GIFT OF
Edgemont Third Ward
East Sharon Stake
IN MEMORY OF
Harold Anton Peterson
The Saga of the BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Jay M. Todd

Published by
DESERET BOOK COMPANY
Salt Lake City, Utah
1969
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 71-82121

Copyright 1969
by
Jay M. Todd

Cover Artwork by
William Whitaker
Dedicated to my parents, Kenneth Christian Todd and Gertrude Avonia Viehweg Todd, lifelong followers of truth, and persons who have engendered within me a hunger for things of value.
In addition to telling the remarkably rich story behind the story of the Book of Abraham, this book is also a treasury for the interested reader of data, experiences, stories, reports, and related information dealing with the mummies and papyri which are associated with the Book of Abraham. Some segments and facts of the story have found presentation in other varied and sundry forms, but never under one cover.

My presentation is simply reportorial. It does not pretend to the qualities of literature, and for some there will be those pages which will not be compelling reading. However, hopefully such a reader will find his interest quickened in another segment of the story.

Those persons familiar with the concerns of historiography or communications know that no presentation is devoid of bias. I have preferred to slight the romanticization of some segments of the story in favor of seemingly a more detailed approach. I suspect the analysis of some data and a few chapters will be tiresome.

I hope the errors will be minimal. But from experience in writing and editing, I know that it is difficult to produce a book without errors, even if they only be transpositions, misspelled names or words which escaped the proofreaders' attention. All that I can say concerning the quality of the work is that which any researcher-writer would say in a similar position: This is the best I could do under the circumstances, in the time allowed, and under our and my present state of knowledge. I have found Warren R. Daw-
son's sentiments to reflect those of my own: "... I can only wish this little book no happier fate than to see it superseded by a better, undertaken by an author whose knowledge and facilities for research are greater than my own." (Who Was Who in Egyptology, p. v.)

The work is my own (reviewing past findings, origination of reports, origination of some new research, exploration of related areas, and the writing). But after the completion of the manuscript, two persons, in discussion, contributed several items of value: Dr. James R. Clark and Michael Marquardt, to whom I give thanks.

The project has opened up dozens of areas for future research. Hopefully, readers will see them also, and will make a stab at doing the work. If this is not done, Latter-day Saints will continue to perpetuate segments of a story surrounding the background of the Book of Abraham, all of which cannot be true. But readers will soon be apprised of that.

Jay M. Todd
July 1968
Salt Lake City
Additional comment:

Essentially the data was collected between late December 1967 and February 1968, the manuscript quickly written in the evenings of April and May, and then hurriedly reviewed, with liberal insertions, in July, after which I decided to present it to the publisher. However, it was not until early November that I found time to return the manuscript to the publisher after reviewing again new research and making hurried insertions throughout the manuscript. Therefore, I hope the strands of thought are obvious and meaningful. Ultimately, however, I am satisfied if only I relay new, interesting, and valuable—or potentially valuable—information. I do wish to note, however, that I am well aware that in actuality this work is only an interim report. Even at this writing, the central problems of the case remain unsolved. But this report will have served its purpose if it motivates or assists others in the resolution of the problems that are part of this most interesting story.

JMT
November 9, 1968
## Contents

Preface ........................................ vii
1  But Gone Is Your Evidence ............... 1
2  In the Wake of Bonaparte .................. 7
3  Gurneh's Pit-Tomb .......................... 13
4  The Case of the Missing Benefactor .. 75
5  Italy's Disconcerting Reports .......... 85
6  In Port and Out of Port ................. 103
7  'The Gypsy-Like Life..." ............... 109
8  With Joseph ................................ 151
9  The Entries of History ................. 171
10 Publication at Last ...................... 219
11 The Separation ............................ 274
12 The Recent Discoveries .................. 333
Index ........................................ 389
On Monday, November 27, 1967, people throughout the world heard over their radio and television stations and read in their newspapers an intriguing announcement datelined New York City. The press release, its basic structure written by Jack E. Jarrard, editor of the “Church News,” a week-end supplement of the Deseret News, was refined by three men: Earl Hawkes, publisher and general manager of the paper; William B. Smart, executive editor; and President N. Eldon Tanner, second counselor in the First Presidency, the ruling council in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the owner of the newspaper. The announcement went as follows:

NEW YORK—A collection of papyrus manuscripts, long believed to have been destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871, was presented to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) here Monday by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The long-lost manuscripts were presented to President N. Eldon Tanner of the First Presidency, the governing body of the Mormon Church, by Thomas P. F. Hoving, director of the museum.

Accompanying the manuscripts was a letter attesting to the fact that the papyri had been the property of the Prophet Joseph Smith, first president of the Church. The letter, dated May 26, 1856, was signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, widow of the Prophet, and his son.

Included in the papyri is a manuscript identified as the original document from which Joseph Smith had copied the drawing which he called “Facsimile No. 1” and published with the Book of Abraham.

An interpretation of the facsimile was prepared by Joseph Smith, and the Book of Abraham now forms part of the volume known as The Pearl of Great Price.

The announcement made front-page news in many
papers—including the leading Egyptian newspaper—and generally was carried by most newspapers throughout the world. Radio and television newscasters beamed the message across national boundaries and over continents. Most listeners and readers were interested. Some were intrigued. But members of the Church were stunned!

For 96 years Church authorities and members had believed that all known evidence dealing with their scripture, the Book of Abraham, had burned in the Chicago fire. And during those 96 years, as always seemed their lot, members of the Church had been assailed by doubters, enemies, critics, and even scholars for their belief in the Book of Abraham. Some persons had even challenged the entire story of the Book of Abraham, claiming that the Prophet Joseph Smith had never owned or had in his possession any Egyptian mummies or Egyptian manuscripts.

Against such assertions, members of the Church could
produce no known physical evidence proving that their Prophet had indeed had some Egyptian materials. To the cynic, it was only a repetition of a pattern that had long since manifested itself in terms of things Mormon.

The Saints spoke of angels—but where were their heavenly visitors for others to see, hear, and be inspired by?

They spoke of gold plates—but where were their ancient volumes for interested parties to view, touch, and finger their pages?

They spoke of a Urim and Thummim, a special instrument used in translating languages—but where was this priceless tool for linguists and scholars to test and marvel at?

And now, in the usual pattern, the Saints spoke of Egyptian mummies and ancient papyrus, the latter contributing to a new book of scripture and increased insight into history. “But where are your mummies and where is your papyrus that we too may examine, admire, and translate?” the interested and disinterested asked.

It seemed that the Mormons were forever losing their evidence: their angels wouldn’t return, their gold plates had been given back, their Urim and Thummim was not around, and now the Saints claimed that their Egyptian documents had burned in a fire! It was more than some critics could endure.

Thus, the news that the actual papyrus document had been found from which Facsimile No. 1 had been copied was of no little import and interest to most Latter-day Saints. Most members of the Church were highly motivated to finish reading the news article:

The Pearl of Great Price is accepted as one of the four volumes of scripture by Church members. The others are the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants.

Included in the museum’s presentation are a number of other papyri once in the possession of Joseph Smith.

These include conventional hieroglyphic and hieratic Egyptian funerary texts. Such papyri, including passages from the well-known Book of the Dead, were commonly buried with Egyptian mummies.

But Gone Is Your Evidence
The papyri originally came into Joseph Smith's possession in 1835 along with four Egyptian mummies purchased by some Church members in Kirtland, Ohio. After his death in 1844, the mummies and papyri were sold by his widow. At least two of the mummies were burned in the Chicago Fire of 1871, and it had been assumed the documents were also destroyed at that time. The collection presented to the Church today is only a part of the papyri which Joseph Smith had in his possession.

The Museum has had the collection since 1947, but their existence was not known to the Church until recently when a renowned Distinguished Professor of the University of Utah saw the original of the facsimile while researching Coptic and Arabic papyri in a special room at the Museum.

Dr. Aziz S. Atiya, only recently retired as Director of the University of Utah Middle East Center, said he was electrified when he saw the ancient document.

*Dr. Atiya, Dr. Joseph Noble, and President Tanner examine the original Facsimile No. 1 and the duplication in the Book of Abraham.*
"It was one of my most important finds," the distinguished professor said. He is known throughout the academic world as a historian, writer, and teacher. He was instrumental in building the Middle East Library at the University of Utah to one of the five finest and most complete in the U.S. For this effort he has been honored by having that library named the Aziz S. Atiya Library for Middle Eastern Studies.

His work in the ancient histories concentrated on Coptic and Arabic scripts. He is a member of the Christian Coptic Orthodox Church but is intensely interested in the Mormon story.

The papyrus documents will be taken to Salt Lake City for further study and research.

The press release serves as a superficial review of a story that can become amazingly complex if one wishes to further pursue the matter. Indeed, the story of how Joseph Smith received the papyri and mummies and what happened to them is one filled with adventure, mystery, unusual sideline interests, and, seemingly, one filled with providential direction. Some details are still clouded, but each year new research seems to divulge additional bits of information. Since the November 27 announcement of the papyri rediscovery, researchers and scholars again have turned their attention to the fascinating and strangely entangled and muddled historical story behind the Book of Abraham. New information has been unearthed and will be herein presented.

Also, additional information surrounding Dr. Atiya's discovery is available. In addition, there are some most interesting and inspiring background incidents dealing with aspects of the papyri and Book of Abraham story that have never before been told. These additions help fill an already bulging bag of data, incidents, and related discoveries surrounding this unique book of latter-day scripture, a book of scripture purporting to represent the thought of a man named Abraham, a man who walked the earth nearly 4,000 years ago.

As has been noted, the story is extremely complex, so complex, in fact, that even that which is known has never been completely told under one cover. It will be my intent simply to tell the story—the story behind the story—
of our Book of Abraham, using all relevant information known to me, in order that, finally, in one work will be presented the complete story known to date.
As students of history know, the last few years of the 18th century saw the meteoric rise of a bright and powerful star across the European horizon. Napoleon Bonaparte, from the island of Corsica, fourth of thirteen children born to Charles Bonaparte and Letitia Ramolino, of Italian ancestry, had won France's respect on October 6, 1795, when after one night of planning, his 5,000 government troops repelled in one hour some 30,000 Parisian mobbers.

In less than a year the stocky Corsican had conquered the whole of northern Italy, defeated armies of Austria, Sardinia, and the Pope, in which he by "ingenuity of plan, celerity of movement and audacity in assault, far outgeneraled all his antagonists." (Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 19, p. 697.) Upon returning home, the enthusiasm of the Parisians for Napoleon was immense. Apparently, some in the government intended to invade England and had brought an army together for that purpose. The command was given to Napoleon. But instead of invading England—which some scholars think was a feint to hide France's real designs—on May 10, 1798, Napoleon and 36,000 men embarked for Egypt, the preliminary step to the desired conquest of British India. Before the summer was over, 28-year-old Napoleon Bonaparte stood as the unrivaled master of 5,000-year-old Egypt. Before his onrushing armies, the British, the Mamelukes, and the native Arabs of Lower Egypt had all fallen in succession. (The Mamelukes were descendants of slave soldiers, chiefly from Turkey, who rebelled against their
Egyptian masters and ruled Egypt from 1254 to 1517 A.D. Their wealth and superiority left them the nominal Egyptian rulers thereafter, until 1811, when Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, destroyed them.) The history of Egypt and the disposition of most of her treasures therein were forever to be altered as a result of Napoleon.

Even the ageless Sphinx, built about 3500 B.C., could not escape his insolence, nor his stamp of destruction. After the battle of the Pyramids, in which Napoleon routed all opposition and consequently gained complete control over lower Egypt, the five-foot two-inch military giant sullenly surveyed the Pyramids, legendary testimony of Egypt’s former greatness. Three great pyramid monuments, or tombs, dominated the skyline, one by Khufu or Cheops, one by Kha’fre’ or Chephren, and one by Menkeure or Mycerinus. These aged monuments had long been called the Pyramids of Giza, and were built about 2700 B.C. They were already ancient in the days of Abraham.

In front of the second pyramid of Giza stood a colossal human-headed lion, symbolizing strength and intelli-
gence. Thousands—perhaps millions—of humans from many nations had gazed upon it in wonderment and awe, seemingly from time immemorial. But something about the stare or perhaps the condemning look of the Sphinx irritated Napoleon. Motioning for the cannons to be brought up, he ordered them to be trained upon the six-foot nose of the Egyptian deity. Within minutes, cannon balls had erased forever the tiresome labors of unknown ancient sculptors. The Sphinx stood noseless, and remains so still—forever a symbol of man’s latent capacity for intolerance and destruction.

It was a year later when something of value occurred in Egypt that was of lasting significance. In 1799, a black basalt stone bearing inscriptions in three languages was found near a place called Rosetta, near Alexandria, by an officer of the French military engineers.

The stone was copied and sent to European linguists, of whom one was Jean Francois Champollion, who obtained a clue from the stone for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics. However, Champollion was helped in his decipherment by the 1819 work of Thomas Young, a British physicist, who is today credited with aiding Champollion materially. Champollion expounded his findings in Paris in 1823, and they were published by the state in 1824. However, until 1837, when a German scholar named Richard Lepsius re-examined and pronounced Champollion’s work substantially correct, Champollion’s studies were under the onus of speculation. His work was not available to American scholars until about 1836. Thus, it becomes apparent that although the cracking of the Egyptian script was done before Joseph Smith produced his Book of Abraham, it is extremely unlikely that the Prophet or anyone in his society would have ever read or obtained any of Champollion’s work. Champollion’s work was simply not respected sufficiently by scholars for it to have filtered down into public dissemination or consciousness.

More, much more, could be told on this aspect of the story.

The background story of the decipherment of the
Rosetta Stone, the work of a Swedish diplomat named Akerblad, the scholarly battle that raged in European centers of learning for over a decade make fascinating reading. But readers are referred elsewhere for this story. Interestingly, it was one of those scholars, a Gustavus Seyffarth (spelling from Warren R. Dawson), who left Europe infuriated at the turn of events abroad and came to America and journeyed to St. Louis, Missouri, where in time he viewed some of the mummies and papyri owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith and rendered his judgments on the papyri’s meaning.

But let us return to Bonaparte. Accompanying Napoleon on his Egyptian campaign was a considerable body of scientific and artistic explorers. The learned men were astonished at that which lay before their eyes. Artists were quickly in top demand to record the visual images. Some of the stranger stories of history surround the scarcity of pencils for the artists, and how some men risked their lives to steal pencils, or risked their lives to steal bullets in order to rob others of their writing materials. The reports and discoveries by the scholarly contingent turned the world’s attention toward the land of the Pharoahs. Shortly thereafter, a series of books by Edme Francois Jomard titled La Description de l’Egypte began publication. They caught Europe by storm. The series appeared in 24 volumes, from 1807 to 1826, and contained the sketches of all known Egyptian artifacts, sketched and described by many scholars working under Jomard.

Worldwide interest in Egyptian antiquities fanned itself to a searing blaze. Egypt was soon overrun with scientific expeditions, adventurers, soldiers of fortune, and robbers of catacombs and ancient burial sites.

“In the first half of the nineteenth century, and for a long while afterwards, excavation was principally concerned with the quick discovery of what was hidden in a barrow, tell, or pyramid, and with the acquisition of works of art to adorn the museums and private collections of Europe.” (Glyn Edmund Daniel, A Hundred Years of Archaeology, p. 152.)
“These were the great days of excavating. Anything to which a fancy was taken, from a scarab to an obelisk, was just appropriated, and if there was a difference with a brother-excavator, one just laid for him with a gun.” (Howard Carter, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, p. 8.)

A good description of the methods used by the explorers is given by one of the most famous of the fortune hunters, Giovanni Belzoni, an extraordinary six-foot-seven-inch one-time circus strongman of London who had gone to Egypt to sell hydraulic machinery, and who stayed to rob tombs and eventually die in an expedition to Tombouctou. (Timbuktu, caravan crossroad center some 950 miles inland from the northwestern coast of Africa.) After describing the entrance into a pyramid, Belzoni says:

... you generally find a more commodious place, perhaps high enough to sit. But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies in all directions; which, previous to my being accustomed to the sight, impressed me with horror. ...

After the exertion of entering into such a place, through a passage of fifty, a hundred, three hundred, or perhaps six hundred yards, nearly overcome, I sought a resting-place, found one, and contrived to sit; but when my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, it crushed like a band-box. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support; so that I sank altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones, rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept me motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again. I could not remove from the place, however, without increasing it, and every step I took I crushed a mummy in some part or other. Once I was conducted from such a place to another resembling it through a passage of about twenty feet in length, no wider than a body could be forced through. It was choked with mummies, and I could not pass without putting my face in contact with that of some decayed Egyptian; but as the passage inclined downwards, my own weight helped me on; however, I could not avoid being covered with bones, legs, arms, and heads rolling from above. Thus, I proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their papyri; of which I found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, on the legs, and covered by numerous folds of cloth that envelop the mummy.
An expert of the times has written:

No doubt, MM. Drovetti, Passalacqua, Belzoni, and the rest of them, were in ordinary life most estimable members of society; but put them in the presence of an interesting mummy or statue, and forthwith morality fell from them like an outworn garment, and they lied, cheated, and stole not to put too fine a point upon it, like a gang of thieves. (Reverend James Baikie, *Life of the Ancient East*, p. 85.)

Reviewing such escapades of Belzoni’s and other soldiers of fortune caused scholars R.V.D. Magoffin and E. C. Davis to write that modern observers turn “green with envy, red with shame, and white with rage” when learning of them. (*The Romance of Archaeology*, p. 50.)

The Arab merchants of Egypt were in a particularly good position to benefit from these soldiers of fortune, because for several hundred years some Europeans had believed that Egyptian mummies contained a magical and healthful influence. The Arabs had long been robbing the Egyptian tombs of their human treasures, selling them to occasional European merchants, or burning the mummies and their wooden cases for fuel. The Arabs often lived in the tombs of the dead. Thus, ransacked from both within and without, Egypt’s treasures had feeble resistance.

Into this atmosphere, probably at least by 1817, strode 36-year-old Giuseppe Pietro Antonio Lebolo, former gendarme from Milan, Italy, but one now intent upon adding fame and fortune to his name. Unbeknown to Lebolo, his name was to be forever perpetuated for his part in unearthing some mummies and papyri that apparently eventually reached the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and which contributed in the coming forth of the Book of Abraham.
At this point, in order to account for the entrance of Antonio Lebolo’s name into the story, and to expose readers to the information first given members of the Church, part of an 1835 letter by Oliver Cowdery, second elder and assistant president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is presented. The letter, written to William Frye, Esquire, of Gilead, Calhoun County, Illinois, was written December 22, 1835, and was printed December 31, 1835, in The Latter-day Saints’ Messenger and Advocate, Church-owned newspaper of Kirtland, Ohio.

Before presenting the 1835 Oliver Cowdery information, it is important to note that Oliver Cowdery presumably received all of his historical information from the man who sold the Egyptian wares to the Prophet Joseph Smith, apparently a man named Michael H. Chandler. Presumably, Oliver Cowdery discussed the subject with Mr. Chandler, as did probably other Latter-day Saints, who also may have contributed information to Oliver Cowdery. So, leaving the Egypt of 1817, we turn to 1835 in the little town of Kirtland, Ohio, on the American frontier to read Oliver Cowdery’s news article:

Upon the subject of the Egyptian records, or rather the writings of Abraham and Joseph, I may say a few words. This record is beautifully written on papyrus with black, and a small part, red ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies, hieroglyphics, etc. with many characters or letters exactly like the present, (though probably not quite so square,) form of the Hebrew without points.

These records were obtained from one of the catacombs in
Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo.

Interestingly, Oliver Cowdery had received part of this information or had part of his information confirmed from an advertising placard that Chandler apparently gave to the Prophet at the time of purchase. This placard—long unnoticed as Chandler’s placard, and a subject that will be discussed later—was printed or reprinted in the May 2, 1842, *Times and Seasons*, about a month and a half after the publication of the Book of Abraham. The similarities and differences of Oliver’s letter and Chandler’s placard are presented without comment, at this point:

**Egyptian Antiquities**

These Mummies, with seven others, were taken from the Catacombs of Egypt, near where the ancient, and we may say, almost unparalleled city of Thebes once stood, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo.

Before proceeding further, it is important to note that until a few years ago, members of the Church thought the discoverer’s name was Antonio Sebolo. As a result, perhaps because they had been researching the wrong name, few if any members of the Church knew much more about the mysterious discoverer than his supposed name. However, recent research has disclosed far more than his name, enough so that some researchers feel they “know” Antonio rather well—“at least as well as my own shirttail relatives,” one Latter-day Saint scholar has commented.

The problem over the name—Lebolo or Sebolo—begins in 1835 with Oliver Cowdery’s letter. He calls the man by his correct name, Antonio Lebolo. The 1842 reprint of Chandler’s placard calls him Antonio Lebolo. Also, in 1842 Elder Parley P. Pratt, in England doing missionary work for the Church, published an account of the mummies and the Book of Abraham, and he spelled the name “Antonio Lebolo.” But in the second volume of *History of the Church*, published in 1904, appears the name Antonio Sebolo, on page 348, Vol. 2. As a result, Elder
B. H. Roberts, of the First Council of Seventy, in his *Comprehensive History of the Church*, Vol. 2, page 126, published in 1930, perpetuates the name Sebolo. Consequently, all Church literature after the publication of these two histories, except the most recent publications, identified the discoverer as the non-existent Antonio Sebolo.

Surely, if Michael H. Chandler, Oliver Cowdery, and Parley P. Pratt, contemporaries of the Prophet Joseph Smith, knew the name was Lebolo instead of Sebolo, one would expect the Prophet to also know the man's correct name and his history to carry the correct name. How, then, did Lebolo become Sebolo? The answer appears to lie in a simple printing error. Also, researchers who have looked carefully at the revised manuscript of the *History of the Church* indicate that it is often difficult to determine the difference between a capital "L" and a capital "S" of some of the scribes. Therefore, apparently a printer in the early 1900's who first helped set the type for the Prophet's *History of the Church* either mistook an "L" for an "S," or erroneously printed an "S" for an "L." As a result, for most of the 20th century members of the Church have presumed the man's name was Sebolo.

The solution to the mistaken identity was not solved until 1950, when a Czechoslovakian missionary of the Church named Melvin Mabey entered the picture. Elder Mabey had been a student at Brigham Young University, where he had been exposed to some background on the story of the Pearl of Great Price by Dr. Sidney Sperry, one of the modern-day fathers of Pearl of Great Price research. At the completion of his mission, Elder Mabey wrote Dr. Sperry and asked if there were anything he could do while in Europe to help unearth more information on the story. Dr. Sperry replied that if he were to travel as far as Cairo, he might visit the National Museum and inquire about a man named Antonio Sebolo or Antonio Lebolo. By this time Dr. Sperry was aware of the discrepancy between the Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt accounts, and the *History of the Church* and the *Comprehensive History of the Church* accounts. His interest
piqued, Elder Mabey decided to travel to Cairo. In his own words:

In April, 1950, I visited the Director of the Museum of antiquities in Cairo, Egypt, in hopes of obtaining more information concerning the excavations of Antonio Lebolo which produced the mummies on which was found the manuscript containing the writings of Abraham. I was accorded the privilege of examining the books in the museum's library which dealt with the explorers of the early middle 19th century. None of the researchers had heard of an individual by the name of either Sebolo or Lebolo. I was informed, however, that a Czech Egyptologist, Dr. Cerny, had just arrived from London and would be visiting the museum that afternoon. I awaited his arrival and in due course was introduced to him. I related the story of Sebolo in hopes that Dr. Cerny might be able to offer a clue for further investigation. He stated that his specialization was not with explorers of that period, although he had never heard of such an individual. He then added that he was familiar with some research then in progress by a certain Warren R. Dawson in England relative to individuals exploring or interested in the exploration of the ancient Egyptian civilizations during the first half of the 19th century.

Upon Dr. Cerny's suggestion that Mr. Dawson was, to his knowledge, the most informed person on explorers of Sebolo's period, I wrote to him in October, 1950 after returning to the United States. He advised me that the correct name of this explorer was not Sebolo, but Antonio Lebolo. Mr. Dawson sent information which he had obtained from original sources written in the 1820's and 1830's. (James R. Clark, The Story of the Pearl of Great Price, p. 76.)

To better appraise his report, interested readers will want to know something about the late Mr. Dawson. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquities, and was a librarian from 1927 to 1948 for the famous Lloyds of London, symbol of world financial institutions. In 1951, he authored Who Was Who in Egyptology, published in London. He died in 1968, at about 80 years of age.

As a result of Dawson's report, the case of the mistaken adventurer was solved. The explorer who unearthed the mummies apparently acquired by the Prophet Joseph Smith was Antonio Lebolo.

But surely there is more to a man than his name. One wonders about his background, his general personality,
and hungers to know more about the man whom the Lord apparently used in helping to bring forth the Book of Abraham.

Undoubtedly, research on many aspects of the story will continue to disclose many new insights. But it is already apparent that Antonio Lebolo was a morally ambivalent individual—that is, if the accounts that have been found are accurate.

The following information about Lebolo is quoted from *The Great Belzoni* by Stanley Mayes (London: Putnam, 1959), an excellent book on the life and times of the famous strongman turned explorer-adventurer, one of whose exploits has already been noted. Apparently Belzoni had many run-ins and experiences with Lebolo, and he writes of him in his journal, from which account Mayes takes the following information. These references to Lebolo, although they may seem long to some readers, are enlightening both as to the nature of Lebolo and the spirit of the times:

Belzoni’s party reached Luxor in another boat on 17 August and installed themselves in the temple sanctuary. There was a letter from Salt [Henry Salt was a British consul who purchased antiquities for both Britain and himself] saying that he intended shortly to come up the Nile to look at the antiquities. But Giovanni’s first thought was to find out who was digging at Thebes, and where. The two Copts had gone and in their place were a couple of Piedmontese—Rosignano, with whom Giovanni had had an unpleasant encounter already, and a certain Antonio Lebolo, a former gendarme of Milan. Profiting by the absence of Belzoni, Drovetti’s [for whom Rosignano and Lebolo worked] agents had turned their attention from the temples of Karnak to the tombs of Qurna, and had been pretty successful among the mummies. Giovanni was reluctant to work anywhere near these men, and partly for this reason, partly because of the hopeful indications he had found a few months before, he decided to concentrate on the Valley of the Kings. (Page 173.)

If Belzoni’s account is accurate, Lebolo was from the area of Piedmont, Italy, but had left the area of his youth and worked as a gendarme, or policeman, in the famous city of Milan, some 75 miles east of the Piedmont region. As a gendarme he undoubtedly had been exposed to the seamy
side of life. If the accounts that follow are accurate, it appears that he may have adopted some of the behavior patterns of the lesser elements whom he contacted as a gendarme. It also appears that in Egypt Lebolo worked with a fellow Piedmontese named Giuseppe Rosignano (Dawson says Rosignan), perhaps a life-long friend, or acquaintance from the Piedmont, a person at any event with whom Belzoni had apparently already had an unpleasant experience.

At Gebel el-Silsila, where the river ran through a narrow granite
gap in the mountains, they [Belzoni's party] overtook Drovetti's agent, the Piedmontese ex-gendarme, Antonio Lebolo. They hailed him, but he would not stop. A few miles further on, at Kom Ombo, Belzoni left the party and hurried after him in a Kanjia. At Aswan Lebolo tried to persuade the Agha that he must not allow the English [for whom Belzoni was working at the time] to remove the obelisk. But the Turk pointed out that Belzoni had already taken possession of it two years before and had left money to pay for a guard. Lebolo thereupon resorted to bribery and secured an affidavit before the Qadi that Drovetti was the owner. Then he disappeared.

Giovanni heard of Lebolo's activities as soon as he arrived in Aswan. When he monsronstrated with the Agha and reminded him of the thirty dollars he was to receive after the obelisk was safely shipped, the Turk admitted unabashed that Drovetti's men had already made several attempts to remove it; the last one failed because there was too little water in the Cataract. It was this that disturbed Giovanni most; the season was already late and the high Nile had subsided rapidly. He hurried off at once to Philae and was there met by an old man who handed him a note. It was written in French and said: "M. Drovetti's chargé d'affaires begs European travellers to respect the bearer who is guarding the obelisk in the island of Philae, the property of M. Drovetti." It was signed "Lebolo" and dated a week earlier.

By now the main party had reached Aswan. There was no difficulty with the Agha, who admitted that Giovanni [Belzoni] had been the first to lay claim to the obelisk. Fortunately too there was a boat available, but the reis of the shallal, the 'captain' of the Cataract, looked askance at the idea of lowering it through the rapids with such a load when the water was low. Two months before he had refused the French when the level was much higher. However, there was one compelling argument, and with half the amount paid in advance the reis promised to do what he could. The agha was also given a gold watch, worth nearly four pounds, in the name of Mr. Bankes. (Page 229)

* * * * * * * * * *

Giovanni had even less equipment for moving the obelisk than he had when he tackled the Young Memmon [a famous Egyptian artifact moved by Belzoni]. There was scarcely any wood to be had at all. But with the old primitive method of roller and lever he managed to get the fallen obelisk down to the water's edge—a matter of a few dozen yards. The pedestal gave more trouble; it was almost buried and had to be dug out. But eventually this too was in position for loading into the boat.

Meanwhile the Agha had received a letter from Drovetti, warning him not to allow anyone to remove the obelisk. Salt [the British consul], nettled at this, told the Agha to send his compliments to M. Drovetti and say that the English were taking it.
For what happened next Giovanni blamed only himself. He had gone down to look at the \textit{shallal} and plot a course through the steep elephant shapes of the rocks that lay in the channel. The Barabaras in his absence were building a pier of stones out into deep water. On his return he did not inspect the work closely. When the time came to embark the obelisk, the twenty-two-foot long monolith was levered and rolled out along the pier to the waiting boat. Suddenly—to Giovanni’s horror—the whole structure began to disintegrate. The obelisk slewed round and then with a slow majestic motion slid into the river.

The cause was all too clear. The men, instead of bedding the foundations in the mud, had laid the stones on the sloping underwater surface of the bank so that the weight of the obelisk had simply pushed them apart. Some of the workmen laughed. A few thought of the money they would lose. Then they drifted away to their other occupations.

For an awful moment Giovanni thought the obelisk was lost. He heard the triumphant jeers of Lebolo and Drovetti. But only for a moment. As he sat transfixed on the bank, he was already working out the salvage operation. (Pages 229-30.)

\textit{\textasteriskcmd * * * * * * * *} \textit{\textasteriskcmd * * *}

Christmas came, and he and Sarah [his wife] spent it together in the quiet solitude of a valley that was already old and remote when the Christian era began. “On earth peace, good will toward men.” But not among rival collectors of antiquity in the inexhaustible ruins of Thebes. It was now that Giovanni found himself entering upon what he later called, in a sombre and self-dramatizing mood, “new contests with evil beings.”

On Boxing Day Giovanni mounted his donkey in Biban el-Muluk and trotted off to the Nile with the intention of crossing over to inspect the English enclaves at Karnak. A French visitor, Edouard de Montulé, who was sketching in the Memnonium, saw him pass. But we have only Belzoni’s version of what happened later that day. On the way from Luxor, he says, an Arab warned him not to go where the other Europeans were, but he took no notice of this. Coming to Karnak, he found some of Drovetti’s men digging in a spot near the two small lakes which had definitely been reserved for the English. There were no Europeans with them and Giovanni’s Greek servant wanted to intervene, but he would not let him and they rode past. Belzoni looked at some digging grounds at the northern end of the temple area and then started back. They were riding through the ruins not far from the grand First Pylon of the temple of Amun when Giovanni suddenly saw a crowd of Arabs hurrying towards them. At their head, shouting and gesticulating, were the two Piedmontese, Lebolo and Rosignano. Giovanni heard Lebolo asking in an angry voice what he meant by taking the obelisk from Philae. (The boat had
arrived on Christmas Eve and the tantalizing present that was not for them was stuck tactlessly under their very noses.) In a moment they were all round him. Lebolo seized the bridle of his donkey with one hand and grabbed Giovanni’s waistcoat with the other. Rosignano levelled a gun at him and swore violently. The Arabs overpowered the Greek and relieved him of his pistols. Rosignano said it was time Belzoni paid for all he had done to them, and Lebolo declared that he was to have had one-third of the proceeds from the obelisk if Belzoni had not stolen it.

“My situation was not pleasant,” says Giovanni, mildly understating. “I have no doubt that if I had attempted to dismount, the cowards would have dispatched me on the ground, and said that they did it in defence of their lives, as I had been the aggressor. I thought the best way was to keep on my donkey, and look at the villains with contempt.”

Then, as they glared at each other, another party of Arabs came hurrying up with Drovetti in the lead. Why, he wanted to know, had Belzoni stopped his men from working? Giovanni indignantly denied that he had done any such thing and protested at the way he was being treated. Drovetti ordered him to dismount and Giovanni refused. But the next moment a pistol went off behind his back and he slipped smartly to the ground. Then, according to Belzoni, Drovetti seemed to realize that his henchmen had gone too far, and he tried to smooth things over.

Bernardino Drovetti and his entourage at Thebes. It is not likely that Lebolo is part of this drawing.
It was now there appeared someone whom Giovanni for reasons of delicacy refers to throughout as “the stranger.” He admits, however, that he was an old acquaintance, “neither English nor French,” who had come to Egypt “not to see antiquities, but to purchase some if he could.” He was returning to “one of the capitals of Europe,” and Giovanni had asked him to take four of the lion-headed statues in his name as a present “to a certain high personage.” From these hints and some clues given by de Montulé it is clear that the stranger was an Italian named Sylvestre, in whose company the Frenchman had arrived in Thebes. Sylvestre had bought a cargo of antiquities which he intended shipping to Rome, and on the day of the fracas he had been with Drovetti in Karnak. As soon as he appeared Giovanni told him what had happened; Drovetti said they had “only a few words, and that was all.” But Sylvestre, according to Giovanni, declared that he had seen the Arabs pick up their arms and rush out of the huts, and he recalled that Drovetti had said he must run after them and prevent trouble. Giovanni believed he had here an important witness to the fact that a premeditated attack had been made upon him.

He went back to Biban el-Muluk angry and perhaps a little afraid. He had no doubt that there had been an attempt on his life and, though it seems likely that Rosignano—if it was he—discharged his pistol only to frighten Belzoni, tempers were roused and anything might have happened. There is some corroboration of the seriousness of the affair in de Montulé’s account of it. He admits that he was not an eye-witness to the quarrel, but he says that the following day Lebolo spoke to Mustafa, his interpreter, and tried to get him to go across with him to Qurna. De Montulé suspected a further attempt on Belzoni’s life and would not let his man go.

De Montulé is a reasonably unbiased observer and he seems to have assessed the situation pretty well, for he says: “I firmly believe that Messrs. Drovetti, Salt and Belzoni are not to blame, but their Agents, who are frequently rewarded in proportion to the value of the discoveries, which they make, and consequently nourish mutual animosities against one another.” The Frenchman is also illuminating on another point. Giovanni says that many of the Arabs of Karnak were horrified at Rosignano’s outrageous behavior and took his part. (Pages 233-35.)

The Belzoni’s took their assorted cargo—obelisk, sarcophagus, mummies and moulds—direct to Alexandria. There Giovanni found a letter from Salt, who was still in Nubia. He had told him about the incident at Thebes, and the consul now advised him to take legal action against his assailants. Giovanni learnt that the vice-consul, Mr. Lee, had already instituted proceedings on his behalf and taken the matter up with the French consul, M. Roussel. He therefore decided to wait for Salt’s return.
Meanwhile Sylvestre had arrived in Alexandria but was no longer willing to give the kind of evidence Belzoni had supposed he would in Thebes. He had, in fact, come to an understanding with Lebolo. He also went back on his promise to take four of Giovanni's statues “as a present to a certain court” and departed instead with a large collection bought from Belzoni’s rivals for re-sale. (Page 236.)

* * * * * * * * *

Off went Giovanni to Rosetta where Sarah was patiently waiting for him, beguiling the time with her pet chameleons. By now he had probably received a letter from the Trustees of the British Museum, declining his offer—solicited by them—to collect antiquities on their behalf. There remained only the Karnak affair to settle. But this proved utterly frustrating. Drovetti wanted the charges to be preferred against himself by Salt; Belzoni insisted that his accusations were made only against Lebolo and Rosignano. Then M. Roussel was recalled to France, and the vice-consul, who took over the case, wished Belzoni to put down twelve hundred dollars immediately to cover his expenses in going up to Thebes with a boat-load of lawyers and lawyers’ clerks. However, this was circumvented and eventually Lebolo and Rosignano were brought down to Alexandria. But another loophole was soon found. The men accused were both Piedmontese and not French subjects. So the vice-consul ruled—probably under pressure from Drovetti—that the case against them could only be heard in Turin.

Giovanni gave up in disgust at this and prepared to leave. “At last, having put an end to all my affairs in Egypt, in the middle of September, 1819, we embarked, thank God! for Europe: not that I disliked the country I was in, for, on the contrary, I have reason to be grateful; nor do I complain of the Turks or Arabs in general, but of some Europeans who are in that country, whose conduct and mode of thinking are a disgrace to human nature.” (Pages 245-46.)

The map shows the key geographical locations in the Saga of the Prophet’s mummies and papyri.
This long series of quotes from Mayes’ excellent book on Belzoni provides our most detailed information about the possible character of Lebolo. Another book, *A brief account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt made under the direction of Henry Salt Esq.*, published in London in 1836, and written by Giovanni d’Athanasi, a well-known Greek excavator, mentions difficulties d’Athanasi experienced with “a certain Antonio Lebolo, a countryman of M. Drovette [sic] who had just been buying up all the antiquities the Arabs had to sell.” (Page 51.)

The picture that Belzoni and d’Athanasi present of Lebolo is one of a contemptuous jeerer, briber, unsuccessful thief, ruffian, potential murderer, companion to an equally “outrageous” fellow adventurer, Rosignani, a man who successfully slipped through the fingers of the law, and one who successfully captured one of Belzoni’s clients. Whether this is an accurate portrayal of Lebolo’s character, or whether Belzoni and d’Athanasi slant their accounts beyond truth are questions to which we may never find answers. Perhaps no man can be adequately appraised by another, and in this sense, Belzoni’s account of Lebolo may lack much important information.

Thus, in the interest of balancing the scales, the following information on Lebolo is presented. It is contained in a letter in the book *Il Corpo Epistolare di Bernardino Drovetti*, published in Rome in 1940. The letter, dated 1818, is from an Englishman, reportedly a Mr. M. D. Brine, employed by the French Consul-General Drovetti, for whom Lebolo also worked. (The author of the letter may be Charles Brine, English manufacturer in the service of Mehmet Ali.) Lebolo is mentioned as having arrived in upper Egypt, and the subject matter concerns another apparent misdeed:

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Lebolo arrived and according to your desires I wrote to Casciff telling him to send me the peasant from the Savanian Village to settle the trouble you mentioned concerning the coins. When the peasant and his wife arrived, the sum of 200 peastres was given him in my presence, and in the presence of several persons of this, your factory. The peasant
was surprised and asked if this money had been given him to find more coins, and Mr. Lebolo answered that the ex-Consul General of France, Mr. Drovetti was giving it to him as a gift. The peasant was amazed at finding himself in possession of such a large sum. His wife was called, to which Mr. Lebolo (according to your orders) gave her the gifts in Corals, Peanis of Venice, and to Canas who had guided him was given five peastre.

I am of the opinion that Mr. Lebolo is not guilty of any misdeeds, for when the Casmiff was determined to beat the peasant he [Lebolo] retired into a room saying that he would lose all of the antiquities of the world rather than see anyone beaten. . . . (Translation by Dr. M. Carl Gibson.)

On this, perhaps the matter of Lebolo’s character should charitably rest.

Related Personalities

Oliver Cowdery’s 1835 account is very important in its introduction of related personalities:

The records were obtained . . . by the celebrated French traveller, Antonio Lebolo, in the year 1831. He procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828; employed 433 men four months and two days, (if I understood correctly, Egyptian or Turkish soldiers,) at from four to six cents per diem, each man; entered the catacomb June 7th, 1831, and obtained eleven Mummies. There were several hundred Mummies in the same catacomb: about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and deposited and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third order, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity, the last two orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris he put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832.

Because the names of Henry Salt, Bernardino Drovetti, and Mehemet Ali have entered—or will enter—the story, a brief review of their lives should be helpful and interesting.

Mehemet Ali Pasha (or Mohammed Ali) was the viceroy of Egypt. A viceroy was a governor who ruled a country or a province as a representative of a king or sovereign. Ali represented the Ottoman Turkish Empire. He
was reportedly a very successful merchant, and was famous for breaking the Mamelukes’ hold on Egypt through a “perfidious stratagem,” after which he ordered a massacre of all Mamelukes in Egypt. He was known for his cruelty, and efficiency in getting things done. Perhaps his cruelty created his efficiency. Here is a brief review of his life:

1769-1849. Viceroy of Egypt (1805-48), born Kavalla, Rumelia, of Albanian parentage. Father of Said Pasha and (or adoptive father) of Ibrahim Pasha; fought against Napoleon at Abukir (1799); proclaimed loyalty to sultan (1804); made pasha by sheiks of Cairo (1805); strengthened his position (1807-10) and, by massacre of Mamelukes (1811), left without rival in Egypt; carried on war against Wahhabis (1811-18), brought to successful conclusion by Ibrahim Pasha, subdued Nubia and Kordofan (1820-22); laid foundations of Khartoum (1823); persuaded by sultan to aid him in Greek revolt (1824-27); lost fleet at Navarino (1827); granted possession of Crete (1830); sent Ibrahim to conquer Syria (1831-33), his conflict with Turkey becoming vital part of Eastern question of the time; his forces completely defeated Turks at Nizib (1839), but deprived by Great Powers of spoils of victory; retired to hereditary viceroyalty of Egypt (1841); during last years weakened in mind, Ibrahim Pasha being appointed viceroy (1848). (Webster’s Biographical Dictionary, 1965 edition, page 1000.)

Bernardino Drovetti (1775-1852), called “Chevalier” by Oliver Cowdery, was the French Consul-General during Lebolo’s excavations. “Chevalier,” however, was his title. Dawson, who had done so much in authoring Who Was Who in Egyptology, and in tracing data on the early adventurers, says the following of Drovetti:

Italian collector of antiquities; born Livourne, 1775; assumed French nationality, and served as Colonel in Napoleon’s Egyptian campaign and saved the life of Murat, one of Napoleon’s generals; under the Empire until 1814 and again under the Restoration, 1820-29, he was French Consul-General in Egypt; he was ardent collector of antiquities and employed many agents to excavate and buy from native diggers; his first collection, offered to and rejected by France, was bought by the King of Sardinia in 1824 and is the principal part of the great Egyptian collection at Turin; the second collection was bought by France by order of Charles X, for 250,000 francs and is now in the Louvre; the third collection was acquired for Berlin by Lepsius in 1836 for 30,000 francs; Drovetti made a journey to the Oases in 1820 and his notes and geographical observations are em-
bodied in Jomard’s works of 1821 and 1823; he had great influence with Mohammed Ali and suggested many administrative reforms; Chevalier de la Legion d’Honneur, 1820; he was very hostile to other collectors and excavators in Egypt, and particularly to Salt and Champollion; his methods, and those of his agents, were often unscrupulous; towards the end of his life, his mind gave way, and he died in an asylum in Turin, 1852.

Bernardino Drovetti, the man for whom Lebolo worked.

Henry Salt. Some have thought he was related to Michael Chandler.

Henry Salt (1780-1827) is reported as follows by Dawson:

British Consul-General in Egypt and collector of antiquities; born Lichfield, 14 June, 1780; trained as a portrait-painter and went to London in 1797 as a pupil of Joseph Farrington, R.A., and afterwards of John Hoppner, R.A.; in 1802 accompanied George Annesley, Viscount Valentia, as secretary and draughtsman, on a long tour in the East, visiting India, Ceylon, Abyssinia and Egypt, and returned 1806; made many drawings to illustrate Lord Valentia’s Voyages and Travels, 1809; sent by government on a mission to Abyssinia, 1809-11 and published Voyage to Abyssinia, 1814; in 1815 appointed to succeed Missett as Consul-General in Egypt and arrived there in 1816; did much excavating in Egypt to procure antiquities for the British Museum; with Belzoni and Burchhardt removed colossal bust of Rameses II from Thebes and presented it to British Museum, 1817; employed Belzoni at Thebes and financed his explorations in Nubia, and those of Caviglia at the Pyramids; in 1819, d’Athanasi excavated at Thebes under his direction; in 1818, he sent a large collection of antiquities to the British Museum, but the Trustees
objected to the price demanded, and after protracted delay, they gave £2,000 (less than the cost of excavation and transport) for the collection, but rejected the finest piece—the sarcophagus of Sety I—which was brought by Sir John Soane; Salt's second collection, formed 1819-24, was reported upon by Champollion and bought by the French government; his third collection was sold at Sotheby's in nine days' sale in 1835 and realized £7, 168; many objects were bought by the British Museum; he published an essay on Young's and Champollion's systems of decipherment, 1825; F.R.S. 1812, F.L.S.; died Alexandria, 30 Oct. 1827.

Of interest, as shall be later noted, he married in 1819 a daughter of a Mr. Pensa, a merchant of Leghorn, Italy.

The Question of Dates

Similar to the problem of the correct name—Lebolo or Sebolo—has been also the problem of dating Lebolo's entrance into Egypt, discovery, and death. As will be remembered from Oliver Cowdery's account, Lebolo acquired his license from Mehemet Ali in 1828, entered the catacomb June 7, 1831, and died at Trieste in 1832. For 115 years—from 1835 to 1950—these dates were considered reliable. But more was learned from Warren R. Dawson's letter to Elder Mabey's letter than the correct name of Lebolo. His information, presented as it came in a letter from Dawson to Elder Mabey, opened new doors for research on Lebolo and the Oliver Cowdery story:

Piedmontese traveller and adventurer in Egypt. He was in Egypt from 1817 till 1823. He took service under Bernardo Drovetti, an Italian, but Consul General in Egypt for France. Drovetti was an ardent collector of Egyptian antiquities and used his diplomatic privileges to the full in order to amass and export them. He made three great collections the first of which was sold to the King of Sardinia in 1824 and deposited in the museum of Turin; the second was bought by France and is now in the Louvre, and the third was bought in 1836 for the Berlin Museum. Drovetti employed many agents, mostly his own countrymen, to excavate and to buy antiquities from the natives.

In 1818, Lebolo, and a renegade named Rosignani, were working for Drovetti at Thebes and were also carrying on clandestine excavation for their own account. They came into conflict with Giovanni
Belzoni, of Padua, who was then excavating for Henry Salt, British Consul General in Egypt, who was also a collector of antiquities, many of his specimens being now in the British Museum. Lebolo and Rosignani made a murderous attack upon Belzoni, for which Salt endeavored to obtain by fraud some antiquities discovered by Belzoni at Philae.

Whilst at Thebes in 1818, Lebolo discovered a pit-tomb at Ger nah containing a number of mummies of Ptolemaic date. The best of these were seized by Drovetti, but Lebolo sold two of them to Baron Minutoli, who was then carrying out a scientific mission in Egypt for the German Government; these two mummies, however, were lost at sea while being conveyed to Europe. He sold a third mummy to the French traveller Frederic Cailliaud, a fourth to Giovanni Anastasi, Consul General for Sweden and also a dealer in antiquities; a fifth mummy Lebolo kept for himself.

An account of these mummies was written by Quintino di San Guilia in "Lezioni Archeologiche", Turin, 1824, p. 25. This paper was read in the Turin Museum, 14th and 19th August, 1824, after the death of Lebolo which occurred at Trieste in 1823.

The dates quoted in your letter of 2 October, 1950 are wrong. The discovery was made in 1818, not 1828, and Lebolo died in 1823, not 1832.

For students of the Book of Abraham, Dawson’s information was stunning. It was easy to see how errors could have crept into Oliver Cowdery’s account: (1) Certainly whatever information Oliver Cowdery and the Prophet Joseph Smith acquired about the mummies came from Michael H. Chandler, and Chandler’s information could have been incorrect. (2) Chandler’s information could have been incorrect because, according to the story, at best he apparently received his data second- or third-hand: either through a will, a letter, or some such manner, and errors could have crept in; between 1823, the apparent death of Lebolo, and 1835, when the Prophet acquired the mummies, 12 years had passed, sufficient time for memories to dim, and dates to get crossed up. (3) It is possible that Oliver Cowdery may have simply reported inaccurately. (4) Also, it is important to realize that the History of the Church is as much the creation of others as it is the creation of the Prophet. During and following the Prophet’s inspired call to begin a “history of the Church,” the manuscript
of the history has undergone a handful of revisions. No one will want to attribute to the Prophet or to Oliver Cowdery the errors of omission and commission that might be identified with our present *History of the Church*.

Having established some potential sources of errors in Oliver Cowdery’s report, we return to the question of correct dates in the Antonio Lebolo story.

Dawson’s book says:

Antonio Lebolo: Piedmontese traveler in Egypt; excavated at Thebes for Drovetti and on his own account; he found a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh; the best of these went to Drovetti, two to Minutoli (which were, however, lost at sea), one to Cailliaud, another to Anastasi, and he kept one for himself; an account of these mummies was written by Quintino di San Giulio, *Lezioni Archaeologiche*, Turin, 1824, 25; the paper was read in the Academy of Turin in the presence of Champollion; Lebolo was very hostile to Belzoni, who was working for Salt and in company with Rosignani (another employee of Drovetti), made a violent assault upon him at Karnak, and afterwards endeavoured by a trick to secure some antiquities at Philae belonging to Belzoni; died at Trieste, 1823.

Dawson’s report contains the seeds of proof, which lie in checking further on the names given within the account, to determine when the personality lived and when he was in Egypt. A Latter-day Saint researcher, Richard Deland, has verified Dawson’s report, confirming that Lebolo was at least in Egypt near 1818, the date Dawson says he made his find. A careful check in any major library reveals the following data:

1) Giovanni Battista Belzoni published a two-volume work titled *Narrative of operations and recent discoveries in the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs and Excavations in Egypt and Nubia*, in which he mentions his encounters with Lebolo. The date of the publication is 1820—eight years before Oliver Cowdery reports that Lebolo even had a license.

2) In 1834 a book titled *The Life and Correspondence of Henry Salt Esq., late H.B.M. Consul-General in Egypt* was published. In volume two is a letter dated in 1819 in which Salt mentions Lebolo—some nine years before Oliver Cowdery even has Lebolo in Egypt.

3) Giovanni d’Athanasi also authored a book, *A brief
account of the researches and discoveries in Upper Egypt made under the direction of Henry Salt Esq., in which he dates Lebolo as being in Egypt during the late teens and early twenties of the nineteenth century.

4) Baron Heinrich Carl Menu Minutoli, the certain traveler to whom Lebolo gave two mummies, has been the subject of a biography that places him in Egypt in 1821 and 1822.

5) M.D. Brine, in an 1818 letter to Bernardino Drovetti, quoted earlier from Il Corpo Epistolare di Bernardino Drovetti, also places Lebolo in Egypt at the earlier date.

Therefore, it has appeared that the dates provided by Dawson are substantially correct. More on this shortly.

Dawson’s information about Lebolo went far beyond suggesting the years that Lebolo was in Egypt and the year of his death. Dawson also noted, as did Belzoni in his accounts, that Lebolo was from the Piedmont. Further information on Lebolo was—and is—most important because of the purported uncle-nephew relationship that was supposed to exist between Antonio Lebolo and Michael H. Chandler, from whom the Prophet Joseph acquired the mummies and papyrus.

Another Latter-day Saint researcher decided to push the matter further. Armed with the information about Lebolo’s death date and the area of his youth, Piedmont, Richard Deland, graduate student at Brigham Young University, in 1960 addressed 16 letters to various museums, universities, and libraries in France, Italy, and Egypt, requesting information about Lebolo. There were only eight replies, and most of the responses referred to Dawson’s work as the authoritative work in the area of early Egyptian archaeology. One letter, however, from the Academy of Science of Turin, Italy, which is located in the Piedmont area, reported the following:

In regard to the birth-place of Lebolo, I can tell you that it was Castellamonte, a little town situated in a region of the Piedmont called Canavese.

On January 2, 1968, some two weeks after the press of
an extended deadline under which I wrote the article in the January Improvement Era on “The Papyri Rediscovered,” I spent the day at Brigham Young University reviewing, among other things, the report given by Richard Deland at the 1960 Eleventh Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, and came across the mention of Castellamonte as the birth-place of Lebolo.

A quick look at the map showed that Castellamonte was about 20 miles north of Turin, Italy. It was reported to be a community of about 3,500 inhabitants, and was located on the Ceresole River about a mile from the foot of the beautiful Graian Alps. Several days later, after receiving approval from Elder Ezra Taft Benson, who was in charge of the Italian Mission, I sent a letter to President John Duns, Jr., of the Italian Mission, requesting that if it were convenient, and if he felt that the information would be valuable to the Church, a visit be made to the town of Castellamonte, some pictures be taken of the town, and the Catholic Church records be checked for the name of Antonio Lebolo. About February 23, I received the

Castellamonte, Italy, birthplace of Lebolo.
following letter and a packet of pictures from Italy, with its thrilling information:

February 21, 1968

TO: Jay M. Todd  
Editorial Associate  
The Improvement Era  
79 South State Street  
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111

FROM: Elder R. Brent Bentley  
E.I.S. Information Coordinator  
Italian Mission

RE: Report on trip to Castellamonte, Italy, for research on Antonio Lebolo

President John Duns Jr. of the Italian Mission received your letter of January 21, 1968 requesting information about Antonio Lebolo and photographs of the town of his birth, Castellamonte. Although President Duns would have liked to attend to the matter personally, his busy schedule did not allow. Therefore he assigned me to be in charge of gathering the requested information. Elders Lynn Barney and Roddy Davis, Zone Leaders of Zone III of the Italian Mission were asked to provide transportation and assistance in obtaining the material.

On the morning of February 1, 1968, the three of us departed by car from Italian Mission Headquarters and made the trip to Castellamonte. The town of 8,500 residents lies about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the north of Turin (spelled Torino in Italian) and wraps itself in a horse-shoe fashion around a small protrusion of the foothills that eventually leads to the Italian Alps. I was informed that the elevation was about 345 meters (1130 feet) and that Castellamonte was found in the center of the area known as Canavese which lies in the region of Italy called the Piedmont (Piemonte in Italian). The town is typical of the area . . . many cobble streets, rather modern yet limited outskirts, and an antique center of town.

Our first project was to attempt to photograph the city from the hill overlooking it. By this time it was late afternoon and the area was rather foggy, making a decent shot of the city impossible. The next day proved equally discouraging because of the foggy weather that is prominent in the area all winter. Also the horse-shoe shape of the town makes it almost impossible to photograph more than a small part of the area.

We checked into the “Tre Re” (Three Kings) Hotel which is in the main piazza. Across the piazza is the main Catholic Church of the town and, of course, this was our first target. Unfortunately
the priest was not in, so we went to the town graveyard. Little success was to be found there. There were no records that dated past 1919 there and we found no headstones with the name Lebolo. However, the caretaker recognized the name as being one that once was found in Castellamonte but by now had disappeared. He also corrected our pronunciation of the name. Normally a name like Lebolo would be pronounced Lay-bö-lo but he informed us that the accent falls on the first syllable . . . Láy-bo-lo.

Toward evening we returned to the priest’s house, an appendage of the town cathedral. He proved to be very helpful.

Upon hearing our request, he led us into his small private study. Behind his desk was a wall-closet with old, dirty glass doors. When he opened them, three Mormon missionaries were absolutely amazed! There spread before us were handwritten records in bound books of every death, baptism and marriage of Castellamonte starting in 1407! The priest started perusing the record for 1783 and eventually found a listing for the baptism of a female Lebolo, supposed to be a sister to Antonio. Another supposed sister, Maria, was baptized in 1782, and another supposed sister in 1778, and finally the information we were seeking came before our astonished eyes in the form of an entry written in beautiful 18th century script. It revealed the following information (the names are translated into English):

1. Joseph Peter Anthony LEBOLO was baptized on the 22nd day of January in the year 1781, making him approximately forty-two years old at his death if 1823 is his correct date of death.

2. He was the son of Peter Lebolo and Marianne.

The original was recorded in Latin, as are all the records, and we had the priest carefully copy the entry in as near the handwriting as he could imitate. In Latin this reads as follows:


The Italian translation of this is as follows:

LEBOLO, Giuseppe Pietro Antonio figlio de Pietro e Marianna Iugalium nato il ventiduesimo giorno di gennaio millesettecentoottantuno (1781) e battezzato tenuto dal padrino Pietro Morozzo e (madrina) Maria moglie di Bernardino Meuta.

The direct English translation, including the heading is:

Parish
Most Holy Peter and Paul
Castellamonte (% Torino)
LEBOLO, Joseph Peter Anthony son of Peter and Marianne
born on the twenty-second day of January seventeen hundred and eighty-one and baptized being held by the godfather Peter Morozzo and (the godmother) Maria wife of Bernard Meuta.

Tower was part of church Lebolo attended.

Baptismal entry for Lebolo was found in parish records.

Civic records indicated Lebolo owned lots 7700, 7702.

Original doorway and construction of Lebolo home.
There are a couple of interesting comments that can be made about this entry. First of all, it states that he was born on January 22nd. When questioned however, the priest affirmed that this meant he was actually baptized on this day. This, he explained, was usually done on about the eighth day after birth, thus putting his birthdate on or near January the 14th, 1781. The priest, like the man at the cemetery, mentioned that the name Lebolo is a last-name that has disappeared. He thought that it must have been a family that just lived in the area for a relatively short time. Italians are very good at names and regions but I never was able to conclude if the name has completely disappeared (no descendants or a change of name) or if the name had disappeared from that region of Italy. But the priest said that the name didn’t exist anymore (Non c’è più!).

The next morning we returned to photograph the book and the room. We could not get a picture of the priest—“I’m not at all an actor,” he protested. The fellow was in his late thirties and had only been the priest there for two or three years.

Then we turned to the history of the area to give us some idea of the conditions during the time that Lebolo lived in the town. First we inquired about the church that would have been standing in the late 1700’s. The priest informed us that it was a small, white, Romanesque church that was connected onto the still-existent bell tower in front of the present church. You can still see where the roof attached to the tower. However, the members decided they wanted a bigger church and so one night in 1830 after a big “festa” they tore the old church down. (“When the parish priest wasn’t looking,” he said.)

The church that now stands has a large circular area in front of it, the walls of which were started in 1845 and were intended to be the walls of the church itself. He said if they would have finished that church, that area would have been three meters less in diameter than the corresponding area in Saint Peter’s in Rome. But the industry of the town-folk gave way to arguing and high costs and so fifteen years later, in 1860, the smaller church that now stands was built with the old walls serving as the boundaries of what is now the parking lot.

We then proceeded to the City Municipal Building, hoping to find more information. We did not have very high hopes of finding where Lebolo lived so long ago, but we went to find out what we could. We were most happy, however, with the results.

We received a wonderful acceptance at city hall and one of the clerks assigned himself to help us in a search that lasted all morning. First we started with a book that they gave us on the history of the area, entitled The Civil, Religious, and Economic History of Castellamonte Canavese by M. Giorda. A close perusal of the era involved revealed no listing whatsoever with the name Lebolo.

However, we did find this interesting entry on page 274 of the book: “Adding up all the ‘Castellamontesi’ over the age of 7, the
ecclesiastic body, the artists and the store owners, in 1775 there were 3,234 (inhabitants) with 117 oxen and 10 work-cows.” The source of this at the bottom of the page read: “Census, 1775 Community Archive—Recapitulation”.

This census is what we wanted to find! Upon checking the index of the community archives, we discovered that those records must have been destroyed during the German occupation of the town. However, finally we convinced the clerk that we should look at the records upstairs anyway, just to see what we could find.

The results were amazing. We wove our way up a very narrow, dank stairway to an old door and shoved it open. There before us was a large room with a huge table covering most of the floor. The entire room was filled with huge, dust-encrusted, handwritten books of city records! Again three Americans found it hard to believe what they were beholding. The clerk approached the first big book (it measured about 24” x 18” x 5”) with the date 1822 on the outside and the title Register of land systemization—1822. There we found a good four pages of property purchases under the name “Lebolo”, and among them we found Antonio’s purchases. Purchase no. 7700 was particularly interesting because it listed a house and court being acquired. And 7702 was a field near the house that was also purchased by Antonio. The date of purchase was not given, but it could have been some time before 1822. It was in that year when the book was assembled and hand-written with names in alphabetical order and with no spaces between entries.

The regions in which these most interesting purchases were made was listed as “Capoluogo”. The clerk did not know in what part of Castellamonte this area had been. However, upon opening another book (the second one he picked up) he found a series of detailed, hand-drawn, color maps of the purchases which corresponded with the book in which we had found the entry. Among these he found several maps labeled “Capoluogo”.

After diligently searching we found the plots of land numbered 7700 and 7702. Several neighboring lots had been owned by other members of the family.

The workmanship of these books and maps was really something to behold. The house on 7700 was carefully shaded in a light red and the court area was outlined in a brownish coloring. Naturally we wanted to find this lot! However, only a small area was shown and no street names appeared on the map. The clerk did not have the slightest idea where this place was to be found.

We took the big map back downstairs where four employees and policemen gathered around. By finding a church (the position of which they were acquainted with) on another map and turning the pages, carefully deciding where the individual maps joined from

Gurneh’s Pit-Tomb 37
page to page, they were able to decide that the property was on Via Braida. Then an officer was assigned to lead us right there.

We walked the 1/4 mile to the area and the policeman took us right up to the door and rang the bell. He introduced us to the housewife, a Mrs. Ignis Morozzo (husband-Francesco) and she was very thrilled to have us take pictures of the house. She did not know of the Lebolo’s however. She and her husband had purchased the house over fifty years ago from an Italian who had spent a great deal of time in America. That is all she knew about the history of the property. The better part of the living quarters had been remodeled since she had lived there, but a small part of the original surface was still to be seen. They had added a room onto where there had once been a stall, but the shape of the house and court (front yard) fit the representation on the map perfectly. The present address is Via Braida 17, Castellamonte (Torino).

This concluded our research on a most interesting project—one I and Elders Barney and Davis shall never forget. With hope that this will be of help, I submit this report to “The Improvement Era”.

Sincerely,

Elder R. Brent Bentley
E.I.S. Information Coordinator
Italian Mission
Viale Mazzini 35
50132—FIRENZE, Italy

Unforgettable indeed! One can only imagine the missionaries’ thrill, and the thrill that a Latter-day Saint genealogist would have in viewing the records of Turin. Elders Bentley, Barney, and Davis acquired information that has never before been known to members of the Church. Apparently I did not stress the need for additional information on any Lebolo sisters, because the names of the two supposed sisters born in 1778 and 1783 were not forwarded. The mystery of the purported nephew-uncle relationship between Lebolo and Chandler is still unsolved. But from data that will be given later, it is logically possible that the supposed sister born in 1778 could be the mother of Michael H. Chandler. Possible, but not probable. As a sidelight, in case it is important, no information is known about a relationship existing between the Morozzo family that now owns the house on Lebolo’s old lot and Pietro
Morozzo, godfather of the newly baptized Antonio Lebolo.

With the aid of the Italian Mission's excellent report, members of the Church now know far more about Antonio Lebolo than did even Oliver Cowdery and Joseph Smith.

But our knowledge of Lebolo does not end there. There is data available that informs us of other events that occurred in 1818. Antonio not only found a pit-tomb; he also became a father—probably again. It would be unlikely that this particular 37-year-old man was a father for the first time. The information was gleaned from a microfilm of a marriage record of the parish of San Giovanni (St. John), Turin, Italy. The marriage is of a Jean Lebbolo, presumably another version of Lebolo, and dates his birth at 1818, in Parella, province of Ivrea, which is within a dozen or so miles of Castellamonte, Antonio's birthplace.

Jean is recorded as born to Antoine Lebbolo and Lucie Vernet.

And so, the picture fills out even more. It would appear that Antonio left his wife Lucie and family in Italy while he sought wealth in Egypt. Some months after his probable departure—Dawson says he was in Egypt in 1817—Antonio's wife gave birth to a son, Jean. It is interesting to note, if this is the right Antonio Lebolo, that his wife did not stay in Milan some 75 miles to the east where Antonio reportedly had been a gendarme. Also, she apparently did not reside in Castellamonte, where Antonio at some time owned property. It may be that Mrs. Lucie Vernet-Lebolo went to Parella to be with relatives or her parents at the birth of her child.

The marriage record shows the following:

"Jean Lebbolo, son of Antoine Lebbolo and Lucie Vernet, married, first, Josephine Passerone; he married, second, 3 May 1855, at San Giovanni, Torino, Italy, Madeleine Sophie Bastie.
(F Italy Piedmont, S 1, Part 4, 1855, no. 7.)

The report also shows that his first wife, Josephine, had died, that he was living in Turin, that he signed himself
as Giovanni—Italian for the French Jean—and that his parents, Antonio and Lucie, were both dead at this date. Further research has disclosed still another Lebbolo marriage, this one to Henri, Jean’s son:

Henri Lebbolo, son of Jean Lebbolo and Madeleine Bastie, married, 27 Oct. 1888, at San Giovanni, Torino, Italy, Marie Jourdan, daughter of Jean Jourdan and Marie Gay. (F Italy Piedmont, S 1, Part 4, no. 11.)

The reason these facts have been given is to show that descendants of Antonio Lebolo may still be residing in Turin. With the family’s help, one could perhaps trace their genealogy and determine the accuracy of the purported Lebolo-Chandler relationship. Certainly there is sufficient work remaining for those who may be interested.

However, before leaving the subject of dates, a potentially valuable problem remains to be studied. The problem deals with the date of Lebolo’s discovery. Oliver Cowdery, in his letter to William Frye, says: “. . . he [Lebolo] procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828. . . .” As will be pointed out later, Michael H. Chandler did not print such information, although one presumes he passed what he knew on to Oliver Cowdery and the Latter-day Saints. Warren R. Dawson merely says Lebolo “excavated at Thebes for Drovetti.”

The problem in question is this: Lebolo cannot discover his mummies in 1818 and be under the direction of a contemporary French Consul-General named Drovetti, because Drovetti was not in office in 1818. Here are the facts: Drovetti was French Consul-General from some unknown date until 1814, and then from 1820-1829, according to Warren R. Dawson. According to Dawson, a Mr. Roussel was the French Consul-General between Drovetti’s two periods of consular service: “Roussel, ________ (fl. 1814-1819) French Consul-General in Egypt, 1814-19; he held office in the interval between the two periods of the consulship of Drovetti, and was much under his influence.”
Obviously, if Lebolo discovered his mummies while Drovetti was Consul-General, it would place the discovery no earlier than 1819-1820, because Lebolo is not known to have been in Egypt under Drovetti’s first reign. However, the answer to Oliver Cowdery’s claim that Lebolo acquired “protection” under the French Consul-General may simply be that he was working under Drovetti, who carried his former title of office during this interval when Drovetti was working for himself as a powerful antiquity agent. The fact that Drovetti returned to his position, and that Roussel was apparently very much under his thumb, suggests that this minor discrepancy between names, dates, and officeholders may be of little potential help in solving some riddles that will shortly be presented. However, no lead can afford to be overlooked. This one has at least been noted. Interestingly enough, Oliver Cowdery’s date of 1831 as the discovery is not a year in which Drovetti was serving as Consul-General. This too may pose another area of inaccurate reporting by Chandler or Oliver Cowdery. The question of unknown dates will soon join a much larger question—that of unknown personalities.

New—and Potentially Upsetting—Data

As this book goes to press, new information has presented itself which may be extremely important or, as research continues, may fade into insignificance. The information has direct bearing on this chapter, and has relevance on the next two chapters, but because of deadlines, and other factors, the new information is being lumped together here rather than face dissection and correlation into these three mentioned chapters. But, perhaps in afterthought, the decision to present it together serves equally as well as would an attempted correlation. In part, this is because the new data suggests the need for another explanation concerning the dating and number of discoveries made by Lebolo, and at this point, additional explanations perhaps are best handled all at once, rather than risk hopefully confusing the reader: the mind can only
follow so many strands. The new data will be most interesting to students and researchers, but some readers may find parts of it tiring. Hence, the basic outline will be presented first, and if the reader desires to pursue it further, he may read the translation and excerpts from the quoted works.

In short, the sum of the matter is this: Two different works—one by a Dutch scholar, B. H. Strieker, and another by two British scholars, Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss—report the whereabouts of all or nearly all of the mummies and sarcophagi found by Antonio Lebolo in his discovery at Gurneh; the mummies and sarcophagi, essentially all accounted for, are reportedly in a half dozen museums scattered across the face of Europe. Obviously, then, if all Lebolo’s mummies are accounted for, it would suggest that Joseph Smith’s mummies came from someone else, from another Lebolo find, or any combination of a dozen possibilities that come to one’s mind.


The first report, Stricker’s is of most interest because it contains an eyewitness account by a third party concerning what still may represent the find from which the Prophet’s mummies came. The eyewitness report is by Sir Frederick Henniker. Stricker has quoted parts from Henniker’s 1823 book dealing with his tour of Egypt and his visit at Luxor in January in the winter of 1819-20:

I was standing by when one of the resurrection men found a sepulchre; they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch—there are also coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practised by the Capuchin friars in Sicily; one of these stood erect at the entrance, the others were prostrate on benches; the heads were shaved; the beards were of a few days growth; on the principal coffin is the following in-
scription: [inscription in Greek] The hieroglyphical figures testify to the degeneracy of the art; the papyrus found in this case, is not, as is usual, rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in thirty wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt:—from another I copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about sixteen hundred and fifty years old—some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty.

Stricker then says:

Then, after the grave has been found, the loot will have to be divided. Now I am combining with the information of Reuvenen that which I myself have been able to find in Egyptological literature. Lebolo acts as the seller. He seems to have arrived immediately and evidently was the person who pulled the strings of this entire excavation. Buyers are the few consuls or tourists who are present. . .

Stricker then notes that (1) a mummy and sarcophagus each were purchased by Henniker and his traveling companion, Reverend George Francis Grey—but that although both caskets were given to the British Museum, the mummies from each "got lost" before the caskets left Egypt; (2) another account of Lebolo as a swindler is given—this time it deals with his relationship with Baron von Minutoli; (3) a report is provided about another Lebolo find.

Stricker attempts to trace the location of all the mummies found in this particular pit, but as readers will observe by reading this account, it is not an easy matter to follow his discussion. But of considerable importance is that, even with all his accounting, Stricker's report still leaves about four mummies unaccounted for. Also, from his report it is difficult to determine if the museums mentioned have both a coffin and a mummy, or just the sarcophagus. It may be that some of the mummies received by the Prophet Joseph Smith were not in their sarcophagi. It's a possibility, anyway. The fact that at least two mummies were "lost" (or stolen and sold by Lebolo) may have bearing on the matter.

But of equal importance to the claim that nearly all of Lebolo's mummies from this one find are apparently locatable is the report that Lebolo was associated with
other finds. At any rate, at this point and without correspondence from the European museums named by Stricker concerning the actual identity of their holdings, the significance of Stricker's report is unknown. The Prophet's mummies may have come from another Lebolo find, or they may still be associated with the mummies for which Stricker does not seem to account.

The first seven pages of Stricker's report or article will now be presented. The article deals with a piece of papyrus now in Leiden, Holland, and which came from Lebolo's 1818 or 1819 find. But before discussing and translating this papyrus, Stricker first reviews the story of its discovery and attempts to identify other mummies and items discovered with it. It is the strange story of the scattering of an Egyptian family's final remains all over Europe. The translation of the article was made by Joan Chase, Dutch translator in the Church Translation Department. Some readers will find it intensely interesting:

The Funeral Papyrus of Sensaos

The papyrus\(^1\) published in this article—a funeral text from the time of Roman domination—belongs to the older parts of the Egyptian Collection of the Royal Museum of Antiquities. It was bought in 1828, along with the rest of his collection, by G. d'ANASTASY, Swedish Consul to Alexandria and also well-known dealer in antiquities. As shown in the catalog compiled by d'ANASTASY, the papyrus (AMS 29) was found on the mummy of a young woman who in the Greek caption was called Sensaos which also belongs to the collection (AMM 8) and at the present in the museum carries the number M 76. The finding place is found in a note from the hand of d'ANASTASY's co-worker MARTHOUX "Thèbes" which according to the catalog is supposed to be the ruin field of the west border of the little town of Loexor.

Shortly after the purchase C. J. C. REUVENS, at that time director of the Museum, who naturally focused his attention especially on those articles of the Collection which lend themselves to further investigation because of the presence of Greek inscriptions, discovered that with the mummy and the papyrus of Sensaos only part of a much

\(^1\)Mr. JEAN CAPART, Director der Musees d'Arte et d'Histoire te Brussel (Museum of Art and History in Bruxelles) was kind enough to send me for my perusal some of the works of study. I express to him my sincere thanks.
larger discovery had been found, while the rest had landed in various European museums through the medium of other dealers than d'ANASTASY. REUVENS mentioned this discovery in the second of his "Lettres à M. Letronne, sur les Papyrus Billangues et Grecs, et sur Quelques Autres Monumens Greco-Egyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités de l'Université de Leide" ("Letters to Mr. Letronne on the Bilingual and Greek Papyrus and on several other Greek-Egyptian Monuments of the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Leiden"). Leiden, 1830, a publication which upon appearing enjoyed much success but since then has almost been forgotten. The question of the "Momic Gresque", however, is for the Egyptian studies for more than one reason of great importance, and since in the literature of the last fifty years a complete ignorance of REUVENS' work reveals itself, it is desirable that the substance of the same be briefly mentioned here. There have been few discoveries in Egypt which need a small monograph like just this one.

The mummy and other antiquities purchased by the dealers were discovered by the residents of the little village of Sjaich-Abd-aj-Qerma, located on the border of the Nile opposite of Loexor, in the winter of the year 1819/20. In that year Egypt was much-traveled by an English tourist, Sir FREDERICK HENNIKER, a person about whom information can be found in the XXVth volume of the Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1891, p. 425, and who has left us an account of his travels, titled "Notes, During a Visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Mount Sinai, and Jerusalem," London 1823. HENNIKER arrived at Loexor during January and spent a few days here visiting the antiquities. During his excursion to the city of the dead on the western border (pp. 136, 137) he had the opportunity to also watch the native excavators, and about this episode he relates the following:

"I was standing by when the resurrection men found a sepulchre, they offered me the haul, unopened, for four guineas. It proves to be Grecian-Egyptian, the first of its kind hitherto discovered; three chambers, fourteen coffins, on each of which was placed a bunch of sycamore branches; these branches fell to atoms at the touch—there are also coffinless bodies, having the appearance of leather, dried in the same manner as is still practiced by the Capuchin friars in Sicily: one of these stood erect at the entrance, the others were prostrate on benches; the heads were shaved; the beards were of a few days growth; on the principal coffin is [a Greek] inscription: The hiero-

---

2A praiseworthy exception in VALDEMAR SCHMIDT, whose collections of material have been very helpful to me. Otherwise, I have not been successful in obtaining a somewhat complete review of the findings. This will only be possible when—which, I think, is not yet the case—will be done for the British Museum what REUVENS did for the Museum and DI SAN QUINTINO for that in Turin.
glyphical figures testify to the degeneracy of the art; the papyrus found in this case, is not, as is usual, rolled up, but folded flat; the body was enveloped in thirty linen wrappers, the hands and mouth gilt: —from another I copied an inscription, which attests the coffin to be about sixteen hundred and fifty years old—some long earthenware jars were in the tomb, but empty.”

Soter the son of Cornelius Pollius was the father of the Sensaos preserved in our Museum and there is, therefore, no doubt that HENNIKER witnessed with his own eyes the opening of the grave from which more than six museums received their Roman-Egyptians mummies.

But he was not the only one. Such a remarkable discovery cannot help but set in motion the wheels of the already flourishing trade in antiquities, and so we watch appear on stage a certain LEOLO whom we know from the information of BELZONI and others to be the private collector and agent of the French Consul and dealer in antiquities DROVETTI. This LEOLO gave an account of the discovery and sent this on with the mummy which was sold by DROVETTI to Turin. Here it came into the hands of the curator of the collection, G. DI SAN QUINTINO who in an article titled “Interpretazione e Confronto di una Bilingue Iscrizione che Sta spora una Mummia Egiziana nel R. Museo di Torino” (“Interpretation and comparison of a bilingual inscription which is with an Egyptian mummy in the Royal Museum of Torino”), explains the substance of it in his own words. This article was printed in his “Lezioni Archeologiche” (Lectures on Archaeology), Turin 1824, and was devoted to the description of this mummy.

“This mummy was discovered by a traveler of Piemonte, Mr. LEOLO, in a deep tomb near the old Thebes near the Libyan side of the Nile at what is now the village of Gournah. The structure of this tomb is not different from that of other ones to be found there in large numbers. This was not dug up out of rock or earth but was found at the bottom of a well. This well was made of brick and the inside was decorated with various paintings. It was hidden by twelve or thirteen sarcophagi made out of wood; some of these were still well preserved. All of these were square with a lid in semicircle form showing the shape of the human body. They were all decorated with the usual religious legends in hieroglyphics and adorned with very colorful symbolic signs, with the portrait of the deceased relative. Only one still showed the outwardly preserved appearance of the sycamore wood without any trace of plaster, rubber or paint which could have covered it, and such a particularity had never been shown so well on Egyptian caskets. Moreover, there were six or seven urns which all showed brief inscriptions in the Greek language.”

3REUVENS already referred to the older literature; as will be shown nothing much was added.
Then, after the grave has been found, the loot will have to be divided. Now I am combining with the information of REUVENS that which I myself have been able to find in Egyptological literature. LEOLOO acts as the seller. He seems to have arrived immediately and evidently was the person who pulled the strings of this entire excavation. Buyers are the few consuls or tourists who are present at Loexor; they are all persons who collected on a large scale and whose names, therefore, are still known.

HENNIKER received from this discovery only the mummy with belongings of the most prominent member of the entombed family, Soter the Archon, maybe because the four guineas were according to him too much or because he dreaded the trouble of the transportation. The mummy was unwound by him or a servant and got lost, the casket was presented to the British Museum. The same happened with the mummy and casket of Tphoua, young girl, bought by HENNIKER’s travel companion GEORGE FRANCIS GREY. The mummy also got lost and the casket came to the British Museum. A third mummy, that of Cleopatra Candace, remained after the sale thereon with the Arabs and some time later was purchased from them by JANNI d’ANTHANASI who forwarded it to his commissioner—the English consul HENRY SALT, who worked for the British Museum.

With the help of the “Guide to the First, Second and Third Egyptian Rooms”, London 1924, I find in the British Museum the following objects: Of Cornelius Pollius, the cover of the mummy casket (nr. 6950A) and a wooden “baseboard” (nr. 6950). Of Soter, the mummy casket (nr. 6705) and a funeral robe (nr. 6705A). Of Cleopatra Candace, the mummy (nr. 6707) and a “mummy-board” (nr. 6706). And of Tphoua, the mummy casket (nr. 6708) and a “mummy-board” (nr. 6708). The high inventory numbers of the first two objects indicate that they had been added later so that REUVENS had no knowledge of them.

With the mummies some corpse papyri were found which casually are mentioned in “Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room”, London 1922. They are numbered 10114 and 10115 both found with the mummy of Cleopatra Candace. Most likely and without any proof numbers 10108, 10109, 10111 and 10112 were found with mummies from the same grave and by ROBERT HAY—in whom we thus find a new buyer—were pre-

---


5One could search whether in the notes of HAY which are in the British museum something is mentioned by him about the grave of Soter. According to a note of CHAMPOLLION (on p. 91 of his still to be mentioned letters published by Fräulein H. Hartleben) drawings can be found in the papers of W. J. BANKES.
sented to the Museum and published by S. Birch in the VIIth volume of the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology", London 1885, on pp. 204-210, and the numbers 10110 and 10116 at present still unpublished. The papyrus of Soter mentioned by REUVENS is not called by name, but should be present and there probably is identical with the other objects mentioned above.

France manages to wiggle out of the discovery two mummies and a few smaller pieces. The most beautiful of the two mummies, that of Petomenophis, the brother of Sensaos, was bought with belonging casket by the famous traveler FREDERIC CAILLIAUD who gave it after his return from Egypt and the Sudan to the Bibliothèque Royale (now National). Here CAILLIAUD had it unwound in the presence of CHAMPOLLION, an unwise act, which he tried to correct with an extensive and reliable publication.6

Some years ago the casket and the rest of the mummy together with the balance of the Egyptian antiquities were turned over to the Louvre. The papyri still can be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale where they were inventoried under numbers 152-155.

The second mummy and the smaller pieces landed with the collections Salt II (1824) and Drovetti II (1827) in the Musée Charles X erected by CHAMPOLLION. They are recorded in the "Descriptive des Monumens Egyptiens du Musée Charles X" (Brief description of the Egyptian Monuments in the Charles X Museum) which was compiled by him for this collection and which I have not been able to consult.

REUVENS cites the following objects: The mummy of an unknown person belonging to the family of Soter. A funeral robe perhaps belonging to the same mummy. Five mummy portraits of which some show Greek captions, all published by H. CROS and CH. HENRY in the illustrations 7, 8, 9, 18 and 22 of their "L'Encausique" (Encaustic), Paris 1884.7 And a number of Papyri. These can be found in T. DEVERIA's "Catalogue des Manuscrits Egyptiens qui sont Conserves au Musée Egyptien du Louvre" (Catalog of the Egyptian Manuscripts preserved at the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre), Paris 1872, and bear insofar recognizable the numbers 3156, 3289 and 3290 (all from the collection Salt II) and 3161 (from the collection Drovetti II).

