
From Missionary Resort to Memorial Farm: Commemoration and Capitalism at the Birthplace of Joseph Smith, 1905–1925

Keith A. Erekson

For The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the twentieth century was a century of commemoration. Opening with statues of Brigham Young and Joseph Smith in Salt Lake City and closing with temples in Palmyra and Nauvoo, these ten decades witnessed a flurry of activity at historic sites, from monuments and celebrations to pageants and re-enactments. During the first half of the century, LDS historic sites developed individually and displayed a wide variety of functions. A successful exhibit at the 1964 New York World's Fair prompted Church leaders to integrate proselytizing efforts into the sites, and during the 1960s and 1970s, the tourist-drawing work of the (non-institutional but member-owned) Nauvoo Restoration Inc. demonstrated the practicality and appeal of authentic site reconstruction. The past quarter century has been marked by both proselytizing and authenticity: Church President Spencer W. Kimball addressed a general conference audience via satellite from a newly constructed Peter Whitmer Farm home in 1980, global celebrations commemorated the 1997 sesquicentennial of the pioneer entry in the Salt Lake Valley, and the Church's internet site presently advertises dozens of historic sites.¹

The current ubiquity of historic sites belies the fact that the LDS Church has not always maintained them. When the Church purchased the birthplace of Joseph Smith a century ago, it owned only two other historic sites, and when President Joseph F. Smith authorized development of the birthplace it became the Church's first historic property designed to accommodate visitors.² In making this decision, Church

KEITH A. EREKSON is a doctoral candidate in U.S. history at Indiana University and assistant editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

leaders did not embark on a mission-driven crusade to preserve cultural heritage. Instead, they acted cautiously, experimenting over the course of two decades with the site's purposes and functions. Original plans for the site envisioned it as a railroad resort for missionaries, but a process of trial, error, and accumulated habit generated archival and informational functions directed toward hosting Mormons and non-Mormons as well. After five years, and in the wake of growing operation costs, oversight for the property shifted to the presiding bishopric who then directed its development as an income generating "memorial farm." Along the way, site managers in Vermont experimented with a wide variety of activities ranging from fishing to botanical gardening, from writing contests to summer celebrations, from guest hosting to cattle-raising.

The development of Joseph Smith's birthplace as a historic site was not a foreordained fact, and the managerial choices that brought about the transition from resort to farm grew out of the contingency inherent in the convergence of possibilities, individual experiences, and corporate fiscal constraints. This article considers the developmental history of the Joseph Smith Birthplace between an introductory backdrop of potentiality and a concluding foreground of modern historic site practice. Such an approach presents past commemorative practices that are somewhat different from modern ones, highlighting questions about what makes a place sacred and about the relationship between past and present.

While some of the specific managerial details of yesteryear may seem far removed from modern LDS sites that combine proselytizing and technology, the early directors took precedent-setting positions on issues that remain crucial today—uniting facts and faith, hosting friends and enemies, making peace with neighbors, and justifying commemorative work as a significant contribution toward building the kingdom. Looking back after thirty years, Joseph Fielding Smith observed that "the purchase of the old Mack farm and the erection of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument, met with such remarkable success in allaying prejudice and the making of friends, that it became the stimulant for the purchase in later years of the Hill Cumorah, the Smith farm and Sacred Grove, and yet later the Whitmer farm." Looking back after a century, we can observe that the work of these directors forms a crucial first chapter in a story of historic commemoration unparalleled by an American religious organization.³

Commemorative Roads Not Taken

As a preface to the story of the historical development of the Joseph Smith birthplace, it will be instructive to note four commemorative

roads not taken by the Latter-day Saints a century ago. Without scriptural injunction or past precedent, the commemorative script was unwritten at the time, though not for lack of contemporary possibilities. In some cases, avoiding a commemorative road came as the result of conscientious discussion and enforced policy implementation; while in others, church leaders and site administrators simply pursued a course contingent upon circumstance and personal preference. In both situations, our modern understanding of what *was* is informed by our awareness of what *was not*.

First, however impossible it may be to imagine today, at the turn-of-the-century the Church had the option, doctrinally, to ignore historic places. Grant Underwood has shown that the “undergirding essence” of early Mormonism was a future-looking millenarian world view. Steven L. Olsen has further demonstrated that this focus on the future transcribed itself onto Mormon social space in the layout of the city of Zion and its imitation in the temple-centered layouts of Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City. In a theological system that awaits the consumption of the earth and its renewal in paradisiacal glory, a case could have been made for the insignificance of historic places. Additionally, such doctrinal arguments could have been augmented by contemporary financial concerns. In 1905, the Church remained in debt and was in the process of divesting itself of such costly endeavors as hospitals and the Salt Lake Theater. Even its commercial manufacturing operations struggled to make ends meet.⁴ Nevertheless, in the absence of precedent and the presence of debt, Latter-day Saints of a century ago chose to remember the place of Joseph Smith’s birth.

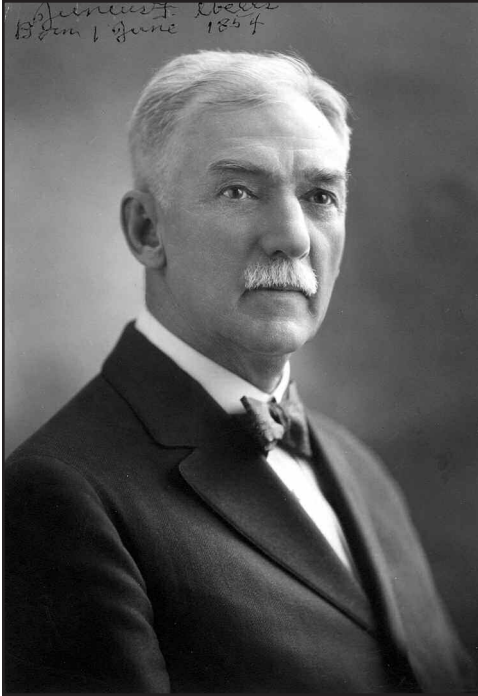
In light of such financial restraints, however, Church leaders could have demonstrated their interest in the past merely by marking the site of Joseph Smith’s birth with a monument. Though the Church had not engaged in the practice, individual and collected Latter-day Saints had already erected monuments and statues. George A. Smith, apostle and cousin of the Prophet, placed a simple monument to the Smith Family in the Topsfield, Massachusetts, cemetery in 1873, and fifteen years later Oliver B. Huntington similarly commemorated pioneers who died at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa. During the 1890s, the Brigham Young Memorial Association commissioned a statue of the colonizer that eventually found a place in downtown Salt Lake City.⁵ These individual efforts during the decades following the Civil War were part of an unprecedented outpouring of monuments in America, both on battlefields and on town squares. Generals on horseback, soldiers on pedestals, and slaves on their knees were etched into monumental proportion and scattered across the landscape. In time, statuary celebrations of the past became so ubiquitous

that some contemporary observers began to decry their excessive placement. By the turn-of-the-century, such contempt for monumental clutter found expression in a new “Progressive” sentiment that called for “living memorials”—such as bridges, parks, roads, and gardens—to blend commemoration with utilitarian purposes.⁶ In Progressive America, the possibility of a simple monument to Joseph Smith proved insufficient.

Third, as a religious organization, the Church could have developed the historic site as a shrine. Throughout history, millions of religious people have made pilgrimages to holy sites—whether they be the Ganges River in India, Mecca in the Middle East, or a roadside shrine to a Catholic saint in Europe. Across religious traditions, pilgrimage sites are recognized as places of miracles and communion with the divine.⁷ Latter-day Saints believe in miracles past and present, yet, when Church leaders announced their plans to develop Joseph Smith’s birthplace, they stated from the outset that it would not become “a holy shrine, or a ‘Mormon’ mecca, to which tens of thousands will make the annual pilgrimage.” Accordingly, Church leaders have never promoted the Prophet’s birthplace as a place of healing or miracle work, nor have they held pilgrimage to a historic site as a rite of passage or as prerequisite for ecclesiastical or spiritual advancement.⁸

Finally, Church leaders could have developed the birthplace for the education of the faithful. Surveying over four hundred buildings preserved before 1926, Charles Hosmer found turn-of-the-century preservation efforts dominated by patriotic purposes and educational efforts. Whether it was Mt. Vernon’s Reconstruction-era message of a nation united under George Washington, the glorified installation of the “Lost Cause” ideology into restored Southern plantation mansions, or the public display of hardy pioneer heritage in the West, historic sites were justified as demonstrations of noble ancestral character, as reminders of the hardships faced, and as tools in the promotion of good citizenship in the rising generation.⁹ In 1904, when John W. Winder of the First Presidency proposed statues of Joseph and Hyrum Smith on Temple Square, he cited as a primary reason that they might serve as “an object lesson to our children and our children’s children throughout all generations.”¹⁰ However, similar language never found its way into the rhetoric justifying the maintenance of the Vermont site.

By remembering the past, by building more than a monument, by avoiding emphasis on pilgrimage or patriotic education, the Church of a century ago took its first steps into the arena of public historic commemoration. But the proposal to erect a monument to Joseph Smith in Vermont came to Church leaders from outside of ecclesiastical lines.



