

Dartmouth Arminianism And Its Impact on Hyrum Smith And the Smith Family

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Introduction

In this paper I shall demonstrate the close relationship between the early Dartmouth College community and curriculum (see exhibits 2 and 3); the members of the extended family of the prophet Joseph Smith, who were an integral part of that community from 1771 to 1817 (see exhibit 1 and exhibit 4); and subsequent Mormon doctrine and community, which emerged under the direction of Joseph Smith (see exhibit 5). I shall proceed to develop a plausible intellectual development view of Joseph Smith from the perspective of his brother Hyrum Smith.

The early Dartmouth community organized in the 1770s and its expanding curriculum through 1815 provided a unique vantage point from which Hyrum, who entered the Dartmouth community in 1811 and left in 1816, could perceptively view as well as participate in future Mormon doctrinal and community development. The defining of the Dartmouth community and curriculum would soon be followed by the subsequent divining of the Mormon doctrine and community.

Early Dartmouth intellectual inquiry focused on philosophical and theological questions, which challenged America as it emerged from New England Puritanism to face the challenges of the Enlightenment. Many of these same questions would later be systematically answered by the prophet Joseph Smith.

The effort to build the Dartmouth community and curriculum by Dartmouth founder, Eleazar Wheelock, and his son, John Wheelock who succeeded him in 1800, chaotically came to an end with the campus political crisis from 1811 to 1819. The crisis was eventually settled by the Dartmouth College Case, the landmark United States Supreme Case, which preserved the sanctity of charters. This landmark decision marked the end of the Dartmouth's "*School of the Prophets*" and its original mission to teach the Indians.

Fortuitously, Hyrum was able to observe this crisis as it literally unfolded before his eyes. He could assess the words and actions of as well as the results achieved by the warring factions. His later role as a peacemaker most likely

developed from this vantage point.

Subsequently, Hyrum and several members of the extended Smith family with ties to Dartmouth would go on to assist Joseph Smith in building Mormon doctrine and community. When crisis threatened his community in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith was able to responsively secure from the State of Illinois for the community a strong charter, which protected Nauvoo against its enemies, due to the precedent set in the Dartmouth College Case, until the threatened Mormon community was able to reach survival mass.

John Smith and the Dartmouth Curriculum

John Smith was born December 21, 1752 in Rowley, Massachusetts, to Joseph Smith and Elizabeth Palmer¹, both cousins of Asael Smith and Mary Duty, the paternal grandparents of the prophet Joseph Smith. Since Mary Duty grew up in Rowley where her family lived for generations before her marriage to Asael and subsequent move to nearby Ipswich in 1767, it is quite certain that she knew her mother's first cousin Elizabeth, John's mother. John, however, was sent off to Dummer Academy in Byefield near Topsfield and Rowley, Massachusetts, soon after his parents died when he was a young boy. At Dummer Academy, the first boarding school in America, John soon excelled in Greek and Latin under classicist Samuel Moody and read through Homer's Iliad and Odyssey twice and the lesser Greek poets in Greek and Cicero and the lesser Roman poets in Latin.² Samuel Moody, a friend of Royal Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, was invited to join the governor's entourage and attend the first Dartmouth graduation in 1771 the same year that Joseph Smith Sr. was born to Asael Smith and Mary Duty in Topsfield, Massachusetts. Moody asked John Smith, who was scheduled to enter Yale in the fall, to join him. John was fascinated by the wilderness setting of the college and Eleazar Wheelock was very impressed with him and invited John to stay and enter the junior class.³

John was soon studying Hebrew and ancient texts and graduated in 1773. From 1774 to 1778 John was appointed tutor in ancient languages and studied divinity under Eleazar Wheelock. In 1778 he was appointed the first Professor at Dartmouth. John and tutor Bezaleel Woodward helped keep the college functioning while tutors Sylvanus Ripley and John Wheelock were serving in the Revolutionary Army. Later that year, John Smith also prepared the natural philosophy lectures for Bezaleel Woodward who was teaching mathematics, acting as treasurer of the college and dabbling in local politics.⁴ Soon after,

¹ *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College*, George T. Chapman, D.D., (1867, Cambridge: Riverside Press), 15.

² Unpublished manuscript biography of John Smith, Susan Mason Smith, (1842, Hanover, NH)

³ Susan Mason Smith.

⁴ George T. Chapman, 15.

John developed the ancient language course, which at first included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Assyric, and later added Arabic and Coptic Egyptian. He was also co-pastor of the college church from 1780 to 1787 with Sylvanus Ripley until Ripley died in a sleighing accident in February 1787 and sole pastor thereafter until his death in 1809.⁵

In 1787 he began developing a set of theology lectures, which were finally completed in 1804, a year before the prophet Joseph Smith was born in Sharon, Vermont, and John was preparing them for publication in 1809 when he passed away. He also wrote the Dartmouth Plays, which were designed to break the monotony of the recitation method of learning. His Hebrew grammar, which in 1773 but was rejected for publication because of his young age, was finally published in Boston in 1804 and his Latin grammar soon afterwards. His Greek grammar was in final stages of publication when he died in 1809.⁶

In 1803 John Smith was recognized by Brown College with a Doctor of Sacred Theology degree for his many contributions.⁷ When 11 year old sophomore George Tichnor sketched the campus in 1805, Smith was represented in the portly figure in the lower right hand surveying his campus domain while now Dartmouth President John Wheelock the diminutive central figure is walking with his face in a book demonstrating Tichnor's view of the relative importance of the two at that point in time.⁸ Smith also served as college trustee, college librarian, and still found time to run the town bookstore from his home. He built much of the early Dartmouth curriculum in close consultation with Wheelock. As revealed in Wheelock's 1809 eulogy of Smith, they spent long hours coordinating the intricately correlated Dartmouth curriculum. Ancient language, ancient literature, ancient scriptural texts, and theology, were tightly integrated with Newtonian astronomy and earth science.⁹

Smith and Wheelock were perfectly matched to work closely together for almost 35 years. It was Smith's poor eyesight and scholarly methodology, however, which left the true legacy of carefully crafted and well annotated lectures that preserve the true richness of the early Dartmouth learning experience. He prepared his lectures with such care and diligence that simply reading them out loud as marked provides a deep reading of the man, his interests, his passions and his point of view.¹⁰ His favorite scripture with which he punctuates controversial material was, "For now we see through a glass darkly but in the end we shall all see eye to eye."