D'ANASTASY bought what at present can be found in our

6Compare F. CAILLIAUD, "Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, à Syouah at dans Cinq Autres Oasis, (Trip to Meroe, to the White River, to Syouah and the five other oases), part IV, Paris 1827, pp. 1-54, with pictures 66-71 of the second binder with pictures.

7U. WILCKEN, "Archäologer Anzeiger" (Archaeological Paper), Berlin 1889, pp. 1-7, voices objections to the allotment of these portraits. But LEOLOO describes them specifically as: "ed ornati di figure simboliche a pit colori, col ritratto del loro defunto" (ornaments of symbolical and very colorful figures with the portrait of the deceased parent).
Museum, the mummy and the mummy casket of Sensaos and the papyrus found therein. Furthermore possibly the mummy of which the painted portrait is shown on the little picture of this edition and some dishes. HENNIKER speaks of a number of "long earthenware jars" which he found in the grave and which since then have not shown up. However, the description is too vague to be of any use. A fateful star hung over the part of the discovery sold to the Prussian General HEINRICH VON MINUTOLI whose purchases were to go to Berlin. Still in Egypt, VON MINUTOLI was swindled by Mr. LEOLO. In his "Lettre à Monsieur Reuven, Relativement a un Tombeau Greco-Egyptien Découvert à Thèbes et le Papyrus Grec, Appelé Communément le Papyrus d'Anastasy, Faisant Partie du Musée de Leide" (Letter to Mr. Reuven, concerning a Greek-Egyptian grave discovered in Thebe and the Greek Papyrus commonly called the Papers of Anastasy, being part of the Leiden Museum), which appeared in Berlin and Stettin 1831 as the ninth of his "Abhandlungen Vermischten Inhalts", Zweiter Cyklus, Erstes Bandchen (Discourses of different contents, 2nd cycle, first volume) he accuses him of having stolen several objects among which a gold or guilded wreath which were entombed with the mummies. VON MINUTOLI had gathered in Loexor and in other places a tremendous collection of antiquities among which five Greek-Egyptian mummies. He sent this collection to Trieste of which a small part—about one sixth of the whole—was transported to Berlin overland and arrived there in good order, while the rest went to Hamburg by boat. However, the place of destination was not reached for at the mouth of the Elbe the vessel encountered a storm and was shipwrecked and with it all its treasures.

The circumstances under which VON MINUTOLI made his purchases did not allow him a thorough study of his pieces. The complete size of the part of the grave allotted to him may, therefore, never be known, but it is sure that the following objects belonged to it: The mummy and the mummy casket of Phaminis, the brother of Tphousa, number 504 in Berlin, compare the "Ausführliches Verzeichniss der Egyptischen Al tertümer und Gipsabgüsse" (Extensive Contents of the Egyptian antiquities and plaster casts), second edition, Berlin 1899, p. 344. The mummies of Sensaos (another one than ours!) and her sister Tkauthi and the double casket belonging to these two mummies, illustrated on p. 410 of A. ERMAN's "Die Religion der Agypter" (The religion of the Egyptians, Berlin and Leipzig 1934). All three have been combined in the Extensive Contents on p. 345 under number 505; here also one finds a mummy portrait at the bottom of the casket. The corpse papyri found with these mummies have been numbered 3041, 3068 and 3069; compare G. MOLLER, "Hieratische Paläographie" (Hieratic Paleography), volume III, second edition, Leipzig 1936, p. 15. And the mummy and mummy casket of Senchonsis, surnamed Sapaulis. These were lost
in the shipwreck but in Trieste a copy had been made of the Greek caption.

A last shipment found its way to Italy where it was lined up in Florence and Turin. The first museum received the casket as shown under number 1338 of VALDEMAR SCHMIDT’s “Sakofager. Mumie-kister, og Mumichylstre i det Gamle Aegypten. Typologisk Atlas” (Sarcophagi, Mummy caskets, Mummy wrappings in Ancient Egypt; Topological Atlas), Copenhagen, 1919. The second one is that of the mummy and mummy casket of Petemenophis, in A. FABRETTI, F. ROSSI AND R. V. LANZONE’s “Catalogo Generale”, volume I, Rome 1881, inventoried under number 2230; compare H. HARTLEBEN “Lettres de Champollion le Jeune” (Letters of Champollion, the younger), volume I, Paris 1909, pp. 46 and 47; and in that of the two small corpse papyri found therein the numbers 1861. DI SAN QUINTINO in his record adds a few other objects, namely three mummy portraits and two mummys, each in a double casket. I do not dare say anything about the portraits. The mummys of which one—that of Rap.t-nfr.t can be identified from the catalog under numbers 2231/2—appear to me not to have been found in the grave of Soter, even if they are from a later date, such based on the description given therein. I also have my doubts about the mummy kept by LEOLO in Trieste in his particular collection and cited by DI SAN QUINTINO. She must have been the most beautiful of all and was anthropomorphic but she has, as far as I know, during the last hundred years never been mentioned by anyone as being exceptional. The Turin objects were bought by DROVETTI with his first collection (1824)8. The grave of which the contents thus were scattered to the four corners was the last resting place of a family whose members according to the Greek captions on the caskets lived at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century of our era under the Roman emperors Trajanus and Hadrianus. The scientific information which people in Europe could gather from the Greek as well as from the Egyptian captions did not come up to original expectations. They only give the names, the genealogy and the ages of the people concerned, and only the caption on the casket of Soter is somewhat more explicit and tells us that during life he had [a royal title]. Brief as this information may be it still created puzzles. Archont of Thebes or, as this in the administration would have been called, of Diopolis Magna can only name the 6 or 7 people who had the function of “gymnasiarch”, “exegete”, “cosmetician”, “eutheniarch”, “archiereus”, “agoranoon”, or “hypomnematograaph” of the metropolis. And it can hardly be accepted that a man whose near of kin with the exception of his father all had purely Egyptian names and

8Some Greek Captions of mummys are cited by CHAMPOLLION; compare H. HARTLEBEN (see above), pp. 91 and 92.
who, moreover, took with him in his grave a copy of the “Boek van het Ademen” (Book of Breathing), in life would have been appointed a function the bearers of which should have been the champions of the Greek culture in Egypt. I just do not know what to think of it and refer to the discussion of W. DITTENBERGER, “Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae,” volume II, Leipzig 1905, pp. 435-36 in which is also mentioned the older papyrological literature. No conclusions can be drawn from the Egyptian captions which have not been pub-
ished at all or were published very poorly.

The grave of Soter was found in the neighborhood of the hamlet Sjah-Abd-al-Qoerna on the northern ridge of the region covered by the antique city on the western border of the Nile. It was, in LEOLO’s words: “in fondo del sua pozzo fabbricato di mattoni e tutto ornato internamente di piture diverse” (the bottom of a well made with bricks and completely decorated inside with many paintings), and, therefore, could possibly be identified with the numerous open graves on that site. According to my knowledge this has not yet happened. There is in the entire Theban necropolis a great uncertainty about the places where antiquities from the Greek-Roman period can be found. In the city of the dead of Loexor there was no lack of findings of this kind, but none of the older ones can be located with certainty. At least, this we may assume from the silence of the “Theban Necropolis” of the “Topographical Bibliography” by Misses B. PORTER and R. MOSS.

The finding mentioned here can be very remotely connected with one of these findings. This discovery happened during the same time that the famous archive of the Theban Choachytes came to light. Its discoverer was again LEOLO. Tens, yes, perhaps more than a hundred of large papyri were found in a pitcher, which were studied and published and proved to be the Demotic and Greek contracts and other papers of a native family. LEOLO made DI SAN QUIN- TINO believe, probably to make the story more interesting, that one of the papers, the papyrus Turin no. 1 had been found with the mummy of Soter. This was doubted by later discoverers, starting with PEYRON, and indeed it is very improbable; the relics of the Choachytes date from an entirely different time and even in the texts themselves nothing can be found in favor of such an argument. Fact is, however, that both discoveries must have been done about the same time and possibly in close proximity of each other. For the same GREY who bought the mummy of Tphousa and stayed in Loexor only a few days also brought with him the two Demotic papyri from the archive of the Choachytes which are now in the British Museum and bear his name.

By way of completion one must bear in mind that of the thou-
sands of Greek ostraca found in Thebes which were placed on the market in the seventies and eighties of the past century, the greatest

Gurneh’s Pit-Tomb  51
part originated in exactly the same period we are discussing here—the second half of the first and the first half of the second century A.D. This period is so richly represented that one tends to search for a much deeper connection. However, we must postpone our judgment for the time being for the places of discovery of the ostraca are entirely unknown.

Stricker notes toward the end of his article: “The funeral papyrus of Sensaos was found on the side of the mummy just outside of the right arm and was ‘folded flat.’ This is of importance as nothing is known about the spots of the other published papyri.” The report is interesting to Latter-day Saints because of one of the stories associated with the Prophet Joseph’s mummies and the location of some papyri found in a bulge on the mummy’s side. This story will be handled later.

Before leaving Stricker’s report, however, it may be of interest to have on record something about this man Sir Richard Henniker—just in case the H in Michael H. Chandler turns out to be connected with Henniker. The reason one’s mind jumps to such an illogical possibility can be observed from the following biographical data taken from Dawson’s book:

Traveller; born 1 Nov. 1793; educ. Eton, St. John’s Coll. Cantab., B.A., 1815; succeeded as 2nd Bart., 1816; travelled in Egypt and Palestine in 1820, and accompanied George Francis Grey to Upper Egypt; was the first to climb to the apex of the Second Pyramid, a difficult task owing to the smooth casing-stones being still in situ; pub. Notes during a visit to Egypt, Nubia, the Oasis, Sinai and Jerusalem, 1823; presented the mummy Soter to the B. M. (6705); died, unmarried, 6 Aug. 1825.

As is apparent, Henniker died before Chandler received his mummies, according to Dawson, and being unmarried, his belongings must have reverted to other family members. Also, is there a connection somehow with the report that he gave the British Museum a mummy called Soter and the report by San Quintino, which Stricker apparently doubts, that Lebolo had with him at his death a mummy called Sotero? Wild notions that deserve exploration! San Quintino’s report will be examined in a coming chapter.
The second work which supports the idea that all of Lebolo’s mummies are accounted for is the Porter and Moss work: *Topographical Bibliography*. Their work is essentially an encyclopedic listing of known finds, a review of early writings about each object, and the present-day location of the object. In short, their work lists 13 of the 15 sarcophagi associated with Lebolo’s brick-lined pit discovery and places them, as did Stricker, in the museums at London, Paris, Berlin, Turin (Italy), and Leiden (Holland). A confusing element about their report is the impossibility of determining which museums have both sarcophagus and mummy. One would think that the mummies and sarcophagi would be together. Also, one would assume that all of the Prophet’s mummies came to America in coffins. However, that assumption really cannot be proven at this point. Hence, the actual significance of the following report dangles in mid-air at present. Obviously, a report is needed from the museums in question.

---

**Brick-lined Pit. Temp. Hadrian.**

Fourteen wooden sarcophagi and coffins. Found by Lebolo before 1823.


---

As this manuscript goes to press, I am informed by Dr. Ross Christensen of the Brigham Young University that “after examining the Porter and Moss listing of a Lebolo discovery, I believe their report refers to another discovery of Lebolo’s. It is not, in my mind, the discovery whence came the Prophet’s mummies. Some mummies discovered by Lebolo and now at Turin are apparently not a part of the Porter and Moss report. For this, and other reasons, I think the Porter and Moss report refers
Position unknown

675
des représentations zodiacales (1824), passim, with texts, pl. [A, C]. See San Quintino, Lezioni [&c.], pp. 25, 37. Inscribed bead-wrapping, LEDRAIN, op. cit. pls. lxxxi-lxxxiv; CAILLAUD, Voyage à l'Oasis de Thèbes [&c.], ii, pl. xiv, p. 26 [492].

2. sarcophagus, &c., of child Tahefat ΣΔΔ (Tiphous), daughter of Heraklius and Serpu, with hieroglyphic and Greek texts (from Salt), in Brit. Mus. 6708. Schmidtt, Sarko-
fager, figs. 1320, 1334-5; sketch with scenes and some text, GELL MSS. i. 7 verso, 8 [left]. Texts on one side, Young, Hieroglyphics collected by the Egyptian Society, pl. 35 [lower]; part of text, Leemans in Rev. Arch. iv (1847-8), p. 725. See LETRONNE, op. cit, pp. 33-4, 30-1, and pl. [B]; San Quintino, Lezioni [&c.], p. 38 [2]; Handbook . . . Mummies, p. 56; Guide, 1st to 3rd, pl. 125; Sharpe, EG. Antiq. p. 177 [case 75].

3. sarcophagus of Sienknon, with hieroglyphic and Greek texts, in MINUTOLI Collection. See San Quintino, Lezioni [&c.], p. 38.


5. sarcophagus of child Pedamenopet ΣΔΔ (son of Takuza ΣΔΔ, with hiero-

6. sarcophagus and coffin of Renpetnefer ΣΔΔ (Drovetti Collection), in Turin Mus. 2231-2. Sketch of sarcophagus, Schmidtt, Sarko-

7 and 8. Two sarcophagi, bought by MINUTOLI, lost at sea in 1823. See San Quintino, Lezioni [&c.], pp. 26, 38.


to another Lebolo discovery.” If this evaluation by Dr. Christensen is correct, it suggests even more the need for additional study on the mummies Lebolo found, and their present-day location.

Before leaving the Stricker, Porter, and Moss reports, one final observation deserves presentation, particularly because it, in part, helps to evaluate the meaning of the two quoted works. The observation is from Dr. Klaus Baer, associate professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, and a close friend and tutor of Dr. Hugh Nibley of Brigham Young University. Dr. Baer’s observation is in the form of a letter to the author, in which Dr. Baer is responding to my request for information on Lebolo and Chandler. Several comments will be helpful for the reader: 1) Dr. Baer’s reference “that a young historian in Salt Lake City has unearthed newspaper accounts of Chandler’s collection before it was taken to Kirtland” refers to a report which readers will find highly interesting, but which will be given later. The report is a description of the four mummies the Prophet apparently purchased, something that Latter-day Saints have never before read. The historian who found the newspaper reference in question, however, was Dr. Richard Lloyd Anderson of Brigham Young University. 2) Dr. Baer’s letter portrays the complexity of the situation in attempting to solve what some would think to be an extraordinarily simple historical problem—and Dr. Baer is one of America’s great and gifted minds! 3) Latter-day Saints will find it most refreshing and sustaining to note that Dr. Baer thinks the basic story as told in the History of the Church (DHC) concerning
the papyri may be substantially correct. This is a point of view most timely. For eighteen years Latter-day Saints may have been following a side trail on the belief that Warren R. Dawson’s data was correct and that 1818 was the date of the Egyptian find, instead of the date in 1831 as Oliver Cowdery suggests. Dr. Baer suggests a return to the basic outline. 4) The information marked (3) in the letter may communicate little to most Latter-day Saints. Dr. Baer is saying that Facsimile No. 1 and the “Sensen fragments” (numbers X and XI of Dr. Atiya’s 1967 Metropolitan Museum of Art discovery) are called by Egyptologists “The Breathing Permit of the Priest Hor.” As a result of reading these recently found fragments, Dr. Baer notes that Hor was the son of the priest Osorwer and the Lady Tikhebyt, and that these same names, in the same child-parent relationship, are on some papyri of which Deveria wrote and which may be in the Louvre in Paris. Hence, there would be a possible connection between the papyri, perhaps related to the same Lebolo find. With that much preface, here is Dr. Baer’s interesting and thought-provoking letter:

Seminar fur Agypotologie
8 Munchen 2
Meiserstr 10
Germany

24 October 1968

Dear Mr. Todd,

Many thanks for your letter of October 15, which finally reached me in Germany, where I’m spending part of a sabbatical year (unfortunately without my library and files).

When Jeppson first asked me to contribute an article to Dialogue about the papyri, I thought of going into the question of their origin and the Lebolo-Chandler relationship, but gave up almost immediately. Most of the problems cannot be solved on the basis of published materials, and most of what has been published (correspondence of Italian scholars of the period, works such as that of Guilio di San Quintino cited indirectly by Clark) were not available in Chicago. Since the research that would have to be done was more in the field...
of Nineteenth Century intellectual history than Egyptology, it seemed best to leave the work (and it would be a very big job) to someone more qualified. As a historical figure, Lebolo is primarily of interest to the LDS, and I have hoped for some time that a properly qualified LDS scholar would take up the challenge. It would definitely involve research in European archives, though I imagine that the existence of the Genealogical Society makes SLC one of the best places to start such a project.

It is probably safe to assume that the account of the discovery of the papyri found in LDS sources (and all accounts so far published are based on these) ultimately goes back to Michael Chandler, an antiquities dealer and thus a member of a profession not known for scrupulous honesty. And that Chandler was not above lying emerges, among other things, from the certificate he made out comparing Joseph Smith’s interpretation of the papyri with those of scholars. Whatever you may think of Joseph Smith’s abilities as a translator, it is a fact (I believe already pointed out by LDS writers on the topic, but I don’t have my notes) that there simply weren’t any qualified scholars in the USA at that time who could have offered an interpretation. This makes it all the more important to start searching for independent confirmation.

The job has been begun. The article about Lebolo’s birth that appeared in the Era was definitely a start in the right direction, and I gather that a young historian in SLC has unearthed newspaper accounts of Chandler’s collection before it was taken to Kirtland.

At the moment, I can only offer guesses and suggestions where it might be profitable to look:

(1) For Lebolo’s career and the date of his death, it would be most profitable to study Drovetti’s correspondence now in Turin. One volume has been published by Marro. Records in Trieste might give some indication of Lebolo’s death (even of a will?); on the other hand, since Trieste was Austrian at the time, the records might be in Vienna. The Ge. Soc. people should have some idea how best to go about this. But Drovetti was Lebolo’s boss in Egypt and should mention him if anyone did. At the time I first became interested in the problem (1962) I thought I found a reference to Lebolo as alive in Drovetti’s correspondence of 1826 but didn’t note it down and my memory may well have been playing tricks on me. San Quintino may have definite data in his book—or could Dawson just have been mistaken and printed 1823 for 1832?

(2) The Lebolo-Chandler relationship: I am convinced that there was such a relationship. Lebolo was not a familiar name in the 1830’s (the fact that the handwritten form Lebolo was eventually misread as Sebolo indicates that). He was an unscrupulous, unimportant man of no scholarly attainments who did some of the dirty work for Drovetti in building the collections he (Drovetti) eventually
sold to form the basis of big European museums. In other words, Chandler wouldn’t have dropped the name in order to impress potential customers when he could just as well have claimed that the objects were found by someone famous like Drovetti himself, or Belzoni, etc. So I don’t think that Chandler invented the fact that the objects came from Lebolo. But whether there was an actual family relationship between the two or whether the relationship was a commercial one, that I wouldn’t venture to guess at the moment.

(3) The actual origin of the papyri: So far as I know, the Lebolo find mentioned by Stricker and Porter-Moss is the only one that anything is known about in detail. He certainly discovered other tombs, but I don’t believe that any inventories were ever published, assuming that records were kept—they usually weren’t. The only positive data I have comes from Theodule Deveria, Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens. . . qui sont conservées au Musée Égyptien du Louvre (Paris, 1881 but actually written between 1861 and Deveria’s death in 1871—his name keeps turning up in connection with the LDS papyri, and the more I see of his work, the more I’m impressed by his learning and scholarship, especially when you consider that this is scarcely 40 years after the birth of Egyptology). Anyway, he lists the following documents that are pertinent:

p. 70: III. 23 (Inv. no. 3207), a fragmentary Book of the Dead belonging to Hor the son of Osorwer and Tikhebyt (the abbreviated writing sometimes found in P. JS X-XI).

p. 113-14: III. 87 (Inv. no. X, 24, 25) an inscribed linen bandage belonging to Tshenmin whose mother was Skhons (and whose father was a priest of Amon in Karnak and of Khons in Thebes called Hor [it’s a common name, so we don’t have enough to attempt an identification with the other Hor]).

Now granting that none of the names are unusual, it still seems significant that the same names with the same parentage occur in the Jos. Smith Papyri and in the Louvre. And considering that Egyptian families tended to use the same names over and over again, the following may be significant:

p. 135: IV. 5 (Inv. no. 3166) a Breathing Permit of Osorwer whose mother was Tikhebyt. A son of the Hor of P. JS I, X, XI??

p. 110:III. 80 (Inv. no 3063) a Book of the Dead belonging to Tikhebyt (with many priestly titles), daughter of Khenemibre and Tayot.

(Note: hieroglyphs were often read differently in Deveria’s day, so you can’t rely on his transliterated forms.)

The implication is that part of the find found its way to Paris. I suspect that inquiry at the Louvre won’t be of much help. Their records are in very poor shape for the first part of the Nineteenth Century, and usually they don’t have the vaguest idea where their
objects came from or what agent sold them to the Louvre. Deveria seems to have listed most of the data that could be extracted from the Louvre’s records, and he gives no indication of origin for any of these. However, it might not hurt to inquire.

But as things stand now, the Louvre data is merely suggestive and should be investigated much more closely. A search of museum collections to find out if other papyri, mummy bandages and similar objects bearing the names of persons occurring in the Joseph Smith collection exist would be necessary. Note that name, titles (if any) and parentage are necessary for a plausible identification.

A quick check of Porter-Moss reveals no monuments bearing the names of persons in the Joseph Smith Papyri. This is about what would be expected if the description of the discovery as given in LDS sources were correct: the kind of mass burial vault described there is typical for the Greco-Roman Period and such burials usually were not accompanied by inscribed stone monuments, just coffins (often inscribed) and objects such as hypocephali and papyrus scrolls that could be wrapped up with the mummy or placed in the coffin.

There are various complicating factors: If the tomb was discovered by Lebolo alone, the contents may have been kept together, or split between him and Drovetti. But often there were several excavators around at the same time, so the find may have been split on the spot. Or the tomb may have been excavated partially and then reexcavated later. And, of course, we only have Chandler’s word for it that the mummies and papyri come from one tomb and aren’t simply an accumulation of antiquities collected over the years.

One possible approach: If the objects were in Lebolo’s possession, we can be reasonably sure that he hoped to sell them. He wasn’t the type of person to build up a private collection as a hobby. So would there be any indication in contemporary newspapers or in the files of the museums that were buying Egyptian objects at the time that Lebolo (or Chandler?) had approached them?

Well, this is about all I can say about the problem. As you see, our knowledge is almost nil, and the research is still to be done. My own guess, for what it is worth, is that the story as reported in the DHC is more or less correct in its general outline—but my guesses are usually wrong. Evidently, there is a challenge here for a competent young LDS scholar, one who will have to know a good deal about Italy and Egypt. This history of Egyptology is still at the level of collecting anecdotes, and Lebolo may be as good a place for someone to start serious research as any. At the very least, we’ll learn something about the kind of scoundrel that characterized the fringes of Egyptian archeology in its early days.

I wish I could provide you with more definite information, but I can’t. And while I am definitely fascinated by the problem, its solution will require research that is basically outside my training.
and competence—I discovered that rather rapidly about six months ago.

Two afterthoughts: (1) There is clear internal evidence in the Breathing Permit of Hor that it comes from Thebes and was wrapped up with the mummy (two more points in Chandler’s story that check). (2) Final horrible thought: Could the Paris pieces have found their way to France via Mr. Combs?

Please let me know if I can be of further help.

Sincerely yours,

Klaus Baer

Some of that which Dr. Baer treats will be under discussion in coming pages, but it has been helpful for him to suggest possible solutions for some of our concerns.

But we have dealt long enough with the question of dates and the imponderables. The whole interesting problem of tomb-location and personalities—with their many intriguing experiences—awaits us. Let’s move on to Thebes, where some scholars think they have located the actual tomb from which may have come the Prophet’s mummies.

Identification of the Tomb

Since the earliest accounts of their unearthment, members of the Church have envisioned the place and the tomb wherein Lebolo acquired his mummies, which in turn contained the papyri scrolls. Oliver Cowdery’s 1835 Messenger and Advocate account said the mummies were taken “from one of the catacombs of Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes. . . .”

Dawson has been able to define the identification even more: “Whilst at Thebes in 1818, Lebolo discovered a pit-tomb at Gerneh containing a number of mummies of Ptolemaic date.” Gurneh, or El Gurneh (also Journah, Gournah, Gurneh, Gurnah, Gernah, El-Qurna, and sometimes Kurneh), is the name given by modern Arabs to a small village on the west bank of the river Nile and north of Thebes.

Thus, El Gurneh is a section of the area previously
known as the Necropolis, or city of the dead, which made up the western side of Thebes. Thebes is a famous ancient Egyptian city on the banks of the Nile, some 350 miles south of Cairo, whose ruins are among the most magnificent in the world. It is near the modern towns of Karnak and Luxor. The Temple of Karnak, with its avenue of sphinxes on the east bank of the river, and the Tombs of the Kings, hewn into solid rocks of the hillside on the west bank of the Nile, combine to make Thebes a great tourist attraction. Thebes was once a great sprawling “city of the living,” and the Necropolis or “city of the dead,” with its royal tombs and tombs of noblemen, or private tombs, was across the river westward.
In biblical history, Thebes was known as No. Of interest to some will be the following two references to No (Thebes) that are found in Jeremiah and Nahum:

The daughter of Egypt shall be confounded; she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of the north.

The Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, saith: Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings, even Pharaoh, and all them that put trust in him:

And I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterward it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the Lord. (Jer. 46:24-26.)

Art thou better than populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?

Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubium were thy helpers.

Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in chains. (Na. 3:8-10.)

The Bible records both the predicted fate and the eventual history of Thebes, which in our time has gained renewed fame as a result of the 1922 discovery of the tomb of King Tutankhamen (Tut) and its great wealth of jewels and objects of art.

At any event, Oliver Cowdery mentioned Thebes as the site where the mummies were unearthed. But his account gave more information concerning the location of the mummies:

There were several hundred mummies in the same catacomb: about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and deposited and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third order, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity, the two last orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in niches.

Of prime importance is the information that the catacomb was a "grand cavity," and that there were "niches" in it.

With this information from Oliver Cowdery, and
Warren R. Dawson’s information that the site of Lebolo’s pit-tomb was at Gurneh, it was only a matter of time before an alert Latter-day Saint scholar would attempt to identify Lebolo’s pit-tomb, or see if identification could be made. The scholar was Dr. Ross T. Christensen, associate professor of anthropology and archaeology at Brigham Young University, and the time was 1960. Dr. Christensen, long interested in the archaeology of the scriptures and a constant support to students interested in the archaeological aspects of religious history, tells his own story:

As I recall, I was doing research in 1960 and 1961 on Thebes for a paper I was to present at the 13th Annual Symposium of Archaeology of the Scriptures. In my work, I came across a book titled Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. The volumes were by two British female scholars, both highly reputed, who were named Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. They in turn had taken their information on the matter from Duemichen, a nineteenth century German Egyptologist of note. Volume one, titled The Theban Necropolis, was a storehouse of information. The book had the ground plans of what we call the private tombs of noblemen. From the information given by Dawson, that Lebolo’s discovery was a pit-tomb—one under the surface of the ground—and that it had some Ptolemaic mummies in it, I thought that the tomb in which Lebolo found the mummies would have been a private tomb, not a tomb of a Pharaoh, and would be presented by the authors.

So of all those presented, I simply picked out the largest tomb to study. It was the tomb of Petamenpet, a nobleman of the twenty-sixth or Sait dynasty, and called by Egyptians today, Tomb 33. I also noticed that it seemed to have a number of recesses in it, which I figured could be the “niches” Oliver Cowdery referred to. As I counted the niches, there seemed to be sufficient to hold the 100 embalmed mummies that Oliver reported were in these niches. Then as I began to compare this ground plan with other ground plans, it appeared to me that Tomb 33 could be the tomb Lebolo discovered. It certainly was at Gurneh, it was right in the area of the pit-tombs, and it seemed to be the only one with a “grand cavity” big enough to hold a total of three or four hundred mummies, two or three hundred of which were in the second and third order. Also, the presence of the recesses or “niches” in the side, sufficient and big enough to house about 100 mummies of the first order, was another factor. Tomb 33 seemed to be the only one that fit the description. A great number of the ground plans had no “niches” at all, and some of
the ground plans did not seem big enough to house three or four hundred mummies. Thus, it was by a process of elimination that I concluded with my hypothesis that Tomb 33 could be the tomb in which Lebolo found his mummies.

Question: Would not the Egyptian government have records of all the original excavations?

One must remember that Egypt was not controlling her own land during much of the nineteenth century, and during much of the period of excavations, the governments of Turkey, France, and Britain were involved. I strongly doubt that one could learn from the Egyptian records information that would not be available to him in any large library.

Within a matter of months of his interview with Dr. Christensen, Dr. Hilton was in Egypt with a BYU Travel Studies tour and was able to make a first-hand inspection of Tomb 33. However, before entering Tomb 33 with Dr. Hilton, readers should be apprised of the nature of a pit-tomb. A pit-tomb is an underground burial chamber carved from solid rock. They are found in great numbers at the Necropolis at Thebes. Some are called "private tombs," or the "tombs of the nobles," to distinguish them from the royal tombs in the nearby Valley of the Kings, and, according to Dr. Christensen, "each has been labeled by the Egyptian government with a number placed at the entrance." Hence, the name Tomb 33.

Here, then, is Dr. Hilton's story, with an aside that readers should find interesting:

As assistant dean of adult education, I had occasion to plan a trip for adults who were going to visit Luxor. Since all the adults
were Latter-day Saints, I contacted Dr. Ross Christensen and asked him about his hypothesis concerning the tomb that Lebolo had excavated in 1818. We examined a rather large book of floor plans, all of the floor plans of known tombs that have been found, and I imagine they have found nearly all of them: they have been looking for 150 years. As we examined the plans there was only one that seemed to fit the description Oliver Cowdery gives, and as I recall, it was 1) the largest and 2) the only one with niches.

Question: "How many pit-tombs in the area of Gurneh?"

"Oh, dozens—but none had niches, and none were big enough to hold three or four hundred mummies. And I suppose that when Lebolo got there, the mummies were stacked up like cord wood inside. Well, we traveled to Egypt, and as soon as we got to Luxor, we inquired of an archeologist who was with us where Tomb 33 might be. Guess what his reaction was?

"You mean you came all the way from America to see Tomb 33?"

I said, "Yes."

"Well, I happen to be one of the chief government archaeologists. If we knew why you want to see Tomb 33, we might exploit that idea and get other tourists to come."

"Well," I said, "We're Bible scholars."

He said, "Well, there are not many Bible ruins around here, but we certainly have plenty of ruins."

"Well," I said, "the fact of the matter is that we are here to see if we can find Tomb 33, whence we think came the papyrus for the Book of Abraham."

He then said that he had prided himself on reading everything that had come from the tombs of Egypt but that he had never heard of the Book of Abraham.

"Well," I said, "I just happen to have a copy with me." It was in my little three-in-one. I opened it to Facsimile No. 1 in Abraham, and you should have seen his eyes! He said, "I must read this."

So I said, "That's good. I'd like to have your reactions to it."

"All right," he said, "you go across the river and see Thebes, and I'll read this. I'm staying at the same hotel as you are."

Well, we crossed the river and visited Thebes. When we got back that night his face was as long as a horse. "Now, Hilton," he said, "I don't want to give you offense."

"Oh, go ahead," I said, "tell me what's on your mind."

"Well, if you won't take offense, I'll tell you straight out that this book is the grossest kind of nonsense."

"Oh, hold on," I said, "The Lord's prophet translated that. That's a true book. Tread lightly on it."

"Why, Hilton," he said, "you're a fool. Where did you get your doctor's degree?"

"From the University of Chicago," I replied.
"Well, that's a good enough school. In Egyptology?"

"Well, no. In school administration."

Then he laughed. "Well, I read this book. This hieroglyph that says Abraham was in Egypt—your three-year-old son, blindfolded with a crayon, could draw better than that. It's a nonsense symbol. It doesn't mean Abraham. It doesn't mean anything."

Well, as we now know, Reuben Hedlock hadn't carved it very well in the first place. Now that the papyrus from which Facsimile No. 1 was taken has come to light, it is interesting to see what Facsimile No. 1 really looks like. It's quite a bit different from that which is in our Book of Abraham. But at the time I did not know that.

So I asked, "Well, what do you think of this?"

"Oh, I've seen lots of pictures like this," he said. "Instead of Abraham tied to the altar, this is a cadaver—a dead body; instead of the priest of Pharaoh standing there ready to cut him with the knife, it is an embalmer. He's about to encise the belly of the deceased and remove the viscera and put it in those canupial jars." Then he laughed and said, "You know, your Joseph Smith said that these are the gods of Elkenah, Libnah, Mahmoudrah, Korash, and Pharaoh. These are not gods—they are canupial jars. Look, you've just been down to Cairo. Didn't you notice that these four jars are in association with every mummy? Isn't it true that one of those jars is the head of a hawk, the other a jackal, the other a hippopotamus, and the other," I think he said, "a baboon?"

"Well," I said, "it is true that there are canopic jars in association with every mummy, and it is true that the viscera is put in these jars to be sealed with the mummy."

Well, here I was without a degree in Egyptology, and here was the great scholarly archaeologist telling me that I was a dead cadaver. All I could say was, "Well, look, I got a testimony that this is a true book."

"Well, you're a greater fool than I thought you were," he said. "This is a dead body."

"Well, look," I said, "across the river they told us that the ancient Egyptians depicted life by having one foot above the other, just as it is in Facsimile No. 1. Now, how could a dead cadaver show life? One foot above the other? Tell me, what does this mean? A hand with fingers outstretched in front of the face?"

"Well," he said, "that means the symbol of prayer, as folding of hands does to a Christian."

"How could a dead person be praying?" I asked. "Indeed, the man is not dead, he's alive, and he is praying, and that's the priest of Pharaoh about to offer him up."

At that point he gave up, shaking his head, and we parted.

We got around to visiting the tombs, and we asked our bus
Dr. Ross Christensen. Has he identified Lebolo's find?

Floor plan of Tomb 33.

Ground level view at Tomb 33.

Descent into parts of Tomb 33.

Painted scenes are on the stone walls.

Gates guard entry into the tomb's chambers.
driver to take us to Tomb 33. The driver said, “No one ever comes to Tomb 33. I have to get out my road map to find where it is.” When we arrived, the first things I noticed were the first two rooms. The ceilings had caved in. The ground surface was a flat plane, just like on a desert, and the Egyptians had dug down through the stone and carved a doorway inside and then carved rooms out. There were five or six feet of stone between the ceiling and the ground level above. Now what had happened was that these ceilings over the big rooms had apparently fallen in because they did not have enough interior support. Thus, we could see the tops of the niches—not the bottoms—because they were covered by the debris from the fallen ceiling. Only the first two or three rooms had collapsed. I wanted to go back to where the ceiling had not collapsed. When we got to that point, after going down through the debris that had fallen from the roof, we could see that the modern Egyptians had cut down through the debris so that they could get to the doorway. But the doorway had a heavy screen or grill locked over it.

Down there we could see not only the tops of the niches, but also carefully painted pictures and hieroglyphs around the upper cornices of the room. And in the corners where the ceiling hadn’t dropped down entirely—all of the corners were in place—protected from the weather were brightly colored painted pictures.

At the grilled doorway there was a strong scent of kerosene. We shook the grill, but it was locked. We looked in and saw many fifty-five gallon drums of kerosene. The government was using the rooms of the tomb as a warehouse to store their kerosene. Nearby was a felahine, a guard, to protect the kerosene. I’m sure he wasn’t there to protect anything else.

Well, soon I started to notice on the sides of the cut down through the debris to the grilled door what I thought was burlap. I observed that it was about 18 inches thick and about seven or eight feet across, and that the cut had gone right down through this pile of burlap, and thus, the burlap had a lot of overburden on top of it. But as I picked up what I thought was burlap, it turned out to be mummy linen, thousands of years old.

My wife began kicking around and found an old bone which was later confirmed as an old human femur bone. And pretty soon we turned over part of a skull of a mummy with parts of the mummy wrapping and hair still on it. As we looked around, we found a human clavicle and other bits and pieces of things.

Well, I was satisfied. I honestly believe that we were the first Latter-day Saints who had come to that tomb knowing what we were looking at. And I thought to myself, if I were Lebolo, and if there were three or four hundred mummies of the various orders which were partly decomposed, and if I only found 11 good mummies, I would take those 11 good mummies—which Lebolo did—but
I would not discard those other three or four hundred mummies. What would I do? I would unwind them and look for treasure. And what would the remains be? Well, there would be a skull over there, and a femur bone over here, and so on. And in fact there would be a lot more. There would be a pile of mummy wrappings 18 inches thick, ten feet or so across, which is exactly what we found. Can you imagine Lebolo's servants, pulling off mummy wrappings, hour after hour? There must have been a tremendous stack of mummy wrappings, and then when the roof caved in on it, the pile would be crushed to its present dimensions. I think we were the first Latter-day Saints to see what had happened. That was really something.

Some mummy shroud, bone, part of a skull from Tomb 33.

Now I honestly believe that we were at the same place that the Prophet Joseph's four mummies came from. Our visit was during the summer of 1961. I suppose if you went back and did the research all over again, you would come to the same place that we did—Tomb 33. And if you went there today, you would find a lot more bones.

I've been back four times, and have never been able to get beyond the grill, but it doesn't matter, because from the floor plans that Dr. Christensen has, we can tell that there are only small rooms beyond and none of them have niches in them.

Exciting as the notion is that Tomb 33 is the one
Lebolo found, one would do well to recall Dr. Christensen's own words, "This conclusion is only a possibility. . . ." Future research will undoubtedly further confirm or reject the idea.

At the time of Dr. Hilton's visit to Tomb 33, the recent rediscovery at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art had not been made, but the document accompanying the papyri signed by Emma Smith Bidamon reports a confirming idea: "This [sic] Mummies were obtained from the catacoms [sic] of Egypt sixty feet below the surface of the Earth." Thus, if it is true that the mummies acquired by the Prophet were some of those found by Antonio Lebolo, this report of Emma's confirms Warren R. Dawson's claim that Lebolo found a pit-tomb. Tomb 33 reportedly fits this general description of being about 60 feet beneath the surface of the earth.

Contemplating the report of Dr. Hilton, one wonders if the figures reported by Oliver Cowdery concerning Lebolo's servants pertain to the excavation of his Gurneh pit-tomb, or to other work also. Dr. Hilton's envisioning of the servants unwrapping mummy after mummy in search of something of value is probably a good one. Concerning the labor of the servants, Oliver Cowdery wrote, "Lebolo . . . employed 433 men four months and two days, (if I understand correctly, Egyptian or Turkish soldiers,) at from four to six cents per diem, each man. . . ."

It is interesting to note the calculations of those figures: Assuming the maximum of 31 days to a month, multiplied by four months, plus two days, the sum equals 126 days; six cents a day for 126 days of labor equals $7.56 that an individual soldier or worker would have received. If he received only four cents daily, his total would have been $5.04; multiplying both figures by the 433 men employed, a low figure of $2,182.32 is determined, and a high figure of $3,273.48. This may well have been the out-of-pocket cost (1818-1823 dollar value) of acquiring the mummies and papyri from which came Facsimiles Nos. 1, 2, and 3 in the Book of Abraham.

Emma's document is again useful at this point. She
says that the “mummies were obtained . . . by the antiquarian society of Paris. . . .” Perhaps the Antiquarian Society of Paris sponsored Drovetti, the agent for whom Lebolo worked, and if Emma’s report is accurate, it would appear that the Society paid the wages and expenses and, of course, had a hand in directing the disposition of any finds. But perhaps the Society did not finance the digging, only purchasing some of the mummies at a later date. Whatever, the clue is a valuable and potentially productive one. Researchers need to review the records of the Antiquarian Society of Paris for information about work originating at Gurneh during the years in question. Also, the clue could conceivably settle the long unresolved supposed uncle-nephew relationship of Lebolo and Chandler. It is a good new lead.

Ptolemaic Mummies in Lebolo’s Pit-tomb

Before departing Egypt with the mummies en route to ports unknown, a very important aspect concerning Lebolo’s find needs explanation. Warren R. Dawson, in his *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, reports that Lebolo found “a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh.”

As most students of history know, the Ptolemy family, the name of a line of Graeco-Egyptian kings, ruled Egypt from the death of Alexander the Great at 323 B.C. until the Roman subjugation of Egypt in 31 B.C. The family is intimately connected in the rise of Alexandria to a great commercial and scholastic colony, and joins with the various Cleopatras to make the name an illustrious one.

Knowing this, one naturally wonders how mummies placed in a tomb at this late date could be connected with scrolls reportedly connected somehow with Abraham. A brief account of Egyptian history, only as it relates to burials—and reburials—will explain the “Ptolemaic” reference.

Several accounts in Genesis mention Egyptian em-
And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father: and the physicians embalmed Israel.

And forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed: and the Egyptians mourned for him three-score and ten days. (Gen. 50:2-3.)

So Joseph died, being an hundred and ten years old: and they embalmed him, and he was put in a coffin in Egypt. (Gen. 50:26.)

The practice of embalming is a very aged one. Apparently, around 2800 B.C. the ancient pharaohs of Egypt began the custom of building the enormous pyramid-tombs, a custom that continued until about 1500 to 1400 B.C. The last one was believed to have been built by Ahmose I, who died about 1445 B.C. For purposes of dating, Abraham lived around 1950 B.C., Joseph around 1700 B.C., and Moses around the thirteenth century B.C. Following this period of pyramid building, the Egyptians took to carving out great pit-tombs or catacombs in the solid rock underneath the ground. They buried their dead kings, sealed, and concealed the entrances. They would then build a mortuary temple for the king some distance away in the "city of the dead." Perhaps the change in burial pattern was due to tomb robbers, who apparently from the very beginning were a threat to the practice of burying wealth, jewels, and objects of value.

Around 1100 B.C., a period known as the Decline set in for about 1,000 years. For several centuries the rulers were not very strong, and tomb-robbing flourished. The remains of many ancients were dragged out of their tombs, jewels and objects of value were taken off their persons, and the mummies were left lying on the ground. As a result there were some trials and government investigations of tomb robbing. In conjunction with this national concern, the government approved the efforts of a pious priest who assembled some of the displaced mummies. From that time on, pious priests gathered up the mummies that had been dragged out of their tombs, and re-buried them in mass burials in underground pit-tombs—again sealing and hiding up the entrances.
According to Annie Abernethie Quibell:

They were extremely pious in their devotion to the mummies of the kings, their predecessors: For instance, Herhor rewrapped the bodies of Seti, Painezeni, and the bodies of Rameses II and others were rewrapped even more than once as the present linen shrouds bear testimony.

They were so much concerned in keeping the mummies safe from robbery that they moved them about and gathered several into one tomb to insure better guarding.

Finally, a good many of the royal bodies were buried together in a vault near Der-El-Bahri, where they were found in modern times. (Egyptian History and Art, with References to Museum Collections.)

Some students will be interested to know that the site of Der-El-Bahri is near Gurneh. As Quibell noted, in some instances these subterranean chambers in modern times have been discovered to contain hundreds of ancient mummies. When found, the mummies have been stacked like kindling wood, one upon another.

But our case further complicates itself with the information that Lebolo’s find contained Ptolemaic mummies; indeed, these are the only mummies mentioned. Since Ptolemaic mummies would be from the third to the first century B.C., it apparently means that the pit-tomb had been re-opened, probably during the Ptolemaic reign, for the depositing of Ptolemaic mummies. Obviously, it is possible that through the ages other burials could have taken place at the same tomb.

As a result of this background of the history of Egypt, one understands how a tomb, perhaps Tomb 33, could contain objects dating from the earliest periods as well as from the first century B.C., and even later. None of the mummies or any of the objects need to be necessarily related to one another, nor contemporaneous with one another. Objects and mummies in the same tomb could have differed in antiquity by far more than a thousand years, perhaps even 2,000 years.

**Mummification**

Oliver Cowdery relays some interesting information
when he says that some of the mummies were “after the first order,” and some were “after the second and third order. . . .” Chandler simply records that the mummies were “differently embalmed.” By “order” is meant the quality of mummification given to a body. This was determined in ancient Egypt by one’s rank, and by the amount of money descendants were able to spend. The “first order” personages were wrapped in linen that had been soaked in resin or bitumen and that fit tightly against the body. The flesh was dried up by the use of natron, a hydrated native sodium carbonate. The viscera, or the internal organs such as heart, liver, and intestines, were removed by knife, and then washed and preserved. Sometimes the brain was removed through the nostrils by a special hook. Many varieties of mummification were followed during Egypt’s long history, some of them involving the use of artificial eyes, and the returning of some of the organs to the body.

The “second order” was much less expensive and consisted of producing a mummy with little flesh; only skin and bone were left after the body was soaked in oil—for the internal organs—and soaked in a fluid of natron and salts to dry up the flesh. The “third order” was for those who could afford some method of mummification, but were unable to purchase the specialties. These bodies were merely soaked in a fluid of natron and salts.

The Egyptians did more than mummify their dead humans, however. They often would mummify some of their animals, particularly some animals respected by various religious beliefs. Animals and humans were then buried in chambers ranging from the grandeur of the pyramids to the simplicity of the shifting sands.
CHAPTER FOUR

The Case of the Missing Benefactor

Unknown to most Latter-day Saints, there are two aged and conflicting accounts surrounding the transfer of the mummies from Egypt to one Michael H. Chandler in New York City. There is the commonly used account of Oliver Cowdery that appeared in *The Latter-day Saints' Messenger and Advocate* in December 1835, some six months after the Prophet acquired the mummies. Oliver Cowdery was in Kirtland, Ohio, headquarters of the Saints, and should have been in a position to get the facts. But we have already noticed his possible errors in dating.

Oliver Cowdery. A great debate concerns the accuracy of his report.  
Parley P. Pratt. His report clouds the issue further.
The other account—and in several important aspects it is a conflicting account—appeared in the British Mission publication, *Millennial Star*, seven years later in July 1842. Presumably, it was written by Elder Parley P. Pratt, president of the British Mission, to introduce the Book of Abraham, then currently being presented to the British Saints through the pages of the *Millennial Star*. In 1835, the year the Prophet acquired the mummies, Elder Pratt was intermittently in Kirtland, Ohio, between his journeys as a missionary to parts of Canada, Pennsylvania, New York, and several New England States. One would think he was in Kirtland sufficient time to learn first-hand the story being told. However, his account was written seven years later. As a result, there is a possibility that he was able to add information that was not known when Oliver Cowdery wrote; also, there is a possibility that he could have corrected some of the errors that appeared in Oliver’s account. On the other hand, there is the possibility that the passing years dimmed his memory, and that Parley P. Pratt conveyed inaccurate information.

Oliver Cowdery reports as follows:

... the last two orders of embalmed [mummies] were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris he [Lebolo] put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, then in Philadelphia, Pa. his nephew, whom he supposed to have been in Ireland. Accordingly the whole were sent to Dublin, addressed accordingly, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833.

But this is Parley P. Pratt’s report:

Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith. A gentleman, travelling in Egypt, made a selection of several mummies, of the best kind of embalming, and of course in the best state of preservation; on his way to England he died, bequeathing them to a gentleman of the name of Chandler. They arrived in the Thames, but it was found the gentleman was in America, they were
then forwarded to New York and advertised, when Mr. Chandler came forward and claimed them.

The differences are obvious: according to Oliver Cowdery, Lebolo carried some of his mummies with him to Trieste, Italy, where he died, and the mummies were then sent on to Dublin, Ireland, to Lebolo's supposed nephew. From Dublin they went to New York. The entire episode is to have taken ten years—(using Dawson's death date on Lebolo)—from 1823, the death of Lebolo, to 1833, when the mummies arrived in New York. Since 1950, this ten-year account has been the one commonly understood by members of the Church. However, Oliver Cowdery's story, as written by him, is only from 1831 to 1833, a period of two years.

Parley P. Pratt's account reports that a traveler acquired the mummies while in Egypt. The phrase "made a selection of several mummies" suggests that the traveler purchased them rather than discovered them. Lebolo is not mentioned. Yet because of Oliver Cowdery's account, one would tend to think that they were Lebolo mummies that the gentleman acquired, although one need not accept that view either. Since the traveler was going to England, one tends to think of an Englishman returning home, although this need not be the case. The traveler could have been of another nationality. He could have been going to London to market his purchases to one of the many private museums in Britain. For the wealthy of the nineteenth century, it was popular to maintain one's own exhibition of curiosities for the enjoyment of one's guests. Hence, the traveler—based on the information given by Parley P. Pratt—need not have been British. But one tends to think that he would have been British. Also, according to Elder Pratt, this unknown traveler was going to the Port of London on the Thames—not to the Port of Dublin. There is no mention of any relationship between the gentleman and Chandler, although one tends to think the normal state of affairs is for one to bequeath his acquisitions to his family and relatives. Also, interestingly enough, there is no date given.
for either the acquisition of the mummies by the traveler or the date of his death. These factors will manifest themselves shortly.

Without question the accounts are conflicting—yet in some aspects not incompatible. The simple truth is that presently no one knows which report reflects the true story in terms of the transfer of the mummies from Egypt to Chandler. In time, research will undoubtedly disclose the strength or fallacy of one report over the other, or it may show that both accounts present different sides of the same story.

At any rate, in order to present some of the surprising and valuable information recently discovered concerning the background of the mysterious case of the unknown donor, the Oliver Cowdery story will be explored, with departures from it at points relevant to Parley P. Pratt’s account.

Down the Nile to Alexandria

The mummies—however many Lebolo had—were now ready for their unusual voyage from the land of the Pharoahs. By now, Lebolo had left southern Egypt, left the sandy, dry plains of ancient Thebes, and sailed, more than likely, down river to Alexandria as hundreds of thousands before him had done for thousands of years. How long he stayed in Alexandria and what he did with all of the objects and mummies that he would have acquired during his five to a possible fifteen years in Egypt (1817-1832) is not known.

Warren R. Dawson makes this important review in his Who Was Who in Egyptology: “[Lebolo] . . . found a number of Ptolemaic mummies in a pit-tomb at Gurneh; the best of these went to Drovetti, two to Minutoli (which were, however, lost at sea), one to Cailliaud, another to Anastasi, and he kept one for himself. . . .”

Undoubtedly, the reader already has observed a major discrepancy between this account and the traditional account of Oliver Cowdery. If Lebolo left Egypt
with only one mummy for himself, he certainly could not will at least four mummies to his supposed nephew, Michael H. Chandler. Obviously, attention must be given to this problem; otherwise the entire Oliver Cowdery story would fall apart without any attempt to determine its accuracy or errors in dating.

It is important to recognize, however, that adventurers such as Lebolo are known to have held back part of their finds, and to have hidden from others artifacts and treasures that they hoped to sell later for their own welfare. Certainly this possibility cannot be overlooked. Lebolo may have left Egypt with mummies that modern researchers, such as Dawson, have been unable to identify.

In fact, Dawson has already informed us that Lebolo was not completely honest in his diggings, and thus, in his reportings: “In 1818, Lebolo, and a renegade named Rosignani, were working with Drovetti at Thebes and were also carrying on clandestine excavation for their own account. . . . Lebolo and Rosignani made a murderous attack upon Belzoni. . . . Lebolo afterward endeavored to obtain by fraud some antiquities. . . .”

Be that as it may, Dawson says “the best” of Lebolo’s mummies went to Drovetti, the man for whom Lebolo was working in some capacity as an agent. In addition, Lebolo apparently made some sales to Minutoli, Cailliaud, and Anastasi. It should be noted that these sales could have taken place anywhere—Thebes, Alexandria, or somewhere else—and anytime from 1818 to 1823.

One wonders if Drovetti or the Antiquarian Society of Paris knew of these sales, or if the sales were clandestine and in effect were mummies Lebolo had held back. But perhaps they had been given Lebolo in payment for his efforts. Since the men who purchased them will appear from time to time in the story, a brief sketch of each will be helpful.

The sketches are from Warren R. Dawson’s work, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*:

ANASTASI, Giovanni (1780—1857)

The adoptive name of an Armenian merchant settled in Alex-
andria; born 1780; went to Egypt to assist his father about 1797; after the death and bankruptcy of his father, by great efforts he re-established himself and became one of the most considerable merchants of Egypt; Swedish-Norwegian Consul-General in Egypt, 1828-57; in addition to his commerce, he carried on a large trade in antiquities, employing agents to buy from the natives in Sakkara and Thebes; he sold a large collection to the Dutch Government in 1828; another was sold in London in 1839, and the residue (1,129 lots) in Paris in 1857; he bequeathed a part of his fortune for Swedish charities, and a large granite sarcophagus to Stockholm Museum; died in Alexandria early in 1857. Anastasi’s name is chiefly associated with the numerous important papyri from his collections now in B.M., Leiden, Paris and Berlin.

ATHANASI, Giovanni d’ (1799-1837.)

Son of a Greek merchant of Lemnos who settled in Cairo; born 1799 and went to Egypt in 1809; whilst still a boy, he entered the service of Col. Ernest Misset, Brit. Consul-General, on whose retirement, in 1815, he became servant to Henry Salt; excavated at Thebes for Salt 1817-27, and thereafter on his own account; he sold many important antiquities, and brought to England a large collection (some of which were engraved by Visconti), which was sold at Sotheby’s in an eight-days’ sale in 1837; Athanasi, or d’Athanasi was well known to all travellers in Egypt as Yanni, and he is frequently mentioned in diaries and books of travel from 1817 to 1835; he had a house at Gurneh, just above tomb No. 52; not traced after 1837.

Readers will have to be on guard not to confuse Anastasi and d’Athanasi. To make matters worse for the researcher, Anastasi often goes by d’Anastasi. In fact, misspellings or different spellings of both names abound in existing volumes.

CAILLIAUD, Frederic (1787-1869)

French traveller and mineralogist; born Nantes, 1787; studied mineralogy in Paris, 1809; travelled in Holland, Italy, Sicily, Greece and Asia Minor; left Constantinople for Egypt, 1815, where he was employed by Mohammad Ali to find the emerald-mines described by the Arabic historians; visited Upper Egypt and Nubia as far as Wady Halfa with Drovetti; explored the routes to the Red Sea and discovered the quarries and the ruins of Coptos; after returning to Paris, he revisited Egypt in 1819 and explored the Oases, and in 1821 ascended the Nile as far as Meroe; returned to France in 1822 with a collection of more than 500 objects; Croix de la Legion d’Honneur, 1824; pub. at the expense of the French Govt., Voyage a
l'Oasis de thebes, 2 vols. 1822-4; Voyage a l'Oasis du Syouah, 1823, and Voyage a Meroe, 1823-7, text 4 vols., plates 3 vols.; in the preparation of these works he was assisted by Jomard; died 1869.

MINUTOLI, (Baron) Heinrich Carl Menu (1772-1846)

German military officer, of Neapolitan origin; born Geneva, 12 May 1772; entered Prussian army in which he won distinction and came under the personal notice of the king; in 1820 sent by the Prussian Govt. on a scientific mission to Egypt, 1820-1, and visited the Siwa Oasis; an account of the journey pub. in 1824-7; his wife (née Comtesse de Schulembourg) pub. Mes Souvenirs en Egypte, Paris, 1826, English ed., 1827; he collected large quantities of antiquities, some of which were sold in Paris and seen by Champollion, others were acquired for the Berlin Museum; the remainder were retained in the collection of Dr. Alexander von Minutoli, which was sold in Cologne in 1875.

The evidence concerning the years of Cailliaud's and Minutoli's visits to Egypt is further confirmation of Dawson's information about Lebolo. Hence, it would appear that if Lebolo found his pit-tomb in 1818 and if he sold mummies to these two men, he would need to do so while they were in Egypt. Cailliaud was in Egypt during most of the years from 1815 to 1822, and Minutoli was in Egypt in 1820-21. In discussing Lebolo, it was noted earlier that Dawson says the mummies sold to Minutoli never reached Berlin, but were lost at sea, perhaps from a vessel lost in a storm.

It is at this point in the story that Parley P. Pratt's report is most interesting: "A gentleman, travelling in Egypt, made a selection of several mummies, of the best kind of embalming, and of course in the best state of preservation; on his way to England he died. . . ."

One would tend to think that a traveler—English or otherwise—met Lebolo and purchased from him some mummies. After his period of travel was over, he apparently headed toward England, dying en route. Yet it is also possible that Lebolo could have sold some of his mummies to someone else, and this unknown individual could have held the mummies for a few years before he in turn sold them to the gentleman of whom Parley P.
Pratt speaks. Such an event would help eat up some of the years in the ten-long-years problem between Lebolo’s apparent 1823 death and the mummies’ supposed arrival in New York.

However, another interesting possibility centers around the date of 1832, the date Oliver Cowdery gives for Lebolo’s death. It may be that this is the death date of the traveling gentleman, and as a result, there would have been only about one year between his death and the arrival of the mummies in America, after having gone first to the port on the Thames at London. This would remove the long period of shipping that has concerned some observers. But if this were true, one wonders why the name of Antonio Lebolo appears with such emphasis in Oliver Cowdery’s 1835 account. The solution to that problem could simply be that the unknown purchaser, or purchasers, sought to accurately identify their particular mummies with their discoverer, Lebolo, in order to enhance what was believed to be an extraordinary acquisition. This relationship between Lebolo, the discoverer, and his mummies, and the date concerning the unknown traveler could have become garbled as the years went by, and Oliver Cowdery could have heard an erroneous report from Chandler; or he could have reported inaccurately. Certainly, there is no reason—at this point—to dispute Antonio Lebolo’s role as the modern-day discoverer of the mummies the Prophet Joseph would soon find in his possession.

By itself, Parley P. Pratt’s account does not contain enough evidence to sustain the position that the “gentleman” traveler was indeed the unknown benefactor, or that Oliver Cowdery’s identification of Lebolo as the benefactor is in error. But strange and complex as it may seem, Elder Pratt’s account does not stand alone. There is still another report that confirms aspects of this story. Professor N. L. Nelson of the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, Utah, gave an address in March 1885, which was carried in part by the Academic Review of the Academy in the March issue. Although born in Utah in 1862, he
knew intimately several persons who had been in Nauvoo and Kirtland. His report has long been quoted:

The manner in which the papyrus bearing this ancient record was transferred from a musty catacomb of Egypt to the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith is no less wonderful than providential. Four mummies, secured by a certain English Minister Plenipotentiary to Egypt, were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York.

Nelson was only 23 years old at the time, but has been regarded in other matters as a fairly reliable reporter. Thus, with two reports involving a donor other than Lebolo, the possibility cannot be rejected lightly. In fact, Nelson identified the man as an “English Minister Plenipotentiary.” If this were true, it would explain his trip to England—he was returning home. Fortunately, however, Nelson’s account provides within it the seeds of its own proof. Researchers fortunate enough to have the proper records nearby need only review the lives of British government ministers and agents during a fifteen-year period to strengthen or weaken this report. A “plenipotentiary” is a person, and especially a diplomatic agent, invested with full power to transact any business. Such a person could have been the Consul-General, or any of his officers in an embassy, or it could have been a person assigned to perform a particular mission. It could even be a person who had been a “Minister Plenipotentiary” at a previous time. The man need not have been in diplomatic service in Egypt.

It is interesting to note that Professor Nelson says this is the person to whom Chandler was related as a nephew. This certainly seems more plausible than the unusual nephew-uncle relationship that was supposed to have existed between Oliver Cowdery’s Irish Chandler and Italian Lebolo.

If Parley P. Pratt’s account were true, the problem of the apparent ten-year period between Lebolo’s death and the reception of the mummies in America in 1833 is reduced with the possibility that the Minister Plenipotentiary might have bought the mummies some years
earlier but kept them with him until his tour of duty or travel was finished and he was heading home. It may even be that he was returning to England in the year 1832, thus confirming the death date given by Oliver Cowdery.

It should be quite apparent that areas of study abound for those interested in the fascinating and complex story behind the Book of Abraham. Indeed, unless interested students turn to the problem, we as members of the Church may continue to perpetuate a story, parts of which all cannot be true.
We now rejoin—in thought—Antonio Lebolo, and voyage with him in the year 1823 to Trieste. Surely Trieste was part of Oliver Cowdery’s original story for good reason. Indeed, according to Oliver, the mummies acquired by the Prophet were not with any such English Minister Plenipotentiary, but were with our Piedmontese Antonio Lebolo. Having explored the possibilities of Parley P. Pratt’s and N. L. Nelson’s accounts, one may not be prepared for the surprising and newly discovered evidence supporting Oliver Cowdery’s account. But this remarkable and complex story is not over yet. We are far from through with one Antonio Lebolo.

After the sale of the mummies to interested parties and the resolution of his affairs, Lebolo left Egypt, apparently headed for France. But, according to Oliver Cowdery: “On his way from Alexandria to Paris he put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired.”

From this report, we can only guess concerning Lebolo’s supposed trip to France. Perhaps it was to sell objects no one knew he had; or perhaps it was to market himself in Paris as an explorer and archaeologist; or perhaps it was to avoid returning to the deplorable, depressed, economically unadvanced, and constantly changing political scene that had afflicted Italy for years.

Another area in which we are left to our own surmises is Lebolo’s death. Perhaps he had acquired a disease while in Egypt, and for this reason left Africa; or perhaps he had long suffered from a lingering malady; or
perhaps he had suddenly become ill aboard ship and died while in the beautiful and free port of Trieste, which at the time was under Austrian rule.

But whatever his purposes, and whatever his cause of death, according to Dawson, Giuseppe Pietro Antonio Lebolo died in Trieste in 1823, twelve years before the American Prophet of God, Joseph Smith, acquired in Kirtland, Ohio, the apparent fruits of his labors.

However, in terms of reconstructing the missing parts of this fascinating puzzle, Lebolo had, before dying, an enormously important meeting in Trieste with a Giulio di San Quintino, curator of the Turin (Torino) Museum. Turin, some 75 miles southwest of Milan, Italy, where Lebolo had some years earlier worked as a gendarme, was part of the kingdom of Sardinia, but was actually at the will and whim of the Austrian Empire. It was, and is, an important commercial and intellectual center, and a powerful community in its geographical setting in northern Italy, some 25 miles from the French border.

From Turin, the former national capital of Italy, had come in 1823 Giulio di San Quintino. He personally met Antonio Lebolo, and, fortunately, recorded the substance of that meeting. However, not until 1965 were members of the Church even aware of this 1823 confrontation between these two men. The information concerning their visit, and the important data San Quintino received while with Lebolo are part of the ever-widening horizon that continues to present itself to researchers and interested students of the story of the Book of Abraham. Once more it was the ever-energetic, ever-inquisitive Mormon missionary who unearthed the new data. This time the missionary was Elder Leslie W. Bradshaw of the Swiss Mission, who tells his own story:

While working in Luzern, Switzerland, in the Swiss Mission in 1964, I inquired of my mission president, John M. Russon, about being assigned to the then still infant Italian Program of the mission. As many missionaries had made the same request, I was very surprised to receive a transfer shortly thereafter to the Italian-speaking area in south Switzerland. About two months later, President Ezra Taft Benson arranged for us to enter Italy, and to regis-
fter with the government as missionaries. Five months and three transfers after that historic event, I found myself in Torino (Turin). Several days after my arrival, I received in the mail U.A.S. Newsletter 95, which was a publication of the University Archaeological Society, now called “Society for Early Historic Archaeology,” 139 Maester Bldg., Provo, Utah 84601. It contained a review of the latest developments in Egyptology and history as they pertained to the Pearl of Great Price. Several undeveloped aspects of the story of the coming forth of the Pearl of Great Price were listed with an appeal to members for any additional information.

The newsletter to which Elder Bradshaw refers is the “newsletter and proceedings of The Society for Early Historic Archaeology” of Brigham Young University, and is disseminated among its members, many of whom are not related to BYU. The newsletter’s purpose is to inform members of “new discoveries in archaeology throwing light on the origins of civilization in the Old and New Worlds, on the earliest periods of recorded history in the two hemispheres, and on the important historical claims of the Hebrew-Christian and Latter-day Saint scriptures; also, news of the Society and its members and of the BYU Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, of which the Society is an affiliated organization. Included are papers read at the Society’s and Department’s annual symposia on the archaeology of the scriptures.”

The newsletter is well-edited by Dr. Ross T. Christensen of the BYU Department of Archaeology. The Society has made some remarkable contributions to Church scholarship. It has played a great role among interested students, and is probably destined to play an increasingly important role. Interestingly, the Society was started, in part, from the motivation of the late Elder John A. Widtsoe, formerly a member of the Council of the Twelve. Persons interested in joining or contacting the Society should write to The Society for Early Historic Archaeology, Brigham Young University. Membership entitles one to all publications put out yearly by the Society.

As Elder Bradshaw has acknowledged, Newsletter 95, written May 22, 1965, carried these two items which motivated him. They are 95:7 and 95:72:
95.7 WHAT HAS BECOME OF LEOLO’S MUMMIES?: SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS AND CLUES. The extraordinary little scripture known as the Book of Abraham was translated by Joseph Smith from a papyrus scroll found on one of eleven mummies removed from a pit-tomb near Thebes by Antonio Lebolo in the early 1800’s. Four of the mummies, together with the scroll, were brought to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, by Michael H. Chandler (Joseph Smith, History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. 2, pp. 235, 348-351. 2nd ed., 1948).

The whereabouts of these eleven mummies is no longer known, although two of the four that were brought to Kirtland are understood to have been in a museum in St. Louis in 1859 and may have been destroyed in the great fire of Chicago in 1871 (James R. Clark, op. cit., pp. 156-163). What might have become of the rest of them has been a matter of keen interest to students of the Pearl of Great Price.

If any of these mummies or their accouterments could now be located or if more could be learned about those who had them in their care, it would no doubt aid materially in the archaeological and historical studies of the Book of Abraham that are currently going on. If any reader can supply additional information, it will be gratefully received by the Newsletter.

95.72 Lebolo’s Discovery Published in 1824. According to Warren R. Dawson, British authority on the history of Egyptology, Antonio Lebolo’s remarkable mummy discovery was published in Turin, Italy, in 1824, in an account written by Quintino di San Giulio. This paper, which appeared in Lezioni Archaeologiche, page 25, was read before the Academy of Turin while Jean Francois Champollion, pioneer decipherer of Egyptian hieroglyphics, was present. (See Dawson, Who Was Who in Egyptology, p. 88.)

Does any reader know the location of a copy of the San Giulio reference?

Elder Bradshaw’s fascination was caught. After all, he was in Turin . . . the missionaries were given diversion time . . . wouldn’t it be interesting to find it! And so, as he has since reported, he determined at his first opportunity to try to locate the journal Lezioni Archaeologiche. His story continues:

As it was, the area I was assigned to in Torino included the above so-named Academy of Turin. It is called the Reale Academia di Scienza di Torino and is housed in the Museo Egitto di Torino. (The address is Via Academia Della Scienza 6, Torino, Italy.)

At the first opportunity I and my companion visited this
museum and arranged an appointment with Dr. Curto, the present curator. He suggested that we search the Biblioteca del Universita for the correct copy of Lezioni Archaeologiche. This we did. The 1824 copy of Lezioni Archaeologiche was found. The entire work was devoted to the description of certain Greek and Egyptian inscriptions on the sarcophagus of one Petemenofi, a mummy which had been recently received by the Museo Egitto di Torino. I had the entire monograph reproduced. Also the same article was found to be included in a book.

Upon studying the monograph, many interesting facts began to be brought out. The author’s name had been improperly propagated in the Society’s Newsletter. His name was Giulio di San Quintino, and he had been the curator of the museum in Turin. This was, of course, an understandable error, but it caused some delay in obtaining the monograph at the library. San Quintino mentioned that he made a trip to Trieste and talked with Lebolo about the discovery and the facts Lebolo gave were verified by another Italian voyager that took part in that discovery. San Quintino states that he used some of Lebolo’s notes in writing the monograph. Dr. Curto of the present-day museum said those notes were presently non-existent or lost.

The location of Lebolo’s find was given as being near the present village of Gourmah, on the Libyan side of the Nile, near Thebes. A very brief description of the discovery site was also given. It was a pit-tomb, partially constructed of brick, internally adorned with varied wall paintings.

In the course of the monograph, San Quintino states that 12 or 13 mummies were removed from the pit-tomb by Lebolo and definite information about all but three of these 12 or 13 was given. Further, the monograph states that three of those 12 or 13 were in the Museum at that time. But Dr. Curto verified that an additional mummy and a double sarcophagus of another mummy (both from the Lebolo find) were also in the Museum, making a total of four mummies and a sarcophagus of a fifth mummy from Lebolo’s find currently on display in that museum. We then turned to the museum catalogue, and according to it, these five may be described as follows:

(1) Number 2230, a baby named Petemenofi, who died 27 August 123 A.D. The Mother’s name was Tacui. The writings on the sarcophagus of this mummy are the main theme of the San Quintino monograph. It was acquired by Drovetti while still in Egypt.

(2) Number 2231 (Sarcophagus No. 2232), a female named Bonanno.

(3) Number 2215, a female, sister to 2231. These two (Nos. 2215 and 2231) are mentioned in the monograph as having been...
Three of Lebolo's mummies in Turin Museum (Nos. 2215, 2218, 2231), a woman named anno and her two sisters.

A Lebolo infant mummy at Turin (No. 2230), Petemenofi.

given to Drovetti on another occasion than when he acquired No. 2230, possibly after he had left Egypt.

(4) Number 2218, a female, is a sister of Nos. 2215 and 2231. It is assumed that Number 2218 came from the same tomb as the two sisters and was therefore a part of Lebolo's find. In the San Quintino monograph, it is not explained how or when Drovetti acquired this mummy. References to one of these sisters is made in Schiaparelli's *Libro dei Morti*, Ch. 89.

(5) Number 2236 is the internal case of a double sarcophagus. Number 2237 is the external half of this double case. According to Dr. Curto this double sarcophagus was part of Lebolo's find mentioned in the monograph. The inscriptions on No. 2237 are included in Schiaparelli's *Libro dei Funerali degli Antichi Egiziani*, Vol. 1. Number 2237 is known as the Sarcofago dello Scriba Butehaamon del Museo di Torino (The Sarcophagus of Butehaamon the Scribe in the Turin Museum).

San Quintino also presents information on the fate of several of the rest of the original 12 or 13, as follows:

(6) One went to a certain Mr. Cailliaud. It was called Petemenone, and died 2 June, A.D. 116. In 1824 it was in the Paris Museum and presumably still rests there. There have been many publications on this mummy, notably by Letrone and Champollion.

(7) One went to a Mr. Anastasi, Swedish consul in Alexandria. It was a child called Tfute, who died 15 January, A.D. 127. A detailed description was published by a Mr. Grey for the Egyptian Society of London in 1823.

(8 and 9) One or two (Probably two, Here San Quintino is not certain) went to a Prussian general, Count Minutoli. These were lost
at sea off the coast of Africa during transport to Europe. One of these was a female named Senchronsis, who died 11 March, A.D. 146. Of the other nothing is known.

(10) One was the mummy of a man named Sotero, which San Quintino saw in the possession of Lebolo in Trieste. This mummy is not at present in any museum in that city. (I inquired of Prof. Claudia Dolzani, head of the Egyptian section of the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte di Trieste, in Dec. 1965, to see if any mummy that had been brought there by Antonio Lebolo was in that city. She replied that at Trieste nothing was known about Lebolo’s death, much less his will, or any documents about his having shipped any mummies.)

Nothing is said by San Quintino about the remaining three mummies of the original twelve or thirteen. San Quintino always referred to the number of Lebolo’s mummies as 12 or 13. The uncertainty of whether it was 12 or 13 arose, I am sure, from the fact that he didn’t know if Count Minutoli had one or two mummies, this information not having been accurately relayed to him either by Lebolo himself or the other “unnamed Italian voyager that had knowledge of the find.”

Some people may not wish to classify the double sarcophagus in the Turin Museum (Nos. 2236 and 2237) as one of the mummies, but I do not agree with this. The sarcophagus is that part of a mummy that gives us pertinent information, e.g. names, dates, ages, and other cultural data, and the double sarcophagus certainly yielded this information, as Schiaparelli included in his compilations. I think that in this particular case the fact that the actual body is missing isn’t important, because obviously there was once a body, and we have the name, age, rank, etc. of the missing body.

If we assume that the missing three remaining mummies, plus the one called Sotero, were in Lebolo’s possession at the time of his death, then perhaps we can assume that Michael Chandler received these four.

There also is a scroll on display in the Turin museum which was part of Lebolo’s find: It was found in the sarcophagus of No. 2230 and measures ca. 2 m. [about 79 inches] in length. It is written in Greek and dates from the reign of Tolemeo Evergete II, dated by San Quintino at 117 B.C.

Concerning the mummies, San Quintino was also of the opinion that the tomb which Lebolo had found the mummies in had been used at different occasions by different people and said that all the mummies in his museum, although reported to have been found in the same tomb, definitely didn’t all belong to the same family.

Elder Bradshaw’s report, part of it published in the May 1, 1967, number 101, Newsletter of The Society for
Early Historic Archaeology, was a tremendous surprise to students of the already knotty story of the Book of Abraham. It added valuable confirmation to various points of the saga, yet in turn presented a host of new questions and important information. It seems important to detail these findings, hopefully not laboriously:

1) San Quintino has provided our only firsthand report of one who saw and talked to Antonio Lebolo after he left Egypt. This alone makes his report of great importance. Also, San Quintino represents the only known person to have used some of Lebolo's personal notes in writing his own account. San Quintino has provided additional evidence to support the story that Lebolo actually found mummies in Gurneh and that he may have had more than one mummy in his possession when he died. Since the pamphlet was written in 1824, it is further evidence that the dates of the Egyptian discovery used by Oliver Cowdery for Lebolo may be in error.

2) San Quintino reports that Lebolo's account was verified by "another Italian voyager that took part in that discovery." One thinks immediately of Lebolo's fellow Piedmontese, Rosignani, with whom Lebolo had been closely associated in his troubles with Belzoni, and whom Belzoni describes as "outrageous."

Whoever this person might be, one cannot help but wonder if he were involved in shipping any mummies to Michael H. Chandler. Presumably at the supposed death of Lebolo, the voyager who had taken part in the discovery would remain to help resolve the affairs of his deceased companion. It would stamp another strange twist to the already fascinating story if indeed this "outrageous" Rosignani had a hand in directing some mummies to the humble servant of God, Joseph Smith.

Of course, if the voyager had not been identified as Italian, one would speculate that he could be the "English Minister Plenipotentiary." But although it is true that some French, Italians, and other nationalities have served Britain as agents, the account of N. L. Nelson seems to suggest that the man was an Englishman. Thus, it seems
that the "Italian voyager that took part in the discovery" would not be the same person as Nelson's "English Minister Plenipotentiary."

Not so, however, with Parley P. Pratt's account. Without evidence to the contrary, some students might contend that Elder Pratt's "gentleman travelling in Egypt" could conceivably be the "Italian voyager that took part in the discovery." Hence, if this were true, the Italian voyager apparently would have decided to go to England, but on his way died. Again, if this were the case, one wonders if his death occurred in 1832 to agree with Oliver Cowdery's date given for the death of Lebolo.

By now it should be apparent that not much is known—that is, data fortified by evidence—concerning this whole section of the amazing story behind the story of the Book of Abraham. At this point we can only assume that Trieste became a part of the Oliver Cowdery account for sound reasons. Perhaps the man who bequeathed the mummies to Chandler was with Lebolo in Trieste; but if he were the Italian voyager, it would even further complicate the efforts to identify Chandler with his long unknown uncle, or unrelated donor. There is the possibility that the donor could be any one of the following: (1) Lebolo, (2) an English traveler, (3) an English Minister Plenipotentiary, (4) an unknown Italian voyager, (5) Rosignani—Lebolo's companion while in Egypt, (6) one would even wonder if it were Bernardino Drovetti—after all, he acquired most of Lebolo's mummies, (7) someone else. Surely, interested members in a Church world famed for its genealogical research should be able to answer this long-unsolved riddle. In terms of Trieste, perhaps when the complete story is known it will be found that Trieste had nothing at all to do with the story, other than the supposed death site of Antonio Lebolo, who may well have sold the mummies to Chandler's donor long before he left Egypt. But this view should not be accepted at present. It will soon be seen that the traditional Oliver Cowdery story has its support too. It still is a strange and unknown saga in many aspects.
3) San Quintino's report also interestingly notes that the walls of the Lebolo find were "internally adorned with wall paintings." One thinks immediately of Dr. Hilton's observation that Tomb 33 had "brightly colored painted pictures" in the corners where the ceiling had not crumbled away.

4) San Quintino's report notes that Bernardino Drovetti acquired Lebolo mummies on at least two different occasions, forcing the possibility that (a) Lebolo may have been involved in more than one find, which has been discussed in Chapter three also; (b) or Lebolo may have somehow acquired rather than discovered other mummies from other locations; (c) or Lebolo may have decided to sell some mummies he had previously intended to keep for himself; (d) or the two occasions may simply represent two different occasions during the "four months plus two days" that it reportedly took Lebolo's men to go through the Gurneh pit-tomb, and as a result, at a later working date Lebolo managed to salvage some other mummies for Drovetti to acquire. The Italian report supplies proof that Drovetti managed to benefit from the labors of his agent Lebolo.

5) San Quintino's report indicates some of the mummies died as late as 146 A.D., and that mummies were being placed in a tomb that could have had other mummies in it already a thousand years old. It is also interesting to note that a 20-year spread exists between the death of some of the mummies, one of them supposedly dying in 116 A.D., another in 123 A.D., another in 127 A.D., and another in 146 A.D.

6) San Quintino's report indicates that three of the mummies were sisters. None of these sisters' death dates were given by Bradshaw; therefore the above dates do not refer to them.

7) The report provides a handful of new names for Egyptian historians to supply background information on: a baby Petemenofi, a mother named Tacui, a female Bonanno, two sisters of Bonanno, Butehaamon the Scribe, a child Tfute, a female Senchromsis, and a
male Sotero. A big question—is this the same Sotero that Sir Frederick Henneker gave the British museum?

8) The report suggests that Minutoli’s lost mummy or mummies were lost at sea off the coast of Africa.

9) San Quintino has also given us the seeds of additional information by reporting that one of Lebolo’s mummies went to the Paris museum in 1824 and that considerable literature was written about the particular mummy, including literature by Letrone and Champollion. Research should divulge accounts by these two men which might provide more information on the Lebolo story, just as research has already proved the location of this Paris Lebolo mummy. The story of the Paris mummy’s identification is essentially this: in order to pursue the subject I requested the help of the French Mission, and on July 26, 1968, I received the following response:

Dear Brother Todd:

As soon as your letter concerning the Egyptian mummy Petemenone was received here, President Anderson referred it to me for action.

We are very fortunate to have here in Paris a young member, Annette Malaize, who works at the Office of the Director of the Museums of France. Thus, we were able to solicit her help on this problem.

At first she was quite skeptical about our finding the mummy inasmuch as several hundred of the Louvre’s mummies had been recently destroyed because of their poor condition and hazards to health.

The search for the mummy and material relating to it was, of course, held up by the strikes here, but only a few days ago Sister Malaize was very happy to report that the mummy had been found. She tells us that it is at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library) here in Paris, and will be transferred to the Louvre in October. The problems with taking pictures at this time, however, are numerous. She has done a marvelous work thus far and deserves much credit and thanks for her successful efforts. (It took her serveral weeks before she was even able to ascertain if the mummy had ever been to Paris.)

She reports that the sarcophage (coffin) is undergoing restoration before being transferred to the Louvre.

Just as a sidelight, Sister Annette Malaize regarded the sudden
reappearance and transfer of this mummy to the Louvre as just short of divine intervention after all the work she had gone to.

Sincerely, your brother
Elder Michael E. Gardner
Secretary to the President

Attached find a bibliography which Sister Malaize says will be helpful.

Bibliography:
Other titles are cited in the above works.

Good news! And proof of at least some aspects of San Quintino’s account. Hopefully, the sources in the bibliography will lead to additional information.

10) San Quintino has also told us that a Mr. Grey wrote considerably in the journal of the Egyptian Society of London in 1823 about another mummy, one acquired by Anastasi, the Swedish consul. Here too, research should divulge accounts that should provide more details on the Lebolo story.

11) The report also announced the location of four Lebolo mummies and a sarcophagus of another in the Turin Museum, additional tangible evidence that Lebolo actually had found some Egyptian mummies.

Several other aspects of the report also deserve brief mention. Warren R. Dawson’s information on Lebolo noted that Drovetti, the agent for whom Lebolo worked, “made three great collections the first of which was sold to the King of Sardinia in 1824 and deposited in the museum of Turin; the second was bought by France and is now in the Louvre. . . .”

One wonders if the second collection had any Lebolo mummies in it. Presumably the mummy sold to Cailliaud
by Lebolo, which was in the Paris Museum in 1824, was not a part of this second Drovetti collection.

Information is lacking concerning the identity of the King of Sardinia who purchased the Turin mummies. The history of Italy is complex, and interested readers are encouraged to review it elsewhere. Suffice it to say that King Victor Emmanuel I was King of Sardinia following the treaties of Paris and the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, but he was under the thumb of Austrian rule. However, King Victor Emmanuel I was unprogressive, and a famous period of conspiracies and insurrections promoted by the Carbonereria began. By 1821 the king had abdicated in favor of his brother Charles Felix, who called for Austrian troops to quell the insurrections. For the next 10 years many revolutionary attempts dot the history of Italy as the peasants and some army leaders sought liberty from Austria and unresponsive monarchial rule. It is not known which king, Victor Emmanuel I or Charles Felix, began the negotiations or which king made the purchase. Apparently King Charles Felix was ruling during 1824.