Junius F. Wells designed the monument to Joseph Smith, oversaw its construction, and managed the site from 1905–1910. Photograph courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Junius F. Wells, founder of the Y.M.M.I.A., editor of *The Contributor* magazine for youth, a traveler, and a dabbler in mining, conceived the idea in 1894 and proposed it in April 1905. Church leaders authorized Wells to identify the site and purchase it, and when he returned to Salt Lake City in May 1905 with the title to the property, Wells resubmitted his proposal to erect a monument and memorial in time to celebrate the centennial of Joseph Smith’s birth.¹¹ Possibly because of the opportunity, probably because of the novelty, and certainly because of the expense, leaders of the still-debt-stricken Church deliberated over Wells’s proposal for three weeks. The details of their discussion are

not available, but the impact of their decision could scarcely have been imagined by those who read its announcement in the Salt Lake City paper.

“A Beautiful Summer Resort . . . for . . . Missionaries”

In a statement published on 1 July 1905, for readers of the *Deseret Evening News*, Junius Wells announced the plans of Church leaders for the development of the Joseph Smith birthplace. The majority of the article chronicled his efforts to identify the spot and announced the plans to erect a monument for the centennial. A sidebar announced what would be done with the site after December: “The ancient [Mack] farm is a natural park. By clearing out dead timber, making a roadway and some paths, it will be converted into a *beautiful summer resort*. The White brook flowing through it, hidden by trees, abounds in trout. The native Vermont deer run wild over the glades and hill tops. The Maple Sugar

industry is at its best here. In early spring when the sap begins to flow, and before the winter's snow has entirely gone, it is the delight of the people, old and young, to attend the syrup boilings and 'sugaring off.' There is to be erected a cottage for the use of a caretaker and accommodation of visitors. This will afford *a pleasant resting place for a day or two to missionaries* enroute to and from their foreign mission fields."¹²

The suggestions of natural resources, local interest, and proximity to travel routes all mark this as an announcement for a turn-of-the-century railroad resort. During the second half of the nineteenth century, iron rails linked America's coasts, spawned cities, and standardized time. Anxious to encourage Americans to ride the rails, industry leaders promoted and developed resort destinations. The Northern Pacific carried people to Yellowstone, the Santa Fe to the Grand Canyon, and the Lackawanna and New York Central to Niagara Falls. In 1893, Church leaders had invested in the Saltair Resort on the shores of the Great Salt Lake, spending over half a million dollars to acquire lakeside property, construct a large entertainment pavilion, and subsidize a 16-mile railroad spur that carried visitors to the resort where they could float in nature's salt bath.¹³ In Vermont the project seemed much simpler: the Vermont Central line ran within sight of the property and missionaries already caught ships to Europe out of Boston and New York City. For over a decade, the Vermont Board of Agriculture had been promoting the state's farms and maple sugar products as emblematic of "what America was" and the 1905 tourist season saw the largest number of visitors in the state's history.¹⁴

Church leaders gave Wells a *carte blanche* order to carry out the project. In the summer of 1905, before quarry workers had even located all of the pieces of the monument, he hired Vermont surveyors Walker and Gallison to lay out plans for "a park, roads, walks and building lots." Though Wells had modestly recommended "a small house of entertainment" in his June 1905 proposal, the vision of the site as a resort justified the construction of something larger—a three-story "Memorial Cottage."¹⁵ A traveler from Logan, Utah, characterized the white clapboard building with its green lattice trim as "a cosy Modern house," while Susa Young Gates more poetically rendered the cottage as being "in exact harmony with the whole atmosphere of reality and ideality. Its broad, simple, flowing outlines, its sunny, wide porches, and its great, roomy cellar, its beautifully simple, yet costly furniture of mission design, its furnace below and its [five bedrooms and] bathroom above, all mark it as a modern miracle" with "such luxuries" found only "in hotels and books."¹⁶

Over the next two years, the Church made three additional proper-



The Joseph Smith Memorial Cottage, 1920s.

Photograph from the private collection of Elaine Soule. Used by permission.

ty purchases that increased the size of the resort to 283 acres. In the summer of 1907, landscape architect Dana F. Dow of Ipswich, Massachusetts, arranged for the planting of hundreds of flowers throughout the property, including the Cinnamon Rose, which Wells renamed “The Prophet’s Rose.” Down the hill from the Monument and the Cottage, Wells installed a lily pond because “the presence of standing water in this almost ideal landscape completes its beauty, and is very grateful and refreshing in the summer time.”¹⁷ Into this pond, Wells piped water from nearby springs to create two fountains.

The diaries of missionaries returning from foreign service indicate that they did, indeed, view the site as a welcome resort. George Albert Smith stopped with his family on the way home from Europe and “expressed his pleasure in being back on American soil and his thankfulness for having been born in America.” Joseph Valentine registered his relief upon arrival from England: “to get away from that card playing, lic- quor drinking, tobacco smoking gang on the boat & to get into a real Mormon home again was just like going from hell to heaven.” In an



*This postcard shows the Memorial Cottage and Monument in the cultivated resort setting, complete with flowers and lily pond.
Courtesy Royalton Historical Society, Royalton, Vermont.*

expression of *amor patria* mixed with an overexposure to British foodways, Valentine noted that he “surely enjoyed my first real American meal again. We had potatoes & brown gravy, bread & butter home-made, plenty of good fresh milk & tomatoes, not cherries.”¹⁸

In July 1906, Wells opened the resort to missionaries from the New England States Mission to celebrate Pioneer Day, thereby inaugurating a missionary tradition that endured for decades. The annual tradition grew over the years to include worship services, dinner, and a flag raising ceremony on “Patriarch Hill”—the largest hill on the property renamed to honor the Prophet’s martyred brother.¹⁹ By 1912, nearly seventy guests from throughout New England slept in tents and played baseball in the evenings. A decade later, Church President Heber J. Grant joined the missionaries in their celebration at the Joseph Smith Memorial resort.²⁰

“For the Entertainment of Representative Men of the Church”

If Salt Lake council-room designs initially cast the Joseph Smith Birthplace as a missionary resort, the two-and-a-half dozen Church leaders who attended the monument’s December 1905 dedication six months later came away with an enhanced vision of the resort as a destination for Church members as well. In a modification of previous policy, Francis M. Lyman, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, predicted that “this

is only a little pilgrimage that is made for the dedication. You will find that travel will increase over this road, and it will become one of the most famous spots in Vermont or any other section of the United States after a while.”²¹ Of course, it would require over six decades—and the assistance of post-war industrial expansion, the democratization of automobile ownership, the Highway Act, and the invention of middle-class leisure time—before large numbers of Latter-day pilgrims could visit the site. Nevertheless, Junius Wells caught this vision and began to develop the entire site, but particularly the Memorial Cottage, as a “historical repository for the entertainment of representative men of the Church.”²²

Already designed as a modern building, the Cottage was well-suited to a hosting function and quickly transformed into a historical repository as well.²³ Above the fireplace in the large living room, Wells hung paintings of Joseph, Hyrum, and Lucy Mack Smith.²⁴ Elsewhere, the walls displayed steel engravings of prominent Mormons and U.S.



Junius F. Wells designed the Memorial Cottage around the Smith family hearthstone in its original position. Paintings of Joseph, Hyrum, and Lucy Mack Smith are displayed above.

To the right of the fireplace, just out of the picture, is a framed statement of Moroni's prophecy that Joseph's name would be had for good and evil throughout the earth. Photograph by George Edward Anderson, 1907. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Presidents. Photographs presented views of the Salt Lake Temple, Smith family homes, and the monument's construction. Wells stocked a small library with biographies of Joseph, church histories, and doctrinal treatises, believing that these items gave the cottage "a memorial character" and a "delightful influence and spirit."²⁵

In addition to visual material, the Cottage also preserved the most tangible link to the time of Joseph Smith's birth. Before Wells's arrival, the only remains of the Smith family home were some crumbling cellar walls and foundation stones—the wooden above-ground structure having been dismantled previously for other uses. Able to identify one of the stones as the hearthstone, Wells commissioned local architect F. A. Walker to design the modern Cottage so as to feature the hearthstone—in its original position—as its focal point. Wells believed that "Joseph Smith was only three years old when his parents moved; so if he had any association with that hearthstone, it was as a child . . . perhaps it was where he was washed and dressed as a babe." Wells encouraged visitors (including President Smith on dedication day) to sit on the hearthstone and gaze reflectively out the large bay window "down towards Sharon."²⁶

Looking back from the twenty-first century, the destruction of the authentic ruins of the Smith family home in order to construct a hotel mocks our modern historical sensibilities. Our reactions are largely shaped by the fact that American preservation in the twentieth century followed a path of professionalization that has emphasized authenticity, originality, and architectural aesthetics—unlike, for example, the Englishman John Ruskin's desire to allow buildings to decay naturally or the Frenchman Viollet-le-Duc's efforts in France to create out of ruins "a completed state which may never have existed at any particular time."²⁷

Without competition from our modern authenticity ethos, Wells's decision struck a chord with his contemporaries. Susa Young Gates concluded: "Sentiment is the source of all the beauty and harmony in the world. And the most delicate, artistic, and vibrating of life's unities prompted Junius F. Wells to choose [the hearthstone as] the one thing of all others most fit to form the keynote of the whole harmonic structure."²⁸ Other features of the resort-repository connected visitors with such "vibrating unities of life." Weary travelers could dip their bucket in the same well that served the Smith family, or imbibe "cider, made from Grandfather Mack's own apple trees." Thus, for Wells's generation, the past was not a "foreign country," abruptly severed from and incomprehensible to the present, but rather the present flowed out of the past as smoothly and naturally as cider from ancestral apples.²⁹

Blending the ecclesiastical with the ecological, visiting Saints could



The Smith family well, in the foreground of this postcard, served as one of the living, tangible unities with the past.