The astronomy section of his Natural Philosophy lectures begins with

⁵ *The College on the Hill*, Ralph Nading Hill, (1964, Hanover, NH), 58.

⁶ Susan Mason Smith.

⁷ George T. Chapman, 15.

⁸ Ralph Nading Hill, 56.

⁹ *Eulogy of John Smith*, John Wheelock, (1809, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH).

¹⁰ *Dartmouth Theology Lectures 1787-1809*, [hereafter DTL] John Smith, (Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH).

Ptolemy and proceeds through Newton but ends with interesting speculations on multiple peopled worlds and the age of the universe. Smith speculated that if an infinite creator could make one perfect system, why not many and if many why not millions.¹¹ The earth science section covers the known science through the late 18th century but ends with equally interesting speculations about the peopling of America with special notice given to the marble inscription in Canaanite found near Tangiers mentioned by the Roman Historian Procopius which states: “We fly from Joshua, son of Nun, the Robber.” Smith felt that if Canaanites could reach West Africa why not the Americas with favorable winds and currents.¹²

Early Dartmouth Students of Interest in Mormon Studies

Solomon Spaulding, class of 1785, followed the above lecture material closely when he wrote *Manuscript Found* in 1812 in eastern Ohio.¹³ After graduating Solomon spent several years as an evangelist before his health and spirit failed. He soon became a Deist and joined his brother in commercial ventures near Cherry Hill, New York next to the Oneida and Stockbridge reservations before moving on to land speculation and other ventures in Ohio. After excavating some Indian mounds on his property, in which sophisticated ancient Indian remains were found, he decided to write his tale of the origin of the Indians,¹⁴ beginning with 2 odysseys following John Smith’s suggested Bering Strait crossing by land and an Atlantic sea crossing through the Mediterranean. Spaulding then added an Iliad focused on the Helen of Troy model but with a reverse ending. The prince of the south visited the king of the north and stole his wife. The king of the north in classic Homeric fashion raised an army and went to retrieve his wife. To explain the condition of the savage Native Americans, Solomon has the less civilized Trojan-type win.

Ethan Smith, class of 1790, also followed the lecture material including the early theology lectures begun by John Smith in 1787 when Ethan wrote *View of the Hebrews* in 1823. After graduating in 1790, Ethan studied with Dartmouth pastors Eden Burroughs, trustee, and Asa Burton, class of 1777, in Thetford, Vermont before beginning his first pastorate in Haverhill, New Hampshire, across the Connecticut River. In 1800 he took a new position in Hopkinton near Concord, New Hampshire.¹⁵

By 1811 he began his profuse writing career covering theology and prophecy.¹⁶

¹¹ *Dartmouth Natural Philosophy Lectures 1780*, [hereafter, DNPL] John Smith, (Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH).

¹² DNPL 1780, John Smith.

¹³ *Manuscript Found* Manuscript, Solomon Spaulding, (1812, Ohio).

¹⁴ George T. Chapman, 39.

¹⁵ George T. Chapman, 57.

¹⁶ George T. Chapman, 57.

Ethan's many doctrinal works on such subjects as infant baptism, women in Zion, the Godhead, prophecy, etc. were soon well circulated on campus immediately at Dartmouth after they were well received on the Dartmouth pastoral circuit. His son Lyndon arrived in Hanover as a freshman in the fall of 1813 and seems to have promoted his father's books to the campus literary and theological societies.¹⁷ Student names appear in a number of the library copies. In 1817 the same year that Lyndon graduated, Ethan took a new position in Hebron, New York between the Oneida and Stockbridge reservations in the area worked by Dartmouth missionaries in earlier times. From 1817 to 1822 he researched material for his *View of the Hebrews* before he moved to a new pastorate in Poultney, Vermont, in 1822.¹⁸ The 1825 edition of the book contains more information from Elias Boudinot's, *A Star in the West*, and Alexander Von Humbolt's 1814 work on Mesoamerica probably suggested by Lyndon from his study in John Wheelock's class. Ethan used a standard Bering Strait crossing for his odyssey and war of attrition for his Iliad.¹⁹

After studying with Asa Burton, Elijah Lyman, class of 1787, began his long pastorate in Brookfield, Vermont.²⁰ After his brother Richard died in 1802 in Lebanon, New Hampshire, he brought Richard's family from Lebanon, New Hampshire, to live with him in Brookfield, Orange County, Vermont just north of Tunbridge. Elijah trained Clarissa, Richard's daughter from twelve years of age along with Dartmouth graduates who were preparing to go on missions to the Indians. In 1815 Elijah married Clarissa and John Smith while he was training Alfred Finney, Dartmouth class of 1814, before he left on his life long mission to the Western Cherokee in Arkansas.²¹ George A. Smith arrived in the new family in 1817 with Caroline and John Lyman to follow in 1820 and 1823. Clarissa and George A. would read the Book of Mormon when received from Joseph Smith Sr. in 1830 and recommend it strongly to John's brothers. George even defended the book when challenged by local "professors" of religion.²²

Dartmouth Theology Lectures: Source of much Mormon Doctrine?