But the identification of 1824 as the year of purchase by the King of Sardinia causes one to wonder about the purpose of San Quintino’s visit to Lebolo at Trieste. Perhaps Lebolo was serving as Drovetti’s agent and accompanying the collection Drovetti had sold to the King of Sardinia for the Turin Museum. However, this is 1823, a year before the apparent purchase in 1824. As a result, perhaps the purchase had not yet been made from Drovetti, and San Quintino was merely investigating the reputed discoverer’s story. More likely, however, is that San Quintino was gathering information about mummies that were already under negotiation. One suspects that Lebolo was not delivering the Turin mummies to Turin, because Trieste and Turin are at opposite east and west ends of Italy, separated by much more than 150 miles of land travel, and are each reached by different seas, Turin by the Ligurian Sea, Trieste by the Adriatic Sea. Another possible reason for San Quintino’s
visit with Lebolo at Trieste may be that he was interested in some Lebolo mummies that were already in Turin.

When considering this perplexing story, one cannot help but wonder what happened to Lebolo's estate—and the mummies or mummy with him—at his death. Oliver Cowdery said Lebolo "put in at Trieste, and, after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole, to Michael H. Chandler. . . ."

One wonders how the reputed decision was reached to forward some of the mummies to Chandler. Indeed, one wonders if Chandler really received "the whole" as Oliver Cowdery suggests Lebolo intended. Elder Bradshaw reports that the monograph by San Quintino describing the King of Sardinia collection mentioned three Lebolo mummies, but that the present-day curator, Dr. Curto, reports that four Lebolo mummies and a sarcophagus of a fifth are in the museum today. Thus, one speculates that San Quintino might have managed to acquire some mummies from Lebolo's estate after his death. If this were the case, it is also possible that the other "voyager" felt a partial right to obtain something for his time with Lebolo. Hence, this other "voyager" may have sold some mummies to the Turin Museum after Lebolo's death. If the voyager were Rosignani, and if Belzoni's description of him as an "outrageous" person is accurate, it would not be beyond Rosignani to take advantage of his partner's death for personal gain.

But such conjectures only indicate the broad field of unanswered questions that still surround the ever-fascinating story. We may never know the innumerable points where the hand of the Lord may have manifested itself in directing certain mummies and their papyri through the hands of would-be robbers, fortune hunters, and envious onlookers to ultimately reach Joseph Smith.

Of interest at this point, therefore, would be the will of Antonio Lebolo. Were such a document available, it would clear up the purported relationship between Lebolo and Chandler. Consequently, Elder Theodore M. Burton,
Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, and vice president and general manager of the Genealogical Society, was asked to assist in the location of Lebolo’s will. Hugh Law, research specialist of the Society in things Italian, was assigned the task. He wrote a letter to the State Archives of Trieste (Archivio di Stato di Trieste) seeking information. The return letter, dated January 24, 1968, is translated as follows:

In reply to your letter, we inform you that in the notarial archive (1638-1927) is not found the testament (will) of Antonio Lebolo who is supposed to have died at Trieste in 1823. Since you were uncertain of his death date, the research was extended throughout the years from 1820 to 1830.

Also the research conducted in the indexes of heirs of the city and provincial court (1767-1850), in which are registered the names of those who died in the city, and under the heading of commerce and navigation and health of the seacoast government (1814-1850) under the names of Lebolo, Mummies, Alexandria, brought negative results.

The name of Lebolo does not appear in the death records conserved in the parish archives at St. Maria Maggiore, of St. Antonio Taumaturgo, of St. Antonio Vecchio, of St. Giusto, of the Civil Hospital, and of Muggia, the latter of which conserves registers of death for the Lazzaretto from 1800 to 1836.

We inform you, finally, that the Archives of the City of Trieste, Civil Registration, where research was conducted, conserves death registers only since 1850, and that the cemetery of St. Anna conserves the registers of burial beginning in 1825.”

As is apparent, we are left with no new information on the matter—except to wonder the reason for the lack of a Lebolo will at Trieste, if Lebolo died in 1823 as Dawson has indicated.

A-potentially fruitful notion exists among some persons that some Lebolo mummies are in a present-day Yugoslavian museum. As readers know, present-day Trieste is in Yugoslavia, not Italy. The same 1965 newsletter from the U.A.S. that had spurred on Elder Bradshaw carried another request about information on Yugoslavian mummies:

95.71 Mummies in Yugoslavian Museum. Wayne D. Campbell of Provo and Melvin C. Clark of Orem have reported an experience of
two recent LDS missionaries in eastern Europe. Elders Stanley E. Abbott of Lehi and Carl Alden Johnson of Idaho Falls, while traveling in Yugoslavia following their release, saw some Egyptian mummies on exhibit in a museum. According to the museum label, these mummies were discovered in the same find as those connected with Joseph Smith and the Book of Abraham.

Does any reader know how to reach Elder Abbott or Elder Johnson for questioning? Has any UAS member ever been to this museum?

Letters written by the author to a Stanley Abbott and a Carl Alden Johnson located in Church membership files have resulted in both men informing me that they know nothing of the subject, and that they were never in Yugoslavia. Perhaps the names of the men involved are still unknown.

All in all, Elder Bradshaw’s report of the situation in Turin constituted a remarkable find. It has given researchers and students of the Book of Abraham story several new leads to research. Unfortunately, no new information had manifested itself at this writing.

As would be expected, other missionaries in Turin became intensely interested in the discovery of some Lebolo mummies. One of these, Elder Michael Pinnell, was able to photograph much of the Lebolo collection at the Turin Museum for the interest of members of the Church. His brief report of his visit to the museum will probably be of interest to Latter-day Saints who may find it convenient to visit the Turin Museum. He also contributes some new and interesting data:

At the time I was a junior companion, but could speak Italian fairly well. After Elder Bradshaw reported his discovery to us, another missionary and I on our diversion day drove to downtown Turin on our motor bikes, looking for the museum. We had the address but drove by it three times without realizing what it was. The museum is right in the middle of the city, which is an industrial city of great importance in Italy—they make the Fiat cars, for example. The building is old, made of gray bricks, with a little sign on top which says “Museum.” We paid our piazza—about eight cents—and entered into a courtyard, and went up some dirty, very worn steps to an upper story. The ceilings were very high, and it was very chilly inside. The light was very poor, and it was hard to see. We did not take
pictures the first visit, but returned another day, toward the end of the day, and because of our friendly chats with the curator he gave permission for us to photograph the mummies. The policeman on guard had to unlock two big giant grills which shut off a dark room where the mummies were located. After we had taken our pictures, a policeman came up and told us that the curator permitted few pictures to be taken, and said we were lucky fellows. The museum has a famous collection of Egyptian materials—it ranks number three or four in importance behind Cairo and Paris."

But our stay in Trieste has been long enough—perhaps too long for some readers. Some may have begun to wonder when they were going to reach that part of the story dealing or associating with the Prophet Joseph Smith. It is a fair question, and deserves a fair reply. By now it should be apparent that the story behind the Book of Abraham is very complex. Perhaps for this reason it has interested Latter-day Saints for so many years. Yet because of those same complexities, many writers, and readers, have scurried quickly over the landscape, running up to the house, scarcely noticing the beautifully landscaped lawn, artistic flower beds, and the several children's scooters blocking the walkway, if I can paint a mental picture that has some direct analogies to the problems at hand. In candor, the story behind the story is not a simple nor easily told one, in terms of quickly handling all aspects of it. As an example, some readers may have thought they had a book more on the life of Antonio Lebolo than on the Prophet Joseph. Readers who have thought this will be pleased to learn that we shall soon leave Antonio Lebolo; yet the study of the background for handling some of the complex aspects already discussed and many still unanswered questions dealing with the whole story could only have been accomplished in a thorough review of all that is known about Antonio Lebolo and his mummies. Readers will soon find themselves among more familiar names and places as we move on to America, yet it is only fair to mention that one more forage through the question of the number of mummies still awaits us. Students of the Book of Abraham complexities will find it an important part of the background.
It is hoped that the casual reader will not find it without interest and value either. But, let's board ship and be off to the British Isles.
Parley P. Pratt, commenting on the strange and peculiar story of the Book of Abraham, said, "Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith."

Nothing is more singularly remarkable about the whole account than the story of the mummies' voyage to America. By now, the reader knows that it is not known how the mummies reached the British Isles, whether it was through Trieste and Lebolo and on to Ireland, or whether it was from Egypt to London on the Thames through an Englishman—or an unknown combination of both stories.

Following the line of thought involved in Oliver Cowdery's story, the mummies' length of stay in Trieste is unknown. Perhaps it was years, or maybe only months until adequate information presented itself concerning their destination. At any rate, according to Oliver Cowdery, Chandler was "supposed to have been in Ireland. Accordingly the whole were sent to Dublin, addressed accordingly, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833."

Ten years! From 1823, Lebolo's supposed death, until 1833, the date of their arrival in New York. Surely it did not take ten years to cross the high seas, even in the nineteenth century! However, some years could have been taken up before the mummies left Trieste, and the mummies could have lain in wait at Dublin for several years before port authorities desiring to be rid of the unclaimed
boxes sought information on the whereabouts of Chandler.

Following the line of thought involved in Parley P. Pratt's story, the mummies went to London on the Thames. Also, as has been noted, the gentleman traveler—or "English Minister Plenipotentiary," according to N. L. Nelson—need not have left Egypt until a date much closer to 1833. Also, periods of waiting and storage in the London port could very well have occurred.

There is also the strange, yet real, possibility that both accounts reflect elements of truth. Perhaps the mummies lay in wait at Dublin—or London—for several years, sufficient time for port authorities to learn that Chandler had gone to London or was from Ireland, whichever applies. The mummies could have been shipped to the other port, where once more the period of waiting presented itself. Perhaps after some search for their owner, authorities may have sent them back to the port whence they had come.

According to Oliver Cowdery, at some point along the line, kinfolk or friends at Dublin informed the authorities that Chandler was in America. And gambling once more on finding their rightful heir, the mummies were apparently sent to New York.

Consequently, the possible combined stay of the mummies in the ports of Trieste, Dublin, and London could have eaten up years. But ten! In response, perhaps a few lines from a letter addressed to Lord Mountnorris in London, written by Henry Salt, Britain's Consul-General in Egypt, will help make this possibility more plausible. The letter, postmarked October 30, 1816, Cairo, is about some mummies that Salt had acquired:

As to sending the mummy entire, it is almost impossible, owing to the objections made by captains of ships to carry them. There are some [mummies] at Alexandria that have waited four years. If I can get a good head, you may depend on having it, and with respect to the cases I hope there will be no difficulties.

It may be that captains and shippers viewed Egyptian
mummies with some superstitious fear, and as undesirable passengers. This could help account for the slowness in shipping, if Oliver Cowdery’s account is determined to be accurate.

"Signs and Wonders Upon Pharoah"

Before leaving the entire episode of the transferral of the mummies from Egypt to America to Michael H. Chandler, one more account needs to be reported. It is from a modern United States Egyptologist and historian, Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Dr. Wilson is the author of many books and papers on Egyptology, and authored *Signs and Wonders Upon Pharoah* in 1964, a history of Egyptology in America. Dr. Wilson has access to much information on many topics dealing with things Egyptian that Latter-day Saints do not have.

His book presents still another, a third, report concerning the entrance into the United States of the mummies to be acquired by the Prophet Joseph Smith:

Early in the 1830’s an Englishman acquired in Egypt some mummies and their burial equipment. These went to his nephew Michell (or Mitchell?) Chandler who conceived the idea of going to the United States and making money by exhibiting them from town to town. In this gypsy-like life, he came to Kirtland, Ohio. . . . (p. 37.)

If this report were true, it would completely change part of the story that Latter-day Saints have been exposed to for over 135 years. This account was not entered earlier in the story because it was thought that handling Parley P. Pratt’s, Oliver Cowdery’s, N. L. Nelson’s accounts, and references to Stricker’s and Porter and Moss’ reports, would be confusing enough to some readers, without further entangling the situation with an additional account.

However, another reason for delaying the entry of Dr. Wilson is that until this point in the story it would have provided nothing new. We have already considered the possibility that the purchase was made some years after
Lebolo’s discovery, even long after his supposed death. We have already noted that such a purchaser could have turned to Drovetti, who apparently had the best of Lebolo’s find.

Dr. Wilson’s report suggests many new possibilities: that the purchase was made in the 1830’s by an Englishman in Egypt and that Chandler came to the United States with the mummies, as well as other possibilities. And so, seeking information and the source of his report, I wrote to Dr. Wilson, requesting assistance. His reply was quick, gracious, and perhaps reduces the import of the report he uses in his book:

The story about the Mormon papyri of which you write, is certainly a confused one. Perhaps we gentiles are the ones who are confused, but as I read about the piece which was rediscovered in your archives, I think that the record is difficult for all of us.

My statement in “Signs and Wonders” was taken from a single source and I inclose the French text of that source. It is obvious that he has wrong the name of Joseph Smith and the date of the Chicago fire. I was pretty sure that he also had wrong the first name of Chandler, so his text was not thoroughly reliable. Nevertheless, it seemed to explain the disappearance of those documents which had been presented in “Pearl of Great Price.”

While my book was still in manuscript, I was told that the statement was not true that these pieces had been burned up in the Chicago fire of 1871. I therefore changed my text to say that they were “allegedly destroyed.”

As to the point that Chandler brought the mummies with him to America, that depends on the French text by Capart that Chandler’s uncle had secured them in Egypt and sent them to his nephew in England.

Coming back to Capart, his text reads as though he heard this story during a visit to Salt Lake City in 1924. His humorous account suggests that his hosts in Salt Lake City told him the story and then challenged him to give his view of the pieces. Ten years later he wrote things down for publication.

My recording of the story seems to have errors which should be corrected. I should welcome your setting me right as you have already set me right on the first name of Chandler.

Perhaps I had better give the French of Capart rather than attempt a translation. His obvious errors and the patronizing tone in which he writes should not be altered by translation. He takes note that in 1920 Mrs. Caroline Ransom Williams had written an article
about Egyptology in the United States in the Bulletin of the New York Historical Society. The following is from pp. 3-4 of Capart’s article.

Here is the source of Dr. Wilson’s information, the article by Capart:

Mrs. Williams did not seem to recall the following episode: In July 1835 a certain Michell Chandler came to Kirtland bringing with him several mummies that he had inherited from one of his uncles; the uncle, having found them in the excavations in Egypt, had shipped them from England where they had been received by his nephew, his only heir. The nephew had the idea that to earn some money, he would exhibit them from city to city. He thus arrived in Kirtland where the first prophet of the Mormons, John Smith, then resided. Some sightseers asked him to translate the inscriptions found thereon, and he immediately supplied some explanations which were so interesting to the Saints of Kirtland that they brought the mummies for the prophet. Thus it was that the prophet of the Mormons began his career of translating the Egyptian texts.

During the last of July 1835, he wrote in his memoirs, “I busied myself in translating an alphabet of the book of Abraham and in arranging a grammar such as it was used by the ancients.” He published in the official newspaper Times and Seasons of March and May 1842 an article entitled “The Book of Abraham.” “The translation of ancient documents coming from the catacombs of Egypt had reached our hands; according to an autograph (signature) on the papyrus written by Abraham during his sojourn in Egypt.” In this case they were very ordinary documents dating back to the lower period. Among others one of these disks on canvas covered with stucco carried some writings and some magic figures. Thus it was called a hypocephalus, an object that did not appear until the end of the Egyptian civilization.

John Smith seemed to feel some reserve toward divulging certain paragraphs. Thus, he warned us that the number 8 contained texts that should not be revealed to the world. He made the same observation for numbers 9, 10, and 11. “If the world discovers for itself these revelations, so much the worse. Amen.” Then on my trip to Salt Lake City in 1924, they asked me to translate the inscriptions in question. At the moment when I read the prayer: “Oh, God, in the heavens, God primeval, God great who has made the heavens, the earth, the world infernal, gives life to the soul of the dead man Shasha,” I saw that my words produced a certain dismay in my listeners. In effect, I read aloud this which the prophet had not permitted to be revealed to the world.

John Smith was assassinated in 1844 and the hieroglyphic documents were sent to the museum in Chicago. They became the
prey of flames and in 1870 the “Book of Abraham” disappeared forever. The Mormons, in their naive admiration for the prophet, believe still that he understood the sense of the hieroglyphics. (Translated by Sharon Kirwan.)

One suspects that Capart’s information about the mummies, papyri, and Chandler was gleaned from a visit to Salt Lake City in 1924, and as a result, he would have learned nothing in Salt Lake City that is not already known. His garbled account is not primary source material. But it does provide the other side of the story for all Latter-day Saints who have read Dr. Wilson’s excellent book of Egyptology in America and have wondered about his account of how Chandler received the mummies.

And so it was that mummies whose content was destined to influence the lives of millions of Latter-day Saints, and which would greatly contribute to the promulgation of Joseph Smith’s name for good and evil throughout the world, were now en route to the United States. On this point, all accounts most firmly agree. The day of the Prophet was not too far distant.
One of the most fascinating and least known aspects of the story of the mummies and papyri deals with that period of time between the entrance of the mummies into the United States and their purchase by the Latter-day Saints.

It begins with the man reportedly named Michael H. Chandler, according to Oliver Cowdery, and named only Chandler by Parley P. Pratt and N. L. Nelson. Oliver Cowdery says that Chandler lived in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: "... he made a will of the whole, to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, (then in Philadelphia, Pa.,) his nephew. . . ." N. L. Nelson says he lived in New York: "Four mummies, secured by a certain English Minister Plenipotentiary to Egypt, were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York." Elder Pratt makes no claim as to his city of residence.

This has been the state of knowledge about Michael H. Chandler. But the recent rediscovery of some papyri has turned researchers again to the matter. Shortly after the 1967 announcement, The Improvement Era requested the aid of a genealogical researcher on the problem through Elder Theodore M. Burton, who turned the assignment over to Frank Smith, research coordinator, who in turn assigned the project to Jimmy B. Parker. Within a few days Jimmy Parker gave the following report:

Passenger lists were searched for the Port of New York and the Port of Philadelphia to determine when Michael Chandler entered this country. The index to passenger lists of vessels arriving in New
York, 1820-1846 (GS Serial No. 44676 Pt. 15) revealed a number of Chandler entries, but no Michael, Mike, Michael H., M. H., nor M. entries. The index to passenger lists of vessels arriving at Philadelphia, 1800-1906 (GS Serial No. 55057 Pt. 21) listed four Chandler entries, all arriving on the steamship Republic on 7 March 1831. The four Chandlers listed were Alan, George, Isabel and Marguerite. There was one additional entry under the surname Chanler, which gave the following information: Mike Chanler — age 32 — M. — labourer — from Ireland — arrived on the schooner Eliza Jane out of New Brunswick 14 October 1828. A copy of the original record could be obtained from our microfilm collection at the Genealogical Society Library. The 1830 census of Philadelphia City was also checked to determine the residence of Michael Chandler in that year. However, no Michael Chandler was located in this census.

Entry of a Mike Chandler, 32, male, labourer, from Ireland, who arrived in U.S. in 1828.

Circumstantial evidence would suggest that Mike Chanler is the Michael H. Chandler who acquired the mummies. Since the ship’s clerk recorded the information as the passengers filed by, he could easily have mistaken Chanler for Chandler.

If this were the right Chandler, and if he were 32
years old in 1828, his year of birth would probably have been 1796. If one were to try to create an uncle-nephew relationship between Michael H. Chandler and Antonio Lebolo, it would be rather difficult using the supposed sisters born in 1782 and 1783, because they would have been only 13 and 14 years of age at that time, an unlikely age for motherhood. However, the supposed sister born in 1778 would have been 18 years old, old enough to have been a mother. Since the Mike Chanler found by Jimmy Parker was from Ireland, this is compatible with that part of Oliver Cowdery’s story which said the mummies were sent to Dublin, the presumed location of Michael H. Chandler.

In addition to this report by Jimmy Parker, another researcher, Michael Marquardt, claims to have located the names of many Chandlers arriving in New York, Philadelphia, and other United States ports during the years in question, 1820-1835. Some of the men surveyed by Marquardt are listed in the indexes and records without first names or the date of their entry into America. Interestingly, some of the men are listed as “gentlemen” and from Ireland and England. Conceivably, any of these unknown Chandlers could be the Michael H. Chandler for whom we are searching.

At this point, no one knows. What is known, however, is that some very conflicting, confusing, and uncorrected accounts exist. But no reader of this book need question that.

The Henry Salt Notion

For some years now, certain scholars of the Church have suggested that Chandler may have been a relative of Henry Salt, the famous representative of the crown in Egypt who was closely associated with Egyptian treasures. He died in 1827. This notion has been particularly fanciful because of N. L. Nelson’s phrase “English Minister Plenipotentiary.” Salt certainly was an English Minister Plenipotentiary.
But an examination of Salt's will discloses the following:

WILL OF HENRY SALT
PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY
ALEXANDRIA, 25 SEPTEMBER 1824

I, Henry Salt, being of sound mind and body, do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament and do annul every former will and testament made by me. I do give and bequeath all my property of whatsoever sort or description personal, real or in reversion unto Samuel Briggs, merchant, and Henry Broughton Esq. Solicitor, Great Marlbro' Street in trust to and for the following uses, that is to say that the whole of the property I may leave whether in Egypt, England, Leghorn or elsewhere be realised as soon as possible and collected in mass — and that the same be put out to interest to the best advantage to and for the sole use and benefit of my beloved and only legitimate daughter, Georgina Henrietta Annisley Salt now upward of three years of age, And further that such sum be allotted annually, for her duration as they Samuel Briggs and Henry Broughton may deem necessary. . . .

I also declare it to be my wish that my said daughter do so long as it may be agreeable to her under the care and kind guardianship of her natural grandmother Signora Theresa Pensa whom I wish to be provided for to that effect out of my aforesaid property during her natural life so far as may be compatible with interests of my beloved daughter, and I do declare to my dear daughter to love and behave with the greatest affection to her said grandmother who has watched over and taken care of her with unexampled tenderness and kindness from her birth. . . .

Codicil to this my last will August 13 1825 Alexandria

It is my will that the sum of Two thousand five hundred dollars out of the proceeds of my house here at Alexandria should go to the benefit of my reputed son in the hands of Osmyn as a provision for him.

Signed H. Salt

In case of the death of my dear child I leave and bequeath to her Grandmother Mrs. Theresa Pensa the annual sum to be paid during her natural life of four hundred Spanish dollars, which at her death is to revert with the rest of the property to my natural heirs. This is to be considered as a codicil to my last will.

Signed Henry Salt

Witnesses:
G. Jno. Schutz
R. R. Madden
Salt left everything to his then six-year-old daughter. It is possible that some of Salt's Egyptian treasures and collections in Alexandria were sold, perhaps even to the donor of Michael Chandler. Indeed, a codicil of August 13, 1825, suggests that the proceeds from his belongings at Alexandria were to be sold for the benefit of a reputed son. However, no information is available suggesting that Chandler's donor received any mummies from the sale of Salt's treasures. At any rate, the notion that Henry Salt willed the mummies to Michael Chandler apparently does not stand up. Salt's will was authenticated and proved April 21, 1828, less than a year after his death. Also, although interesting information, the identification of Salt's mother-in-law as an Italian woman from Leghorn, Italy, is apparently not connected with our story. Salt married in 1819, at Alexandria, the daughter of a Mr. Pensa, a merchant of Leghorn, Italy. His young wife died in 1824.

New York or Philadelphia

One would think with all the disagreement among the several accounts that somewhere along the line they would all agree on some points—and agree they do on many important facts. For example, no one disputes the report that Chandler at least had some Egyptian mummies, and that they had come from Egypt. To some it may appear humorous or weak-minded to note this, but less knowledgeable critics have accused the Latter-day Saints of manufacturing the entire mummy story, claiming that the Prophet never did own or possess any Egyptian artifacts. Such charges will shortly be shown without foundation entirely.

Another aspect upon which there is disagreement is the port of arrival. All who discuss it claim that it was the port of New York—except Elder B. H. Roberts. Oliver Cowdery says the mummies were "sent to New York." Parley P. Pratt says the mummies were "forwarded to New York." N. L. Nelson says the mummies were bequeathed to Chandler "of New York." But Elder B. H.
Roberts in his *Comprehensive History of the Church* (CHC) says: "Previous to his death he willed his Egyptian treasures to his nephew, Michael H. Chandler, who was then living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; but whom Sebolo [sic] believed to be in Dublin, to which city he ordered the mummies shipped. The mummies were shipped to Philadelphia. . . ." (Vol. 2, p. 127.) No supportive information is given by Elder Roberts to sustain the mention of Philadelphia, and as a result one wonders if the entry is not a mistake, an error that slipped through unnoticed. Yet, on second thought, one tends to wonder if Elder Roberts' report might not be true. Certainly Chandler would have corresponded with family members in Ireland, and one would presume that they would have known the city of his residence. Port authorities should have been able to obtain from Chandler's Irish relatives his exact address, which presumably was Philadelphia, although Nelson says he was "of New York."

If Elder Roberts' mention of Philadelphia as the port of arrival of the mummies is correct, it would explain why no information on the mummies has been located at New York by Latter-day Saint researchers. Another field—the port records of Philadelphia—now present themselves to interested students.

But it is to the unknown custom house that we now turn. The accounts concerning Chandler and his reception of the mummies at the unknown port and what transpired at the custom house are most interesting:

Oliver Cowdery:

... and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833. In April of the same year Mr. Chandler paid the duties upon his mummies, and took possession of the same. Up to this time they had not been taken out of the coffins nor the coffins opened. On opening the coffins he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of linnen, saturated with the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. I may add that two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c. were found with others of the mummies.
When Mr. Chandler discovered that there was something with the Mummies, he supposed, or hoped it might be some diamonds or other valuable metal, and was no little chagrined when he saw his disappointment.

Parley P. Pratt:

They arrived in the Thames, but it was found the gentleman was in America, they were then forwarded to New York and advertised, when Mr. Chandler came forward and claimed them. One of the mummies, on being unrolled, had underneath the cloths in which it was wrapped, lying upon the breast, a roll of papyrus, in an excellent state of preservation, written in Egyptian character, and illustrated in the manner of our engraving, which is a copy from a portion of it. (He referred to a drawing of Facsimile 1, on the cover of the Millennial Star.)

N. L. Nelson:

The mummies were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York. Lying transversely on the stomach, beneath the folded hands of one of the mummies, was found the relic in question.

Some of the information in the accounts is important:

1) Oliver is the only man to suggest the time, noting that it was in the spring or winter of 1833. He also notes that it was in April that Chandler claimed the mummies.

2) Parley P. Pratt suggests that when the mummies arrived in New York their rightful owner was not known, and it was necessary for the shippers to advertise the inheritance of Mr. Chandler.

Consequently, it would seem a simple—yet time-consuming—task for someone to research the newspapers of New York and Philadelphia and the cargo lists of the two ports in search of information concerning Chandler and his inheritance. Unfortunately, such efforts have been partially undertaken without success.

Jimmy Parker, research specialist of the Church's Genealogical Society, reported as follows on his search for cargo lists:

Attempts have also been made to locate cargo lists for the Port of New York for the time period 1825-1835. Letters have been written to the National Archives, and to New York Historical
Society, both of which replied, stating that they do not have such cargo lists in their collections, and that they know of no place where they do exist.

Research in the newspapers of New York was done by Dr. Sidney Sperry in 1935, when he went to Washington, D.C., to the Library of Congress and elsewhere in search of documented evidence. Dr. Sperry's contributions in this area of research and many other areas dealing with the background of the Book of Abraham were among the first by a Latter-day Saint scholar. His report on his research is as follows:

In 1935 I went to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of doing some research on matters concerning the history of the Book of Abraham. Some time before, I had written a letter to the French Service of Antiquities in Egypt giving the data concerning the acquisition of the Egyptian mummies by the Prophet Joseph Smith. I requested the Service of Antiquities to give all possible data concerning Antonio Lebolo and his work at Thebes. It is improbable that he should go to Egypt, find a tomb with several hundred mummies in it and put several hundred men to work digging into the ruins without attracting the attention of the French officials of the Service of Antiquities. But a letter came informing me that there was no data available upon the subject because the Service of Antiquities was not in operation at the time given (1832).

I then determined to obtain data concerning the importation of the mummies into New York. For that purpose I entered the Library of Congress with the very gracious aid of Senator William H. King and Director Evans of the Periodical Division. There the entrance of practically every vessel into New York Harbor as reported by the New York papers between the years of 1832 and 1835 was carefully scanned. I thought that the importation of the mummies should occasion some comment; however, I was unable to find a single item of news concerning their arrival.

Dr. Sidney Sperry, who examined countless records without success.
Not content with this, I carefully examined the *Shipping and Commercial List and New York Price Current* for the period in which Oliver Cowdery stated that the mummies came to New York. Every report of the content of the cargo on each vessel that entered the harbor was carefully scrutinized, but still no success crowned my efforts.

Believing that it might be possible to trace the importation of the mummies by the aid of the United States Customs Office in New York, I enlisted the help of Elder James H. Moyle, Director of the United States Customs Service in Washington. Brother Moyle gladly offered his services. He wrote a letter to the Customs Service in New York, but though his men did their best and duplicated some of the work that I did on New York papers, they were still unable to give me any information. It was found that most of the records for the year in which the mummies were supposed to have come through the custom house had been destroyed, and for that reason perhaps no record was available concerning them.

All of this labor was, to say the least, very discouraging. Finally Director Evans of the Library of Congress brought me a number of volumes of Dublin newspapers for the period concerned. But though I scrutinized these papers very carefully, my efforts, as heretofore, were not crowned with success.

Dr. Sperry’s task took him a complete summer, scanning periodicals and shipping manifests hour after hour, day after day. But again, no success. At this point, one wonders if the French writer’s seemingly inaccurate report is not the more truthful one. Certainly if Michael Chandler came into the United States with the mummies, there would be no need for advertising as Parley P. Pratt claims. But one would still expect to find the mummies on the cargo lists. Unfortunately, according to the National Archives and the New York Historical Society, no known records of cargo lists of that period exist. It also should be noted that presumably Chandler found a considerable shipping expense for the mummies. The sum, however, is obviously unknown.

**The Papyri**

In our time, particularly since the 1967 recovery of some of the papyri once owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith, the matter of the number of scrolls has become a
very important aspect of the story. As a result, it is important to carefully note the accounts that are given:

Oliver Cowdery:

On opening the coffins he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of linnen, saturated the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. I may add that two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c. were found with others of the Mummies.

Parley P. Pratt:

One of the mummies, on being unrolled, had underneath the cloths in which it was wrapped, lying upon the breast, a roll of papyrus, in an excellent state of preservation, written in Egyptian character. . . .

Obviously, a state of confusion exists as to whether the papyri were taken from one body or two; and, equally as important, a confusion as to whether there were one roll or two rolls. It is important to note at this point that in addition to the roll or rolls were certain other pieces of papyrus. Also it is most important to recognize that any one of these pieces or rolls and certainly not all of them contained the material which gave rise to the Book of Abraham. It is interesting to observe that Oliver Cowdery said one of the small pieces of papyrus had astronomical calculations. One is reminded that in the Book of Abraham, Facsimile No. 2 has to do with Kolob, planets, and the order of the heavens. A circular rendition as Facsimile No. 2 is known as a hypocephalus, which apparently means “under the head.” Such a circular figure was often placed under the head of the mummy for religious purposes, and contained material important to the mummy's salvation. It is not known whether Facsimile No. 2 came from a small circular papyrus, or whether the scene was on a larger roll, where Egyptians placed the hypocephali at certain times in their history.

As to the other roll or rolls, readers have already noted in the opening chapter that apparently all, or nearly all, of the papyri rediscovered in 1967 represented material
from the Book of the Dead. The Book of the Dead, or more literally, "Coming Forth By Day," is a title given to the funerary texts which were to assist in the safe passage of the mummy into the spirit world. Scholars have often said that to call it one book seemed untrue, because in reality the "book" contains a collection of books or chapters, or compositions as different from each other as the Hebrew Psalms. Some Books of the Dead contain up to 160 to 180 chapters and are as long as 60 to 70 feet. Most of the commonly recognized chapters contain literature dealing with the judgment, death, and resurrection. The book is of remote antiquity, and certainly could represent both accurate and corrupted versions of the gospel as the Egyptians understood it at various points throughout their flow of dynasties.

The texts were written upon papyrus made from a reed native to the banks of the Nile River, a reed which usually grew well over the height of a man. The papyrus stem was cut, the outward rind or band was taken off, and with the use of a sharp-pointed instrument, a thin substance which made up the remainder of the stem was extracted. These thin coats were unwound and laid upon a table, two or more over each other transversely, and then glued together. The glue might be the muddy water of the Nile or a fine paste made from flour. They were then pressed and dried, and smoothed with a roller.

The scribes, of varying grades of expense and professionalism, wrote with reed pens. The inks ranged in color from the black made from charcoal and gum to lighter colors.

The Egyptian papyri became enormously popular in the ancient world, so much so that papyrus was often Egypt's chief export. When the Egyptian production of papyrus was at its height, each leaf had to be marked with a stamp for authenticity. For a long period, even well into the Middle Ages, all diplomatic and official transactions and correspondence were written on papyri because of its beauty and adaptability. The sheets could be glued together for any desirable length.
Concerning Chandler’s papyri, it is interesting to observe that Oliver Cowdery reports the papyrus rolls were saturated with a bitumen substance. Bitumen is an asphalt substance used in Egyptian embalming only in the Ptolemaic period, and through the Roman and Christian period. If Oliver’s report were accurate and the appraisal of bituminous use were accurate, this knowledge would help date the mummies. Some of the mummies presently in the Turin Museum have been identified as belonging to the Roman and Christian period. But in point of fact, it was probably impossible for Oliver to determine the actual nature of the substance and, therefore, his report may be erroneous at this point.

The Mysterious Stranger

For Latter-day Saints, because of their familiarity with the workings of the Lord and the guidance of the Spirit, the account by Oliver Cowdery concerning an event which occurred in the custom house is particularly noteworthy:

He [Chandler] was immediately told, while yet in the Custom House, that there was no man in that city, who could translate his roll [rolls in original letter] but was referred by the same gentleman, (a stranger,) to Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr. who, continued he, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated similar characters. Bro. Smith was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public.”

Supposedly, the year is 1833, April. Mormonism could hardly win a fair word for itself in western New York where the Prophet Joseph grew up. One can only imagine the tales and rumor that had blown elsewhere across the state and the still new American nation of only 57 years.

One wonders about the caliber of person it would have taken to inform Chandler at such length and with such apparent personal emphasis about the inability of anyone in New York to translate the papyri, and to have turned Chandler’s attention so early to Joseph Smith, who,
according to the stranger, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated unknown characters. Perhaps it was an early convert employed at the Custom House, or someone who had heard the gospel message and been impressed with the unexplainable spirit of Mormonism. Perhaps, too, it was someone similar to that unknown personage who one night in the spring of 1828 tilled the soil of David Whitmer in an hour of need. Perhaps only heaven knows who it was.

Drs. Anthon and Mitchell Again

To all Latter-day Saints familiar with the history of the Church, the names of Professor Charles Anthon and Professor Samuel I. Mitchell of New York are indelibly engraved upon their memories because of an experience Martin Harris reportedly had with them. The account and some rationale important to the understanding of the story perhaps have been best presented by William E. Berrett, administrator of the seminaries and institutes for the Church School System, and a well-founded Latter-day Saint historian and theologian.

Some time in February Martin Harris arrived in Harmony and, securing a transcription of the characters which Joseph had made, took them to New York—evidently determined to check on the story of Joseph Smith concerning them.

It is evident from various accounts and documents¹ that Professors Anthon and Mitchell of New York viewed the two papers Harris had, one a transcript of characters without a translation and the other containing both characters and translation. According to the story told by Martin Harris, Professor Anthon gave him a writing certifying that the characters shown him were genuine and that the translation of the part was fairly accurate. Upon hearing from Harris that the ancient records had been obtained from an angel, the professor asked for the certificate and tore it into shreds. The reason for this is quite obvious. Neither Professor Anthon nor any other man could read the characters. Even at the date of this writing the language of the plates remains a hidden secret. The characters were in a language which, the prophet informs us, had developed from the Egyptian.² Even had they been in close harmony with

¹Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, Vol. I, Chapter IX.
²See Book of Mormon—Mormon 9:32.
ordinary Egyptian hieroglyphics it is improbable that Professor An-
thon could have read them, as that written language was then little
known and no single American was as yet skilled in its reading.

Bearing these facts in mind we must arrive at the following:
Professor Anthon knew nothing as to the correctness of the translation
or the genuineness of the characters, and was either scheming to get
possession of the plates or was not willing to confess his ignorance
of the ancient language. Hence he fabricated the certificate. After
finding the nature of the ancient records and what might happen
to his certificate he was wise indeed to destroy it before his pretended
knowledge made him the laughing stock of other learned men. If
Professor Mitchell, to whom Martin Harris also showed his copies,
agreed as to the genuineness of the characters, he at least was wise
enough to refrain from writing that which he could not possibly
have known.

Suffice it to say that the two learned men were visibly impressed
by the characters and the translation. Returning from his encounters,
Martin Harris was ready to devote much time to the work, as well
as to borrow money to pay for the publication of the translation.

This incident fulfilled the following words of the Book of Mor-
mon:

"And it shall come to pass that the Lord God shall bring forth
unto you the words of a book and they shall be the words of them
which have slumbered. And, behold, the book shall be sealed. * * *
Wherefore, because of the things which are sealed up, the things
which are sealed shall not be delivered in the day of the wickedness
and abominations of the people. Wherefore, the book shall be kept
from them, but the book shall be delivered unto a man, and he shall
deliver the words of the book, which are the words of those who have
slumbered in the dust, and he shall deliver these words unto another;
but the words which are sealed he shall not deliver, neither shall he
deliver the book. * * * But, behold, it shall come to pass that the
Lord God shall say unto him to whom he shall deliver the book,
take these words which are not sealed and deliver them to another,
that he may show them unto the learned, saying, read this, I pray
thee—and the learned shall say, bring hither the book and I will read
them: And now because of the glory of the world, and to get gain
will they say this, and not for the glory of God. And the man shall
say, I cannot bring the book, for it is sealed. Then shall the learned
say, I cannot read it. Wherefore it shall come to pass, that the Lord
God will deliver again the book and the words thereof to him that is
not learned; and the man that is not learned shall say, I am not
learned. Then shall the Lord God say unto him: The learned shall
not read them, for they have rejected them, and I am able to do
mine own work; wherefore thou shalt read the words which I shall
give unto thee.” (2 Nephi 27:6-20.) (Berrett, The Restored Church, pp. 33-34.)

As far as Latter-day Saints are concerned, the incident also fulfilled a prophecy of Isaiah:

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes: the prophets and your rulers, the seers hath he covered.

And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed:

And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.

Wherefore the Lord said, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men:

Therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. (Isaiah 29:10-14.)

Because of this, the names of Anthon and Mitchell have long been used in Mormon proselyting literature. As a result, the report by N. L. Nelson in the Academic Review of 1885 captures one’s attention:

Some of the papyri opened by Mr. Chandler for exhibition were shown to Prof. Anthon of New York and Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia, each of whom commenced a translation. The characters were written in three colors—red, blue, and black—only two of which were legible, thus rendering the sense incomplete. As these gentlemen were among the highest recognized authorities on the translation of dead languages, Mr. Chandler began to despair of securing a translation, when he was reminded by Dr. Mitchell of Joseph Smith’s reputed power as a translator.

Nelson’s account is most interesting. Surely Professor Mitchell did not maintain any respect for Joseph Smith as a translator! The learned men in general scorned the claims of the Prophet. But marvelous are the ways of the Lord, and no man knoweth the limits of his handiwork. Mitchell’s reminder must have been in jest.

Apparently Professor Mitchell had moved to ...
delphia by now. He was supposedly in New York at Martin Harris' visit. The report that Anthon and Mitchell commenced translation is surprising, if for no other reason than that Champollion's Egyptian Grammar did not appear in French until after Champollion's death in 1832, and it is the basis of American scholarship on translating Egyptian. The good doctors probably commenced to attempt a deciphering, but hardly a translation, at this stage of American scholarship.

The Exhibition Trail

Dr. John A. Wilson's account of Chandler's next several years is the most romantically written of all the accounts: "... Chandler ... conceived the idea of ... making money by exhibiting them from town to town. In this gypsy-like life, he came to Kirtland, Ohio. ..." And that he did; but not before he had traveled and exhibited for apparently nearly two years throughout cities and hamlets of the East. Whether Chandler employed himself in this manner full-time or only as exhibitions permitted is not known. What is known, however, is that Chandler left a trail of evidence behind him, of which only a few fascinating scraps have been picked up by Latter-day Saint researchers. This entire area cries for thorough study. Indeed, the very clues have been given already:

Oliver Cowdery:

From New York he took his collection to Philadelphia, where he exhibited them for a compensation. The following is a certificate put into my hands by Mr. Chandler, which he obtained while in Philadelphia and will show the opinion of the scientific of that city:

"Having examined with considerable attention and deep interest, a number of Mummies from the catacombs, near Thebes, in Egypt, and now exhibited in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed; probably not less than three thousand year ago. The features of some of these Mummies are in perfect expression. The papyrus, covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preservation, are very interesting. The undersigned, unsolicited by any
person connected by interest with this exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto, for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city.

John Redman Coxe, M.D.
Richard Harlan, M.D.
J. Pancoast, M.D.
William P. C. Barton, M.D.
E. F. Rivinus, M.D.
Samuel G. Morgan, M.D.

"I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. Horner, M.D."

While Mr. Chandler was in Philadelphia, he used every exertion to find some one who could give him the translation of his papyrus, but could not, satisfactorily, though from some few men of the first eminence, he obtained in a small degree, the translation of a few characters. Here he was referred by bro. Smith. From Philadelphia he visited Harrisburgh [sic] [Pennsylvania], and other places east of the mountains, and was frequently referred to bro. Smith for a translation of his Egyptian relic.

It would be beyond my purpose to follow this gentleman in his different circuits . . .

On May 2, 1842, in Nauvoo, Illinois, the Church-owned Times and Seasons also reported the following under the headline "Egyptian Antiquities." It is part of Chandler's placard, and hence, information from Chandler himself. "They have been exhibited in Philadelphia and Baltimore, to crowded audiences; in the latter place, although only engaged two weeks, the exhibition was prolonged to five weeks, with attraction."

Parley P. Pratt in his Millennial Star account two months later in 1842 wrote:

The mummies, together with the record, have been exhibited, generally, through the States, previous to their falling into our hands. Mr. Chandler was, of course, anxious to find some one who could interpret or translate this valuable relic of antiquity, and, we believe, on one occasion, met with an individual who was enabled to decipher a small portion, or, at least, to give an opinion of what he supposed its meaning to be. He everywhere heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, but so generally associated
with something slanderous, that he could scarcely think seriously of applying to him.

If the cargo lists of the Port of New York are not available, then perhaps confirming and new evidence only awaits the student who turns to the newspapers of the towns named during the years of 1833 and 1835. Oliver names the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. The *Times and Seasons* reprinting of the placard names Philadelphia and Baltimore. In fact, in terms of Philadelphia, the actual building in which the exhibition was reportedly held is named: Philadelphia Arcade.

Armed with this information, Dr. Sidney Sperry turned his attention to this area of research that same summer, 1935, while in Washington, D.C., and New York, when he attempted to locate new data:

An attempt was made to trace the course of the mummies after they were taken from New York. For this purpose many newspapers in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster, Penn., Columbus, Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio, and other places were carefully looked over in the hope that some trace might be found of them. The Philadelphia Arcade had been mentioned in the early December 1835 account, and I tried to pursue that. Numerous advertisements of the Philadelphia Arcade and of the exhibits in it during this period were found but not a word could be found concerning the Egyptian mummies. I did find, however, the location of the Arcade, which was on Chestnut and Carpenter Streets. In *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* for Wednesday morning, May 6, 1835, on page 3, upper right-hand corner, under the caption, "The Philadelphia Arcade," occurs the following notice: "The managers of the above institution are willing to sell the above splendid lot and building with the appurtenances. It has 109 feet, on Chestnut and Carpenter Streets, and is 150 feet deep, the situation is unrivalled; offers must be made in writing, and must be sent to No. 1 in the building."

That the mummies were exhibited in the Philadelphia Arcade is apparent. Of the gentlemen who signed their names to the above placard I was able to find in Philadelphia newspapers some mention of two of them, namely, W. E. Horner, M.D., and J. Pancoast, M.D. Horner was professor of anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania and Pancoast was at the Philadelphia School of Medicine, summer session, as professor of anatomy or physiology. These, and the other
medical men whose names are signed above, met Michael H. Chandler, and they may have been the ones who gave him the assurance that the mummies were truly ancient and genuine.

I came to the conclusion that Michael H. Chandler, instead of advertising his exhibits in the various newspapers of the cities he visited, must have sent out "dodgers" or placards of some sort. (Ancient Records Testify, pp. 62-65.)

Dr. Sperry's research is somewhat confirming, and greatly helpful to the interested student. The identification of two of the doctors who signed the placard reprinted in the 1835 Messenger and Advocate report is important corroborative information.

However, since Dr. Sperry's research, additional information of a significant nature has been found by David C. Martin. Brother Martin became interested in the story of the Book of Abraham after a 1965 summer class with Dr. James R. Clark of Brigham Young University. Brother Clark, long a persistent student of the complexities of the story, was an early student and companion of Dr. Sidney Sperry at BYU on matters pertaining to the Pearl of Great Price. As a result of his manifested interest in the problem, Dr. Clark suggested that Brother Martin write Smith, Kline & French Laboratories of Philadelphia for a copy of the January-February 1965 issue of their drug-house periodical Psychiatric Reporter. The issue carried an article titled "American Golgotha," by a Glenn White, that mentioned a mummy of Antonio Lebolo's which apparently had been dissected in front of more than 80 members of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia on two separate days in December 1833. The article was about a Dr. Samuel George Morton who measured the cranial capacities of skulls by pouring buck-shot into empty skulls. Dr. Morton's collection is now in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The article, reflecting the unusual methods of research and the unusual subject at hand, should be fascinating reading, particularly since a Lebolo mummy is part of the article, and also because we may have already met Dr. Morton elsewhere.

"The Gypsy-Like Life"
During his lifetime, Dr. Samuel George Morton poured buckshot into the heads of at least 623 human beings. Not that he was a one-man crime wave; the heads—skulls, really—belonged to people already dead. Dr. Morton (1799-1851), a distinguished nineteenth century scientist, was engaged in a study rooted in the then prevalent theory that intellectual activity was mirrored in the size and shape of the skull. Dr. Morton measured skulls "to illustrate the differences in the form of the skull as seen in the five great races of man."

(Old theories, however false, may fade and change but apparently never quite die. Only a few months ago the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization felt it necessary to issue a report, compiled by 22 scientists from 17 countries, denouncing the idea that differences in physical traits can be used to justify the concept of inferior and superior races.)

But though Dr. Morton's conclusions, and those of his followers, have disappeared from serious scientific thought, his vast collection of skulls—known in his day as the "American Golgotha"—remains. I have just returned from visiting it.

The skulls, purchased from his estate in 1853 by "42 gentlemen," are stored in long rows of old, oak-paneled museum cases in a loft of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The collection—which actually contains over 1,000 skulls and mummified heads—is so little known that no one has asked to see it for many years. Historically, the Morton Collection is important and perhaps unique in the world. Mr. James A. G. Rehn, Curator of the Entomology Department, says it is "currently the most comprehensive" and that it contains "the last of several lines of pure American Indian stock." Representative skulls from all the so-called great races are included in the collection.

As a man of science, Dr. Morton was to a great extent a "man for all seasons." A physician with a large practice in Philadelphia, he was a professor of anatomy at Pennsylvania Medical College and an authority on tuberculosis, one of his medical writings being, "Illustrations of Pulmonary Consumption." In addition, he wrote extensively on such subjects as mineralogy, geology, paleontology, zoology, ethnology, anthropology—and, of course, craniology. At the time of his death he was president of the Academy of Natural Sciences; of him the New York Tribune wrote that "probably no scientific man in America enjoyed a higher reputation among scholars throughout the world."

Though his interest in skulls was scientific, it was also touched with the romantic, as shown by a poem called "Lines on a Skull" (credited to Dana's Book of Household Poetry) which he pasted inside
the cover of an early catalogue of his collection. Here are two stanzas:

What vast and unsubstantial schemes,
What gorgeous palaces in Spain,
What grand, unattainable dreams,
What phantom pageants of the brain
Were conjured by the magic mind
That in this skull was once confined?

Time was the wizard changed this skull
Into a dungeon dull and drear,
Where groaning lay, in bondage dull,
Sorrow, Remorse, and grim Despair
Who rolled their livid eyes in pain,
And gnawed their bony arms in vain.

Among the names of the "42 gentlemen" who contributed $100 apiece to buy the Morton Collection for the Academy are some of the best known in Philadelphia: Biddle, Lea, Mercer, Vaux, Pepper, Cooke, Morris. In his unfinished memoirs, Dr. Morton appears somewhat apologetic that the Anglo-Saxon skulls in his collection did not come from such fine families. "Many of the crania have been obtained from hospitals and institutions for paupers," he wrote, "whence we might infer they pertain to the least cultivated portion of their race." Further on in his memoirs he speaks of the skulls as coming from the "lowest and least cultivated of the community—malefactors, paupers, and lunatics." Some of the skulls he catalogued "Negro Lunatic," "Lunatic Irishman," "German Lunatic," and even more specifically, "Mulatto Lunatic—died of religious mania, 1831." That skull size might have a correlation with a person's station in life seemed indicated to him when he found that the skulls of mummies buried in the "ancient tombs of Gizeh" were larger, on the average, than a number of Egyptian skulls found elsewhere. "The persons whose bodies had reposed in these splendid mausolea," he wrote, "were, no doubt, of the highest and most cultivated class of Egyptian citizens; and this fact deserves to be considered in connection with the present inquiry."

In the preface to his Catalogue of the Skulls of Man and the Inferior Animals, published in 1849, he stated that his was "an enterprise that, for obvious reasons, had been attended by many difficulties," and "I need hardly add, that had it not been for the exertions of my friends in every quarter of the globe, my objective would not have been accomplished." His method of measuring the volume of skulls by filling them with 1/4 inch buckshot was far more accurate, he maintained, than the mustard seed which most other investigators had used.

The largest skull he measured was that of "a Dutch gentleman—114 cubic inches," and the smallest that of an old Peruvian—"58 cubic inches, a difference of 56 cubic inches." From his measurements

"The Gypsy-Like Life" 129
he concluded that the races with the best minds inhabited the northern latitudes. However, as he told one of his anatomy classes:

"While much is due to climate even more is attributable to those primeval attributes of mind which, for wise purposes, have given our race a decided and unquestionable superiority over all the nations of the earth. . . ."

During my visit to the Academy, I wandered down the row of skull cases with Mr. Steve Harty, Assistant in the Exhibits Department. At random we unlocked one musty case after another, pulling out trays of human skulls—some that had not seen the light of day, even in this dark and stifling storage room, for 20 years. There was a perfectly white skull labeled "Apache Chief," its mandible swinging a full set of teeth as we pulled out the tray. Such was his nobility now. There was the brown and noseless head of an Eskimo, with coarse black hair, and wearing what remained of a fur parka. Among the embalmed heads of several other mummies was one of an Egyptian girl of 16 "brought from the catacombs near Thebes by the late Antonio Lebalo," Dr. Morton noted in his catalogue, "of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body; the latter I dissected before the Academy of Natural Sciences on the 10th and 17th of December, 1833, in the presence of 80 members and others." There were also a few intricately decorated heads of New Zealand tribesmen. [Italics added.]

There was the skull, in fair condition, of an Englishman named Samuel Gwillym who lived a short and unhappy life. About him Dr. G. Huffnagle, of Calcutta, wrote to Dr. Morton: "Transported to Van Dieman's Land in 1820 for housebreaking; was an orderly on shipboard but subsequently robbed his master, for which he was sent for two years to Maria Island. . . . Returned to Van Dieman's Land, he was fined twice for drunkenness; and was executed there on the 16th of March, 1837, for the murder of Mary Mills, a young woman whom he had previously violated."

I wanted especially to see the skull of someone known only as Pierce, listed in the catalogue as "No. 59—Anglo-Saxon head: a convict and cannibal who was executed in New South Wales, A.D. 18—."

Pierce, it seems, had eaten a few fellow convicts after an escape from a penal colony when "hunger compelled them to prey upon each other." After searching for an hour, I believe I found Pierce's skull. The labeling is obscure and the mandible has fallen off; it is not an impressive skull, perhaps because it has no jawline. Nearby on the same tray is the skull of Vincente Priazi of Mexico City, about whom Dr. Morton wrote a rare eulogy: "He lived to be 80 years of age and was remarkable for his literary attainments and amiable disposition." Priazi's skull is intact and formidable, completely indifferent to its cannibalistic neighbor.

Morton's catalogue was published in 1849; some of the death
dates given for the original owners of the skulls are only a few years earlier. So it is apparent that many of these skulls were not burnished by age and the elements but had been cleaned and prepared. Among the Morton memorabilia, I found handwritten instructions for this grisly task. Seeing what undoubtedly was a grimace on my face, Mr. Harty said, “Yes, skulls have to be cleaned. I have cleaned a good many—but of animals, no humans. But here, let me show you something really interesting.”

He went to a metal cabinet farther down the line, unlocked the door, and pulled out a tray of animal skulls. He lifted the largest one. “This is the skull of a black bear who killed a child in Camden, New Jersey, in 1840. See, it’s inscribed here on the skull. The bear had a name—Jack Dunning. Wasn’t he a big fellow?”

I hefted the bear’s skull in my hand. “Yes, he was,” I agreed. “He ate a child, you say?”

He repeated the story, but I wasn’t listening. My thoughts were back on those human skulls: Anglo-Saxon, Bengalese, African, Peruvian, Hindu, American Indian, Mexican—all perfectly equal at last.

Glenn White

Among the over 1,000 skulls in the Morton collection is a head of a mummy that apparently was purchased from Michael H. Chandler, “brought from the catacombs near Thebes by the late Antonio Lebalo, of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body.” Of great interest and importance, this mummy head of the 16-year-old Egyptian girl is the first known American physical evidence available for inspection today of any of Chandler’s (?) mummies. Perhaps research into the papers of Dr. Morton and the Academy for the days listed would reveal new information dealing with the Chandler story.

However, another aspect of interest is the name of Dr. Samuel George Morton. One wonders if in fact he is not the same man identified on Michael Chandler’s placard printed in the Times and Seasons in 1842 in Nauvoo, Illinois. Those signatures again are:

JOHN REDMAN COXE, M.D.
RICHARD HARLAN, M.D.
J. PANCOAST, M.D.
WILLIAM P. C. BARTON, M.D.
E. F. RIVINUS; M. D.
SAMUEL G. MORGAN, M.D.

“The Gypsy-Like Life” 131
I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. HORNER, M.D.

Without further evidence, it would seem that the above listed Dr. Samuel G. Morgan of Philadelphia is Dr. Samuel George Morton of Philadelphia. Dr. Morton’s manifest interest in such matters would have drawn him to visit Michael Chandler’s exhibit. According to the article, he was highly regarded, and apparently no “scientific man in America enjoyed a higher reputation among scholars throughout the world.” Therefore, with these interests and reputation, Dr. Morton would have had no difficulty in convincing Michael Chandler (?) to sell at least one of his mummies to him for scientific research.

But David Martin was interested to learn more about the Lebolo mummy head, so he wrote to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia requesting information about Dr. Morton’s papers and a picture of the skull. He received the following answer:

In reply to your letter of June 18th, we have found the following information in the catalog of Dr. Morton’s collection:

“#60 Embalmed head of an Egyptian lady about 16 years of age, brought from the Catacombs of El Gourna, near Thebes, by the late Antonio Lebolo, of whose heirs I purchased it, together with the entire body: The latter I dissected before the Academy of Natural Sciences on the 10th and 17th of December, 1833, in presence of eighty members and others. Egyptian form with long, fine hair. Crania Aegyptiaca, plate 10, fig. 6.”

The skull is presumably in the collection, but the body was not retained. The skull is evidently illustrated in Morton’s work under Crania Aegyptiaca.

Perhaps the only additional information was confirmation of El Gourna as the place whence had come the mummy. However, it is interesting to note that the seller also told Dr. Morton of his relationship to Lebolo. Presumably, further research at Philadelphia by Latter-day Saints would disclose additional information. Surely the newspapers of Philadelphia would carry mention of the exhibition or the dissection on or near the dates of Decem-
ber 10 and 17, 1833. Obviously a modern picture of the skull could also be obtained.

It is now at this point in the story that we introduce probably the most important and most interesting pre-Joseph Smith evidence to appear to date: a newspaper report describing in detail the four mummies. The report, taken from the March 27, 1835, Painesville, Ohio, Telegraph, was located by Dr. Richard Lloyd Anderson, professor of religion and history at Brigham Young University, in his search through the newspaper collection about the Mormons of Dale Morgan. This collection is housed in the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City.

The report is in the form of a letter to the editor and actually includes a second letter addressed to the person writing to the newspaper. It is this second letter that is of great interest to Latter-day Saints, because it is the only report known by this author that presents such a minute physical description of the mummies that the Prophet purchased.

Mr. Editor.—The history of the ancients is replete with grandeur & curiosity; and who is there so callous, as not to be excited with sufficient curiosity, to intervene with interest, all the dark labyrinths of pagan lore and long gone by usages. History, indeed, calls to mind spirits which have long since been traversing the golden works of the celestial world: but, how much more are we neared to them, when we can commingle with bodies spiritless, who traversed this earth thousands of years ago, as we now do, possessing passions and wants, ambition, avarice and superstition like ourselves. Could we but look forward beyond the dark curtain of time and see the mighty changes, which will transpire for thousands of years to come, we should be lost in amazement. The past is wonderful although very incomplete; yet we are daily obtaining new light from the researches of scientific antiquarians. The discoveries in the long buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii which have been hidden from the world about 1800 years are truly interesting. The habits, manners and customs of those once inhabited cities are plainly inferred from the appearances of the charred dwellings and other edifices for public purposes—their amphitheaters and temples of Isis, holy utensils and baths &c. &c.

But the most interesting of all antique subjects, is the opening of the catacombs of Egypt where human bodies are found in a complete state of preservation or nearly so. How, or by what agency these

"The Gypsy-Like Life" 133
bodies were preserved, or for what object is wholly an enigma. Many have conjectured that the doctrine of the resurrection was embodied in the Egyptian religious faith, and others again suppose that the practice of embalming their dead originated in their abhorrence to decay—but all is speculation. Curiosity has frequently prompted us to visit and critically examine mummies which were found in the catacombs near Thebes; and to realize that I was viewing one of my own species who had lived like myself and been a member of a community three or four thousand years ago, produced a sensation like that of associating with people of another world.

I received a short description from a friend in Cleveland of four mummies that are now exhibiting in that place which may not be uninteresting to some of your readers.

A. Gardner.

Dear Sir: I send you a description of four Mummies, now exhibiting in this place. They were found in June 1832—three miles from Thebes, 236 feet deep in a catecomb or vault 94 by 18 feet in the clear. Some stone described by the finder 32 ft. long, 8 high and 5 feet wide, evidently belonging to Mount Lebyen, to which there are strong indications of a rail-road. The stone were put together with a cement and exhibited superior workmanship.

Some of the bodies stood in niches of the wall; a row of bodies, however, laid on the bottom 8 feet deep (reversed), more or less decayed. This statement of the owner is accompanied by good authority.

No. 1—4 feet 11 inches, female—supposed age 60; arms extended, hands side by side in front; the head indicating motherly goodness. There was found with this person a roll or book, having a little resemblance to birch bark; language unknown. Some linguists however say they can decipher 1336, in what they term an epitaph; ink black and red; many female figures.

No. 2—Height 5 ft. 1½ inch; female; supposed age 40. Arms suspended by the side; hands brought in contact; head damaged by accident; found with a roll as No. 1, filled with hieroglyphics, rudely executed.

No. 3—Height 4 ft. 4½—Male, very old, say 80; arms crossing on the breast, each hand on its opposite shoulder; had a roll of writing as No. 1 & 2; superior head, it will compare in the region of the sentiments with any in our land; passions mild.

No. 4—Height 4 ft. 9; female. I am inclined to put her age at about 20 or 25, others call her an old woman; arms extended, hands by her side; auburn hair, short as girls at present in their new fashion. Found with her a braid of hair, three strands of the color of that on her head and 18 inches long. The head approximates to the
form of the Orang Outang. The occipital and bazillar region very large; the head indicating a person of the lowest grade of human beings. Slander, fight, and devotion to the passions were undoubtedly peculiar traits in her character. They were enveloped in linnen saturated with gum, the qualities of which are not well understood. A thousand yards are supposed to be used on each body; 186 thicknesses have been counted on one of them. They are covered so as to preserve the exact form of the body and limbs. No. 3 and 4; the envelope is mostly stripped off; on 1 and 2 it is some broken. No. 1, fine linnen; No. 2, coarse; No. 3, very coarse; No. 4, very fine. The bodies evidently were reduced before winding. The man, No. 3, whose cerebral organization indicates a mind able to guide the destinies of a nation, is enveloped in the poorest and coarsest linnen, while the woman, No. 4, whose head indicates a disposition which may well be represented as the demon of society, was in the most careful manner enveloped in the finest of linnen and with a much greater proportion of gum. Is not this circumstance an intimation to us that rank was not according to merit—that superiority in station did not follow from superiority of mind, but from extraneous circumstances.

It is interesting to observe in these individuals the external indications of disposition which at this day build up and pull down society; that these relics of another and unknown age were once animated with life, and actuated by passions, hopes and fears, as we now are. How pleasing to contemplate that aged man, by rules that will not deceive, in the active exercise of those sentimental powers of the mind from which the hope of immortality springs. In such minds there is light—in such minds a nation will find prosperity, and society an anchor. But how sad to contemplate the history of that young female (No. 4)—revenge and hate indignant frowned upon her brow.

The love of property is not indicated on either of their heads as being in any proportion as strong as with us. Did they not hold property in common? and is not this remark applicable to Indians?

Farmer.

As is apparent, the newspaper report is priceless! To the author's knowledge, nowhere else is there found such interesting data dealing with the mummies. The meaning of the data will not be rehearsed in detail, but some comments are in order.

First it should be noted that this report appears only three months before the Prophet acquired the mummies in July 1835. But since mailing and delivery of the letters and the printing schedule of the press would have eaten up
some time, the observations of Farmer and Gardner may have been made as much as four, five, or even more months before July.

Second, it seems that both A. Gardner and Mr. Farmer viewed the mummies in Cleveland, a distance of only some 20 miles from Kirtland where the Prophet was residing. Also, it appears that Farmer saw the mummies first, and then, perhaps as a result of previous acquaintanceship or reputation, he sent “a description of four mummies, now exhibiting” to A. Gardner. Gardner then notes, “curiosity has frequently prompted us to visit and critically examine mummies which were found in the catacombs near Thebes. . . .” One would expect the “frequency” to have been within a several-day period, although the mummies and their exhibitor may have stayed some time in Cleveland. The attitudes of Farmer and Gardner are such that one presumes they were men of education, or men who thought they were of education at least.

Third, both Gardner and Farmer indicate that these four mummies are from the area of Thebes, the same general locale from which the Prophet’s mummies apparently came. Farmer even says that the four mummies were found “three miles from Thebes. . . .” This is a fairly good description of Gurneh’s relationship to Thebes. But of vital importance is the data that these four mummies exhibiting in Cleveland “were found in June, 1832. . . .” Compare Oliver Cowdery’s information concerning the date of discovery: “. . . June 7, 1831.” These two reports, so close in time, present an additional reason for reviewing the validity of Warren Dawson’s long believed information concerning Lebolo and his finds. If Dawson’s 1950 information on the 1823 death of Lebolo can be supported by research, then it may mean that another Egyptian discoverer of mummies is involved, at least for one or more of the mummies. The Prophet’s mummies could represent finds from several men. At any rate, one point seems clear: Oliver Cowdery and the Painesville Telegraph indicate that the exhibitor, Chandler, was at least telling the same story to the non-Mormons as he
told to the Mormons in Kirtland some months later.

Members of the Church would now do well to probe the discoveries made in and around Thebes in June of 1831 and 1832. Research may find some highly interesting answers. The fact that both sources mention June seems far more than coincidental. Either Farmer or Cowdery could have erred in recalling the year—1831 or 1832.

Fourth, additional significant clues are provided by Farmer for our researchers: depth and dimension of the catacomb. With these clues available, one may again check Dr. Ross Christensen's notion about Tomb 33, and compare other tombs. Farmer says: "They were found in June, 1832—three miles from Thebes, 236 feet deep in a catacomb or vault 94 by 18 feet in the clear. Some stone described by the finder 32 ft. long, 8 high and 5 feet wide. . . ." Oliver Cowdery reported, interestingly, that it took 433 men four months and two days to reach the catacomb. Perhaps these two descriptions are different views of the same scene. Also interestingly, Emma Smith has another report about the depth of the catacomb. This report will be given later.

But the correlation between Farmer's report and Oliver Cowdery's is not finished yet: Farmer mentions that "bodies stood in niches of the wall; a row of bodies however, laid on the bottom 8 feet deep (reversed) more or less decayed." This seems to be another indication that Chandler was telling the same story at different places, because as a result of his interviews with Chandler, Oliver Cowdery reports similarly about the niches and the mummies on the bottom of the floor, most of which, he said, were in a decayed nature. The similarities do not end there, but these are sufficient to indicate that the mummies Farmer described were the mummies the Prophet Joseph Smith acquired. Absolute proof of the matter—that Chandler was in Cleveland exhibiting his mummies—will be provided shortly from the pages of another Cleveland newspaper.

This being the case, then, it is interesting to note that three of the mummies were female and one male. Three
of the mummies were reported with scrolls. This should settle the question of how many scrolls Joseph Smith acquired. The mummies’ ages at death, seemingly, were 60 years, 40 years, and either 20-25 years, or quite aged for the three females. The male was regarded as old, about 80.

Readers will note that the aged man was regarded as one able “to guide the destinies of a nation.” As will be observed later, the Prophet was widely quoted as having indicated that one of the mummies was a pharaoh. Is it possible that this unknown Farmer could detect such a thing also? Perhaps of more universal interest, does one’s face reflect his life? Does a life of sin or service really show through? At any rate, the notion that the 80-year-old mummy was a pharaoh is going to be widely implanted, as readers will shortly learn. Scholars may also find interest in the fact that of the four mummies, the male is the only one who has his arms crossed on the breast. The arms of the others were at their sides. The fact that one of the mummies had his arms crossed across his breast will appear again as Latter-day Saints describe the mummies purchased by the Prophet. Another fact of interest that will appear deals with the auburn or red hair. Latter-day Saint witnesses describe one of the Prophet’s mummies as having “red” hair. Obviously, it seems quite possible that these are the mummies purchased by the Prophet.

But as usual, there are contrary factors. One of these factors deals with the mummies sold by Emma Smith. Two of the mummies sold by her after the Prophet’s martyrdom were described as “that of a female, about forty; the other, that of a boy about fourteen.” Where does the boy of 14 come from? Or could different people give two different reports on the age and the sex of one of the mummies? Or could it be that Chandler had other mummies in his possession, not on exhibit in Cleveland for Farmer to see, which he sold to Joseph Smith? These are unanswered questions which perhaps only time and research can unravel. Researchers could also probe the sarcophagi in the European museums that Porter and Moss and Stricker mention in order to determine if there
is any possible relationship between the sarcophagi and these mummies somewhat limitedly described by Farmer. All in all, the Painesville Telegraph report is our most accurate and detailed review of the mummies Joseph Smith purchased. Readers will want to remember it.

Before leaving the newspaper reports, however, at least an additional statement of Farmer's deserves mention: "This statement of the owner is accompanied by good authority." Apparently Chandler had some proof of the statements he was making, but evidence that escapes us today. What form could that proof have been in? a letter? customs data? or could it have been information written by the heirs, from whom Chandler purchased the mummies? Seemingly the sentence suggests that Chandler may have been merely the owner of the mummies, and his evidence was acquired from another seller. Only time will tell.

These three reports—the Messenger and Advocate reprinting of the Philadelphia Arcade placard (more on the placard later), the Martin report on Morton, and the Painesville Telegraph report—exhaust the evidence to date on the supposed "gypsy-like life" that Chandler is claimed to have followed. Latter-day Saints with a bent for finding interesting tidbits could have a heyday in unearthing new evidence on the matter. Perhaps the flow of confirmatory evidence has already started. In response to the author's article in The Improvement Era in January 1968, the following letter was received:

While you are publishing such articles as "Egyptian Papyri Rediscovered," and the series, "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price," you might be interested in giving a little space to this item:

THE HARFORD REPUBLICAN
Belle Air, Harford County, Maryland
Thursday, May 23, 1833
(Vol. 3, No. 41, p. 1, col. 4):
"Nine Mummies, recently found in the vicinity of Thebes, are now exhibiting at the Masonic Hall, Philadelphia."

This newspaper was found in the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, and the item was copied by me with their gracious permission.

Sincerely, Ruth Shinsel

"The Gypsy-Like Life"
The Harford Republican was checked for the day listed, and the notice was found, but nothing else of relevance. The town of Bel Air, its modern spelling, is located some 23 miles northeast of Baltimore, where Chandler, according to the Times and Seasons report, exhibited the mummies at popular demand for five weeks, and is in a rather direct line of travel between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Perhaps this report pertains to another Chandler exhibition. Certainly the date of May 23, 1833, is compatible with the dates under consideration. Oliver Cowdery said that Chandler acquired the mummies in April 1833, about a month earlier.

To probe the matter further, Jimmy Parker of the Church's Genealogical Society was assigned to determine if records existed of Chandler's exhibiting his mummies in Baltimore. Brother Parker contacted an associate at the Maryland Historical Society, P. William Filby, librarian and assistant director, who responded July 6, 1968:

... we have checked three newspapers of the times and have found nothing of value to you concerning the Egyptian artifacts. We are mystified, but the search goes on. Of course, we could have missed it; but one person for a whole week took on the search without success. Still looking.

A month later the librarian reported again:

Dear Mr. Parker,

I am afraid that three weeks' work on our microfilm has yielded nothing of value to you. I am sure there is something there, but the research assistant assures me that every para was scanned.

I am so sorry we have been so unlucky, especially after your great help with the basic list. But I have retained your letter of 2 April and have asked our staff (and our cooperative readers) to keep eyes open for the piece you need.

As can be observed, research exacts a high price in time and energy.

The Question of the Number of Mummies

Interesting and confirming as is the evidence presented about Chandler's exhibitions, the most significant aspect
of Dr. Morton’s catalogue and the *Harford Republican* article is the indication that Chandler had in America more than four mummies.

Consequently, we are at that point when it is fitting to tackle the one remaining nettlesome issue before meeting the Prophet Joseph Smith out on the Kirtland, Ohio, frontier.

For over 130 years Latter-day Saints have understood that Antonio Lebolo found 11 mummies of good condition in the pit-tomb at Gurneh and have presumed that seven of them came to America. This point of view has come from Oliver Cowdery’s account wherein he refers three times to the 11 mummies and once to the seven:

1) Lebolo “entered the catacomb. . . . and obtained eleven mummies.”

2) “. . . the two last orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches.”

3) “You will have understood from the foregoing, that eleven Mummies were taken from the catacomb, at the time of which I have been speaking and nothing definite having been said as to their disposal, I may, with propriety add a few words. Seven of the said eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler’s visit to this place, with a small quantity of papyrus, similar (he says) to the astronomical representation, contained with the present two rolls. . . .”

Michael H. Chandler also reports in his placard: “. . . but only the eleven [were] in a state to be removed. The seven have been sold to gentlemen for private museums, and in consequence are kept from the public eye.”

Using the Oliver Cowdery report, and ignoring the Stricker, and Porter’s and Moss’ listings of Lebolo’s sarcophagi in Europe, the following conclusions are sometimes drawn. Many Latter-day Saints have assumed that all 11 mummies came to the United States, and that seven of the 11 were disposed to gentlemen in and around New York and Philadelphia. However, no research—as should

*"The Gypsy-Like Life"* 141
be apparent by now—has disclosed that 11 mummies came to America, nor to whom any were sold, other than one apparently to Dr. Morton of Philadelphia. Some students have suggested that the seven “purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler’s visit to this place,” must refer to the sale of seven mummies in Egypt by Lebolo. The sale of one to Caillaiud, which was in the Paris Museum in 1824, represents one mummy; the sale of one to Anastasi, the Swedish Consul-General, represents another; the one or two mummies lost at sea that were sold to Baron Minutoli represent one or two other mummies; and the Turin Museum has four mummies presently, for a total of seven or eight mummies. If Chandler’s and Oliver Cowdery’s reports are accurate ones, it would be apparent that only one mummy could have gone to Baron Minutoli to represent the seven previously sold. However, this would still leave only four mummies, and we need five, or an extra one for Dr. Morton of Philadelphia. Also, the Paris Museum and the Turin Museum certainly do not satisfy the term “private museum.” But this is a minor point. Perhaps the museums were private in the sense that they belonged to royalty or to the monarchy, and the purchasers of the other mummies may have planned on private exhibition, as did Dr. Morton. Warren R. Dawson reports that Lebolo found a “number of Ptolemaic mummies . . . the best of these went to Drovetti. . . .” These apparently are the four mummies in the Turin Museum. Consequently, these four in Turin are supposed to represent the “best” Lebolo had found.

At any rate, our arithmetic gymnastics have still left us in a quandry. The situation is made even worse by the report of San Quintino, who, according to Elder Bradley Shaw, always spoke of Lebolo’s 12 or 13 mummies. However, all is not lost. As is obvious, we can account for seven of his mummies: four in Turin, one to Caillaiud, one to Anastasi, and at least one to Minutoli. This leaves five, if there were 13 mummies—four for the Prophet Joseph Smith to purchase and one for Chandler to sell to the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences. This tidy bit
of arithmetic, of course, merely represents what could have transpired. No one knows at this time what actually happened. When one adds the Stricker, Porter, and Moss listings, the problem becomes very confusing.

However, the strange report of the Harford Republican about "nine mummies, recently found in the vicinity of Thebes . . ." upsets everything if in fact these nine mummies represent Chandler's mummies. Perhaps they were not Chandler's—although one wants to say it would be rather unlikely for several reasons: (1) few Egyptian mummies were in America before 1833; (2) Chandler is reported to have exhibited his mummies only 23 miles southwest of Bel Air at Baltimore, and Bel Air, Maryland, home of the Harford Republican, is in a rather direct line between Baltimore and Philadelphia, where Chandler is reported to have exhibited; (3) the time of the newspaper's advertisement fits the Chandler situation. If the mummies were Chandler's, perhaps it means that the original assumption of some Latter-day Saints is correct: Chandler did receive 11 mummies at the New York port in April 1833, and he sold seven of them to various people in the United States before selling the last four to the Prophet Joseph Smith. If this were established by future research, it will mean several possibilities in terms of Antonio Lebolo: (1) it could mean that Lebolo concealed some grave-robbing when he reported to San Quintino that he removed 12 or 13 mummies; (2) at the time of his death he may have had mummies from finds other than his Gurneh pit-tomb, which is the more likely possibility; (3) Chandler's unknown benefactor may have received both Lebolo and non-Lebolo mummies, and thus the figures 11, 12, and 13 may be irrelevant to the total number of mummies involved. The potential solution could come from many alternatives. Once more, the need for research by interested Latter-day Saints should be apparent. But we have tired of the many unknowns. The Prophet awaits us.

The Man Who Brought Michael Chandler to Joseph Smith

The "gypsy-like life" of Michael H. Chandler had
been going on reportedly for more than two years—from April 1833 until July 3, 1835, when Michael Chandler was brought to Kirtland, Ohio. During those two years, Chandler apparently exhibited his mummies and papyri wherever he could round up interested spectators. Presumably, his “curiosities” had gained him some of the money that he had hoped to make from the sale of jewels which were not in the sarcophagi. But apparently his desire to find a translation of some of the papyri script had a strong hold upon him. Reportedly he had turned to Drs. Anthon and Mitchell and others, seeking information about the meaning of some of the symbols. Undoubtedly this desire spurred him to meet many linguists and scholars of the day.

Early in this period of owning the mummies, he had heard of Joseph Smith. Oliver Cowdery wrote:

He was immediately told, while yet in the Custom House, that there was no man in that city, who could translate his roll; but was referred by the same gentleman, (a stranger) to Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr. who, continued he, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated similar characters. . . . Smith was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public.

While Mr. Chandler was in Philadelphia, he used every exertion to find someone who could give him the translation of his papyrus, but could not, satisfactorily, though from some few men of the first eminence, he obtained in a small degree, the translation of a few characters. Here he was referred to . . . Smith. From Philadelphia he visited Harrisburgh, and other places east of the mountains, and was frequently referred to Bro. Smith for a translation of his Egyptian Relic.”

Oliver’s account is surprising in several respects. It certainly paints a picture of public knowledge concerning the Prophet and his work, and should dispel notions that Joseph’s work was being carried on in the dark, known by but a few. It is impossible to determine the attitude of the persons suggesting that Chandler visit the Prophet. One wonders if they made their comments in jest, derision, sarcasm, or whether a portion of them represented persons with an inkling of wonderment and potential belief.
Perhaps Parley P. Pratt's account answers the question, although even his review may be inadequate:

He everywhere heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, but so generally associated with something slanderous, that he could scarcely think seriously of applying to him. But at length, however, he called upon Mr. Smith, to inquire if he had a power by which he could translate the ancient Egyptian.

However, there is more to the story than this, as readers already know. Chandler exhibited in Cleveland, some 20 miles from Kirtland, and while there he certainly would have heard the popular descriptions of the Prophet Joseph Smith. It may be that, his interest piqued, he decided to call upon the Mormon Prophet to either test him or see if he could fare any better than did the scholars of New York and Pennsylvania. With the information available about his Cleveland exhibit, one tends to view Chandler's entry to Kirtland simply as the result of that which he had heard while in Cleveland. Seemingly Kirtland would have been his next stop.

However, there is another story dealing with his entry into Kirtland, a story that deals with a relative of Heber C. Kimball.

The account of this unproven incident was unearthed by Dr. James R. Clark of BYU and long-time student of the story behind the Book of Abraham. Dr. Clark found a speech by N. L. Nelson in the Academic Review of 1885 while browsing through some of the old publications of the academy at Provo. Part of that article on Nelson's speech said: "Dr. J. R. Riggs of this city . . . personally examined" the papyri. N. L. Nelsen said that he personally acquired his knowledge of the following story from Brother Riggs. What occurred after that is best told in the words of Dr. Clark:

I said to myself, how am I going to verify this story? How am I going to get additional information? I went over to the one man on the campus who probably knows more about people of BYU than anyone else, our registrar, Brother Hayes, a remarkable man for remembering names and faces. I said, "Brother Hayes, do you know anything about a Dr. Riggs who used to live in Provo?"
“Yes,” he said, “he was an early physician here; but I think you can get more information by going to see either Jack Beesley, who runs the Beesley Monument business, or Mary Jane Davis.”

Mary Jane Davis lived in my ward, so I went to her and said, “Can you tell me anything about Dr. John Riggs?”

And then she gave me a biography. She was a descendant of Dr. John Riggs. And then she said, “Have you seen the Bullock Narrative? We had a Bullock genealogical family reunion this last summer. Clara Fullmer Bullock of Taber, Alberta, Canada, was down, and she presented a paper, or this biography of Benjamin Bullock, III. I think you would be interested in reading it because it has something about the Pearl of Great Price.” So she gave me the biography.

It seems, according to the story that Sister Bullock has written, that she had an operation at the LDS Hospital in November 1917 and then went to Lehi, Utah, to recuperate at the home of her sister, Mrs. Elva Allred. While she was there, she went into the family library (the Allreds were pioneer settlers of Lehi) and there she found a book—at least they called her attention to a book—that contained a story about Benjamin Bullock. In brief, this story is that Benjamin Bullock was the man who told Chandler about Joseph Smith.

Now, we haven’t known before, and there is nowhere recorded in Church history who it was that was instrumental in getting Chandler, who had the mummies and papyrus, to go to Joseph Smith. The story is essentially that Benjamin Bullock was related to Heber C. Kimball, and the Kimballs were living in Mendon, New York, and the Bullocks were living in Moirie, New York. They evidently had heard about Joseph Smith, so when Chandler got the mummies, it was Benjamin Bullock who suggested that Chandler take the mummies and papyrus to Joseph Smith, and he offered to take him. He took his team and drove Chandler the 250 miles to Kirtland to take the mummies and papyrus to Joseph Smith.

But the story is not over. There is an interesting thing about the reaction of Chandler and Bullock to Joseph Smith. As soon as Chandler had sold his mummies and papyrus, according to this story, he went on to California. Now whether he ever got there, or where he died, I don’t know. Maybe someday I can trace him down, but the reaction of Benjamin Bullock was this: “I am going back. I have such a high opinion of Joseph Smith and his people that I am going back to get my family and come and join these Mormons.” And so he went back to New York and took a copy of the Book of Mormon with him. This is another Book of Mormon conversion story. We have hundreds of them in the Church. His wife found out that he had a copy of the Book of Mormon and threatened that if she ever got her hands on it, she would burn it. She was prejudiced because of the bad reputation and the false stories that had been told
about Joseph Smith in the community, fulfilling the prophecies of Moroni that he would be known for good and evil. Well, she found the book, read it, and was converted to the Church even before the missionaries came.

