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, September 29, 1819* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), 11.
- 15 1814]** Francis Brown, *A Sermon Delivered Before the Maine Missionary Society, at Their Annual Meeting, in Gorham, June 22, 1814* (Hollowell, Maine: N. Cheever, 1814), 18.
- 15 “empires”]** Robert H. Bishop, *The Glory of the Latter Days, A Sermon, Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the bible Society of Kentucky, Sept. 1815* (Lexington, Ky.: Thomas T. Skillman, 1815), 4, 10.
- 15 vice versa]** David Whittaker, “Mormon Missiology: An Introduction and Guide to the Sources,” Chap. 18 in *The Disciple as Witness: Essays on Latter-day Saint History and Doctrine in Honor of Richard Lloyd Anderson* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2000). Whittaker equates the study of Mormon missionary history with the study of Mormon history; the two are interchangeable, so fused are the two identities. He argues the core doctrines promulgated by Mormon missionaries in the 1830s continue to form the main message of today’s missionaries.
- 15 ministry]** Chaney, 269–78; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), 7 vols., 4:299–324.
- 16 Partridge]** *Joseph Smith Papers*, 51–69; these revelation appear as D&C sections 28, 30–36.
- 16 New England]** Larry C. Porter, “Solomon Chamberlain—Early Missionary,” *BYU Studies* 12 (Spring 1972): 314–18; Phinehas Howe Young, Journal excerpts in *Millennial*

*Star* 25 (1863): 326–28, 360–61, 374–76, 390–92, 406; John Murdock, *Journal* (1792–1864), typescript at Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University [M270.1 M941a]; Steven C. Harper, “Missionaries in the American Marketplace: Mormon Proselyting in the 1830s,” *Journal of Mormon History* 24, no. 2 (1998): 1–29; Richard Lloyd Anderson, “The Impact of the First Preaching in Ohio,” *BYU Studies* 11, no. 4 (1971): 474–96.

**16 “work”]** “The Golden Bible,” *Painesville Telegraph* [Ohio], November 16, 1830, 3.

**16 “miserable”]** *Painesville Telegraph*, December 7, 1830; cf. John W. Welch, *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844* (Salt Lake City; Provo, Utah: Deseret Book; Brigham Young University Press, 2005), 241; emphasis in original.

**16 thousand]** Anderson, 474–94.

**17 approaching]** Anderson, 481–85.

**17 United States]** Richard O. Cowan, “Opening the British Mission: 1837 to 1841,” in *Unto Every Nation: Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*, edited by Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003).