According to John Smith's widow, Susan Mason, John Smith's *Theology* lectures represent his opus magna, which he was preparing for publication at the time of his death. She states in a short biography of her husband attached to the almost complete manuscript of his theology lectures that he felt it was the most challenging of his various undertakings and required 17 years to prepare

¹⁷ George T. Chapman, 190.

¹⁸ George T. Chapman, 57.

¹⁹ *View of the Hebrews*, Ethan Smith, (1823/25, Poultney, VT).

²⁰ George T. Chapman, 46.

²¹ George T. Chapman, 176.

²² *Joseph Smith's New England Heritage*, Richard L. Anderson, (1970-2003, Deseret Book, Salt Lake City, Utah), 275.

the original 34 lectures and another five years to reduce them to an edited manuscript.²³ These lectures trace his evolution from Greek classicist to ancient text specialist to Arminian theologian and are probably best summarized in 20 topics as follows:²⁴

- (1) Greek philosophy provided his concept of the Preexistence
- (2) Atonement Covenant was made before the earth was
- (3) Plan of Salvation was agreed to in the Preexistence
- (4) Father, Son and sons of men were together in the Preexistence
- (5) Spiritual death was man's condition after the Fall
- (6) Son's Church would exist in all ages after the Fall
- (7) Types and shadows of the covenant found in Scriptures
- (8) Oaths and covenants serve as Deity's legal structure
- (9) Light, borrowed light and the light of reason would guide
- (10) Melchizedek Priesthood is co-eternal with God
- (11) The Priesthood is the source of the Son's authority
- (12) Aaronic Priesthood promised to Aaron's descendants
- (13) Free Agency and the right to choose is integral to plan
- (14) Degrees of Glory is the structure of the Eternities
- (15) Consecration to Christ is required for highest exaltation
- (16) Revelation required to know ultimate nature of God
- (17) Spirit is a simpler form of matter
- (18) The prosperity cycle is the natural direction of history
- (19) Millions of peopled worlds
- (20) Father argues for justice and Son argues for mercy

The Tunbridge Cowderys: Why Oliver?

The Cowderys of Tunbridge were neighbors to the Mack and Smith Families and settled in Tunbridge, Vermont about the same time and both the Cowdery and Smith families intermarried with the Sanford Family. The patriarch of the Cowdery clan in Tunbridge was Jabez Cowdery, uncle of William Cowdery, Oliver Cowdery's father, who settled in Wells, Vermont, near Poultney, Vermont. Many of Oliver's family were members of Ethan Smith's congregation in Poultney, Vermont and were aware of *View of the Hebrews* and Ethan's other works. The Cowdery family relationships and the Cowdery family awareness of Ethan Smith were especially good preparation for later events in New York and Pennsylvania that we shall study in more detail later in this paper. The later interaction of the Smith and Cowdery families will be integral to the bringing forth of the Book of Mormon.

²³ Susan Mason Smith.

²⁴ DTL, John Smith.

Hyrum Smith Enters Moor's School

Lucy Mack Smith in her history of the Smith family noted that Hyrum entered into Moor's Academy in 1811.²⁵ John Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College and Moor's Academy, would have interviewed Hyrum briefly at matriculation for the first of many periodic interviews they would have and would also teach Moor's Academy one day a week as relief for the preceptor Joseph Perry, class of 1810. Stephen Mack, Hyrum's cousin, was also a student at Moor's Academy. John Ball,²⁶ class of 1820, Hyrum's Aunt Sally's brother would enter Dartmouth in 1816 and in May 1832 would meet with the Mormon leaders in Jackson County, Missouri on his way to Oregon with the Wyeth Expedition.²⁷ It is not certain whether Elijah Paine,²⁸ Dartmouth trustee who held a mortgage on Solomon Mack's farm in Sharon, Vermont, influenced this outcome or whether the phenomenon resulted from mere coincidence. Until March of 1813 Hyrum was exposed to this unique intellectual environment, which included Moor's Academy, Dartmouth College and the Dartmouth Medical School and its new medical theatre, which was completed after his arrival on campus. A sick Hyrum returned home to a family already sick with Typhoid fever.²⁹

The 1813 Typhoid Epidemic and Joseph Smith's Leg Operation

Sophronia almost died and Joseph suffered a complication, osteomyelitis, which required leg surgery. After initial surgery by relative Phineas Parkhurst,³⁰ class of 1805,³¹ failed, Drs. Stone, Nathan Smith, and Cyrus Perkins from the Dartmouth Medical School completed a successful surgery by removing a substantial piece of infected bone. Cyrus Perkins, professor at the medical school, was also son-in-law of Professor John Smith and therefore another Smith relative. Hyrum would remain home for a year to attend homebound Joseph, who remained on crutches for the next four years and be tutored by Hyrum. Possibly when Joseph made a recuperative trip to Salem with Uncle Jesse, Hyrum was able to return to Moor's Academy in 1814 as a charity scholar,³² a status shared by children of deceased members of the faculty, children of missionaries in the field, and those with promise to enter the ministry. Hyrum's classmates included children of Drs. Nathan Smith and Cyrus Perkins and

²⁵ *The History of Joseph Smith*, Lucy Mack Smith, (1845), 59.

²⁶ George T. Chapman, 200.

²⁷ *Evening and Morning Star*, (June, 1832, Independence, MO).

²⁸ Richard L. Anderson, 221.

²⁹ Lucy Mack Smith, 59.

³⁰ *A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania*, Larry C. Porter, (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971), 9.

³¹ George T. Chapman, 124.