And then John Riggs came along as a missionary and converted the rest of the family, all but the father and the oldest son, who was away at law school. The father did not join the Church, but he did migrate to Kirtland, went through the persecutions with the Prophet Joseph Smith, and continued on through the Nauvoo persecutions while still not a member of the Church. There were two reasons offered as to why he didn’t join: one was that he felt he could do more good for the Church by staying out of it; and the other was that he had a habit that he had not been able to overcome, and he would not join the Church until he had overcome it. Well, he didn’t join the Church, and then he and his family started west, and they got as far as the Platte River when he took the cholera. His oldest son in the meantime had come back from law school, had joined the Church, and had been made an elder. Before Benjamin’s death—he apparently had always had a testimony—he wanted to be baptized. He was baptized and then died five hours later. So this is the Benjamin Bullock who was the instrumental link in getting the mummies and papyrus into the hands of Joseph Smith.

Sister Bullock gave me her testimony of the story in a letter dated September 8, 1952: “About twenty years ago I went to the Genealogical Library and with Brother Archibald Bennett, who was the Library boy, searched for just such a book as the one that contains my mummy story. But as I had forgotten the title, we were lost. It was a dark, hard-backed book, about the size of Church Chronology by Andrew Jenson, or it could have been a trifle thicker. Towards the center was my story, occupying perhaps from a page to a page and a half. It was not written by Bullock or Chandler, and seemed, as I remember, to be a collection of pioneer experiences.

“I am sending you a copy of my story and you are welcome to use it. I trust we will succeed in finding the original needed to make it authentic. Until then, of course, since I am responsible for its truthfulness, I will have to be quoted. But you can rely on my support and sanction in any way you need it, and I will be happy to assist. The Allreds and Bullocks have the reputation of being trustworthy, but the story I tell rests, of course, upon my honesty. Perhaps knowing my people, you will learn a little more of me. Thirteen of my immediate ancestors were Mormon Pioneers. My parental grandfather, John S. Fullmer, received the Priesthood under the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who also married my grandparents in plural marriage. He was the paymaster of the Nauvoo Legion, and it was he who slept on the arm of the Prophet in Carthage Jail before the martyrdom. His son, my father, was a tender and under-

“The Gypsy-Like Life” 147
standing father, and was in the bishopric for nineteen years. Mother, a church worker all her life, raised ten of her twelve children. I am sixty-five and have been a Church worker all my life—sixteen years in the Relief Society as a class leader, ten of which were in theology; twelve as ward officer in genealogical work, I realize I have been very inefficient in all that I have been called upon to do, but I also realize God's blessings to me as a humble worker have been great. My life is full of wonderful testimonies of His goodness to me and my family.”

Obviously the truthfulness of the Bullock story is yet unknown. But if it is true, it helps fill a gap in the saga of the Book of Abraham.

And so, after a long and detailed journey through the catacombs of Egypt, down the river Nile, across the Mediterranean to Trieste, over the Alps to Turin, and on to Dublin and London, where we set sail for New York or Philadelphia and the “gypsy-like life” of the exhibition trail through New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Cleveland, we now find ourselves at the outskirts of the town of Kirtland, Ohio. Our peregrinations have been through grass meadows and thickly wooded hills, perhaps even a swamp or two, but, hopefully, not without a view of every important point of interest along the way. As noted before, the story of the Book of Abraham is not simple. It is extremely complicated and full of details that may become important in light of future but yet unfinished research. As is now apparent, the background story simply cannot be told in 2,000 words, nor could it ever be told in completeness in a single article, newspaper, or magazine. There is simply too much there. It is hoped that our peregrinations have helped identify the trouble spots, the presently unknown areas, and made more meaningful that which has been known.

At any rate, after our long, yet eventful, journey, we approach Kirtland, where we shall meet a true prophet of God. Over countless thousands of miles of water and sod have traveled these last four remaining mummies and their important papyri treasures. Through countless hands
of potential robbers, thieves, dishonest men and the envious have slipped these Egyptian artifacts.

As many have observed, it seems nothing short of miraculous that the mummies and their records should have safely navigated through the rough waters of antiquity barons, catacomb plunderers, dishonest and rival artifact agents, the hands of would-be purchasers and the dishonest that would have been confronted on the exhibition trail in America to eventually find safe lodging in the town of the Prophet Joseph. How many times must the hand of the Lord have been manifest! How many times must inspiration have wielded its influence in peculiar and strange manners!

"And in nothing doth man offend God, or against none is his wrath kindled, save those who confess not his hand in all things. . . ." (D&C 59:21.)

Certainly, as most Latter-day Saints have been able to testify, the Lord moves in mysterious ways, his wonders to perform. In light of all that is known about the background of the story of the Book of Abraham, it truly is a marvelous and inspiring story how these papyri records were led to the hands of the Prophet.

But it is time we met him—Joseph Smith, the Prophet.
For seven years, from early 1831 until late 1837, Kirtland, Ohio, was the headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the home of “the restoration,” as many called the Church, and the “promised land” to others as a result of Joseph Smith’s revelations received in December 1830 and on January 2, 1831.

And again, a commandment I give unto the church, that it is expedient in me that they should assemble together at the Ohio. . . .” (D&C 37:3.)

Wherefore, for this cause I gave unto you the commandment that ye should go to the Ohio; and there I will give unto you my law; and there you shall be endowed with power from on high.” (D&C 38:32.)

Thus, the Prophet and his wife Emma turned westward from Fayette, New York, and journeyed by sleigh nearly 300 miles in the middle of winter’s cold to Kirtland. Joseph’s first experience in town reflects the nature of the man Michael Chandler would shortly meet.

It was February 1, 1831. A sleigh drew up in front of Gilbert and Whitney, the largest store in Kirtland. A 25-year-old six-foot-tall man bounded from the sleigh. He reportedly was broad-shouldered, blue-eyed, light-haired, graceful yet athletic. Into the store he went, and over to the junior partner he walked, exclaiming as he met him, “Newel K. Whitney, thou art the man!” At the same time he extended his hand cordially, as if to meet an old acquaintance.

“You have the advantage of me,” replied the young
merchant. “I could not call you by name as you have me.”

“I am Joseph the Prophet. You’ve prayed me here, now what do you want of me? The Lord would not let me sleep nights; but said, ‘Up and take your wife to Kirtland!’” The Prophet informed the Whitneys that while he was praying in the Whitmer home in Fayette, New York, he had seen the Whitneys praying for light, and that he had been sent to answer their prayers.

Joseph and Emma were soon quartered in two rooms of the Whitney home, and the two couples became fast friends. Once settled, the Prophet could gaze upon his surroundings and become acquainted with the 1,500- to 2,000-person community of which he had heard so much from one of his associates, Parley P. Pratt.

The town was in the northeastern corner of Ohio in the Western Reserve territory and was an important crossroads on the frontier. Traffic using Lake Erie to the north came through Kirtland, as did traffic using the road to Cincinnati. As a result, Kirtland was a thriving settlement and picturesquely located on a branch of the Chagrin River, from whose banks the terrain ascended steeply to fertile tablelands. Other towns, such as Hiram and Thompson, where Latter-day Saints would soon establish themselves, were about 18 and 25 miles distant.

Kirtland, Ohio. The temple is in the distance.
The town itself was a religious hot-bed before the arrival of the Prophet. It was a stronghold of the Campbellites, or Disciples of Christ, of whom one Sidney Rigdon was a celebrated preacher. The Campbellites were practicing a communal experiment of holding all property in common, trying to duplicate some reported elements of the New Testament Church.

Into this environment had come Parley P. Pratt, our friend of the Millennial Star article, and Ziba Peterson, in October 1830, less than seven months after the Church had been organized on April 6 in Fayette. Elder Pratt had been a minister of sorts with the Campbellites before joining "the restoration," and sought out his former pastor, Sidney Rigdon, who soon joined the Church. Rigdon's conversion and the general conversion of most of his following caused Church membership to soar. Consequently, when the Prophet arrived several months later, a built-in membership awaited him. By early spring, most of the members from the East—New York and Pennsylvania—had sold their homes and farms and were journeying west to the "promised land," as they called it.

By the time Michael Chandler came to town, much had happened. The social experiment of the former Campbellite members had motivated Joseph to ask and receive from the Lord a modern social and economic principle, known as the Law of Consecration, from which flowed an application known as the United Order or Order of Enoch.

In the meantime the Prophet had been directed far westward to Jackson County, Missouri, where he had been led to declare it a holy and important future site in the Lord's eternal purposes. Because of this, many Saints had gone to Missouri—and two years later were to be repulsed from Jackson County by bitter envy, anger, jealousy, and resentment from their frontier Missouri neighbors, who were often simple badlanders and fellow fugitives from justice.

The Church organization, including the First Presidency, apostles, and stakes, had all been revealed and were underway. The Prophet's inherent curiosity about things,
accompanied by direction from the Lord, had led to the formation of the School of the Prophets, often called—and perhaps deservedly—the first adult education program in America. The Word of Wisdom, tithing, and countless other long-range and influential revelations had been given the Church between the date the Prophet first entered Kirtland and when Michael Chandler rode into town.

As Chandler approached Kirtland, he could not have avoided seeing a beautiful temple nearing completion, the result of much sacrifice and labor on the part of the Saints, who constantly kept pouring into the town. Kirtland was now many times the size it had been before Joseph Smith’s arrival. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. and Orson Pratt, Edward Partridge, and numerous other impressive names from the roll call of the great and noble early leaders of the Church kept Kirtland a beehive of bustling activity. Within two short years, this remarkable and unbelievably successful organization would be sending its ambassadors across the breadth and width of populated America and Canada and into foreign lands where untold thousands were unknowingly awaiting its message.

Little wonder, then, that Michael Chandler had “everywhere heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon.” The Prophet’s accomplishments had already made him the talk of much of America.

And so, in midsummer 1835 Michael Chandler came to Kirtland to meet the Prophet.

Oliver Cowdery says:

...he visited this place [Kirtland] the last of June, or first of July, at which time he presented bro. Smith with his papyrus. Till then neither myself nor brother Smith knew of such relics being in America. Mr. Chandler was told that his writings could be deciphered, and very politely gave me a privilege of copying some four or five different sentences or separate pieces, stating, at the same time, that unless he found some one who could give him a translation soon, he would carry them to London.

I am a little in advance of my narration. The morning Mr. Chandler first presented his papyrus to bro. Smith, he was shown, by the latter, a number of characters like those upon the writings
of Mr. C. which were previously copied from the plates, containing the history of the Nephites, or book of Mormon.

The *History of the Church* reads:

On the 3rd of July, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphic figures and devices.

Additional evidence will be given shortly to support Oliver Cowdery’s thought that Chandler entered Kirtland the last of June, which seems to be the correct time of arrival.

Some other important facts are also asserted. There were four mummies brought to Kirtland, and “some two or more rolls of papyrus,” which is another confirmation of Oliver’s account concerning the number of rolls. Remember that the Painesville *Telegraph* article mentions three scrolls. Some students have thought that there was originally only one roll, and that this roll was cut or broken into two pieces. But Oliver had reported originally that while in the Custom House, Chandler “discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus. . . .” Apparently there were three.

It is also interesting to note, in connection with the Frenchman’s article about Chandler’s coming to America with the mummies, that Oliver Cowdery reports Chandler as saying if he cannot find a satisfactory interpretation, he will take the mummies to London. One would think he would do such a thing only if he had not had the mummies in his possession in London at an earlier period.

At any rate, it appears that Oliver Cowdery may have met Mr. Chandler before Chandler met Joseph Smith, and that Oliver copied some of the symbols on the papyrus, which he apparently took to Joseph Smith. Oliver knew of Joseph’s method of translation, and the source of Joseph’s information from long experience in serving as a scribe in the translation of the Book of Mor-
mon. Oliver undoubtedly was most interested in the papyri. He apparently talked with Chandler, getting data on the background of the mummies and papyri, data that in part he would use seven months later in his famous letter to William Frye.

What next took place is best told by Parley P. Pratt:

... he [Chandler] called upon Mr. Smith, to inquire if he had a power by which he could translate the ancient Egyptian. Mr. Smith replied that he had, when Mr. Chandler presented the fragment which had been partially interpreted. Mr. Smith retired into his translating room, and presently returned with a written translation in English, of the fragment, confirming the supposed meaning ascribed to it by the gentleman to whom it had been previously presented.

Mr. Chandler apparently was so impressed with the Prophet's report that another rather unusual experience followed. It is told by Oliver Cowdery:

Being solicited by Mr. Chandler to give an opinion concerning his antiquities, or a translation of some of the characters, bro. S. gave him the interpretation of some few for his satisfaction. For your gratification I will here annex a certificate which I hold, from under the hand of Mr. Chandler, unsolicited, however, by any person in this place, which will show how far he believed bro. Smith able to unfold from these long obscured rolls the wonders contained therein:

"Kirtland, July 6th, 1835.

"This is to make known to all who may be desirous, concerning the knowledge of Mr. Joseph Smith, jr. in deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic characters, in my possession, which I have, in many eminent cities, shown to the most learned: And, from the information that I could even learn, or meet with, I find that of Mr. Joseph Smith, Jr. to correspond in the most minute matters.

(signed)

MICHAEL H. CHANDLER
Travelling with, and proprietor of Egyptian Mummies."

The foregoing is verbatim as given by Mr. C. excepting the addition of punctuation, and speaks sufficiently plain without requiring comment from me. It was given previous to the purchase of the antiquities, by any person here.

Oliver felt it important to note that Mr. Chandler had not written the certificate after a sale of the mummies,
but before a sale was even discussed, trying to imply, perhaps, that the certificate was not prejudiced by an immediately concluded sale in which the party might not care what he signed or said.

The Prophet’s account notes that “as Mr. Chandler had been told I could translate them, he brought me some of the characters, and I gave him the interpretation, and like a gentleman, he gave me the following certificate,” which we have seen already. (DHC, Vol. 2, p. 235.)

The certificate, similarly recorded in the History of the Church, was dated Monday, July 6. It is most important to observe that Joseph did not mull and sweat over the Egyptian symbols to arrive at a meaning. He went into his “translating room and presently returned with a written translation in English. . . .” (Italics added.) All those familiar with the story of the translation of the Book of Mormon and the instrument provided by the Lord through which the translation was presented will be intensely interested in the manner of translation of the Book of Abraham.

But much more occurred in that brief period in which the Prophet had retired to his room. Much more! And it is in a close examination of how Joseph Smith so quickly learned what was contained in the records that many questions about how Joseph Smith translated may later be answered. The account is given by Orson Pratt, brother of Parley P. Pratt and a member of the Council of the Twelve. It is from a talk delivered at the Thirteenth Ward on Sunday, August 25, 1878, and reported in the Journal of Discourses, Vol. 20, pp. 64-65.

Elder Pratt’s speech was given over 43 years after Chandler came to Kirtland. There may be errors in it, yet it so intimately agrees with the other known reports that one tends not to discredit it. As Latter-day Saints know, Elder Orson Pratt was one of the greatest thinkers, scientists, and philosophers of the young Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He seems to have had a brilliant mind, and his writings reflect one conversant with many topics. Elder Orson Pratt’s account seems to
center close to the truth of what happened that day when the Prophet and Chandler met. The first part of his sermon relating to the story of the Book of Abraham will also be given so that readers may appraise his reporting, even though given 43 years after the event:

The Lord brought to light sacred records from the Catacombs of Egypt. After several hundred men had wrought and toiled for many months in digging down one of these vast structures, they entered into its interior; they found a great number of mummies—the bodies of persons that had been preserved since the catacomb was built, and some eleven of these mummies, well preserved, were taken out by these men, and they finally fell into the hands of a person named M. H. Chandler. They were sent from Egypt to Ireland, where it was supposed he resided, but learning that he resided in America, they were sent to him. After receiving the mummies he began to take off some of the ancient covering or wrapping, and to his astonishment he found upon the breast of one of the mummies a record written upon ancient papyrus in plain characters, written both in black and red inks, or stains, or colors. And the mummies and the records were exhibited by Mr. Chandler, in New York, Philadelphia, and many of the Eastern States of our Union; and thousands of people saw them, and among them many learned men; and these characters were presented to them, and not unfrequently was Mr. Chandler referred to “Joe” Smith as they used to term him, who, they said, pretended to have translated some records that he found in the western part of New York, and that if Mr. Chandler would go and see him perhaps he would translate those ancient characters. Many of these references were made with the intention of ridiculing Mr. Smith; but it so happened that in traveling through the country, he visited Kirtland, Ohio, where the Prophet Joseph Smith resided, bringing the mummies and the ancient papyrus writings with him. Mr. C. had also obtained from learned men the best translation he could of some few characters which however, was not a translation, but more in the shape of their ideas with regard to it, their acquaintance with the language not being sufficient to enable them to translate it literally. After some conversation with the Prophet Joseph, Mr. Chandler presented to him the ancient characters, asking him if he could translate them.

Now the part under study:

The prophet took them and repaired to his room and inquired of the Lord concerning them. The Lord told him they were sacred records, containing the inspired writings of Abraham when he was in Egypt, and also those of Joseph, while he was in Egypt; and they
had been deposited with these mummies, which had been exhumed. And he also inquired of the Lord concerning some few characters which Mr. Chandler, gave him by way of a test, to see if he could translate them. The Prophet Joseph translated these characters and returned them, with the translation to Mr. Chandler; and who, in comparing it with the translation of the same few characters by learned men, that he had before obtained, found the two to agree.

Surely a warm sounding within his bosom must have directed the Prophet to his room! There must have been an inspired sense of direction informing him of something unusual, something significant! Notice that reportedly it was the Lord who told him they were sacred records. Reportedly it was the Lord who told him they had relevance to Abraham and Joseph. Reportedly it was the Lord who gave him a translation of sorts to satisfy Michael H. Chandler. And surely it must have been the Lord who directed Joseph's next move, again reported by Orson Pratt:

The Prophet Joseph having learned the value of these ancient writings was very anxious to obtain them, and expressed himself wishful to purchase them. But Mr. Chandler told him that he would not sell the writings unless he could sell the mummies, for it would detract from the curiosity of his exhibition; Mr. Smith inquired of him the price which was a considerable sum, and finally purchased the mummies and the writing, all of which he retained in his possession for many years; and they were seen by all the Church that saw proper to visit the house of the Prophet Joseph and also by hundreds of strangers.

The purchase is described in this manner by Parley P. Pratt, Orson's brother:

An event of nature so extraordinary, was of course soon noised abroad, when a number of gentlemen in the neighborhood, not connected with the Saints, united together, and, purchasing the record altogether with some or all of the mummies, made Mr. Smith a present of them.

And Oliver Cowdery says:

Seven of the said eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous to Mr. Chandler's visit to this place, with a small quantity of papyrus, similar (as he says), to the astronomical
representation, contained with the present two rolls, of which I previously spoke, and the remaining four by gentlemen resident here.

The Number of Mummies Bought

Careful readers will have observed that Parley P. Pratt was apparently unsure of the number of mummies purchased: "... purchasing the record altogether with some or all of the mummies. ..."

But Oliver specifically mentions that "seven of the eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums ... and the remaining four by gentlemen resident here."

Perhaps the History of the Church account helps determine if there were any mummies that were not purchased:

... Chandler came to Kirtland to exhibit some Egyptian mummies. There were four human figures, together with some two or more rolls of papyrus covered with hieroglyphic figures and devices.

Soon after this, some of the Saints at Kirtland purchased the mummies and papyrus. ...

This description seems to confirm the idea that whatever it was that Chandler had, all of it was purchased. Supporting this is the document attached to the papyri rediscovered in 1967 by Dr. Aziz S. Atiya at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The document, signed by the Prophet's widow, Emma, reads: "This certifies that we have sold ... four Egyptian Mummies. ..."

The matter of the number of mummies will appear again, particularly from some second-hand observers who report only three mummies. It is possible that these observers saw only three mummies, but it is obvious that Chandler sold everything Egyptian that he brought to Kirtland.

The Price

N. L. Nelson, in his account of 1885, said the Prophet paid "about $2,000." However, the document attached to the papyri found by Dr. Atiya contains the following:
“... purchased by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith at the price of twenty four hundred dollars. ...” As will be noted later, an account exists that reports the sale for $6,000, but the report is not given much credibility by scholars. Other accounts have merely referred to the price as a considerable and large sum.

**The Purchasers**

A fascinating sidelight centers around the unknown parties who purchased the mummies from Chandler. Three different accounts by three different people give three different answers:

Parley P. Pratt:

... a number of gentlemen in the neighbourhood, not connected with the Saints, united together, and, purchasing the record altogether with some of all of the mummies, made Mr. Smith a present of them."

One wonders who such men “not connected with the Saints” would be, but since Kirtland was a crossroads town, and since a goodly number of its inhabitants of 1830 had not joined the Church, perhaps some of the town’s important citizens and businessmen had looked for some time for an appropriate manner in which to express their thankfulness to the Prophet for enlarging their town—and their personal business fortunes—with the daily flow of new converts. As a result, learning of the deciphering by the Prophet of some of the characters, perhaps the men assumed that such a document would make a fine treasure for the community, hoping perhaps that the papyri might even be regarded as a new and important treasure by the Mormons, whom it is apparent they were trying to please.

There is also the chance that only some of the contributors were non-Mormons, and that these were the men with whom Elder Pratt was acquainted—if his account is correct.

The *History of the Church* reports otherwise: “... some of the Saints purchased the mummies and papyrus. ...”
If both of these accounts reflect the truth, perhaps it means that the Prophet knew only of the Mormons who had contributed toward the purchase. Perhaps, as in so many things of a civic and community nature, the actual story might be that first one group suggested a purchase, but after some thought and discussion, another group ended up footing the bill.

But the story is even more garbled with the introduction of Emma’s document that was found by Dr. Atiya. She says the mummies were “. . . purchased by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith. . . .” One wonders if it was personal money, family money borrowed from his folks, Church funds, money given by some of the Saints, or money given by some non-Mormons in town—or a little of all. Perhaps the reference to the Prophet making the purchase only means that he conveyed the money that had already been rounded up. This would eliminate him from being the sole purchaser, although he probably contributed with others of the Saints, as Emma suggests. Certainly another area for additional research awaits interested Latter-day Saints.

Chandler’s Placards

Before leaving Kirtland, however, Michael Chandler apparently left some of his own advertising “dodgers” or placards with the purchasers or at least let the purchasers copy the placards. In part this has been known for some time, because the paragraph in the May 2, 1842, Times and Seasons that begins “Having examined with considerable attention. . . .” and which contains the evaluation of the Philadelphia medical doctors has always been assumed to have been taken from a placard. Presumably the placard was made surrounding the occasion of Dr. Samuel George Morton’s dissection of a Lebolo mummy on December 10 and 17, 1833. This dissection has been treated earlier.

What has not been known is that the paragraph preceding this is also undoubtedly part of another Chandler placard. For years Latter-day Saints have assumed
that the first paragraph was written by the editor of the *Times and Seasons* or some other Latter-day Saint. But a careful check will show that this is not so.

First, however, readers may wish to read that which will be under discussion. The first segment is a short comment reprinted from James Gordon Bennett’s *New York Herald*, in which Bennett comments about the Prophet’s work. Apparently Bennett’s comment is the second statement written by Bennett about the Book of Abraham, because he mentions “another slice of the ‘Book of Abraham’.” Bennett had previously commented on the March 1, 1842, *Times and Seasons* installment of the Book of Abraham. This is his second observation and is a response to the second installment of the Book of Abraham carried in the March 15, 1842, *Times and Seasons*. Both of Bennett’s statements were reprinted in the May 2, 1842, *Times and Seasons* now under consideration. However, only the second response, titled “More Prophecy,” will be presented now. Following this second comment of Bennett’s, there follows a small blurb presumably written by the working editor of the *Times and Seasons*, John Taylor, before the article “Egyptian Antiquities” is presented. (Joseph Smith was the official editor, but after a January 28, 1842, revelation, the Council of the Twelve took charge of the paper, with John Taylor in charge of the “editorial department.”) It will shortly be shown that the “Egyptian Antiquities” likely represents a reprint of Chandler’s placards:

MORE PROPHECY.—Joe Smith, in his last “Times and Seasons,” gives us another slice of the “Book of Abraham,” embracing a synopsis of his geology and astronomy, illustrated with a curious map of the Mormon Solar System. Joe also gives his readers a bit of his auto-biography—quite rich it is, too.

THE MORMON MOVEMENT.—Nearly two hundred more Mormons, very respectable looking saints, arrived at New Orleans recently, on their way to Nauvoo, the headquarters of Joe Smith and the Mormons. The prophet is adding to his religious empire every day—and who can set bounds to it? He is president, priest, and prophet, and whenever he is in a difficulty, he says that he has a direct revelation from heaven, that settles the point at once.

Mr. James G. Bennett, is a little too fast about the finding of the records; it will be seen by the following that ‘Joe Smith,’ knew what he was doing.
The article was taken from the book "Of Abrahams," which is about the city of New York. For what took place relative to him and the characters, I refer to the book itself.

The next part describes the characters and events in the city of New York and presented the characters which had been translated, with an account of their adventures and the Moscow Solar System. Joe also gives his readers a bit of his autobiographic

The story of the Prophet of Nauvoos is given in the chapter, and it is set down as a revelation among the Mormons.

This Joe Smith is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable characters. He was a man of great talent, ability, and more moral courage than Mutos, Otn, or any of the other men of his age. He was a prophet and produced the revolutions of past ages. In the present age of animal-magical ages of the world, some such singular prophet as Joe Smith was required to preserve the principle of faith, and to plant some new germs of civilization that may come to maturity in thousands of years. While mortals, philosophy, which believes in nothing but what you can touch, is overbearing and therefore uses this man as a spiritual system, combined also with metals and industry, that may change commerce, and as a means of self-confidence, himself divinely inspired and worker of miracles. He cures the eye of disease, whether of belief or of angering of angels, and that if I would bring the plate to us, he would translate them into Basque languages. The text is sharply worded, and the author described the people as they were known, respected both the clairvoyant and the translator.

From the N. Y. Weekly Herald.

The MORMONS—A LEAF FROM JOE SMITH.

We give in this paper's view, a very chapter from the book "Of Abrahams," which is conducted by Joseph Smith the great apostate, in the city of Nauvoos, Hancock county, Illinois.

The prophet says that it was found in the catacombs of Egypt, but he is not taken in this idea. The article was written in 1842, which is when the book was published.

We certainly want some such prophet to start up, to take a big holde in the public opinion, and to show that the country is hurring into world into infidelity, immorality, licentiousness, and crime. —After the brandishing its author, Dr. Bribber, Master Emmerson, Prophet Brownson, Horace Greeley, and all the other prophetical, religious, and moral misleaders of the age, the rest of common sense out of Joe's book.

We believe that Mr. Bennett is neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, or he would have known the Book of Abraham. He has a prophet, and he spoke the word of the Lord, or "a revelation that has ended the world in a long time faking a little funny at our expense, but not doing those peculiar freaks and little miracles for us which the great ones do when they come with us. He acts with more candor and honesty, and in more of a gentlemanly and philanthropic spirit. He shows the editor of the present day, and who publishes our own statement to the world in their entire simplicity, unorganized, without representation, enfranchisement, or faction, and leaves it as all honest men do, for a discerning public to determine and for the judges of the world to settle the principles of the dates before then.

The very pious and holy editor of the "Baptist Advocate," and the "Christian Advocate and Journal," and many other of the body order that we might believe in this way, get the spirit of high moral honesty and righteousness of Mr. Bennett. We say this because we have generally found that these gentlemen of the black cloth are more ready to listen to reports, misrepresentation, and falsehood, than the rest of the world. If that is the case in the last few volumes that so frequently disperse their great, yet their columns are always open for slander, falsehood, and error, or ir is their purpose.

The would be great Mr. O. Blecher of New York or elsewhere, has lately published a long article on the Mormons, and said respecting the Holy Temple, united with an unprecedented liberality in the accomplishment of this great work; which could be the wish. If the Mormons, in the state of the church, united with an unprecedented liberality and obedience treated equally with the men and young; and brethren and sisters, boys and girls, are to be seen, there is no need for the church, united with an unprecedented liberality and obedience treated equally with the men and young; and brethren and sisters, boys and girls, are to be seen, there is no need for the

We had in our possession the four mummies referred to. They were found in the tomb of the Philosopher, the Blackstone, and the Buffalo. We have in possession the four mummies referred to. They were found in the tomb of the Philosopher, the Blackstone, and the Buffalo.

We have in possession the four mummies referred to. They were found in the tomb of the Philosopher, the Blackstone, and the Buffalo.
EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES

These Mummies, with seven others, were taken from the Catacombs of Egypt, near where the ancient, and we may say, almost unparalleled city of Thebes once stood, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo; at a great expense, under the protection of the French Consul, by consent of Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt. It is to be noticed that several hundred Mummies, differently embalmed were found in the same catacomb, but only the eleven in a state to be removed. The seven have been sold to gentlemen for private museums and in consequence are kept from the eye of the public.—They have been exhibited in Philadelphia and Baltimore, to crowded audiences; in the latter place, although only engaged for two weeks, the exhibition was prolonged to five weeks, with attraction. Of all the relics of the ancient world that time has left, the Mummy is the most interesting. It is a well known fact, recorded in both sacred and profane history that men were embalmed, which science has attracted the learned for ages. All other antiquities are but the work of man, but Mummies present us with the men themselves—they are the personages, preserved in human form, for the gaze and attraction of people who are occupying down the stream of time centuries from those—they have certainly been conspicuous actors in those mighty scenes of which the history of Egypt is full. An hundred generations have passed away, and new empires have began since this flesh was animated—since these eyes were bright, and this tongue was eloquent, and the heart beat within this breast. These strangers illustrious from their antiquity, may have lived in the days of Jacob, Moses, or David, and of course some thousand years have elapsed since these bodies were animated with the breath of life! History records the fact, that the higher class concealed their knowledge from the lower, in figures and hieroglyphic characters—A few of those, upon papyrus, used by the Egyptians for writing, will be exhibited with the Mummies.

Having examined with considerable attention and deep interest, a number of Mummies from the catacombs, near Thebes, in Egypt, and now exhibited in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed; probably not less than three thousand years ago. The features of some of these Mummies are in perfect expression.—The papyrus, covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preservation, are very interesting. The undersigned, unsolicited by any person connected by interest with this exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto, for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city.

John Redman Coxe, M.D.  William P. C. Barton, M.D.
Richard Harlan, M.D.      E. F. Rivinus, M.D.
J. Pancoast, M.D.          Samuel G. Morgan, M.D.
I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. Horner, M.D.

We have in our possession the four mummies referred to. They together with the records, were purchased of a Mr. Chandler who exhibited them in different parts of the Union, and sold them to us in Kirtland, Ohio. The above is a copy of the original placards published by Mr. Chandler, whilst they were yet in his possession.

There are several reasons for identifying the two paragraphs under the "Egyptian Antiquities" as reprints from Chandler’s placards. The second paragraph has already been discussed. But it is the first paragraph that has not been known to have been from Chandler. First, it becomes clear by looking at the Times and Seasons that the editor printed his editorial comments in 6 point type, two points smaller than material that he reprinted. Second, it becomes clear after reading the blurb about Mr. Bennett’s reporting a “little too fast about the finding of the records” that this is the editor introducing another section of copy that he is about to reprint. Indeed, the editor says, “... it will be seen by the following that ‘Joe Smith’ knew what he was doing.” He then reprints, presumably, from two of Chandler’s placards. This is further confirmed by reading Elder Taylor’s comment at the end of evaluation by the doctors: “The above is a copy of the original placards, published by Mr. Chandler, whilst they were yet in his possession.” (Italics added.)

A careful re-reading of the first paragraph will convince one that this is indeed a placard prepared to advertise and draw an audience to view the mummies. Presumably, a second placard contained the evaluation of the medical doctors and their names, although it is possible that the explanation about the mummies which follows the dash at the end of “... and in consequence are kept from the eye of the public.—” may represent another placard.

At any event, the point is this: the entire article under the title of “Egyptian Antiquities” and printed in 8-point type is a direct reprint from placards that had been prepared and published by Michael Chandler himself. This
is enormously important. For years Latter-day Saints have assumed that there was no existing account by Chandler about where the mummies and papyri came from. We have assumed that Oliver Cowdery created the story appearing in his 1835 letter to William Frye from his memory or notes from discussion with Chandler. But I now suggest that we have proof that much of what Oliver Cowdery and others passed on concerning the mummies came from Chandler himself. Obviously a careful reading of the article "Egyptian Antiquities" and Oliver Cowdery's letter will show many differences and much new information contributed by Cowdery, information that he presumably did learn while in Chandler's presence.

But a reading of Chandler's placards, particularly the first paragraph of this May 2, 1842, Times and Seasons article, will prove that it is Chandler himself who tells us such things as: (1) the mummies were taken near Thebes; (2) they were found by Antonio Lebolo, under protection of Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt; (3) several hundred mummies were found, but 11 were removed, of which seven had been previously sold; (4) the mummies were exhibited in Philadelphia and Baltimore; (5) only some of the papyri found with the mummies were being exhibited to the average visitor. Obviously this is important evidence—important because Latter-day Saints have looked so long for outside accounts confirming that which Oliver Cowdery and Parley P. Pratt described in their writings. As has been made abundantly apparent in this account already, more outside reports are needed before the entire background story is clarified. But no one can accuse Oliver Cowdery of inventing the names of Lebolo and Mehemet Ali, or of sloppy reporting by writing that 11 mummies were taken from the catacombs, and that seven had been previously sold. It is Chandler himself who tells us that—and now we have our proof of it.

The publication of this information in 1842 instead of in 1835 is also interesting. It suggests that the editor was able to turn to either an existing handwritten copy of Chandler's original placards or to the actual placards them-
selves. One wonders where such copy or placards are today. Perhaps they were lost or destroyed in the years following the martyrdom of the Prophet and the many events surrounding the transferrals of the mummies after 1844. These events will be described later.

The Last of Chandler

Having spent so much time with Michael H. Chandler, one hesitates to let go of an old friend. A final note on him is in order. As will be remembered, Dr. Clark’s report of Sister Bullock’s story was that “as soon as Chandler had sold his mummies and papyrus . . . he went to California. Now whether he ever got there, or where he died, I don’t know.”

Students of the story have considered the possibilities that with such a sum of money, Chandler probably would have returned to London or Dublin and set himself up in business. If so, his death records should be in the British Isles. But the Bullock story suggests California, for some unknown reason. It will be remembered that in 1835, California was hardly the bonanza that it has been since the discovery of gold at Sutter’s Mill. In fact, in 1835, California was still unclaimed by the United States, and supposedly belonged to Mexico and the Spanish forces. Also, the area was basically unsettled. Reportedly, only 2,000 Americans were in California at the late date of 1846. One suspects Chandler did not go to California. There would have been little reason for him to do so.

At any rate, using the tip by Sister Bullock, Dennis S. McMurdie, a former student of BYU, has researched the Chandler families in California. His report follows:

I’ve done a great deal of work in tracing the names of Chandler in California, but all the Chandler lines that I have checked are not descendants of Michael Chandler. This also includes the Chandlers who own the Los Angeles Times. They have their genealogy traced back to a considerable period, and there is definitely no relationship between their line and Michael H. Chandler. If Chandler did come to California, which is doubtful, apparently he left no family, at least none that I have found that know about him.
Another possible lead for new Chandler information seemed to be that of the Egypt Exploration Society, the organization that sponsored Warren Royal Dawson’s book, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. It was reasoned that perhaps they had information on Chandler. I requested help, and received the following information July 17, 1968:

In reply to your letter . . . I have made inquiries about the Michael H. Chandler in whom you are interested but I am afraid I have not been able to obtain any further information.

I am sorry we cannot be of more assistance to you.

Lean Carroll
Assistant Secretary

This is all that is known of Chandler to date. Certainly, his role in the transfer of the mummies and papyri to the Prophet Joseph Smith is one of wonder and mystery, both as to where he obtained the mummies and his association with them. Seemingly, he was the recipient of consideral Providential guidance from the time he first is reported to have received the mummies, on through his exhibitions where he constantly heard reference to Joseph Smith, to the time when apparently under inspiration he may have accepted a buggy ride by Benjamin Bullock to Kirtland to meet Joseph Smith. At this point, only the briefest of outlines are known about his story. But strange and peculiar as it seems, it is one in which Providence seems to have had a strong hand.
In the days, months, and even years that follow before the Book of Abraham appeared in print in March of 1842, the entries in the History of the Church, and some of the other available accounts, tell a fascinating story, a story of constant, apparent never-ending concern with the message that was there—or the message behind the message. One cannot review these accounts without becoming aware of the Prophet’s devoted interest to the subject. The evidence, seemingly, is more important when presented chronologically, and this will be the pattern used. Also, the accounts contribute much additional information of interest, of which only a small part will receive background comment. I do not pretend not to have missed a single reference in the History of the Church and other sources on the topic, but I do suppose that all the important references are herein noted.

By the Third Day!

The entry recorded in the History of the Church after July 5, but before the next entry on July 9, is very important:

Soon after this, some of the Saints at Kirtland purchased the mummies and papyrus, a description of which will appear hereafter, and with W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery as scribes, I commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc.,—a more full account of which will appear in its place, as I proceed to examine or unfold
them. Truly we can say, the Lord is beginning to reveal the abundance of peace and truth.

The amazing aspect of this entry is that this is only about six to ten days since Chandler entered Kirtland. If we assume that the Prophet did not see the papyri until the date of the certificate made by Chandler, the sixth of July, there are only three days between the sixth and the ninth, at which date the Prophet had already entered his discovery of the nature of some aspects of some of the papyri. Even if he had seen the papyri on July 3, this provides only six days. The Prophet certainly didn’t learn Egyptian in three days, or six! One suspects that the answer lies elsewhere—somewhere to be found in the Prophet’s “translating room,” in an instrument provided for the use of Seers. This subject will receive considerable comment in the pages ahead.

As readers have noted, there is some confusion concerning the actual date of arrival of Chandler: Oliver Cowdery reports “the last of June, or the first of July,” and the History of the Church reports “on the 3rd of July.” Additional evidence suggests that Oliver Cowdery’s report may be the more accurate. The evidence is from a July 19 and 20, 1835, letter by Elder William W. Phelps to his wife, Sally. Brother Phelps had left his wife and six children in his home near Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, and had taken another son, William, to Kirtland to help build the temple. During his absence, Brother Phelps wrote frequently to his family. Some of the letters have been preserved.

Beloved Sally,

Last evening we received your first letter after an absence of twelve weeks and twelve hours. Our tears of joy were the witness of its welcome reception. . . .

The last of June four Egyptian mummies were brought here; there were two papyrus rolls besides some other ancient Egyptian writings with them. As no one could translate these writings, they were presented to President Smith. He soon knew what they were and said they, the “rolls of papyrus,” contained the sacred record kept of Joseph in Pharoah’s Court in Egypt, and the teachings of Father Abraham. God has so ordered it that these mummies and writings

172 The Saga of the Book of Abraham
have been brought in the Church, and the sacred writing I had just locked up in Brother Joseph’s house when your letter came, so I had two consolations of good things in one day. These records of old times, when we translate and print them in a book, will make a good witness for the Book of Mormon. There is nothing secret or hidden that shall not be revealed, and they come to the Saints. . . . (See Improvement Era, August 1942, p. 529.)

In addition to supporting Oliver Cowdery’s report of the apparent time of arrival, the letter contains evidence that Latter-day Saints of the period seemingly understood some of the papyri to have been connected with Joseph, the great-grandson of Abraham. The letter is also evidence of the Saints’ attitudes concerning the divine motivations that had directed the papyri to Kirtland. The letter confirms the entry in the History of the Church that Brother Phelps was a scribe for the Prophet during this period, and that, although the date is not mentioned specifically in the History of the Church, apparently the Prophet spent some time with the papyri on July 19, the date Sally’s letter arrived. As would be expected, the papyri were treated with respect and a sense of value: “. . . the sacred writing I had just locked up in Brother Joseph’s house when your letter came. . . .”

The question of the date of arrival, however, whether it was the last of June or July 3, perhaps can best be resolved in this manner: Chandler may well have come to town the last of June, but apparently it was not until July 3 that the Prophet became aware of his presence in town. Obviously, something happened on the third to justify the mention of this date. It may well be that the Prophet briefly saw Chandler on July 3 and was able to visit with him and view the papyri on July 6, the date of the certificate, which is said to have been made out “previous to the purchase of the antiquities.”

We now return to the History of the Church:

[July 1835:] The remainder of this month, I was continually engaged in translating an alphabet to the Book of Abraham, and arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language as practiced by the ancients.
The phrases “alphabet to the Book of Abraham, and arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language” have long been confusing, particularly because of a manuscript entitled *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar* that has been in the Church Historian’s Office since the Saints came west. This, however, will be treated later.

Another phrase that has given rise to much discussion over the years has been the phrase “practiced by the ancients.” One wonders who the ancients were, if they really were the Egyptians. Others have suggested that the answer lies in the explanation for figure 3 of Facsimile No. 2, in the Book of Abraham, wherein are given symbols representing key words given to Adam, Seth, Noah, Melchizedek, and Abraham. Some students, therefore, have said that they were the great antediluvian patriarchs who lived before Abraham. Until all the facts are known, all shades of opinion probably have equal value.

An often-used account of the rise of the Church that also mentions the acquisition of the mummies and the Prophet’s translation will be appreciated by some. It is by John Corrill, a member of the legislature of Missouri at the time of the book’s publication in 1839. The book is *A Brief History of the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints (Commonly Called Mormons), Including an Account of Their Doctrine and Discipline with the Reasons of the Author for Leaving the Church*:

I will now state some things which have taken place in the Church, but not mentioned before. Shortly after the Church was first established, Smith translated the Bible, the Old and New Testaments, which differs a little in some places from the old translations. This has not been published, though they contemplated doing it. In the summer of 1835, they purchased three or four Egyptian Mummies, with an ancient Egyptian record, written on papyrus, a part of which Smith professed to translate, making it out to be the writing of Abraham.

Of interest also is the account by Benjamin F. Johnson in his *My Life’s Review*, published in 1947, many years after his death. Benjamin F. Johnson’s many journals are well-respected by some researchers. He was born in 1818 and
died in 1905, a Church patriarch at his death. In 1835 he was 17 years old and lived in Kirtland:

In the course of that year, the Egyptian mummies were bought from Mr. Chandler, by whom they were received from Egypt. Great was our wonder in looking upon the bodies of those who, 4,000 years ago, were living princes and queens. And when the writings of Abraham upon papyrus, which accompanied them were taken from its ancient casket, it seemed marvelous indeed. And all rejoiced when the Prophet told us these writings would be translated, which are now, in part, in the Pearl of Great Price. (Page 24.)

His report, although written some years after his 1835 experience (known because of his mention of the Pearl of Great Price), would still reflect the general understanding in the minds of contemporary Latter-day Saints during and after 1835.

At this point, another Cleveland newspaper report enters the scene. The article is important on two counts: (1) it mentions Chandler as the exhibitor in Cleveland, and (2) it tells us something about what the Latter-day Saints were doing with the mummies now in their possession. The newspaper article was printed July 31, 1835, in the Cleveland Whig and reprinted in the New York Sunday Morning News on August 16, some two weeks later. The New York reprint reads:

CLEVELAND, July 31.—Another Humbug.—We are credibly informed that the Mormons have purchased of Mr. Chandler, three of the mummies which he recently exhibited in this village; and that the prophet Joe has ascertained, by examining the papyrus through his spectacles, that they are the bodies Joseph, (the son of Abraham,) and king Abimelech and his daughter. With this shallow and contemptible story, Williams has commenced travelling about the country, and will, no doubt, gull multitudes into a belief of its truth. Surely one half of the world are fools.—Whig.

Several comments are very much in order. Obviously, the proof is available to show that Chandler was exhibiting mummies in Cleveland. One presumes, therefore, that the Painesville Telegraph description of four mummies is indeed the very description of the Prophet’s four mummies. Small matters enter again, however. The Whig reports Chandler exhibiting three mummies, whereas the Telegraph
has a description of four. Also, the Whig passes a rumor that the mummies were of Joseph, king Abimelech, and his daughter. There will be more on this later when we review the Church’s firm denunciation of these claims of identity. This notion of who the mummies were seems to have been a curiously developed rumor, basing itself in part on the Prophet’s apparent announcement that some of the scrolls had to do with Abraham and Joseph, and another statement, perhaps more opinion, that one of the bodies was that of a pharaoh. Rumor and gossip then wafted these utterances into something else again. Readers will be able to observe in the coming pages the widespread nature of this particular rumor, and observe how firmly gossip implants itself where truth can hardly find a toehold. Also of interest is the report that the rumor called for male mummies, when the Telegraph reported the presence of three female mummies and one male. Presumably the answer lies in sloppy reporting—again.

Another highly important note concerns the mention of “spectacles” as the source of the Prophet’s knowledge. Latter-day Saints will readily recognize this as a reference to either the Urim and Thummim or seer stone. As will be observed also in coming pages, this reference cannot be over-emphasized, particularly as scholars and others today attempt to challenge the Prophet’s ability to get the Book of Abraham out of the papyrus. Readers will not want to forget this early mention of the use of “spectacles.” In point of fact, it is probably the key to a major portion of the problem now under study by Latter-day Saint and non-Latter-day Saint scholars.

Finally, the report that a Williams “has commenced travelling about the country” with the mummies cannot help but sound peculiar. To most Latter-day Saints, this may come as a surprise, but apparently Ezra Williams, the son of Frederick G. Williams, counselor in the First Presidency with the Prophet Joseph, was allowed the privilege of carting the mummies throughout the countryside for exhibition purposes. Presumably, one of the reasons the Prophet might have allowed such exhibitions was for
the enlightenment and satisfaction of Latter-day Saints in outlying areas. In these exhibitions, or journeys yet to come, perhaps the mummies continued to face mutilation, as will be discussed later. Hopefully, no papyrus was lost, torn, or further crumbled as a result of these exhibitions, but this information will never be known.

However, this report that the family of Frederick G. Williams held the mummies in their possession is further strengthened by a review of Williams' life in *After One Hundred Years*. The book is written by Nancy Clement Williams, who claimed to be the "only survivor of the second generation of the Williams family," and who said she had been given the "records the family had—mostly on scraps of paper, some biographies and old papers dimmed with age." Her account is as follows:

"On the third of July, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland, exhibiting several Egyptian mummies in whose coffins were found two rolls of Papyrus, rolled in linen and saturated with bitumen. These were placed in the care of Dr. Williams and were taken by his son Ezra to exhibit in the surrounding communities. A fee was charged and Mr. Chandler, who had been told that the Prophet could translate the characters on the Papyrus, took them to him. (*After One Hundred Years, Zion's Printing & Publishing Co., Independence, Mo., p. 84.*)

The sentence following the description of Ezra's exhibitions suggests that Ezra charged a fee. However, this sentence seems out of place, because it enjoins Chandler's experience. It is not known at this time whether the "fee" represents Ezra's exhibitions or not. If so, perhaps newspapers in surrounding communities could be searched for Ezra's advertisements or data on his exhibitions. It is an interesting project for some interested student.

Another mention of the Williams family and the mummies is found in *Utah Pioneer Biographies*, Vol. 1, p. 110: "In July 1835, Michael H. Chandler came to Kirtland exhibiting two Egyptian mummies in whose coffins were found two rolls of papyrus folled in linen and saturated with bitumen. These were placed in care
of Dr. Williams and were taken by his son Ezra and exhibited to the Saints in the surrounding communities."

There were four mummies, of course, and not two. But the mention of the mummies and their coffins is one of the rare references to both coffins and mummies. Since some have thought that the mummies and their coffins could have been separated, this is an important report. But could it also mean that only two of the mummies were seen by the reporter and/or had coffins?

At about this time the Daily National Intelligencer of
Washington, D. C., reprinted in its August 21, 1835, paper the following article, which appeared in the Pittsburg Chronicle on August 13. It contains more evidence on the progress of our rumor:

Antiquarian Discovery.—Three mummies, purchased by the Mormons, upon being examined by Joe Smith, the prophet, have been discovered to be no less than the bodies of Joseph, the son of Jacob, and king Abimelech and his daughter. With these wonderful curiosities, those vagrants intend travelling about the country to astonish the wondering multitude by a sight of those well determined personages. Chronicle.

No comment is needed.

Further historical insight into the attitudes of others toward the Mormons is gleaned by reading the following account, which appeared in the New York Evening Star, probably in August 1835, and reprinted in the Painesville Telegraph of September 4, 1835:

A Windfall for the Mormons.—. . . However, Joe's fortune is made, whether he thrives at the seat of government or not; for the goddess of good luck lately took a huge spraddle out of her path as she was strolling through Ohio, expressly for the purpose of doing something handsome for Joe. She is an antan slut we know, but it must be confessed that she does a good turn now and then for her friends, and the Mormons have reason to speak well of her as long as they live; for she lately threw two or three mummies in their way; and having purchased them, Joe forthwith discovered that they were no less personages than Joseph, the son of Jacob, and King Abimelech and his daughter! With these well authenticated antiques the Mormon brethren intend to travel through the country and exhibit bodily evidence of the biblical authenticity of their faith. Mormonism fortified in this way by mummyism will be quite irresistible, and for ought we know not only secure the election of the Baltimore candidates but establish the Mormon religion in the United States! At all events the mummy speculation is what we call it at the head of this article, a windfall for the Mormons, may be made "available" to the Van Buren men in general.—N. Y. Eve. Star.

No one can say that the times were not interesting—if at least not prejudicial, full of rancor and ridiculous logic. The fact that the mummies apparently became part of the national political battles should at least let Latter-day
Saints know that they were not being overlooked! We return now to accounts closer to the Saints.

Interesting as the mummies and papyri were, the Saints had other Church-related topics that demanded their immediate attention: the building of the Kirtland Temple. Hence, Brother W. W. Phelps in a letter to his wife Sally on September 11 writes: “Nothing has been doing in translation of the Egyptian record for a long time, and probably will not for some time to come. . . .” (Phelps letters, September 11, 1835, Genealogical Library, Salt Lake City.)

It wasn’t until nearly three weeks later that the Prophet records an entry dealing with this subject in his journal:

[October 1, 1835—]This afternoon I labored on the Egyptian alphabet, in company with Brothers Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps, and during the research, the principles of astronomy as understood by Father Abraham and the ancients unfolded to our understanding, the particulars of which will appear hereafter.

Concerning W. W. Phelps and his relationship with the Prophet, it is interesting to note that “Elder Phelps said in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, in 1862, that while Joseph was translating the Book of Abraham, in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1835, from the papyrus found with the Egyptian mummies, the Prophet became impressed with the idea that polygamy would yet become an institution of the Mormon Church.” (Thomas Stenhouse, The Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 182.)

Seven days after the previous entry, another entry mentioned the papyri:

Under date of October 7, 1835—“This afternoon I re-commenced translating the ancient records.”

As will be remembered by students of Church history, although the Church was headquartered in Kirtland, a sizeable body of Saints had gone west to Missouri to build up the New Jerusalem in Jackson County. By now they had been driven out of Jackson County, but not out of Missouri. A good body of Saints, numbering into the thousands, had moved northeast of Jackson County.
called Kirtland undoubtedly carried the news of the Egyptian mummies in Kirtland, Ohio, 710 miles to the east.

About 240 miles southeast of the Missouri Saints was St. Louis, Missouri, where a St. Louis newspaper, the Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register, got wind of the news and rumor about the mummies. Strong anti-Mormon sentiment had already been created in the state because of the skirmishes four years earlier. On October 12, 1835, the paper carried an article titled “The Mormons”: “These ‘latter-day saints’ it is said, have lately purchased three Egyptian mummies, which they intend exhibiting as the bodies of Joseph (the son of Abraham) and King Abimelech and his daughter.”

Within a few months the Church would respond to this growing list of newspapers that were tossing around the popular rumor concerning the identity of the mummies.

[October 19, 1835, Monday—] At home. Exhibited the records of antiquity to a number who called to see them.
[October 24, 1835, Saturday—] Mr. Goodrich and wife called to see the ancient (Egyptian) records, and also Dr. Frederick G. Williams to see the mummies. Brother Hawkes and Carpenter, from Michigan, visited us and tarried over night.

Apparently Brother Williams had returned the mummies to Joseph Smith.

[October 29, 1835, Thursday—] We examined the mummies, returned home, and my scribe commenced writing in my journal a history of my life.

However, it is another part of the entry under October 29 that has considerable significance: “Brother Warren Parrish commenced writing for me, at fifteen dollars per month. I paid him sixteen dollars in advance out of the committee’s store.”

Some two weeks later, November 14, 1835, on Saturday, a long overlooked revelation to the Prophet Joseph Smith is recorded. It is for the benefit of Warren Parrish and is titled “Revelation to Warren Parrish.”
Verily thus saith the Lord unto my servant Joseph, concerning my servant Warren Parrish. Behold his sins are forgiven him, because of his desires to do the works of righteousness. Therefore, inasmuch as he will continue to hearken unto my voice, he shall be blessed with wisdom, and with a sound mind, even above his fellows. Behold, it shall come to pass in his day, that he shall see great things show forth themselves unto my people; he shall see much of my ancient records, and shall know of hidden things, and shall be endowed with a knowledge of hidden languages; and if he desire and shall seek it at my hands, he shall be privileged with writing much of my word, as a scribe unto me for the benefit of my people; therefore this shall be his calling until I shall order it otherwise in my wisdom, and it shall be said of him in time to come, Behold Warren, the Lord’s scribe for the Lord’s Seer, whom he hath appointed in Israel. Therefore, if he will keep my commandments, he shall be lifted up at the last day. Even so. Amen.

This revelation may be extremely important. In fact, until evidence presents itself to the contrary, it would seem that another name must be added to that list of notable personalities whom the Lord and the Prophet Joseph Smith honored in serving as scribes in the bringing forth of new latter-day scripture. In addition to Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, Emma Smith, David Whitmer, and perhaps another person or two who fulfilled that holy calling in helping to bring forth the Book of Mormon, it would seem that there must be added the name of Warren Parrish, the apparent appointed scribe for the Book of Abraham. The words are worth pondering over again: “... he shall see much of ancient records, and shall know of hidden things, and shall be endowed with a knowledge of hidden languages; and if he desire and shall seek it at my hands, he shall be privileged with writing much of my word. ...” The Lord also said, “... and it shall be said of him in time to come, Behold Warren, the Lord’s scribe for the Lord’s Seer. ...”

Brother Parrish had already begun his service as a personal scribe to the Prophet; consequently, one would tend to think that the revelation did not refer to that duty, important though it was. And although the Prophet apparently knew within three days after acquiring the papyri—indeed, the very day, according to Orson Pratt—the nature
of some of the papyri, he apparently had not recorded in English the text or information he knew was there. His July entry suggests that he spent considerable time working with an “alphabet and grammar.”

By October 1, he was still working on the grammar, in company with Brothers Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps. But it is the entries in the *History of the Church* after this November 14 revelation to Warren Parrish that are highly interesting:

[November 17, 1835, Tuesday]—Exhibited the alphabet of the ancient records, to Mr. Holmes, and some others. Went with him to Frederick G. Williams’ to see the mummies.

Interestingly, the mummies seem to have been shuttled back to Brother Williams again. For more traveling and exhibiting? It is important to observe that the Prophet early permitted the mummies and papyri to be separated from one another. There is no reason to think that as time progressed parts of the papyri were not also separated, particularly if he learned that some parts were not religiously significant.

[November 19, 1835, Thursday.—] Went, in company with Dr. Williams and my scribe, to see how the workmen prospered in finishing the House of the Lord. I returned home and spent the day in translating the Egyptian records.

[November 20, 1835, Friday.—] We spent the day in translating, and made rapid progress.

[November 24, 1835, Tuesday.—] In the afternoon we translated some of the Egyptian records.

[November 26, 1835, Thursday.—] Spent the day in translating Egyptian characters from the papyrus, though severely afflicted with a cold.

And with these few entries, the mention of “translating” in terms of the papyri ceases until 1842. One wonders, therefore, after reading the Lord’s promise to Warren Parrish that he should “see much of my ancient records, and shall know of hidden things . . . [and] shall be privileged with writing much of my word, as a scribe unto me for the benefit of my people . . . and it shall be said of him in time to come, Behold Warren, the Lord’s scribe for the Lord’s
seer. . . .” One wonders if this calling was not to serve as scribe for the Book of Abraham. A quick glance at the Doctrine and Covenants reveals very few revelations recorded in that book for which Warren Parrish could have served as scribe. Hence, it does not seem that recording those revelations was his special calling.

It may well be that the bulk of the Book of Abraham was essentially translated between the dates of November 14, 1835, the date of the revelation to Warren Parrish, and November 26, 1835, a period of 12 days—less than two weeks—in fact, only four days following the revelation are mentioned in the journal of the Prophet in which the Prophet apparently translated in this early period.

It is true that headway had been made before Warren Parrish became Joseph's scribe, and some very unusual evidence will be presented later to demonstrate this. It is also true that Oliver Cowdery, W. W. Phelps, and Frederick G. Williams were serving as scribes during this period, and again, some unusual evidence will be presented later on this matter.

But although these scribes apparently were associated with the Prophet in his disclosure of many elements of the papyri and even in recording the Prophet's instructions concerning an "alphabet and grammar," it is quite impressive to note that it is not until three days after the revelation is given concerning Warren Parrish that an entry is found that discloses the Prophet's exhibiting the alphabet of the ancient records. Perhaps the other scribes had been with him while a tool was prepared, if indeed it was a tool. But once prepared, or readied in mind, it appears that another person was appointed or blessed with the privilege to associate with the Prophet in the coming forth of new scripture: Warren Parrish, that divinely blessed, yet errant soul! He was a scribe for only parts of 1835 and 1836, and his career in the Church was a short-lived one. Associated with the Prophet on the Zion’s Camp march of 1834-35, he was a prominent figure in and around Kirtland for several years. He apostatized in 1837 when he joined with others in an attempted overthrow of the Prophet. By December
1837, his Mormon career was over—except for that inspired document in which it appears he may have had an appointed hand. As a result of this judgment, Latter-day Saint researchers once more have a golden field for study. Perhaps diaries, papers, and information of importance still exist among his descendants. It would be most thrilling if such diaries and papers were to be found, perhaps giving additional insight into his seemingly appointed role of November 1835. Some success on this point has already manifested itself.

Dr. Richard Anderson, associate professor of history and religion at the Brigham Young University, has unearthed a long letter of Warren Parrish in which, after his excommunication from the Church, he attempted to expose the Prophet Joseph Smith.

To the Editor of the Painesville Republican:

... I have been Smith’s private Secretary, called to fill this high and responsible station by revelation which I wrote myself as it dropped from the lips of the Prophet, and although contrary to my natural inclinations, I submitted to it, fearing to disobey or treat lightly the commands of the Almighty. I have kept his journal, and like Aaron the ancient scribe, have had the honor of writing the History of one of the Prophets...

I have set [sic] by his side and penned down the translation of the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks [sic] as he claimed to receive it by direct inspiration from Heaven.

This is to certify that we are personally acquainted with said Parish [sic], Smith and Rigdon, and that the above is a statement of facts according to our best recollections.

Luke Johnson, John Boynton, two of the twelve apostles.
Sylvester Smith, Leonard Rich, former Seventies.
(Feb. 5, 1838, Painesville, Ohio Republican.)

We return to the Prophet’s journal:

[November 30, 1835, Monday—] Henry Capron, an old acquaintance from Manchester, New York, called on me. I showed him the Egyptian records.

[December 7, 1835, Monday—] This evening a number of brethren called to see the records, which I exhibited and explained.

[December 10, 1835, Thursday—] This morning a number of brethren called to see the records (Egyptian), which I exhibited to their satisfaction.
[December 12, 1835, Saturday—] Spent the forenoon in reading. About twelve o'clock a number of young persons called to see the Egyptian records. My scribe Warren Parrish exhibited them. One of the young ladies who had been examining them, was asked if they had the appearance of antiquity. She observed, with an air of contempt, that they had not. On hearing this, I was surprised at the ignorance she displayed, and I observed to her, that she was an anomaly in creation, for all the wise and learned that had examined them, without hesitation pronounced them ancient.

[December 14, 1835, Monday—] A number of brethren from New York called to visit me and see the Egyptian records.

[December 16, 1835, Wednesday—] Elders William E. M'Lellin, Brigham Young, and Jared Carter, called and paid me a visit with which I was much gratified. I exhibited and explained the Egyptian records to them, and explained many things concerning the dealings of God with the ancients, and the formation of the planetary system.

[December 20, 1835, Sunday—] Brothers Palmer and Taylor called to see me. I showed them the sacred records, to their joy and satisfaction.

[December 22, 1835, Tuesday—] At home. Continued my studies. O may God give me learning, even language; and endue me with qualifications to magnify his name while I live.

The Prophet is known to have been studying Hebrew during this period, and this may have been a reference to Hebrew, Egyptian, or to the next excerpt from *History of the Church*:

[December 23, 1835, Wednesday—] In the forenoon, at home, studying the Greek language. And also waited upon the brethren who came in, and exhibited to them the papyrus.

[December 31, 1835, Thursday—] In the afternoon I attended at the chapel to give directions concerning the upper rooms, and more especially the west room, which I intended occupying for a translating room, which will be prepared this week.

The Prophet’s “translating” may have referred to many things: Hebrew books in his possession, Greek books, or papyri.

By this time, December 1835, the newspaper reports about the identity of the mummies (Joseph, Abimelech, and his daughter) had gone unstopped. The false information probably caused much damage, but as will be apparent, when it became obvious that the rumor was not going to die unhelped, the Church decided to reject any associa-
tion with the untruth. An article was prepared for the Kirtland Church newspaper, likely motivated by the Prophet, which was to deal with the story of how the Church acquired the mummies, what the Saints knew of them, and so forth. The article is the first written notice by the Church concerning the mummies and papyri, and came nearly six months to the day after Chandler had entered Kirtland. The first part of the article has been presumed by some to have been written by the Prophet Joseph Smith, but more than likely it was written by the editor of the paper, The Latter-day Saints' Messenger & Advocate, who was John Whitmer, Church historian, and one of the eight witnesses to the Book of Mormon. The Prophet really did not take a full hand in his newspaper affairs until directed by the Lord in February 1842, shortly before the printing of the Book of Abraham. The second part of the article contains the excerpt from a letter by Oliver Cowdery with which readers are already familiar, and which they would probably like to read in its entirety. An additional section of the letter refers to Oliver's opinions about certain aspects of the papyri. Readers should find it highly intriguing. Oliver Cowdery's letter was apparently written December 22, but it did not appear in the newspaper until December 31, nine days later:

EGYPTIAN MUMMIES
Ancient Records

The public mind has been excited, of late, by reports which have circulated concerning certain Egyptian Mummies, and a quantity of ancient records, which were purchased by certain gentlemen in this place, last summer.

It has been said, that the purchasers of these antiquities pretend they have the body of Abraham, Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, Joseph, who was sold into Egypt, etc. etc. for the purpose of attracting the attention of the multitude, and gulling the unwary—which is utterly false.

For the purpose of correcting these, and other erroneous statements, concerning both the mummies and also the records, we give an extract of a letter written by a friend in this place, who possesses correct knowledge concerning this matter, to a gentleman who resides at a distance.
Who these ancient inhabitants of Egypt are, we do not pretend to say,—neither does it matter to us. We have no idea or expectation, that either of them are Abraham, Abimelech, or Joseph. Abraham was buried on his own possession, “in the cave of Machpelah, in the field of Ephron, the son of Zohar the Hittite, which is before Mamre,” which he purchased of the sons of Heth; Abimelech lived in the same country, and for aught we know, died there, and the children of Israel carried Joseph’s bones from Egypt when they went out under Moses. Consequently, could not have been found in Egypt in the 19th century. But the records are the most important, concerning which, we refer our readers to the extract for information.

“KIRTLAND, GEauga Co. O.,

December 22, 1835.”

Yours of the 8th Oct. furnishes matter of importance. You say truly when you say, “Verily, this is a great and marvelous work, indeed.” Others may be endowed with a superior ability to myself, and thereby be the better qualified to appreciate the great condescension of our God in lightining up this earth once more with such intelligence from his presence, by the ministering of his holy angels and by his own voice. Be this as it may, with the ability I have I endeavor to be thankful.

That the Lord should again manifest something for the benefit of man in the last days, is perfectly consistent, and so exactly accords with that written by the holy prophets and apostles, that it is apparent to me, that none can reject the fulness of the gospel, except such as are led by an influence other than heavenly, or wilful blindness. —But so it is, and yet the work spreads and prospers. And considering the weak instruments engaged to spread it, it cannot but be acknowledged that the hand of our God is put forth, to roll on his work, his strange work, in the eyes of the nations. My sincere prayer is, that I may be fully qualified, by his grace, to do the part assigned me, that I may stand when he appeareth.

Upon the subject of the Egyptian records, or rather the writings of Abraham and Joseph, I may say a few words. This record is beautifully written on papyrus with black, and a small part, red ink or paint, in perfect preservation. The characters are such as you find upon the coffins of mummies, hieroglyphics, &c. with many characters or letters exactly like the present, (though probably not quite so square,) form of the Hebrew without points.

These records were obtained from one of the catacombs in Egypt, near the place where once stood the renowned city of Thebes, by the celebrated French traveller Antonio Lebolo; in the year 1831. He procured license from Mehemet Ali, then Viceroy of Egypt, under the protection of Chevalier Drovetti, the French Consul, in the year 1828; employed 433 men four months and two days, (if I understood
correctly, Egyptian or Turkish soldiers,) at from four to six cents per diem, each man; entered the catacomb June 7th, 1831, and obtained eleven Mummies. There were several hundred Mummies in the same catacomb; about one hundred embalmed after the first order, and deposited and placed in niches, and two or three hundred after the second and third order, and laid upon the floor or bottom of the grand cavity, the two last orders of embalmed were so decayed that they could not be removed, and only eleven of the first, found in the niches. On his way from Alexandria to Paris he put in at Trieste, and after ten days illness, expired. This was in the year 1832. Previous to his decease, he made a will of the whole to Mr. Michael H. Chandler, then in Philadelphia, Pa. his nephew, whom he supposed to have been in Ireland. Accordingly the whole were sent to Dublin, addressed according, and Mr. Chandler's friends ordered them sent to New York, where they were received at the custom house, in the winter or spring of 1833. In April of the same year Mr. Chandler paid the duties upon his Mummies, and took possession of the same. Up to this time they had not been taken out of the coffins nor the coffins opened. On opening the coffins he discovered that in connection with two of the bodies, were something rolled up with the same kind of linnen, saturated with the same bitumen, which, when examined, proved to be two rolls of papyrus, previously mentioned. I may add that two or three other small pieces of papyrus, with astronomical calculations, epitaphs, &c. were found with others of the Mummies.

When Mr. Chandler discovered that there was something with the Mummies, he supposed, or hoped it might be some diamonds or other valuable metal, and was no little chagrined when he saw his disappointment. He was immediately told, while yet in the Custom House, that there was no man in that city, who could translate his roll; but was referred by the same gentleman, (a stranger,) to Mr. Joseph Smith, jr. who, continued he, possessed some kind of power or gifts by which he had previously translated similar characters. Bro. Smith was then unknown to Mr. Chandler, neither did he know that such a book or work as the record of the Nephites had been brought before the public. From New York he took his collection to Philadelphia, where he exhibited them for a compensation. The following is a certificate put into my hands by Mr. Chandler, which he obtained while in Philadelphia and will show the opinion of the scientific of that city:

"Having examined with considerable attention and deep interest, a number of Mummies from the Catacombs, near Thebes, in Egypt, and now exhibiting in the Arcade, we beg leave to recommend them to the observation of the curious inquirer on subjects of a period so long elapsed; probably not less than three thousand years ago.—The features of some of these Mummies are in perfect expression. The papyrus, covered with black or red ink, or paint, in excellent preser-
vation, are very interesting. The undersigned, unsolicited by any person connected by interest with this exhibition, have voluntarily set their names hereunto, for the simple purpose of calling the attention of the public, to an interesting collection, not sufficiently known in this city."

JOHN REDMAN COXE, M.D.
RICHARD HARLAN, M.D.
J. PANCOAST, M.D.
WILLIAM P. C. BARTON, M.D.
E. F. RIVINUS, M.D.
SAMUEL G. MORGAN, M.D.

I concur in the above sentiments, concerning the collection of Mummies in the Philadelphia Arcade, and consider them highly deserving the attention of the curious.

W. E. HORNER, M. D.

While Mr. Chandler was in Philadelphia, he used every exertion to find some one who could give him the translation of his papyrus, but could not, satisfactorily, though from some few men of the first eminence, he obtained in a small degree, the translation of a few characters. Here he was referred to bro. Smith. From Philadelphia he visited Harrisburgh, and other places east of the mountains, and was frequently referred to bro. Smith for a translation of his Egyptian Relic.

It would be beyond my purpose to follow this gentleman in his different circuits to the time he visited this place the last of June, or first of July, at which time he presented bro. Smith with his papyrus. Till then neither myself nor brother Smith knew of such relics being in America. Mr. Chandler was told that his writings could be deciphered, and very politely gave me a privilege of copying some four or five different sentences or separate pieces, stating, at the same time, that unless he found some one who could give him a translation soon, he would carry them to London.

I am a little in advance of my narration; The morning Mr. Chandler first presented his papyrus to bro.—Smith, he was shown, by the latter, a number of characters like those upon the writings of Mr. C. which were previously copied from the plates, containing the history of the Nephites, or book of Mormon.

Being solicited by Mr. Chandler to give an opinion concerning his antiquities, or a translation of some of the characters, bro. S. gave him the interpretation of some few for his satisfaction. For your gratification I will here annex a certificate which I hold, from under the hand of Mr. Chandler, unsolicited, however, by any person in this place, which will show how far he believed bro. Smith able to unfold from these long obscured rolls the wonders contained therein:
"Kirtland, July 6th, 1835."

"This is to make known to all who may be desirous, concerning the knowledge of Mr. Joseph Smith, jr. in deciphering the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic characters, in my possession, which I have, in many eminent cities, shown to the most learned: And, from the information that I could ever learn, or meet with, I find that of Mr. Joseph Smith, jr. to correspond in the most minute matters."

(signed)

"MICHAEL H. CHANDLER."

"Travelling with, and proprietor of Egyptian Mummies."

The foregoing is verbatim as given by Mr. C. excepting the addition of punctuation, and speaks sufficiently plain without requiring comment from me. It was given previous to the purchase of the antiquities, by any person here.

The language in which this record is written is very comprehensive, and many of the hieroglyphics exceedingly striking. The evidence is apparent upon the face, that they were written by persons acquainted with the history of the creation, the fall of man, and more or less of the correct ideas of notions of the Deity. The representation of the god-head—three, yet in one, is curiously drawn to give simply, though impressively, the writers views of that exalted personage. The serpent, represented as walking, or formed in a manner to be able to walk, standing in front of, and near a female figure, is to me, one of the greatest representations I have ever seen upon paper, or a writing substance; and must go so far towards convincing the rational mind of the correctness and divine authority of the holy scriptures, and especially that part which has ever been assailed by the infidel community, as being a fiction, as to carry away, with one mighty sweep, the whole atheistical fabric, without leaving a vestage sufficient for a foundation stone. Enoch's Pillar, as mentioned by Josephus, is upon the same roll.—True, our present version of the bible does not mention this fact, though it speaks of the righteousness of Abel and the holiness of Enoch,—one slain because his offering was accepted of the Lord, and the other taken to the regions of everlasting day without being confined to the narrow limits of the tomb, or tasting death; but Josephus says that the descendants of Seth were virtuous, and possessed a great knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and, that, in consequence of the prophecy of Adam, that the world should be destroyed once by water and again by fire, Enoch wrote a history or an account of the same, and put into two pillars one of brick and the other of stone; and that the same were in being at his (Josephus') day. The inner end of the same roll, (Joseph's record,) presents a representation of the judgment: At one view you behold the Savior seated upon his throne, crowned, and holding the sceptres of righteousness and power, before whom also, are assembled the twelve
tribes of Israel, the nations, languages and tongues of the earth, the
kingdoms of the world over which satan is represented as reigning,
Michael the archangel, holding the key of the bottomless pit, and
at the same time the devil as being chained and shut up in the bot-
tomless pit. But upon this last scene, I am able only to give you a shadow,
to the real picture. I am certain it cannot be viewed without filling
the mind with awe; unless the mind is far estranged from God: and
I sincerely hope, that mine may never go so far estray, nor wander
from those rational principles of the doctrine of our Savior, so much,
as to become darkened in the least, and thereby fail to have that,
to us, the greatest of all days, and the most sublime of all transactions,
so impressively fixed upon the heart, that I become not like the
beast, not knowing whither I am going, nor what shall be my final
end!

I might continue my communication to a great length upon
the different figures and characters represented upon the two rolls,
but I have no doubt my subject has already become sufficiently prolix
for your patience: I will therefore soon cease for the present.—When
the translation of these valuable documents will be completed, I
am unable to say; neither can I give you a probable idea how large
volumes they will make; but judging from their size, and the compe-
hensiveness of the language, one might reasonably expect to see a
sufficient to develop much upon the mighty acts of the ancient men
of God, and of his dealing with the children of men when they saw
him face to face. Be there little or much, it must be an inestimable
acquisition to our present scriptures, fulfilling, in a small degree, the
word of the prophet: For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of
the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

P. S. You will have understood from the foregoing, that eleven
Mummies were taken from the catacomb, at the time of which I
have been speaking, and nothing definite having been said as to their
disposal, I may, with propriety add a few words. Seven of the said
eleven were purchased by gentlemen for private museums, previous
to Mr. Chandler’s visit to this place, with a small quantity of papyrus,
similar, (as he says,) to the astronomical representation, contained
with the present two rolls, of which I previously spoke, and the re-
main ing four by gentlemen resident here.

Though the Mummies themselves are a curiosity, and an
astonishment, well calculated to arouse the mind to a reflection of
past ages, when men strove, as at this day, to immortalize their names,
though in another manner, yet I do not consider them of much
value compared with those records which were deposited with them.

If Providence permits, I will, ere long, write you again upon the
propriety of looking for additions to our present scriptures, according
to their own literal reading.
Believe me to be, sir, sincerely and truly, your brother in the bonds of the new and everlasting covenant.

OLIVER COWDERY
To Wm. Frye, Esq. Gilead, Calhoun Co. Ill.

The city and county data are interesting. There is a Gilead, Calhoun County, Illinois. But the original letter of Oliver’s is addressed to Lebanon, Calhoun County, Illinois. There is a Lebanon, Illinois, but it is in St. Clair County, about 75 miles from Gilead. Perhaps between the December 22 writing of the letter—actually two letters were written, December 22 and 25—and the printing of the letters in the Messenger and Advocate about a week later, the correct address of Frye was learned and the town of Gilead was inserted for Lebanon. It’s a small but confusing point.

Concerning the problem of who purchased the mummies and papyri, it is elucidating to observe that the author of the introduction says the mummies were “purchased by certain gentlemen in this place. . . .” He is suggesting that the Prophet did not purchase them with his own money, as Emma suggested, and that indeed, more than one person was involved.

It is also interesting to view the author’s general lack of interest in the actual names of the mummies—“Who these ancient inhabitants of Egypt are, we do not pretend to say,—neither does it matter to us.” He made no claims, at least not at this point, concerning their identity, even though many people would have preferred such a thing.

From his wording, “We have no idea or expectation, that either of them are Abraham, Abimelech, or Joseph,” one would think that two of the four mummies were male. Referring to these two, the author then says, “We have no idea . . . that either of them are Abraham. . . .” This is most interesting, and important. It means that Chandler may have had more mummies than were described by the Painesville Telegraph (since that paper described three females and one male), or it means that someone had trouble determining the sex of their mummies: either
Farmer or the Saints. As already noted, the parties holding the mummies after Joseph Smith's martyrdom indicated that one mummy was that of a young boy. At this point, the problem cannot be resolved.

The long description of Oliver Cowdery's concerning drawings or scenes apparently on one of the scrolls is worthy of notice, particularly in view of some of the scenes on the papyri fragments recently rediscovered by Dr. Atiya. Cowdery alludes to (1) "a representation of the godhead—three, yet in one, (which) is curiously drawn to give simply, though impressively, the writer's views of that exalted personnage"; (2) "the serpent, represented as walking, or formed in a manner to be able to walk, standing in front of, and near a female figure. . ."; (3) "Enoch's Pillar"; (4) "a representation of the judgment . . . the Savior seated upon this throne, crowned, and holding the scepters of righteousness and power. . . ."

Curiously, scenes somewhat similar to these verbal descriptions seem to be on the papyri rediscovered by Dr. Atiya, papyri which have already been reported to be of the Book of the Dead. In fact, Dr. Hugh Nibley, Brigham Young University scholar and linguist appointed by the First Presidency to interpret and explain the papyri, titled Fragment IV the "Framed Trinity" papyrus. Fragment V, he titled "The Serpent with Legs," and on this same fragment appears a scene which Oliver apparently described verbally as Enoch's Pillar. Perhaps Oliver's representation of the judgment, with the Savior on the throne, is depicted by fragment's III A and III B, which Dr. Nibley titled "Court of Osiris," in which Osiris sits on the throne, and Thoth is recording. Osiris was the Egyptian god of the underworld and the judge of the dead. The source of Oliver Cowdery's notions are not known, whether they were his personal thought, the Prophet's personal thought, or the subject of inspired translation. Presumably, it could be from any of these sources.

The History of the Church continues with these entries:

[January 30, 1836, Saturday.] Attended school, as usual, and waited upon several visitors, and showed them the record of Abraham.
Mr. Seixas, our Hebrew teacher, examined it with deep interest, and pronounced it to be original beyond all doubt. He is a man of excellent understanding, and has a knowledge of many languages which were spoken by the ancients, and he is an honorable man, so far as I can judge yet.

[February 3, 1836, Wednesday.] Received many visitors, and showed them the Records of Abraham.

[February 11, 1836, Thursday.] Spent the afternoon in reading, and in exhibiting the Egyptian records to those who called to see me, and heaven’s blessings have attended me.

[February 16, 1836, Tuesday.] Many called to see the House of the Lord, and the Egyptian manuscript, and to visit me.

[February 17, 1836, Wednesday.] Elder Coe called to make some arrangements about the Egyptian mummies and records. He proposes to hire a room at John Johnson’s Inn, and exhibit them there from day to day, at certain hours, that some benefit may be derived from them. I complied with his request, and only observed that they must be managed with prudence and care, especially the manuscripts.

Once more it appears that the mummies were to be carted around for exhibition purposes: first, by Chandler, then by Ezra Williams, and now by Elder Coe. The personalities of the men involved are fascinating. Elder Joseph Coe, the man proposing the scheme, had been the partial subject of a revelation given to Joseph Smith in June 1831 (D&C 55). He had been placed in charge of purchasing land for the high council of the Church at Kirtland in March 1833, and after the council had fasted and prayed, in three hours Elder Coe returned to the council with agreements to sell from three farmers in the area. He attended the dedication of a yet future temple at Missouri, and was appointed to the Kirtland high council in 1834, but was rejected as a high councilor of the Church on September 3, 1837, by the Saints, and several months later was openly working with Warren Parrish for the “overthrow of the Church,” including publicly renouncing the Church.

The mummies and records were taken to John Johnson’s Inn at Hiram, some 25 miles from Kirtland. Brother Johnson and his wife were both the recipients of several miraculous healings in the early Church. His inn was the location of a November general conference of the

The Entries of History
Church in 1831. He provided lodging for the Prophet many times, and often gave lodging to Emma Smith when the Prophet was away in Missouri. Also, it is at his home that mobbers inflicted upon the Prophet some of his worst beatings.

But as time went on, Elder Johnson's spirit soured, and a year later, in December 1837, he too was rejected by the Saints as a high councilor of the Church.

Toward the latter part of 1836, Elder Wilford Woodruff returned to the Saints after two and a half years' service as a missionary. He had not seen the Kirtland Temple nor the mummies and papyri. The same day of his entry into Kirtland, he visited the temple and viewed the Egyptian artifacts. His account is recorded in his journal under the date November 25, 1836:

After walking into the pulpits, erected for the Priesthood and viewing the curtains all bespeaking grandure, solemnity of order that nothing short of wisdom from God could invent. We then visited the upper rooms and there viewed four Egyptian Mummies and also the Book of Abraham written by his own hand and not only the hieroglyphics but also many figures that this precious treasure contains are calculated to make a lasting impression upon the mind which is not to be erased. Many other important views I was privileged with in the upper story, the school rooms, belfry, etc., all indicating great architecture and wisdom.

Sometime during the following year, 1837, several incidents occurred that have bearing on the story. One event was the publication of a small 16-page pamphlet entitled A Few Interesting Facts Respecting the Rise, Progress, and Pretensions of the Mormons, authored by William S. West, a non-Mormon living in Braceville, Trumbull County, Ohio, of which Kirtland was then a part. It was published in Warren, Ohio, and was found in the Coe Collection at Yale University Library by Dr. James R. Clark:

The Mormons have four mummies and a quantity of records, written on papyrus, in Egyptian hieroglyphics, which were brought from the Catacombs near Thebes, in Egypt. They say the mummies were Egyptian, but records are those of Abraham and Joseph and contain, important information respecting the creation, the fall of man, the deluge, the patriarchs, the Book of Mormon, the lost tribes,
the gathering, the end of the world, and the judgment, etc. This is as far as I can recollect it. If there is an error I hope some of the Mormons will point it out and I will recall it.

These records were torn by being taken from the roll of embalming salve which contained them, and some parts entirely lost, but Smith is to translate the whole by divine inspiration and that which is lost, like Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, can be interpreted as well as that which is preserved.

... that the record written by Abraham and another by Joseph, containing the most important revelation that God ever gave to man, should be entirely lost to the tenacious Israelites and preserved by the unbelieving Egyptians, and by them deposited in the Catacombs with an Egyptian priest there to lay in oblivion for many ages and finally obtained by Antonio Lebolo and brought to Kirtland, Ohio, and bought by the Mormons, that Joseph Smith, the money-digger, might add them to his fictitious Bible.