Courtesy Royalton Historical Society, Royalton, Vermont.

also leave a personal living legacy at the birthplace, chronicled in a five-page document titled simply “Tree Record.” As part of an invitation-only informal reception in September 1906, Joseph F. Smith planted the first tree in “First Presidency Row,” a hexagonal cluster of six pine trees laid out around a central spruce. The next several planting seasons witnessed the establishment of an “Apostle’s Grove” and “Seventies Row,” along with the planting of over one thousand maple trees (including the presently-beloved double row along the entrance) and approximately two hundred pines and spruces. In 1909, Joseph Fielding Smith inaugurated the “Smith Family Row” and Wells set aside “Missionary Hill” for those resort-stopping elders who wanted to leave an arboreal legacy. One row on this hill was designated for “faithful missionaries who were true in life & death & have gone to labor with Joseph Smith & his associates in the Spirit World.”³⁰ This type of “living history”—quite unlike a costumed pioneer “interpreting” a relic—united member and missionary, past and present, living and dead through symbolic and literal integration with eternal Nature.³¹

By the summer of 1907 the major physical features of the resort-repository had taken shape—the modern Cottage and the commemorative Monument nestled into a neatly cultivated landscape in the rolling hills of Vermont. When Wells learned that a photographer from Utah, George Edward Anderson, was visiting places of significance in Mormon

history, he wasted no time in extending a personal invitation to Vermont. Anderson arrived late in the year and stayed for several months, capturing scenes of the monument, cottage, and Vermont environs.³² Wells used the photographs to promote public awareness of the site, making sure the images appeared in Mormon periodical literature. He sent copies of the photographs to newspapers, such as the *Boston Sunday Globe* and the *Deseret News*, and colored sketches of some of the photographs were included in a twelve-piece promotional postcard set.³³

Wells also distributed promotional mementos that bore tangible connection to the site. When a center portion of one of the monument's granite pieces was removed to facilitate handling, Wells ordered the excess reshaped into fifty polished paper weights that he presented to the Utahns attending the monument's dedication. Finding a large sumach growing out of the cellar hole, Wells ordered it cut, dried, and made into picture frames, paper cutters, and other souvenirs. Wells sent photographs of the Monument—framed in the sumach tree—to be hung in Church schools, in the temples of Utah, and in the mission headquarters of Europe. The president of the St. George, Utah, Temple, wrote personally to thank Wells, assuring him that it would “give general satisfaction to the saints who come to this Temple to see that on the birthplace of the greatest Prophet that has lived upon the earth, save Jesus Christ, there has been an all-time enduring monument erected to his Sacred Memory.”³⁴

The novelty of the site combined with Wells's innovative promotion thereof induced many Mormon travelers to stop at the resort-repository on their way through the region. Those who did invariably commented on the sacredness of the built landscape. Frederick Mitchell, on a tour with his wife that later included stops in Boston, Palmyra, Philadelphia, and Nauvoo, wrote: “In discribing this Monument the writer has not the ability in the use of words to express the feelings of the heart, and the thrill of veneration that permeates ones whole being, but there will be a prayerful echo in response to the facts expressed by every Latter-day Saint, who may visit this place; There is a sacred hallowed influence pervading these grounds, that lend strength to testimony to the Divine Mission of that great and just man Joseph Smith the Prophet of God.” Susa Young Gates similarly attested that “What the monument is, no one can describe,” yet when observed “together with the cottage which nestles near it” “the heart of every Latter-day Saint is thrilled with that worshipful peace . . . such as fills the soul only when standing before the unique and splendid architecture of our Salt Lake Temple.” A visitor from Washington found the site “as pretty as Salt Lake City,” while a vis-

itor from Salt Lake City recycled Brigham Young's words to declare "This is the place."³⁵

A visit to the resort-repository also triggered encounters with imagined landscapes. Many visitors experienced a sense of timeless sublime, describing the site variously as a "sacred spot," "a place of quiet and rest," "a wonderful place for meditation and prayer," or "a spot to get nearer to God." For one visitor to the birthplace, time, space, and scripture collapsed: "There is a spirit about those places as there is about the revelations of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith." A visitor from Idaho felt connected not with the past, but with the future at the site, seeing signs of "Mormon energy and . . . their future destiny." After seeing "the old well where Jos[eph] no doubt drew water & the forest fields where he must have played as a boy," a Latter-day Saint departed down Dairy Hill and "As we walked along inhaling the crisp refreshing air I thot of the Prophet & his brother Hyrum & the many other church leaders long ago & since who have walked the same paths." Another saint, less explicit about the content of his interaction, nevertheless noted its impact: "The thought of what occurred here stirs my soul to higher thots and motives."³⁶

Describing historic sites as "sacred" and "worshipful" is not uncommon, but there are subtle differences in past Latter-day Saint usage than should not go unnoticed. Modern visitors to "sacred ground" often consider their visit as homage to the efforts of those *in the past* who consecrated the ground by their lives (and especially by their deaths).³⁷ It is interesting to note, however, that Joseph Smith's birthplace was not sacred to these visitors because of past events, but rather because of the fact that they themselves had journeyed there *in the present*. In his December 1905 dedicatory prayer, President Joseph F. Smith spoke not of the past, but pled instead for the future: "that Thou *wilt* bless and sanctify all the land surrounding this spot," supplicating "May it be hallowed by *Thy people*."³⁸ For turn-of-the-century Latter-day Saint visitors to Joseph Smith's birthplace, the sanctifying of historic sites occurred as visitors in the present affirmed their belief in the past.

To "Speak the Prophet's Name 'for Good' to all Nations"

While initial plans for the resort-repository did not imagine a Gentile audience, three influences converged in Vermont to make this obvious additional application. First, Vermonters had assisted Wells in every step of the monumental construction process—from planning and management, to quarrying and polishing, to transportation and assem-

bly—and many Vermonters, in turn, considered the monument a tribute to their prized granite industry.³⁹ But the construction of the monument also provoked criticism throughout New England as circuit speakers, magazine editors, and local residents spoke out against both the Mormons and the Vermonters who welcomed them. Finally, the passage of time demonstrated that far more New Englanders than traveling Mormon elite actually visited the site. The fifty Mormons present at the monument's dedication shared the day with nine times as many non-Mormons, and page after page of signatures in the guest register display visitors from states in New England far more frequently than from the West.

If the trinity of impulses to express gratitude, counter criticism, and host neighbors produced an interest in catering to non-Mormons at the site, there existed little by way of precedent to suggest exactly how to proceed. Should visitors hear a gospel sermon, or simply meditate at the site? What messages should be shared? Who should share them? In 1902, a Bureau of Information had opened on Salt Lake's Temple Square to provide inquiring tourists with correct information about the Latter-day Saints. Within the decade, Church leaders would authorize publication of photographs and descriptions of temple activities in an attempt to state a positive position rather than defend against critical attacks. The time was right for proactive image management in the Green Mountain state.⁴⁰

Rather than simply answering happenstance askers, Wells actively campaigned to bring people to his public information bureau. Invitations to the monument's dedication were sent to civil leaders throughout the state and published in area newspapers. In May 1906, Wells hosted Vermont Governor C. J. Bell, state school superintendent M. S. Stone, and Frank Greene, editor of the *St. Alban's Messenger*. The governor "expressed pleasure at what he saw," and the following week he returned to the monument with his wife. When local high school classes resumed in September, Wells offered a prize to the student who wrote the best essay on the Monument. Wells hosted Governor Fletcher D. Proctor and half a dozen state officials in 1908—this time their wives also attended. (Wells learned quickly). In the summer of 1909, General O. O. Howard, "who used to be an enemy," consented to visit the site and Wells rejoiced in "draw[ing] out from the veteran general an expression of approval of the enterprize of our people in building so beautiful a monument."⁴¹

For a brief time, Wells employed a Vermonter to both care for the site and to greet visitors, but halted the practice after only two years. If he ever permitted missionaries to preach at the site, Wells never made a

record of it, though he strongly advised President Joseph F. Smith against making the resort-repository-bureau “a mission or conference headquarters or place of very active propaganda.” Instead, he believed that “every soul who comes to visit the Monument should feel free to come and free to go, taking away simply a favorable impression and testimony of the place itself.”⁴² As a structural demonstration of this belief, Wells “purposely made a wide open gate-way but without gates” so that visitors might “feel that they were welcome to come and bring their friends at all times . . . to go about the grounds and view the premises.”⁴³ Wells did not