³² Moor's School Records 1813-16, Joseph Perry, (Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH).

deceased Professors John Smith and John Hubbard as well as many Wheelock relatives. Twenty of his classmates would graduate from Dartmouth and one, Clement Long, would become Professor of Divinity at Dartmouth. Most of his schoolmates' fathers were Masons including William Woodward whose grandfather Bezaleel Woodward founded the lodge in Hanover and father William Woodward was current head of the lodge.³³ Hyrum would also attend over 1000 morning and evening Presbyterian chapel and Sunday services, which were mandatory.

Each day Hyrum observed the federal architecture of the buildings on campus including the construction of the Dartmouth Hotel, which was completed in 1814. Later buildings in Kirtland and Nauvoo for which Hyrum would be building overseer bear strong resemblance to the campus buildings. Hyrum even had the opportunity to observe such notables as Daniel Webster, class of 1801, who had a house in Hanover, and Thaddeus Stevens,³⁴ class of 1814, a powerful figure in the House of Representatives during Reconstruction. In his final year in school, Hyrum experienced a yearlong revival that was punctuated by lightning and thunderstorms, earthquakes, and a well reported epiphany.

Affiliation with Freemasonry began early in Hanover with James Wheelock and Eleazar Wheelock Jr., John Payne and other townspeople in Hanover, who were not directly involved in college. Soon however in 1788 Professor Bezaleel Woodward, and Wheelock relative Davenport Phelps, class of 1775, petitioned for a lodge in Hanover, which was finally commissioned in 1796. By the time of Bezaleel's death in 1804, his son William was a master mason and sons and in-laws of Sylvanus Ripley were actively involved. John Smith acted as chaplain and his son John entered in 1812.³⁵

In 1799 the board of trustees at the insistence of the ardent Calvinist Congregationalists on the board passed a resolution stating that if any student joined the Masons he would be expelled. John Wheelock, however, made no effort to enforce the resolution until 1812 when the Congregationalists on the board, who gained control in 1810, forced the issue and the Masons agreed to stop proselytizing students in 1812.³⁶ From 1796 to 1812 over 115 students entered the lodge.³⁷ Hyrum attended school with many children of Freemasons. These included William Woodward, John Smith, the Wheelocks, Cyrus Perkins, etc. At the time Hyrum's name was still spelled Hiram. A better Masonic name could not be found for it ties in well with two of the three characters of the Masonic myth, Solomon, Hiram of Tyre, and Hiram Abiff the chief architect of Solomon's temple. This spelling indicates that possibly Joseph Smith, Sr.,

³³ Franklin Lodge Records.

³⁴ George T. Chapman, 174.

³⁵ Franklin Masonic Lodge Records.

³⁶ Franklin Masonic Lodge Records.

³⁷ Franklin Masonic Lodge Records.

Stephen Mack, or Asael Smith may have had some contact with the Masonic Lodge in Tunbridge, Vermont, or the one in nearby Randolph when it opened just north of Tunbridge, Vermont in 1798. However, Joseph Smith, Sr., was soon rejected by the Randolph lodge in 1801³⁸ possibly for his actual or perceived connection with Nathaniel Wood in nearby Rutland. After John Wheelock's death in 1817 the lodge moved to Lebanon, New Hampshire.

The Campus Clash between Calvinism and Arminianism

The college church operated under Presbyterian style government but its doctrine was Arminian based on the ideas on free agency of Jacob Arminius, who succeeded John Calvin as Professor of Theology at the University of Geneva. Arminianism became an increasing item of contention and would lead to hostility between Wheelock and Smith on one side and the Calvinist board on the other and would culminate in the landmark Dartmouth College Case. The town church built in 1795 originally met the needs of both the town and the college.

By 1800, however, a rift had formed which caused the congregation to split between a Congregational and a Presbyterian faction that initially attempted to share the building.³⁹ After 1804 an increasing number of townspeople joined the Congregationalist side when Roswell Shurtleff, recently appointed Professor of Divinity, renounced his Arminianism and joined the Calvinist Congregationalist side and refused with board support to preach at college services. The Presbyterian faction then chose to meet at a new location and the students returned to the college chapel for Sunday services.⁴⁰

The Campus Revivals of 1814-15 and Related Epiphanies

An interesting epiphany occurred during the yearlong revival that punctuated Hyrum's last year on campus. Levi Spaulding, a Dartmouth student, class of 1815, and relative of Solomon Spaulding, felt unworthy, took a walk along the bluff above the river with a friend, knelt down in a grove of trees and prayed, saw a flash of light, felt forgiven and then spent the rest of his life in the mission field in India.⁴¹ This revival seemed to touch all students. John Wheelock in letters to his sister, brother-in-law and Scottish Missionary Fund trustee Jedediah Morse noted that he had not before witnessed such an outpouring of the spirit.⁴² Benjamin Hale, class of 1818 and later Dartmouth

³⁸ Randolph Masonic Lodge Records.

³⁹ Ralph Nading Hill, 58.

⁴⁰ Ralph Nading Hill, 58.

⁴¹ Ralph Nading Hill, 205.