It is more likely that the records are those of the Egyptians.

This report contains some very important elements. In his pamphlet West informed his readers that he had visited the Mormon capital at Kirtland, seen their magnificent temple, and examined their mummies and records which were now in the temple. As a result, as another source will verify, we know that by now the mummies and records had been returned from Johnson’s Inn at Hiram.

West’s report that the papyri had been torn and some parts even lost indicates that the papyri had been handled considerably. He suggested that in the process of unrolling the rolls from the embalming sap or bitumin, some parts were torn and lost.

However, the aftermath of such a condition is far more significant: “... but Smith is to translate the whole by divine inspiration and that which is lost, like Nebuchadnezzar’s dream, can be interpreted as well as that which is preserved.” It will be remembered that Nebuchadnezzar called in his soothsayers and commanded them to interpret his dream. Daniel entered the room and was able not only to tell the dream which the king had forgotten, but also to give the interpretation. This report of West’s agrees with other aspects which will be presented shortly, and may well provide the clue concerning the ultimate source of the Book of Abraham. Certainly, if the Prophet was able
to provide the missing information torn from the papyri by turning to another source, he need not use the papyri at all. More on this later. It is a point that cannot receive too much emphasis.

West’s final comment, “It is more likely that the records are those of the Egyptians,” certainly confirms the reports of Egyptologists who have examined most of the papyri recently rediscovered.

Another valuable 1837 report on the mummies is given by Mary Ann Winters, step-daughter of Parley P. Pratt. She later became the wife of Oscar Winters, but at the time under study was only about three or four years old:

One day mother took me to see the Egyptian mummies that were in the upper corridor of the temple [Kirtland]. I was very pleased to go, for there was much talk about them, and I thought it would be so nice to go and see them, but when I saw them they frightened me very much—they had such an unearthly look to me. They were dark in color, and hard as metal, and the cloth they were wrapped in was petrified like the bodies. Brother Joseph explained much about them that I could not understand, and said they were thousands of years old.” ("Autobiographical sketch of Mary Ann Sterns Winters,” The Relief Society Magazine, August 1916, Vol. III, No. 8, page 432.)

There are a number of aspects to note about this description: (1) the mummies were displayed in the upper corridor of the Kirtland Temple; (2) there was much talk about them; (3) they were very frightening to look at from a little girl’s point of view; (4) the cloth was also petrified, which may explain how part of the papyrus could be torn in the extracting process.

These two reports—West’s and Winters’—both place the mummies in the Kirtland Temple, and tend to support a long-understood and oft-mentioned reference in Church history to the “translating room” in the Kirtland Temple. Latter-day Saints understanding the importance of a temple as a house of the Lord, and a house of revelation, would reflect with more than a little interest in what might have transpired in such an office called the “translating room.” Perhaps in the room Joseph continued to
The Kirtland Temple housed the mummies upstairs for a period.

Top floor, west room at end of hall in Kirtland Temple was called "translating room." The Prophet may have produced part of the Book of Abraham in these quarters.
make progress on the Book of Abraham, or several other translations on which he was working during this period.

Toward the latter part of 1837, under the date of November 2, the following entry is recorded in the History of the Church:

The Church voted to sanction the appointment of Brother Phineas Richards and Reuben Hedlock, by the Presidency, to transact business for the Church in procuring means to translate and print the records taken from the Catacombs of Egypt, then in the Temple.

Seemingly, the Prophet was ready to publish the Book of Abraham. One wonders about the meaning of the reference to "procuring means to translate," but perhaps it referred generally to the whole process of production.

Four days after this vote, on December 6, 1837, a brother Luman Andros Shirtliff received a patriarchal blessing from Joseph Smith, Sr. After the blessing, Brother Shirtliff was taken through the Kirtland Temple. He recorded the following in his journal:

We had an interesting time. And after the meeting was over I made the Patriarch a present of four or five dollars with which he was well pleased. We then viewed the Temple from bottom to the top. Examined the Mummies five in number. Looked at the parchment or Papyrus as called in the Egyptian language. This Parchment appeared to be made of fine linen cloth starched or sized with some kind of gum then ironed very smooth and written on in characters, figures, hieroglyphics, and conveying the Egyptian language. These sheets were about as large as the face of this book when open. They were rolled up, put in a gum case and laid on the breast of one of the leading men of the Egyptians, when the Mummy or body was found this record was on his breast. These bodies seemed to be wound up each limb by itself with several thicknesses of very fine cloth dipped in gum or pitch like thick tar or rosin and wound on when warm. (Journal of Luman Andros Shirtliff, Vol. 1, pages 87-88; Church Historian's Office.)

Brother Shirtliff's account mentions five mummies, which is an error. However, it is easy to see how some persons might have thought there were more than four mummies: in addition to the four mummies, persons
might have looked at the beautifully shaped wooden mummy cases, often made from cedar of Lebanon and painted with a life-size body on the outside, and mistakenly assumed that another mummy was under cover. At least this is a possibility.

Shirtliff’s report that the papyri were gummed is also confirmed by other persons who viewed the papyri. Oliver Cowdery apparently described the same condition as “saturated with... bitumen.” Shirtliff’s description of how he presumed papyrus was made and how the mum-mies were clothed in linen is imaginative and interesting. However, it is his report that the papyri were in sheets that is most valuable. He says the sheets were about the size of his journal when opened, which I measured to be about 12 by 15 inches. If this were the case, it would mean that the rolls of papyrus had been cut into smaller pieces by this time, or at least that some of the papyri had apparently been cut by this time. Some of the recently discovered papyri are about 12 inches long, suggesting that Shirtliff’s quick description was not entirely inaccurate. There will be more on this matter as we journey through the other available accounts, but this report is important because it places the cutting of the papyri—or some of the papyri—in the Kirtland period in Church history. However, it may be that Chandler had cut up some of the papyri for his exhibition purposes. At any rate, whether Chandler or Joseph Smith did it, some of the papyri is reported to have been cut up for some unknown use—easier exhibition by Chandler, or for easier study by Joseph Smith—at least by this date of December 6, 1837. This will have more meaning after readers review Dr. T. Edgar Lyon’s report on the backings that have been pasted to the papyri, some of which contain drawings and notations that are from the Kirtland period, suggesting that the pasting might have been during this period. These notations are highly interesting to Latter-day Saints because some of them deal with a temple which may have been planned for Jackson County, Missouri. But more on this later.
Before leaving Kirtland, two other references to this period merit reporting. The first is from Lucy Mack Smith, the Prophet’s mother. Latter-day Saints familiar with their Church history will remember that the later months of the Kirtland epoch were trying and difficult. The Prophet’s mother says:

 Soon after the apostacy that took place in Kirtland our enemies began to trouble us. . . .

 Their first movement was to sue Joseph for debt, and, with this pretense, seize upon every piece of property belonging to any of the family. Joseph then had in his possession four Egyptian mummies, with some ancient records that accompanied them. These the mob swore they would take, and then burn every one of them. Accordingly, they obtained an execution upon them for an unjust debt of fifty dollars; but, by various stratagems, we succeeded in keeping them out of their hands. (History of Joseph Smith by His Mother Lucy Mack Smith, edited by Preston Nibley, p. 247.)

Evidence that a Constable Markell returned the papyri to Joseph Smith.
In this same vein, President Joseph Fielding Smith has written the following concerning these days. "Unjust and vexatious law suits had been planted against them by their enemies. Several times Joseph had been cited to appear before the courts on trivial charges, from which he was cleared, which action did not tend to lessen the ugly feelings of his enemies." (Essentials in Church History [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book], p. 205.)

Interestingly, some new evidence, discovered in late 1968 by Reverend Wesley P. Walters of Marissa, Illinois, confirms that an "execution" was made upon the papyri. The evidence is in the form of an old statement, part of which is missing. Hence, that which remains is not easily understood. However, the paper recently found, signed by a constable and the Prophet Joseph Smith, suggests that the Prophet may not have been completely successful "in keeping them out of their hands." The papers read:

I convey the two undivided thirds of records of and box Exclusive of the mummies. Kirtland January 4th, 1838
Joseph Smith Jr.

Attest—
John P. Markele (or Markell)
Nicholas Markele
I do hereby relinquish on the box and records which James Markell has Levied in my favor as the property of J. Smith Jr. all my claim on the same. Kirtland Jan. 4th 1838 Nicholas Markele
Attest:
John P. Markell

The facts surrounding this interesting little episode are missing, but perhaps this statement refers to the "execution upon them for an unjust debt of fifty dollars."

From this torn shred of paper we learn the constable apparently seized some of the Egyptian material as a levy against the Prophet's property. The constable and a Nicholas Markele (the men were probably brothers or relatives with the same surname) took possession of "two undivided thirds of records," but apparently did not take the mummies. If I interpret this correctly, I assume that there were two rolls or scrolls of papyrus that had not

The Entries of History 203
yet been cut up into smaller pieces. Hence, it is possible that the pasting of the backing on the papyri may not have occurred during the Kirtland period—because this is only eight days prior to Joseph Smith’s departure from Kirtland to Missouri. We will explore later the problem of when the backing was pasted to the papyri, however. It is enough to know that evidence has been found that suggests the Prophet did indeed face “vexatious” times in connection with his eagerly acquired Egyptian mummies and papyri.

Perhaps it was during this same period, during the use of these “stratagems,” that the following reference has bearing, a reference dealing with one William Huntington: “The mummies were hid in his house a long time.” (Found in a biographical sketch of William Huntington, under Wednesday, August 19, 1846—the date of Huntington’s death, in the manuscript of the History of Brigham Young.) Andrew Jenson, in his Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia, also says of Huntington: “His house was a hiding place for Father Smith, Hyrum, Samuel and Don Carlos, while they were trying to escape from the persecutions in Kirtland. The Egyptian mummies were also hid in his house for a long time, and many of the pursued and persecuted Saints found a retreat there and a hiding place from apostates’ persecution.”

For the next four years, references to the mummies and papyri are difficult to find. Little wonder. A financial reversal across the nation had left its imprint in Kirtland, and numerous other causes created a scene which from every human appearance looked as if the Church was rapidly approaching dissolution. Some of the Council of the Twelve lost their money in a Church bank—after refusing to follow the Prophet’s counsel—and apostatized, and encouraged others to do the same. Even such leaders as Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer, the three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon, had broken from the Church. Several members of the leading councils, including the Council of the Twelve, threatened the life of the Prophet, and formed a new church and
claimed ownership of the Kirtland Temple. About half the Church drifted away in the aftermath.

By the close of 1837, a general exodus was already underway to Far West, Missouri, the next headquarters of the Church, by those who wished to remain faithful to the Prophet. The five-year period for Kirtland, promised by the Lord, was more than up. The Saints headed westward, where they were to face an entire year of trouble, ill-will, and eventual expulsion from the state. The Prophet was soon forced to flee Kirtland January 12, 1838, and then was pursued by enemies for more than 200 miles. Conditions at Kirtland would never be the same again.

Strange as it may have seemed to some, during this greatest hour of need, the Lord directed missionaries to the British Isles, where many thousands soon joined the Church: so many that within 12 years there would be more members in England than in America.

It was during these times of disorder in Kirtland, exodus of many Saints to Missouri, and increased emphasis on missionary work that the names of Samuel and Edwin Woolley enter the picture. These two brothers, who did not join the Church until 1840, were instrumental in conveying the Prophet’s parents and the Egyptian mummies, and presumably the papyri, from Kirtland to the Woolley home where the Smiths stayed during the winter of 1837-38. Under the name of Samuel Amos Woolley in Andrew Jenson’s *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, page 781, is the following:

In a biographical sketch prepared for publication Bishop Woolley wrote: “My mother died in 1826 and my father passed away in 1832, leaving seven children, of whom I was the oldest. We first heard the gospel preached by Geo. A. Smith and Lorenzo D. Barnes in April, 1836. In the fall of 1837 my brother Edwin D. went to Kirtland, Ohio, and on returning he brought with him Joseph Smith, Sen., the Prophet’s father, who remained with us during the winter, to escape the persecutions of the mobs which were at that time harassing the Saints.”

This report becomes meaningful in the light of another report, a supposed excerpt from Samuel Woolley’s
diary, which I have not located in order to verify. The report is supposedly written in the spring of 1838 at Portage, Ohio. The location of Portage is confusing: the town of Portage is about 120 miles due west of Kirtland, some 60 miles from the Indiana border, but a present-day county of Portage is some 20 miles south of Kirtland. Thus, the location to which the Woolleys took the parents of the Prophet is confusing. At any rate, the following is an unverified excerpt from the diary:

In Dec. or Jan. thru the blessings of the Lord . . . I spent the rest of the winter in the store. Before he [Edwin] was baptized he went to Kirtland to see Joseph Smith the Prophet but as he had gone to Missouri he did not see him. On his return he found father Joseph Smith—the Prophet's father—at the town of Portage as the mobs had driven him and others from Kirtland. So he brought him down home with him and hired a wagon to bring the mummies and the record of the Book of Abraham. During his stay with us he [Father Smith] pronounced a blessing upon my head after the ancient order (as he was a patriarch) and part of it was fulfilled in a very short time. The mummies were Egyptian embalmed and preserved, brought from the Catacombs of Egypt. There were men and one a young woman with red hair. One of the men had his arms over his breast, and the records which were papyrus were held in them, etc.

In terms of location, the account says “down,” perhaps suggesting an area south of Kirtland. Woolley’s description of a female mummy with red hair is most interesting, particularly in light of the 1835 Painesville Telegraph article about the female mummy with “auburn” hair.

Sometime in the spring of 1838 the Prophet’s parents began their journey west to join the main body of the Church and their sons Hyrum and Joseph. Andrew Jenson in his Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia describes the journey as a “tedious journey in the spring and summer of 1838.” (Vol. 1, p. 182.) Presumably the mummies and papyri accompanied the parents of the Prophet westward to Far West, Missouri.

But the Smiths’ arrival in Missouri found them surrounded by unpleasant conditions. Throughout much of the late summer and early fall persecution raged, and at
times all three members of the First Presidency were imprisoned. On October 26, 1838, Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued his famous “exterminating order” against the Mormons. Jenson says in Vol. 1, p. 691: “Shortly after this, Bro. Smith [Joseph Smith, Sr.] removed his family to Quincy, Illinois to which place most of the Saints had previously fled, and in common with them suffered the hardships and privations which characterized the extermination from Missouri.”

Presumably, once more the mummies and papyri accompanied the parents of the Prophet. Some persons have suggested, however, that the papyri were not with the Prophet’s parents, but rather with his secretary, James Mulholland. The setting for such a notion is that before going to Liberty Jail in Missouri, the Prophet turned over all of his papers to James Mulholland, a secretary, who in turn gave the papers to his sister-in-law, Miss Ann Scott, for safekeeping when his own life was later endangered. Sister Scott supposedly placed the papers in cotton bags and hid them underneath her skirt, and fled from Missouri to Quincy, Illinois, where she turned the papers over to Emma, the Prophet’s wife, who was residing with a Judge Cleveland during the winter of 1838-39. Sister Cleveland later was first counselor to Emma in the first Relief Society, but the judge never joined the Church.

Some persons have suggested that the papyri would have been in those papers that were “skirted” out of Missouri, but this is quite unlikely. The important fragments of the papyri were apparently under glass and framed—this would have been cumbersome to pack under a skirt.

The historical account of the parents of the Prophet living at Quincy, Illinois is further confirmed by an interesting account published in a book titled Reminiscences of Quincy, Illinois; containing Historical events, anecdotes, matters concerning old settlers and old times, etc., by Henry Asbury. It was published in 1882, and apparently describes the activities of numerous Latter-day Saints who had grouped at
Quincy, awaiting a colonization decision by the Prophet.

The winter passed in quietness and the Mormons were on their good behavior. Old Daddy Smith and his aged wife, Joe Smith’s father and mother, rented the house or part of it, situated on the northeast corner of Sixth and Hampshire Streets, and set up a sort of museum of curiosities, consisting mainly of several mummies from Egypt. The old lady charged ten cents admittance and acted as exhibitor, explaining who and what each object really was. I am now unable to accurately give the substance of these explanations by the old lady, but in substance they amounted to an assertion that one or more of the mummies was one of the Pharaohs or kings of Egypt, and there belonged to him some hieroglyphics or writings upon papyrus, which she said in some way proved the truth of Mormonism or something tending in that direction. The show did not seem to pay and did not run long here. (P. 153.)

Asbury apparently is recalling the months the Smiths resided at Quincy in the winter of 1838-39 before journeying on to Nauvoo to become some of the original founders of the Prophet’s last place of residence. Obviously, it is apparent why the “show did not seem to...run long...” Of interest also is the report that one of the mummies was a pharaoh or king of Egypt. This is another report confirming a growing body of evidence suggesting that at least one of the mummies was viewed by the Prophet and his family to be highly important and noteworthy.

Concerning the Prophet’s stay in Missouri, few records exist that relate the Prophet Joseph to the Book of Abraham during the Missouri period. But the subject was ever on his mind, as the following quote indicates. The occasion is a Sunday sermon, May 6, 1838, at Far West, Missouri. The Prophet spoke on “hasty judgment, or decisions upon any subject given by any people, or in judging before they had heard both sides of a question,” and then entered into a discussion of Abraham: “I also gave some instructions in the mysteries of the kingdom of God; such as the history of the planets, Abraham’s writings upon the planetary system, etc.” (History of the Church, Vol. 3, p. 27.)

The opportunity to preach, however, was a luxury for the Prophet in Missouri. As is well known by Latter-day Saints, the Prophet spent many months in hiding, retreat,
or in jails through a long year in Missouri, during which
time some of the most sublime revelations ever received
came to him in his deepest tribulations. (See Doctrine
and Covenants, sections 121 and 122.) Many of the Saints
in Missouri had experienced with the Prophet the hostility
of a populace fearful of losing political, economic, and
social power to the growing body of incoming Mormons.
Expulsion had been natural.

And so, the spring of 1839 saw the Mormons move
to their third—and for some to their fourth—area of con-
centration: Nauvoo, a bend in the Mississippi River on
the far west side of Illinois. Obviously the Prophet’s first
concerns were rebuilding a capital, building another temple,
reorganizing an apostasy-cleansed Church, handling the
great influx of incoming British converts, avoiding the per-
secutions of enemies still in Missouri who often came to
Illinois to stir up trouble, establishing new social patterns in
marriage, and keeping the tone and tenor of the Saints
directed toward the kingdom of God. It was no small task,
and one which he filled with great leadership. One can
understand why the mummies and papyri find little men-
tion in the journals.

Looking northeasterly to Nauvoo, Illinois, from across the Mississippi River, in about
1900. Note canal near Iowa site, made for boats to avoid Des Moines Falls down river.
However, in April 1840, a non-Mormon from Montrose, Iowa, a town across the river from Nauvoo, called on Joseph Smith at his home. His article was titled "A Glance at the Mormons," and according to Dr. Sidney Sperry, it had previously appeared in the Alexandria Gazette. It was printed in The Quincy Whig, October 17, 1840, and it is quoted only in part:

Since the Mormons were expelled from the state of Missouri, they have purchased the town of Commerce, a situation of surpassing beauty, at the head of the lower rapid, on the Illinois shore of the Upper Mississippi river. The name of the place they recently changed to Nauvoo, the Hebrew term for Fair or Beautiful. Around this place, as their centre, they are daily gathering from almost every quarter; and several hundred new houses, erected within the last few months; attest to the passing traveler the energy, industry and self-denial with which the community is imbued.

It was a beautiful morning toward the close of April last, when the writer of the foregoing sketch, accompanied by a friend, crossed the Mississippi river, from Montrose, to pay a visit to the prophet. As we approached his house, we saw him ride up and alight from his beautiful horse; and handing the bridle to one of his followers in attendance, he waited in front of his gate to receive us. A number of principal men of the place soon collected around, apparently anxious to hear the words which fell from his lips. His bearing towards them was like one who had authority; and the deference which they paid him convinced us that his dominion was deeply seated in the empire of their consciences. To our minds, profound knowledge of human nature had evidently taught him that, of all principles, the most omnipotent is the religious principle, and to govern men of certain classes, it is only necessary to control their religious sentiments.

After he had shown us the fine grounds around his dwelling, he conducted us, at our request, to an upper room, where he drew aside the curtains of a case, and showed us several Egyptian Mummies, which we were told that the church had purchased, at his suggestion, some time before, for a large sum of money.

'The embalmed body that stands near the centre of the case,' said he, 'is one of the Pharaohs, who sat on the throne of Egypt, and the female figure by it was probably one of the daughters.'

'It may have been the Princess Thermutis,' I replied, 'The same that rescued Moses from the waters of the Nile.'

'It is not improbable,' answered the Prophet, 'but time has not yet allowed fully to examine and decide that point.'

'Do you understand the Hebrew language,' said he, raising his
hand to the top of the case, and taking down a small Hebrew grammar of Rabbi Seixas.

'That language has not altogether escaped my attentions,' was the reply.

He then walked to a secretary, on the opposite side of the room, and drew out several frames, covered with glass, under which were numerous fragments of Egyptian papyrus, on which, as usual, a great variety of hieroglyphical characters had been imprinted.

'These ancient records,' said he, 'throw great light on the subject of Christianity. They have been unrolled and preserved with great labor and care. My time has been hitherto too much taken up to translate the whole of them, but I will show you how I interpret certain parts. There,' said he, pointing to a particular character, 'that is the signature of the patriarch Abraham.'

'It is indeed a most interesting autograph,' I replied, 'and doubtless the only one extant. What an ornament it would be to have these ancient manuscripts handsomely set, in appropriate frames, and hung up around the walls of the temple which you are about to erect at this place.'

'Yes,' replied the Prophet, 'and the translation hung up with them.'

If the newspaper report is accurate, one is led to think that the Prophet had determined partial identity of at least one of the figures, claiming him to be a pharaoh. Another was mentioned as perhaps being the daughter of the pharaoh. There will be more on this.

However, perhaps the most important recorded observation, if accurate, is the comment that the Prophet "drew out several frames, covered with glass, under which were numerous fragments of Egyptian papyrus..." This report has modern-day importance: on locating the papyri at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dr. Atiya noticed that one of the fragments was in a picture frame under glass. Dr. Nibley has named it "IV. Framed 'Trinity' papyrus." Pictures of the ceremony in which officials of the Metropolitan Museum transferred the papyri to the Church show one of the fragments in a picture frame. The recent rediscovery of the papyri certainly confirmed the report that some of the papyri was under glass, undoubtedly to help preserve the fragments from gradual dissolution. After considerable handling, the fragile and ancient papyrus must have begun to crack and crumble away.

The Entries of History 211
Concerning this report of a fragment under glass, visitors to the present office of Assistant Church Historian A. William Lund have always been impressed with a picture hanging in his office. It is a picture of a portrait of the Prophet’s mother. The picture shows Lucy Mack Smith in profile, and on the wall behind her is a framed Egyptian papyrus fragment. On close examination, the fragment becomes a likeness of Facsimile No. 1, of our present Book of Abraham. It is apparently a painting of the 1842 Times and Seasons newspaper representation, prepared by Hedlock.

Essentially, all that is known about the picture is this, told by Dr. Hugh Nibley:

In 1942 President George Albert Smith, accompanied by Elder Preston Nibley (who is the authority for this account), visited a relative, Mr. Salisbury Smith, a respected citizen and banker in Carthage, Illinois. Mr. Smith took the brethren to see “Aunt Clara,” the 83-year-old daughter of Lucy, the youngest daughter of Lucy Mack Smith, on a farm near Carthage. She showed them a picture of her grandmother which she said she had inherited from her mother. She refused to part with the picture but allowed the brethren to have it photographed, and the photo now hangs on the walls of the Church Historian’s Office in Salt Lake. Elder Nibley became Assistant Church Historian.

The identity of the artist is still unknown. David C. Martin has researched the topic and reports on the whereabouts of the actual painting as follows:

The portrait was in the possession of Mrs. Clara Hendel (now dead) of Colchester, Illinois. A telephone call to the Colchester postmaster gave me the following information: 1) Clara Hendel died in the 1940’s; 2) her daughter, Mabel Boyd, has been in a rest home, but it is not known if she has had the portrait.

Since Brother Martin’s research, however, other parties have entered the search. In two separate letters to H. Michael Marquardt of Salt Lake City, Reverend Wesley P. Walters of Marissa, Illinois, wrote: “Mabel Boyd died two weeks ago, but had already given the picture away to a niece (I believe). I am presently trying to contact her son to see what he might know. I have his address and will get a note off to him today.” (Letter of November 2, 1968.)
Several days later, Reverend Walters again wrote: "I located the original Lucy Smith portrait. Expect to have a copy of it shortly." (Letter of November 5, 1968.)

A few days later photographs of the famous little painting came to me via Mr. Marquardt. According to Reverent Walters, re-discoverer of the painting for the Latter-day Saint community, "chemical analysis dates the picture prior to 1855, possibly as early as 1845." The picture is also described as a watercolor, "quite colorful, in very good detail, and owned by Charles W. Boyd of Chicago, a great-great grandson of Lucy Mack Smith."

The Lucy Mack Smith Facsimile—Real or Newsprint Copy?

The question of whether the painting of Lucy Mack Smith was done with the original Facsimile No. 1 hanging on the wall or whether the painting was done with a framed copy of the 1842 Times and Seasons print is part of a minor academic issue. In his "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price" (Era, September 1968, p. 78), Dr. Hugh Nibley voiced the following in an attempt to show his viewpoint:

In the portrait the artist has decorated the wall space behind his subject with her most prized possession—the original of Facsimile 1. He has used his artist's license to enlarge the object both for decorative effect (the original is no larger than a postcard, being a square of only 4 1/4 inches on a side) and to preserve clarity of detail. But there can be no doubt that it is the original papyrus hanging on the wall, for the artist has taken pains to show the bent and wrinkled surface—a copy would be mounted smoothly and evenly. Moreover, the frame depicted is like the one that still encloses some of the other papyri now in possession of the Church. That is, the rather elegant frames were used for displaying original and valuable documents, and Mrs. Smith would certainly not have gone to the expense and trouble of framing, and then have proudly displayed, a printed copy of no value whatever (they existed by the thousands) while she still had the original in her possession. The artist, like Hedlock, has done the reasonable thing and not bothered to fight with the problem of the legs; what interested him was to get a good likeness of Mrs. Smith and her impressive document (the Egyptian things were always her special concern), and in so doing he has given us a rapid, fairly
accurate, and unbiased sketch of what the papyrus looked like before it was damaged. It matches our printed reproductions, and not the proposed restoration.

In fairness to Dr. Nibley, his report was made before the actual painting was found to permit close examination.

However, hardly had the ink dried on the September Era before observers began to offer counter viewpoints. One of the more thorough came from James Boyack, Marblehead, Massachusetts:

Hugh Nibley’s articles “A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price” have been very informative and enlightening. His discussion of Facsimile 1 in the September Era was especially interesting. With respect to the framed drawing depicted in the painting of Lucy Mack Smith, however, he may have been a little over-anxious to find corroborative evidence. A careful look at the drawing shown in the painting shows that it differs in several details from the original but agrees in each case with the facsimile:

1. The standing figure is behind the couch in the painting and the facsimile but between the couch and the legs of the reclining figure in the original.
2. The toe of the upper foot and all of the lower foot of the reclining figure are filled in black in the painting and the facsimile, but are only outlined in the original.
3. The original shows a box of writing, which would have been even more imposing if the missing pieces were present, above the arm of the standing figure, but both the facsimile and the painting leave this out.
4. The toe of the forward foot of the standing figure covers the bottom of the first jar in the painting and the facsimile but not in the original.
5. In both the painting and the facsimile there is a white stripe that runs diagonally across the chest of the standing figure and is joined at the shoulder by a second stripe, which appears to form a sort of collar; if there was a second stripe in the original, it would have joined the first at the chest, not at the shoulder.
6. Both the painting and the facsimile display numerals in the same places, which designate the various figures, but these numerals do not appear on the original.
7. The photograph of the original shows no indication of having been folded after the papyrus was mounted, yet the representation in the painting does not include the hieroglyphics on the right and left sides of the original.
All this indicates that the artist painted a framed facsimile hanging behind Joseph Smith's mother and not the original papyrus. Of course, the painting was only a part of Professor Nibley's case that the original sacrificial scene may have once been complete, and the rest of his argument still stands.

Brother Nibley is to be commended for the effort and scholarship he is putting into his study of the Book of Abraham. I shall be looking forward to the other installments in this very interesting series.

*Famous watercolor painting of Lucy Mack Smith and Facsimile No. 1.*
Other observers have noted that the same “explanation” numbers appearing in the Book of Abraham reproduction of Facsimile No. 1 for purposes of “explanation” are also visible on a magnified version of the Lucy Mack Smith painting. All in all, it is a minor issue, but of such are the skirmishes of scholarly wars, and the drive for the pursuit of truth.

At any rate, the 1840 observation by the Montrose, Iowa, visitor that the papyri were now in “numerous fragments” is further confirmed by the N. L. Nelson lecture of 1885 at Provo:

Dr. J. R. Riggs of this city, who personally examined the papers, describes the same as about 6 x 8 inches in size, and slightly over an inch thick. The leaves were gummed together at the edges, but became readily separable by heat.

If this report is accurate, it appears that the long rolls had been cut into smaller pieces sometime before 1840, when the Quincy article appeared. Perhaps the long rolls
had become too cumbersome, or perhaps the crumbling and tearing had concerned the Prophet and he determined that to cut the papyri into pieces was the best method to protect it. It is also possible that he desired more convenient access to certain sections of the roll and, as a result, cut into it.

However, there were still other efforts to preserve the papyri. Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, research historian of the Nauvoo Restoration Incorporated, and associate director of the Institute of Religion adjacent to the University of Utah, authored an article in *The Improvement Era* concerning another step taken to preserve the papyri:

Because of too much handling, subjection to fluctuating temperatures and humidity, and the hardships of travel as the Saints moved westward, parts of the fragile papyri inevitably cracked, fragments chipped off, and one or more of the rolls probably broke into pieces. Perhaps at Kirtland, but it could have been in Missouri or at Nauvoo, someone attempted to preserve the manuscripts by pasting them on paper. It could have been the Prophet Joseph Smith, or, more likely, someone close to him whom he directed to do the pasting. What was the source of the backing paper?

Probably in the early 1830's some as yet unidentified Latter-day Saint architect or builder drew two or more floor plans for a large building. These early drafts lacked dimensional measurements and were drawn almost devoid of window and door openings. It appears the designer did not have sheets of paper sufficiently large to accommodate the entire floor plan, so he drew portions on more than one sheet and then pasted them together to present the entire drawing, using other sheets to form the backing.

Modifications and improvements were made in the design of this large structure, and more detailed drawings were made. The less detailed drawings were discarded but preserved for other uses, as paper was relatively expensive a century and a quarter ago. When those who decided to preserve the deteriorating papyri fragments sought something on which to mount them, they used these undetailed drawings for the backing, cutting them into irregular sizes, perhaps comparable to the fragments they were intended to protect. (*Era*, May 1968, p. 19.)

In addition to paper backing that had floor plans on it, there was used also paper that had some sketchy maps drawn on it. There will be more on the identification of these sketches and maps later.

*The Entries of History* 217
Joseph Smith the Prophet. Students still wonder whether his amazing Book of Abraham came through the diligent efforts of translation, or through his seer stone, or from another form of revelation.
As the affairs of the kingdom leveled themselves into a manageable pattern, the Prophet Joseph found himself with sufficient time, or sufficient interest in spite of a heavy schedule, to turn once more to the papyri, which he apparently so thoroughly enjoyed discussing and studying. Naturally inquisitive, and having been taught through his Book of Mormon experience the value of ancient records, the Prophet probably spent many hours mulling ideas and in intense concentration in an attempt to make meaning of parts of those foreign documents with their strange symbols and scenes. Apparently much had been given and translated already, but some of the papyri may not have been translated or given yet, and the Prophet's interests took him to it time and again. Indeed, Dr. Hugh Nibley recalls a story told him by the late Preston Nibley, his uncle. Preston Nibley "used to tell of how in 1906 he visited the Nauvoo House in company with President Joseph F. Smith. President Smith (Elder Nibley recollected with his remarkable memory) recalled with tears the familiar sight of 'Uncle Joseph' kneeling on the floor of the front room with the Egyptian manuscripts spread out all around him, weighted down by rocks and books, as with intense concentration he would study a line of characters, jotting down his impressions in a little notebook as he went." (Era, March 1968, pp. 17-18.)

President Smith, born November 13, 1838, would have been four years old in 1842, and nearly six at his uncle's martyrdom in 1844. As will be shown later, the
Prophet continued to turn his attention to the papyri long after the Book of Abraham had been published. Therefore, this incident described by Hugh Nibley could have occurred as late as 1844.

There are two entries in *History of the Church* for early 1842 that have direct relevance to the publication of the Book of Abraham, as will be shortly shown. The first, a little over a month before the Book of Abraham was published, is on January 28, 1842, a Friday:

I received the following revelation to the Twelve concerning the *Times and Seasons*.

*Revelation*

Verily thus saith the Lord unto you, my servant Joseph, go and say unto the Twelve, that it is my will to have them take in hand the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons*, according to that manifestation which shall be given unto them by the power of my Holy Spirit in the midst of their counsel, saith the Lord. Amen.

The second entry deals with the two members of the Council of the Twelve who were assigned to direct the newspaper:

[February 3, 1842, Thursday.] Elder Woodruff took the superintendence of the printing office, and Elder Taylor the editorial department of the *Times and Seasons*; and he commenced by taking an inventory of the establishment this day.

Sometime in the winter of early 1842, the Prophet’s attention was given fully to what we know as the Book of Abraham. It was now 24 years since Antonio Lebolo had apparently unearthed the mummies from their pit-tomb seclusion reportedly some 60 feet underground, and it was seven years since Michael Chandler had ridden into town that hot July day in 1835. We do not know why the Prophet turned to the subject now, nor do we know the particular motivation for the Prophet’s devoted attention to the task now at hand. But some of those closest to him began to make mention of it in their personal journals. Such a man was Wilford Woodruff, a future president of the Church, and in his journal for February 19, 1842, is the following entry:

> The Lord is blessing Joseph with power to reveal the mysteries
of the kingdom of God; to translate through the Urim and Thummim ancient records and hieroglyphics old as Abraham or Adam which caused our hearts to burn within us while we behold their glorious truths opened unto us. Joseph the Seer has presented us some of the Book of Abraham which was written by his own hand but hid from the knowledge of man for the last four thousand years but has now come to light through the mercy of God. Joseph has had these records in his possession for several years but has never presented them before the world in the English language until now, but he is now about to publish it to the world or parts of it by publishing it in the Times and Seasons for Joseph the Seer is now the Editor of that paper and Elder Taylor assists him in writing while it has fallen to my lot to take charge of the Business part of the establishment. I have had the privilege this day of assisting in setting TIPE for printing the first peace [sic] of the Book of Abraham that is to be presented to the inhabitants of the EARTH in the LAST DAYS.”

By “never presented . . . before the world in the English language until now,” Elder Woodruff probably means a reference to public publication of the Book of Abraham. It cannot mean that parts of the Book of Abraham were not in English as early as Warren Parrish’s period in November 1835, as will be shown later.

According to Elder Woodruff, the records had their origin in one fashion or another with Abraham and perhaps Adam. Of vital importance is the reference—and it will not be the only one—that the Prophet was translating the records through the Urim and Thummim. Most Latter-day Saints familiar with the story of the Book of Mormon have presumed that the Urim and Thummim was returned to the Angel Moroni some years before this time. But it is apparent that the same instrument or another serving a similar purpose had again been provided for Joseph’s use.

On this point, President Joseph Fielding Smith, counselor in the First Presidency and President of the Council of the Twelve, has said:

We have been taught since the days of the Prophet that the Urim and Thummim were returned with the plates to the angel. We have no record of the Prophet having the Urim and Thummim after the organization of the Church. Statements of translations by the Urim
and Thummim after that date are evidently errors. The statement has been made that the Urim and Thummim was on the altar in the Manti Temple when the building was dedicated. The Urim and Thummim so spoken of, however, was the seer stone which was in the possession of the Prophet Joseph Smith in the early days. This seer stone is now in the possession of the Church.

While the statement has been made by some writers that the Prophet Joseph Smith used a seer stone part of the time in his translating of the record [Book of Mormon], and information points to the fact that he did have in his possession such a stone, yet there is no authentic statement in the history of the Church which states that the use of such a stone was made in that translation. (Joseph Fielding Smith, Doctrines of Salvation, Vol. 3, p. 225-26.)

Obviously, President Smith challenges Wilford Woodruff’s terminology, claiming he should have said “seer stone” instead of “Urim and Thummim.” There is additional evidence to sustain this view. Interestingly enough, on December 27, 1841—about two months previous to the Wilford Woodruff quote under discussion—Wilford Woodruff mentions in his journal that he was shown the “Urim and Thummim.” Brigham Young was also with Wilford Woodruff and other members of the Council of the Twelve that same day. He records as follows in his journal:

I met with the Twelve at Brother Joseph’s. He conversed with us in a familiar manner on a variety of subjects, and explained to us the Urim and Thummim which he found with the plates, called in the Book of Mormon the Interpreters. He said that every man who lived on the earth was entitled to a seer stone, and should have one, but they are kept from them in consequence of their wickedness, and most of those who do find one make an evil use of it; he showed us his seer stone.

Hence, it appears that Joseph Smith were using any medium for spiritual communication and assistance in the translation of the Book of Abraham, that medium was likely the seer stone rather than the Urim and Thummim. Presumably, however, the two mediums operated on similar principles.

The operation of such mediums has long been a mystery, but to those closest to the Prophet in the translation of the Book of Mormon, the operation of the Urim and Thummim was apparently not a mystery.
David Whitmer said concerning the translation of the Book of Mormon:

... in the darkness the spiritual light would shine. A piece of something resembling parchment would appear ... and on that appeared the writing. One character at a time would appear, and under it was the interpretation in English. Brother Joseph would read off the English to Oliver Cowdery, who was his principal scribe, and when it was written down and repeated to brother Joseph to see if it was correct, then it would disappear, and another character with the interpretation would appear. Thus the Book of Mormon was translated by the gift and power of God and not by any power of man. (B. H. Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church [CHC], Vol. 1, p. 128.)

Another scribe, but one who served considerably longer, was Martin Harris.

Harris' report is relayed through Edward Stevenson, a member of the First Council of Seventy after 1894, who fulfilled an 1870 mission assignment of Brigham Young's and helped Martin Harris fulfill his desire to join the Saints in Utah. Elder Stevenson claimed that Martin Harris said the following:

... sentences would appear and were read by the Prophet and written by Martin, and when finished he [Harris] would say "written," and if correctly written, the sentence would disappear and another appear in its place, but if not correctly written it remained until corrected, so that the translation was just as it was engraven on the plates, precisely in the language then used. (CHC, Roberts, Vol. 1, p. 129.)

Four months after Wilford Woodruff had written his account, Parley P. Pratt, a member of the Council of the Twelve, and one who was in Britain directing the labors of the Church, had received information from home about the Book of Abraham. He wrote in his Millennial Star article, "The record is now in course of translation by means of the Urim and Thummim. ..." It is likely that he received correspondence from Wilford Woodruff, who used the terms "Urim and Thummim" instead of "seer stone."

However, if Joseph Smith did turn to the seer stone to read that which appeared, one wonders what—if anything—the Prophet received from the papyri in his posses-
sion. Perhaps the rolls contained a perverted and corrupt version of Abraham’s thought, and consequently, it was necessary to turn to the seer stone for the original writings. Perhaps the Prophet did indeed have some papyri that miraculously had been preserved, papyri that contained the record of Abraham. And, if we understand correctly, the Prophet apparently turned to the seer stone for an English version of that which was on the papyri. This aspect of the story will apparently be told the Church by Dr. Hugh Nibley, under the direction of the First Presidency. We do know, however, that the Prophet was personally fascinated with the mummies and the papyri. He apparently regarded the records with some respect. Whatever, it is true that as a result of his experience with the Egyptian mummies and records, whether they served as a catalyst for further revelations or whether he was able to receive an English version of some symbols on a fragment in his possession through the seer stone, the Prophet Joseph was able to produce a new volume of scripture that was and is regarded as holy and sacred.

Concerning the method of translation, in a speech given in the Salt Lake Tabernacle July 10, 1859, Elder Orson Pratt claimed to have witnessed some of the translation of the Book of Abraham. Elder Pratt does not identify the period or the years during which he viewed some of the translation. It is well known that he often was away from the headquarters of the Church on missions. Hence, his comments are of unknown value, particularly because they also may merely be a general reference to general conditions:

I saw his [the Prophet’s] countenance lighted up as the inspiration of the Holy Ghost rested upon him, dictating the great and most precious revelations now printed for our guide. I saw him translating, by inspiration, the Old and New Testaments, and the inspired book of Abraham from Egyptian papyrus.

And what now is my testimony concerning that man, founded upon my own personal observations? It is the same to-day as it was when I first received the testimony that he was a Prophet. I knew he was a man of God. It was not a matter of opinion with me, for I received a testimony from the heavens concerning that matter. . . .

(Journal of Discourses, Vol. 7, p. 176, recorded by G. D. Watt.)
Because of the Prophet’s interest, those around him assisted eagerly in the publication of this important scripture. The following entry is found in Wilford Woodruff’s journal:

February 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, & 27 was spent in the printing office—Nothing remarkable transpired, with us during the week excepting we prepared a plate for making a cut at the commencement of the Book of Abraham which is to be published in the 9th No. of the 3 Vol. of the Times and Seasons which will be interesting to many of the inhabitants of the earth.


Wilford Woodruff. He set the type for the Book of Abraham.

We return again to the History of the Church. One of the entries, that of February 21, is of considerable significance and seems to have been long ignored. The entry becomes even more meaningful when one remembers that on January 28 the Lord informed Joseph that it was time for the Twelve to “take in hand the editorial department of the Times and Seasons,” a little over a month before the
publication of the Book of Abraham, and that on February 3 the appointees of the Twelve, Elders John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff, took over their new assignments at the *Times and Seasons*. In light of the foregoing, the entry under date of February 21 is significant. It is under the title of "An Additional Word from the Twelve," and immediately follows an "announcement" by the Prophet about the work on the Nauvoo Temple:

We would also say to all the churches, that inasmuch as they want the blessings of God and angels, as also of the Church of Jesus Christ, and wish to see it spread and prosper throughout the world, and Zion built up and truth and righteousness prevail,—let all the different branches of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in all the world, call meetings in their respective places and tithe themselves and send up to this place to the Trustee in Trust, so that his hands may be loosed, and the Temple go on, and other works be done, such as the new translation of the Bible, and the record of Father Abraham published to the world.

Beloved brethren, we as the messengers of the Lord feel to call upon you to help roll on the mighty work, it is our duty so to do, and it your reasonable service—and the Lord will bless you in so doing.

We subscribe ourselves your humble servants, and standard bearers to the world.

Brigham Young, president
Willard Richards, clerk of the Twelve

The important element here is that the Twelve had been directed to take charge of the newspaper, and now the Twelve is publicly assuming the "duty" for the completion of the temple and the publication of the "record of Father Abraham." On the shoulders of the Twelve the assignment rested. In fact, all the branches of the world were to tithe themselves that the work might go forward. Obviously, for Latter-day Saints this helps paint a picture of meaning and significance: the publication of the Book of Abraham was not to be regarded by anyone as Joseph's personal treasure or hobbying; rather it was fruits of a seer, for the blessing of the kingdom and Church at large.
The entire production of the Book of Abraham is part of this remarkable perspective.

The *History of the Church* continues:

[February 23, 1842, Wednesday—] . . . gave Reuben Hedlock instruction concerning the cut for the altar and gods in the Records of Abraham, as designed for the *Times and Seasons*.

[February 24, 1842, Thursday—] In the afternoon explained the records of Abraham to the recorder, Sisters Marinda, Mary, and others present to hear the explanations.

The following entry is in the *History of the Church*:

[March 1, 1842, Tuesday—] During the forenoon I was at my office and the printing office, correcting the first plate or cut of the records of Father Abraham, prepared by Reuben Hedlock, for the “Times and Seasons,” and in council in my office, in the afternoon; and in the evening with the Twelve and their wives at Elder Woodruff’s, at which time I explained many important principles in relation to progressive improvement in the scale of intelligent existence.

It appears that the Prophet also had difficulty meeting press deadlines, as do most journalists and publishers a good share of the time. The issue was supposed to be out March 1. The importance of the topic seemed to merit the extra caution and the lateness, the Prophet probably reasoned. The mention of Reuben Hedlock as the one who prepared the wood cut of the facsimiles indicates that this future president of the British Mission was still faithful and followed the Church from the Kirtland period, through the Missouri trials, and on to Nauvoo. He had been appointed in November 1837 to secure means to publish the Book of Abraham. Obviously, the events of the years had conspired against him, as they had against the Prophet also, but publication was near at hand. Shortly after his role in the *Times and Seasons* office, Brother Hedlock was sent to England and presided over the mission from 1843-1845. It was his second mission to England; the first was in 1840. Apparently, he left the Church while in England this second time.

The Prophet’s report continues:
[March 2, 1842, Wednesday—] I read the proof of the “Times and Seasons,” as editor for the first time, No. 9, Vol. III, in which is the commencement of the Book of Abraham.

[March 4, 1842, Friday—] At my office exhibiting the Book of Abraham in the original to Brother Reuben Hedlock, so that he might take the size of the several plates or cuts, and prepare the blocks for the “Times and Seasons”, and also gave instruction concerning the arrangement of the writing on the large cut, illustrating the principles of astronomy, with other general business.

[March 8, 1842, Tuesday—] Recomenced translating from the records of Abraham for the tenth number of the “Times and Seasons,” and was engaged at my office day and evening.

This is a very important entry, the first entry since November 1835 in which the Prophet is mentioned as "translating." Interestingly, it is after the publication of the first installment, which was up to Abraham 2:18. It may well be that Warren Parrish only served as the scribe for less than half of the Book of Abraham. The cut-off here, Abraham 2:18, is very noteworthy, as will be observed later.

[March 9, 1842, Wednesday—] Examining copy of the “Times and Seasons,” presented by Messrs. Taylor and Bennett, and a variety of other business in my office, in the morning; in the afternoon continued the translation of the Book of Abraham, called at Bishop Knight’s and Mr. Davis’, with the recorder, and continued translating and revising, and reading letters in the evening, Sister Emma being present in the office.

Wilford Woodruff recorded in his journal under March 19:

Spent the day in the printing office. We struck off about 500 No. of the 10th No. 3 Vol. of Times and Seasons which contained the portion of the Book of Abraham that gave his account of Kolob, Oliblish, God sitting upon his Throne. The earth, other planets and many great and glorious things as revealed to Abraham through the power of the priesthood. The truths of the Book of Abraham are truly edifying, great and glorious which are among the rich treasures that are revealed unto us, in the last days.

The Book of Abraham was first published in the Times and Seasons, the newspaper of the Saints at Nauvoo, in two
numbers, Vol. III, Nos. 9 and 10, March 1-4, and March 15-19, 1842, respectively. It was published in installments at the little red brick printing office on the corner of Water and Bain streets in Nauvoo. The first installment consisted of Facsimile No. 1 and the text of the Book of Abraham from chapter 1 to chapter 2:18.

This presentation was divided into 13 paragraphs. The second installment, which apparently was not out on time either, because Wilford Woodruff was still working on it on the 19th, consisted of Facsimile No. 2 and the Book of Abraham from chapter 2:19 to chapter 5:21. The
Explanation of the above Cut.

Fig. 1.—The Angel of the Lord.
2. Abraham, fastened upon an Altar.
3. The Idolatrous Priest of Elkenah attempting to offer up Abraham as a sacrifice.
5. The Idolatrous God of Elkenah.
6. The " " " Libnah.
7. The " " " Mahmachrah.
8. The " " " Korash.
9. The " " " Pharaoh.
10. Abraham in Egypt.
11. Designed to represent the pillars of Heaven, as understood by the Egyptians.
12. Raukeeyang, signifying expanse, or the firmament, over our heads; but in this case, in relation to this subject, the Egyptians meant it to signify Shamau, to be high, or the heavens: answering to the Hebrew word, Shaumahyeem.
Prophet referred to Facsimile No. 2 as the "large cut," because in the early printings it covered a two-page spread, but in later years it has been reduced until it is now the smallest of the three facsimiles in the Book of Abraham.

After having seen the mummies and having heard many discussions on aspects of the story of Abraham for seven years, there was immediate and wide-spread enthusiasm among the Saints for those memorable March

Photographs of Facsimiles 1, 2, and 3 (p. 232) as they first appeared in the Times and Seasons in May 1842. There are differences between these facsimiles and the ones used in the present edition of the Pearl of Great Price.
1 and March 9 issues, which carried the Book of Abraham headlined in this manner: "The Book of Abraham. A Translation of some Ancient Records that have fallen into our hands, from the Catacombs of Egypt, purporting to be the writings of Abraham, while he was in Egypt, called the Book of Abraham, written by his own hand upon papyrus."

Of tremendous interest is the word "purporting." Did the Prophet really mean that he was a translator only, that he was not sure of the identity of the actual writer of the papyri? Perhaps he knew that Abraham personally may not have written the rolls of papyri in his possession. Perhaps he knew that they were copies of copies of copies of copies. Whatever, it certainly frees the Prophet from the claims that many others have wanted to make for him: that he had Abraham's actual and personally signed record. Instead, the Prophet uses the word "purportedly." Amazing!

National News

As we view the pages of history and try to glimpse through a "glass darkly," using the term of Paul the Apostle, to determine the state of affairs and living in the mid-nineteenth century, we tend to picture America as a land unsolidified in terms of mass communication systems, particularly when we view the systems we enjoy today. Therefore, to some it may come as a surprise to learn that in less than a month following the printing of the Book of Abraham way out in the western outpost of Nauvoo, Illinois, the New York Herald and several Boston newspapers featured prominently the news of the Prophet's translation.

James Gordon Bennett, that famous and powerful newspaper editor of his era, devoted a good portion of his editorial page in the Sunday, April 3, 1842, issue to the Prophet and his Book of Abraham. He even reprinted Facsimile No. 1 and the first 13 large paragraphs, or up to Chapter 2:18, of the Book of Abraham. Following is his editorial.
The Mormons. A Leaf from Joe Smith

We give in this day's paper, a very curious chapter from the "Book of Abraham," which we find published in the last number of a weekly journal, called the "Times and Seasons," conducted by Jo. Smith the great Mormon Prophet, in the city of Nauvoo, Hancock county, Illinois.

The Prophet says it was found in the catacombs of Egypt, but he is mistaken in this idea—The article was discovered, we presume by Joseph Smith, the grandfather, near one of the Propyions of Medinet Abu in the "City of the Sun," in Upper Egypt. The same city which Homer says had one hundred gates. Champollion, Young, Rosselini, and various other antiquarians give notices of the magnificent ruins, in red granite, that are strewn over the banks of the Nile. Be all this as it may, the Prophet of Nauvoo has given the chapter, and it is set down as a revelation among the Mormons.

This Joe Smith is undoubtedly, one of the greatest characters of the age. He indicates as much talent, originality, and moral courage as Mahomet, Odin, or any of the other great spirits that have hitherto produced the revolutions of past ages. In the present infidel, irreligious, material, ideal, geological, animal-magnetic age of the world, some such singular prophet as Joe Smith is required to preserve the principle of faith, and to plant some new germs of civilization that may come to maturity in a thousand years. While modern philosophy, which believes in nothing but what you can touch, is overspreading the Atlantic States, Joe Smith is creating a spiritual system, combined also with morals and industry, that may change the destiny of the race. Joe believes himself divinely inspired and a worker of miracles. He cures the sick of diseases—so it is said—and although Joe is not aware of the fact, we have been informed by a medical man that his influence over nervous disorders, arises from a powerful magnetic influence—that Joe is a magnet in a large way, which he calls a power or spirit from heaven. In other respects Joe is a mighty man of God—possessing large stores of human nature—great shrewdness, and as he has taken the management of the Mormon newspaper organ, the "Times and Seasons" into his hand, we look for many revelations, and some curious ones, too, pretty soon.

We certainly want some such prophet to start up, take a big hold of the public mind—and stop the torrent of materialism that is hurrying the world into infidelity, immorality, licentiousness, and crime. Professor Lyell, Richard Adams Locke, Dr. Brisbane, Master Emmerson, Prophet Brownson, Horace Greeley, and all the materialists of the age, ought to take a leaf of common sense out of Joe's book.

Where Bennett obtained the idea that the Prophet's
father had journeyed to Egypt one will never know, but his views on his era and an American prophet are interesting.

Three days later, April 6, William Bartlett, the editor of the Boston Daily Ledger, apparently recognizing the public interest either in things Egyptian or in the Mormons, announced this in his Wednesday issue, hoping, one is certain, to buoy up his Thursday’s sales:

Joe Smith and The Book of Abraham

We shall publish tomorrow Joe Smith’s translation of the “Book of Abraham,” the original of which Joe says he obtained from papyrus found in the “catacombs of Egypt.” It will be illustrated by a queer engraving, copied from the Mormon “Times and Seasons.”

The next day, a good share of the entire front page was turned over to Facsimile No. 1 and the first part of the Book of Abraham. Several days later, the editor noted in his editorial:

Smith is decidedly the greatest original of the present day. He carries all before him when he undertakes an enterprise—knows no impediment—and never halts in his course till he has accomplished his object. His post, at the head of the Mormons, is a conspicuous one, and in a few years with such advancement as he has met with
for the past year, will give him a numberless host of followers. We should not be surprised if he should become as omnipotent as ever the Pope was in his palmiest days. He is a genius—and a rare one—and all the armies of Satan, should they confront him in a solid phalanx, would be sure to meet with sore discomfiture, if not complete annihilation. The true philosophy of "go-a-headity"—the quintessence of concentrated moral and spiritual energy, fears no combat, and although, we cannot say it exactly courts danger, it never flies from a post of duty on its approach. We have so high a opinion of Joe Smith, that we intend to open a correspondence with him, in order to acquaint ourselves with all his secret springs of action, and thus, get all the secrets of his success, public and private, worldly and ecclesiastical.

The chapter from the recently recovered book of Abraham, and the unique cut which illustrates it, on our outside, has occasioned us some expense; but we care not for that, so long as we please our patrons, which we mean to do at all hazards; trusting to the good sense of the most enlightened public in this, or any other universe, for suitable remuneration.

The Mormons hold meetings in Boston regularly on the sabbath, somewhere in Commercial Street, and are equally successful in saving souls, healing the sick, and restoring sight to the blind. Meetings are also held in Chelsea, and the case is on the increase in that place.

Will Elder Nickerson, or some of the brethren, furnish us with the statistics?

Elder Nickerson did respond, and the ensuing articles make for informative and thrilling reading, but perhaps those accounts do not belong here.

To give some idea of the public interest in the Book of Abraham and the printing of Facsimile No. 1, William Bartlett, who also owned the Dollar Weekly Bostonian, reprinted the entire material all over again, including his own editorial. What missionaries wouldn’t give today for similar treatment!

**The Caswall Visit**

On Monday, April 18, 1842, a Reverend Henry Caswall, M.A., of England visited Nauvoo. He returned home and wrote a book, *The City of the Mormons; or, Three days at Nauvoo, in 1842*, but not before seeing the recently published Book of Abraham. On pages 22 and 23 of his book is the following report:
The storekeeper now proceeded to redeem his promise of obtaining for me access to the curiosities. He led me to a room behind his store, on the door of which was an inscription to the following effect: “Office of Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Latter Day Saints.” Having introduced me, together with several Mormons, to this sanctum sanctorum, he locked the door behind him, and proceeded to what appeared to be a small chest of drawers. From this he drew forth a number of glazed slides, like picture frames, containing sheets of papyrus, with Egyptian inscriptions and hieroglyphics. These had been unrolled from four mummies, which the prophet had purchased at a cost of twenty-four hundred dollars. By some inexplicable mode, as the storekeeper informed me, Mr. Smith had discovered that these sheets contained the writings of Abraham, written with his own hand while in Egypt. Pointing to the figure of a man lying on a table, he said, “That is the picture of Abraham on the point of being sacrificed. That man standing by him with a drawn knife is an idolatrous priest of the Egyptians. Abraham prayed to God, who immediately unloosed his bands, and delivered him.” Turning to another of the drawers, and pointing to a hieroglyphic representation, one of the Mormons said, “Mr. Smith informs us that this picture is an emblem of redemption. Do you see those four little figures? Well, those are the four quarters of the earth. And do you see that big dog looking at the four figures? That is the old Devil desiring to devour the four quarters of the earth. Look at this person keeping back the big dog. That is Jesus Christ keeping the devil from devouring the four quarters of the earth. Look down this way. This figure near the side is Jacob, and those are his two wives. Now do you see those steps?” “What,” I replied, “do you mean those stripes across the dress of one of Jacob’s wives?” “Yes,” he said, “that is Jacob’s ladder.” “That is indeed curious,” I remarked; “Jacob’s ladder standing on the ground, and only reaching up to his wife’s waist.”

The unnamed storekeeper was apparently familiar with the Prophet’s recently published explanation of Facsimile No. 1: It is interesting to observe that Caswall reports the same $2,400 purchase price as Emma Smith remembered it and as it is recorded on the document found by Dr. Atiya in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Also, it appears that the fragments known as the “Court of Osiris” fit the description of the other scene Caswall described. The “big dog,” “person keeping back the dog,” “four little figures,” and perhaps the persons fulfilling the description of “Jacob” and his “two wives” may be Caswall’s and the storekeeper’s
description of the scenes on the “Court of Osiris” fragments. Hence, it appears that the two papyri scenes that Caswall described are now both in the possession of the Church again.

It is also noteworthy that this is one more account of some of the papyri’s having been placed under glass, or as Caswall says, “a number of glazed slides, like picture frames,
containing sheets of papyrus.” Apparently Facsimile No. 1 and the “Court of Osiris” scene were under glass. Neither of these two was under glass when found by Dr. Atiya in New York City. The 1840 Whig and the 1842 Caswall accounts suggest that it was a regular occurrence for visitors to Nauvoo to view something dealing with the Egyptian antiquities. Perhaps this was as good a reason as any to place the papyri under glass: to present the papyri in a manner that one would expect at a private or public exhibition, in addition to the preservative function of the glass and picture frames.

More News Reports

By May 16, the Prophet had received the papers from the East and had learned of the public discussion he had created. His history reports:

Several of the most widely circulated papers are beginning to exhibit “Mormonism” in its true light. The first cut of a facsimile from the Book of Abraham, has been republished both in the New York Herald and in the Dollar Week Bostonian, as well as in the Boston Daily Ledger, edited by Mr. Bartlett; together with the translation from the Book of Abraham.

There was ample reason for the widespread public interest, in addition to interest in Mormonism in general. Champollion’s ideas had barely reached America, and few if any claimed expertise in translating Egyptian. The story of Joseph Smith’s Book of Mormon experience, the Angel Moroni, and the gold plates had seeped throughout nearly every corner of civilized United States. Here at last was an opportunity for Americans to look at an Egyptian drawing and to compare it against Joseph’s Book of Abraham. Unquestionably, many people were impressed, if for no other reason than that Joseph Smith may have been the first American to garner such public notice in terms of his translating efforts. This chapter of history, one dealing with America’s image of the Prophet Joseph Smith during this period, or any period for that matter, has never been written. Hopefully, someone someday will write it.
Closer to Nauvoo, the Missouri Whig, having had first-hand experience in opposing Mormons, was not impressed. The editor, Jacob Sosey, directed his readers to the Book of Abraham in this fashion in his May 14 issue from Palmyra, Missouri:

IMPOSTURE.—The Mormons have a new book called the Book of Abraham. It purports to have been written by that patriarch, and is said to have been found in the catacombs of Egypt by an English traveler who brought it away with eleven mummies. Joe Smith is engaged in translating it for the “Times and Seasons,” published at Nauvoo.

Soon after the publication by the Times and Seasons of the Book of Abraham, someone in Nauvoo, probably at the Prophet’s direction, sent copies of the installments to England to Parley P. Pratt, who then headed the British Mission. With T. Ward, Elder Pratt edited the Millennial Star, the newspaper of the Church in England. The June 1842 issue carried the following notice on the last page:

Also, that we expect, in next month’s “Star,” to give some extracts from the “Book of Abraham”—a relic of greater antiquity than the Bible, written on papyrus, and taken from the breast of an Egyptian mummy, now in the possession of, and translated by Joseph Smith.

True to his expectations, Parley P. Pratt was able to front-page his July issue with Facsimile No. 1 and to carry the extract up to Abraham 2:18, which the Times and Seasons had first carried.

In the June issue, Elder Pratt carried his story of how the Book of Abraham came to be, a story that we have referred to throughout our study. It is here presented as he wrote it, with some additional information:

We have much pleasure this month in being able to give an illustration and extract from the Book of Abraham; a book of higher antiquity than any portion of the bible. Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith. A gentleman, travelling in Egypt, made a selection of several mummies, of the best kind of embalming, and of course in the best state of preservation; on his way to England he
died, bequeathing them to a gentleman of the name of Chandler. They arrived in the Thames, but it was found the gentleman was in America, they were then forwarded to New York and advertised, when Mr. Chandler came forward and claimed them. One of the mummies, on being unrolled, had underneath the cloths in which it was wrapped, lying upon the breast, a roll of papyrus, in an excellent state of preservation, written in Egyptian character, and illustrated in the manner of our engraving, which is a copy from a portion of it. The mummies, together with the record, have been exhibited, generally, through the States, previous to their falling into our hands. Mr. Chandler was, of course, anxious to find some one who could interpret or translate this valuable relic of antiquity, and, we believe, on one occasion, met with an individual who was enabled to decipher a small portion, or, at least, to give an opinion of what he supposed its meaning to be. He everywhere heard mention of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon, but so generally associated with something slanderous, that he could scarcely think seriously of applying to him. But at length, however, he called upon Mr. Smith, to inquire if he had a power by which he could translate the ancient Egyptian. Mr. Smith replied that he had, when Mr. Chandler presented the fragment which had been partially interpreted. Mr. Smith retired into his translating room, and presently returned with a written translation in English, of the fragment, confirming the supposed meaning ascribed to it by the gentleman to whom it had been previously presented. An event, of a nature so extraordinary, was of course soon noised abroad, when a number of gentlemen in the neighbourhood, not connected with the Saints, united together, and, purchasing the record together with some or all of the mummies, made Mr. Smith a present of them. The record is now in course of translation by the means of the Urim and Thummim, and proves to be a record written partly by the father of the faithful, Abraham, and finished by Joseph when in Egypt. After his death, it is supposed they were preserved in the family of the Pharaohs and afterwards hid up with the embalmed body of the female with whom they were found. Thus it is, indeed, true, that the ways of the Lord are not as man’s ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. Here, then, is another subject for the Gentile world to stumble at, and for which to persecute the Saints, not knowing that there is nothing hidden but what shall be brought to light, and nothing secret but what shall be discovered. Let us have no revelations is the popular cry of the day; any one’s creed but God’s. How true were the word’s of Jesus, “because I come unto you in my father’s name ye will not receive me; if another should come in his own name, him ye will receive.”

The language of the present generation is, we can believe in the marvellous works of God in former ages, but not now; how will they be confounded as the mighty purposes of Jehovah roll on unfolding.
mystery after mystery to his people, while his judgments are pouring out upon the ungodly and the unbelieving.

Let the Saints be faithful and watchful, and be ready to receive all the things that God shall be pleased to communicate for their well-being in these the last days; bearing in mind that his great and finishing work, his gathering of the Saints together into one, in order to establish his kingdom, the dominion of which shall be universal, and all powers become subject unto it, will require revelations peculiar to itself, such as were never communicated at any former period of time. Now is the day of the trial of our faith, the day of warfare and of strife against the powers of darkness; but anon shall be the day of triumph, blessed shall they be who endure unto the end, and overcome, and swell the song of victory, for they shall have power over the nations to rule them with a rod of iron, and they shall have given unto them the morning star.

By the time of the August issue, Elder Pratt had received the newspapers from Boston and New York, and he reprinted an article from the Dollar Weekly Bostonian, and most of the interesting replies by Elder Nickerson. He also printed an excerpt from a journal titled New York Churchman, which was a journal apparently intended for ministers:

In regard to Mormonism, we state that we saw a highly intelligent gentleman, a day or two since, who has just come from Nauvoo, where he saw and conversed with Smith, and many of the Mormons. . . . Our friend showed us a printed order or revelation of the prophet, which was a sort of hieroglyphic, with a brief explanation and application subjoined. Smith is called by many the Mohammed of the west; and Prof. Jackson inclines to the opinion that he and Rigdon (who is the master knave) are preparing systematically for an invasion of Missouri, to redress their grievances.

But the slanderous opinions of ministers—men whose entire vocation and philosophy were challenged and buffeted by the very nature of the Prophet’s role and calling—could not stop the spread of the Prophet’s work.

Charlotte’s Letter of 1843

A most interesting and informative letter by a young woman named Charlotte Haven has relevance at this point. The letter was written February 19, 1843, and printed in the December 1890 issue of the Overland Monthly with other letters from the same woman under the general title “A
Girl’s Letters from Nauvoo.” As will be apparent, the young woman is not a Latter-day Saint, and she is writing to her mother in New England.

The letter contains valuable information about the mummies and papyri. It also contains a good review of aspects of life at Nauvoo, for which reason the letter is reprinted in full:

My dear Mother:

A very happy Sunday morning dawned upon us, for about midnight Elizabeth gave birth to a fine, healthy little boy, weighing nine pounds, and all is well. She had two experienced Mormon women with her all day yesterday, and Dr. Weld came towards evening and tarried till after daylight. Brother H. seems to be the only one in danger: you, mother, know already how fond he is of children,—he is now carried beyond himself, so perfectly happy; in his transports of joy he laughs and cries alternately, and cannot keep quiet, but jumps up to look at Baby or its mother every few minutes. He is trying to write the news to Mr. Cushman, but I doubt if he succeeds today, unless he composes himself. I wish, mother, you could look in upon us and see your new grandson, for surely it is a dear child, bright and intelligent looking, but I cannot agree with its parents in pronouncing it a beauty.

We are still pleased with our little home, and I do not regret coming. On the contrary, I am glad I came, for I flatter myself I can be of some service to H. and E., though there are times when I could almost fly to see you all.

We think our visiting society among the Mormons will be very limited, for we understand it is etiquette for newcomers to make the first call on old residents, and if the women are like the two that were here yesterday, I can say from the bottom of my heart, “From all such, good Lord, deliver us”; for they kept up one continual stream of talk about their peculiar religion, quoting scriptures from Genesis to Revelations. I never heard so much Bible talk in all my life before. Our few Gentile brethren have been very polite, calling almost every day. Dr. Higbee is the most at leisure, not having a single patient and not likely to have, as the Mormons perform wonderful cures by “the laying on of hands.” He has a horse and sleigh, so has given me a general invitation to drive when I feel inclined. I have taken two drives with him, giving me a fine opportunity to see the city and suburbs.

Ascending the bluff we are soon out on the prairie, which is twenty to thirty miles in extent. There are a few farms, highly cultivated, but for the most part the land has been settled only recently and the houses are still of the rudest construction,—mere
shelters, many built of logs placed cob fashion, some of only one thickness of boards, and others of sod or mud, with seldom any plastering or floors, and minus chimneys, doors and windows. In place of these essential comforts, we may sometimes see a few inches of funnel above the roof or through the side of a house; a curtain or quilt is frequently suspended in the doorway; while air and light are admitted through the spaces left between the logs or through the roof. You would think it impossible that human beings could inhabit such hovels, were you not constantly reminded that such was the case by seeing sundry white headed, dirty-faced, bare-footed children peeping or thrusting themselves between crevices and cracks. But in spite of their scanty clothing and the midwinter prairie breezes that play so freely through their dwellings, these look healthy and happy.

When we consider the short time since the Mormons came here, and their destitution after having had every vestige of property taken from them, and after having undergone great suffering and persecution, their husbands and sons in some instances murdered; when we remember that, driven from their homes in Missouri, with famine before them, five thousand men, women and children, crossed the Mississippi to this State in the winter of 1841, we cannot wonder that they have no fitter dwelling-place and so few of the comforts of life. The hopelessness and despair that must have existed probably led some of them to commit depredations on their more fortunate neighbors—had they not, we might certainly have considered them morally superior to other communities. Better and more substantial buildings are fast being erected in city and country, and in a few years things will present a very different appearance, and if let alone and persecution ceases, this absurd religious doctrine will surely die a natural death.

My other sleigh-ride was on the river. The day was mild and sunny, and our horse was so fleet, he seemed to fly over the smooth ice, in and out around many little wooded islands, and in less than half an hour we were at Fort Madison, a thriving little village on the Iowa side ten miles above Nauvoo. We stopped at a little tavern, took a little refreshment of tea and cake, and returned home. The novelty of the drive was quite delightful.

We heard that Mrs. Joseph Smith wished to become acquainted with us, and had been expecting us to honor her with a call. As there was no prospect of E's going, I proposed to call and represent the family, the Judge volunteering to accompany and introduce me. They live in the Old Town by the river, so it was a mile walk, but we were fortunate to find them home. They seemed pleased to see us and urged us to pass the afternoon, but we politely declined. Sister Emma, for by that name Mrs. S. is known, is very plain in her personal appearance, though we hear she is very intelligent and benevolent, has great influence with her husband, and is generally beloved. She
said very little to us, her whole attention being absorbed in what Joseph was saying. He talked incessantly about himself, what he had done and could do more than other mortals, and remarked that he was "a giant, physically and mentally." In fact, he seemed to forget that he was a man. I did not change my opinion about him, but suppose he has good traits. They say he is very kind-hearted, and always ready to give shelter and help to the needy. We may hope so, for a kind heart in this place can always be active.

From there we called on Joseph's mother, passing the site of the Nauvoo House, a spacious hotel, the first floor only laid. It is like the Temple in being erected on the tithe system, and when finished will surpass in splendor any hotel in the State. Here Joseph and his heirs for generations are to have apartments free of expense, and they think the crowned heads of Europe will rusticate beneath its roof. Madame Smith's residence is a log house very near her son's. She opened the door and received us cordially. She is a motherly kind of woman of about sixty years. She receives a little pittance by exhibiting The Mummies to strangers. When we asked to see them, she lit a candle and conducted us up a short, narrow stairway to a low, dark room under the roof. On one side were standing half a dozen mummies, to whom she introduced us, King Onitus and his royal household,—one she did not know. Then she took up what seemed to be a club wrapped in a dark cloth, and said "This is the leg of Pharaoh's daughter, the one that saved Moses." Repressing a smile, I looked from the mummies to the old lady, but could detect nothing but earnestness and sincerity on her countenance. Then she turned to a long table, set her candle-stick down, and opened a long roll of manuscript, saying it was "the writing of Abraham and Isaac, written in Hebrew and Sanscrit," and she read several minutes from it as if it were English. It sounded very much like passages from the Old Testament—and it might have been for anything we knew—but she said she read it through the inspiration of her son Joseph, in whom she seemed to have perfect confidence. Then in the same way she interpreted to us hieroglyphics from another roll. One was Mother Eve being tempted by the serpent, who—the serpent, I mean—was standing on the tip of his tail, which with his two legs formed a tripod, and had his head in Eve's ear. I said, "But serpents don't have legs."

"They did before the fall," she asserted with perfect confidence.

The Judge slipped a coin in her hand which she received smilingly, with a pleasant, "Come again," as we bade her goodby.

I know, dear Mother, you would be highly amused were you now to look from our parlor window at the crowd of people that are passing from their devotions in the Temple. As that edifice has neither roof nor floor, preaching is held there only on pleasant Sundays. Then planks are laid loosely over the joists and some boards are
placed for seats, but not half enough to accommodate the people; so men, women, and children, take with them chairs, benches, stools, etc. They are now returning with them. Their dress you would think not very comfortable for a winter’s day, many men and boys with straw hats, low shoes, and no overcoats, and women with sun-bonnets, calico dresses, thin shawls, or some nondescript garment thrown over the shoulders. Their zeal must surely keep them warm.

H. and E.—and Baby would if it could—send love to all of the family.

Write soon and believe me ever,
Your affectionate daughter,
Charlotte.

If the girl Charlotte’s report is accurate, the Prophet’s mother now had possession of the mummies, apparently given or loaned her by the Prophet for her sustenance. Her husband, Joseph Smith, Sr., had died in 1840, two and a half years earlier. The young woman’s report of the number of mummies surely is inaccurate—“half a dozen mummies”—unless the Saints had acquired some others in the meantime, which is not known to have happened. The mention of Sister Smith’s picking up a leg of one of the mummies—“the leg of Pharaoh’s daughter, the one that saved Moses”—presents a macabre and grisly scene, but tells us something very important, if it represents an accurate report: the mummies apparently had received rough treatment somewhere along the line from Chandler’s acquisition, their many movements at Kirtland, in Missouri, and now in Nauvoo. Perhaps in a fall or some unknown tumble one of the legs of one of the mummies came off. This information may be extremely important for modern researchers and their search for currently existing Joseph Smith mummies. As will be remembered, the 1835 Telegraph article mentioned the damaged head of one of the female mummies.

Of importance also is the second-hand report that one of the mummies was a daughter of Pharaoh—even the one who saved Moses—and the actual naming of a male mummy. It is interesting to remember that the 1840 Quincy Whig article also reported a female figure as a probable daughter of a Pharaoh. Indeed, Sister Smith is supposed to have known the identity of all but one mummy. One does not
know how much credibility to give this report, but it could be true that Sister Smith was saying such things. Certainly the mention of Onitus as the name of one of the mummies is of more than passing interest. Readers of the Book of Abraham 1:11 will see the following: "Now, this priest had offered upon this altar three virgins at one time, who were the daughters of Onitah, one of the royal descent directly from the loins of Ham." Any relationship between the two spellings and the men they are supposed to represent is unknown at present. The name will crop up again in a most unusual place. More on this later.

Of equal value is the report that Sister Smith unrolled two rolls of papyri. We have already learned from the 1840 Quincy Whig and Reverend Caswall's 1842 book that some of the papyri were under framed glass at that time. Apparently the "Court of Osiris" scene was under glass, as well as the "Framed 'Trinity' papyrus," which was under glass when Dr. Atiya discovered it in New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. It may be that Joseph Smith cut only a few fragments from the papyri. Someone after Joseph may have cut up the remaining parts of the two rolls that Charlotte viewed. It may have been someone else who did the pasting of the paper to the papyri back sides also. However, apparently some cutting was done sometime before the Saints left Nauvoo, because J. R. Riggs, quoted by N. L. Nelson, says that he saw the papyri in a pile 6 x 6 inches, slightly over an inch thick and gummed together. One suspects that an inch pile would hardly contain two rolls cut up. Thus, perhaps only part of the papyri was cut during Joseph Smith's ownership of them. Obviously we may never know the full story here.

If Charlotte's report is accurate, the fragment "V. The Serpent with legs" was part of a longer roll as of February 19, 1843, if the "Serpent with legs" is the same scene which Charlotte and Sister Smith were discussing.

The mention by the young woman that the texts were "the writings of Abraham and Isaac, written in Hebrew and Sanscrit" [sic] is of unknown value. If the report were true, it would indicate that the Saints did not claim they had
the actual writings of Abraham, as some individuals have tried to suggest. Clearly, the quote suggests a text that may have been a translated copy itself from still another language, or a report that may have been written years after Abraham or told in verbal history for years before being committed to papyrus.

But it is the reference to the manuscripts as having been written in Hebrew and Sanskrit that is confusing. Could it be that Joseph Smith did not translate Egyptian at all but instead translated Hebrew? He had been a diligent student of Hebrew during the two-month period that Josiah Seixas had been engaged in the Kirtland School of the Prophets from January 26 to the latter days of March, 1836. Also, since November 20, 1835, the Prophet had held in his possession a “quantity of Hebrew books” which included a Hebrew Bible, Lexicon and Grammar that Oliver Cowdery had brought home from a trip to New York. However, these books probably had no influence on him during the November days of “translation” with Warren Parrish. Some scholars, though, have suggested that several of the names appearing in the interpretation accompanying the facsimiles in the Book of Abraham and some of the names in the text of the Book of Abraham may have a relationship to Hebrew terminology, particularly as Josiah Seixas taught it. Other than those observations, the relationship of Hebrew—or even the existence of a manuscript with Hebrew characters—is unknown as it relates to the Book of Abraham.

The report causes one to wonder, simply because we do not have all of the papyri Joseph Smith had in his possession. Could it be that the story of Abraham came from a Hebrew text and not an Egyptian one as we have thought for so many years? One suspects not—but the door must be left open in case the report is accurate. Some of the Joseph Smith papers in the Church Historian’s Office which relate to the Book of Abraham and the papyri contain Arabic text—but nothing has ever been known of either Hebrew or Sanskrit text in relationship to the papyri. Sanskrit, the language of Hindu literary, religious,
and cultural expression, is related to the Aryan languages, but probably does not tie in with the papyri either.

One wonders if Sister Smith were not just throwing out names of languages she has heard; or, one wonders if Charlotte is reporting accurately. Until more evidence is gathered, the sum and value of Charlotte's report remains clouded on several issues.

Sometime during 1842 and July 1843, Robert Horne, a British convert who had journeyed to Nauvoo to be with the Saints, saw the mummies. His account is reported under "Reminiscences of the Church in Nauvoo," in the 1893 Millennial Star, the Church's publication in England. The account is self-explanatory:

"In Ramsbottom, Lancashire, England, resides an aged brother who at one time lived in Nauvoo, Ills., U.S.A., and had often heard the Prophet, Joseph Smith, address the Saints. He was visited by one of the Elders a few days ago and he then related many incidents which occurred during the time he spent in Nauvoo. As these will undoubtedly prove of interest to the Saints some of them are reproduced here.

"Oh, here is the Pearl of Great Price," said Brother Horne, picking up that book. "I've seen these records with my own eyes," referring to the Book of Abraham, "and handled them with these hands. Mother Lucy (Joseph's mother) showed them to me. You know Joseph had purchased four mummies. They were one of the Egyptian pharaohs, his wife, sister and daughter. I took hold of the breastbone of one of them. The records which I saw were some kind of parchment or papyrus, and it contained writing in red and black. Mother Lucy told me that one was the writings of Abraham and the other the writings of Joseph, who was sold in Egypt."

Brother Horne's account of the number and sex of the mummies certainly agrees with the 1835 Painesville Telegraph description, and his other memories generally reflect that which others also have recalled. The report is important, however, because it is from outside the United States, away from the body of the Saints where Horne's notions and memories could have been colored and influenced by what others said and remembered. It is not an invaluable, uncorroborative report. His statement, therefore, that he "took hold of the breastbone of one of them" seems to indicate that the mummies were indeed getting a little
tattered and torn from their many journeys and probable rough treatment.

More Extracts From Abraham Promised

There is a portion of an article in the *Times and Seasons*, February 1843, eleven months after the printing of the Book of Abraham, that has long intrigued students of the Book of Abraham. The editor of the paper was John Taylor, future president of the Church, and one to whom the Prophet had turned over the editorship of the *Times and Seasons* when his personal duties became burdensome. Elder Taylor was a member of the Council of the Twelve and has been long respected as a man of character. In an article or notice to subscribers concerning their subscriptions, he said:

We would respectfully announce to those of our subscribers (and there are a good many of them), who commenced their subscription for the *Times and Seasons* at the time when Brother Joseph took the editorial department that the term for which they subscribed is nearly at a close; most of those commenced at the seventh and eighth numbers; at the time when the translations from the Book of Abraham commenced. This is the sixth number, which leaves only four weeks until the time that they subscribed for, will be fulfilled.

We have given this timely notice that our friends may prepare themselves. We would further state that we have the promise of Br. Joseph, to furnish us with further extracts from the Book of Abraham.

One is reasonably certain that the publication of the translations was not being timed for circulation, but one has to admit that the announcements undoubtedly fulfilled Elder Taylor’s expectations. The reference to more “extracts,” however, suggests that apparently the Prophet intended to publish more of the Book of Abraham. As all Latter-day Saints know, the promised extracts never came forth, but one familiar with the life of the Prophet during his last two years will understand the reasons for his inability to complete a task that so captivated his interest.

In terms of additional material for translation, Latter-day Saints familiar with the explanation given with Fac-
simile No. 2 know of the Prophet’s comments: “The above translation is given as far as we have any right to give at the present time.” Under figures 8, 9, 11, and 12, he says, “Contains writings that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is to be had in the Holy Temple of God”; “Ought not to be revealed at the present time,” and “If the world can find out these numbers, so let it be.” Yet, he notes at the end the following, “Figures 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, will be given in the own due time of the Lord.” It seems apparent that the Prophet knew considerably more about Facsimile No. 2, for example, than he printed. And, in terms of that which he had published, the Prophet was forthright and confident in his appraisal of his experiences resulting in the coming forth of the Book of Abraham.

Later in the year 1843, he wrote a letter to James Arlington Bennett, the Latter-day Saint of Arlington House, Long Island, New York, whom the Prophet would select as his vice-presidential running mate in the 1844 elections. Bennett, however, was apparently from Ireland and would find it necessary to withdraw from the race. He had been granted a doctor of laws degree from the Nauvoo University, and was inspector-general of the Nauvoo Legion, and apparently in two years would have a dream concerning the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum. After the death of the Prophet, Brigham Young appraised Bennett as one seeking “aggrandizement unbecoming a servant of God.” Be that as it may, Bennett’s relations with Joseph Smith were warm, in part due to James Arlington Bennett’s role in helping to expose certain trouble-makers harassing the Prophet. The *Times and Seasons*, November 13, carried the Prophet’s letter in which he voices his thoughts on the value of the Book of Abraham, part of which follows:

The art, now lost, of embalming the human bodies and preserving them in the Catacombs of Egypt, whereby men, women, and children, as mummies, after a lapse of near 3,500 years, come forth among the living and, although dead, the papyrus which has lived in their bosoms unharmed speaks for them in a language like the sound of an earthquake.