This wide open gateway without gates symbolized the freedom Junius Wells hoped that non-Mormon visitors would feel at the site to come and go as they pleased. From George Edward Anderson and John Henry Evans, Birth of Mormonism in Picture (1909). Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

try to corral visitors into a discussion of religion, but rather thought it more effective if missionaries called on the visitors later, at their homes, “carrying whatever discussion and conflict that may arise away from this place instead of concentrating it there at the risk of breeding strife and enmity.” He believed that if Latter-day Saints simply held their own meetings at the site it would “naturally attract such others as are likely to join us,” including “reporters of the papers and magazines, prominent men and women in politics and literature, and other professions of whom so many spend the summer months in neighboring resorts.”⁴⁴

Joseph F. Smith dedicated the Monument as “a silent witness for

Thee to all who may look upon it,” and for Wells, the absence of proselytizers contributed toward “the main object” of maintaining the resort-repository-bureau: “that it may for years to come speak the Prophet’s name ‘for good’ to all nations.” Wells left no written script documenting the message he shared with Vermonters, though some of the visual images displayed in the Memorial Cottage help elucidate the ways in which he promoted the Prophet’s name “for good.” They also demonstrate that Wells continued the three themes emphasized at the dedication of the Monument: Mormonism’s Vermont roots, Joseph Smith’s American patriotism, and modern prophetic fulfillment.⁴⁵

First, Wells emphasized Mormonism’s century-long ties to the Green Mountain State. Over three dozen photographs of the monument’s construction reminded visitors that the development of the birthplace served to “weld another link in the chain that is binding Utah and Vermont so happily together.”⁴⁶ New Englanders also could be proud of Joseph Smith because he was an American patriot. Wells directed visitors’ attention to a framed statement made by Harvard graduate and former mayor of Boston Josiah Quincy (1802-1882) in his widely read *Figures of the Past*: “It is by no means improbable that some future textbook, for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this: What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to that interrogatory may be thus written: Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet.” In this vein, the Cottage also contained steel engravings of U.S. Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and incumbent Theodore Roosevelt—themselves soon to be memorialized at Mt. Rushmore.⁴⁷

Wells also employed a three-step technique that transformed the visitor into evidence that Joseph was a prophet. First, Wells presented a painting depicting the vision of John the Revelator with a framed statement of chapter 14, verse 6: “I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel.” He next directed his visitor’s attention to a painting of the angel Moroni and Joseph—the fulfillment of John’s prophecy and the occasion for another, also framed on the wall: “He called me by name, and said . . . that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations” (Joseph Smith-History, 1:33). Turning to the visitor, Wells concluded, “you of the world, unbelievers in ‘Mormonism,’ have been speaking the name of Joseph Smith for evil; we Latter-day Saints have built this monument and this memorial to show our love, our admiration and our testimony . . . So, between you and us we have fulfilled the words of the angel of God, and proved Joseph Smith

... a prophet of God.”⁴⁸

In addition to invited guests, the resort-repository-bureau also hosted the thousands of visitors who appeared over the course of those first two decades. By the summer of 1914 the *Deseret Evening News* reported that “Nearly every day, and always on Sunday, there are visitors to the monument, and most of them go away with a good impression.” The guest register bears the signatures of visitors from Boston to Burlington who went away “happily surprised” to have visited this “ideal spot.” A young girl from South Royalton who visited frequently called the birthplace “the best place on earth (I love it).” Of course, other reactions were also possible. Struck by the commemoration of a mortal prophet, a woman from Michigan emphasized in her entry: “Jesus said, I am the way the truth and the light,” but a reverend from Strafford, Vermont, wrote “Glad I was here.” In what was certainly a unique response for the time, a New Hampshire man noted in his entry dated 27 June 1909, that he was the first person baptized into the Mormon Church at the site.⁴⁹

Other visitors left their impressions in newspapers throughout the region. In June 1908 the *Boston Sunday Globe* featured an article that “breathes out a spirit of fairness,” while the following year a writer for *The Boston Traveler* was “greatly exercised” over a gubernatorial visit to the site and “pour[ed] out . . . vials of wrath upon the governor for giving official recognition to the Prophet.” In 1922, the local Vermont paper approvingly noted that the birthplace was “really a highland park, abounding in bright-colored flowers, green and well-trimmed lawns and graveled walks, with plenty of convenient spots for gathering around the lunch basket. The distant view is charming with high hills in rear, but a long vista of the Green mountains to be seen the west. There is good running water, parkingspace for autos and what is quite nice, a cheerful greeting from the parties in charge of the property.”⁵⁰

In the spring of 1908 the First Presidency asked Wells for an evaluation of the resort-repository-bureau. After outlining the progress, he recommended the addition of cattle and horses, a complete botanical garden, a stocked fishing pond, and “an octagon summer house” on top of Patriarch Hill that would be visible from the railway (unlike the rail lines serving other resorts of the period, the Vermont Central had *not* made efforts to promote the birthplace to its travelers). Anticipating the expense he concluded: “I do not think the Prophet’s Birthplace should be exploited for profit. There are so many other and better ways to make money.”⁵¹ It was not an uncommon occurrence at that time (or since) for preservation efforts to lose steam when the realities of annual upkeep set in.⁵² Church leaders were in the process of systematizing their finances

and therefore acted cautiously. They transferred direct supervision of the site from the First Presidency to the Presiding Bishopric and counseled Wells to close old accounts before opening new ones.⁵³ As a result of this increased focus on accounting, the botanical garden exists only in the architect's drawings, and the house on Patriarch Hill was never seen from the rails.⁵⁴ However, for leaders looking for a way to make money in Vermont—a state with more cows than people until 1963 and on a hill still known as “Dairy Hill”—the recommendation of a cattle herd presented possibilities.⁵⁵

A “Memorial [Dairy] Farm”

In March 1911, the First Presidency appointed Frank L. Brown as manager of the Joseph Smith Birthplace. Born in Salt Lake City in 1875, Brown had married Winnifred Tibbs in September 1902 and left with her the following month on a mission to Great Britain (these newlywed missionaries might have enjoyed a stop at a resort en route; they returned two years later with a son, Kenneth). The thirty-six-year-old Brown received a double mandate from Church leaders to maintain the traditions established at the site and to experiment with farming activities.⁵⁶

Between 1911 and 1919, while the monument, cottage, lily pond, and groves remained, the outlying property at the birthplace changed dramatically. Over the first few years Brown acquired three horses, five pigs, and nearly three dozen hens. When Brown arrived, the resort had possessed only its maple sugaring tools, but by the end of the decade he had added a manure spreader, a seeder, a potato hoe, a milking machine and separator, and two ice cream freezers. In 1914, a \$3,000 barn was erected to house a large herd (31 head) of Jersey cattle and the requisite outbuildings—a smaller dairy barn, a horse barn, a granary, two silos, a corn crib, and a grain bin—also appeared. In 1915, Brown reported seven acres of lawns and fifty acres of alfalfa under cultivation. By 1918, the site had covered its expenses and generated a small profit.⁵⁷

Tensions in the transition from resort to farm can be seen in the experience of the site's caretaker, Edwin Clifford. A professional gardener who converted to Mormonism in England in 1901, Clifford initially resisted Brown's invitations to care for the resort's “400 varieties of flowers in the garden beds.” After two years, a cancelled passage on the *Titanic*, and a prayer, Clifford brought his wife and nine children to Vermont. Though he was “a bit homesick at first,” Clifford enjoyed caring for the flowers, but soon found himself putting up barbed wire fences and milking cows. After four years of memorial farm labor, Clifford asked



In the 1910s, the addition of agricultural functions transformed the site into the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm. Frank Brown stands in the left foreground with a necktie and hat, his wife, Winnifred, is seated at the far right.