⁴² Letters to his Sister and Brother-in law David McClure, John Wheelock, (1815, Hanover, NH).

chemistry professor further documented the extent of the revival from the point of view in letters to his father and uncle.⁴³

Prelude to the Dartmouth College Case

The battle between the Calvinist, Congregationalist dominated board and the Arminian, Presbyterian President John Wheelock simmered until 1810 when the deaths of John Smith and Lt Governor Peter Olcott gave the vocal minority a fortuitous majority of 1.⁴⁴ The new majority proceeded to turn down Wheelock's choices for successor trustees, William H. Woodward, Treasurer of the college, and Josiah Dunham, Lt. Governor of Vermont, simply because they were Freemasons and friendly to Wheelock.⁴⁵

John Wheelock then executed a defensive strategy from 1811-15 that led to his dismissal from his 35 year assignment of teaching the senior class at the end of 1814 and his removal from the presidency in 1815 after he published his *History of Dartmouth College and Moor's School* in which he criticized various actions of the trustees. Wheelock then appealed to the New Hampshire legislature as successor charter grantor. The legislature chose to amend the charter by adding trustees and making the college a state institution renamed Dartmouth University. The old trustees appealed to the New Hampshire Supreme Court but lost.⁴⁶

When the old trustees chose to appeal to the United States Supreme Court, Wheelock asked Daniel Webster, class of 1801, to defend his case. Webster reviewed the case and then told Wheelock that the trustees had wronged him under the charter but that the remedy imposed by the New Hampshire Legislature, which unilaterally amended the charter by adding trustees, was a greater wrong. Wheelock knew his cause was lost and died early in 1817. After a long trial in 1819 the United States Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall decided the case in favor of the old trustees and preserved the sanctity of charters. Joseph Smith in 1840 sought the Nauvoo Charter after the extermination order in Missouri "to save the Church." Joseph relied on the Dartmouth College Case precedent and the careful wording in the Nauvoo Charter itself that it could not be rescinded unless State or Federal laws were broken.

Smith Family Migrates from Dartmouth Vicinity to Palmyra

After three difficult winters when over 25 percent of the population of

⁴³ Letters to his Father and Uncle, Benjamin Hale, (1815, Hanover, NH).

⁴⁴ Ralph Nading Hill, 59.

⁴⁵ George T. Chapman, 51.

⁴⁶ *Sketches of the History of Dartmouth College and Moor's School*, John Wheelock, (1815, Hanover, NH).

upper Vermont left the State,⁴⁷ the Smith family moved to Palmyra, New York, by early 1817. Revivals were active in the area and it is likely that Hyrum would have been interested in them soon after arriving. Joseph's recollection that at about age 12 soon after arriving in Palmyra that he was "concerned for his soul" suggests that possibly due to discussions with Hyrum, Joseph became interested in revivals. Lucy, Sophronia, and Samuel Harrison probably also attended the early revivals since they soon with Hyrum joined the Presbyterian Church as early as 1817. Early participation in revivals would correlate well with Hyrum's revival experiences in 1814-15.

Hyrum's affinity for Presbyterianism and Joseph's preference for Methodism probably is best explained by Joseph's sensitivity to the substance of doctrine and Hyrum's past experience with form of worship. Hyrum may also have attended the Vienna revivals in 1819, but he may have joined with Presbyterians earlier. The exact dates are uncertain. Hyrum may well have even attended the book promotion presentation at the City Hotel in Palmyra in 1820⁴⁸ of *A Star in the West* by Elias Boudinot, Presbyterian President of the American Bible Society. The book deals with ancient America and was a source for Ethan Smith.

Joseph Smith's First Vision, or visitation, of 1820, especially as described in his first published version, is quite consistent both with Hyrum's experiences in Hanover and other local and regional restorationist phenomena. Hyrum and Joseph most likely had many long discussions about such things. Hyrum with his Moor's School experience with Indians and their traditions would have been fully prepared to participate in the family discussions in which Joseph discussed life among the ancient Americans. Hyrum may have seen Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* 1823 and 1825 editions in the Palmyra library or in bookstore announcements in the Palmyra newspaper similar to the ones he had probably seen which appeared in the *Dartmouth Gazette* announcing the arrival of earlier Ethan Smith books at John Smith's bookstore in Hanover.

Hyrum Joins with Presbyterians and Freemasons

Though exact dates are uncertain, early attendance at revivals after arriving in Palmyra and early joining with the Presbyterians, as early as 1817, fit best with Hyrum's past experiences in Hanover. Joseph's independent study of Methodism is consistent with his adolescent development, which was well underway. Joseph told Lucy that Presbyterianism was wrong, after Hyrum had joined with them and after Joseph had studied Arminian Methodism, shortly after the First Vision. Hyrum, Lucy, Sophronia, and Samuel Harrison were

⁴⁷ *Migration from Vermont*, Lewis D. Stilwell, (1948, Montpelier, VT), 125-139.

⁴⁸ *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon*, Robert N. Hullinger, (1980, St. Louis, MO), 58.

finally dismissed from the Presbyterian Church in 1830⁴⁹ after affirming the Book of Mormon. Hyrum also became an initiate and joined the Mt. Moriah Lodge #112 in Palmyra⁵⁰ after joining the Presbyterian Church and appears to have advanced three degrees to Master Mason. The name Hiram has generally been closely associated with the Masonic myth concerning Solomon, Hiram of Tyre and Hiram Abiff the overseer of the building of Solomon's temple.

Hyrum Becomes a School Teacher and School Trustee

Hyrum became a schoolteacher to support his wife in 1826 and soon after supported the rest of the family when the Smiths in 1829 lost possession of their new home for failure to make a timely last payment on an installment sale. Hyrum actually had two teaching jobs.⁵¹ As his Uncle Jesse had been school trustee⁵² in Tunbridge, Vermont, Hyrum was elected to the school board of trustees in Palmyra, New York. He soon was interviewing candidates for schoolteacher. Lyman Cowdery was his first choice. Perhaps, this was due to his acquaintance with Lyman's cousins in Tunbridge, Vermont. Though Lyman was Hyrum's first choice to be teacher, Lyman instead chose to work for the sheriff. Hyrum's second choice was Oliver Cowdery. Lucy soon asked Oliver, a cousin of the Tunbridge Cowderys, to board in the new home in October 1828 with the whole family. Perhaps this suggests a closer relationship than the joint intermarriage of the Smiths and the Tunbridge Cowderys with the Tunbridge Sanfords. Several members of Oliver's family from Wells, Vermont, attended Ethan Smith's congregation in Poultney, Vermont. Oliver also had reason to read Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* while he still lived near Ethan in Vermont or after Oliver's family and the Tunbridge Cowderys moved to Western New York from Vermont by 1828.