Were I an Egyptian, I would exclaim: Jah-oh-eh, Enish-go-on-
dosh, Flo-ees, Flos-isis: "Oh the earth! the power of attraction, and the moon passing between her and the sun."

It is apparent that the Prophet projected confidence in his usage of Egyptian, as if he was quite familiar with the tongue. Perhaps he had done far more than merely read on English transcript appearing in the seer stone. Perhaps—and the age-old question appears again—perhaps we have no idea about how Joseph Smith and God effected the translations. Was it a simple reading of English for the Book of Mormon, but another type of translation for the Book of Abraham? What was this alphabet and grammar? Questions abound. All that is known at present is: Joseph Smith apparently felt quite confident about his Egyptian.

In terms of the age data given, “a lapse of 3,500 years” suggests a date of about 1657 B.C. It is not known if the Prophet was suggesting this as the death date of one of his mummies.

Several days after he wrote Brother Bennett, there appears in the *History of the Church* another puzzling entry dealing with the papyri. It is dated November 15, 1843, Wednesday, “P.M. At the office. Suggested the idea of preparing a grammar of the Egyptian language. Prayer-meeting at the old house. I spoke of a petition to Congress, my letter to Bennett. . . .”

This needs to be placed in perspective. It is more than a year after the publication of the Book of Abraham. In early July, 1835, he had begun “translating an alphabet to the Book of Abraham, and arranging a grammar of the Egyptian language. . . .” October 1 of the same year, he “labored on the Egyptian alphabet. . . .” On November 17, he “exhibited the alphabet. . . .” And now, eight years later, in November 1843, he is still speaking of “preparing a grammar of the Egyptian language.” Whatever the grammar and the alphabet were, it seems that they were not yet ready for publication. Joseph was still “preparing.” However, perhaps the preparing has reference to preparation of wood-cuts and such for the press. One wonders, after reading reports that the seer stone was the instrument for
the reception of the Book of Abraham, if the Prophet was merely taking some of the information acquired from his experience in recording and viewing the translation and applying it to the papyri with the best ability and knowledge he had at the moment. If this were the case, such an alphabet and grammar would have the seeds of Joseph's personal notions as much as of inspired elements. Or, as is obvious, it could be the complete result of inspiration. It also could be the result of his own notions about cracking the Egyptian language. It seems quite apparent that for nine years the Prophet Joseph Smith had hobbled at analyzing the papyri, "kneeling on the floor of the front room with Egyptian manuscripts spread out all around him, weighted down by rocks and books, as with intense concentration he would study a line of characters, jotting down his impressions in a little notebook," recalled President Joseph F. Smith of the scenes of his youth. The issue is a confusing one at present.

Two Bostonians

Forty-three days before the Prophet's martyrdom, on May 15, perhaps the most distinguished visitors of the year visited him, Charles Francis Adams and his cousin, Josiah Quincy. Adams, the son of former United States President John Quincy Adams, was 36 years old at the time, and a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. He later became a candidate for Vice-President, served in Congress, and was Abraham Lincoln's Minister to England during the Civil War.

With him was his cousin Josiah Quincy, 42 years old and destined to become the mayor of Boston the year after his Nauvoo visit. He was the son of another Josiah Quincy, whose successes have often wrongly been attributed to the one who visited Nauvoo. The father had been mayor of Boston from 1823 to 1828 and president of Harvard from 1829 to 1845.

The two travelers had not intended to visit Nauvoo, but did so after an advance man for Henry Clay's presidential
campaign suggested that they not overlook the “City of the Saints.” Both Adams and Quincy kept journals, and Quincy’s “ten closely written pages” of notes were the substance of a chapter on the Prophet in Quincy’s *Figures of the Past*, published in Boston in 1883, a year after Quincy’s death. The introduction of the chapter facetiously titled “Two Boston Brahmins Call on the Prophet” has been quoted by many Latter-day Saints. Readers will find it familiar:

It is by no means improbable that some future text-book, 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.* And the reply, absurd as it doubtless seems to most men now living, may be an obvious common-place of their descendants. History deals in surprises and paradoxes quite as startling as this. The man who established a religion in this age of free debate, who was and is to-day accepted by hundreds of thousands as a direct emissary from the Most High—such a rare human being is not to be disposed of by pelting

The Mansion House of the Prophet (taken in 1885), wherein the two Bostonians viewed the mummies with the Prophet.
his memory with unsavory epithets. Fanatic, impostor, charlatan, he may have been; but these hard names furnish no solution to the problem he presents to us. Fanatics and imposters are living and dying every day, and their memory is buried with them; but the wonderful influence which this founder of a religion exerted and still exerts throws him into relief before us, not as a rogue to be incriminated, but as a phenomenon to be explained. . . . Ten closely written pages of my journal describe my impressions of Nauvoo, and of its prophet, mayor, general, and judge; but details, necessarily omitted in the diary, went into letters addressed to friends at home, and I shall use both these sources to make my narrative as complete as possible. I happened to visit Joseph Smith in company with a distinguished gentleman, who, if rumor may be trusted, has been as conscientious a journal-writer as was his father. It is not impossible that my record may one day be supplemented by that of my fellow-traveller, the Hon. Charles Francis Adams.

His chapter closes with an attitude of puzzlement:

. . . Finally, he told us what he would do, were he President of the United States, and went on to mention that he might one day so hold the balance between parties as to render his election to that office by no means unlikely.

Who can wonder that the chair of the National Executive had its place among the visions of this self-reliant man? He had already traversed the roughest part of the way to that coveted position. Born in the lowest ranks of poverty, without book-learning and with the homeliest of all human names, he had made himself at the age of thirty-nine a power upon earth. Of the multitudinous family of Smith, from Adam down (Adam of the “Wealth of Nations,” I mean), none had so won human hearts and shaped human lives as this Joseph. His influence, whether for good or for evil, is potent to-day, and the end is not yet.

I have endeavored to give the details of my visit to the Mormon prophet with absolute accuracy. If the reader does not know just what to make of Joseph Smith, I cannot help him out of the difficulty. I myself stand helpless before the puzzle.

But it is his report of viewing the mummies in which we are intensely interested:

The prophet referred to his miraculous gift of understanding all languages, and took down a Bible in various tongues, for the purpose of exhibiting his accomplishments in this particular. Our position as guests prevented our testing his powers by a rigid examination, and the rendering of a few familiar texts seemed to be accepted by his followers as a triumphant demonstration of his abilities. It may have
been an accident, but I observed that the bulk of his translations were from the Hebrew, which, presumably, his visitors did not understand, rather than from the classical languages, in which they might more easily have caught him tripping.

"And now come with me," said the prophet "and I will show you the curiosities." So saying, he led the way to a lower room, where sat a venerable and respectable-looking lady. "This is my mother, gentlemen. The curiosities we shall see belong to her. They were purchased with her own money, at a cost of six thousand dollars"; and then, with deep feeling, were added the words, "And that woman was turned out upon the prairie in dead of night by a mob." There were some pine presses fixed against the wall of the room. These receptacles Smith presses opened, and disclosed four human bodies, shrunken and black with age. "These are mummies," said the exhibitor. "I want you to look at that little runt of a fellow over there. He was a great man in his day. Why, that was Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt!" Some parchments inscribed with hieroglyphics were then offered us. They were preserved under glass and handled with great respect. "That is the handwriting of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful," said the Prophet. "This is the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the Creation, from which Moses composed the First Book of Genesis." The parchment last referred to showed a rude drawing of a man and woman, and a serpent walking upon a pair of legs. I ventured to doubt the propriety of providing the reptile in question with this unusual means of locomotion. "Why, that's as plain as a pikestaff," was the rejoinder. "Before the Fall snakes always went about on legs, just like chickens. They were deprived of them, in punishment for their agency in the ruin of man." We were further assured that the prophet was the only mortal who could translate these mysterious writings, and that his power was given by direct inspiration.

Quincy's report is preserved, in part, through another account, that of a friend named Henry Halkett. Quincy informed Halkett of his visit in 1845, about a year after the Prophet had been martyred and a year after Quincy's visit. Halkett's notes are preserved in the William L. Clements library at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Perhaps their value is only that of testimony concerning that which Quincy remembered, but Halkett's report will be of interest:

On Mr. Quincy's return to Joe's house (which was the hotel or public house), he said they would perhaps like to see his curiosities, on their assenting, he took them down to his cellar, where there were
several common pine presses, he opened these and to their astonishment they saw several black corpses. "That one," said Joe, "is the body of Pharaoh Necho." Joe it seems had imported four mummies and having taken off the wrappers, had stood them upright in these presses. He then opened the little boxes which are always found about a mummy and took out some papyrus. "This," said he, "is the handwriting of Abraham, that one is Moses," and so on.

"These are hieroglyphics, nobody can read them but myself. I can read all writing and all hieroglyphics—

Mr. Quincy pointed to one of them which had a representation of a man, a woman, a tree, and a non-descript animal. "That," said Joe, "is the creation of the World. There is Adam, Eve, the Tree of Knowledge, and the Serpent"—. Mr. Quincy asked him how it could be a serpent as it had legs. Joe answered, "Oh, you know that serpents originally had legs like chickens, but afterwards God said 'Upon the belly shalt thou crawl' and so he lost his legs."

Mr. Quincy spoke of Joe having an extraordinary acquaintance with the Bible and that he was very ready in reply, and clever in supporting his notions by quotations and reasoning.

After the exhibition was closed Joe said, "Persons who see my curiosities usually give my mother a quarter of a dollar."

This mother of his was a fine, venerable looking lady—

Quincy’s and Halkett’s report cannot go unnoticed; yet, neither do students and scholars know how much credibility to give it. For example, the reports heretofore have suggested that men of Kirtland—Mormon or otherwise, or from both camps—purchased the mummies and papyrus. Quincy reports that the Prophet’s mother made the purchase. Perhaps she did contribute towards the purchase; no one knows.

Also, there is the problem of price. Quincy mentions $6,000; Emma’s signed note lists $2,400; and N. L. Nelson says $2,000. Again, no one knows, except that one tends to credit first-hand reports in such matters with more credibility than second-hand sources, particularly when the first-hand source, Emma, was so long associated with the events, and Quincy acquired his data only after several hours of visiting.

As has been observed, in the Quincy Whig’s 1840 report the Prophet indicated no knowledge concerning the identity of the mummies, and such a view was also so stated.
in the preface to Oliver Cowdery's letter in the December 1835 *Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate*. From Josiah Quincy's report, one is led to think that the Prophet knew the identity of one of the mummies, a person apparently called the Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, supposedly a "little runt of a fellow."

We now have two reports of two different kings or pharaohs in the Prophet's presence—King Onitus, says Charlotte Haven, and Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, says Josiah Quincy. Maybe the Prophet had two kings—at least that would be the conclusion of these two reports. First, however, proof needs to be found that he even had two male mummies.

At this point, one is reminded of a sentence in the document found by Dr. Atiya and signed by Emma Smith, which says, "These Mummies were found to be the family of Pharo King of Egypt," and of the sentence in the 1840 *Quincy Whig*, which says, "The embalmed body that stands near the centre of the case, . . . is one of the Pharaohs, who sat on the throne of Egypt, and the female figure by it was probably one of the daughters." We certainly seem to have a king in our midst; to that all four of these parties seem to agree.

**Necho**

Over the years, some students have given credence to Josiah Quincy's report that one of the Prophet's mummies was Pharaoh Necho. Perhaps future research will disclose information to strengthen or weaken this possibility, as it undoubtedly will do for the name of Onitus also.

But if one of the mummies were Necho (also Nechau), some rather interesting things are known about the man. He reigned from about 609 to 595 B.C. and was a contemporary of Lehi of Book of Mormon fame, and was the second king of the twenty-sixth, or Saite, dynasty, the son of Psammetichus I. His rule was a vigorous one, and he maintained two fleets of boats, one on the Nile delta and another on the Red Sea. Interestingly enough, he attempted to dig a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea.
Sea. He sent Phoenician sailors around the tip of Africa, a trip of three years’ time, and established himself as a great man of ideas and exploration.

But of interest to Bible students is his battle with King Josiah of Judah. Necho apparently desired to restore a somewhat reduced-in-grandeur Egypt by reconquering Egypt’s holdings in Syria and Palestine. With this intent, Necho agreed to join with the Assyrians, who were north of Judah, against Nebuchadnezzar’s Neo-Babylonian Empire east of Judah. But King Josiah, wanting to impede the armies of Necho, perhaps in part due to the terrible sufferings the Assyrians had inflicted on Judah in the past, went out to battle against him. The Bible says:

After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple. Necho king of Egypt came up to fight against Charchemish by Euphrates: and Josiah went out against him.

But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste; forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not.

Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo.

And the archers shot at King Josiah; and the king said to his servants. Have me away; for I am sore wounded.

His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had: and they brought him to Jerusalem. and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.

And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations to this day, and made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations.

Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and his goodness, according to that which was written in the law of the Lord,

And his deeds, first and last, behold, they are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah.

Then the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah and made him king of his father’s stead in Jerusalem.

Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign and he reigned three months in Jerusalem.
And the king of Egypt put him down at Jerusalem, and condemned the land in an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold.

And the king of Egypt made Eliakim his brother king over Judah and Jerusalem, and turned his name to Jehoiakim. And Necho took Jehoahaz his brother, and carried him to Egypt. (2 Chron. 35:20-27; 36:1-4.)

Necho extended his boundaries to the Euphrates River but held the increase for only a short time. He was decisively defeated at Carchemish in 604 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar, and lost possession of Syria. He returned to Egypt, never again to attempt any important conquests.

However, a considerable problem exists in attempting to identify the Prophet’s mummy with Pharaoh Necho. Necho was buried at Sais on the Nile delta, some 400 miles south of Thebes and Gurneh, where Lebolo discovered his pit-tomb. But, interestingly, the periods preceding and succeeding Necho were periods of considerable tomb robbing. Armies overran the land, destroying and pillaging the tombs of the Pharaohs. Reburial of many of the mummies occurred later, but one wonders if it were likely that the bodies would be transferred 400 miles from Sais to Thebes and reburied in the area where Lebolo found his pit-tomb. If so, perhaps it would have been during the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. that the mummies were moved to a more secure area in the southern part of Egypt. As is apparent, however, there are numerous problems in accepting the second-hand report that the Prophet’s mummy was Necho.

Similarly, one does not know what to do with Josiah Quincy’s report that “this is the handwriting of Abraham . . . the autograph of Moses, and these lines were written by his brother Aaron. Here we have the earliest account of the Creation, from which Moses composed the First Book of Genesis. The parchment last referred to showed a rude drawing of a man and a woman, and a serpent walking upon a pair of legs.”

Since all of the papyri owned by the Prophet are not had by the Church, this report cannot be verified, and according to Egyptologists, the papyri found by Dr. Atiya does not contain the signatures mentioned.
The report that "the last parchment" had a drawing of a man, woman, and a serpent on legs is confusing. One cannot determine if this parchment contained the account of the Creation, purportedly prepared by Moses, or whether Quincy means another parchment, the last he saw. Readers are well aware that by the time of Josiah Quincy's visit in 1844, some of the papyri had been cut into pieces in an attempt to better preserve or better study the papyri. One of the recently found fragments is even titled by Dr. Nibley "Serpent with Legs." It cannot be determined if this is the fragment to which Quincy referred, although one suspects it is. And it is difficult to determine—by layman's standards of 1844—if the persons on the papyri are men or women. These are only some of the problems attendant to attempting to identify any known existing papyrus fragment to that which Quincy viewed—if he reported correctly. It will be helpful for researchers to compare Josiah Quincy's account with Charles Francis Adams' report of the trip for corroboration of these aspects.

**The Savery Discussion**

One of the most interesting accounts from a contemporary of the Prophet Joseph Smith that deals with the Book of Abraham is that given by Richard Savery. In June 1844, Brother Savery was on a mission, serving in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. He records in his writings his discussion with a Reverend A. M. Bryan of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The Savery notes are extremely interesting on two counts: (1) it is a record of someone's thought about the mummies and papyri, and (2) it preserves in part the manner in which early missionaries presented the gospel to others. Here is Brother Savery's statement:

I next adverted to a circumstance relative to a Mr. Chandler, an Egyptian Antiquarian, who obtained five mummies in that country, which were exhibited in the city of New York; at which exhibition it was first discovered that one of the mummies had a large protuberance on the left side, which awakened the curiosity of a gentleman, who proposed that it be examined, and in doing so found it to contain
papyrus or parchment, containing writing a portion of which was translated in New York. Being unable to decipher the remainder, he was advised to take them to Joseph Smith, in Ohio, who pretended to have the power or gift of translation. On arriving there, he presented the parchment to him, who said that in an hour he would acquaint him with the matter, at the end of which he returned, having translated the same as in New York and Philadelphia [reference to Chandler’s visits to scholars in New York and Philadelphia], and much more, pronouncing it to be the Book of Abraham, the characters of which closely resembled those on the plates lately found in Pike County, Illinois.

Here, Mr. B. remarked that no man on earth had this power, and manifested his contempt by a sneer, that Joseph Smith should be so preposterous as to claim to be inspired of God and said that he would as soon believe the moon were made of green cheese; I replied that I presumed men were now the same as anciently, and were as susceptible to these impressions from God now as then, He being unchangeable, and then cited Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and David to prove that they, by means of the Urim and Thummim, had this power, and could receive answers from God through this according to their desires, and if Joseph Smith had this power, he was an extraordinary man, marking that many honest men believed it, and if not it was a great humbug.

As should be apparent, Savery’s report contains some very new, contradictory, and interesting information. Obviously the report’s credibility is unknown, but no one should overlook the possibility that Savery was voicing that which many other Latter-day Saints may have understood also. Perhaps, as is the case occasionally, our missionary had not carefully studied his facts and had warped them in his presentation. At any event, Savery certainly is preaching a new and interesting account. He says that Chandler himself is the one who acquired the mummies from Egypt. He says that Chandler purchased five mummies—certainly this would be compatible with the accounting of the Prophet’s four and the one Lebolo mummy which was dissected in Philadelphia. Savery introduces an entirely new element into the story of the finding of the papyri—that one of the mummies had a “protuberance” on the left side, but a report that agrees with Stricker’s reports of other papyri on other Lebolo mummies. Certainly such an unusual
element of the story was not merely a figment of Savery’s imagination. One tends to think that this notion must have been held by others also.

Savery’s understanding on the quickness of the Prophet’s report to Chandler concerning some of the hieroglyphics certainly agrees with Orson Pratt’s account, and suggests that this too was a matter of common understanding. But his report that the Prophet informed Chandler the hieroglyphics were of the Book of Abraham seems unlikely, and disagrees with the entry in the History of the Church following July 5, in which the Prophet says he learned the nature of the papyri a few days after the purchase.

Also, it is interesting to observe that apparently as far as the lay members of the Church were concerned, the Prophet made his translations through the Urim and Thummim—not from himself or unaided by heavenly guidance. And it seems clear that if it were the seer stone which the Prophet used, as Brigham Young says, and not the Urim and Thummim, it was not common knowledge among members of the Church. But the truth undoubtedly is that most members of the Church—if they knew about the existence of the two different tools at all—fused everything in their mind with the Urim and Thummim, the tool provided for the translation of the Book of Mormon. Presumably, Brigham Young’s report that the Prophet used the seer stone is the more correct.

An amusing little report having to do with the mummies, their grisly appearance, and the pranks of young boys seems to fit in this period of time—the first half of 1844. It concerns Solomon H. Hale, born April 30, 1839, who would have been five years old in 1844. In 1923, when Brother Hale was nearing his 84th birthday, he gave a talk in Boise, Idaho, about his youth in Nauvoo:

And I have always carried clearly in memory—somewhat to my embarrassment—certain cautious and uninvited visits to an upstairs room in his home [the Prophet’s], where I would take boys to see the ‘mummies.’ They were set upright in a kind of cabinet against the wall, behind a curtain. I can see to this day the startled looks on the
boys' faces when I would jerk the curtain to one side and reveal those awful looking mummies. But one day the Prophet Joseph caught us at it, and gave us a well-deserved reprimand. We never did it again. (Bishop Jonathan H. Hale of Nauvoo, His Life and Ministry, p. 196.)

Few writers and historians of the Prophet's life have noted the apparent influence that the Book of Abraham had upon the Prophet. But those who take the time to review his speeches, writings, and thought soon realize that for nine long years—from 1835 to his martyrdom in 1844—the Prophet Joseph Smith relied heavily upon that which he had learned from Abraham. Beginning in the latter part of 1835, topics dealing with the "mysteries of Abraham," or the "planetary system," or "intelligences," or half a dozen other topics from the Book of Abraham present themselves. Although the Prophet continued to receive revelations and gain other knowledge, nothing could push aside the great truths he had learned from Abraham.

Thus, only eight days before his death, on June 16, 1844, the Prophet once again spoke to his people—this time on the plurality of Gods. He stood in the "grove," east of the unfinished Nauvoo Temple, where his remarks were recorded by Thomas Bullock, recently transferred to the Prophet's office from his duties as clerk of the Maid of Iowa, a Church-owned little Mississippi steamer.

I want to reason a little on this subject. I learned it by translating the papyrus which is now in my house. I learned a testimony concerning Abraham, and he reasoned concerning the God of heaven. (History of the Church, Vol. 6, p. 486.)

The phrase "in my house" may suggest that his mother exhibited the unimportant papyri, and Joseph kept the important papyri in his house. Or it may simply be that by this date, all the mummies and papyri had been moved from Lucy Mack Smith's home—where Charlotte Haven viewed them in 1843—to the Prophet's home in 1844.

Death to the Translator

Eight days after this memorable sermon on the nature
of God, the translator-seer of the Book of Abraham was dead, killed by mobbers from surrounding communities while held illegally in Carthage Jail some 18 miles to the southeast of Nauvoo. The clash of social orders was inevitable and had borne bitter fruit in innumerable experiences that had plagued the Prophet and his believers first in New York and Pennsylvania, then in Missouri, next in Ohio, once more in Missouri, and now finally in Illinois.

The solidarity and exclusiveness of the Saints in terms of economic, political, and social activities brought its share of antagonisms, which were capitalized upon by ministers and religious leaders who bitterly opposed the theology and aggressive proselyting behavior of the Mormons. The ministers, self-appointed and society-appointed public symbols of society’s value systems, successfully enlisted newspaper support in decrying things Mormon. They were particularly against such notions as plural marriage, which conflicted with the cultural traditions of America, and claims to modern revelation, which conflicted with the ministers’ visions of themselves as God’s appointed mouthpieces. They also resented the cock-sure attitude manifested by some tactless members of the Church.

Consequently, when given an opportunity to foment public concern in a much-muddled problem dealing with the closing of the Nauvoo Expositor, an anti-Joseph Smith newspaper of Nauvoo, the long-standing anti-Mormon resentments erupted over the issues of freedom of the press and freedom to own property. On June 27, 1844, the Prophet Joseph Smith’s voice was stilled. Death came at about 5:30 p.m. on a muggy summer afternoon in Carthage Jail. As William E. Berrett, historian and Church writer, has said, “The presence of the Mormons in a large body in any part of settled America at that time would have produced a similar story. And this not because the Mormons were hard to get along with, or because non-Mormons were wicked, but because the teachings of the Church and the existing social orders were so directly in conflict.” (Berrett, The Restored Church, p. 183.) No more was the man who translated with the coop-
eration of the unseen world. He had produced the 250,000-word Book of Mormon, presumably in a little over two months of concentrated labor (See Francis W. Kirkham, A New Witness for Christ in America, Vol. 1), produced 134 written revelations, recorded the Book of Moses from another experience with the spirit world, revised parts of the Old and New Testaments in order to correct erroneous notions that had crept in over the years, received from his usual spiritual contacts the true version of Matthew, Chapter 24, and closed his life on a task that had interested him for nine years—the publication of the writings of the ancient prophet Abraham. Truly, no man knows his history, nor any his heart and mind.

Mother Smith’s Mummies and Papyri

While the Church wrestled with the problems of leadership—and followership—and who was to direct the kingdom, life continued to go on. The Prophet’s possessions were a mixture of Church and personal property. But apparently it was understood that the mummies and papyri belonged to the Prophet’s mother. She exhibited them for a few cents to visitors and thus helped to sustain herself. The Warsaw Signal, a bitterly anti-Mormon paper at Warsaw, Illinois, some 20 miles south of Nauvoo, printed the following article on September 10, 1845:

The editor of the Reveille, in one of his letters from the Upper Mississippi, gives the following account of his interviews with Joe Smith’s mother, who keeps the mummies in Nauvoo.

Her story with regard to the mummies, (learned from Joe,) is about as follows: It seems that, for the express purpose of corroborating the “brass plates” which were one day to be dug up, and translated as the “Book of Mormon” the angel of the Lord, three thousand years ago, appeared to Joseph in Egypt and delivered to him a wooden case, containing a roll of papyrus, which was to be buried by him with the family of one of the patriarchs; that Joseph did so, depositing the case on the Queen’s breast, where it lay until the discovery of the “brass plates,” the Lord then causing the bodies to be discovered also and conveyed with the identical deposit of Joseph into the hands of “Joe.”

This report corroborates Parley P. Pratt’s account that
the papyri of importance were found on the body of a female, reportedly identified by the Prophet as a possible daughter to a reputed pharaoh. The story about the angel delivering the scroll to the ancient Joseph of Egypt makes interesting reading but is not confirmed by Church literature—although no known information disputes it.

What is known is that Lucy Mack Smith, the Prophet’s mother, had the mummies. All of the worries and concerns of the Prophet’s mother were not confined to supporting herself, however. The mother of six dead sons and a deceased husband was deeply concerned about her one remaining son, William Smith, a disaffected member of the Council of the Twelve. He wrote a letter about the trials of
being associated with the Church. On January 1, 1845, was printed in the *Times and Seasons* a letter written December 25, 1844, by W. W. Phelps. There are several references to matters that have bearing on the Book of Abraham. Brother Phelps writes of information that apparently had been a matter of discussion between himself and the Prophet while Brother Phelps served as a scribe during some of the translating labors. The letter covered ten columns in the newspaper and will not be reproduced in full, but after the excerpt relating to the Book of Abraham is given, two remaining quotes are included because of their inherent interest to Latter-day Saints:

Well, now, Brother William, when the house of Israel begin to come into the glorious mysteries of the kingdom, and find that Jesus Christ, whose goings forth, as the prophets said, have been from of old, from eternity: and that eternity, agreeably to the records found in the catacombs of Egypt, has been going on in this system, (not this world) almost two thousand five hundred and fifty five millions of years: and to know at the same time, that deists, geologists and others are trying to prove that matter must have existed hundreds of thousands of years;—it almost tempts the flesh to fly to God, or muster faith like Enoch to be translated and see and know as we are seen and known!

Reading the above, one cannot help but wonder about the nature of the information Joseph promised in 1843 to publish but was unable to deliver because of his death. W. W. Phelps continues:

Now for the welfare of your relatives. I have seen your mother and she cried for joy over your letter. Though in her 69th year, her heart was big with hope for her “darling son, William”: and she blessed you in the name of the Lord.

The rest, I think, enjoy very good health, and especially Emma, who amid her great affliction, has given birth to a son, and like David of old, may be yet a terror to evil doers; one that will light his candle in the same great fire where his father’s was lit, and search the world by the light of it, till the last stain of his father’s blood, is made white by righteousness.

The record of your father’s family presents the following summary of life and death:

*Joseph Smith, Sen.*, born in Topsfield, Mass., July 12, 1772. Died in Nauvoo, Ill., Sept. 14, 1840, aged 68. His grey hairs were brought
down to the grave by being driven from the State of Missouri in the
dead of winter by Gov. Boggs and his murderous banditti.

Lucy Smith (Mack) born in Gilsum, N. H. July 8, 1776, now in
her 69th year; mourns the loss of a husband and six sons, the most of
whom fell by the tender mercies of a Christian Republic, bestowed
by the Herods of the land in civilized exile and murder.

Joseph Smith and Lucy Mack, married in Tunbridge, Vt. June 24,
1796.

Alvin Smith, born in Tunbridge, Vt., February 11, 1798. Died in
Palmyra, N.Y., November 19, 1828, aged nearly 32.

Hyrum Smith born in Tunbridge, Vt., February 9, 1800, was mur-
dered in Carthage jail, on the 27th of June, 1844, (by a mob) aged 44.
Thus fell a martyr, against whom not even one crime had ever been
known.

Joseph Smith, Jr. born in Sharon, Vt., December 23, 1805. Mur-
dered in Carthage jail on the 27th of June, 1844 (by a mob,) on ac-
count of his religion as allmost all holy men had been before him;—
aged 39. Thus fell a martyr, to gratify the cupidty of a priestly thirst
for innocent blood; and shows the weakness of our government to
protect her citizens: this first prophet of the last dispensation, whose
godly works, whose virtuous deeds, and whose innocent blood will
entitle him to a fame, a name, a glory, an honor, power, and domin-
ion, with Gods, when his persecutors and murderers will mutter,
groan, gnash their teeth, and sigh among the damned, where “their
worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.”

Samuel Harrison Smith, born in Tunbridge, Vt., March 13, 1808.
Died July 30th, 1844; broken hearted, and worn out with persecution.
Aged 36. The righteous are removed from the evils to come.

Ephraim Smith, born in Royalton, Vt., March 13, 1810. Died
March 24, 1810; aged 11 days.

William Smith, born in Royalton, Vt., March 13, 1811; aged
(soon) 34: the only male (living) of the family, and one of the
“Twelve.” Lord, while I write “the fire burns for the mighty of
Israel, to come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan.”

Katharine Smith, born in Lebanon, N.H. July 28, 1813; aged 31.

Don Carlos Smith, born in Norwich Vermont, March 25, 1815.
Died August 7, 1841, aged 26. His untiring vigilance for his parents
and the persecutions of Missouri, brought him to the grave, just as he
was stepping upon the threshold of life and usefulness.

Lucy Smith, born in Palmyra, N.Y. July 15, 1821; aged 23.

So here you have your history—without painting. The females
all married, all Mormons and live in this vicinity.

But I must begin to draw to a close, or my letter will be long
enough for a pamphlet. I cannot leave the subject, however, till I
bring in the “Twelve.” They were known from before the foundation

Publication at Last 269
of the world, and are thus noticed in the prophecy of Zenos, in the Book of Mormon; I mean in that masterly parable of the "olive tree:" All men, acquainted with revelation and the spirit of God, have agreed that the "servant" spoken of in that parable, was Joseph Smith, and when the Lord commanded him "to go to and call other servants," and "they did go to it with their mights,"—as the whole has been backed up by revelations in the Book of Doctrine and Covenants, it would require more than "mortal" to prove that allusion to the "servants," meant any body but the "Twelve."

I know the Twelve, and they know me.—Their names are Brigham Young, the lion of the Lord; Heber C. Kimball, the herald of grace; Parley P. Pratt, the archer of paradise; Orson Hyde, the olive branch of Israel; Willard Richards, the keeper of the rolls; John Taylor, the champion of right; William Smith, the patriarchal Jacob staff; Wilford Woodruff, the banner of the gospel; George A. Smith, the entablature of truth; Orson Pratt, the gauge of philosophy; John E. Page, the sun dial; and Lyman Wight, the wild ram of the mountain. And they are good men; the best the Lord can find; they do the will of God, and the saints know it.

But allusions to material connected with the Book of Abraham were not over yet. On May 1 and May 15, 1845, the Times and Seasons printed two installments from a person who signed himself "Joseph's Speckled Bird." The phrase "speckled bird" had appeared in W. W. Phelps' letter to William Smith in December 1844 and was quoted from Jeremiah 12:9, wherein birds represent the figures of the coming desolation, and the assembling birds maltreat one of their own kind because its unusual plumage attracts their attention, and then later attracts the beasts of the field.

Those who have looked at the pictures of the recently discovered papyri fragments know that the fragments labeled V and VI have birds of one species or another, both appearing with a speckled look. Students have wondered about a possible connection. In time, perhaps Egyptologists will address themselves to all of these ramifications. At any rate, both the content of the letters and the pseudonym reflect one who may have known considerable about the writings of Abraham. The title to the letters, "Paracletes," means holy spirits and is of Greek derivation. The letters have long interested students of the Book of Abraham.
Their value, however, will be left for the reader to appraise. Here is the May 1 installment:

Mr. Editor—If you think the following sketch of the “Paracletes” worthy of a place, in the Times and Seasons, use it.

Once upon a time, the most honorable men of the creations or universes, met together to promote the best interest of the great whole.—The “head” said to his oldest son, you are the rightful heir to all, but you know I have many kingdoms and many mansions, and of course it will need many kings and many priests, to govern them, come you with me in solemn council, and let us send some of the “best” men we have had born in the regions of light, to rule in those kingdoms and set them in order by exhibiting good that evil may be manifest.

It was said and done, for every thing there, was adopted from the “head” by common consent. As free agency gave the sons of the “head” a fair chance to choose for themselves, the most noble of the hosts, came forward and selected a world or kingdom, and a time or a season, when he would take his chance, at winning the hearts of the multitude, a kingdom, crown, and never ending glory.

The innumerable multiplicity of kingdoms, or spheres for action, with beings and animals in proportion, and time, times, eternity, and eternities, for a full development of the qualities and powers of each, would so far exceed the common comprehension of mortals, that I can only say eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, nor hath a natural heart yet been able to calculate either. I then shall content myself, for this time to sketch but one. Idumia is the one as interesting as any, and being situated at an immense distance from the centre or “head’s” residence, and many eternities from the birth of the “Son of the morning;” or even the great holy day when the “morning stars sang together,” because so many worlds had been wrought out and left “empty and desolate,” as places for “all the sons” of God to multiply and replenish the earth, I select that.

Time being divided into seven parts, the following men agreed to leave the mansions of bliss, and spiritually help organize every thing necessary to fill a kingdom for the space of many of the Lord’s days, viz: Milauleph, Milbeth, Milgrimal, Mildauleth, Milhah, Milvah and Milzah. Now after they had organized the kingdom of Idumia spiritually, then one at a time was to come temporally and open the door of communication with the spiritual kingdom that all that would, might return to their former estate; for, for this reason, all the regions created and to be created, were filled with a variety of beings: agents to themselves but accountable to the “head” for promises, made when they agreed “to go” and be born of the flesh as they had been of the spirit; that they might know the evil, and choose the good: and then be born again of the spirit and the water, and enter into the mansions prepared for them before the foundations of the worlds.
Milauleph being the eldest and first chosen for Idumia, came on when "there was not a man to till the ground," that is, there was not a "man of flesh" to labor temporarily; and his elder brethren who had wrought out their salvation, upon worlds or realms, or kingdoms, ages, yea even eternities before, formed him a temporal body like unto their spiritual bodies, and put the life of his spiritual body into it, and gave him the power of endless lives.

Now the acts of his spiritual body, while he was a child with his father and mother in heaven; and his acts while he was in the spiritual councils of the Gods for millions of years;—and his acts upon Idumia, while he named, arranged and prepared every thing upon it to fulfill the end and aim of their creation, behold they are written in "the books" of the "head,"—which are to be opened when the judgment comes for just men to enter into the joys of a "third existence" which is spiritual.

Milauleph had one thousand years to account for, as well as to be "arch angel" of Idumia, after he laid down his temporal body. Behold here is wisdom, he that hath ears to hear let him hear for Milauleph, as yet had not been tempted with evil that he might know the good. He had not exercised the power of endless lives, that he might do the works that his father had done: and he had not "fell that man might be." Although he had seen his eldest brother create worlds, and people them; and had witnessed the course and conduct of that world and people, as free agents, "sinning and being sinned against," while "death" who held a commission from the "Son of the morning," to end the first partnership between the spirit and the body, yet, with all this knowledge, and a liberal education in the great college of the nobles of heaven, wherein all perfection was taught, all science explained from first to last, and all that was, is, or will be, was exhibited on the great man of perpetual systems, and eternal lives, Milauleph had to take his wife or one of the "Queens of heaven," and come upon Idumia, and be tempted, overcome, and driven from the presence of his Father, because it had been agreed by the Gods and grand council of heaven, that all the family of the "head" that would do as he or his eldest son did, should be exalted to the same glory.

This was to be accomplished by the power of "perpetual succession" in eternal lives, wherein there was no "remission of sin without the shedding of blood;" no forgiveness without repentance; and no glory without perfect submission to the "head." The foundation was truth: and the continuation, perpetual succession by revelation. Milauleph, then, knew that he and his wife would sin, and be troubled; but as the eternal spirit in him was the candle of the Lord, he knew also that the light thereof upon the eyes of his understanding, would show some of the way marks to the original "truth," whereby he might work out his salvation with fear and trembling; That none of the work of the hands of the "Son" might be lost or any souls which
his father had given him, might be left in prison, angels were com-
misioned to watch over Idumia, and act as spiritual guides to every
soul, "lest they should fall and dash their feet against a stone." They
were denominated "the angels of our presence."

But I must stop, Mr. Editor: my story of the whole seven who
managed the seven dispensations of Idumia, will be too long for one
communication. And let me say that I have begun this story of the
"Paracletes," or Holy Ones to counterbalance the foolish novel reading
of the present generation. My story is not revelation, but the innuendoes
relate to holy transactions, which may lead good people to search
after truth and find it. If this meets the approbation of virtuous minds,
I shall write more.

Joseph's Speckled Bird.

May 15 installment:

To continue the history of the seven holy ones, who agreed to
take upon them bodies of flesh, and work out a more exceeding and
eternal crown of glory, upon Idumia, it will be necessary to premise,
that Milauleph, and his first companion in the flesh, knew before
they left their "first estate," what their father's will was; and that
when they should begin to replenish the earth, Satan, who had been
raised and educated with them in their father's family, would descend
from heaven like lightning to tempt them, that they might know to
choose good and reject evil. These two, who had engaged to people
Idumia: to subdue it, and to return, having kept the faith once de-
ivered to the chosen seed, were informed, when they agreed to go
and labor their hour, that besides the comforter, to bring all things
to their remembrance, the angels which attended them on high
should attend them below to preserve them from the secret or un-
forseen snares of those angels who kept not their first estates, but were
left in their sins, to roam from region to region, and in chains of
darkness, until the great day of judgment.

It was written in the law of the Lord on high, that they that
overcome by obedience, should be made kings and queens, and priests
and priestesses to God and his Father, through the atonement of the
eldest son, and that natural eyes should not see, nor natural ears
hear, neither should the natural heart conceive the great, glorious,
and eternal things, honors and blessings, that were then, in the
Father's dominions, and mansions, prepared in the beginning for them
that kept the faith to the end, and entered triumphantly into their
third estates:—the eternal life.

It was also written in the law of the Lord on high, that when the
Lord punished men for their sins, he would "punish the hosts of the
high ones on high," and the "kings of the earth upon earth,"—that
spirit might judge spirit, and flesh judge flesh; for this honor have all
the just, and this honor have all the saints.
Having this understanding—Idumia was placed in its space, but was "desolate and empty," and the life organizing power of the Gods, or sons of the "head," moved over the matters and then the land and water separated. And the Gods called "light, and light came," and they went on and organized a world, and created everything necessary to beautify and adorn it, with life and the power of lives to sustain it, until it should fill the measure of all designed, from a mite to a mammoth; from a man to a God; and Milauleph's and his wife's spirits, clothed in heavenly garments, and learned in eternal wisdom, witnessed the creation, as the spirits of the Gods had witnessed their Father: for even the elder brother could do nothing but what he had seen his Father do in eternities before.

Perhaps this subject may excite the curiosity of some: as it will lead the mind back among the worlds that have been organized and passed away,—and among the Gods and angels that have attended to execute the laws and decrees of one universe after another, from eternity to eternity, from the beginning of having this present world pass away with a great noise, when there is no place found for it;—and of having organized a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth "righteousness"; and as our fathers cannot be perfect without us, nor we without them; and as the man is not without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord, perhaps Milauleph and his wife, as king and queen to God, and all the sons and daughters of the "head" will shout for joy, and the morning stars sing together again, at the "third" entrance of Idumia and sanctified millions!—Who knows?

Joseph's Speckled Bird.
The question of what happened to the mummies and papyri after the death of the Prophet is one that has long intrigued Latter-day Saints. Much time and considerable energy have been expended by scholars, researchers, and interested students in attempts to locate anything that could give a clue concerning the location of the mummies and papyri.

It is true that the story of the 1871 Chicago fire, introduced in the first few pages of the book, has long been used as the final answer concerning the fate of the mummies and papyri. But the facts are that many researchers simply have not believed the story—at least not entirely. As should be apparent, their belief has been vindicated by the recent rediscovery of some of the papyri in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Strangely, there are strong suspicions that the coming years will produce even more of the papyri, and perhaps some of the mummies. But only time will tell.

Any attempt to trace the mummies and papyri after the Prophet’s martyrdom using known data is one that can be rather quickly accomplished. There simply are not many clues around—somewhere between half a dozen to a dozen clues. However, there are some fascinating aspects surrounding several of them.

The story of the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo after 1844 is known generally by most members of the Church, at least its superficial aspects. But the truth is that few Latter-day Saints, and even fewer American writers and
historians, are familiar with this degrading chapter in American history. It is not generally known that for over two years following the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith, the Saints suffered harassment, pillaging, murdering, and nearly every desecration known to man under the authority of a state that seemingly condoned the wanton acts of half-crazed, seemingly blood-hungry mobbers.

Land of the free! Religious freedom! Respect for life and property! Do not repeat such shibboleths to anyone who knows intimately the story of the Mormons in Illinois. Today, few people—including Latter-day Saints—know the story of the complete denial of all that America claimed she stood for. Few know the conditions surrounding that unbelievably ridiculous day of September 16, 1846, when an American community—Nauvoo, Illinois—had to sign a treaty with overpowering mobs and degenerates in order for some of its citizens to escape with their lives to the west. It is not popular to discuss the situation in these days of apparent peace, contentment, and gradual synthesis with our neighbors and their ideals. But the story makes one sick. Sick at what his fellow human brothers can degenerate into. Sick at the rejection of known principles of justice and law that purportedly are designed for the protection of the individual and his right to peculiarities.

And so, under the heavy hand of violence, the Mormons turned westward, turned toward land that was still Mexico’s, turned to find freedom that could not be given in America. Throughout much of 1845, and all of 1846, over 11,000 citizens of Nauvoo and many thousands from nearby Mormon communities joined with the constantly rising flow of converts from Europe and crossed the Mississippi, preparing their make-shift towns and camps across the state of Iowa. These springboards for freedom’s leap ring with a sacred sound in Latter-day Saint history: Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and Winter Quarters.

During these days of moving across Iowa, making preparation for the winter before the long walk to Utah, there appears a puzzling entry in the Journal History of
the Church, which is kept in the Church Historian's Office. It is under the date of Saturday, July 11, 1846:

At seven a.m. President Brigham Young and the brethren with him went into council in Powsheeks' tent which was on the east side of the creek.

Powsheek asked, where they would winter and where they would cross the Missouri. It was reported that somebody had stolen from the "Mormons." Powsheek said if he found anything, he would return it . . .

Powsheek spoke of Joseph Smith, the prophet, who had been murdered and with whom he had been acquainted; said, the prophet was a great and good man.

As the Presidency passed out of the tent, Banquejappa, a Pottawatomie [sic] Chief, called us aside, and presented a paper counseling the Indians not to sell their lands, given them by Jon. Dunham, and two sheets of hieroglyphics, from the Book of Abraham. President B. Young started at ten minutes after eight, rode till twenty-two minutes after ten, when they stopped at the west branch of the Nodaway, with Ezra Chase; they resumed their journey at half past eleven and arrived at Pottawatomie Indian village forty five minutes after one p.m.

A pottawatomie captain presented two sheets of the Book of Abraham; also a letter from their "Father" Joseph Smith, dated 1843, and a map of their land by W. W. Phelps . . .

The location of these meetings was in western Iowa. The West, Nodaway River generally ranges 45-55 miles east and southeast of present-day Omaha, Nebraska. From Church history, it appears that Brigham Young was moving westward toward Council Bluffs at the time.

This startling entry presents many questions:

1) Were two different presentations being made of the Book of Abraham material, or is the second reference supposed to be an amplification of the first reference?

2) Are there two presentations, one involving actual papyrus fragments, the other involving a presentation of printed sheets from the Book of Abraham printed in the Times and Seasons, which the second Indian captain had acquired somehow and presented as a gesture of friendship to Brigham Young?

3) Do both presentations involve newspaper clippings?

4) Since Banquejappa apparently was acquainted with
the Prophet, did the Prophet at some time in the past, in a gesture of affection to the Indian chief, give him some pieces of papyrus that from his study the Prophet knew were not important to the Book of Abraham? Or did he merely give them some tear sheets from the Times and Seasons' printing of the Book of Abraham?

5) If these were actual papyri fragments being returned, were they part of that which was reported that somebody had stolen from the "Mormons"?

6) Did some Indians, while visiting with Joseph Smith, steal some papers and papyrus from him, his office, or Church buildings? Why did Baquejappa call the men "aside"—a feeling of guilt?

Since the Indians had a letter from the Prophet, and apparently were acquainted with him, the setting is such that it is certainly possible that the Indians could have acquired through some means some actual papyrus fragments.

To add strength to the possibility that the Potawatami Indians actually could have obtained some manuscripts, perhaps even as a gift from the Prophet Joseph Smith, the following entries from the History of the Church are presented: 1) Under date of Sunday, June 25, 1843:

Several of the Pottawatomi [sic] Indians called to see the Nauvoo House and Temple. They wanted to talk, but their interpreter could not speak much.

It is not generally known that Nauvoo was a prominent spot for Indians and was called by them Quashquema, and Indian burial grounds abounded in the area.

The Potawatami Indians were there, being ever pressed westward by settlers since their expulsion from the area around Lake Michigan in 1833. A famous American Indian war, the Black Hawk War, was also waged in the vicinity of Nauvoo. At any event, when these Indians arrived, the Prophet Joseph was not in town. He had been forcefully taken the day before by two sheriffs from Missouri, who transported him under false arrest to Dixon, Lee County, Illinois, some 140 miles northeast of Nauvoo.
He was released several days later under a writ of habeas corpus.

2) Under date of Sunday, July 2, 1843:

I had an interview with several Pottawatomie [sic] chiefs, who came to see me during my absence. [Following this statement, the Prophet had included "Interview with Pottawattamie Chiefs. (From Wilford Woodruff's Journal.)," which contains the following:] The Indian chiefs remained at Nauvoo until the Prophet returned and had his trial. During their stay they had a talk with Hyrum Smith in the basement of the Nauvoo House. Wilford Woodruff and some others were present. They were not free to talk, and did not wish to communicate their feelings until they could see the great Prophet. At length, on the 2nd day of July, 1843, President Joseph Smith and several of the Twelve met those chiefs in the court-room, with about twenty of the elders. The following is a synopsis of the conversation by the interpreter: The Indian orator arose and asked the Prophet if the men who were present were all his friends. Answer—yes.

He then said—"We as a people have long been distressed and oppressed. We have been driven from our lands many times. We have been wasted away by wars, until there are but few of us. The white man has hated us and shed our blood, until it has appeared as though there would soon be no Indians left. We have talked with the Great Spirit, and the Great Spirit has talked with us. We have asked the Great Spirit to save us and let us live; and the Great Spirit has told us that he had raised up a great Prophet, chief and friend, who would do us great good and tell us what to do; and the Great Spirit has told us that you are the man (pointing to the Prophet Joseph). We have now come a great way to see you, and hear your words, and to have you tell us what to do. Our horses have become poor traveling, and we are hungry. We will now wait and hear your word." The Spirit of God rested upon the Lamanites, especially the orator. Joseph was much affected and shed tears. He arose and said unto them: "I have heard your words. They are true. The Great Spirit has told you the truth. I am your friend and brother, and I wish to do you good. Your fathers were once a great people. They worshiped the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit did them good. He was their friend; but they left the Great Spirit, and would not hear his words or keep them. The Great Spirit left them, and they began to kill one another, and they have been poor and afflicted until now.

"The Great Spirit has given me a book, and told me that you will soon be blessed again. The Great Spirit will soon begin to talk with you and your children. This is the book which your fathers made. I wrote upon it showing them the Book of Mormon. This
tells you what you will have to do. I now want you to begin to pray to the Great Spirit. I want you to make peace with one another, and do not kill any more Indians; it is not good. Do not kill white men; it is not good; but ask the Great Spirit for what you want, and it will not be long before the Great Spirit will bless you, and you will cultivate the earth and build good houses like white men. *We will give you something to eat and to take home with you.*” [Italics added.]

When the prophet’s words were interpreted to the chiefs, they all said it was good. The Chief asked, “How many moons would it be before the Great Spirit would bless them?” He (Joseph) told them, Not a great many.

At the close of the interview, Joseph had an ox killed for them, and they were furnished with some more horses and they went home satisfied and contented.

In addition to this brief information, which certainly portrays a picture of emotion and deep respect between the Potawatami Indians and the Prophet Joseph Smith, the date of the event is most important. It is July 1843, more than a year after the Book of Abraham had first been printed in the *Times and Seasons* in 1842. By now the Prophet knew which pieces of papyrus were important, in terms of religious scripture, and which were not.

During the Indians' stay, and in a gesture of lasting friendship, the Prophet may have given them either pages from the *Times and Seasons*, which featured Book of Abraham facsimiles, or perhaps some actual papyrus fragments or both. Hence, in addition to food and horses, the Prophet may have wished to give the Indians a personal token, something of value or of antiquity to demonstrate his affection and bond with them.

Another record of the Prophet’s affection for the Potawatamie Indians is recorded in the general conference minutes of the Church for April 1844. In the middle of Elder Sidney Rigdon’s address some Indians appeared. The minutes contain the following: “Here five of the Pottawattomie [sic] tribe appeared with their interpreter, and were assisted to the stand by the President.” The President was Joseph Smith, who had spoken prior to Sidney Rigdon.
As a result, it seems apparent that whatever it was that the Indians gave to Brigham Young in 1846 was probably that which they had obtained during their 1843 or 1844 Nauvoo visits with the Prophet Joseph Smith. It is certainly a most intriguing puzzle.

Certainly, if the Indians had indeed returned some papyri to Brigham Young, one would expect to find additional record of it in the Church Historian’s Office, if, in fact, not the papyri itself. Perhaps the best position is to assume that the Indians were returning some tear sheets from the *Times and Seasons*. Indeed, on the basis of research in the Church Historian’s Office, this seems nearest the truth.

There are, however, other intriguing entries of history that deal with the papyri and Joseph’s notes concerning the papyri. In a file in the Church Historian’s Office is a list entitled “Schedule of Church Records, Nauvoo, 1846.” The handwriting is that of Thomas Bullock, one who served as a church clerk in Nauvoo. A native of England, Elder Bullock had been trained as a clerk in his homeland, was baptized in 1841, and emigrated to Nauvoo in 1843.

Before Brigham Young left Nauvoo to handle the innumerable problems connected with crossing the plains, he appointed Trustees in Trust for the Church at Nauvoo, to care for the property of the Church and the Saints, to be the spokesmen for the Church in the near-vacant city. Almon W. Babbitt was appointed as the Trustee in Trust, and several other men assisted him. Serving as clerk to the Trustees in Trust was Thomas Bullock. In fulfillment of his duties, Elder Bullock prepared a list of records that were to leave Nauvoo. His list consists of two pages, with many items noted, items such as “52 volumes of the *Millennial Star,*” and “Four new books for History.” On the first page, column 1, is this entry: “Egyptian Grammar in Jennetta’s Trunk.” Bullock would remain in Nauvoo until September 1846 and then leave to join the main body of Saints in Iowa. His famous comment concerning Brigham Young’s departure from Nauvoo before some of the
severe persecutions in 1846 reveals both the emotion of those left in Nauvoo and the inspiration of the Lord in having his next prophet at the vanguard. Said Bullock of Brigham Young, "He ran away from the battle."

The report of concern, however, is the note about the Egyptian Grammar. The Prophet had reported working on it as early as July 1835. In November 1843 he had suggested the idea of "preparing a grammar of the Egyptian language," and now, here it is ready for shipment westward to the Rocky Mountains.

The Jennetta referred to is Jennetta Richards, wife of Willard Richards. However, she had died in Nauvoo on July 9, 1845. Her husband, a doctor by profession, was at the time of the Saints' expulsion from Nauvoo serving as Church Historian. He was, in fact, far more than that. Since December 13, 1841, he had been Joseph Smith's private secretary, general Church clerk, and appointed recorder for the Nauvoo Temple. It is to Willard Richards, more than to any other man except the Prophet himself, that we owe our present History of the Church. Their meeting was fortuitous, and under Brother Richards' hands the records and history of the Church began to take form as they had never done, but as the Prophet always envisioned.

Andrew Jenson, formerly Assistant Church Historian, has written, "From the time he [Willard Richards] entered Joseph's office, with the exception of a short mission to the East after his family, he was with Joseph until the Prophet's death, continually at work with his pen. . . ." (LDS Biographical Encyclopedia, Vol. 1, pp. 54-55.) An insight into Brother Richards' meticulous labors is seen in the fact that while in Carthage Jail with the Prophet, he made an entry in the Prophet's private journal only a few minutes before the martyrdom. The Prophet had said of him, "I have been searching all my life to find a man after my own heart whom I could trust with my business in all things, and I have found him. Dr. Willard Richards is the man." He was named Church Historian in 1843, and was intimately concerned about the preservation of Church papers. He had apparently left his deceased
Willard and Jennetta Richards. He may have been a Book of Abraham scribe, and her trunk carried the "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar" across the plains.

wife's trunk for the purpose of carrying Church records westward. A cousin of Brigham Young, he was selected as second counselor in the First Presidency at Winter Quarters and held that position until his death in 1854 in Utah. We shall return to Brother Richards on an important matter later.

The next clue in the story of the papyri is also found in the Church Historian's Office under a list titled "Inventory of Church Property del'd N. K. Whitney, March 17, '47." There are 35 items, some consisting of several volumes of books, such as "3 large 6gr Day Books." Thirteenth on the list is "A small Parchment roll of Hieroglyphics." The date is March 17, nearly a month before the actual start of the great trek across the plains on April 16, at Platte River. Brother Whitney in 1847 was called as the second Presiding Bishop of the Church. He will be remembered as the man whom the Prophet Joseph Smith first met on his arrival in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831. As Presiding Bishop, he was Trustee in Trust for the Church and directly
concerned with Brother Richards over the many records as well as the material belongings of the Church. Because of his assignment, he was asked to stay at Winter Quarters throughout 1847 and assist in the constant emigration matters that arose. The following year he led a company to Utah. But ever since their first acquaintanceship, the Prophet Joseph Smith and Newell K. Whitney had enjoyed a close relationship. Brother Whitney had been called to be the bishop of Kirtland in 1831. In 1842, under instruction from revelation, the Prophet married Brother Whitney’s daughter Sarah. He had confided in Elder Whitney many things, and gave him for safe keeping the original manuscript of the revelation on plural marriage. As a result of their association and Bishop Whitney’s calling, it was natural for him to have in his possession some of the papyrus fragments.

It appears, then, that about a month before the April 1847 departure to Utah, some Church property was delivered to Bishop Whitney. The handwriting on the inventory is not of Thomas Bullock. The items and the list were brought to the Salt Lake Valley probably by Whitney a year later, and the original list is in the Church Historian’s Office.

However, the important aspect is that a record exists of a “Small Parchment roll of Hieroglyphics” reaching Utah. More will be said on this later.

Back in Nauvoo Again

As will be remembered, Almon W. Babbitt had been left behind at Nauvoo to serve as Trustee in Trust for the Church. He was to manage and otherwise handle the affairs of the Church in Nauvoo. His letter to President Brigham Young of January 31, 1847, recorded in the Journal History of the Church, is most interesting and concerns some of the properties of the Church:

President Brigham Young
Dear Brother

. . . William Smith has got the mummies from Mother Smith and refuses to give them up. . . .
This is the same William Smith, brother of the Prophet, and a member of the Council of the Twelve until excommunicated October 12, 1845, to whom W. W. Phelps had written an answer in the *Times and Seasons* in 1845. Brother William apparently had convinced his mother that he had a right to the mummies, or could make better financial use of them for their mutual benefit. The reason for the letter may be that Brigham Young desired the mummies and papyri to be brought west and Babbitt was reporting on the state of affairs.

In addition to Brother Babbitt's report concerning
the whereabouts of the mummies and the papyri is the report of N. L. Nelson in 1885, in which he says, "The relics were left after the martyrdom, and the Nauvoo exodus, in the hands of Lucy Smith, wife of the Prophet, and Mr. Milliken who afterward married her sold them to a museum in Chicago."

Our good friend N. L. Nelson is wrong in some of his facts. He says that Lucy Smith, wife of the Prophet, married a Mr. Milliken (also Millikin, Miliken). He is wrong. It was Lucy Smith, sister of the Prophet, who married Mr. Milliken. Emma did remarry, but to a Mr. Bidamon.

Therefore, Nelson's report is most confusing, and one wonders who had the mummies—the wife of the Prophet or the sister of the Prophet. However, the recently discovered document signed by Emma Smith after she had married a Mr. Bidamon suggests that N. L. Nelson was referring to the wife of the Prophet, although it could well be that both the wife and sister of the Prophet had the mummies and papyri at one time or another, or even at the same time, and that their husbands shared in the sale arrangements.

A Quick Glimpse at Utah

Meanwhile, the Journal History of the Church under the date of Wednesday, October 17, 1855, carries the following entry:

... The following books and papers were taken from this office today and deposited in the fire proof vault of the new Historian's Office, namely on the 2nd shelf from the bottom: History Books, A., B.1, B.2. Egyptian Alphabet; ... three plates of the Book of Abraham; red box with papers, blanks, journals, sterotype [sic] plates.

This is proof that the "Egyptian Grammar" in Jennetta's trunk reached Salt Lake Valley, unless, of course, there were two such books of grammar, which is doubtful. In addition to the grammar, it seems apparent that the three plates used by the Times and Seasons in their Nauvoo publication had also been shipped west and were now in the confines of a new vault.
Death of Mother Smith

The editor of Lucy Mack Smith's *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet by Lucy Smith*, which appeared in print in 1880, has contributed greatly to our understanding of Mother Smith following the Saints' exodus westward. The book was published in Plano, Illinois, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, one of the branches that broke away from Brigham Young and the main body of the Church. The following quote is taken from the book's preface:

Of the life of Lucy Smith, familiarly called Grandmother Smith, after the Martyr's death, little need be written. At the time of the tragedy at Carthage, Grandmother Smith was living with Joseph, and continued living with Emma until in September, following, when she moved with her son-in-law Arthur Millikin, and her daughter Lucy, into a house known as the Ponson house, hired for them by the Church, which also hired a girl to wait upon her and help generally. Sometime that fall, the fall of 1844, she commenced her history.

She completed this work sometime in 1845, the copyright being secured for her by Elder Almon W. Babbitt, in that year, or in the early part of 1846. The family moved into the house owned by Elder William Marks in 1845, but remained only until the next year, when they settled in a house bought for Grandmother, by the Church. In the fall of 1846, under the pressure of the mob coming against the city they moved to Knoxville, Illinois, remaining over the winter, and in the spring of 1847 returning to Nauvoo, again. Here they remained till the fall of 1849, when they moved to Webster, in the same county, staying there two years, when they moved to Fountain Green. In the spring of 1852 Grandmother Smith, and a grandchild, a daughter of Samuel H. Smith, Mary Bailey Smith by name, went to Nauvoo to live with Major Lewis C. Bidamon, whom Emma Smith had married in 1847. She remained with them, until her death, which occurred on the farm owned by the prophet before his death, two and a half miles east of Nauvoo, on the road to Carthage. The farm was then being carried on by Sister Emma and her boys; and here on May 8th, 1855, watched over and ministered to by Emma, the wife of her son Joseph, her grandson Joseph 3rd, and the young daughter of a neighboring farmer, Elizabeth Pilkington by name, this noble-hearted mother in Israel went to her rest. . . .

For a time she derived a little income from the exhibition of some mummies and the papyrus records found with them, which had been left in her care by the Church for this purpose. But after a time she parted with the mummies and records; how, the writer
was not informed, though he afterwards saw two of the mummies and part of the records in Wood's Museum in Chicago, where they were destroyed by the fire of 1871 (p. 91).

This is a most enriching report on certain aspects of the life of the Prophet's Mother, principally because Latter-day Saints for so many years have been basically ignorant of what happened to the leading figures who remained in the Midwest. The date given for the death of Lucy Mack Smith only adds to the confusion now existing concerning it. The document discovered by Dr. Atiya says she died on "the fourteenth day of May." Andrew Jenson's *L.D.S. Biographical Encyclopedia* says she died on May 5, and now this preface says it was May 8. One would suspect that the data written in the Midwest, near her death, would be more accurate.

Another interesting report is that Almon W. Babbitt, Trustee in Trust of the Church at Nauvoo, had secured the copyright on her book for Mother Smith. This probably reflects his assignment to help care for her.

Incidentally, it may have been during this nine-year period from 1846 to 1855 that some unknown artist painted Mother Smith in profile with the newsprint copy of Facsimile No. 1 in the background. As has been previously discussed, a picture of this portrait hangs in A. William Lund's office in the Church Historian's Office. The original is presently in Chicago.

But an extremely important aspect of the story now presents itself. If the papyri were not important enough for the Council of the Twelve to insist or obtain for their transferral across the plains, one wonders about their actual historical and religious significance. As has already been noted, several leading elders of the Church and close personal friends of the Prophet who were associated with him in the production of the Book of Abraham have already testified that the Prophet received the Book of Abraham through the seer stone. This being the case, one wonders about the intrinsic value of the papyri. Was it really the handwriting of Abraham, as Josiah Quincy reported, or was it a rewrite of a rewrite of a rewrite of something...
that originally had been said by Abraham? How serious should one regard the second-hand reports that the signatures of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Aaron were on some of the papyri? Did the papyri indeed contain the present Book of Abraham, or was it a much corrupted version of what originally had been written by Abraham, and thus, for his purpose also, the Prophet had to receive the original version through the seer stone? These are major questions. Perhaps their answers will not be known until that great day when all things are truly known.

It is peculiar that even though many splinter groups existed among the once-united Church, the brethren and leaders of the Church did not think the papyri important enough to insist on their transferral en masse across the plains.

However, Babbitt had tried to get the mummies from William Smith, and wrote to Brigham Young about them and other properties of the Church. But to put this in perspective, think how absolutely untenable it would have been to have left the Gold Plates in Nauvoo, had the Church had them. Such records, giving rise to a major new scripture, would have been regarded as the most important physical treasure of the Church, and seemingly, under no conditions would they have been left in Illinois for any purpose. Similar reasoning seems to apply to the papyri. Fascinated as the Prophet was by them, intrigued as he was by languages, those close to him may have known the source whence had come the Book of Abraham and may not have been overly impressed with the Egyptian papyri. If this were the case, with no little regret, the leaders of the Church could in good faith and good conscience leave the mummies and papyri to the care and keeping of Mother Smith, hoping that the curiosities would bring a few visitors who would reimburse her accordingly.

One wonders, then, about the nature of Facsimiles No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3 of the Book of Abraham. Perhaps these drawings were the ones that reflected scenes of importance and were related to the newly revealed Book
of Abraham. Perhaps the Egyptians did not understand the true story behind the pictures, and hence for his purposes also the Prophet had to turn to the seer stone.

Obviously, this view could be erroneous. Perhaps some of the papyri actually did contain the actual transcript of our Book of Abraham. It may be that the Prophet had told no one from which actual fragment had come the Book of Abraham, and because of this no one recognized the importance of any or all of the pieces. In time perhaps we shall know. But this much we do know—we do not know the answer now.

**Sold to Combs**

Events move quickly at this point, and are best begun with the document dated May 26, 1856, found by Dr. Atiya at the Metropolitan Museum:

Nauvoo City May 25/56

This certifies that we have sold to; Mr. A. Combs four Egyptian Mummies with the records of them. Thes Mummies were obtained from the catacoms of Egypt sixty feet below the surface of the Earth, by the antiquarian society of Paris & forwarded to New York & purchased by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith at the price of twenty four hundred dollars in the year Eighteen hundred thirty five they were highly prized by Mr Smith on account of the importance which attached to the record which were accidentaly found enclosed in the breast of one of the Mummies. from translations by Mr Smith of the Records these Mummies were found to be the family of Pharo King of Egypt. they were kept exclusively by Mr Smith until his death & since by the Mother of Mr Smith notwithstanding we have had repeated offers to purchase which have invariably been refused until her death which occurred on the fourteenth of this month.

Nauvoo
Hancock Co. Ill May 26

L. C. Bidamon

Emma Bidamon [pencil:] former wife of Jos. Smith
Joseph Smith [pencil:] son of Jos. Smith

[signed]

The Saga of the Book of Abraham
The note of sale to A. Combs, signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, L. C. Bidamon, and Joseph Smith III.
It is interesting to read that Emma, wife of the Prophet, says "from translations by Mr Smith of the Records, these Mummies were found to be the family of Pharo King of Egypt." No comment is given about the records giving rise to the Book of Abraham: only that from the records the Prophet felt he had learned one of the bodies was a pharaoh. Who wouldn't treasure such a mummy!

But her signed letter to the unknown Mr. A. Combs undoubtedly was not intended to list all the important qualities of the record. Her report that one of the mummies was a pharaoh cannot be easily dismissed, however. It seems clear that one of the Lebolo mummies had been identified by the Prophet—tentatively or otherwise—as a pharaoh. The matter of price has been handled earlier, as have most of the other reported items in the document, including the number of mummies. As would be expected, many persons had offered to buy the mummies from Mother Smith. But in only a few days over a year since the death of her former mother-in-law, Emma Smith Bidamon sold the mummies to Mr. A. Combs. No
price is mentioned, but considering the fame of Joseph Smith’s name and the mummies’ association with him, one would expect that Emma’s husband, Major Lewis C. Bidamon, would have struck a far better price than was originally paid.

Emma, called by the Lord an “elect lady” (D&C 25:3), and the first president of the Relief Society, as well as the compiler of the first hymn book of the Church, had married Mr. Bidamon on December 23, 1847, three and a half years after the death of the Prophet. The marriage date was the birthday of Joseph Smith. Mr. Bidamon was one of the defenders of Nauvoo and was from Virginia. Her husband, commonly known as the Major, made the Mansion House, which had been built by Joseph as a hotel, his family home. There he lived with his wife for about 22 years. On April 6, 1860, Emma’s and the Prophet’s son, Joseph Smith III, was presented and accepted as head of a new organization today called the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

The man who helped Emma make up her mind to sell: Major L. C. Bidamon, front left. The picture also shows the sons of Joseph Smith: David, top left; Alexander, top right; Frederick, bottom center; Joseph III, bottom right.
About 1869, the Bidamons moved from the Mansion House to the Nauvoo House, a brick structure which had never been completed in the days of the Prophet. Mr. Bidamon completed part of the house and moved the family into it. Emma died in Nauvoo April 30, 1879, at the age of 74. During the years spent in Nauvoo, her door was always open to friends and relatives from Utah, of whom to many she had appeared restless and unhappy.

This additional information concerning Emma—of which only the most superficial elements have been exposed—joins the saga of the mummies and papyri. Perhaps desiring to be free from mementos of a past that had seen her separated from Joseph much of their 17 years of marriage, Emma allowed the mummies to be sold. It is also important that Nauvoo at the time—1856—was very small, economically slow, and perhaps the Bidamons needed the money. Until this day, Nauvoo has been only a shadow of its former glory.

The factors surrounding the sale, however, are anything but clear. In 1945, George B. Arbaugh, in a doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago, suggested that Isaac Sheen and William Smith, brother of the Prophet, were involved in the transaction whereby the St. Louis Museum received two mummies.

Perhaps they had struck a bargain with A. Combs on the arrangement of the deal in the first place.

Additional data on this point—that William Smith and Isaac Sheen had the mummies—is contained in N. B. Lundwall’s *Temples of the Most High*, 1966 edition, pp. 263-64:

Elder B. H. Roberts told the compiler of this book, that after the death of Lucy Smith, the mummies and papyrus were held in the custody of William Smith, the brother of the Prophet. Later on, to settle some difficulties between William Smith and Isaac Sheen (who later became the Editor of *True Saints Herald*, the organ of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints) William Smith transferred the ownership of these to Isaac Sheen. Isaac Sheen in turn transferred them to the Chicago Museum which burned to the ground in the Chicago fire of 1871.
At this point one does not know how much credibility to place in the Arbaugh and Roberts’ reports. The bill of sale says that Emma sold all four mummies to Combs, that Mother Smith had kept them since the Prophet’s death, and that numerous efforts to sell them had been declined. A partial answer may lie in a quick review of Mother Smith’s places of lodging since the Prophet’s death: as reported by the writer of the preface in her book on Joseph Smith, Lucy Mack Smith moved eight times and to four different towns in her remaining decade. One suspects that she did not carry the mummies and papyri with her during all of those moves, and that her son William or Isaac Sheen may well have had them for a period. It is possible that one or the other or both of the two men could have helped motivate the sale of the mummies and papyri. But on present evidence, it appears that Emma is the person who sold the mummies, not Isaac Sheen.

In order to probe the matter further, The Improvement Era turned to the Church’s Genealogical Society and received the following report from Jimmy Parker, research specialist:

It appears, from a source, that William Smith, brother to the Prophet Joseph, may have been involved in the transfer of the mummies and papyri from one owner to another. But we have been unable to locate William Smith in any record, to date.

Isaac Sheen was a crony of William Smith, and a bitter apostate of the Mormon faith. It appears, from various historical sources, that he and William Smith were involved in the transfer of ownership of some of the mummies and papyrus scrolls. An effort has been made to locate the place where Isaac Sheen died, in an effort to secure a probate record, particularly in inventory of his estate, to see if any Egyptian antiquities were passed on to heirs or sold as part of his estate. To date, we have only been able to determine that Isaac Sheen was living in Covington, Kenton County, Kentucky, on 20 May 1850. Attempts are being made to determine if he died in that area, and to find other residences for him.

Obviously, it is possible that William Smith or Isaac Sheen may have acquired some Egyptian artifacts—mummies or papyrus—and sold them, or passed them on to their
children. Some students have entertained thoughts of tracing down present-day descendants for just such a purpose. However, one would suspect that Mr. A. Combs acquired all the papyri, and if others were involved, he probably repaid them with money. Interestingly enough, Emma’s bill of sale says nothing of the papyri—only the mummies. But from other data, it is apparent that A. Combs acquired considerable papyrus also.

In an effort to learn more about the known purchaser, A. Combs, Jimmy Parker of the Genealogical Society has also begun some research efforts, but could report only this:

Through correspondence with Mr. Thomas P. F. Hoving of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, we have attempted to secure more information concerning Mr. A. Combs. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, however, was unable to provide us with any other information regarding this man. To date, then, we are completely in the dark as to the identity of this man.

**St. Louis and Chicago Museums**

The report by Arbaugh that William Smith and Isaac Sheen may have been involved in the transfer of some mummies to the St. Louis Museum is important because the mummies in fact were on display at the St. Louis Museum. The information concerning the exhibition of the mummies in St. Louis was unearthed by Dr. James R. Clark of BYU. Shortly after World War II, Dr. Clark wrote the Missouri Historical Society and received the following information:

Prof. Gustavus Seyffarth saw the Egyptian mummies in the St. Louis Museum in 1856. The Museum at that time was in the Third Story of Wyman’s Hall, Market Street, opposite the court house.

Wyman’s Hall refers to a hall or museum owned by Mr. Edward Wyman (see History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time, A. T. Andreas, Vol. 2, p. 607; Terry and Whipple, Dust of the Decades, p. 117 [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft], also suggest the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, September 25, 1857), who apparently was
Dr. James R. Clark. He became convinced that some mummies and papyrus were still in existence.

The mummies and papyri were exhibited in the St. Louis Museum, left, in Wyman's Hall.

The purchaser from Combs of two of the Joseph Smith mummies and some of the papyri. The curator for Edward Wyman was a Mr. J. P. Bates, a "practical naturalist," who likely would have assisted Gustavus Seyffarth when he viewed the mummies.

An interesting sidelight is that Seyffarth was an Egyptologist, born in Saxony, and educated under Champollion in Paris. But he disagreed heartily with Champollion's deciphering and left Leipzig University for America. He

the purchaser from Combs of two of the Joseph Smith mummies and some of the papyri. The curator for Edward Wyman was a Mr. J. P. Bates, a "practical naturalist," who likely would have assisted Gustavus Seyffarth when he viewed the mummies.

An interesting sidelight is that Seyffarth was an Egyptologist, born in Saxony, and educated under Champollion in Paris. But he disagreed heartily with Champollion's deciphering and left Leipzig University for America. He
was professor of archaeology and exegesis at the Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary at St. Louis, 1855-1871. He then retired to New York. He made many translations, but under his own system. Some students have wanted to research his papers to determine if he had found any papyri in St. Louis that had been acquired from the Prophet’s belongings, but none have done so yet. Perhaps his translations—if there are any—would be important in terms of missing fragments that we do not have at the present time.

The 1855 catalogue carries one paragraph on the mummies. The 1859 catalogue contains a second paragraph added to the one that appeared three years earlier:

These mummies were obtained in the catacombs of Egypt, sixty feet below the surface of the earth, for the Antiquarian Society of Paris, forwarded to New York, and there purchased, in the year 1835, by Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, on account of the writings found in the chest of one of them, and which he pretended to translate, as stating them to belong to the family of the Pharaohs’—but, according to Prof. Seyffarth, the papyrus roll is not a record, but an invocation to the Deity Osirus, in which occurs the name of the person, (Horus,) and a picture of the attendant spirits, introducing the dead to the Judge, Osirus. The body of one is that of a female, about forty—the other, that of a boy, about fourteen. They were kept by the Prophet’s mother until her death, when the heirs sold them, and shortly after, were purchased for the Museum.

The art of embalming is in a measure lost, and its details are not known or practised as among the ancients. With the poor it was a very simple process, and the principle agents used were salt and asphaltum. The rich spent large sums in embalming the dead, using the most costly spices and perfumes. The practice was not confined to Egypt. Several examples have been found in the Western States of this country, showing that it was in use to some extent among the aborigines.

From the information printed, it seems that little else was known other than that which Emma had written in 1856, probably only a few weeks or months before the mummies appeared in the St. Louis Museum.

It also appears from Seyffarth’s purport description that visitors to the museum would have been looking at the fragments we know today as “III A. Court of Osiris”
and "III B. Court of Osiris," or perhaps Facsimile No. 3 found in the Book of Abraham. Conceivably it could still be another scene, but these two known scenes seem to present themselves so that one suspects one of them is the one that was on exhibit—which is of tremendous import! As will be noted later, the same museum description is used by the Chicago Museum, implying that whatever was exhibited at St. Louis was also exhibited at Chicago. The importance of the report is this: 1) If our recently discovered "Court of Osiris" fragments were on exhibit in St. Louis and Chicago, it means that the papyri, and probably the mummies too, that were there escaped the Chicago fire; 2) or if the Seyffarth report relates to the still lost Facsimile No. 3, it probably means that this was part of the papyri that went up in flames in the Chicago fire, and consequently is unavailable today. Seyffarth's purported report is of great potential value.

There is, however, a third alternative: Seyffarth and museum visitors may have simply been looking at tear sheets from the *Times and Seasons* of the Facsimiles in the Book of Abraham, or of Facsimile No. 3 separately. But one tends to think that the actual papyri were on display—not a *Times and Seasons* reprint.

We are led to believe that a woman of about 40 and a boy of about 14 were on exhibit. Could the boy be the person whom the Prophet is reported to have described as a "little runt of a fellow"? (Josiah Quincy reported the "little runt" as Pharaoh Necho.) At any rate, the problem of the number of male mummies enters again—and remains unresolved.

If the catalogue is to be believed, perhaps the female of about 40 years of age was the one from which at least one of the scrolls had been taken, and according to the 1835 *Telegraph*, the mummy with the damaged head.

But Dr. Clark's discoveries were not finished. Writing to the Illinois State Historical Society, he was informed of a 1863 catalogue of the Chicago Museum. The new proprietor was Col. J. H. Wood. Dr. Clark soon had a copy of the 1863 catalogue:
Egyptian Mummies

These Mummies were obtained in the Catacombs of Egypt, sixty feet below the surface of the earth, for the Antiquarian Society of Paris, forwarded to New York, and there purchased, in the year 1835, by Joe Smith, the Mormon Prophet, on account of the writings found in the chest of one of them, and which he pretended to translate, stating them to belong to the family of the Pharaohs—but, according to Prof. Seyffarth, the papyrus roll is not a record, but an invocation to the Deity, Osiris, in which occurs the name of the person, (Horus,) and a picture of the attendant spirits introducing the dead to the Judge, Osirus. The body of one is that of a female, about forty; the other, that of a boy about fourteen. They were kept by the Prophet’s mother until his death, when the heirs sold them, and were shortly after purchased for the Museum.

The art of embalming is, in a measure, lost, and its details are not known or practiced as among the ancients. With the poor it was a very simple process, and the principle articles used were salt and asphaltum. The rich spent large sums in embalming the dead, using the most costly spices and perfumes. The practice was not confined to Egypt: several examples have been found in the Western States of this country, showing that it was in use to some extent among the aborigines.

Col. Wood's Museum in Chicago as it was in 1866-67. (Courtesy Chicago Historical Society)
The catalogue descriptions of both museums are the same. This is because around 1863 the curator of the St. Louis Museum, J. P. Bates, transferred with his $50,000 stock of exhibits to the Chicago Museum, where he became curator as he was in St. Louis. But once more, no mention of the other two mummies.

Where were those other two mummies? Were they so dismembered—remembering Charlotte's report of a female's leg being separated from the body—that the museum chose not to exhibit them? One suspects not, simply because mummies were such a rare novelty in midwestern America at this time that they probably would have been exhibited under any condition. One tends to think, therefore, that Combs sold two mummies to the St. Louis Museum and held two in reserve, or sold them to another party. Undoubtedly, research will answer these questions.

The next notice of the location of the mummies appears in the 1869 Salt Lake Directory and Business Guide, put out by E. L. Sloan & Co. The directory described the commercial firms and attractions of Chicago, of which one was the Wood's Museum:


Situated on Randolph Street, between Clark and Dearborn, combines natural history with the drama, and presents the visitor with an excellent collection of mineralogical, ornithological, animal and collected specimens illustrative of the natural world and of savage and civilized art . . . and the mummies around which the papyrus was rolled on which the Book of Abraham—published in The Pearl of Great Price—was inscribed, form a collection as specimens worthy the attention of all and the admiration of the student of nature. The mummies were sold by those who had them in charge after the death of the Prophet, Joseph Smith, and were afterwards obtained for the Museum—so the printed catalogue states (pp. 190-192).

These findings in turn have lead to a host of confusing discoveries concerning the ownership of the mummies and their place of exhibition. Apparently the Civil War, poor business conditions, and other factors were such that the St. Louis Museum was sold in 1863. The Chicago Tribune of July 6, 1863, informs us of the details:
We make the announcement with pleasure that, through the liberality of two of our worthy and public spirited citizens, the St. Louis Museum has been purchased, and will soon be removed to, and permanently located in, this city. This Museum is much the largest in the West, and in several of its features the choicest in the United States.

According to the History of Chicago, the museum opened in Chicago with John O'Mellen as general manager, and J. P. Bates as curator of the noted museum. The new museum at Chicago reportedly was housed at four rooms, 111, 113, 115, 117, at Randolph Street in Chicago. By January of the next year, 1864, the museum had been sold to a Colonel John H. Wood, who titled it Wood's Museum. Wood reportedly had purchased it from a Mr. Aiken, who apparently was one of the two "public spirited citizens" who was lauded by the Chicago Tribune. However, the facts become confusing at this point. A Daniel H. Newhall, New York rare book dealer, informed Dr. James R. Clark the following in a letter February 24, 1940:

... originally Kingsbury Hall, it later became Wood's Museum and Theatre and still later, Aiken's Theatre. It was on Washington Street (not Randolph) just east of Clark Street. ... It was destroyed in the fire of 1871. ...

Using this information, which suggested a reverse order of owner or renter between Aiken and Wood, Keith Terry and Walter Whipple searched the Chicago Tribune of July 8, 1951, and found this report:

In 1868 the place was leased by Frank E. Aiken, who instituted a new stage regime with the production of recent English plays. He left the museum a year later and Col. Wood returned. ... The establishment changed hands again later that year (1869) with Aiken running the show but Wood returned in 1871. The play "Divorce" was scheduled to open the night the Chicago Fire broke out.

It is not clear whether Col. Wood ever sold his museum before the fire of 1871. It seems that Wood may have leased his museum to other parties for several of the years, but since his name returns to it again and
again, one tends to think that he was the constant owner. However, it appears that the museum was being shuffled from place to place. It is possible that during the many movements and different leases the mummies or the papyri may have been sold to another party, and as a result might have avoided the fire of 1871. However, there is no substance for believing this, other than the silence in some of the accounts of the day concerning the Egyptian mummies. Certainly subjects as rare as mummies in the "largest" and "choicest" museum in the West would have merited comment. But perhaps not. It is said that the museum had "150,000 curiosities of every kind." (Fabulous Chicago, page 85.)