Photograph from the private collection of Elaine Soule. Used by permission.

for permission to leave his position at the birthplace. He went first to Massachusetts to work on a berry farm, and later returned to professional gardening at a wealthy estate in Connecticut.⁵⁸

Missionary participation increased at the farm under Brown. Missionaries still stopped en route to foreign lands, and still converged en masse for Pioneer Day, but they now began to perform farm work. Brown invited missionaries during sugaring season, at harvest time, or for special construction projects. Some missionaries were assigned to work hauling hay, milking cows, weeding corn, and completing farm chores for the entire summer season. The unpaid labor certainly played a significant role in the growth and success of the farm, and New England Mission President Ben E. Rich told missionaries that “the elders who were laboring on the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm were doing just as great a work as those who were in the service distributing gospel literature.”⁵⁹

Despite the fact that their resort was being transformed into a labor camp, there is evidence to suggest that the missionaries did not seem to mind. Simply stated, proselytizing in Vermont in the 1910s was hard work. While future hotel owner J. Willard Marriott and his companion may be the only elders who were chased out of a Vermont town by gun-

fire, most missionaries passed day after day walking, passing out tracts, requesting evening board, and being denied more often than not. Elder Louis W. Larsen of Cache County, Utah, poetically satirized an average day in which he encountered only Vermonters who “like . . . a Mormon elder like a bulldog likes a hare,” and “trudged all afternoon without a bite to eat;/ Stopping now and then to rest our burning blistered feet.” Elder William Rappleye of Cowley, Wyoming, enjoyed his summer haying assignment so much that even when all the missionaries were “resting up” after the pioneer day festivities, “us farmer boys [who] couldn’t lay still had to get out and cook up a piece of hay [and] hauled 2 loads.” In August 1916, Elder Ervin Hawkins and three others dropped in at the farm unannounced, only to be recruited by Brown and Clifford to help construct a large shed. “We enjoyed the work very much,” Hawkins wrote, “and I feel happy to think that I can leave any kind of a memorial here to show of our visit.”⁶⁰

Of course, the missionaries did not pass all of their time at farm work. Cool summer evenings brought baseball, lawn games, ice cream, and watermelon. One Sunday afternoon, four elders set out to play croquet: “We made a start and was getting along nicely When Sister Brown informed us that we were breaking the Sabbath[,] after a short argument We put our Mallets up and decided to take a walk.” Finding themselves in Apostle Grove, the elders “stopped and sang a few hymns.” Meanwhile, back at the cottage, a visitor who stood gazing at the monument “could hear a faint sound of [their] singing.” She was so “carried away” that she sighed to her guide, “O, if I could only just go to where that singing was.”⁶¹ In recent years, though entirely unrelated to this event, those restless elders have been replaced by a permanent loud-speaker system that wafts the music of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir through the trees.

A subtle—but perhaps the most significant—change in policy under Brown lies in the fact that, unlike Wells, he and Clifford took up year-round residence in New England. One commemorative implication came during the Browns’ first winter when they celebrated Joseph Smith’s birthday in Vermont on 23 December, something that had not been done since the monument’s dedication in 1905.⁶² The decision had practical implications as well. In a state known for its ambivalence toward “outsiders,” the Browns and Cliffords came much closer to being part of the local community. Kenneth Brown and the Clifford children attended the local schoolhouse across the street, sweeping the room and lighting the fire on winter mornings. Frank Brown was elected to the school committee, and his wife was a member of the local parent-teacher

association. The children attended Sunday School activities with Vermonters, and Edith Clifford was employed in neighbor Emily McIntosh's renowned mincemeat enterprise. The seeder and potato hoe used on the farm were purchased in combination with two other neighbors, and all the neighbors cut ice blocks in the winter from the Mormon pond.⁶³

As an outgrowth of this living arrangement Brown frequently invited local residents to the memorial. Brown told the *Deseret Evening News* that "the farm really serves as a public park for the people of the county." After an agreement that missionaries would not proselytize Hill residents, they came out in increasing number each year to celebrate the nearly week-long pioneer day festivities with the missionaries, and in 1915 well over half of the about two hundred guests were local neighbors. That same year Brown also invited the Dairy Hill School and neighborhood to hold its annual picnics at the site. In the words of local historian Hope Nash, the Mormons "made themselves pleasant." Local neighbors reciprocated the Browns' friendship when, in September 1916, to celebrate Frank and Winnifred's thirteenth wedding anniversary, approximately one hundred residents marched up to the cottage dressed in their "Sunday finery." The neighbors presented the Browns with "a beautiful carving set of silver" and the group's spokesperson said, in effect, "We do not know why we do this. You know New Englanders rarely welcome anyone to their midst, but regard them as strangers until they have been in our midst at least 20 years. And here, after only six years, we find ourselves regarding Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their son Kenneth as one of us, and expressing our esteem and love for them, for we do love them." The Browns accepted the gift and the guests enjoyed games, readings, music, and refreshments. When President Joseph F. Smith called the Browns to Vermont he "blessed them to go up there and live the gospel rather than to preach it, and had prophesied that a few years would turn hate into love, and the people would come to them voluntarily in love." They felt this occasion fulfilled that promise.⁶⁴

Late in 1918, Frank Brown caught influenza and he died on 1 January 1919. The *Deseret Evening News* praised the Browns for transforming "a barren rocky stretch" into "a model farm, with up-to-date barns, dairy and sheep herds." For the next thirty-five years, management of the memorial farm alternated between Heber C. Smith and Angus J. Cannon. The adopted son of Joseph F. Smith, Heber had formerly served as the state dairy and food commissioner of Utah and the *Salt Lake Telegram* announced that he intended to introduce "modern business methods" to the farm in order to "cultivate the land to the greatest

extent and make it a revenue producing proposition. Heretofore only the historical and sentimental side has been attended to, but it is believed that with greater production of crops by the cultivation of a great area that the property may become self-supporting.” Cannon, the former president of the Swiss and German mission and an experienced dairyman, continued to skillfully emphasize the farming aspect of the property, as attested by the large scrapbooks bursting with ribbons for prize-winning cattle at the local Tunbridge World’s Fair. The site remained a memorial dairy farm until the 1950s.⁶⁵

Conclusion

Over the course of two decades, the Joseph Smith birthplace served as a missionary resort, a historical repository and reception center, a public information bureau, and finally as a memorial dairy farm. None of these functions were pre-determined, and only the former was planned at the outset. A process of experimentation and accumulated habit produced a changing storyline contingent upon the needs of Church headquarters as well as the interests of local directors. The physical property was manipulated to accommodate decorative planting, extensive reforestation, and livestock cultivation. The target constituencies expanded from traveling missionaries to include Mormons and non-Mormon neighbors. Oversight passed from the First Presidency to the Presiding Bishopric. Maintained by a church, the site’s non-liturgical functions defy its categorization as a religious shrine. Established at a place of historic interest, its entertainment and economic functions disqualify it as a purely commemorative venture.

Of course, the site directors had no idea they were inaugurating a tradition of commemorative work by the Church. Nor could they anticipate the advances in historical scholarship, archeological inquiry, and technological presentation that the coming century would bring. Comparing their efforts to sites maintained by the LDS Church in the twenty-first century illuminates significant differences between the historical sensibilities—but not the underlying needs—of Latter-day Saints then and now. Whereas visitors to today’s historic sites use authentic reconstructions and sophisticated technological interpretations in an attempt to “go back in time,” early visitors to the Joseph Smith birthplace felt united with the past by integrating material remains—such as the hearthstone, well, and apple trees—into their own modern context. The past became significant not for its separate reality from the present, but for its ability to flow relevantly into present experience. Furthermore, the prop-

erty did not carry “lessons” for the present, but rather, by constructing a monument and paying homage to the site, visitors declared their affirmation of the validity of times previous. Concerning the sacred, twenty-first century saints are touched by the exquisite temples, testifying missionaries, and cultivated landscapes at modern historic sites, whereas the Saints who visited Joseph Smith’s birthplace a century ago meditated, bore their own testimonies, and symbolically overcame their mortality by planting trees.

Any visit to a historic site invites contemplation of human temporality. When the Boston journalist James Morgan visited the memorial farm in April 1931, he commented on the grounds, trees, flowers, and well. Sitting in the Memorial Cottage, the latest in contemporary technology permitted his reflections on transcending time to merge with the transcendence of space: “Above the old hearthstone about which [Joseph Smith] played is his picture, with his brother’s and their mother’s, as if they were listening to the radio beaming across the 2,000 miles the music of the great organ in the tabernacle, which was built by the vision of a Vermont prophet and by the hands of another.”⁶⁶ The vision and the hands that built the Joseph Smith Birthplace into a missionary resort and a memorial farm laid a foundation for a new era of Mormon commemorative religious experience that continues into the twenty-first century.

Notes

1. The history of Latter-day Saint commemoration needs to be written. At present, historic sites are treated in one of two general ways. First, a host of travel guides dating from the 1910s present photographs and brief entries about many sites in a single volume. The entries tend to mention a site’s inauguration and then leap forward in time to describe present attractions and visitor information. A second approach selects one, or possibly a handful, of historic sites as token evidence for an argument about some other development in Mormon or national history. The former approach ignores the historical development of LDS sites, while the latter overlooks the richness of their individual contexts.

2. The LDS Church had also purchased property in Carthage, Illinois (5 November 1903), and Independence, Missouri (14 April 1904), though both remained undeveloped for some time. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century 1*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 6:426–30, 525–26.

3. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph Smith: Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Press, 1938), 372. The Church later purchased the Smith Family Farm in Manchester, New York (10 June 1907), the temple site in Far West, Missouri (1909), the Peter Whitmer Farm in Fayette, New York (26 September 1926), and the Hill Cumorah in Palmyra, New York (17 February 1928). In the United States, historic preservation has been driven by architectural professionals and civic promoters. The few turn-of-the-century instances of preser-

vation by religious organizations are noted in Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1965), 266–68. See also Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926–1949*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981).

4. Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 2; Steven L. Olsen, “The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830–1846” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 74–92.