Parallels Between Dartmouth Curriculum and Mormon Doctrine

Oliver soon joined Joseph in New Harmony, Pennsylvania to act as permanent scribe to continue the preparation of the Book of Mormon. Oliver and Joseph would soon receive the Aaronic Priesthood in May 1829. It is somewhat curious that they did not receive the Melchizedek Priesthood until Hyrum arrived later in the month for baptism bringing his knowledge of the Melchizedek Priesthood from his Masonic connections. Early revelations for the Doctrine and Covenants continued to be received as needed. There are a number of interesting parallels between Dartmouth themes and those of the

⁴⁹ Presbyterian Church Records.

⁵⁰ Mt. Moriah Masonic Lodge Records.

⁵¹ *Hyrum Smith: Man of Integrity*, Jeffrey O'Driscoll, (2003, Deseret Book, Salt Lake City, UT), 25.

⁵² *The First Mormon*, Donna Hill, (1977, Salt Lake City, UT).

Book of Mormon (see exhibits 3 and 5). First is the focus on the Atonement. Then we see the prosperity cycle, admonition to avoid kings and elitist cliques. Types and shadows are continually emphasized. The structure of the book itself feature 3 *Odysseys* and 2 *Iliads* compared with Solomon Spaulding's *Manuscript Found* which has 2 *Odysseys* and 1 *Iliad* while Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* has only 1 *Odyssey* and 1 *Iliad*.

The Books of Moses and Abraham, which catch Joseph's attention after the Book of Mormon is finished also have many parallels with John Smith's astronomy lectures especially the concept of multiple peopled worlds and focus on the stars and light. The Plan of Salvation is similar to the one in John Smith's theology lectures along with the Enoch emphasis which has strong Masonic overtones. The Kirtland "School of the Prophets" with its focus on missionary training and the study of Hebrew are also quite similar to the Dartmouth "School of the Prophets." Even the federal design form of the Kirtland Temple, the construction of which was overseen by Hyrum in good Masonic fashion, bares a strong resemblance to the federal design form of Moor's School when the dormers from the Dartmouth Hotel, completed in 1814, are added to the third floor as a late addition to the building plan. The Kirtland Temple follows the First Presidency vision received by Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams in substance but Moor's School in form.

Other Related Dartmouth Graduates

In many ways John Wentworth,⁵³ class of 1836, was as important to the survival of Mormonism as Governor John Wentworth was to the birth of Dartmouth. He showed a keen interest in the well being of the Church as early as May 25, 1840 when he providentially stated "let Illinois repeat the bloody tragedies of Missouri and one or two other States follow and the Mormon religion will not only be known throughout our land, but will be very extensively embraced."⁵⁴ It is quite certain that he knew that Albert Carrington,⁵⁵ class of 1834, who joined the Saints in Nauvoo. Knowing that Mormon beliefs were in some ways similar to those of John Humphrey Noyes,⁵⁶ class of 1830, Wentworth inquired of Joseph in 1842 about Mormon beliefs as he sensed a connection to Mormonism.

In response, Joseph prepared his well-known letter to John Wentworth in which he succinctly summarized the Book of Mormon and stated Mormon beliefs in the form of the "Articles of Faith." When circumstances were approaching a crisis, then Congressman Wentworth even attempted to have Joseph appointed to lead an expedition to secure Oregon for the United States.

⁵³ Charles T. Chapman, 288.

⁵⁴ *Chicago Democrat*, John Wentworth, May 25, 1840.

⁵⁵ Charles T. Chapman, 271.

⁵⁶ Charles T. Chapman, 254.

In general, Wentworth was helpful while the church was growing to critical mass under the protection of the Nauvoo Charter which Joseph secured in 1840 based on the protections assured by the Dartmouth College Case.

After Moor's School Stephen Mack, Hyrum's cousin, joined his father in Michigan to trade with the Indians but soon went on to Illinois and Wisconsin to become the chief trader for the American Fur Company with the Wisconsin Indians as well as their most trusted Anglo confidant and advisor.⁵⁷ In 1843 the Chippewa Indians sold their timber rights above Black River Falls to Lyman Wight and George C. Miller for the "Pineries" project to supply lumber for rapidly growing Nauvoo⁵⁸ where his mother and two sisters lived after the death of his father.⁵⁹

Summary and Conclusions

Dartmouth College had significant influence on the LDS Church, both direct and indirect. The Dartmouth College Case saved Dartmouth College and provided the legal precedent to preserve the LDS Church in Nauvoo long enough for it to grow to critical mass. The Dartmouth Medical School played a significant role in saving Joseph Smith's leg. Hyrum's education at Moor's school provided a tutor for unschooled Joseph. Hyrum's exposure to Dartmouth's theology, cosmology, ancient language studies, architecture, Ethan Smith's son Lyndon, and Solomon Spaulding's nephew James Spaulding from Sharon, Vermont, who was attending the Medical School, all provided discussion material for tutoring Joseph during his long recovery from leg surgery that kept Joseph at home on crutches until the Smith family reached Palmyra. The future development of Mormon Doctrine so parallels the Dartmouth Lectures that it is hard not to perceive their stimulating possibilities. Perhaps those discussions prepared Joseph Smith in his 12th year to be "concerned for his soul" soon after the Smith family arrived in Palmyra⁶⁰ and in a few short years to receive his First Vision. The rest we know as "Mormon History."