The Other Two Mummies

Concerning the other two mummies, nothing is publicly known. In the past, certain reports have circulated that the mummies and some bits of papyrus had been traced to the Philadelphia Museum, but no known evidence has been produced to confirm this notion, except a newspaper report from the San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin on Friday, September 25, 1857 (Vol. 4, no. 145, page 3, column 3). However, the report leaves one confused:

JOE SMITH'S MUMMIES, ETC.—About a year since, Mr. Wyman, of the Philadelphia Museum, purchased two mummies, one of each sex, from a gentleman who had purchased them directly from the widow of Joe Smith. They were part of the four which Smith pretended to have found with ancient manuscripts, indited by the old patriarchs. While the mother of Smith lived, these mummies, with the hieroglyphics upon papyrus which accompanied them, could not be obtained, but, not long after her death, they were purchased, as stated, from the prophet's widow. Some of the brethren have had the hardiness to deny that these were the patriarchal manuscripts and relics. But an unanswerable confirmation of the fact has lately occurred—certain plates issued by the Elders as facsimiles of the original having fallen into Mr. Wyman's hands, which plates are also facsimiles of the hieroglyphics in the Museum. Let, then, all of the Mormon faith go to the Museum, and contemplate the veritable handwriting of the patriarch Abraham. Who knows that the patriarch
himself, "and Sarah his wife," are not in the Museum? *Philadelphia Sun.*

Readers now have sufficient data to partially appraise this report. We have already met Mr. Edward Wyman, who was the apparent owner of Wyman’s Hall, or the St. Louis Museum, in St. Louis, and to whom “a gentleman,” our Mr. A. Combs, sold two mummies. The mummies were on exhibit in Wyman’s Hall in St. Louis in 1856. Reportedly, the mummies were sold with the other stock to the museum at Chicago in 1863. Hence, one tends to think that the two mummies purchased by Wyman stayed in St. Louis until 1863. What, then, is the meaning of the reference to “Mr. Wyman, of the Philadelphia Museum” in a newspaper dated 1857? Could it be that Wyman left St. Louis and took his mummies to Philadelphia for a period of time, and then returned to St. Louis? Or, does it mean that Wyman acquired all four of the mummies, left two in St. Louis, and went to Philadelphia with the remaining two? Or, does it mean that Wyman, still of the St. Louis Museum in 1857, used to be associated with the Philadelphia Museum, and hence the reference to him as one who had been affiliated with the community? And, in short, which museum are all Mormons being invited to attend—one at Philadelphia, or one at St. Louis? Only further research can resolve the questions. Obviously, interested searchers might be rewarded by discovering some mummies and/or papyri formerly owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Another story persists that a mummy of the Prophet’s is in the Washington University Medical School at St. Louis, Missouri. The May 22, 1965, “U.A.S. Newsletter,” edited by Dr. Ross T. Christensen of BYU, describes the notion:

95.70 *Mummy at Medical School.* Dr. E. DeMar Anderson, a prominent eye, ear, nose, and throat specialist of Seattle, Washington, and a patriarch of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, passed away on June 26, 1963. Dr. Anderson had received his training at Washington University in St. Louis, the Northwestern University Medical School at Evanston, Illinois, and the University
of Washington Medical School at Seattle. It was at the Washington Medical School in St. Louis that he “saw a mummy which he strongly suspected was one of those commonly supposed to have been destroyed in the Chicago Fire.”

This was one of several mummies at the institution; where it came from was a mystery around the school. It is not clear why Dr. Anderson associated this particular mummy with the Book of Abraham account, but he is reported to have been an excellent scholar and a profound student of LDS church history.

The above information was received in correspondence from Donald S. Ross of Seattle, a friend of the Andersons.

Perhaps there are UAS members who heard Dr. Anderson lecture before his demise. Can anyone give further details?”

The March 1, 1968, newsletter carried a follow-up on this request for help:

105.14 Mummies in St. Louis. Reference was made in a 1965 issue of the Newsletter (95.70) to mummies observed at the Washington Medical School, St. Louis, Missouri, by the late Dr. E. DeMar Anderson of Seattle, Washington, one of which “he strongly suspected was one of those commonly supposed to have been destroyed in the Chicago Fire.” SEHA member David A. Palmer, formerly of BYU and presently a graduate student in the Chemical Engineering Department of Washington University, St. Louis, is continuing the research.

Washington University has three ancient Egyptian mummies, Mr. Palmer reports in letters dated September 20 and October 22, 1967. One of them has been on loan to WU from the Smithsonian Institution of Washington for about 40 years. Two others were donated to WU about 1930 by Charles Parsons, a leader in civic affairs and a collector. Of the latter pair, one has been loaned out to the nearby St. Louis Museum. It is not yet clear what the relationship, if any, is between any of these three mummies in St. Louis and the Lebolo-Chandler antiquities.

In December 1967, I wrote letters to the widow of Brother Anderson and to Donald S. Ross, both in Seattle, and received the following responses:

1) From Sister Anderson:

History was taken from B. H. Roberts history of the Church, and the assumption the mummies at the Washington University could not be accounted for—from the time of the fire.

The author cannot determine exactly what is meant from the above report.
2) From Donald T. Ross:

How deeply I wish that my memory were better so I could give you some real help in this thrilling drama of emerging Truth!

All that I positively remember is the excitement in scholarly Dr. Anderson’s voice saying, approximately, “... and I think I know where... is!”

I seem to have a vague memory of small size being mentioned concerning a mummy, and something about manuscripts.

Having heard Dr. Anderson speak several times, I am sure that he would not have “jumped to a conclusion”, but feel that he must have made painstaking inquiry. It seems—but my imagination may be in this—that he had questioned someone whose memory connected a manuscript or manuscripts with the mummy.

Either Sister Anderson or one of the children remembered that Dr. Anderson (who was a much-beloved Stake Patriarch at time of leaving Mortality) had spoken of “our mummy” at the medical school in St. Louis. Sister Anderson searched papers but found nothing at the time of my inquiry.

I cannot remember whether I had become Historical Clerk for the Renton Ward at the time of Dr. Anderson’s intensely interesting talk. Very likely I was still Sunday School Secretary, and would not have been recording a Sacrament Meeting talk. If, however, I was Ward Historical Clerk at the time, a researcher might be rewarded, for it is very unlikely I’d merely have given the topic of the wonderful talk. My minutes have sometimes been thought to be needlessly detailed, but I have the feeling that there might be a desire hundreds of years from now to reconstruct meetings in a typical Ward of long before—and that the extra detail of the bulky minutes of the Renton Ward might then be justified. (I have taken great pains to avoid putting words into the mouths of speakers; have a deep realization of how difficult it must be to translate accurately, since it is so difficult just to condense without destroying meaning.) Were a search of the Salt Lake City archives made on the off-chance that Dr. Anderson’s talk might possibly have been reported in some detail, the researcher should know that Dr. Anderson spoke more than that one time in our Ward, if memory serves correctly, so that finding report of one talk saying nothing about the mummy would not be end of the search. It is even possible that my predecessor as Historical Clerk, if he was in office when Dr. Anderson spoke, may have reported in some detail because of the talk being so well-delivered. The talk would have been given after mid-1954. . . .

This, then, is the state of publicly disclosed research concerning the other mummies. The fate of the two mummies in Chicago’s Wood’s Museum is our next concern.
Chicago’s Fire of 1871

As Latter-day Saints know, since 1871 members of the Church have thought the mummies and papyri burned with the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. That is, we thought that until November 1967. Apparently it had been assumed from the 1869 Salt Lake directory that the term “mummies” referred to all four mummies, even though that is not specifically said. More likely, the reference refers only to the two mummies on display. It has also been assumed that all of the papyri was in the Wood’s Museum, and hence, that it too had burned.

Certainly there was and is good reason for believing that everything in the museum at the time was burned—whatever mummies and papyri might have been in the museum in 1871. At this point, no evidence exists to show that the two mummies left the museum. But it is apparent from the recent rediscovery that not everything held by the Prophet ever got to the museum in the first place. But whatever mummies and papyri of the Prophet were in the museum—and there probably were some—these artifacts were probably burned.

A famous Currier and Ives painting of the great Chicago Fire of 1871. Reportedly, the flames are going the wrong direction. (Courtesy Chicago Historical Society)
The fire broke out October 8, 1871, in a barn on De Koven Street. The barn belonged to Patrick O’Leary, and the legend persists of the cow’s kicking the lantern over and lighting the straw. There had been a drought and everything was dry. A south wind unfortunately chose this time to become a gale, sweeping the flames beyond the control of fire fighters. The fire soon spread throughout the entire northeastern section of the city, burning hundreds of acres of wooden structures. By the next day, the complete north side had been leveled, including the waterworks. Consequently, the city could not muster the machinery to save herself. It is recorded that of a population of 77,000, all but 7,000 were left homeless. The estimated loss was $187 million. It is not likely that Wood’s Museum survived, nor any of its treasures.

Because of this state of affairs, the Reorganized Church editor wrote in the preface to Lucy Mack Smith’s book, “... the writer... saw two of the mummies and part of the records in Wood’s Museum in Chicago, where they were destroyed by the fire of 1871.” Note that he says only “two of the mummies and part of the records.”

Some of the records, maybe the portion that contained the actual copy of the Book of Abraham, were apparently in the museum, where they burned with the mummies. For this reason, it is apparent that even if future years do disclose more of the papyri, and I suspect strongly that they will, Latter-day Saints will not be able to completely recover all the papyri that the Prophet originally acquired from Michael Chandler. Until research shows to the contrary, then, apparently at least “two mummies and part of the records” burned at Wood’s Museum in Chicago in 1871. There is no way to avoid that conclusion, unless it can be proved that the museums were exhibiting the “Court of Osiris” fragments that we now have and which Seyffarth may have described. However, the rediscovery in 1967 shows that all of the papyri, and perhaps the two other mummies, did not burn. Latter-day Saint researchers could immortalize themselves by locating the remaining evidence in this fascinating puzzle.
N. L. Nelson

In 1885, N. L. Nelson gave his Provo lecture, which was recorded in the Academic Review. Students will want a chance to read the full report, which has already been analyzed and discussed at different points in the story:

The Book of Abraham

This formed the subject of an address by N. L. Nelson before the last meeting of Section B.

The manner in which the papyrus bearing this ancient record was transferred from a musty catacomb of Egypt to the hands of the Prophet Joseph Smith is no less wonderful than providential. Four mummies, secured by a certain English Minister Plenipotentiary to Egypt, were bequeathed to his nephew, a Mr. Chandler of New York. Lying transversely on the stomach, beneath the folded hands of one of the mummies, was found the relic in question.

Dr. J. R. Riggs of this city, who personally examined the papers, describes the same as about 6 x 8 inches in size, and slightly over an inch thick. The leaves were gummed together at the edges, but became readily separable by heat. A few leaves, opened by Mr. Chandler for exhibition were shown to Prof. Anthon of New York, and Dr. Mitchell of Philadelphia, each of whom commenced a translation. The characters were written in three colors—red, blue, and black—only two of which were legible, thus rendering the sense incomplete. As these gentlemen were among the highest recognized authorities on the translation of dead languages, Mr. Chandler began to despair of securing a translation, when he was reminded by Dr. Mitchell of Joseph Smith’s reputed power as a translator. Some time in 1835 Mr. Chandler met the Prophet in Kirtland; and the translation of the record was undertaken. Whatever else was found beside that now contained in the Pearl of Grat Price has not yet been known. We do know, however, that Joseph Smith was eager to purchase the manuscript, and as the exhibitor would not sell it apart from the mummies, the Prophet bought both, paying for them about $2,000. The mummies were identified as those of a king, a queen, a princess, and a slave. The relics were left after the martyrdom, and the Nauvoo exodus, in the hands of Lucy Smith, wife of the Prophet, and Mr. Milliken who afterward married her sold them to a museum in Chicago.

The Formation of the Pearl of Great Price

No story on the Book of Abraham would be complete without a brief review of the various publications of that
volume of scripture. The Book of Abraham first appeared in two installments in March 1842 in the Nauvoo Times and Seasons. The Millennial Star, organ of the Church in England, printed it that summer. Nine years later, Franklin D. Richards, a member of the Council of the Twelve, as president of the British Mission, decided that the many British Saints needed a small book containing many of the writings the American Saints had received. At the time there were more Saints in England than in America—31,000, compared to the total Church membership of about 58,000, many of whom were so new in the Church that they had not read much that already had been printed by the Millennial Star.

Brother Richards wrote that he was “induced by the repeated solicitations of several friends of the publisher, who are desirous to be put in possession of the very important articles contained therein.” The book which was to become the Pearl of Great Price did not come by request of the President of the Church, nor by direction from the First Presidency. It started out as a 56-page mission pamphlet. Included were parts of the Book of Moses; the Book of Abraham; revelations from the Prophet on Matthew 24, and the Revelation of John; Section 87 of the Doctrine and Covenants; other extracts from the Doctrine and Covenants; part of Joseph Smith’s own story; the Articles of Faith; and a poem called “Truth,” now known as the hymn “Oh! Say, What Is Truth?”

The appearance of the Pearl of Great Price in England was met with such enthusiastic response that as the British Saints journeyed to America, the Saints in the West learned of the little publication and desired a similar grouping of many of their important documents. Therefore, in 1878, the first American edition of the Pearl of Great Price appeared. This edition contained 71 pages and included all that the British edition had, in addition to Section 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants and the complete Book of Moses.

On October 10, 1880, in general conference, the members present voted and accepted the Pearl of Great
Price as scripture. President Joseph F. Smith, sustained only a few minutes earlier as second counselor to President John Taylor, called for the vote: "I move that we receive and accept the revelations contained in these books, as revelations from God to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and to all the world." (Journal History, Conference Report, October 10, 1880.)

But two volumes of scripture containing some of the revelations appearing in the Doctrine and Covenants did not seem wise, so in 1902 the First Presidency presented a new Pearl of Great Price to the Church for acceptance. The new accepted edition had been cross-referenced by Dr. James E. Talmage of the Council of the Twelve, as well as divided into verses and chapters. Also, the Egyptian facsimiles were reduced in size, particularly Facsimile No. 2, which has left them nearly unusable by scholars interested in evaluating them. A significant amount of detail has been lost. Some Latter-day Saint scholars also report that the facsimiles have been improperly reproduced in several aspects, some figures being out of place, upside down, and even missing.

In 1921 an edition was printed with double column pages and an index. This is the story of the growth of a mission pamphlet to one of our treasured books of scripture, a true pearl of great price.

The Egyptian Grammar and Alphabet

Until about 20 years ago, members of the Church knew nothing about Joseph Smith's "Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar," other than that which they had read in the pages of the History of the Church. As has already been reported, in 1843 the Prophet suggested the idea of preparing a grammar for publication. No such grammar was ever published by the Prophet, but sources in 1847 and 1855, quoted and discussed previously, confirm the arrival into Salt Lake Valley of the "Alphabet and Grammar."

However, these two sources have not been generally
This is called Za in the Chaldean Alphabet. It is called &r in the Egyptian.

The Saga of the Book of Abraham
known by Latter-day Saints. Because of this, Dr. Sidney Sperry is often referred to as the discoverer of the Alphabet and Grammar as a result of his 1935 location of it in the Church Historian's Office. Dr. Sperry tells his own story:

I figured for a long while that the grammar had probably gone to the bottom of the Mississippi River at the time that the Saints were coming west. We know that a wagon or so of records were lost in the river. So, I had assumed that the Grammar was lost.

Then one day, Dr. John A. Widtsoe of the Council of the Twelve came down to a quarterly conference of the old Utah Stake, of which I was a member, and inasmuch as I had to go to Salt Lake City that evening after the meeting was over, I asked Dr. Widtsoe if he would like to ride with me to Salt Lake, and I informed him that I would be glad to take him right to his home. He agreed. So on the way we talked quite a little, and in the course of the conversation things came around in such a way that I got a sudden inspiration that the Grammar was in the Church Historian's Office. Later, I went up to the office and lo and behold, we found this old "Egyptian Grammar" in the archives of the Church.

The outside title on the binding says "Egyptian Grammar." The book itself is a ruled journal approximately 8 x 12 inches and about one and a half inches thick and is of about 60 pages. Only a small proportion of the pages have Egyptian characters on them, with their apparent translation in English and meaning. The grammar, or alphabet, has been arranged into five groupings that the Prophet listed as "five degrees." Some blank pages appear between the pages of the apparent translation of Egyptian symbols, indicating that perhaps the task was far from finished. In addition, there is what appears to be an Egyptian numbering system. Such is the often-discussed Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar.

The Prophet's apparent English translation or meaning of the symbols in the "grammar" has yet not been made public information by the Church. There is no particular reason known to this author suggesting why it not be made public, nor is there any reason suggesting that it ought to be made public, other than the intense interest on the subject. There are, however, several copies
of the “grammar” available, copies apparently clandestinely acquired from the Church Historian’s Office, and they are sold by some merchants.

In frank terms, no one seems to know the “grammar’s” value. Dr. Hugh Nibley has suggested that the “grammar” represents the Prophet’s personal “hobbying,” personal ideas, and was never intended by the Prophet to represent revealed information. Other students, generally not familiar with Egyptian, however, have suggested that the “grammar” represents a major contribution in the cracking of an ancient language.

Dr. Nibley says:

There is a lot we would like to know about these strange texts. There are signs of experimenting here, and the writer feels to make alterations as he goes. We must not forget that Joseph Smith was not only permitted but commanded to cast about in his own mind for the answers to things before asking for revelation (D&C 9:7-8), just as the Nephites were commanded to “ponder upon the things” they wished to understand and so to “prepare your minds” for revelation (3 Ne. 17:3), and as the Brother of Jared, when he asked the Lord how he should light his ships was told to solve the problem for himself as best he might before appealing for supernatural aid (Ether 3-4).” (Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, Autumn 1968, Vol. III, No. 2, page 100.)

Perhaps this view is correct. Perhaps it is not. Only time will tell.

“Valuable Discovery,” A Second Book of the Prophet’s

In addition to the “Egyptian Grammar,” there is another book, smaller in size, and often spoken of as being inside the “grammar” book, but, in fact, it is not part of the “grammar.” It is titled “Valuable Discovery of hidden records that have been obtained from the ancient burying place of the Egyptians, Joseph Smith, Jr.”

Its 13 pages contain Egyptian and Arabic text, apparently copied from the original papyrus rolls. The Prophet—or his secretary—has written in English such things as, “the above were taken from beneath the figures of two
persons—one the appearance of a male and the other a female.” On two of the pages appear the words, “Katumin, Princess, daughter of On-i-tas King of Egypt, who began to reign in the year of the World 2962.”

“Katumin was born in the 30th year of the reign of her father, and died when she was 28 years old, which was the year 3020.”

There is more Egyptian and Arabic script, a drawing of a snake with legs, a drawing of Facsimile No. 2, and more script apparently copied.
Page 1 of “Valuable Discovery.” English script says: “The above were taken from beneath the figures of two persons—one the appearance of a male and the other a female.” “The above was taken from beneath figures like the first, standing a little to the left, and a little below.” Scholars say that this Egyptian script belongs to part of the papyri now lost, and that it contains material from the Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Again, the value of the work is unknown, but the appearance of the name Onitas has a strange regularity about it. Assuming that the counting of years began at the Fall of Adam, or the usual figuring of 4,000 B.C., then 2,962 years from 4,000 B.C. would be 1,038 B.C. for the beginning of the reign of Onitas, and 1,008 B.C. for the birth of Katumin, and 980 B.C. for her death.

This is the third reference to Onitas: Charlotte’s 1843 report, Abraham 1:11, and now this reference in the Prophet’s personal notebook. One wonders, therefore, if the Prophet did indeed think he knew the identity of one of the mummies he had acquired. Certainly, one would think the above-quoted sentences would not represent research on the Onitah mentioned in the Book of Abraham. The period of 1,080 B.C. would have been far...
too late for that Onitah to have lived as a contemporary of the prophet Abraham, who lived nearer to 2,000 B.C. And is Katumin the name of one of the female mummies owned by the Prophet? If so, was she the female that was housed in the Chicago Museum and that probably burned in the fire of 1871? Obviously, these are questions and relationships that are beyond solution at the present time.

But some work has been done on the text in the “Valuable Discovery.”

A famous American Egyptologist, Dr. John A. Wilson, Andrew MacLeish Distinguished Service Professor of Egyptology at the University of Chicago, has evaluated the “Valuable Discovery” from poor quality photographs and makes the following observations (Dialogue, Vol. III, No. 2, 1968.)

1- “Valuable Discovery” page 12. The text can be identified from the Book of the Dead as chapters 1, 2, 6, 10 (?), 12, 13, 14.

2- “Valuable Discovery,” page 14. Despite the fact that two
or three different fragments had been mounted as if one, the text can be identified from chapters 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 13. The vignette showing worshipping apes is the one applicable to chapter 15. (Dialogue, op. cit., p. 72.)

3- Another copy of (Facsimile No. 2) is on page 13 of “Valuable Discovery.” A hypocephalus was a cartonnage disk which was placed under the head of a mummy toward the end of ancient Egyptian history. I think that the name of the owner appears as Sheshonk.

4- Another document is from “Book of the Dead carrying the name of its owner as Amenhotep. It appears in copy on pp. 2, 3, and 6 of “Valuable Discovery.” Possibly it comes from the same manuscript as Facsimile No. 3 in the Pearl of Great Price.

5- On page 10 of “Valuable Discovery” . . . is a papyrus which shows Arabic writing. Of course that writing is much later than the ancient Egyptian texts, and the handwriting seems to be of a much later type than the last use of papyrus in Egypt. It seems reasonable, then, that a piece of ancient papyrus was used perhaps 150 to 200 years ago to make some jottings. I think that I can detect that the fiber of the papyrus runs vertically, which would make it the back side of a document.” (Dialogue, Ibid, pp. 68-69.)

So much for what is public information of the “Valuable Discovery.” Again, its ultimate meaning and value are not known.

Handwritten Copies of the Book of Abraham

In the Church Historian’s Office are four handwritten copies of parts of our present Book of Abraham. None of the copies includes the entire Book of Abraham. The four copies are:

1—Copy 1 is from Abraham 1:1 to 2:18, and is on ten handwritten pages.

2—Copy 2 is from Abraham 1:1 to 2:18, and from Abraham 3:18-26, and is on about 16 handwritten pages.

3—Copy 3 is from Abraham 1:4 to 2:6, and is on about four pages.

4—Copy 4 is from Abraham 1:4 to 2:2, and is on about six pages.

Down the left-hand margin of the pages on copies 1, 3, 4 are some symbols, apparently Egyptian. Interestingly enough, the symbols appear to have been taken from the right-hand side of fragment “XI. Small ‘Sensen’ Text,”
recently found by Dr. Atiya. The symbols appear in order on the handwritten copies, right to left, as they appear in the first several lines of the papyrus fragment.

Some persons have thought that the symbols were the text which gave rise to the English text of our present-day Book of Abraham, which is to the right of the symbols on these handwritten copies. The English text, however, often is as much as 30 to 40 words, and sometimes is as high as 60 words between Egyptian symbols, which may in themselves be only two or three scratches.

Dr. Hugh Nibley has said:

If the symbols given here, which are taken from the brief Sen-Sen fragment, are the Egyptian source of the Book of Abraham, why were they never given out as such to the public? Because it was Smith’s secret source of information? It could not have been that unless he was actually translating it. At best the symbols on the left would seem to indicate section-headings. To see in them the whole book of Abraham is to fly in the face of reason and attribute our insanity to Joseph Smith. Any thought of a literal translation is of course out of the question, but to identify the symbols in the Sen-Sen papyrus with the text of the entire Book of Abraham we must assume that the sly Joseph Smith and his competent co-workers remained blissfully unaware of a discrepancy so gross that a cretin could not miss it. In the absence of any explanation by its writer, the very arrangement of the texts, which indicated a definite connection whatever it might be, between the symbols and the English text, strikes one forcefully at first glance as a clear indication that the person who wrote it could not possibly have intended the one text to pass as a translation of the other, especially since he has already demonstrated a sane sense of proportion in the preceding sign-lists (or “Grammar”).

If nobody could possibly get the Book of Abraham out of the Sen-Sen papyrus, then we can be quite sure that nobody did—nobody including Joseph Smith.

Whatever is happening, the finished almost flawless manuscript is not being derived from the symbols placed to the left of it. The connection between the two remains a mystery. (Dialogue, op. cit., pp. 100-101.)

Once more, only time will tell.

The Scribes of the Copies

Much more, however, can be learned from the hand-
written copies of the Book of Abraham. Some major clues as to the possible time of translation of various parts of the Book of Abraham are available. Dean C. Jessee of the Church Historian’s Office has spent many hours comparing the handwriting of the scribes of the Prophet, and has identified the penmanship of the four copies as follows:

1—Copy 1 (1:1-2:18) is by two scribes. The first half of the first page is by W. W. Phelps. The next nine and a half pages are by Warren Parrish.

2—Copy 2 (1:1-2:18; 3:18-26) is by Willard Richards.

3—Copy 3 (1:4-2:6) is thought to be either Oliver Cowdery or W. W. Phelps, although positive identification is unknown.

4—Copy 4 (1:4-2:2) is by Warren Parrish.

This information about the scribes gives rise to some extremely interesting possibilities. In terms of copy 3, it will be remembered that recorded in the History of the Church sometime before the ninth of July, 1835, only several days after the Prophet acquired the papyri, is the following: “. . . with W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery as scribes, I commenced the translation of some of the characters or hieroglyphics, and much to our joy found that one of the rolls contained the writings of Abraham, another the writings of Joseph of Egypt, etc. . . .”

It is conceivable that in the very early days of his possession of the papyri the Prophet translated part of the Book of Abraham, and his scribes, either Oliver Cowdery or W. W. Phelps, wrote down the translation. There are, however, several other entries that mention these two men:

[October 1, 1835—] This afternoon I labored on the Egyptian alphabet, in company with brothers Oliver Cowdery and W. W. Phelps, and during the research, the principles of astronomy as understood by Father Abraham and the ancients unfolded to our understanding. . . .

[October 29, 1835—] We examined the mummies (Edward Partridge, W. W. Phelps, and Joseph Smith) returned home, and my scribe commenced writing in my journal a history of my life.

The name of W. W. Phelps is illustrious in Church
Translation of the Book of Abraham continued
by his own hand and translated and found
in the desert ovens of Egypt.

In the land of the inhabitants at the residence of my
father, I, Abraham, knew that it was known
for me to obtain another place of residence, 
where there was greater happiness and peace and not
for one. I sought for his blessings of the Father and
the right Whence it is I should be ordained to admin-
stew his concern. Having here a revelation of supernatural;
away together one who received great
mystery, a greater knowledge of righteousness,
righteousness; a greater knowledge of many nations; a people
If people! one who keeps the commandments of
God; a right path, a right path, helping
the right path to the Father, from the be-
ning of time; even from the beginning, or
before the foundation of the earth, down to
the present time; or the first birth, or the first birth, or the first birth,
through the Father, unto the
remainder, so much as may be a
justification. The conditions, the conditions
for which the remaining parts of the copy
may be found and be turned unto the sons of children
and the sons of men, and the sons of men, and the sons of men.
Therefore they were killed upon this altar.

And it was done after the manner of Egyptians, and it came to pass, that the
sacred violence upon one, that they
might slay one also, as they did this
terror upon this altar, and that you
might have a knowledge of this altar, I
refer you to the representation, at the cen-
trum of this rectangle.

It was made after the form of a bird
such as was had among the Children
and it stood before the gods of old:
Nebuchadnezzar (Mahmackan) and also a god
like unto that of Pharaoh, King of Egypt
that you may learn an understanding
of these gods, I have given you the fig-
ures of them, in the figures of the begin-
ing, which manner of figures is called
the Chaldeans and Babylonians.

And as they wrote up their name
on me, that they might offer me up to
the fire and I, whith I wrote up
ones, unto the fire, my God, and the
Lord hearer of my heart, and
judged me even a victim of the king
and the bearer of his promise, stood
in the pit, and immediately took
my wrists.

And his voice was unto me, Adam,
bear my name is Jehovah,
I have heard thee, and have come to
deliver thee, and to call thee
from thy father's house, and
from thy father's to a strange land.
history; he helped formulate and publish the Doctrine and Covenants and a book of LDS hymns—many of which he authored and which are among present-day favorites. He was a scribe for the Prophet in 1835, was excommunicated in 1838, and rejoined the Church in 1843. His life is an amazing story, one with which Latter-day Saints ought to be more conversant.

Oliver Cowdery, second elder of the Church and Assistant President, shared with Joseph Smith much of the founding experiences of the “restoration,” including the Book of Mormon translation, restoration of the priesthood, and the visitation of Peter, James, John, Moses, Elijah, and even Christ. But he too, with W. W. Phelps, was chastized by the Lord and the Prophet Joseph Smith in the fall of 1837, and he too was excommunicated in 1838. He did not rejoin as quickly as did Brother Phelps. Oliver Cowdery was rebaptized in 1848, shortly before dying.

If, in fact, these two men were with the Prophet as scribes during the reception of the Book of Abraham, it would place their portion of the Book of Abraham, chapters 1:4-2:6, at an early period. In fact, it is entirely possible that they were the scribes for much—or all—of the Book of Abraham. We simply do not know.

Copy 1 presents another possible theory. Reportedly, its first half page is written by W. W. Phelps, but the last nine and a half pages are by Warren Parrish. As will be remembered, Warren Parrish joined the Prophet as scribe October 29, 1835, and on November 14, was the subject of a revelation which indicated that he should “see much of my ancient records, and shall know of hidden things, and shall be endowed with a knowledge of hidden languages; and if he desire it and shall seek it at my hands, he shall be privileged with writing much of my word, as a scribe unto me for the benefit of my people. . . .” Within 12 days after this revelation, the entries in the Prophet’s history cease to mention the subject of translation, until 1842.

One tends to wonder if W. W. Phelps was able to assist in the very beginning of the writing of the Book of

The Separation  323
Abraham, but that Warren Parrish was he who was appointed to assist in the major undertaking.

Another fact of relevance in the matter is the amount of present-day Book of Abraham in the hand of Warren Parrish: chapter 1:1-2:18. This is also the exact length of the first installment in the 1842 *Times and Seasons*. One tends to wonder if that is as far as the Prophet reached in his 1835 work.

Copy 4 may merely be another copy of copy 1, or for that matter, copy 1 may be a copy of copy 4. Some students have suggested that long before the 1842 publication in the *Times and Seasons*, handwritten copies of the Book of Abraham were made for interested parties, as today, one asks a neighbor if he can copy a certain document, recipe, or some such thing of personal interest. Others have suggested that extra copies might have been made for use and study in the School of the Prophets, a school organized by Joseph Smith for the priesthood. The school, held upstairs in the Kirtland Temple, apparently ceased about the spring of 1836, well within the period of translation. Again, the use and original source of the handwritten copies are not yet known.

Copy 2 presents potential insight into the second installment in the *Times and Seasons*, the remaining three and a half chapters of the Book of Abraham, or a text about double the length of the first installment. This copy is in the handwriting of Willard Richards, the Prophet’s beloved personal secretary who began his service December 13, 1841, only a few months before the Book of Abraham was printed.

As will be remembered, the Prophet’s history contains the entry under March 8, 1842, after the first installment had been printed: “Recommenced translating from the records of Abraham for the tenth number of the *Times and Seasons*, and was engaged at my office all day.”

Under date of March 9, “... in the afternoon continued translation of the Book of Abraham, called at Bishop Knight’s and Mr. Davis’, with the recorder, and continued translating and revising. . . .”
The recorder was Willard Richards, who already had the trusted position of Temple Recorder, general Church clerk, and the Prophet’s private secretary. Since no known copies exist of the latter half of the Book of Abraham in the handwriting of W. W. Phelps, Oliver Cowdery, or Warren Parrish, one wonders if it was not Willard Richards who was the scribe for the last half. The Prophet’s entry says that he was accompanied during the day by the “recorder.”

Of intense interest also are the speed of the operation, if indeed the Prophet is receiving the last half of the Book of Abraham during these two days, and the lack of Egyptian symbols on the left hand side of Willard Richards’ copy. Certainly two days is not enough time to mull out meaning from the hieroglyphics. One tends to think that Wilford Woodruff’s description of February 19, 1842—two weeks previous—indicates the source of Joseph’s translation: “The Lord is blessing Joseph with power to reveal the mysteries of the kingdom of God; to translate through the Urim and Thummim ancient records and hieroglyphics. . . .” Perhaps Brother Woodruff’s February 19 comment referred to that which had been done much earlier—the first installment—or perhaps it meant the Prophet already was working on part of the second installment before the March 8 and 9 entries in his history.

The lack of Egyptian symbols on Willard Richards’ copy may well indicate that Willard Richards knew the source of the English wording: the seer stone, and that the words were not from Joseph’s cracking of an Egyptian hieroglyphic. However, one would assume that one of the papyrus fragments actually had the story of Abraham upon it, and for this reason the Prophet used the wording “purporting to be the writings of Abraham, while he was in Egypt, called the Book of Abraham. . . .”

The handwritten copies of the Book of Abraham probably have not yet served their full purpose in assisting Latter-day Saints to learn all there is to know about this remarkable story. But we leave for others those additional insights to tell.
Concerning the ultimate source of Joseph's Book of Abraham, it is relevant at this point to enter John Whitmer's account of how Joseph translated. Elder Whitmer was formerly Church Historian, the subject of several revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants, a witness of the plates of the Book of Mormon, and one who was excommunicated in 1838:

About the first of July, 1835, there came a man having four Egyptian mummies, exhibiting them for curiosities, which was a wonder indeed, having also some words connected with them which were found deposited with the mummies, but there being no one skilled in the Egyptian language therefore could not translate the record. After this exhibition Joseph the Seer saw these records and by the revelation of Jesus Christ could translate these records which gave an account of our forefathers, much of which was written by Joseph of Egypt who was sold by his brethren, which when all translated will be a pleasing history and of great value to the Saints. (The Book of John Whitmer kept by Commandment, p. 19.)

John Whitmer's history was not turned over to the Church at his excommunication, and for this reason writers of the History of the Church did not have access to it. But the original manuscript is possessed by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints at Independence, Missouri. Again, one does not know what to do with the reports that Abraham or Joseph wrote part of the account. Apparently those ideas were widespread among the members of the Church. Time may well vindicate their reports. But it is Whitmer's description of the ultimate source of Joseph Smith's "translation" that is of immediate interest: "... by the revelation of Jesus Christ could translate these records. . . ."

Wilford Wood and Copy 1

There is an interesting story about the Church's acquisition of Copy 1, the handwritten copy in the handwriting of W. W. Phelps and Warren Parrish. The story concerns the late Wilford Wood. Brother Wood, a remarkable researcher of the life of the Prophet Joseph
Smith, was perhaps unexcelled in his adventures involving the acquisitions of many objects, land, and former belongings of the Prophet. His life and work have yet to be told, and will make a fascinating chapter in Church history. He acquired his ten-page copy in 1937 from Charles E. Bidamon, a son of Major Lewis C. Bidamon, Emma Smith's second husband.

The story of this particular acquisition is told by Elder Wood:

For sometime I had owned the President John Taylor home and the *Times and Seasons* building in Nauvoo. My next door neighbor to the John Taylor home was a man whose wife was the sister of Charles Bidamon, a son of Major Lewis C. Bidamon, Emma's second husband. Well, one day the wife of my neighbor came to me and said, "Why don't you go and find my brother Charlie. He's over in Wilmette, Illinois, about 15 miles north of Chicago. He has a lot of things pertaining to the Prophet Joseph and Emma Smith."

So, Dr. Walter M. Stookey, a fellow member on the Utah Trails and Landmarks Association with me, and I went back to Nauvoo on a visit. We went to Wilmette and found Charlie Bidamon (pro-
nounced Bide-a-mun). While we were there we saw letters, an inventory, many old documents and things that had been kept by Emma Smith, including the silver piece that was the Prophet's jewel of masonry that was in his pocket when he was killed, which Emma had kept and valued as her priceless possession. With all this material was a handwritten manuscript of part of the Book of Abraham.

Well, Charlie and his wife were a wonderful old couple, and since I was in the fur business, I gave Mrs. Bidamon a fur coat. This helped greatly in their determination to sell me all the articles they had. I cleaned out their boxes, all their treasures—everything they had that was connected to the Prophet Joseph Smith. There was no Egyptian papyrus, but there was a handwritten copy of part of the Book of Abraham. I brought the manuscript and turned it over to President David O. McKay, who in that year, 1937, was in the First Presidency, and to the Church Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith.

The July 21, 1937, Deseret News article of the transfer of the copy to the Church is also informative:
Papers in Writing of Prophet Joseph Included

Having been carefully kept by owners for the past century, some valuable manuscripts, among them ten pages of the manuscript of the Book of Abraham, part of which is in the handwriting of the Prophet Joseph Smith, have been secured and turned over to the Church Historian’s Office.

On a recent trip to points of historic interest, which carried him over the Mormon trail from Kirtland, Ohio, to Independence, Mo., Wilford Wood, Salt Lake businessman and historian, obtained these interesting manuscripts.

Ownership Traced

For many years they have been in the possession of Charles E. Bidamon of Wilmette, Ill., a son of the Major Bidamon, who became the husband of Emma Smith following the death of the Prophet. Mr. Bidamon said these interesting manuscripts many of which are in the handwriting of the Prophet Joseph Smith were given to his father by Emma Smith and in turn were given to his possession.

They have been preserved by Mr. Bidamon, who had been reluctant to part with them over the long period of years, though many offers have been made. On a visit to the home of Mr. Bidamon some months ago, Mr. Wood made arrangements whereby he could secure them.

Two weeks ago, accompanied by Dr. Walter M. Stookey, Mr. Wood made a journey in the interest of history, during which time the manuscripts were secured. This morning they were examined by Pres. David O. McKay and Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, Church historian, who pronounced them authentic and a valuable addition to the manuscript files of the Church Historian’s Office.

Other Interesting Documents

In addition to the manuscript of the Book of Abraham, there are many other interesting documents. Included in the handwriting of the Prophet Joseph Smith are a writ of habeas corpus prepared by the Prophet while he was incarcerated in Liberty Jail. Another is the history of Joseph Smith’s incarceration in the jail, a facsimile of the Book of Abraham, an inventory of the Prophet’s property, his credit statement on Nov. 8, 1839, and an objection to Joseph Smith’s discharge in bankruptcy.

There are included several deeds, among them one from Isaac Hale, his father-in-law, to Joseph Smith, and another from Willard Richards to Joseph Smith.

Another account, that of the September 1937 Improvement Era, written by Richard L. Evans, disagrees at some
points, however. Also, it contains additional valuable information:

Out of the scenes wherein were enacted some of the happiest and some of the most tragic events in the lives of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his people, have come now to the Church a rich store of highly valued documents pertaining to the Church and its early leaders. Many of these papers are in the handwriting of the Prophet Joseph. All of them have historical as well as sentimental value.

The recent purchase was made personally by Wilford C. Wood on his own responsibility. However, through the interest of President David O. McKay and Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, they have now found their way into Church archives, to be permanently preserved. The possessor, until the recent exchange of title to Elder Wood, was Mr. Charles E. Bidamon, of Wilmette, Cook County, Illinois, son of Major L. C. Bidamon, husband of the Prophet’s widow, Emma Smith.

For some time past Wilford Wood has been running the following display notice in the Nauvoo Independent:


In response to this advertisement, there came from Mr. Bidamon, dated June 28, 1937, at Wilmette, Illinois, a letter which read in part:

Mr. Wilford Wood
Woods Cross, Utah
Wilmette, Ill., June 28, 1937

Dear Sir:

I saw your advertisement in the Nauvoo Independent in regard to deeds, documents, letters, etc., pertaining to Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet.

I have a number of documents, etc., in which the Prophet is involved.

I have also manuscript which has been identified by Elders of the Mormon Church as part of the original manuscript of the Pearl of Great Price. Also a silver pocket piece which was in the Prophet’s pocket at the time of his assassination . . .

These papers came into my possession through Emma Smith, the Prophet’s widow, whom my father, Major L. C. Bidamon, married. I have had numerous chances to dispose of these papers, but have not seen fit to do so.

The Mormon Church has a headquarters in Chicago of which Wilmette is a suburb, and easy of access.

If members of the Church care to come to my house and examine
the documents they are welcome to do so, or I can take them to them for examination.

I do not feel inclined to put a price on them at the present time, but would consider an offer. . . .

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) C. E. Bidamon
238 Catalpa Place,
Wilmette, Ill.

Accordingly Elder Wood, accompanied by Dr. and Mrs. W. M. Stookey, called at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles E. Bidamon in Wilmette, Illinois, on July 10, 1937, for the purpose of examining and negotiating for the documents referred to. There was a considerable number of them, and these kindly and honorable people who had cherished and treasured them for many years, were quite naturally reluctant to part with them, but they realized that the years were leaving them no younger and that with their eventual passing the fate of these valuable documents would be left in doubt. And so, with characteristic generosity and sound reasoning, they agreed to yield possession for a very fair and modest consideration. The list of documents purchased, title to which was conveyed to Wilford C. Wood from Charles E. Bidamon by a notarized bill of sale, includes the following:

Part of the original manuscript from which the Pearl of Great Price was later compiled.
Deed of John Hatfield to Lorina Woods.
Inventory of Property of Joseph Smith, Jr.
Facsimile of “Book of Abraham.”
History of Joseph Smith’s incarceration in Liberty, Clay County, Jail, etc.
Two pages of poems.
Kirtland bank scrip.
Credit statement of Joseph Smith, Jr., Nov. 8, 1839.
Petition for writ of Habeas Corpus.
Joseph Smith Bankruptcy Paper.
Joseph Smith petition.
Bond for deed and deed to property from Isaac Hale to Joseph Smith, Jr.
Objection to Joseph Smith’s discharge of bankruptcy.

And so there come back to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints a few more of the cherished possessions that were left fifteen hundred miles behind nearly a century ago when mob violence, lawlessness, and intolerance drove a people into the Western wilderness for their religious convictions—out of which wilderness they have emerged “mighty and strong.”

The Separation 331
The recent discoveries

The announcement on that long-to-be-remembered Monday, November 27, 1967, literally stunned and surprised countless hundreds of thousands of Latter-day Saints:

NEW YORK—A collection of papyrus manuscripts, long believed to have been destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871, was presented to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) here today by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Within a matter of hours, nearly an entire Church’s interest was piqued, and everywhere people clamored to know more about the papyri. The rediscovery was directly related to one of the four books of scripture members of the Church respect as containing the eternal gospel and historical truths. Well might any Latter-day Saint have desired to know more about the rediscovery.

And indeed, there is much more to the story than has been reported. More than even I will report. There are some aspects of the story—due to reasons of propriety and personalities—that should remain out of public discourse for some years yet, simply because it is the wisest course to do so. But a significant amount of the story, indeed, most of the bones and much of the flesh, can be reported and savored. The story begins sometime during the first weeks of May 1966 in New York City, and is best told by the principal party involved: Dr. Aziz Suryal Atiya:

I was writing a book at the time, one that I had started while a professor of world Christianity and eastern Christianity, and I went to the Metropolitan Museum of Art looking for documents, papyri, pictures, and illustrations to serve the book. It must have been in
the early spring of 1966. I really forget the date. My book was ready for the press, and I was looking for supplementary material.

While I was in one of the dim rooms where everything was brought to me, something caught my eye, and I asked one of the assistants to take me behind the bars into the storehouse of documents so that I could look some more. While there I found a file with these documents. I at once recognized the picture part of it. When I saw this picture, I knew that it had appeared in the Pearl of Great Price. I knew the general format of the picture. This kind of picture one can find generally on other papyri, but this particular one has special peculiarities. For instance, the head had fallen off, and I could see that the papyrus was stuck on paper, nineteenth century paper. The head was completed in pencil, apparently by Joseph Smith, who must have had it when that part fell off. He apparently drew the head in his own hand on the supplementary paper. Also, the hands of the mummy, raised as they are, and the leg, raised as it is—usually the mummies lie straight forward—are very peculiar. This papyrus is Egyptian, true enough, but what it stands for, I really don’t know.

Now when I saw this, I began to search further. I saw more pieces of papyri stacked together and suspected that Providence had assisted. Another document was found with these documents, signed by Joseph Smith’s wife, his son, and someone else, testifying that these papyri were treasured and owned by Joseph Smith.

In 1918 a Mrs. Heusser came to the museum and informed the officials that she had some papyrus, but an understanding was not reached until 1947. They were then acquired by the museum, and then the museum changed curators of Egyptian antiquities and the whole subject was forgotten.

When I saw these documents, I really was taken back. I know the Mormon community, what it stands for, its scripture, etc., and I said at once that these documents don’t belong here. They belong to the Mormon Church. Well, of course, the people in the museum are good friends of mine, and I tried to tempt them into ceding the documents to the Church. I informed my good friend Taza Peirce, who is executive secretary of the Salt Lake Council for International Visitors, and we discussed the manner in which I should acquaint the Mormon community of the find. She suggested I see President Tanner, and she was the intermediary who arranged and attended our first two meetings. Thereafter, I met directly with President Tanner, who had said the Church was very, very interested and would do anything or pay any price for them. Since that time, we worked quietly on the possibility of their transference to the Church.

In these kinds of things, I never push. I take my time. With some kindly persuasions and discussions, the museum ultimately put a memorandum on the subject to the board of trustees of the museum.
The Board discussed the matter at very great length, greater length than you might think, and in the end they thought that since the museum had papyri of this nature in plenty, why should they keep these documents from the Church?

When their generous decision was made, it was telephoned to me by the curator, and he wrote to me also. Then we had a lull in the situation, because the curator had to go to Egypt for a month in order to arrange final steps for the transference to the Metropolitan Museum of another treasure, in which I also had a hand. It concerns a great temple that is being presented by the Egyptian government to the American nation in recognition of the contributions America has made toward the salvage of the Abyssinian monuments.

When the curator came back, he reported very nicely about the subject and said, "The decision has been taken; your Mormon friends are going to get these papyri. So, you go to your friends and the President of the Church and make the necessary arrangements for a ceremony."

Of course, President Tanner was just as excited as I was. He reported to President McKay, who was very enthusiastic about the project also. We then decided the way in which the ceremony would be conducted.

I felt very honored and very, very pleased to be in the center of the picture with such a distinguished person as President Tanner and Mr. Thomas P. F. Hoving, who is director of the museum. He's a very important man, as is his assistant and vice director, Dr. Joseph Noble. He's a very fine man. All of them were there, and to my surprise I found that the papyri were prepared in a very fine box for safekeeping.

But during the morning of that day I made it a point to go in at an early hour, long before the meeting of these magnates, in order to make sure that the papyri were there—not only the papyri, because what is of importance is the document that accompanied the papyri. It was a faded thing, in nineteenth century hand. I found that the museum had photographed it. Well, of course, they had tried to photograph it before, but it wouldn't show because it was very faded blue paper. Now they used infra-red and ultra-violet photography to get the text out, so that now the photograph is very much better than the original.

I was enchanted about the discovery of the papyri, which had been in the hands of Joseph Smith, but the discoveries were not ended there. On the morning of handing over the papyri, I began looking them up and down, up and down, and lo! I found on the back of the paper on which the papyri were glued writings and maps and an enumeration of townships and material of the highest value to Mormon history, made, I think, by Joseph Smith's own hand. Three of the
backs were full of notes and maps, which have to be studied by the specialists. I am not a specialist of that, but I have an eye for original documents, and these papyri documents are not fakes; they are original Egyptian papyri of a pre-Christian era. They could be from 3000 B.C. to 300 B.C.—over 300 B.C., at any rate. That is my estimate. The era will have to be decided by the specialists.

I know the kind of ink the Egyptians used and the difference between the genuine and the fake. Papyrus writings were usually placed with the mummy—papyri of many kinds—but essentially the "Book of the Dead," which would give the mummy safe passage to the world beyond. The papyri were sometimes colored. You find papyri like this with blue, gold, and red colors. This was not out of the ordinary. With regard to the ink used, it was generally made of soot and glue, and that is why it was eternal. I think these scrolls are written in that kind of ink. Usually the priests did the writing—they were most skilled. They used reed pens, and had to sharpen the reed and split it in the middle.

The Egyptians had the papyrus plant, and they used to split it into thin layers and put the layers criss-cross on one another, pound them with a wooden hammer, and then glue them together. They cut them to suit the purposes of the documents they wanted to write. Usually long strips were used to make scrolls, and this one was made in that fashion.

In order to protect the papyrus, which becomes brittle with age—for instance, the head of the person fell off simply because the papyrus was brittle—Joseph Smith probably thought that the best thing for its protection was to glue it on paper. When I first discovered these documents, I was so excited about the Egyptian writings that I did not look on the back of the paper, but when I returned to the museum, I noticed the writings on the back by Joseph Smith. These writings may not turn out to be of very great importance; however, any footnote one can get in the restoration of Mormon history is valuable.

The exciting part, which has proved beyond doubt that this was the papyri that was in Joseph Smith's hand, was established by that document signed by his widow. When I saw that, I had it transcribed and a copy typewritten to show to President Tanner.

Do you know that this discovery appeared in the Egyptian press on the day following the ceremony? On the first page of the most important paper! You would be surprised at the attention that was given to this discovery, and apparently the Egyptians were very pleased about the revealing of these documents. I consider it a great honor to have been able to make this discovery. Great discoveries are always accidental, and this one was as accidental as any discovery I have made—and probably more exciting than all of them. It was an honor to have been able to persuade such an august body as the
The Metropolitan Museum to present it to another body as august as the Mormon Church. I feel flattered to have been able to do what I did.

The fact that Dr. Atiya made the discovery and so energetically attests to the manuscript's authenticity as that which Joseph Smith used in part in the translation of the Book of Abraham is of no little importance. Dr. Atiya is a world-recognized scholar and researcher of Egyptian and Arabic manuscripts. He was instrumental in building the University of Utah's Middle East Library to what has been called "perhaps the finest in its field in America." The library, named for Dr. Atiya, was previously regarded as one of the five finest in the U.S. He was one of three Distinguished Professors at the university. He is of medium height, white-maned, mild-mannered, a possessor of a charming personality and of deep religious convictions.

A review of Dr. Atiya's teaching and literary career is very informative: Medieval Academy professor of Islamic studies, University of Michigan; professor of history, Columbia University; professor of world Christianity, Union Theological Seminary; Patten lecturer, Indiana University; professor of Islamic and Arabic history, Princeton University; member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University; and formerly tutor, lecturer, and professor at the University of Liverpool, University of London, University of Bonn (Germany), University of Zurich (Switzerland), University of Cairo, University of Alexandria (Egypt), American University of Beirut (Lebanon), and director of the Institute of Coptic Studies, Cairo.

Dr. Atiya has received honorary degrees from Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio; University of Utah, and Brigham Young University. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, trustee of the American Research Center in Egypt, corresponding member of UNESCO's Commission for Cultural and Scientific History of Mankind, a Fellow of Medieval Academy of America, and a Fellow of the Academy of the Mediterranean.
A few of his 20 volumes are: The Crusade of Nicopolis; The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages; Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence; State of Egypt in the Time of Saladin by his Minister ibn Mammati; History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church; The Monastery of St. Catherine in Mt. Sinai; The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai; Crusade, Commerce, and Culture; Crusade, Historiography and Bibliography; and the History of Eastern Christianity. In addition, he is the author of about 50 monograph articles. Of lasting importance are his writings on the Crusades of the Middle Ages and his studies and writings of his own Orthodox Coptic religion. In essence, he is a well-recognized fellow among the worldwide community of scholars.

It could as well be said of Dr. Atiya’s discovery as that which Parley P. Pratt said of Joseph’s reception of Egyptian mummies and papyrus in the first place: “Singular is the providence by which this ancient record fell into the hands of the servant of the Lord, Joseph Smith.”

Singular, indeed. It is reported by Dr. Hugh Nibley that some Egyptologists, Egyptian museum curators, and other non-Mormon scholars have known about the existence of the papyrus fragments—and their relationship to the Church—since as early as 1902! For 65 years! As Dr. Hugh Nibley has noted, “They have been in the hands of recognized scholars for many years, although no Latter-day Saint was even aware of their existence until about two years ago. At no time have the manuscripts not been just as available to Egyptologists as they are now to members of the Church. Since the Church obtained them, they have been made available to everyone. It is not the Mormons who have kept the documents out of the hands of the scholars but the other way around. If it had not been for Professor Aziz S. Atiya, we should still know nothing about the papyri; he is in a very real sense their discoverer.”

But Dr. Atiya has left much untold of minor importance; for example, the fact that during the negotiations, Dr. Atiya had approved the transferral of the photos of the papyri to Dr. Nibley. Additional insight into the sen-
sitive area of activity that surrounded the transferral of the papyri to the Church is given in the story of Taza Armstrong Peirce. Taza is the person to whom Dr. Atiya turned when he desired to inform the Church of his find. Her complete story is one of inspiration, preparation, and, seemingly, one of a person who may have been fulfilling an appointed part as an inspired intermediary. Few observers have noted the importance of her role.

*Taza A. Peirce, the intermediary.*

Taza was the executive secretary of the Salt Lake Council for International Visitors, which is associated with the U.S. Department of State in Washington, D.C. One of her assignments was to assist international visitors of the U.S. Department of State in their goodwill tours across the United States. Daily she met and worked with scholars, diplomats, businessmen, and persons of prominence from other lands. Her influence in many unknown and untold events was vast and immeasureable. In fact, far reaching indeed are some of her experiences. They would make

The Recent Discoveries

339
make the kind of reading that traditionally has been represented by the "memoirs" of those privileged to be in important places at the right time. Perhaps someday she will tell of her experiences. We hope so. At any event, here is her story, in part, concerning the papyri:

From my youth I have been interested in the Middle East. In fact, even my name, Taza, is a name of a Moroccan town and an Arabic word meaning fresh, effervescent. I suppose two events have shaped my involvement in this story. In 1956, I read Wendell Phillips Qataban and Sheba: Exploring the Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia, in which Dr. Atiya was mentioned as a great Egyptian scholar. I searched for one of Dr. Atiya's books, and became unusually interested in the author, probably because he was so very articulate about his facts. I continued to read many books on the Middle East, especially the books from Dr. Atiya.

The second event that influenced my involvement concerned my employment. During this period I had left two good paying jobs. For some reason they had not interested me. Several years passed, and shortly after Christmas in 1962, I went to an employment agency, and when they became aware of my interests and background the woman said, "We have been waiting for you. Where have you been?"

I thought this rather unusual, but soon I was engaged as the executive secretary for the council, a role that has fulfilled an important blessing in my life.

Sometime after beginning my work, I received calls from a Dr. Atiya at the University of Utah's Middle East Center. He wanted me to help him with his important guests. Now, I did not realize at the time he was the same Dr. Atiya of whom I had been reading. By now I had read five of his books and numerous of his shorter publications—nearly everything I could get my hands on. But it didn’t dawn on me that he could be in Salt Lake City, and the man whom I was occasionally assisting. He would telephone me and inform me of his guests, and that was about all we discussed. I showed many of his guests the city, often on my days off.

Then about June 1963, he called and asked if I would show a certain guest around. The day of his call I went over to the library to learn more about the guest, and about 6:30 p.m., as I was returning to the office, I remember wondering if Dr. Atiya was related to the author of the books I had read. I decided to telephone and ask. When I informed him of my acquaintance with a Dr. Aziz S. Atiya through my reading, he humorously and characteristically commented on my unusual reading habits. He admitted that
he was the author, and then we talked for about two hours. He was delighted, and I was thrilled.

Well, we began to develop a very close relationship in our work. I have spent many hours in his and Mrs. Atiya’s home, and have felt honored to assist in doing errands, proofreading, anything to be of help. Well, that is the background.

From the first time I met him I felt drawn to him, so much so that I would put aside my work to help him on nearly anything. I even rescheduled my vacations several times to assist with a matter. This was amazing to me, because I wouldn’t do it for anyone else. But I had a strong urge to do something. I felt compelled. It was almost overpowering several times. I always felt that I could help him, but I had no idea that I would serve in the manner that I did.

One day, May 31, 1966, to be exact, and at 11:30 a.m.—I remember the exact time—I was in the office when the telephone rang. Dr. Atiya had just returned from a trip and he said, “I have been scrounging around and have found something that I think your Church will be very much interested in. It belongs to you. It is part of your culture.”

He then told me what it was—that he had found the papyri—and he then asked, “What are your suggestions?” I was so excited I could hardly think straight, but I said, “You’re right. They should be here for the Church. Let me get in touch with someone and I’ll call you right back.” I quickly called my mother and a friend, Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, and asked them all they knew about the papyri and the Book of Abraham. I then called LaRue Sneff, President Tanner’s secretary, and told her that I had something important, and that I had to see him personally. So, that afternoon I saw President Tanner and told him of the discovery. He wanted to know more about Dr. Atiya and asked about his integrity. I informed him that Dr. Atiya has a rare spiritual quality and has great personal integrity. This was very important, as the following months showed over and over again.

President Tanner then said, “You think a lot of him.” And I replied, “I certainly do.” He said, “Fine, go and set up an appointment.”

Well, it just so happened that the next day a visitor from Egypt was in Salt Lake City and was scheduled to meet President Tanner. I suggested that Dr. Atiya come with the visitor merely to give President Tanner and Dr. Atiya an opportunity to meet one another before discussing the discovery. We did this, and they briefly met, and an appointment was scheduled for one week later.

When we visited President Tanner the second time I said, “This is the man who has found the papyri that belongs in the Pearl of Great Price.” Dr. Atiya then brought out the pictures of the papyri.
and a picture of the document signed by Emma Smith. President Tanner looked at them closely, and then as they sat there he did something that endeared him almost immediately to Dr. Atiya. After looking at the material, and asking questions, he sat back in his chair and closed his eyes as if he were meditating, or perhaps even praying.

Well, to an Arab, this is their way of thinking things over. They rarely jump right into a conversation, and there may even be long periods of silence between talking, because they are thinking things out in their minds. During this, Dr. Atiya turned and winked, and he was very pleased.

President Tanner then said, “I’m sure our Church is very interested in this. Now we wish to pay you for taking these pictures and the expense that you have incurred on your trip.”

Dr. Atiya said, “No. I’ve been a member of this community for seven years, and I owe it to the community. I feel that I’m a good Christian, and this is what we’re supposed to do.”

This response was typical of him, and incidentally, he has never accepted any payment for anything concerning his hand in the discovery and transferral. The visit was a very memorable experience. I could literally feel the two men being drawn together, and I felt this closeness of two men who were meeting for really the first time but had something important to take up with each other. I wasn’t allowed to tell where the papyri were, and Dr. Atiya did not tell either. In fact, President Tanner didn’t even know until August of 1967.

President Tanner wanted to know how the Church could acquire them. Dr. Atiya said that an international law forbade the sale of antiquities. But he said that if the Church could produce something of equal value for the museum, a trade could be made. So, Dr. Atiya began to make negotiations toward the purchase of an Egyptian antiquity that the Church could acquire and give to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

During this time Dr. Atiya talked to me about purchasing the antiquity and even of his helping in the purchase. At one time a figure of $25,000 was mentioned, and I know there was a time when he thought it would be wise to raise the money privately. So I asked several people if they would contribute to something worthwhile but something that I could not reveal. It became apparent that the figure would have been very easy to raise.

Then about January or February of 1967, Dr. Atiya became critically ill. Specialists were called in, everything was done, but he didn’t seem to improve. His wife was on her way to Cairo, but was called home quickly. Dr. Atiya once studied to be a doctor, nearly graduating in medicine, and he has spoken of his serious illness,
and then of his recovery, as one of the most amazing he had observed. He recovered very, very rapidly. His own belief in the power of prayer and the prayers of those interested in his welfare were the answer, I'm sure. He has discussed it with me many times, but that is something very personal to him, and I must not discuss it.

Meanwhile, the negotiations for an Egyptian antiquity for the museum continued. But that idea did not materialize because of the June Arab-Israeli war. In fact, I received a May 31, 1967, letter from Dr. Atiya while he was in Cairo. A few days later the war broke out while he was in Egypt investigating an antiquity that the Church could buy as a trade. Then he flew from Cairo to Beirut. He later told me that he left on the last plane to leave Beirut as the war broke out there. In fact, he said there was shooting on the ground when the plane took off, and that no other planes left for some days due to the war.

On numerous occasions he would call and let me know how things were going, even reading letters to me. I would take it all down in shorthand and report to President Tanner. But soon the two men themselves became very close friends and Dr. Atiya reported to President Tanner. He kept me informed also.

Then several things happened that were quite unusual, and Dr. Atiya telephoned me excited about the progress. He was most anxious that the transfer take place, but one of the Metropolitan's Egyptologists had to leave for Egypt, and Dr. Atiya felt that he should be at the ceremony of presentation, so the ceremony was delayed.

Also, it was several weeks before October general conference and President Tanner was very busy. So the date of presentation was expected around the first of November, but we had to wait until November 27.

But it wasn't until after the presentation of the papyri that I even knew that Lola, Mrs. Atiya, was one of about three people in the world highly regarded as capable of professionally caring for papyrus. I think she has helped preserve over 2,000 pieces of papyrus. She was able to offer good advice on the preservation of the papyri that Dr. Atiya rediscovered. They both seem to fill such important roles.

I suppose the rest of the story is generally well-known. I am so very grateful to have been permitted to play such a small part in this.

As already suggested, neither of the two reports—Dr. Atiya's nor Taza's—contain all the elements of the rediscovery. In time, more information will undoubtedly seep into public consciousness. But Taza's role as the intermediary presents an arresting picture of a person seemingly
being prepared. She had read nearly every book by Dr. Atiya that she could find. Their meeting was quick friendship. When the time came for an intermediary, she was ready. Let no one aware of the nature of some of the personalities to whom Dr. Atiya could have turned deprecate the importance of the role of the intermediary. As some astute students have already noted, there were numerous persons to whom Dr. Atiya could have turned who probably would have directed the papyri elsewhere than into the hands of the Church.

There are several elements of the story that have appeared in print elsewhere and merit comment. In an article titled “The Facsimile Found,” in the Winter 1967 issue of Dialogue is said: “It was in the latter part of May, 1966, when Professor Atiya was doing research for his new book, History of Eastern Christianity, that he made the discovery.” For whatever significance it might have, Taza recalls the period as being the first part of May.

The article also reports that “in the course of the next year and a half, Dr. Atiya made seven trips to New York City and numerous telephone calls to the museum.”

The article also contains a letter to its author, Glen Wade, concerning the location of the papyri. Interestingly, it is dated about two months before the announcement. The reason for this foreknowledge is explained in the paragraph preceding the letter, which is from Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago:

The possible existence of the papyri has been a matter of speculation for some time. At a meeting I attended in the Tustin Ward Chapel of Santa Ana, California, on August 11, 1967, Professor Hugh Nibley stated that the papyrus texts for the Book of Abraham and the Book of Joseph were not destroyed in the fire but were still in existence. He indicated that he personally did not know their location or ownership but that he was quite certain of their preservation. In a later conversation, Henry Lutz, Professor Emeritus of Egyptology at the University of California, suggested to me that Dr. John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago might know something about the papyri. I wrote a letter of inquiry to Professor Wilson and received the following reply:
Professor Glen Wade  
Department of Electrical Engineering  
University of California  
Santa Barbara, California 93106

Dear Professor Wade:


"Nine years after these pieces had been bought, there was an attack on the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo, Illinois... the Egyptian pieces were carried off to a museum in Chicago, according to the story. When the great fire swept that city in 1871, these texts with their curious history were allegedly destroyed."

As I had originally framed that statement, I did not use the words "according to the story" and "allegedly." I followed the published account. Then I was told verbally and in confidence that they were still in existence, recently bought by an American museum from a private source. I have been asked not to reveal their present location, and I have to keep my word on that. Thus I cannot suggest to you how you can secure more definite information.

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

John A. Wilson  
Professor of Egyptology

JAWés

Whether or not Professor Wilson was referring to the pieces later discovered by Dr. Atiya, I do not know. I suspect he was. If so, the American museum to which he referred was the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. (*Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, Vol. II, No. 4, Winter 1967, p. 54.)

Perhaps it is true that Dr. Wilson was referring to the papyri rediscovered. Perhaps not. The whole story of the Book of Abraham discoveries thus far has been one of finding things where most people thought there was nothing to find. Again, time will tell. And so will dogged Latter-day Saint researchers. There is good suspicion that there are some surprises still in store.
But it is in the interview with Dr. Henry G. Fischer, curator of the Egyptian Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that some new twists are presented. It will be remembered from Dr. Atiya’s own story that the museum apparently first learned of the papyri in 1918:

DIALOGUE: You were aware at that time, in fact, even in 1918, that it was relevant to the Church; however, you did not at that time contact anyone who was associated with the Mormon Church?

FISCHER: Frankly, we didn’t know what the Mormon Church’s wishes were. It wasn’t until we discussed the matter with Professor Atiya, who teaches in Salt Lake City at the University of Utah, that we had a possibility of finding out how they felt about it. Then it became possible to transfer the documents from us to them.

DIALOGUE: At what time did Dr. Atiya become aware of the existence of the scrolls?

FISCHER: I would say about a year ago. We know him well; he is a gentleman we have been associated with through the American Research Center in Egypt and so on. He had come to our department and was looking for illustrations for one of his books. This matter came up in the course of giving him this help. We knew, since he worked in Salt Lake City and was acquainted with leaders of the Mormon Church, that he might very tactfully find out how they felt about it. So we simply informed him about this in confidence, and I think he handled the matter very nicely. (Dialogue, op. cit., pp. 56, 58.)

Obviously, there exist two different stories—Dr. Atiya’s and Dr. Fischer’s—about who motivated whom to inform the Church. One strongly suspects that had not Dr. Atiya “discovered” them, the papyri would be still lying in the dimly lit storage rooms of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. However, the museum officials were most gracious in the transferral, and in the long event-filled year and a half of negotiations. True respect and thanking to them are due.

The interview continues with this information concerning the transferral:

DIALOGUE: Is this a standard practice to give such documents to interested private institutions such as the Church?

FISCHER: I am glad you asked that question, since technically, we have not given the documents to the Church. As far as the Church is concerned, it is a gift, of course, but it was made possible
by an anonymous donation which covered the cost to the Museum. We have not set a precedent for giving away an object; we cannot be in that position.

DIALOGUE: Would you say that the Church does not have complete ownership? Is there a way by which these documents could be called back?

FISCHER: No, absolutely not. They are a gift from the Museum, but the gift was made possible because of an anonymous donation from a friend of ours.

The source and amount of the anonymous donation are publicly unknown at present. Many persons have suspected that Dr. Atiya’s contributions may have been much more than his time, but no public knowledge on this has yet been made available. It can be reported, however, that Dr. Atiya informed the author in a December 1967 interview that a member of the board of trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art voluntarily contributed about $135 out of his own pocket for the legal paperwork involved in the transaction, the registering of the antiquities in preparation of this movement to Utah. I hope I have remembered correctly. At any event, such a contribution, whatever its size—fifty dollars one way or the other—does not seem to fulfill the terms of “an anonymous donation which covered the cost to the Museum.” The cost to the museum must have at least represented the price paid in 1947 to Mr. Edward Heusser, and perhaps has some relation to the already discussed antiquity the Church was planning to buy. This, however, is only one reason for researching information on Mr. Heusser.

The Combs — Housekeeper — Heusser Triangle

Dr. Hugh Nibley has said in private discussion that as early as 1902 some Egyptologists in America have known about the location of some papyri owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Apparently in 1902 some persons from the Midwest came to the University of Chicago and either showed the papyri to or informed Dr. James Henry Breasted, professor of Egyptology and Oriental history, about the papyri. Since then, the identity and location of the papyri were
rather common knowledge among the scholars at the Oriental Institute at Chicago, but a subject which no one would consider passing on to members of the Church.

Apparently it was not until 1918—the date 1917 has also been reported—that the Metropolitan Museum of Art learned of these recently rediscovered papyri.

The story begins May 26, 1856, in Nauvoo, Illinois, when a man named A. Combs was given a document signed by Emma Smith Bidamon and two others: "This certifies that we have sold to Mr. A. Combs four Egyptian Mummies with the records of them."

As has been discussed, Mr. A. Combs may have been an agent for museums, a curator, a collector, or a businessman. He sold at least two of the mummies and some papyrus to the St. Louis Museum, which later were transferred to the Wood's Museum in Chicago, where they apparently burned in the 1871 fire. But the recent rediscovery proves that Mr. A. Combs did not sell everything he had acquired from Emma. The disposition of the other two mummies and the rest of the papyri is unknown to date.

Apparently Mr. Combs had a much beloved housekeeper to whom he left some papyri in his will.

This information might indicate that he was either a bachelor or a widower without children. This housekeeper, of unknown name, left the papyri to her daughter at her death. It was this married daughter, an Alice C. Heusser (her maiden name apparently began with a C.; this is the only clue to her mother's identity), who came to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1918, probably to evaluate the value of the papyri. Perhaps her mother had only recently died and Mrs. Heusser was determining the wealth of her estate. For unknown reasons, she did not sell the papyri in 1918. But by 1947, her widowed husband, Edward Heusser, perhaps felt that the papyri had sat long enough in the house without paying for themselves, and in 1947 he sold them to the Metropolitan Museum of Art—29 years after the museum apparently first learned of their whereabouts. Twenty more years passed before the Church was made aware of their existence.
The interview in Dialogue contains a response to a question that contributes the names of the persons involved, from the museum's point of view:

DIALOGUE: How did these manuscripts actually come into the possession of the Metropolitan Museum?

FISCHER: Our first knowledge of them goes back to 1918 when our first curator, Dr. A. M. Lythgoe, was shown these fragments by a Mrs. Alice Heusser, a woman who lived in Brooklyn. I think that must be the way you pronounce her name (he spells it out). Her mother had been housekeeper to a person named Combs, and Combs had bought them from the family of Joseph Smith. It is that sale which is mentioned in the letter I referred to. On the death of Mr. A. Combs, they were left to Mrs. Heusser’s mother. One of our staff members, Dr. Ludlow Bull, had maintained an interest in these records; in about 1946 he tried to find out where they were and they were offered to us by the widower of Mrs. Heusser, Mr. Edward Heusser. We acquired them then in 1947. Of course, we knew because we had the letter too, what the relevance was to the Mormon Church. (p. 56.)

DIALOGUE: I'd like to ask one clarification question. Was it in 1918 that the Museum acquired the papyri?

FISCHER: We didn’t acquire them until 1947. As I said before, the curator of our department was shown these documents in 1918. Many years afterwards, another member of our department, Dr. Bull, asked the family whether they still had them. Finally, he found out that the husband of Alice Heusser was still alive, and the husband sold them to us. But that wasn’t until 1947. Then, a year ago, we made contact with Professor Atiya. It took us a little time before I was able to correspond with him. Subsequently, we put this matter before the director and our trustees. As you know, we had a change of directorship. I think that as museums do things, we acted with reasonable speed. (p. 64.)

Essentially, this is all that is reportable concerning the rediscovery, but several aspects of the data now disclosed are of immense importance. There is a possibility that Mr. A. Combs left papers and diaries which would indicate his disposition of the other two mummies and the still lost papyri. It is also possible that such papers were left to Alice Heusser, but were not given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. If descendants of either line could be located, information may be available which will lead us to more discoveries—mummies, papyri, or both. Although
the mummies are of no religious significance, their historical and publicity value to the Church are readily apparent. They would make tremendous exhibits for tourists, and a natural opportunity to present one of the contributions of the Prophet Joseph Smith—his production of new scriptures.

Concerning the identification of the Heusser family, Jimmy Parker, research specialist at the Church’s Genealogical Society, reports as follows:

A letter was written to Mr. Thomas P. F. Hoving, the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, inquiring about the address of Mrs. Alice C. Heusser at the time of her first contact with the Museum in 1918. The letter was answered by Mr. Henry G. Fischer, curator of Egyptian art, who supplied us with the address of Mrs. Heusser in 1918, and also that of her husband at the time of their acquisition of the manuscripts in 1946. Furthermore Mr. Fischer supplied us with the name of a nephew of Alice Heusser, Mr. Arthur F. Heusser. We wrote to him at the address supplied us by Mr. Fischer, but the letter was returned, “addressee unknown”.

The Strange 1962 Discovery

The remarkably complex, unusual, and interesting story of the mummies and papyri has another strange twist. Apparently, as early as 1962 a Latter-day Saint who knew the import and value of the papyri learned of their location at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He even received pictures of them. Perhaps his story is better told in his own words:

A systematic check of most of the public and a good many of the private collections containing mummies in America produced no startling revelations by Dr. Sperry’s students [Sidney Sperry of BYU]. One student persisted in searching on into the nineteen-sixties, checking every possible location of the papyri. Then one day in 1962 he found what he had been seeking. He did little with his discovery and is now at a loss as to why.

For five years he let this remarkable information virtually rest in his study. Then one day, nearly five years later, another man, not a member, nor a student of Church history, hit the front pages of even the Egyptian capital’s greatest daily newspaper, through his discovery of the same documents in the same museum.
in 1962 it was ... (Walter Whipple) who wrote to the Museum in search of the papyri or information pertaining to parts of the Joseph Smith collection. He quickly received word that the Museum did have some papyri from the Smith collection.

This was the first major breakthrough since the Chicago fire. He asked the Museum for a photo of the material they had. They photographed the now famous original to facsimile No. 1 and sent it to his home in southern California. He opened the manila envelope to discover a copy of the same papyrus Dr. Atiya was to see four years later. The author compared the photo of the Museum original with that in the book of Abraham and declared it authentic. For some inexplicable reason, and perhaps because of a "stupor of thought," he did not feel to contact the proper authorities.

Actually he hoped to go to New York and confirm his find further before announcing it to the general public. It was never a secret. On a number of occasions he showed the slick photo to fireside and seminary groups throughout the southern California region, mentioning only that he had found it in an eastern museum. Excitement resulted at each showing, but no one pressed him for the exact location of the record.

He later came to realize that the finding of the materials by Dr. Atiya, who is a non-Mormon and a known scholar, gave more meaning and better publicity to the discovery than would have been generated on the basis of the author's discovery. (Whipple, Dust of the Decades, pp. 104, 113-14.)

Brother Whipple is a master's degree graduate from Brigham Young University and received his degree on the Book of Abraham some years ago. Normally, few people in the world would know the import of such a find more than such a person. However, in hindsight, perhaps it is better that a scholar such as Dr. Atiya made the discovery. Certainly his name has opened many doors and lent much respect to the discovery.

The Sketches and Markings on the Backs of the Papyri

As Dr. Atiya discussed, "On the morning of handing over the papyri, I began looking them up and down, up and down, and lo! I found on the back of the paper on which the papyri were glued writings and maps. . . ."

The period of this pasting of the papyri upon sheets of paper for the papyri's protection has already been dis-
cussed. But the significance of the sketches and drawings has not. Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, prominent Church historian and author of numerous texts and courses of study for the Church, spent better than a week intensely studying the papyri backings. The following is his report:

Of the eleven papyri fragments that the Church acquired in November 1967, the ones numbered III A, III B, and XI have sections of what appear to be the earlier drawings, referred to above, on their reverse sides. The letter "R" will identify the reverse side of any particular fragment. Thus, the reverse sides of III A, III B, and XI will be identified as III A-R, III B-R, and XI-R.)

An examination of papyri fragments I and XI indicates there are drawings also on the front sides to which the papyrus fragments were pasted. (Number XI, therefore, has drawings on both sides of the backing paper.) If all the portions of these drawings were used in mounting the papyri, then there are some pieces of the papyrus missing, because all of the segments of the floor plan are not with the papyri acquired last November.

To the observant inquirer, a question naturally arises: What building did these sketches depict? Most people who have visited the Kirtland Temple are probably impressed by the four tiers of pulpits at the east and west ends; each of the upper three levels has three semicircular pulpits, and box-pews at each side face the pulpits at right angles. A comparison of the fragmentary floor plan drawings from the mounting paper of the papyri, when pieced together, could indicate the following aspects of the Kirtland Temple: The numerals inked on III A-R, III B-R, and XI-R probably mean (1) the number 3's would be the east-west aisles; (2) the number 4's would be the transverse choir box pews facing toward the small box pews that are listed as the number 6's and the pulpits; (3) the number 7's would be the narrow stairways leading to the pulpits; (4) the number 5's would be the nine circular pulpits at each end, and the lower pulpit area; (5) the number 8's and the number 9's would be the transept aisles.

Between the pulpits are the longer box-pews in the center, with shorter ones between the aisles and the exterior walls. (Movable benches in all the pews on the main floor made it possible for the occupants to face either pulpit as occasion demanded.) Double lines on the drawings indicate the places at which the painted canvas curtains (veils), lowered from rollers on the ceiling, would divide the hall into small areas for special meetings. All of these items appear to be similar to the Kirtland Temple with one exception. These drawings provide for 14 rows of box-pews on the floor level, whereas there are only ten in the building at Kirtland.

352 The Saga of the Book of Abraham
Of direct bearing to these sketches are two original ink drawings in the Church Historian's Office. Both drawings are of the projected temple to be constructed in Jackson County, Missouri, one bearing the designation “House of the Lord for the Presidency.” One, which appears to be the older of the two, is drawn on thin paper approximately 15 by 21 inches and has a floor plan almost identical to that which can be reconstructed from the drawings on the papyri backings, even to the drop leaf table in front of one of the bottom pulpits. Quite detailed measurements are given for the main hall (77 by 61 feet), the pulpit areas, box-pews, and aisles. The side elevation shows only five windows in the structure in each wall, and there are 14 rows of box-pews on the main floor.

The second drawing, more mechanically accurate and more neatly done than the one just described, bears the name of Frederick G. Williams, a member of the First Presidency of the Church at Kirtland, as though he had executed it. His floor plan was essentially the same, except for the correction of an error concerning the extension of an aisle into the elevated pulpit area at one end, and the placing of nine rather than five windows in the side elevation of each of the two floors.

From a comparative examination of these two original drawings with the fragmentary sketches from the papyri, it seems that all four of them are related and are various stages in the development of plans for the temple that was to be constructed in Jackson County, Missouri.

There has not been sufficient study done on the handwriting of early Church members to ascertain who might have drawn the plans for the “House of the Lord for the Presidency,” except the one bearing the name of President Williams. Brigham Young was a member of the Church after April 14, 1832, and if the plans were drawn subsequent to that date, he might have been the draftsman on some of these plans. He had done much building in New York State, owned a set of simple drafting pens and equipment, and was capable of making the drawings. Reynolds Cahoon, who had been converted in October 1830 by Parley P. Pratt at his residence near Kirtland, had limited building experience, which probably was a factor in his appointment as one of the three-man building committee for the Kirtland Temple.

As strange as it may seem today, at the time the temples for Jackson County, Kirtland, and Nauvoo were planned, the need for a qualified architect was of secondary importance. There were few trained architects outside the major urban centers. Most buildings were designed by “practical builders,” such as Brigham Young. It must be remembered that the early temples contained no central heating or mechanical ventilation, no electric circuits, no plumbing, and no elevators. Hence no advanced planning was needed, as in
the twentieth century building, to conceal these modern conveniences in walls and partitions.

At that time architectural knowledge concerning stresses, strains, thrusts, and similar mechanical problems was quite unknown among builders outside urban communities. With a general dimensional plan in mind—and in many cases it was in the mind of the builder and not on paper, or it might have been sketched on a planed scrap of lumber—the builders laid a massive foundation, often without a footing but which practical experience had taught them would support any eventualities to which the building might be subjected. At Kirtland, and later at Nauvoo, a building committee of practical laymen commenced the actual construction of the temples before an architect had been employed.

When building the Kirtland Temple, the builders made some modifications of the plans for the temple in Zion. They retained the basic design of the floor plan but made its measurements conform to the dimensions given in D&C 94:4. This revelation, given May 6, 1833, at Kirtland, gives the Lord’s instructions for the temple: “Verily I say unto you, that it shall be built fifty-five by sixty-five in the width thereof and in the length thereof, in the inner court.” This shortened the length and narrowed the width of the building, with the result that there was space only for ten rows of box-pews on the main floor. Six windows were placed in the side walls on each floor. An additional drop leaf sacrament table was also added to the lower pulpit at one end.

A visit to the Kirtland Temple allows the interested visitor to see, in slightly smaller form and beauty, the floor and pulpit plans, the aisles, the box-pew arrangements, and the plan for the veils that could be lowered to divide the hall into sections, as these were envisioned by Joseph Smith for the temple in Zion that was never built. The drawings on the back of the papyri recently acquired by the Church apparently represent a stage in the development of the plan for the first temple the Lord commanded the Saints to build in this dispensation of the fulness of times.

Dr. T. Edgar Lyon. He discovered the meaning of the markings on the papyri backings.

354 The Saga of the Book of Abraham
(Top) Map on backing runs to eastern Ohio border. Blocks are six miles square. (No. II-R.)

(Center) Map has part of Ohio's Western Reserve, near Sandusky, Lake Erie. (No. IV-R.)

(Bottom) Shaded areas represent maps on papyri.
Additional temple plan is in hand of Frederick G. Williams.

Williams' plan appears related to proposed Jackson County temple.
The Maps on the Papyri Backings

When King Charles II of England granted a charter to the "Connecticut River Towns" in 1662, he fixed the north and south boundaries of the colony by parallels, but extended its western boundary to the "South Seas." By the geography of that day, its western boundary would be the Pacific Ocean. Charles II, however, was not geographically careful when giving away American lands—he gave both the Duke of York (New York colony) and William Penn (the colony of Pennsylvania) portions of the region already given to Connecticut, but he placed western limits on them. Connecticut then claimed the land westward from these colonies as a "Western Reserve" for its expanding population. King James at an earlier date had given a charter to Virginia, and its indefinite wording also gave Virginia a claim to the land beyond the western limit of Pennsylvania.
Following the American Revolution, the new federal government persuaded the various states to renounce their conflicting claims to western lands, as stated in their charters, and to cede them to the national government. In 1786 Connecticut ceded all its western land claims except an irregularly shaped quadrilateral commencing near present-day Conneaut, Ohio, on Lake Erie, running south along the Pennsylvania border to approximately Youngstown, thence west to the vicinity of Willard, and north to Port Clinton on Lake Erie. This was then officially recognized as Connecticut’s Western Reserve.