5. LaMar C. Berrett, ed., *Sacred Places: New England and Eastern Canada*. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 1:32; Richard L. Evans, “Mt. Pisgah Mormon Cemetery,” *Improvement Era* 40, no. 1 (January 1937): 20–22; J. Michael Hunter, “The Monument to Brigham Young and the Pioneers: One Hundred Years of Controversy,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 68, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 332–50. The Iowa cemetery provides an example of the nineteenth century Church’s disinterest in historic places. Purchased by the Church in 1886, the one-acre cemetery property was exempt from taxes and no specific record of the purchase seemed to have been made in Salt Lake City. The Church’s ownership was “rediscovered” by a group of Mormon tourists who visited the site in 1936, and, finding it in poor upkeep, inquired about its ownership.

6. G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 105–113, 134–38; Kirk Savage, *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); chapter 2; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), chapters 4–9.

7. Anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner describe sites of pilgrimage as places where miracles did and may again occur. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture, Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, eds., characterize pilgrimage sites as places for communicating with the divine in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991). Cultural anthropologist Gwen Kennedy Neville finds the journey home after wandering to provide the functional equivalent of pilgrimage in American Protestantism, *Kinship and Pilgrimage: Rituals of Reunion in American Protestant Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

8. Junius F. Wells, “Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet,” *Deseret Evening News*, 1 July 1905, 14. Contrastingly, some material objects possessed by Joseph Smith in life were accorded miraculous power. D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, revised and enlarged (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998), chapter 7.

9. Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 260–72. James M. Lindgren, *Preserving Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993); Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England: Preservation, Progressivism, and the Remaking of Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

10. John R. Winder, “Joseph and Hyrum Memorial,” *Annual Conference Reports of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 76–77. The statues were completed in 1911. “The Prophet and Patriarch,” *Improvement Era* 14, no. 9 (July 1911): 855–57.

11. On Wells’s design of the Monument see Keith A. Erekson, “Out of the Mists of Memory’: Remembering Joseph Smith in Vermont,” *Journal of Mormon History* 35, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 30–69.

12. Wells, "Birthplace of Joseph Smith the Prophet," 14; emphasis mine.

13. George H. Douglas, *All Aboard: The Railroad in American Life* (New York: Paragon House, 1992), 232–33. Saltair was never financially profitable. It was sold and reacquired by the Church, partially burned in 1925, sold in 1929, and continued sporadic operation until 1970. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 392–93; Nancy D. McCormick and John S. McCormick, *Saltair* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985); Wallace Stegner, "Xanadu by the Salt Flats: Memories of a Pleasure Dome," *American Heritage* 32, no. 4 (June/July 1981): 81–89.

14. On Vermont tourism see Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 135–67; Andrea Rebek, "The Selling of Vermont: From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860–1910," *Vermont History* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1976): 14–27. On contemporary missionary travels see David P. Charles, "You Had the Alps, but We the Mount of Olives': Mormon Missionary Travel in the Middle East (1884–1928)," *Mormon Historical Studies* 1, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 93–126.

15. *Randolph* [Vermont] *Herald and News*, 3 August 1905, 5; Junius F. Wells, "Report on Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 10 June 1905, 25, in the un-catalogued Junius F. Wells Collection (hereafter Wells Collection), LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

16. Frederick Augustus Mitchell to Milton R. Mitchell, 30 November 1909, 2, LDS Archives; Susa Young Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," *Improvement Era* 9, no. 4 (February 1906): 310. Edith Ann Smith described the bathtub as "somewhat of a curiosity to the people" and noted that "a furnace in the basement was also very much scrutinized," Edith Ann Smith Journal, 21, LDS Church Archives. A detailed description of the Cottage was published in [Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.,] *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument* (Salt Lake City, [1906]), 31 (hereafter *Proceedings*).

17. Dana F. Dow, "Planting Plan for the Grounds of the Joseph Smith Memorial, Feb 1907," LDS Church Archives; Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Property purchases at the site are listed in Keith A. Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town: The Memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002), 317.

18. "Pioneer Day is Fittingly Observed at Joseph Smith Memorial Cottage," *Deseret Evening News*, 6 August 1921; Joseph Valentine, Papers, 16 October 1923, 61, LDS Church Archives, spelling as in original.

19. *Randolph Herald and Times*, 26 July 1906, 5; George Edward Anderson, "The Last Celebration of the 24th At the Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith, by Prest. Ben E. Rich," *Improvement Era* 17, no. 2 (November 1913): 122–27. Before Wells purchased the property, local residents referred to the hill as "Bald Knob" because, like many hills in the region, its trees had been cleared for grazing. After the First Presidency decided to omit Hyrum Smith's likeness from the monument, Wells named the hill in honor of "the Patriarch." Bald Knob is identified by Wells in *Deseret Evening News*, 1 July 1905, 14. The hill is designated as Patriarch in "Register of Visitor's to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 12, LDS Church Archives (under the entry for 23 July 1906). Richard O. Cowan incorrectly ascribed the origin of the celebration to Ben E. Rich in 1913, and erroneously attributed the name "Patriarch" as a reference to B. H. Roberts, New England States Mission President from 1922 to 1927, in "Yankee Saints: The Church in New England During the Twentieth Century," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: New*

England, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 1988), 104.

20. William Edwin Rappleye, *Journals*, n.p., LDS Church Archives, entries for 24–25 July 1911, 23–24 July 1912; *Deseret Evening News*, 6 August 1921; Junius F. Wells and George Albert Smith also returned to visit the site on this occasion.

21. Francis M. Lyman, *Proceedings*, 17–18. Perhaps the final three words were offered to placate local fears. The report of the dedication in the local paper contained the following: “The Mormon church has no intention of invading Vermont or of proselyting. Doubtless there will be occasional pilgrims holding the faith who will visit this shrine, but no settlement or organized branch is contemplated on account of the memorial.” “Birthplace of First Mormon Marked by Splendid Monument,” *Randolph Herald and Times*, 28 December 1905, 3.

22. Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 November 1908, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Unfortunately, there is not enough data to empirically examine the social status of site visitors in this period. Most likely they were the “representative men of the Church,” the elite who have increased opportunities to both pay the cost of traveling to the site and to afford the time away from work to make the journey. Anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner described pilgrimage makers as “a few choice, pious, and relatively well-to-do persons,” as cited in Paul L. Anderson, “Heroic Nostalgia: Enshrining the Mormon Past,” *Sunstone* 5, no. 4 (July–August 1980): 47–55. This was certainly the case on the day of the monument’s dedication when a chartered train car from Salt Lake City brought Church President Joseph F. Smith, his counselor Anthon H. Lund, five apostles, and representatives of such prominent Utah families as the Smiths, Youngs, Taylors, Snows, Cannons, Grants, and Richardses. For a complete list of the Utah guests see Erikson, “American Prophet, New England Town,” 314–15. Wilson Allen Howard and George Henry Durham listed a visit to the site as among the notable events in their biographies published in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: A. Jenson History Company and *Deseret News*, 1901–1936), 2:643, 4:212.

23. The practice of displaying Mormon artifacts extends back to the exhibition of scrolls and mummies in Kirtland in the 1830s, and the Prophet’s mother, Lucy, maintained a little museum in Nauvoo. Hoping to display the virtues of Mormon settlement—home manufactures, fossils, relics from Utah’s prehistorical period—Brigham Young encouraged his son to establish the Deseret Museum in 1869 (coincident with the completion of the transcontinental railroad). The Deseret Building changed locations several times (residing for a time in the Vermont Building in Salt Lake City) before it ended up in the Temple Square museum as part of the Bureau of Information. Glen M. Leonard, “Origins of the Museum of Church History and Art,” 1984, copy in author’s possession; Florence Smith Jacobsen, “LDS Museums,” in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992), 2:971–73.

24. The paintings were done by artist Lee Greene Richards who visited the monument and cottage in August 1906. See “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 2 August 1906. All three are on still on display in the director’s residence.

25. Junius F. Wells to Charles W. Penrose, 16 November 1909, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. The walls displayed a painting of Oliver Cowdery and steel engravings of church presidents, the three witnesses, the seven latter-day apostles born in Vermont, and U.S. Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Tyler, Lincoln, and Teddy Roosevelt. In addition to a scrap book, record book, and register of visitors, the library contained a copy of the bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants; copies of the LDS hymnal and *Songs of Zion*; and the following books: Joseph Smith, *History of the*

Church, vols. 1–3; Orson F. Whitney, *History of the Church*, vol. 1; George Q. Cannon, *Life of Joseph Smith*; Lucy Mack Smith, *Life of Joseph Smith* (most likely the 1902 *Improvement Era* edition); *Life of William Taft*; Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology*; Jenson, *Historical Record*, vols. 5–6; John Henry Evans, *One Hundred Years of Mormonism*; B. H. Roberts, *New Witness for God*; Roberts, *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*; Roberts, *Successors in the Presidency*; Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*; *The World's Great Events*; Parley P. Pratt, *Voice of Warning*; Pratt, *Key to Theology*, John G. McQuarrie, *Talks of Mormonism*; *Concordance of the D&C*; Nicholson, *Preceptor*; Keeler, *Lesser Priesthood*; and Cowley's *Talks*. Inventory, 31 December 1910, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

26. Wells, *Proceedings*, 15; Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 315; *Montpelier (Vermont) Journal*, 29 August 1905; *Randolph Herald and Times*, 31 August 1905, 7. Additionally, the doorstep of the Smith home became the back door step of the Cottage.