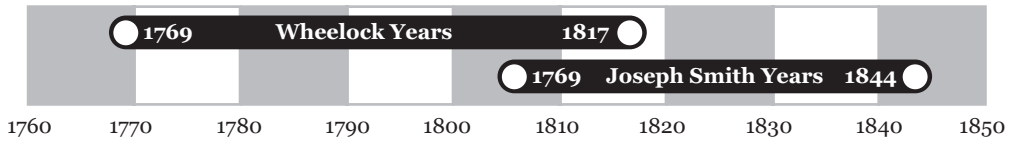
⁵⁷ Letters to his Sister Lovisa Mack Cooper 1818-50, Stephen Mack, (Bentley Library, Detroit, MI).

⁵⁸ Diary of George C. Miller.

⁵⁹ Stephen Mack.

⁶⁰ *Joseph Smith's Personal History*, Joseph Smith (Nauvoo, IL: 1842).

EXHIBIT 2: SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHET



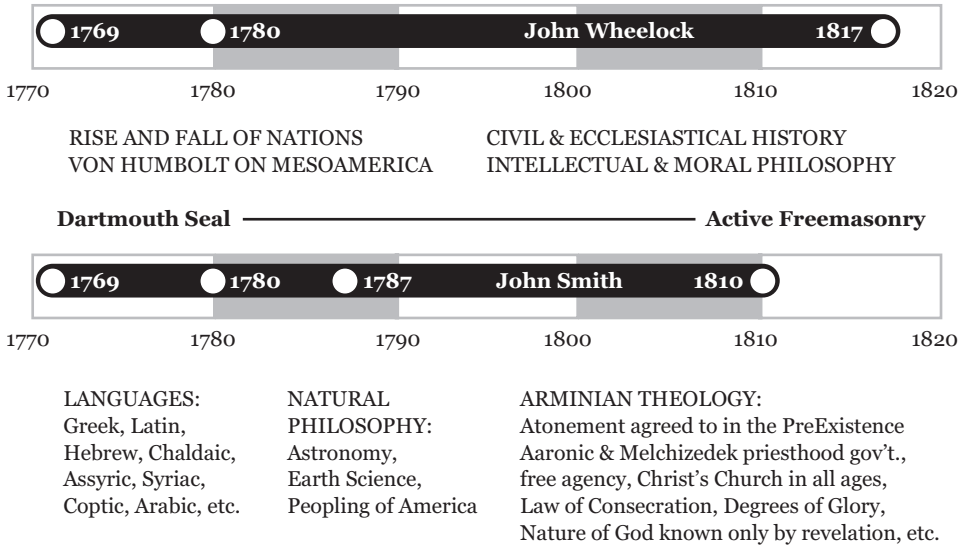
THE PROFESSORS AND THE PROPHET

*Defining Early Dartmouth
Community & Curriculum*

*Divining Early Mormon
Doctrine & Community*

	SPIRIT	<i>NH</i> → <i>NY</i>	SPIRIT
	REVIVALS		REVIVALS
	EPIPHANY		THEOPHANY
	PRESBYTERIAN		PRESBYTERIAN
	FREEMASONRY		FREEMASONRY
	HIRAM	<i>FAMILY FOCUS</i>	JOSEPH
	TUTOR	<i>HIRAM</i> → <i>MORONI</i>	TUTOR
	NATHAN SMITH	<i>MEDICINE</i>	ALVIN SMITH
	MOOR'S STUDENT		SCHOOL TEACHER
	TRUSTEES KNOWN		SCHOOL TRUSTEE
	JABEZ COWDERY	——— <i>ENOCH</i> ———	OLIVER COWDERY
	THEOLOGY		THEOLOGY
	ELIJAH LYMAN		CLARISSA LYMAN
	PEOPLING OF AMERICA		BOOK OF MORMON
	COSMOLOGY	<i>ASTRONOMY</i>	MOSES AND ABRAHAM
	HEBREW	——— <i>SCHOOL OF THE PROPHETS</i> ———	HEBREW
	STEPHEN MACK		STEPHEN MACK
	JOHN WENTWORTH	——— <i>INTERESTING</i> ———	JOHN WENTWORTH
	JOHN SMITH/ASAEL SMITH	——— <i>FAMILY</i> ——	HYRUM SMITH/JOSEPH SMITH
	ELEAZAR/JOHN WHEELOCK	——— <i>RELATIONSHIPS</i> ———	CYRUS WHEELOCK
	DARTMOUTH COLLEGE		NAUVOO UNIVERSITY
	INTELLECT		INTELLECT

EXHIBIT 3: EARLY DARTMOUTH CURRICULUM



<p>Solomon Spaulding d. 1785</p> <p><i>Manuscript Found</i> 1812</p> <p>Contains John Smith material through 1785; Possibly available via Levi Spaulding d. 1815</p>	<p>Ethan Smith d. 1790</p> <p><i>View of the Hebrews</i> 1823</p> <p>Contains John Smith material through 1790 Plus his 1817-22 research at Oneida Reservation, etc.</p>	<p>Ethan Smith d. 1790</p> <p><i>View of the Hebrews</i> 1825</p> <p>Also contains John Wheelock material through 1815, probably from Lyndon Smith d. 1817 (Ethan's son)</p>	<p>Joseph Smith d. 1844</p> <p><i>Book of Mormon</i> 1829</p> <p>Contains the full range of the material above, possibly suggested by Hiram Smith</p>
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EXHIBIT 4: FAMILY AND COMMUNITY DISCOURSE