Moses Cleaveland [sic] went west in 1796 to supervise the disposition of these lands for the Connecticut Land Company. The city he helped found, Cleveland, became the cultural, financial industrial and maritime center of the area. Western Reserve University at Cleveland is one of the few survivals that perpetuate this once important name. In 1800 Connecticut agreed to have its Western Reserve included in the newly organized Territory of Ohio as Trumbull County. As the population grew, it was eventually divided into 14 counties.

During the 1820’s a newly established religious movement, whose members were expectantly awaiting the “restoration of the Primitive Church” and who called themselves Reformed Baptists, but who were more commonly known as Campbellites, were highly successful in making converts on the Western Reserve. Sidney Rigdon, a former Baptist preacher at Pittsburgh, was sent there as a supervisor of a number of their congregations. From his home station at Mentor, Ohio, he exercised direction over the congregations at Hyrum, Thompson, Kirtland, and other associated communities. Parley P. Pratt and Orson Hyde were both preachers for this Reformed Baptist movement in Ohio.

In October 1830, three months after Parley P. Pratt was converted to the Church, the Prophet Joseph Smith called him to return on a mission to his Campbellite friends on the Western Reserve and to proclaim the restoration of the gospel. Accompanied by Ziba Peterson, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Oliver Cowdery, he journeyed westward to Mentor, where Sidney Rigdon was soon converted. Within a few weeks hundreds of Campbellites were converted, and in less than a year more than a thousand converts were made. This acceptance of the gospel by inhabitants of the Western Reserve, plus the opposition that faced the Church in New York State, was instrumental in transference of Church headquarters to Kirtland, Ohio, early in 1831.

After the location of the western Zion in Jackson County, Missouri, in 1831, many of the Saints on the Western Reserve migrated there and entered into the law of consecration and stewardship. (See D&C 42.) If the migrants were not able to sell their property in Ohio, they deeded it to the bishop of the Church at Kirtland and were given certificates verifying their consecrations, which Bishop Partridge in
Zion then honored by giving them a stewardship in Missouri. (See D&C 72 for an example of this arrangement.) It was thus necessary that the Church authorities have land maps of the Western Reserve to facilitate the transfer of title and deeds to property of the departing Saints.

Although the Lord had revealed in 1831 that he would only retain a "strong hand" in Kirtland for five years (D&C 64:21), the Saints constructed their first temple there, established some industries, added subdivisions, and acquired and farmed thousands of acres. Even after the settlement at Nauvoo, many Saints were still residing in the Kirtland vicinity; they were then urged to turn their property over to the agents of the Church at Kirtland in exchange for land at Nauvoo and vicinity.

The drawings, identified as II-R and IV-R, to which the papyri had been pasted apparently after the rolls were beginning to fall apart from too much handling, were a map of the Western Reserve, with a few extensions, where many hundreds of Saints had homes and farms.

The lines that are shown on the map indicate the boundaries of the six-mile square townships, as they would have appeared when the entire Western Reserve was Trumbull County, but without the county divisions as they existed during the Mormon settlement in Ohio.

It is not possible at the present state of research to date this old map or to determine who drew it, who used it, or for what purpose it was drawn. It might well be a very old map of the Western Reserve, dating back to the time when it was all Trumbull County, and hence had none of the later county boundaries. It could have been used by a missionary, circuit rider, revivalist, district superintendent, county overseer, tax collector, or assessor, each of whom made reports on the basis of townships.

In those days, when transportation was slow, communication no faster than a horse-drawn vehicle or sailing boat, and travel very difficult, it was quite common for people to be more conscious of their township locations than they were of larger county designations. (This condition is true even today in some parts of New England, New York, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.) The situation was aggravated in Ohio, by one county eventually evolving into 14 counties as the population increased, and the county boundaries were constantly shifting as new counties were organized. The township designations were much more stable than the county names, and property outside of incorporated towns was also described on deed records by the township.

This map might have been a contemporary map used by Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Lyman Wight, or other Latter-day Saint leaders in their activities. Or it might have served Bishop Newell K. Whitney in the transfer of property as Saints de-
parted for Missouri to live under the law of consecration and stewardship in Zion.

The Church Historian's Fragment

The discoveries were not all in New York City, however. Sometime in January 1967, Dr. Hugh Nibley was in The Improvement Era office on the morning of a day in which he was to report to the First Presidency concerning aspects of the papyri. While discussing the matter, the writer informed Dr. Nibley of a papyrus fragment that had been in the Church Historian's Office for many years. I, in turn, had been informed only days earlier by Dr. James R. Clark of Brigham Young University, who had learned of it while with Dr. Sidney Sperry in 1935, when the two "found" the Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar in the Church Historian's Office. Outside of a few associates, Dr. Clark had kept the fragment a matter of confidence, under instructions from the Historian's Office, for over 30 years.

The matter was of sufficient importance that it seemed worthy of extended private discussion. Consequently, Dr. Nibley that same afternoon asked to view the fragment.
It just so happened that Earl E. Olson, Assistant Church Historian, had already located the fragment and was preparing to present it to the First Presidency.

Dr. Nibley made positive identification of the fragment as one belonging to one of the scrolls from which some of the 11 fragments rediscovered by Dr. Atiya belonged. The fragment actually consists of several smaller fragments pasted to a firmer backing, upon which are some additional handwritten symbols by a nineteenth century person, perhaps Joseph Smith.
As to the background of the Church Historian’s fragment, this is most puzzling. Two members of the historian’s office, A. William Lund and Earl E. Olson, both assistant Church historians, do not recall any information surrounding the fragment—only that it has been there throughout their service. Brother Lund has been Assistant Church Historian since 1911, and has worked since September 1908 in the historian’s office. They believe that it has always been in the Church’s hands, suggesting that it was enclosed somehow within the pages of the *Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar*.

The author’s view is that the fragment probably is that “Small Parchment Roll of Hieroglyphics” entered in the “Inventory of Church Property del’d N. K. Whitney, Mar. 17, ’47,” which has already been discussed. This item was thirteenth on the list of materials which were brought to Salt Lake Valley with the pioneers. Hence, it is apparent that all of the papyri were not left with the Prophet’s mother, Lucy Mack Smith, for her sustenance. It may well be, therefore, that other persons, perhaps William Smith and Isaac Sheen, somehow obtained some papyri and either sold the fragments or willed them to their descendants, or gave them to the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, with which Emma and her sons were affiliated. The opportunities—and need—for continued research abound for the interested student.

**The Papyri**

Dr. John A. Wilson, University of Chicago Egyptologist, has identified the papyri recently rediscovered and reports as following:

The Joseph Smith Egyptian papyri once consisted of at least six separate documents, possibly eight or more. That count may be checked through the eleven pieces recently transferred. . . ; the “fragment” preserved in the Church Historian’s Office. . . ; from illustrations in the Pearl of Great Price; and from copies and mounted pieces of papyrus in a notebook which Joseph Smith labeled “Valuable Discovery of hidden records.” Certainly there were once six different documents. Two other pieces may be additional, or may belong
to one or another of the six. (Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought, Vol. III, No. 2, Summer 1968, pp. 68-69.)

Dr. Wilson then apportions the documents in this manner (See Dialogue for full discussion):

1—Facsimile No. 1.

2—This fragment was "... once the longest papyrus in the collection." It represents the "Serpent with Legs," "Framed 'Trinity' Papyrus," "The Swallow," "Man with Staff," "Plowing Scene," "Inverted Triangle," "Church Historian's Fragment," and two pages in the "Valuable Discovery."

The original Facsimile No. 1, somewhat torn. Note penciled markings. (No. 1.)
The long fragment was composed for a lady named Ta-shere-Min ("the daughter of the god Min") and was the daughter of a woman named Nes-Khonsu. According to Dr. Wilson, the names of the two women are apparently "very common in the late times," and are an indication that the women are probably of Thebes.

Another Egyptologist, Dr. Richard A. Parker, the Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University, has translated the names as Ta-sherit-Min, and Neskhons. The difference is hardly anything to quibble about.

3—"Court of Osiris" and "Court of Thoth," which is supposed to be a single scene showing an Egyptian lady in the presence of the god of the dead, Osiris.

4—The "Sensen," and "Small Sensen," which is supposedly a "mortuary text of late times, called the Book of Breathings."

5—Facsimile No. 2, of the Pearl of Great Price, of which another copy is in the "Valuable Discovery." This was a hypocephalus, and Dr. Wilson thinks the owner's name was Sheshonk.

6—Facsimile No. 3 in the Pearl of Great Price.

7—Pages 2, 3, and 6 of "Valuable Discovery" carry more Book of the Dead, but with this owner's name as Amenhotep. Dr. Wilson suggests that it may be related to Facsimile No. 3 of the Pearl of Great Price.

8—Page 10 of "Valuable Discovery," which has rather recent Arabic writing, already described as being from 150 to 200 years old.

It is also observed that the Church Historian's fragment is a "jumble of unrelated pieces mounted together," and that "The Swallow" has a piece mounted on it upside down; the "Framed 'Trinity' Papyrus" also has incorrectly mounted pieces, probably placed by various owners through the years as the papyri continued to crumble away.

In terms of the age of the papyrus, Dr. Wilson says, "All of the manuscripts here are of late times. That clearly means after 500 B.C., and for document 2 after 300 B.C."
Court of Osiris (on throne): (No. III A.)

The "Court of Osiris (on throne)." (No. III A.)

The "Court of Osiris (Thoth recording)." (No. III B.)
Except for numbers 4, 5, and 8, Dr. Wilson has said that "all these documents show the ancient Book of the Dead. We continue to use that term, despite its inappropriateness. In contrast to other religions, the Egyptians had no one sacred book, a consistent text, which had become so thoroughly the guiding principle that it became fixed against change. Hardly any manuscript of the Book of the Dead is exactly like any other. They picked and chose their 'chapters'—that is another misnomer—as the particular priestly composer pleased. One document might abbreviate longer chapters down, to squeeze in more than 150 chapters. We continue to use the term Book of the Dead, because it is understood, and because it is clumsy pedantry to be more specific: an unrelated collection of magical spells and religious hymns, intended to promote the welfare of a deceased Egyptian." (Dialogue, op. cit., p. 70.)

Numbers 4 and 5, large and small Sensen, are from the so-called Book of the Breathings, which is another related mortuary text of late Egyptian times.

Dr. Klaus Baer, the University of Chicago scholar, has reported in Dialogue, Autumn 1968, p. 111, the following concerning the 11 fragments of papyri:

The eleven fragments (as now mounted) are the surviving parts of three ancient papyri, none of which is complete:

(1) The Book of the Dead belonging to the lady Tshenmin, whose mother was Skhons. (Papyri II, V-IX, and most of IV). The handwriting dates it to the second half of the Ptolemaic Period, perhaps around 100 B.C. This is the papyrus that Joseph Smith believed to contain the Book of Joseph.

In a footnote about the above, Dr. Baer notes that "the numbering does not reflect the actual sequence of the fragments. Following the direction of the writing from right to left, VII came first (the piece on the right should be moved so that the left margin of the writing lines up with that of the first column of VIII). VIII joins VII at the bottom, and V joins both of them on the left. VI comes immediately to the left of V, IV follows VI, also in direct contact, and the plowing scene of II is the middle register of the scene whose right edge became visible
"The Swallow." (No. VI.)
“Man with Staff (entering into glory).” (No. VII.)
when the frame was removed from IV. I have not been able to place the tattered and disorganized fragments of IX.” Dr. Baer said that the names of the two women mean “The Daughter of (the fertility God) Min” and “She Belongs to Khons,” the Theban moon god, son of Amon and Mut.

(2) The Book of the Dead belonging to the (female) musician of Amon-Re Neferirnub (III A-B). [Dr. Baer also says in a footnote: “The labels on the picture are in hieroglyphs, drawn rather than written, and cannot be dated paleographically, but the MS (manuscript) is likely to be roughly contemporary with the other two.”]

(3) The Breathing Permit belonging to the priest Hor, son of the priest Osorwer and the lady Tikhebyt (I, X-XI, and at least four fragments now mounted with IV). The handwriting is of the late Ptolemaic or early Roman Period, about the time of Christ.

Dr. Baer goes on to amplify his reasons for his belief that Facsimile No. 1 and the fragments of X and XI are all part of the same scroll and indeed connected. The scroll, according to Dr. Baer, was made for a priest named Hor, for his death and mummification ceremonies.

Obviously, if this report by Dr. Baer is accurate, it suggests more than ever that either the papyrus “translated” by the Prophet is still unavailable or that the seer stone provided the actual text of which only a shadow and much corrupted version might have been on the papyri fragments. Readers desiring more information on the evaluation of these fragments are encouraged to turn to Dr. Hugh Nibley’s writings. The papyri apparently are under his care at BYU for an indefinite period of time. His reports should be most meaningful.

“Alphabet and Grammar” and the Book of Abraham

As readers are already aware, the relationship—if any—between the Egyptian symbols on some of the hand-written copies of parts of the Book of Abraham and the text of the Book of Abraham and the appearance of these same Egyptian symbols on one of the papyrus fragments found in New York City is a most intriguing concern. Indeed, some critics of the Church are attempting to dis-
“Inverted Triangle.” (No. VIII.)

“Sensen’ papyrus, labeled ‘first one.’” (No. X.)
credit the Book of Abraham and the Prophet by claiming that no relationship could exist between the symbols, and the Prophet was merely trying to deceive those around him when he permitted the symbols to be placed alongside the English text. Dr. Nibley has suggested, however,
that if there is no relationship between the symbols and the text, then Joseph Smith would have seen none either, nor, from our knowledge of the Prophet’s character and personality, would he have attempted to deceive anyone by suggesting a relationship where he knew none existed. Indeed, Dr. Nibley has intimated that there still could be a relationship between the symbols and the English text of the Book of Abraham. Obviously, the matter of identifying the actual source of the Book of Abraham is still unresolved, but at press time the following report was given by two students at the 1968 fall meeting of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology at BYU. Readers should find it immensely interesting. Only time will reveal the soundness of its conclusions. The paper was published in the October 25 newsletter, number 109:

109.0 A STUDY OF THE HOR SEN-SEN PAPYRUS. By Richley H. Crapo and John A. Tvedtens. A paper read at the Eighteenth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, held at Brigham Young University on October 12, 1968. Title changed from “A Study of the Joseph Smith Papyri.” (Mr. Crapo is presently engaged in a doctoral program in cultural anthropology as a National Defense Education Act fellow, while Mr. Tvedtens is studying for the BA degree in anthropology and Arabic, with a teaching and research assistantship in Hebrew in connection with the Middle East Center—both at the University of Utah.)

The acquisition of some of the original papyri in the possession of Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, at the time he gave to the world the Book of Abraham has aroused much interest in the extent to which he was acquainted with the Egyptian language, both among members and non-members of the LDS church.

But even before this remarkable acquisition, Joseph Smith’s “Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar” (Newsletter, 71.0, 105.0; Progress in Archaeology, pp. 25-33) had been published for all to see the workings of the Prophet’s mind in those days. The “Grammar” contains a number of sections which bear his handwritten copies of the hieratic script found on the newly-acquired papyri, oftentimes juxtaposed with his own comments.

In two different sections of the “Alphabet and Grammar,” hieratic symbols taken in order from the papyrus which Dr. Hugh W. Nibley labelled the “Small Sen-Sen Fragment” have been juxtaposed to English symbols (i.e. words) comprising the text of the Book of Abraham (see Figs. 1 and 2). This correlation was pointed out by certain non-members of the Church shortly after the publication of
Joseph The This juxtaposition was from the "Alphabet and Grammar" implies a relationship of translation. At first sight, this appears to be a reasonable assumption. Four points of fact support it:

1. Joseph Smith, according to his own testimony, was working on a translation.

2. This translation was later published as the Book of Abraham, the text of part of which appears in English symbols or writing in the "Alphabet and Grammar."

3. The Book of Abraham was supposedly being translated from the Egyptian papyri. Historical documentation found with the recently-acquired papyri prove that the "Small Sen-Sen Fragment" was among those used by Joseph Smith.

4. The "Small Sen-Sen Fragment" attaches to and follows (as described in Abraham 1:12-14) the papyrus fragment which depicts "Facsimile 1" (see Fig. 3).

This led to an objection on the part of the non-members: the size of the English text as opposed to that of the Egyptian text (i.e. the 25:1 ratio of the words) seems unbelievably high. Recently, Dee Jay Nelson, a member of the Church and a philologist of the Egyptian language, has accepted this view.

We should therefore reply to these objections if we wish to continue to maintain that the Book of Abraham is scripture, the more so because some respected members of the Church are beginning to accept the rationale behind the argument presented.

If the Book of Abraham is to be presented as authentic, there are two possible directions which can be taken:

A. We can simply discount the objection to the ratio of English to Egyptian symbols, which implies proving that the Book of Abraham text does indeed come from the Sen-Sen text.

B. We can show that there is a relationship between the juxtaposed symbols other than that of translation; i.e., we must find some other reason why Joseph Smith put them in juxtaposition.

As previously indicated, assumption "A" seems to be the more desirable, especially in the apparent absence of a reasonable substitute explanation for the juxtaposition. But this possibility appears to have been ruled out by the scholarly translations of the Sen-Sen text by Mr. Nelson, Dr. Richard A. Parker, and Dr. Klaus Baer, showing it to be a normal Egyptian funerary document.

Dr. Nibley, however, still seems to agree with us that possibility "A," a relationship of translation, is the more desirable explanation, for in recent articles he places emphasis on the possibility of a "supercryptogram," i.e. a deeper level of hidden translation. But no one has as yet suggested what such a supercryptogram might be.
We should like to suggest that our studies have brought to light some support for Dr. Nibley’s supercryptogram theory, for there appears to be a semantic relationship between the Egyptian and English symbols in the columns of the “Alphabet and Grammar.” We do not advocate this theory as the only possible answer but as a logical conclusion to our research on this subject.

Although it is true, as pointed out by the non-member critics, that the English text contains many principal words and ideas not reflected in the Egyptian hieratic symbols, we recognized some months ago certain cases in which the hieratic words are found in the corresponding English text.

There was clearly some connection, but its exact nature was not apparent. We theorized that perhaps each set of Egyptian symbols represented merely a “key word” which would bring to mind a certain memorized set of phrases, which was part of a longer oral tradition.

Oral tradition was not unknown to the Hebrews. Jewish legend and jurisprudence have it that there was in existence, even from the time of Moses, an oral tradition of the law which was passed on from generation to generation and subsequently codified in the Mishnah. If such an oral tradition can be attributed to Moses it can also be attributed to his ancestor, Abraham.

An excellent example of a similar type of oral tradition was found among the Aztecs. It differed from the Hebrew oral tradition in that it was quite precise and utilized a memory aid or “mnemonic” device. This was in the form of a painting (codex), each symbol of which brought to mind a certain set of rote memorized phrases, which were passed down from one generation to another. Certain Aztec men had learned stories relating to various of these paintings. If one were to compare the oral recitation of one Aztec elder with that of another viewing the same painting, they would be substantially the same and, most often, identical renditions (see Fig. 4).

We propose, therefore, as a working hypothesis: either (1) that the Sen-Sen Papyrus was used as a memory device by Abraham (and perhaps by his descendants), each symbol or group of symbols bringing to mind a set number of memorized phrases relating to Abraham’s account of his life, or (2) that the hieratic words in the “Alphabet and Grammar” are simply related to core-concepts in the corresponding English story of Abraham. Either hypothesis requires that Joseph Smith had a working knowledge of the hieratic words on the papyrus. In the second case, much of the English text may have been supplied by Joseph Smith as an inspired commentary on the hieratic words.

Viewed in this light, the Book of Abraham seems NOT to be a direct translation of the Egyptian text appearing on the Sen-Sen papyrus. Indeed, since the oral tradition itself would have long since disappeared with the death of Abraham or the last of his descendants
acquainted with the story, the Book of Abraham would have had to be revealed to Joseph Smith, perhaps in connection with the use of the Egyptian symbols, inasmuch as the Prophet does relate long English passages to single Egyptian words or short phrases.

Our analytic procedure, therefore, has been to examine not the message of the entire Sen-Sen text, but the semantic content ("meaning") of each hieratic morpheme (smallest unit of meaning), word, or phrase in the "Alphabet and Grammar" text, and to determine in each case whether this semantic content is related to the associated passage from the Book of Abraham. Our work has emphasized the meanings of the Egyptian words and their relationship to the Book of Abraham text; also, we have supplemented this with a secondary consideration of the relationship of homophonous (similar-sounding) Hebrew words to the relevant passages when this has seemed appropriate.

Our investigation has revealed two major points:

1. Joseph Smith, when transcribing the hieratic words from the papyrus into the "Alphabet and Grammar," always dealt with complete morphemes. In no case did he copy a meaningless series of hieratic symbols by breaking a word other than at morpheme boundaries. Thus, for instance, when he transcribed a word composed of five hieratic symbols, he never made the mistake (statistically inevitable for anyone to whom the sign symbols are only a meaningless jumble of lines) of transcribing only three or four of the word's five signs, or of transcribing six or seven by including elements of the preceding or following words.

   Of 19 transcribed hieratic words, 16 were carried over by Joseph Smith into his transcription as complete words. The transcription of only three of the words involved breaking them in two, and the breaks were always made at valid morpheme boundaries. In two of these cases, the break was made between root-morphemes and their suffixes and/or ideographic determinatives. In only one case was such a break within an alphabetically written word, and this occurred at such a place that the two word-halves created by the break could be analyzed as two valid semantic elements. This first discovery implies that Joseph Smith's handling of the hieratic symbols was not haphazard: a person with no insight into the meaning of the symbols would have been bound to make a false division.

2. In every case the meaning of the hieratic word shows up in some relevant way in the juxtaposed verses from the Book of Abraham, whereas comparison of the hieratic with the preceding or following (rather than juxtaposed) English passages destroys the consistency of the parallels. Likewise, no significant parallels were found when the hieratic was compared in a similar way to other texts, such as the Book of Moses. Thus, the hieratic words seem to have a special
relationship to the Book of Abraham and particularly to the verses with which they were connected by Joseph Smith.

In a number of cases, the parallels are further amplified by a relationship not simply of the narrow meaning of the hieratic words but also of the underlying religious background of the words to the content of the relevant English passages. Furthermore, in the case of numerous hieratic words, homophonous Hebrew words have been found which also have meanings which appear in relevant ways in the associated English verses—a fact which might be expected if the text had been adopted as a memory device by a group of Semitic people for a specific Hebrew secret oral tradition.

This second discovery implies also that the author of the Book of Abraham had a significant insight into the meaning of the hieratic words of the Sen-Sen papyrus, and that the symbols on this papyrus have a definite relationship to the Book of Abraham verses with which Joseph Smith associated them.

We present the accompanying chart (see Fig. 5), which summarizes those of our findings to date which concern the relationship between Joseph Smith's text of the Book of Abraham and the Hor Sen-Sen Papyrus. We realize that our work is still in a preliminary phase and that the findings of this chart will undoubtedly require later amplification and modification. Also, although our studies have revealed further semantic correspondences between the remainder of the Book of Abraham and the Hor Sen-Sen Papyrus, this additional information is not included here, since our work on it has not yet reached a stage of sufficient maturity for formal presentation.

In order to obtain assistance in the appraisal of the work of Crapo and Tvedtnes, I requested the personal opinion of Dr. Klaus Baer on the matter. His opinion was sought for several reasons: he is an internationally regarded Egyptologist; he represents an honest non-Mormon—one of genuine good will—looking at the many aspects concerning the Book of Abraham; he was willing to discuss his views. In complete fairness to Dr. Baer, however, it should be noted that the following is from a personal letter. It was not written for publication, even though he said, "If you want to quote from this letter, . . . much of what I've written here is beyond the limits of straight Egyptology." Readers should be sympathetic to the situation, therefore.

Readers should find his evaluation most interesting, and a prelude to understanding the great issues concern-
The Hieratic Figures of the Sen-Sen Papyrus Compared with the Text of the Book of Abraham.

(By Crapo & Tvedtnes)
ing the Book of Abraham that will fill much of the scholarship and writing on the subject in the immediate years ahead. The Book of Abraham is going to be very much a part of a great discussion for a long period of time. Dr. Baer’s remarks:

The English passages in the Book of Abraham corresponding to the Egyptian signs are long, and the parts cited by Crapo, in which he finds similarities to the Egyptian, are related to the whole by no visible principle—often they are a very secondary part of the text. This is most extreme in the case of the section corresponding to the Egyptian py (“the” or “this”); you are hardly going to find an English sentence without an article or a demonstrative, so what does the coincidence signify? Nothing. And the similarities are further weakened by such free associations as exemplified by the connection of the two parts of s (”pool,” sometimes used for sections of the Nile) with “Egyptians,” because they are people of the river, an expression never used to my knowledge, by the ancient Egyptians in referring to themselves. By that method, similarities can be uncovered between any two texts so long as one is willing to look long enough and you’re willing to use your imagination. The important thing: Unless we can show, in detail, how Joseph Smith obtained the Book of Abraham from the Egyptian text, applying a rational method that others could follow, we cannot speak of “translation” in any ordinary sense of the word, and this Crapo has not succeeded in doing, nor do I see how it can be done. Even if the signs were just key words somehow suggesting the text, the choice would be most strange, and one would expect, at the very least, to find Abraham mentioned, something to connect the Egyptian with the Book of Abraham.

Accepting for the moment the validity of the Book of Abraham, there is no way of obtaining it from the Egyptian text except with the help of so considerable an amount of direct inspiration (even according to Crapo’s methodology) that one can only wonder what is to be gained by excavating a few, rather far-fetched instances of what just might perhaps be instances of translation by ordinary human means in a text the overwhelming majority of which (and the significant part) cannot have been so produced. So why bother to dig up a few examples of (bad) scholarship to validate a text that is not a work of scholarship?

You can reach an impasse from another angle: Try to obtain the Book of Abraham from the papyrus by applying the Egyptian Alphabet and Grammar (leaving aside the question where that came from). So far as I can tell, that won’t work either. Willy-nilly, we are left with something completely isolated, whose connection with its material sources in non-rational. Whether the connection is also irrational (as the non-LDS would say) or inspiration obtained while
concentrating on the material sources (as the LDS, I think, will have to say, one way or another), is a different question, and one that can only be answered by examining the English text, as Prof. Nibley has been stating for some time.

Anyway, this is, I believe, the major criticism of Crapo and Tvedtines. The fact that there is an occasional mistake in their Egyptian is a secondary matter, and straightening out these errors won't make any essential changes. Basically, I think there isn't much point in trying to set up rules for the way in which a prophet, if such Joseph Smith was, received his inspirations.

The Sum of it All

This, then, is the state of our knowledge worthy of report on all related aspects surrounding the background of the saga of the Book of Abraham. Hopefully, no one could have journeyed through the pages of this book without recognizing the many unknowns, the complexity, and the strange guiding hand of the Lord that has accompanied the saga of the Book of Abraham.

It is the author's personal conviction that the Lord's hand is in the whole affair, from the initial discovery by Lebolo to his eventual disposition of some of the mummies and their important cargo of papyri; to their sailing in and out of ports until they eventually reached America and were in the hands of a modern prophet of God, Joseph Smith. When one knows the full background story, it makes the journey even more incredulous and marvelous. It is apparent that we are still denied many key pegs in the story, pegs upon which may hang still other strange and unusual twists of fate and moments of inspiration. Without question, the story of the Book of Abraham is one of the most unusual of all the stories within the rich context of the many events of our Church history.

One major remaining issue remains still undiscussed in this background study, and that is the meaning of the papyri themselves. That issue shall remain undiscussed. Egyptologists in and out of the Church will address themselves to that area for some years to come. The import and significance of the papyri recently rediscovered will be
told Latter-day Saints by Dr. Hugh Nibley, to whom the First Presidency has given the assignment. Surely his mind and hand will be blessed, and his report will be one of immense interest and significance to members of the Church.

Now, hopefully intrigued and fascinated by the amazingly interesting and complex background of the Book of Abraham, and fortified by whatever reports the Egyptologists give, readers should be prepared to do that which is most important of all. Surely the Lord has placed the Book of Abraham in our hands for instruction. Truly it contains some of the most important concepts and inspired counsel in the restored gospel. This author would feel disappointed indeed if readers did not resolve to turn next to that small volume of latter-day scripture, most appropriately titled the Pearl of Great Price, and read one of the most beautiful stories ever revealed to man.

Lest one be unaware as to the story, it is set in the dim, dark ages of the past, and enchantingly, its first words begin: “In the land of the Chaldeans, at the residence of my father, I, Abraham, saw that it was needful for me to obtain another place of residence. And, finding there was greater happiness and peace and rest for me, I sought for the blessings of the fathers. . . .”

May we seek those blessings also.
Index

A
Abbott, Elder Stanley E., sees mummies in Yugoslavia, 100
Abraham walked earth 4000 years ago, 5; pyramids of Giza ancient in days of, 8; lived about 1950 B.C., 72; W. W. Phelps and Oliver Cowdery were scribes in translation of writings of, 171; one roll contains writings of, 171; rumor denied that Church had body of, 187; buried in his own possession, 188; Joseph Smith gives discussion on, 208; more extracts promised from, 250; influence of, writings on Joseph Smith, 264
Academic Review carries N. L. Nelson report, 123
Academy of Turin, 88; of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, 127
Adams, Charles Francis, visits Joseph Smith, 253
"After One Hundred Years," written by Nancy Williams, 177
Age of manuscripts given, 369
Akhmose I, builds last pyramid-tomb about 1445 B.C., 72
Alexander the Great, 71
Alexandria, Lebolo sails to, 78
Alexandria Gazette, carries article interview with Prophet, 210
Ali, Mehemet, Cowdery did not invent name of, 167
"Alphabet and Grammar," 377
Amenhotep was owner, 369
America, mummies' voyage to, 103
"American Golgotha," article in Psychiatric Reporter, 128
Amon-Re Neferirnub, Book of the Dead belongs to musician of, 377
Anastasi, Giovanni, buys mummy, 29; sketch of, 79; Lebolo sells to, 79; mummy acquired by, 96
"Ancients, Practiced by the," 174
Anderson, Dr. E. DeMar, reported seeing mummy at Washington Medical School in St. Louis, 304
Anderson, Dr. Richard Lloyd, discovers newspaper account, 55; locates Ohio newspaper report of four mummies, 133; discovers letter of Warren Parrish, 185
Angels, Saints speak of, 3
Animals mummified in Egypt, 74
Anthon, Professor Charles, visited by Martin Harris, 121
Antiquarian Society of Paris, 71; 79
Arabic text, some of Joseph Smith's papers contain, 248; a recent writing, 369
Arabs rob Egyptian tombs of human treasures, 12
Arbaugh, George B., writes on sale of mummies, 294
Asbury, Henry, authors book about Quincy, 207
Athanasii, Giovanni, author of book, 24; sketch of, 80
Atiya, Dr. Azia Suryal, finds papyri in museum, 4; U. of U. library for Middle Eastern studies named after, 5; discovers one fragment under glass, 211; finds document signed by Emma Smith Bidamon, 290; tells own story of recent discovery, 333; discusses find with President Tanner, 334; classifies papyri as original Egyptian, 336; discovery was accidental, 336; a world-reknown scholar and researcher of Egyptian manuscripts, 337; review of teaching career of, 337
Atiya, Mrs. Lola, capable of caring for papyri, 343
B
Babbitt, Almon W., appointed Trustee in Trust in Nauvoo, 281, 284; letter to Brigham Young lists properties of Church, 284
Backing of Papyri discussed, 217
Baer, Dr. Klaus, associate professor of Egyptology, 55; letter of, 56; reports on 11 fragments, 373; opinion sought, 384; gives evaluation of Grapo-Tvedtnes report, 386
Baikie, Rev. James, described explorers, 12
Baltimore named as exhibit city, 126; information sought, 140
Banquejappa, an Indian chief, presents sheets of hieroglyphics to Brigham Young, 277
Barnes, Lorenzo D., as a missionary, 205
Bonanno, mummy of female named, 89
"Bonaparte, In the Wake of," 7

Book of Abraham a part of Pearl of Great Price, 1; challenged, 2; muddled historical story behind, 5; students stunned at report, 29; introduced to British Saints, 76; story behind, is complex, 101; Parley P. Pratt quoted on, 103; article in Times and Seasons, 107; Dr. Sidney Sperry reports, research, 116; story is not simple, 148; story of the, 158; commented upon by James Gordon Bennett, 163; appears in print in 1842, 171; alphabet translated, 173; Warren Parrish scribe for, 182; clue to source of, 197; Joseph Smith ready to print, 200; Facsimile No. 1, of present, 212; Prophet turns attention to, 220; first type set for, 221; Millennial Star tells of translation of, 223; Orson Pratt witnessed some of translation of, 224; Twelve seek tithes for publication of, 226; Prophet tells of proof on, 228; first published in Times and Seasons in Nauvoo, 228; two installments described, 229; three facsimiles of the, 230, 231, 232; Parley P. Pratt writes story of, in Millennial Star, 240; names may have Hebrew relationship, 248; account given by Richard Savery, 261; William W. Phelps letter relates to, 269; three plates of, deposited in Historian's office vault, 286; did the papyri contain the present, 289; first appearances of the, 310; hand-written copies of the, 318; Wilford Wood acquires hand-written copy of, 327; Egyptian symbols and the, 377; critics attempt to discredit, 379; actual source of, is unresolved, 380; story is one of most unusual, 387

Book of the Breathings, 373
Book of Joseph, 373

Book of Mormon account of sealed book fulfilled, 122; converts Benjamin Bullock and wife, 146; Chandler shown characters from, plates, 154; translation described by David Whitmer, 223; translation described by Martin Harris, 223

Book of the Dead is a funerary text, 119; 369; none exactly alike, 373; belonged to musician of Amon-Re Neferinub, 377
Boston Daily Ledger publishes first part of Book of Abraham, 235
Boyack, James, counters article of Dr. Hugh Nibley, 214
Boyd, Charles W. owns painting of Lucy Mack Smith, 213
Boyd, Mabel, daughter of Clara Hendel, 212
Boynton, John, certifies statement, 185
Bradshaw, Elder Leslie W., unearths new data; account published, 88-91
Breasted, Dr. James Henry, professor of Egyptology, knew of papyri, 347
Breathing permit belonging to priest Hor, 377
Brigham Young University Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, 87; papyri under care of Dr. Nibley at, 377
Brine, M. D., writes letter on Lebolo, 24
British Isles, not known how mummies reached, 103; Lord directs missionaries to, 205
British Museum, inventory of Egyptian mummies and caskets in, 47
British Saints, Book of Abraham introduced to, 76
Bryan, Rev. A. M., Richard Savery reports discussion with, 261
Bull, Dr. Ludlow, maintains interest in papyri, 349
Bullock, Benjamin, paper given on, 146; reportedly told Chandler of Joseph Smith, 146; related to Heber C. Kimball, 146
Bullock, Clara Fullmer, gives paper on Benjamin Bullock, 146
Bullock, Thomas, records Prophet’s address, 264; writes “Schedule of Church Records, Nauvoo, 1846,” 281
Burton, Theodore M., asked to assist in locating Lebolo will, 98; aid requested, 109
“But Gone is Your Evidence,” 1
Butcheaamon the Scribe, 94

C
Cahoon, Reynolds, was a builder of limited experience, 353
Cailliaud, Frederick, buys mummy, 29; buys mummy of Petomenophis, 48; sketch of, 80; Lebolo sells to, 79; in Egypt from 1815 to 1822, 81; one mummy sold to, 142
Cairo Museum, Elder Melvin Mabey visits, 16
Caldwell County, Saints move into, 181
California, research on Chandler in, 168
Campbell, Wayne D., reports missionary experience in Yugoslavia, 99
Cambellites, Kirtland a stronghold of, the, 153
Candace, Cleopatra, mummy reaches Henri Salt, 47
Capron, Henry, shown Egyptian records, 185
Carpart, article by a Frenchman named, 107
Carter, Howard, writes on excavations, 11
Carter, Jared, shown Egyptian records, 186
Carthage, George Albert Smith visits Salisbury Smith in, 212
“Case of the Missing Benefactor,” 75
Castellamonte given as birthplace of Lebolo, 32; elders report visit to, 33
Caswall, Rev. Henry, writes of Nauvoo and Mormons, 236-237
Catacomb described as grand cavity, 62; building by Egyptians follows pyramid period, 72
Certificate signed by Michael H. Chandler, 156; given before sale of mummies, 156
Champollion, Jean Francois, obtains clue for deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphics, 9; erects Musee Charles X, 48; Egyptian Grammar, 124; ideas reach America, 239
Chandler, Michael H., gives historical information, 13; placard on Egyptian antiquities by, 14; gives information to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery, 29; relationship to Lebolo is unsolved, 38; held not above lying, 57; two accounts of transfer of mummies to Joseph Smith, 75; received four mummies, 91; mummies willed to, 98; brings mummies to Kirtland, 107; named, by Oliver Cowdery, 109; sought on passenger lists, 109; may have been relative of Henry Salt, 111; directed to Joseph Smith by Professor Mitchell, 123; proof, was in Cleveland, 137; had some unknown proof of statements, 139; gypsy-like life of, 139, 143; reports on eleven mummies, 141; comes to Kirtland to meet Joseph Smith, 154; Parley P.
Pratt described meeting of Joseph Smith and, 156; gives certificate concerning Joseph Smith, 156; wrote placards reprinted in Times and Seasons, 166; analyzing placard account by, 167; research on, in California, 168; the last of, 168; arrival date in Kirtland discussed, 172
Chanler, Mike, ship passenger aboard Eliza Jane, 110; may have been Michael H. Chandler, 111
Charlotte, report clouded on several issues, 249
Chase, Joan, makes translation, 44
Chicago Fire, evidence of Book of Abraham believed burned in, 2; two mummies burned in, 4; used as final answer, 275; of 1871, 307
Chicago Museum, Isaac Sheen transfers mummies to, 294; catalogue contains report on mummies, 300
Chicago Tribune searched by Terry and Whipple, 302
Choachys, archive of, comes to light, 51
Christensen, Dr. Ross T., report from, 53; attempts identity of Lebolo's pit-tomb, 63; relates research on Thebes, 63; edits UAS Newsletter, 304
Church Historian's fragment of papyri, 364, 367
Church Historian's Office, background of fragment in, 306
Church members stunned by article on papyrus, 2
Clark, Dr. James R., appreciation to, VIII; quoted on research in Cairo, 16; gives BYU lecture, 127; tells of Dr. J. R. Riggs incident, 145; finds pamphlet written by William S. West, 196; reports on mummies at St. Louis Museum, 296; keeps papyri existence as matter of confidence, 364
Clark, Melvin C., reports Yugoslavia experience, 99
Cleveland, Judge, Emma Smith resides in home of, 207
Cleveland, mummies viewed in, 136; Chandler exhibits in, 145; Chandler shows mummies in, 175
Cleveland Whig carries report on mummies and the Mormons, 175
Coe Collection at Yale University Library, 196
Coe, Joseph, proposes exhibiting mummies and records, 195; renounces the Church, 195
Combs, A., mummies and records sold to, 290; acquired considerable of the papyri, 296; Jimmy Parker reports on, 296; given document by Emma Smith Bidamon, 348
Commercial Bulletin and Missouri Literary Register carried article on mummies, 181
Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary at St. Louis, 298
Coptic and Arabic scripts, 5
Corrill, John, writes history of Mormon Church, 174
Council of the Twelve takes charge of Times and Seasons, 163
"Court of Osiris" title given papyrus fragment, 194; fragments, 237, 238; 369.
"Court of Thoth" 369
Cowdery, Oliver, letter presented, 13; received information from Michael H. Chandler, 13; quoted on Egyptian records, 13; introduces personalities, 25; errors in account of, 29; receives information from Chandler, 29; gives date of Lebolo find, 40; tells where mummies came from, 60; gives account of transfer of mummies to Joseph Smith, 75; account of mummies, 76; story has support, 93; says Chandler in Ireland, 103; names Michael H. Chandler, 109; reports on finding of papyrus, 114; only one to suggest the time, 115; describes event in custom house, 120; tells of Chandler certificate, 124; report correlates with Farmer's, 137; account claims eleven mummies brought to America, 141; writes on Chandler being recommended to Joseph Smith, 144; writes of Chandler's arrival in Kirtland, 154; may have met Chandler before Joseph Smith did, 155; did not invent names of Lebolo or Mehemet Ali, 167; was scribe in translation of Book of Abraham, 171; scribe for Book of Abraham, 182, 184; letter in its entirety, 188-193; breaks from Church, 204; brings Hebrew Bible etc., from New York, 248; thought to have written one of hand-written texts, 320; as a translator for Book of Abraham, 320
Coxe, John Redman, signs certificate on mummies, 125, 165
Crapo, Richard H., gives study of Hor Sen-Sen papyrus, 380
Custom house, event in, described by Oliver Cowdery, 120

D
Daily National Intelligencer reprints
Pittsburgh article, 178
Daniel, Glyn Edmund, quoted on archaeology, 10
Dates, a question of, 28
Daviess County, Saints move into, 181
Davis, E. C. writes of escapades of explorers, 12
Davis, Mary Jane, directs study on Dr. John Riggs, 146
Davis, Elder Roddy, visits Castellamonte, 33
Dawson, Warren R., sentiments reflect those of author, VII; gives correct name of Lebolo, 16; biography of, 16; response to Elder Mabey tells of Lebolo, 28; report confirms claim of, 70; reports Lebolo find at Gurneh, 71; tells of disposition of Lebolo mummies, 78; reports on Lebolo find of mummies, 142
Decline period begins 1100 B.C., 72
Deland, Richard, verifies Dawson account, 30; seeks information about Lebolo, 31
Demotic and Greek contracts found on papyri, 51
Der-El-Bahri site near Gurneh, 73
Deseret News, press release on collection of papyrus, 1; account of documents obtained by Wilford Wood, 329
Dialogue Magazine reports on Dr. Atiya find, 344
Dollar Weekly Bostonian, reprints Bartlett editorial and part of Book of Abraham, 236
Drovetti, Bernardino, sketch of life of, 26; collections sold, 28; was French Consul-General 1820-1829, 40; was Lebolo's boss in Egypt, 57; best of Lebolo's mummies go to, 79; acquired Lebolo mummies, 94; agent for whom Lebolo worked, 96
Dublin, mummies reportedly sent to, 103
Duns, John, information sought from, 32

Jomard, 10; overrun with scientific expeditions, robbers, etc., 10; Gernah location given in, 60; Roman subjugation of, 71; Joseph embalmed in, 72
Egypt Exploration Society, 169
"Egyptian Antiquities," an article in Times and Seasons, 163, 165
Egyptian newspapers carry article, 2; claim Joseph Smith had never owned, mummies or manuscripts, 2; where are the, mummies, 3; worldwide interest in, antiquities, 10; funerary texts included in papyrus, 3; Collection of the Royal Museum of Antiquities, 44; old, tomb described, 46; documents listed, 58; Genesis mentioned, embalming, 71; rank and money determine type of, mummification, 74; journal of the, Society of London, 96; Times and Seasons reports on, antiquities, 125; few, mummies in America before 1833, 143; Joseph Smith arranges, grammar, 173; alphabet and grammar in Historian's office, 174; Joseph Smith records labor on, alphabet, 180; Joseph Smith exhibits, alphabet, 183; Joseph Smith reports showing, records, 185, 186; Messenger and Advocate article on, mummies, 187; papyrus fragment hanging behind portrait of Lucy Mack Smith, 212; Joseph Smith suggests grammar of, 252; grammar listed as leaving Nauvoo, 281; Alphabetic deposited in Historian's office vault, 286; grammar and alphabet discovered in Historian's office, 311; facsimiles reduced in size in 1902 edition, 311; grammar described, 313; press carries story of discovery, 336; papyri classified as original by Dr. Atiya, 336; papyri once consisted of six or eight documents, 366; symbols and relationship with Book of Abraham, 377
Egyptology at level of collecting anecdotes, history of, 59
Embalming an ancient practice, 72
Emmanuel, King Victor, was king of Sardinia, 97
English Minister Plenipotentiary, Henry Salt was, 111
Explorers, methods of, described, 11
Evans, Richard L., writes Era account of documents secured by Wilford Wood, 329-331

Index 393
Halkett, Henry, informed by Quincy of mummies, 256
Harlan, Richard, signs certificate on mummies, 125; signs affidavit, 165
Harris, Martin, visits Prof. Anthon and Mitchell, 121; scribe for Book of Abraham, 182; breaks from Church, 204; described translation of Book of Mormon, 223
Harrisburg named by Oliver Cowdery as exhibit city, 126
Hartford "Republican" carries item on nine mummies exhibited in Philadelphia, 139
Haven, Charlotte, letter by, 243
Hawkes, Earl, publisher of Deseret News, 1
Hay, Robert, finds papyrus in grave, 47
Hebrew?, was translation, 248
Hedlock, Reuben, on committee to obtain translating and printing funds, 200; given instructions by Prophet, 227; prepares cut for Book of Abraham, 227
Hendel, Mrs. Clara, possessed painting of Lucy Mack Smith, 212
Henniker, Sir Frederick, gives eyewitness report, 42; account of travels of, 45
Henniker, Sir Richard, biographical data on, 52
Heussner, Alice C., mother leaves papyri to, 348
Heussner, Arthur F., letter addressed to, 350
Heussner, Edward, sold papyri to Metropolitan Museum of Art, 347, 348
Hieroglyphics, two sheets of, presented to Brigham Young by Banquejappa, 277; small parchment roll of, delivered to M. K. Whitney, 283
Hilton, Dr. Lynn inspects tomb, 33; tells story of, 64; visit to pit-tomb, 64-69
Hiram, Ohio, near Kirtland, 152
Historian's office has Egyptian Grammar and Alphabet, 311
History of Church account on number of mummies, 160; references to Book of Abraham, 171
"History, The Entries in," 171
"Hor, the Breathing Permit of the Priest," 56
Hor, fragmentary Book of the Dead belonging to, 58; Breathing Permit belonging to the Priest, 377
Hor Sen-Sen papyrus, study of the, 380
Horne, Robert, reports seeing mummies, 249
Horner, W. E., signs certificate on mummies, 125; signs concurring affidavit, 106
Hoving, Thomas P. F., director of museum, 1; director of Metropolitan Museum of Art, 335
Huntington, William, house is hiding place for mummies, 204
Hyde, Orson, "Olive Branch of Israel," 270
Hypocephalus, Facsimile No. 2 known as a, 118

I
"Inverted Triangle" 367
Isaiah, prophecy of, fulfilled, 123
"Italian voyager who took part in discovery," 92, 93
"Italy's Disconcerting Reports," 85

J
Jackson County, Missouri, Joseph Smith visits, 153; Saints driven from, 180
Jarrard, Jack E. writes press release, 1
Jenson, Andrew, writes of Willard Richards, 282
Johnson, Benjamin F., writes "My Life's Review," 174
Johnson, Carl Alden, sees mummies in Yugoslavia, 100
Johnson, John, mummies taken to Hiram home of, 195; rejected by Saints, 196
Johnson, Luke, certifies statement, 185
Jomard, Edme Francois, books on Egypt, 10
Joseph of Egypt lived about 1700 B.C., 72; embalmed in Egypt, 72; roll contains writings of, 171; mummy said to be, son of Jacob, 179; bones of, carried from Egypt, 188
"Joseph's Speckled Bird," letter signed, 270
Josiah, king of Judah, 259

K
"Katumin, Princess, daughter of On-i-tas King of Egypt," appears in second book, 313
Khons, the Theban moon god, 377
Kimball, Heber C., Benjamin Bullock related to, 146; at Kirtland, 154; "Herald of Grace," 270
King Abimelech and his daughter, 176; mummy said to be, 179; rumor denied in article, 187
King of Sardinia, collection sold to, 96; identity lacking, 97
Kirtland, Ohio, mummies purchased in, 4; Chandler brings mummies to, 107; story setting at, 148; was headquarters of Church for seven years, 151; a thriving settlement, 152; a stronghold of the Campbellites, 153; United Order law given Joseph Smith at, 153; temple nearing completion, 154; Chandler arrives in, 154; four mummies brought to, 155; building of temple, 180; Wilford Woodruff returns to, 196; mummies displayed in, temple, 198; translating room in, temple, 198; apostates claim ownership of, temple, 205; Joseph Smith forced to flee, 205; School of the Prophets in, 248, 324

L
Latter-day Saints, accused of manufacturing entire mummy story, 113
Law of Consecration given at Kirtland, 153
Law, Hugh, assigned task of locating Lebolo will, 99
Lebbolo, Jean, probable son of Antonio Lebolo, 39; Henri, son of Jean, 40
Lebolo, Giuseppe Pietro Antonio, unearths mummies and papyri, 12; or Sebolo, problem over a name, 14; named by Oliver Cowdery, 14; discoverer of Abrahamic manuscripts, 16; background given by Stanley Mayes, 17; Belzoni's party overtakes, 19; possible character of, 24; letter tells of activities of, 24; carrying on clandestine excavation, 28; makes attack on Belzoni, 29; keeps fifth mummy, 29; dies in Trieste in 1823, 29; correct dates in story of, 30; Dawson's account of, 30; Deland seeks information about, 31; birthplace given, 31; baptism record found, 34; more information on, 39; problem of date of discovery of, 40; discovery

Index 395
placed not earlier than 1819-20, 41; mummies reported accounted for, 42; account of, as a swindler, 43; report of another find by, 43; discovery is recounted, 46; second work supports idea that, mummies accounted for, 53; location of, mummies, 53; more study needed on finds of, 55; of interest to LDS as a historical figure, 57; relationship with Chandler supported, 58; employed 433 men, 70; sails to Alexandria, 78; disposition of mummies in possession of, 78; not completely honest in diggings, 79; death given as 1832 by Oliver Cowdery, 82; no reason to dispute him as discoverer of Joseph Smith's mummies, 82; in Trieste in 1823, 83; died in Trieste in 1823, 83, 86; meeting San Quintino in Trieste, 86; what has become of mummies of? 88 find located near Gurneah, 89; San Quintino provides only report of one who saw and talked with, 92; purpose of San Quintino's visit to, in Trieste, 98; question of will of, 98; collection photographed in Turin, 100; mummy dissected by Dr. Morton, 130; found eleven mummies at Gurneh, 141; mummies found by, 167

Lebolo, Mrs. Lucie Vernette, may be wife of Antonio, 39

Leiden, Holland, papyrus now in, 44; Museum has part of Lebolo find, 53

Lepsius, Richard, German scholar, 9

Lezioni Archeologiche, Journal sought by Elder Bradshaw, 88

"Lines on a Skull", a poem, 129

Loeexor, in the City of the dead of, 51

London Museum has part of Lebolo find, 53

Lord's hand in the whole affair, 387

Louvre has Drovetti collection, 28; records in poor shape, 58; collection now in, 96

Lund, A. William, assistant Church Historian, 212; since 1911, 366

Lundwall, N. B. writes "Temples of the Most High", 294

Lyon, T. Edgar, reports on backing of papyri, 201; authors article on efforts to preserve papyri, 217; reports on study of backing of papyri, 352

Lythgoe, Dr. A. M. shown papyri by Mrs. Heusser, 349

Mabey, Melvin, enters picture, 13; travels to Cairo, 16; reports on Lebolo research, 16

Magoffin, R. V. D. reviews escapades of explorers, 12

Malaize, Annette, aids Paris search, 95

Mamelukes, descendants of slave soldiers, were rulers of Egypt, 7

"Man with Staff", 367

Maps on the papyri backing, 361

Marquardt, H. Michael, appreciation to, VIII; locates names of many Chandlers, 111; researches on painting of Lucy Mack Smith, 212

Markell, John P. attests relinquishment, 203

Markell, Nicholas, signs relinquishment, 203

Martin, Dr. David C. writes for report, 127; requests report and picture of Dr. Morton's Lebolo skull, 132; researches painting of Lucy Mack Smith, 212

Maryland Historical Society, information sought from, 140

Masonic Hall (Philadelphia) exhibits nine mummies, 139

Mayes, Stanley, quoted on Antonio Lebolo, 17

McKay, David O., examines documents secured by Wilford Wood, 329

McLellin, William E., shown Egyptian records, 186

McMurdie, Dennis S., does research on Chandler in California, 168

Messenger and Advocate carries Cowdery letter, 13; 75; article on Egyptian mummies, 187

Metropolitan Museum of Art gives papyrus to Church, 1; discoveries at, 211; recent discovery of papyrus in, 275; Dr. Atiya tells own story of discovery in, 333; anonymous donation to, 347; Edward Heusser sells papyrus to, 348

Millennial Star account of mummies, 76; account of mummies by Parley P. Pratt, 125; tells of translation of Book of Abraham, 223; publishes Parley P. Pratt's story on Book of Abraham, 240, 241; Robert Horne report on Nauvoo in, 249

Minutoli, Baron Heinrich Carl Menu, buys two mummies, 29; placed in Egypt in 1821, 31; deal with Lebolo,
Lebolo sells to, 79; sketch of, 81; in Egypt 1820-21, 81; fate of, lost mummies, 95; one or two, mummies lost at sea, 142
Missouri, Saints expelled from, 153; Saints go west to, 180; Saints arrival in, 206
Missouri Whig editor writes of Book of Abraham, 240
Mitchell, Professor Samuel I. visited by Martin Harris, 121; directs Chandler to Joseph Smith, 123
Mohammed Ali, viceroy of Egypt, 25
Morgan, Dr. Samuel G., signs certificate on mummies, 125; may be Dr. Samuel George Morton, 132; signs affidavit, 165
Morgan, Dale, newspaper collection, 133
Morozzo, Pietro, godfather of Lebolo, 38
Morton, Dr. Samuel George, article about skulls, 127
Morton collection of skulls purchased by "42 Gentlemen", 129
Moss, Rosalind L. B., accounts for Lebolo mummies, 42; works of, 63
Moses lived about 1300 B.C., 72
Mountnorris, Lord, letter from Henry Salt, 104
Mulholland, James, Prophet's papers turned over to, 207
Mummies burned in Chicago fire, 4; of Lebolo accounted for, 42; lost from caskets, 43; newspaper account of, possessed by Joseph Smith, 55; Oliver Cowdery tells where, came from, 60; Oliver Cowdery gives location of, 62; devotion to, described, 73; in same tomb could differ in antiquity, 73; Chandler, differently embalmed, 74; two accounts of transfer of, from Chandler to Joseph Smith, 75; Millennial Star account of, 76; some of, died as late as 146 A.D., 94; seen in Yugoslavia, 100; voyage to America, 103; forwarded to New York, 103; bought for Joseph Smith in Kirtland, 107; doctors sign certificates on, 125; Painesville Telegraph reports on four, 133; ages at death, 138; nine, exhibited in Philadelphia, 139; question of the number of, 140; four, brought to Kirtland, 155; certificate written before sale of, 156; many church members see, 159; gift of purchased, to prophet, 159; History of the Church account of number of, 160; price paid by Joseph Smith for, 160; Cleveland Whig carries report on, 175; become part of national political battle, 179; purchase of, discussed, 193; displayed in Kirtland Temple, 198; Lucy Mack Smith reports on effort to take possession of, 202; exhibited in Quincy Illinois, 208; possible damage to, 246; Josiah Quincy writes of viewing the, 255, 256; difficulty of identifying, with Pharaoh Necho, 260; possessed by Lucy Mack Smith after martyrdom, 266; fate of, after death of prophet, 275; William Smith refuses to give up, 284; reported at St. Louis Museum, 296; the two other, 303; two of, believed burned in Chicago fire, 308; four, and records sold to A. Combs, 348
Mumification described, 74; money and rank determine type of Egyptian, 74
Mummy, one, had arms crossed, 138; one, had red hair, 138; female, with red hair, 206; reported at St. Louis medical school, 304

N
Napoleon Bonaparte, meteoric rise of, 7; the conquests of, 7; captures Egypt, 7; scientific explorers accompany, to Egypt, 10
Nauvoo, Saints move to, 209; Twelve seeks tithes for, temple, 226; Book of Abraham first published in Times and Seasons in, 229; subject of book by Rev. Henry Caswall, 236; James Arlington Bennett granted law degree from, University, 251; Quincy and Adams visit, 253; Expositor closed, 265; suffering after death of Prophet, 275, 276; only a shadow of its former glory, 294.
Nebuchadnezzar calls in soothsayers, 197
Nebo, King of Egypt, report on, 258
Necropolis, or city of the dead, 61
Nelson, Prof. N. L., gives talk on mummies, 82; accounts support Parley P. Pratt report, 82; reports on finding papyrus relic, 115; report on Professor Anthon and Mitchell and papyri, 128; reports on Dr. J. R. Riggs, 145; accounts sets price at $2,000.00, 160; lecture described papyri record, 216; report given in Provo in 1885, 309

Index 397
Nelson, Dee Jay, Egyptian Philologist, 381
Nes-Khonsu, mother of Ta-Shere-Min, 269
Newhall, Daniel H., makes report on
Wood's Museum, 302
"New Look at the Pearl of Great Price, A" authored by Dr. Hugh Nibley, 213
New Orleans, 200 more Saints arrive at, 163
Newsletters of Society for Early Historic
Archaeology, 87
New York, mummies forwarded to, 103; claims Chandler lived in, 109; named
by Oliver Cowdery as exhibit city, 126; Tribune writes of Dr. Morton, 128;
Evening Star article published in Painesville Telegraph, 179; Herald
featured news of translation, 233
Nibley, Dr. Hugh, tutor of, 55; titles
papyri fragments, 194; discusses portrait of facsimile in book, 213; recalls
story of Joseph F. Smith, 219; gives opinion on Egyptian Grammar, 314;
comments on "Sen-Sen" fragment, 319; receives photos from Dr. Atiya,
338; reports on knowledge of papyri existence since 1902, 347; examines
fragment in Historian's office, 365; readers encouraged to read writings of,
377; papyri at BYU under care of, 377; sees relationship between Egyptian
symbols and English text of Book of Abraham, 380; will give report on
significance of the papyri, 388
Nibley, Preston, gives account of visit to
Salisbury Smith, 212; tells of experience with Joseph F. Smith, 219
No was Tjebes (Thebes), 62; references to, in Jeremiah and Nahum, 62
Noble, Dr. Joseph, assistant director of
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 335
O
"Oh, Say What is Truth," as a poem in
English pamphlet, 310
Olson, Earl E. assistant Church Historian,
365
O'Mellen, John, general manager of
Chicago Museum, 302
Onitah, three virgins as daughters of, 247
Onitas, King of Egypt, reign begins in
1,038 B.C., 316
Onitus, a possible name of one of mum-
mies, 246; King of Egypt, was he one of
mummies? 258
Oriental Institute at Chicago, papyri
known of at, 348
Origin of Papyri discussed, 58
Osiris was Egyptian God, 194
Osorwer, a Breathing Permit of, 58; Hor
is son of priest, 377
Overland Monthly publishes letter of
Charlotte Haven, 242

P
Page, John E. "The Sun Dial," 270
Paintings on wall of Lebolo's pit-tomb, 94
Painesville, Ohio, Telegraph, reports on
four mummies, 133; report most accurate and detailed, 139; publishes
N.Y. Evening Star article, 179
Palmer, David A., researching in St.
Louis, 305
Pancoast, J., signs certificate on mummies,
125; signs affidavit, 165
Papyri once in possession of Joseph Smith,
3; many, found in a pitcher, 51; Church history account of, supported,
56; origin of, 58; described, Egyptian, 119; only some of, was exhibited,
167; reported in sheets, 201; confirm "execution" made on, 203;
fragment discovered under glass, 211; rolls cut into sheets for protection,
217; efforts to preserve, 217; what was source of backing of?, 217; Rev.
Henry Caswall describes the, 237;
Savery's report on finding of the, 262;
possessed by Lucy Mack Smith after
martyrdom, 266; fate of, after death of Prophet, 275; value questioned, 288;
A. Combs acquired considerable of
the, 296; St. Louis Museum catalogue
contains reference to, 298; report in
Chicago Museum catalogue, 300;
some of, burned in Chicago fire, 308;
existence a matter of speculation for
some time, 344; Egyptologists have
known about existence of, since 1902,
347; sketches and markings on back
of the, 351; maps on the, backing, 361;
fragment in Church Historian's office,
364; fragment brought to Salt Lake
with the pioneers, 366; documents
identified and named by Dr. John A.
Wilson, 369; under care of Dr. Hugh
Nibley at BYU, 377; meaning remains undiscovered, 387

398  The Saga of the Book of Abraham
Papyrus manuscripts given LDS Church, 1; where was ancient?, 3; in Leiden, Holland, 44; the funeral, of Sensaos, 44; Oliver Cowdery reports on finding of, 114; Parley P. Pratt reports finding of roll of, 115; number of, scrolls discussed, 118; made from native Egyptian reed, 119; Joseph Smith presented, in Kirtland, 154; two or more rolls of, brought to Kirtland, 155; described by Luman Andros Shurtleff, 200.

"Paracletes," means holy spirits, 270 Paris mummy, report about Lebolo's, 95 Paris Museum has part of Lebolo find, 53 Parker, Jimmy B. makes report on Chandler, 109; reports search for cargo lists, 115; makes Baltimore research, 140; reports on Isaac Sheen, 295; reports on A. Combs, 296; seeks address of Mrs. Alice Heusser, 350 Parker, Dr. Richard A. translates names, 369 Parrish, Warren, begins writing for Joseph Smith, 181; revelation to, 181; apostatized in 1837, 184; letter of, 185; writes part of one hand-written text, 320 Partridge, Edward, at Kirtland, 154 Pearl of Great Price—Book of Abraham a part of, the, 1; Dr. Sidney Sperry researches, 15; Book of Abraham in, 175; formation of the, 309; began as a 56-page mission pamphlet, 310; appears in first edition in 1878, 310; accepted by vote as scripture, 311 Pennsylvania Medical College, Dr. Morton at, 128; Petamenpet tomb studied, 63 Petemenofi, mummy of baby named, 89 Petemenone, mummy of, went to Cailliaud, 90 Petomenophis mummy bought by Frederick Gaillaud, 48; mummy and casket of, 50 Peterson, Ziba, visits Kirtland in 1830, 153 Phaminis, mummy and casket of, 49 Pharaoh, was one figure, 211; female figure a possible daughter of a, 246; Necho, king of Egypt, was he one of mummies?, 258 Pharaohs of Egypt build pyramid-tombs, 72 Phelps, William W. was scribe in translation of Book of Abraham, 171; writes letter to wife, Sally, 172; speaks on polygamy, 180; letter written in 1844 relates to Book of Abraham, 269; as a translator for Book of Abraham, 320; writes part of one hand-written text, 320 Philadelphia, Chandler lived in, 109; mentioned as port of arrival of mummies, 114; Chandler's mummies exhibited in, 125; named by Oliver Cowdery as exhibit city, 126; nine mummies exhibited in, 139; report mummies traced to, Museum, 303 Piedmont, Italy, Lebolo from, 17 Pierce, Taza, Dr. A. Atiya discusses find with, 334; story of papyri told by, 340-343 Pinnell, Elder Michael, photographs Lebolo collection in Turin, 100; report of Turin visit, 100 Pit-tomb described, a, 64 Pittsburg Chronicle article reprinted, 179 Plenipotentiary minister described, 83 “Plowing Scene”, 307 Plural marriage, original manuscript given N. K. Whitney, 284 Plurality of gods, Joseph Smith speaks on, 264 Pollins, Cornelius, casket in British Museum, 47 Polygamy, William W. Phelps talks on, 180 Portage, Ohio, location of is confusing, 206 Porter, Bertha, accounts for Lebolo mummies, 42; works of, 63 Potawatami Indians visit Prophet in Nauvoo House, 278; visit Nauvoo conference, 280 Powsheek's tent, council in, 277 Pratt, Orson, at Kirtland, 154; gives speech on translation by Joseph Smith, 157, 158; speech gives story of Book of Abraham, 158; reports prophet's anxiety to obtain records, 159; witnessed some of translation Book of Abraham, 224; "The Gauge of Philosophy," 270 Pratt, Parley F., names Antonio Lebolo, 14; writes Millennial Star account of mummies, 76; N. L. Nelson account supports claim of, 82; quoted on Book of Abraham, 103; report on finding a roll of papyrus, 115; writes mummy account in Millennial Star, 125; ac-
count of Chandler coming to Joseph Smith, 145; visits Kirtland in 1830, 153; at Kirtland, 154; describes meeting of Joseph Smith and Chandler, 156; described purchase of mummies, 159, 161; story of Book of Abraham in Millennial Star, 240, 241; report on mummies corroborated, 266; "The Archer of Paradise," 270.

Price paid for mummies, 160

Priests rebury mummies in pit-tombs, 72
Psychiatric Reporter, carries account of dissecting a Lebolo mummy, 127
Ptolemaic date, mummies of, 60; mummies in pit-tomb at Gurneh, 71
Ptolemy family rules Egypt, 71
"Publication at Last," 219
"Purportedly", Joseph Smith uses word, 233
Pypri described, Egyptian, 119
Pyramids, Battle of the, 8; three great, described, 8; tomb guilding practiced beginning 2800 B.C. 72

Q

Quibell, Annie Abernethie, quoted on devotion to mummies, 73
Quincy, Illinois, Father Smith flees to, 207; mummies exhibited in, 208
Quincy, Josiah, visits Joseph Smith, 253; writes of Joseph Smith in "Figures of the Past," 254; writes of visiting mummies, 256
"Quincy Whig" republishes article from Alexandria Gazette, 210

R

Reale Academia di Scienza di Torino, 88
Red hair, one mummy had, 138
Rehn, James A. G., curator of Entomology Department, 128
Reminiscences of Quincy, book published on, 207
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 287; possess John Whitmer history, 326
Reuvenso, C. J. C., director of museum, 44
Revelation given on Times and Seasons, 220
Rich, Leonard, certifies statement, 185
Richards, Franklin D., publishes pamphlet in England which became Pearl of Great Price, 310
Richards, Jennetta, wife of Willard Richards, 282
Richards, Phineas, on committee to obtain translating and printing funds, 200
Richards, Willard, "Keeper of the Rolls," 270; private secretary to Joseph Smith, 282; named counselor in First Presidency, 283; writes one of hand-written texts, 320; was Nauvoo Temple recorder, 325
Rigdon, Sidney, a celebrated Campbellite preacher, 153; conversion of, 153
Riggs, Dr. J. R., personally examines papyri, 145
Riggs, John, as a missionary, 147
Rivinus, E. F., signs certificate on mummies, 125; signs affidavit, 165
Roberts, B. H., perpetuates name of Sebolo, 15; says mummies shipped to Philadelphia, 144; quoted on sale of mummies, 294
Roman subjugation of Egypt, 71
Rosetta Stone discovered, 9
Rosignani, Giuseppe, Lebolo's companion while in Egypt, 93; Lebolo worked for, 18
Ross, Donald S., correspondence from, 305
Roussel was Consul-General in Egypt 1814-19, 40
Royal Museum of Antiquities, Egyptian collection at, 44

S

Salt, Henry, book of researches and discoveries of, 24; sketch of life of, 27; receives mummy of Cleopatra Candace, 47; quoted on shipping of mummies, 104; Chandler may have been relative of, 111; was English Minister Plenipotentiary, 111; will of, 112
Salt Lake Directory and Business Guide describes Wood's Museum, 301
San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin reports on two mummies, 303
San Guilia, Quintino di, gives account of mummies, 29
San Quintino, Giulio di, curator of collection, 46; meets Lebolo in Trieste, 86; provides only report of one who saw and talked with Lebolo, 92; what, report shows, 92-96; reports on Lebolo's 12 or 13 mummies, 142
Sanskrit, the language of Hindu literary expression 248
Sarcophagi found by Lebolo accounted for, 42
Sarcophagus in Turin, a part of Lebolo find, 90
Sardinia, King of, buys collection of antiquities, 28
Savery, Richard, statement of discussion with Rev. A. M. Bryan, 261
“Schedule of Church Records, Nauvoo, 1846,” written by Thomas Bullock, 281
School of Prophets formed, 154; organized by Joseph Smith, 324
Scott, Ann, given Prophet’s papers for safekeeping, 207
Scroll found by Lebolo on display at Turin, 91
Sebolo, name, is printer’s error, 15
Seixas, Josiah, Hebrew teacher, examines record of Abraham, 195; taught Hebrew in Kirtland, 248
Senchonsis, mummy and casket of, 49
Sensaos, the funeral papyrus of, 44; mummy of, 49; location of the funeral papyrus of, 52
“Sensen and Small Sensen”, 369
“Serpent with Legs,” title given fragment of papyrus, 194; fragment of papyri, 247; title given fragment found by Dr. Atiya, 261; 367
Seer Stone, Joseph Smith had, 222; now in possession of Church, 222; shown to Council of Twelve, 222; use of, more correct, 263; provided actual text, 377
Seyffarth, Gustavus, renders judgment on papyri owned by Joseph Smith, 10; views mummies in St. Louis, 296, 297; report on, 297
Sheen, Isaac, involved in sale of mummies, 294; a crony of William Smith, 295; Jimmy Parker reports search on, 295
Sheshonk, was owner, 369
Shinsel, Ruth, sends note in Hartford “Republican”, 139
Shirtliff, Luman Andros, records Kirtland Temple visit to see mummies, 200
Sjaah-Abd-al-Querna, grave of Soter found near hamlet of, 57
“Small ‘Sensen’ Text” found by Dr. Atiya, 319
Smart, William B., executive editor of Deseret News, 1
Smith, Alvin, record of, 269
Smith, Don Carlos, record of, 269
Smith, Emma, mummies sold by, 138; scribe for Book of Abraham, 182; Prophet’s papers turned over to, 207; sells mummies to A. Combs, 292; marries L. C. Bidamon, 293
Smith, Ephraim, record of, 269
Smith, Frank, research coordinator, 109
Smith, George A., as a missionary, 205; visits Salisbury Smith, 212; “The Entablature of Truth,” 270
Smith, Hyrum, record of, 269
Smith, Joseph, the Prophet, 1; papyri once in possession of, 3; story of how he received the papyri filled with adventure, 5; Champollion’s work likely not available to, 9; finder of mummies given Prophet, was Antonio Lebolo, 16; acquires information from Chandler, 29; mummies of, came from another Lebolo find, 42; location of tomb where mummies came from, 60; two accounts of transfer of mummies from Chandler to, 75; no reason to dispute Lebolo as discoverer of mummies sold to, 82; name had for good and evil, 103; saints in Kirtland buy mummies for, 107; Chandler referred to, 120; Professor Mitchell directs Chandler to, 123; mummies described in Ohio newspaper, 133; a stranger sends Chandler to, 144; ordains John S. Fullmer, 147; travels from Fayette to Kirtland by sleigh, 151; quartered with Emma in Whitney home, 152; receives revelation on Law of Consecration, 153; visits Jackson County, Missouri, 153; Chandler comes to Kirtland in 1835 to meet, 154; presented with papyrus in Kirtland, 154; Parley P. Pratt describes meeting of Chandler with, 156; translates characters for Chandler, 157; anxious to obtain papyrus records, 159; made a present of the mummies, 159; price paid for mummies, 160; James Gordon Bennett comments on work of, 163; editor of Times and Seasons, 163; recounts translation of Book of Abraham, 173; records labor on Egyptian alphabet, 180; records days of translating ancient records, 183; Warren Parrish attempts to expose, 185; reports showing Egyptian records, 186; was studying languages, 186; ready to print Book of Abraham,
The Saga of the Book of Abraham

200; life is threatened, 204; forced to flee Kirtland, 205; parents exhibited mummies in Quincy, 208; gives discussion on Abraham, 208; turns attention to Book of Abraham, 220; fascinated with mummies and papyri, 224; uses word “purportedly”, 233; termed “one of greatest characters of the age,” 234; described by William Bartlett, 235; was translation in Hebrew instead of Egyptian, 248; a student of Hebrew, 248; comments on material not yet to be revealed, 251; confident about his Egyptian, 252; visited by Quincy and Adams, 253; described by Josiah Quincy, 254; influence of Abraham’s writings on, 264; speaks on plurality of Gods, 264; killed by mob in Carthage, 265; record of life of, 269; fate of mummies and papyri after death of, 275; relates interview with Potawatami Indians, 279; enjoyed close relationship with Newell K. Whitney, 284; use of the word “purporting,” 325; critics attempt to discredit, 379; study given by Mr. Crapo and Mr. Tvedtunes, of papyri of, 380; as a translator, 383.

Smith, Joseph F. recalls seeing the prophet translating Egyptian records, 219

Smith, Joseph Fielding, writes on vexatious lawsuits, 203; writes of Urim and Thummim, 221; examines documents obtained by Wilford Wood, 329

Smith, Joseph III, becomes head of Reorganized Church, 293

Smith, Joseph, Sr., record of family of, 268-269

Smith, Katherine, record of, 269

Smith, Lucy, record of, 269

Smith, Lucy Mack, reports on attempts to take possession of mummies, 202; papyrus fragment hanging behind portrait of, 212; painting dated before 1855; 213; possessed mummies and papyri after Prophet’s death, 266; record of, 269; writes Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith, 287; confusion over death date of, 288; painting of, 288

Smith, Salisbury, George Albert Smith visits relative, 212

Smith, Samuel Harrison, record of, 269

Smith, Sophronia, record of, 269

Smith, Sylvester, certifies statement, 185

Smith, William, a disaffected member of the Twelve, 267; record of, 269; “The Patriarchal Jacob Staff,” 270; refuses to give up mummies, 284; involved in sale of mummies, 294; a crony of Isaac Sheen, 295

“The Society for Early Historic Archaeology,” 87

Sosey, Jacob, Missouri Whig editor calls Book of Abraham an “imposture,” 240

Sotero, the Archon, mummy discovered, 47; grave location given, 51

Sotero, mummy of man named, 91; a question of which, 95

“Spectacles,” report of, 176

Sperry, Dr. Sidney, researches Pearl of Great Price, 15; researches New York papers, 116; reports Book of Abraham research, 116; reports on research, 126; locates Egyptian grammar and alphabet in Historian’s office, 313

Sphinx built in 3,500 B.C., 8; stands noseless, 9

St. Louis Museum receives two of mummies, 294; mummies on display at, 296; sold to Chicago, 301

St. Louis newspaper prints article, 181

Stevenson, Edward, reports Martin Harris account of translation, 223

Stooky, Dr. Walter M., traveled with Wilford Wood, 327

Stricker, B. H., accounts for Lebolo mummies, 42; quotes from Henniker account, 42

“Swallow, The,” 267

T

Talmage, James E., cross-references the Pearl of Great Price, 311

Tanner, President N. Eldon, of First Presidency, 1; Dr. Atiya discusses find with, 334

Ta-shere-Min, daughter of the god Min, 369

Taylor, John, editor of Times and Seasons, 163; becomes editor of Times and Seasons, 220; notice in Times and Seasons promises more on Abraham, 250; “The Champion of Right,” 270

Telegraph of Painesville, Ohio, carries report on four mummies, 133
Tomb of Karnak, 61
Terry, Keith, searches Chicago Tribune, 302
Thebes, deep tomb near the old, 46; an ancient Egyptian city, 61; a great tourist attraction, 61; Bible tells predicted fate of, 62; mummies found near, 167
Thompson, Ohio, near Kirtland, 152
Tikhebyt, Book of the Dead belonging to, 58; Hor is son of lady, 377
Times and Seasons, Chandler placard printed in, 14; article about Book of Abraham in, 107; reports on Egyptian antiquities, 125; reprints Bennett’s statements on Book of Abraham, 163; Council of the Twelve takes charge of, 163; taken over by Twelve, 220; Book of Abraham first published in, 228; suggests more extracts from Abraham, 250; publishes letters signed “Joseph’s Speckled Bird,” 271-274
Tithes, Twelve seeks, for Nauvoo Temple construction, 226
Tithing, law of, revealed to Prophet, 154
Tjebes known as No, 62
Tkauthi, mummy of, 49
Tolemeo Evergete II, reign described in Turin scroll, 91
Tomb old Egyptian, described, 46; of mummies described by Oliver Cowdery, 62; 33 could be Lebolo, 63; Dr. Hilton describes visit to, 33, 68; reported 60 feet beneath surface, 70; robbing flourishes, 72
Tombs of the Kings, 61; private, described, 64
“Tombs of the Nobles,” 64
Tphousa, mummy found, 47
Translating room in Kirtland Temple, 198; appointments made to obtain, and printing funds, 200
Trieste, Lebolo dies in 1823 in, 86; purpose of San Quintino’s visit to Lebolo in, 97
Tshenmin, inscribed linen bandage belonging to, 58
Turin, Academy of Science gives birthplace of Lebolo, 31; Museum has part of Lebolo find, 53; an important commercial and intellectual center, 86; Lebolo mummies in, Museum, 89, 96; Museum has scroll discovered by Lebolo, 91; Museum visit report by Elder Michael Pinnell, 100; Museum has four mummies, 142
Tutankhamen, King, discovery of tomb of, 62
Tvedtnes, John A., gives study of the Hor Sen-Sen papyrus, 380
“Twelve, an Additional Word from the,” 226; seeks tithes for Nauvoo Temple construction, 226

U
United Order, or Order of Enoch given at Kirtland, 153
University of Pennsylvania has Dr. Morton’s collection, 127
University of Utah library named after Dr. Atiya, 5; middle-east library termed “finest in America,” 337
Urim and Thummim, where was the?, 3; reference to, or seer stone, 176; records translated through the, 221; Joseph Fielding Smith writes on, 221
“Utah Pioneer Biographies,” accounts of mummies in, 177
Utah State Historical Society has Dale Morgan newspaper collection, 133

V
Valley of the Kings, royal tombs in the, 64
“Valuable Discovery,” 367, 368; a second book of Joseph Smith in library, 314
Von Minutoli, Heinrich, reports swindle by Lebolo, 49

W
Wade, Professor Glen, received letter of papyri from John A. Wilson, 345
Walters, Rev. Wesley P., confirms “execution” made on papyri, 203; writes of death of Mabel Boyd, 212; rediscovers painting of Lucy Mack Smith, 213
Warsaw Signal reports on ownership of mummies after martyrdom, 266
Washington University Medical School, story has one of Prophet’s mummies in, 304
Wealth, practice of burying, 72
West Nodaway River in Nebraska, 277
West, William S. authors pamphlet on Mormons and mummies, 196
Westward trek of Mormon pioneers, 276

Index 403
Whipple, Walter, searches Chicago Tribune, 302; learns of papyri existence in 1962, 351
White, Glen writes of dissecting Lebolo mummy, 127
Whitmer, David, scribe for Book of Abraham, 182; breaks from Church, 204; writes on translation of Book of Mormon, 233
Whitmer, John, editor of Messenger and Advocate, 187; gives account of how Joseph Smith translated, 326; history possessed by Reorganized Church, 326
Whitney, Newel K., Joseph Smith's first meeting with, 151; Joseph and Emma Smith quartered in home of, 152; inventory Church property delivered to, 283; called as Presiding Bishop, 283; given original manuscript on plural marriage, 284
Whitney, Sarah, married to Prophet, 284
Widtsoe, John A., motivates start of society for Early Historic Archaeology, 87
Wight, Lyman, "The Wild Ram of the Mountain," 270
William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, 256
Williams, Caroline Ransom, writes about Egyptology, 106
Williams, Ezra, exhibits mummies around countryside, 176
Williams, Frederick G., Nancy Williams writes on life of, 177; served as scribe, 184; drew one set of plans for Jackson County Temple, 353
Williams, Nancy Clement, writes on life of Frederick G. Williams, 177
Wilson, Dr. John A., writes concerning entrance of mummies to U.S., 105, 106; writes account of Chandler, 124; evaluates the "Valuable Discovery," 317; Professor of Egyptology at Chicago University, writes letter to Prof. Glen Wade, 248; identifies recently found papyri, 366
Winters, Mary Ann, gives 1837 report on mummies, 198
Wood, Col. John H. buys Chicago Museum, 302
Wood, Wilford, acquires hand-written copy from Charles E. Bidamon, 327
Woodruff, Wilford, gives account of viewing mummies in Kirtland, 196; takes over printing office, 220; writes on Prophet's translating Egyptian records, 221; reports being shown Urim and Thummim by Prophet, 222; "The Banner of the Gospel," 270; gives description of translation, 325
Woods Museum in Chicago, mummies and some of records seen in, 288; described in Salt Lake directory, 301; mummies transferred to, 348
Woolley, Edwin, aids Prophet to move, 205
Woolley, Samuel A., aids prophet to move, 205, report on biography of, 205; unverified excerpt from diary of, 206
Word of Wisdom given to Joseph Smith, 154
Wyman, Edward, purchased two of mummies from A. Combs, 296
Wyman's Hall in St. Louis, 296
Y
Young, Brigham at Kirtland, 154; shown Egyptian records, 186; signs announcement of the Twelve, 226; appraisal of James Arlington Bennett, 251; "Lion of the Lord," 270; Indians present hieroglyphic sheets to, 277; may have been one draftsman of temple plan, 353
Young, Thomas, a British physicist, 9
Yugoslavian mummies, information on, 99
## Date Due

All library items are subject to recall at any time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Due Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JUL 1 8 2009</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEB 2 0 2009</td>
<td>MAR 3 1 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR 1 0 2009</td>
<td>MAR 0 4 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APR 2 2 2009</td>
<td>MAR 0 1 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEP 1 8 2009</td>
<td>NOV 2 8 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAN 1 5 2010</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOV 2 8 2009</td>
<td>OCT 0 7 2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Brigham Young University