27. Viollet-le-Duc, as cited in William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*, rev. ed. (New York: Preservation Press, 1997), 16. Historians of the preservation movement place the origins of the idealization of architectural authenticity in the work of John D. Rockefeller Jr., at Williamsburg and William Summer Appleton in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. See Hosmer, *The Presence of the Past*; Lindgren, *Preserving Historic New England*. These strains made their way into LDS efforts in the 1970s in Nauvoo; see T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., *T. Edgar Lyon: A Teacher in Zion* (Provo: BYU Press, 2002), 269–84. For an example of modern disdain for the disregard of authenticity see Mike Wallace, "Mickey Mouse History: Portraying the Past at Disney World," in Wallace, ed., *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 133–58.

28. Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 310. A contemporary newspaper clipping endorses the preservation efforts at the site: "The place was purchased; the sight of the house where he was born was located; everything on the premises which might be a reminder of the olden time was put carefully in the way of preservation; even an old apple tree from which without doubt the kitchen table of the Smith family was served many a time with fruit, was given a new lease of life, when it threatened to die, by filling its partly hollow trunk with cement." *Journal History of the Church*, 7 March 1916, 8. James E. Talmage noted that the "Memorial Cottage is, of course, much larger than the house in which the Smith family lived, but it covers and includes the original site." James E. Talmage, *Diary*, 18 January 1916, James Edward Talmage Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

29. Gates, "Memorial Monument Dedication," 317; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

30. The "Tree Record" in the Wells Collection contains roughly annual entries documenting planting activity, including: the double row of maples in the spring of 1906, First Presidency row "at the South west Corner of the Farm" in September, 650 maples in the apostle's grove and seventies row in the spring of 1907, a variety of trees in the spring of 1908. During 1909, an addition to First Presidency row was added by Anthon H. Lund in June, the Smith family row was established in October, and missionary hill was initiated in November "on the left of the avenue and cover[ing] the last hill coming into the grounds." The first five trees in the memorial row were dedicated to missionaries David M. Stuart, John B. Fairbanks, Jacob Hamblin, Dan Jones, and Henry G. Boyle. On the September 1906 visit by Joseph F. Smith see *Randolph Herald and Times*, 27 September 1906, 5; see also Joseph F. Smith, *Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1906), 4. In 1911, William Edwin Rappleye recorded his planting of a tree on mis-

sionary hill as part of the pioneer day festivities. William Edwin Rappleye, *Journal*, n.p., entry under 25 July. Melvin C. Merrill planted a tree for his apostle father in 1913 and Heber J. Grant planted a tree for himself during his visit in 1921; see “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 18 June 1913, and 24 July 1921.

31. The preeminent historian of the living history movement argues that the sites serve to transport visitors back in time. Jay Anderson, *Time Machines: The World of Living History* (Nashville: American Association of State and Local History, 1984).

32. George Edward Anderson to Junius F. Wells, 25 November 1907, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. The George Edward Anderson Collection housed in the LDS Church Archives, is a priceless vestige of the monument and surrounding area in the early twentieth century. Twenty years later, while serving as assistant Church historian, Wells persuaded Church officials to purchase the collection of over thirty thousand negatives. A good introduction to Anderson’s photographic mission and the collection is Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, T. Jeffery Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, eds., *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson’s Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint Historical Sites, 1907 Diary, 1907–08 Photographs* (Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University 1995).

33. The photos appeared in “View from the Prophet Joseph’s Birthplace,” *Improvement Era* 11, no. 6 (April 1908): 434; Junius F. Wells, “The Smith Family in Vermont,” *Improvement Era* 14, no. 2 (December 1910): 95–102; and Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton* (Burlington, Vermont: Free Press Printing Company, 1911) 644–48; Edward H. Anderson, “The Mission of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” *Improvement Era* 12, no. 2 (November 1908): 114–118; *Improvement Era* 23, no. 6 (April 1920): 547–48. See *Boston Sunday Globe* (10 May 1908); *Deseret Evening News*, 1 January 1910; *Journal History of the Church*, 20 June 1908, 10–16; 1 January 1910, 2. Postcard sets are preserved in the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Library (South Royalton, Vermont), Royalton Historical Society (Royalton, Vermont), LDS Church Archives, and L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University.

34. David H. Cannon [St. George Temple President] to Junius F. Wells, 19 December 1907, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives; Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 318; Junius F. Wells to Charles W. Penrose, 16 November 1909; Charles W. Penrose to Junius F. Wells, 10 December 1909, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. A framed photograph also went to the editor of the *Deseret Evening News*, 1 January 1910.

35. Frederick Augustus Mitchell to Milton R. Mitchell, 30 November 1909, 3, LDS Church Archives; Gates, “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 310, 311; “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” Hattie R. Abbott of Mt. Vernon, Washington, 12 August 1910; Josephine Tibbs of Salt Lake City, 23 July 1917, emphasis in original.

36. Anderson, “The Last Celebration of the 24th,” 124; George Albert Smith in “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 19 June 1907; Angus J. Cannon, “The Joseph Smith Memorial Farm,” *Improvement Era* 32, no. 3 (January 1929): 196; Geo. O. Wall of Raymond, Alberta, “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 26 July 1911; Charles H. Hart, *Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1929), 74; Charles W. Kingston of Idaho Falls, Idaho, “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 13 August 1907; Joseph Howard Valentine, *Diary*, 61–62; Edward S. Meservy, “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 6 August 1919.

37. Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

38. Joseph F. Smith, *Proceedings*, 23, emphasis mine.

39. Stanley F. Bloomfield, “James M. Boutwell—Man and Mayor,” *The Vermonter* 22 (April 1917): 57–67; Barbara Brainerd, “A Winding Route in Vermont,” *The Vermonter* 47 (March 1942): cover, 33–36; *A Guide to New Hampshire-Vermont Heartland* (South Royalton, Vermont: Manning House, 1960) 8; Ken Bush, “Joseph Smith: Memorial Vermont Ingenuity,” *Barre Life* (Winter 1997), 4–5.

40. Edward H. Anderson, “The Bureau of Information,” *Improvement Era* 25, no. 2 (December 1921): 131–39; James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries Ancient and Modern* (Salt Lake City: *Deseret News*, 1912); Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 239–57. Histories of public relations—with high-paid executives, manipulation of media outlets, and public spin—date its arrival to the 1920s and 1930s, though any human society requires public negotiation of meaning. Scott M. Cutlip, *The Unseen Power: Public Relations, A History* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1994); Cutlip, *Public Relations History from the 17th to the 20th Century: The Antecedents* (Hillsdale, New Jersey: L. Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1995).

41. “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 6; Junius F. Wells to Charles W. Penrose, 16 November 1909. See also *Randolph Herald and Times*, 20 September 1906, 5; Junius F. Wells to Fletcher D. Proctor, 16 July 1909, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Governor Proctor (of Proctor, Vermont) was joined by Judge Advocate General Williams (Bellows Falls), Surgeon General A. M. Norton (Bristol), inspector of rifle practice Gibson (Braintree), Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs Williams (Proctor), and Aide-de-camps Kinsley (Rutland), Wright (Williston), and Woosom (Springfield). “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 16 July 1908. The state forester came later that year to examine the groves and rows. “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace,” 10 October 1909.

42. Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

43. Junius F. Wells to Frank L. Brown, 20 March 1911, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. The policy did not extend to the entire property as an iron fence was placed around the monument to protect it in this open space. *Journal History of the Church*, 30 April 1906, 7. Gates reported, “One day, on arriving at the grounds, [Wells] saw a couple of tourists with a ten-pound hammer. One of them was trying to break off a part of the hearth to take away as a relic; with the only angry words he uttered while there, he rebuked the vandal who would ruthlessly destroy the one thing of all others most cherished for the altar of this new-old home. Surely the iron fence contemplated to be set about the monument will be needed, else the perfect granite shaft would be chipped to pieces by ruthless hands,” “Memorial Monument Dedication,” 318.

44. Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Accordingly, the site inventory listed a solid silver sacrament set containing a basket, pitcher, cup, table cloth, and six napkins. Inventory, 31 December 1910, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Frederick A. Mitchell commented both on the set and on the nature of the meetings: “The Conference meetings that were held were of a high type, much inspirational instruction was given, earnest testimonies were born by the Elders at the Sacrament meeting, a new sacramental Service of sterling silver had been purchased by Elders Wells for the exclusive use of meetings held in the Cottage, and it fell to the writers lot to offer the Dedicatory Prayer consecrating it for that use, being the Senior Elder present; this privilege caused the heart to swell with gratitude to heavenly Father which will ever be remembered. Frederick A. Mitchell (Logan, Utah), to Milton R. Mitchell, 30 November 1909, 4, LDS Church Archives.

45. Joseph F. Smith, *Proceedings*, 22; Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908. For discussion of the themes at the dedication see Erekson, “Out of the Mists of

Memory,” 60–67.

46. Junius F. Wells to Reed Smoot, 21 January 1909, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Wells told his successor that he permitted visitors “to go about the grounds and view the premises, read the inscriptions on the monument, come into the cottage and listen to the story that we have to tell of the manner of its transportation and erection and to such information as we had to give out concerning our people and why they have built the memorial in honor of the Prophet.” Junius F. Wells to Frank L. Brown, 20 March 1911.

47. Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past: From the Leaves of Old Journals* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1883), 376; for his entire commentary on Smith see 376–400. John Henry Smith quoted the statement at the dedicatory service, *Proceedings*, 18–19. Inventory, 31 December 1910.

48. Junius F. Wells, *Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1926), 70.

49. Orson F. Whitney to Joseph F. Smith, 27 August 1914, printed in *Deseret Evening News*, 5 September 1914; written comments from the “Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace”: Ethel M. Bates (Boston, Massachusetts), 1 August 1913; Mrs. Irving Webb (New Braintree, Massachusetts), 21 May 1907; Helen L. Belknap (South Royalton, Vermont), 10 October 1921; Pansy Edna Welcome (Manistique, Michigan), 10 May 1908, emphasis in original; Rev. R. W. Bennett (Strafford, Vermont), 10 May 1907; Joseph F. Greenough (Concord, New Hampshire), 27 June 1909. Other comments included “Beautiful as a dream,” Sara H. Cole (Tyngsborough, Massachusetts), 3 November 1906; and “So lovely I’d like to stay,” Maude G. Winterbottom (Burlington, Vermont), 21 May 1907.

50. Journal History of the Church, 20 June 1908, 10-16; 14 September 1909, 1; “At the Mormon Shrine,” *Randolph (Vermont) Herald and News*, 13 July 1922, 1.

51. Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 25 May 1908, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives..

52. Hosmer, *The Presence of the Past*, 288-97.

53. The deliberations of the First Presidency and Apostle are briefly outlined in Journal History of the Church, 27 May 1908, 7; and 3 June 1908, 12. Wells’s original estimate for the monument was \$15,000. Junius F. Wells, to the First Presidency, 10 June 1905, 25, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. At the dedication, he announced that the final price tag would be in the \$25–30,000 range, a figure later corroborated. *Proceedings*, 16; Journal History of the Church, 7 March 1916, 8. The Journal History of the Church, 30 April 1906, 7, notes an advance of \$4,000 for property purchases and the iron fence.

On Church efforts to systematize accounting practices see Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 99–100. Wells spent much of the next two years documenting his financial activity. Because of the negative sentiment he felt upon his arrival in 1905, Wells feared the reactions of Vermont banks if he opened an account in the Church’s name, so he had carried out the entire project in his own name. In addition, he had not distinguished between personal and Church expenses, and had made most of his payments in cash without retaining documentation. Wells hired a Boston accounting firm to assist him and by December 1910 he presented his account documentation to the presiding bishopric. Much of Wells’ correspondence with the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishopric, and the Safe Guard Account Company of Boston is preserved in the Wells Collection. In 1913, Senator Reed Smoot called on fellow Senator Dillingham of Vermont to exert his influence in settling issues with the Vermont banks. Harvard S. Heath, ed., *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 193–94. They both

signed the “Register of Visitor’s to Joseph Smith’s Birthplace” on 28 October 1913.

At Wells’s funeral in 1930, George Albert Smith commented: “If Junius F. Wells had possessed wealth there would have been thousands of people who would have been made more comfortable and their lives more delightful because of that. He would not have retained very much of it, but he would have scattered it where he thought it would do the most good. There was no difference to Junius F. Wells in a dollar and a thousand dollars. He said to me many times when I tried to restrain him about something that required money to be expended, ‘Oh well, money is not good for anything unless you spend it. I cannot make very much, but I do know how to spend it if you will just help me.’ That seemed to be his humorous way of calling my attention to the fact that I was more stringent with the means of the Mutual Improvement Association of the Church,” George Albert Smith, *Funeral Services for Junius Free Wells*,” 20 April 1930, 19–20, LDS Church Archives.

54. Wells did not seem to give up on his plans, nor did he fail to make new ones. Letters in the Wells collection forwarded his plan for the dam and fish pond, and suggested enhancing the repository with a piano, larger book collection, and a commissioned painting of Joseph F. Smith. Junius F. Wells to Anthon H. Lund and Joseph F. Smith, 19 July 1910; and Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, 21 January 1911, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

55. Charles T. Morrissey, *Vermont: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1981), 114.

56. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:734–35. Wells corresponded with Brown, the presiding bishopric, onsite caretaker C. H. Robinson, landscape architect Dana F. Dow, and South Royalton merchant Perley S. Belknap concerning the transition, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. Church leaders assigned Wells to oversee the construction of a monument to Oliver Cowdery in Missouri and then called him a missionary to England.

57. “Tells of Improvements on Joseph Smith Farm,” *Deseret Evening News*, 11 October 1915, 2; Inventory, 31 December 1910; Inventory, [1919], “Earnings Statement,” 1918, Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives.

58. “A Synoptic Narrative of the Joseph Smith Birthplace Memorial Historic Site,” typescript, 9, Joseph Smith Memorial Birthplace Library, South Royalton, Vermont. In between work at the berry farm in Littleton, Massachusetts, and the Connecticut estate, Clifford returned for four years to assist Heber C. Smith at the Joseph Smith birthplace. “Tells of Improvements on Joseph Smith Farm,” *Deseret Evening News*, 11 October 1915, 2; Susan L. Fales, “Mythic Chords of Memory: The Clifford Family and the Joseph Smith Memorial Farm,” unpublished manuscript, copy in author’s possession.

59. Rich quoted in George Edward Anderson, “The Last Celebration of the 24th At the Birthplace of the Prophet Joseph Smith, by President Ben E. Rich,” *Improvement Era* 17, no. 2 (December 1913): 125. “Synoptic Narrative” 15. Four elders were called in to help with the construction of a large barn in August 1916, Ervin Thomas Hawkins, *Journals, 1916–1919*, 14–16 August 1916, LDS Church Archives.

60. Robert O’Brien, *Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977), 81–84; “Poem composed by Lewis [sic] W. Larsen, Cash [Cache] Co. Utah,” in Rappleye *Journals*, after 31 May 1912; William Edwin Rappleye, *Journals*, 26 July 1911 entry; Ervin Thomas Hawkins, *Journals*, 15–16 August 1916, 22.

61. William Rappleye, *Journal*, 30 July 1911; see entries for the entire summer. The next year the missionaries were invited to neighbor Fred Shepherd’s for a dance in his barn. When Rappleye and a few others declined on account of a desire to catch up in their journals and write a few letters, Winnifred Brown “called us all pikes but we stayed

home anyway." Rappleye, *Journal*, 27 July 1912.

62. The practice has occurred occasionally over the past century, with the tradition of Christmas lights, initiated in 1989, finally bringing constancy. At general conference in October 2005, President Gordon B. Hinckley announced his plans to celebrate the bicentennial of the Prophet's birth in Vermont.

63. The Clifford family lived year-round on Dairy Hill. The Browns stayed on South Royalton the winter of 1911–1912 and 1916–1917. "Register of Visitors," 23 December 1911; *Randolph Herald and News*, 14 December 1916, 5. The Browns wintered in other places (including North Carolina the year Frank was ill). Brown's successor, Heber Smith, generally wintered in nearby Dorchester, Mass., though after 1923 they received permission to return to Salt Lake City each winter; the author thanks Susan Fales who helped verify this information. On community involvement see *Journal History of the Church*, 28 October 1916, 5; Evelyn M. Lovejoy to Gertrude Laird, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence, Royalton Historical Society; "Synoptic Narrative," 13; Inventory, 1919. Emily McIntosh annually distributed four and a half tons of mincemeat to every state in the nation. Baird Hall, "The Kind Grandma Makes," *Vermont Life* 5 (Autumn 1950): 24-27.

64. "Tells of Improvements on Joseph Smith Farm," *Deseret Evening News*, 11 October 1915, 2; Medora Dodge, interview by author, South Royalton, Vermont, 28 August 2001; *Randolph Herald and Times*, 29 July 1915, 4; and 8 July 1915, 4; Hope Nash, *Royalton Vermont* (Lunenburg, Vermont: The Stinehour Press, 1975), 80; *Journal History of the Church*, 28 October 1916, 5. Presiding Bishop Orson F. Whitney visited the Browns in August 1914 and wrote of them: "They had a hard light to shine against in the form of their predecessors, Junius F. Wells and family, who are still much beloved in that part: but they shine nevertheless, having many friends among the farm folk and business people in and around South Royalton," *Deseret Evening News*, 5 September 1914, in *Journal History of the Church*, 27 August 1914, 3.

65. "Widow Honorably Released From Smith Memorial Farm," *Deseret Evening News*, 24 April 1919, 3; "Heber C. Smith is Sent to Vermont," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 23 April 1919, "Angus J. Cannon to Succeed Heber C. Smith at South Royalton," *Deseret Evening News*, 16 May 1924; "Made Custodian of Joseph Smith Farm," *Deseret Evening News*, 21 March 1929. A list of site directors through 2003 may be found in Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 328.

66. James Morgan, "In the Holy Land of the Mormons," *Boston Sunday Globe*, 23 April 1931.