FREEMASONRY
HIRAM NAMED IN 1800
JOSEPH SMITH SR. REJECTED IN 1801

VERMONT
UNIVERSALISM
NATHANIEL WOOD
WILLIAM BULLARD

NEW HAMPSHIRE
ARMINIANISM
JACOB OSGOOD
JACOB COCHRAN

WARS
EARTHQUAKES
PLAGUES
LIGHTNING STORMS
COLD WINTERS
REVIVALS
EPIPHANIES

EXHIBIT 5: CONCEPTUAL COMPARISON

PROFESSOR JOHN SMITH
INTELLECTUAL SPIRIT
SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES

PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH
SPIRITUAL INTELLECT
ASK OF GOD

PRIMARY INPUT

GREEK/ROMAN PHILOSOPHY
HEBREW BIBLE
ANCIENT SCRIPTURES
GREEK NEW TESTAMENT
NEWTON
ARMINIANISM
FREEMASONRY
INSPIRATION
VISION VIA READING GLASSES

MORONI
MOSES
GOLDEN PLATES
PETER, JAMES, JOHN
ABRAHAM
UNIVERSALISM
FREEMASONRY
REVELATION
VISION VIA SPECTACLES, etc.

PRIMARY OUTPUT

GREEK, LATIN, HEBREW, CHALDAIC GRAMMARS
PEOPLING OF AMERICA LECTURE
ASTRONOMY LECTURES
THEOLOGY LECTURES
PASTORAL SERMONS
DARTMOUTH PLAYS
MOOR'S SCHOOL OF THE PROPHETS

HEBREW STUDY
BOOK OF MORMON
BOOKS OF ABRAHAM AND MOSES
LECTURES ON FAITH
DOCTRINE AND COVENANTS
KING FOLLETT DISCOURSE, etc.
KIRTLAND SCHOOL OF THE PROPHETS

PRIMARY COMMON IDEAS

GOD THE FATHER AND GOD THE SON ARE SEPARATE BEINGS
ATONEMENT COVENANT MADE BEFORE THE CREATION OF THE EARTH
PLAN OF SALVATION AGREED TO IN THE PREEXISTENCE
FATHER, SON AND SONS OF MEN WERE TOGETHER IN THE PREEXISTENCE
SPIRITUAL DEATH WAS MAN'S CONDITION AFTER THE FALL
SON'S CHURCH WOULD EXIST IN ALL AGES AFTER THE FALL
TYPES AND SHADOWS OF THE COVENANT ARE FOUND IN SCRIPTURES
OATHS AND COVENANTS SERVE AS DEITY'S LEGAL STRUCTURE
LIGHT, BORROWED LIGHT, AND THE LIGHT OF REASON WOULD GUIDE US
MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD IS COETERNAL WITH GOD
MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD IS THE SOURCE OF THE SON'S AUTHORITY
AARONIC PRIESTHOOD PROMISED TO AARON'S DESCENDANTS
FREE AGENCY AND THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ARE INTEGRAL TO THE PLAN
DEGREES OF GLORY STRUCTURE THE ETERNITIES
CONSECRATION TO CHRIST IS REQUIRED FOR HIGHEST EXALTATION
REVELATION IS REQUIRED TO KNOW THE ULTIMATE NATURE OF GOD
SPIRIT IS SIMPLER (FINER) FORM OF MATTER
THE PROSPERITY CYCLE IS THE NATURAL COURSE OF HISTORY
MILLIONS OF PEOPLED WORLDS AND SON'S ROLE WITH EACH
FATHER ARGUES FOR JUSTICE AND SON ARGUES FOR MERCY

PRIMARY DIFFERING IDEAS

- GOD CAN BECOME A MAN ————— MAN CAN BECOME A GOD
- CHRIST BECAME A KING THROUGH MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD ————— MAN CAN BECOME A KING THROUGH MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD
- GOD CAN APPEAR AS AN ANGEL ————— A RESURRECTED MAN CAN APPEAR AS AN ANGEL
- ANGELS ARE DIFFERENT FROM PREMORTAL MAN ————— ANGELS ARE THE SAME AS PREMORTAL MAN
- WITHOUT FALL MAN REMAINS PERFECT ————— FALL REQUIRED FOR MAN TO BECOME PERFECT
- TRANSLATION TO HELL ————— TRANSLATION TO HEAVEN
- DISCUSSED HIGHEST DEGREE OF GLORY ————— DISCUSSED THREE DEGREES OF GLORY
- ASIANS ARRIVED IN AMERICA FIRST BY LAND ————— MIDDLE EASTERNERS ARRIVED IN AMERICA FIRST BY SHIP
- CANAANITES LATER ARRIVED IN AMERICA BY ATLANTIC CROSSING ————— ISRAELITES LATER ARRIVED IN AMERICA BY ATLANTIC & PACIFIC CROSSING
- MILLIONS OF PEOPLED WORLDS ————— WORLDS W/O NUMBER
- SPIRIT IS SIMPLER FORM OF MATTER ————— SPIRIT IS FINER FORM OF MATTER
- WARNED AGAINST UNFAIR TREATMENT OF CHILDREN ————— WARNED AGAINST UNFAIR TREATMENT OF WIVES & CHILDREN
- STUDIED SCRIPTURES IN HEBREW GREEK, CHALDAIC, ASSYRIC, SYRIAC AND COPTIC ————— STUDIED SCRIPTURES IN HEBREW AND REFORMED EGYPTIAN
- INSIGHTFUL BUT UNORGANIZED ————— STRUCTURED AND HIGHLY INTEGRATED
- THE LAST ARMINIAN ————— THE FIRST MORMON