

A Color-Coded Genetic Analysis of TS, RC (CCT). Pericope 1.^{1 2}

WR = Willard Richards (JS diary). SR = Samuel Richards journal. TB = Thomas Bullock minutes. WW = Wilford Woodruff Journal. WC = William Clayton minutes. GL1 = George Laub journal. TS = *Times and Seasons* text. RC = Robert Campbell text in ms history. Legend: Gray: WR. Green: TB. Blue: WW. Orange: WC. Red: text from unknown source/filler text. TS black text, identical text in WC, TB. RC dark gray text: WR. Punctuation in RC is generally audited for origin.

WR	SR	TB	WW ³	WC	GL1	TS ⁴	RC ⁵
3 1/4 p.m.—		The President having arrived—the Choir sung an hymn Elder Amasa Lyman prayed.	3 o clock P M April Sunday 7th 1844	Choir sung a Hymn Prayer by Er A. Lyman.		The president ⁷ having arrived; the choir ⁸ sung a hymn. Elder A. Lyman offered prayer.	At 3 1/4 p.m. The President having arrived: the choir sung a hymn.
		The Prophet while I address you on the subject which was contempd ⁶ <in the fore pt. of the Con.>—as the Wind blows very hard it will be hardly possible for me to make you all hear	The following important edefying & interesting discourse was deliverd by President Joseph Smith to about twenty ten thousand souls upon the subject of the death of Elder King Follett	Prest. J. Smith called the attention of the con. upon the subjects contemplated in the fore part of this con.—as the wind blows hard it will be impossible to make hear unless profound attention—		The president then arose and called the attention of the congregation upon the subjects which were contemplated in the fore part of the conference. As the wind blows very hard, it will be hardly possible for me to make you all hear unless there is profound attention.	Elder Amasa Lyman offered prayer.
			I now call the attention of this congregation				President Joseph Smith delivered the following discourse before about 20,000 Saints, being the Funeral Sermon of Elder King Follett, Reported by Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, Thomas Bullock, and William Clayton. ⁹
							"Beloved Saints:- ¹⁰ I will call the attention of this congregation.

¹ Often assigned the role as most important of JS sermon, "the King Follett Sermon" is given here in eight versions here, at least five are

contemporary mss and two (TS, WC) are aural audits. In the sermon, JS brings together many of his major preaching themes from the previous five years, several of which are related to his Book of Abraham text. The ideas all have some relevancy to the bereaved. There seems to be no question however, that JS used the occasion to unburden his mind with regard to ideas he felt a need to communicate and to continue his positioning of Mormon beliefs and perhaps draw internal discussion away from the polygamy controversy. While none of the themes are new, some are expanded and some are placed together for the first time. Meanwhile, all are connected in some degree to his yet to be widely distributed temple sacraments/ceremony/instruction. King Follett may be seen as the most profoundly sermonized individual in Mormon history. Follett, never a Mormon public figure, it is perhaps fitting that this is so, since in many ways he personified the rank and file. In that sense, the sermon, and several others that followed it, may be regarded as JS's general eulogy for the faithful.

² The *Times and Seasons* fusion text (TS) was done some weeks after the sermon by Bullock. See Historians Office Journal April 10, 1844 for his assignment to the task. Its basis was Bullock's original notes, expanded by Clayton's notes usually wherever Clayton makes notable additions. Language identical in both accounts is shown in normal black type. It is possible that JS reviewed this version; but his clerks' diaries do not indicate this. This version is on balance perhaps closest to the original speech, though clearly omits many of JS's words – the notes point out some of these omissions. Bullock intended his notes for the press; he made considerable effort to capture both the thought and language of the speaker. This version was reprinted in the MS1 and in VOT. Textual variants in these printings from TS are noted. This account also appears in the ms history of the church, Book E-1, 1959–67. TS was used for the ms history: there are very few differences between the TS and ms history. The Richards history plan suggests that the source is TS. Variations found in the ms history version are noted. Additions to either TS or RC, not found in the source documents, are in **red**. The main text of the pamphlet *Voice of Truth* was complete before June 22, 1844 and was intended as a summary of JS's political views (largely ghostwritten by W. W. Phelps). When JS was murdered, the sheets sat in the printing office until it was decided to send out the pamphlet as a memorial to JS. Printing was finished August 6, 1845. Follett was added as an afterthought, inserted as an appendix by Phelps as “Joseph Smith's Last Sermon;” it does not appear in the table of contents. It does appear on the wrapper. There are some punctuation and capitalization changes from the TS imprint and a few more substantial changes all of which are reflected in Grimshaw's texts, GM0, GM1. What distribution *Voice of Truth* received is unknown but it was wide enough that the *Joseph Smith's Last Sermon* title continued both as reference and assumption for many years (see chapter 1). The *Voice of Truth* is clearly the base text for the Grimshaw text, rather than the TS text. Typographical facsimiles of Clayton, Bullock, JS diary and Woodruff journal reports are found in Appendix E. (On VOT, see Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography*, 1:309-12.)

Occasionally material from the source documents is excluded from subsequent texts of the sermon. Material excluded from the TS version is indicated in the source documents above by *italics*. Since there are two fusion texts (TS and RC), **bold** lettering is used to indicate exclusion from the Grimshaw text alone. Text in **bold italics** marks words excluded from both fusion texts. Determination of what text to designate in this way is necessarily imprecise, but generally if some thought is not reflected in the published texts or there is additional significant wording in the sources, this is shown.

There is of course one issue that is impossible to assess with complete assurance: that is the possibility, even the surety, that in the nineteenth-century printing process, spontaneous variation occurred. Such things as page editing during printing or type faults as the process proceeds can account for variations to which it may be difficult or impossible to assign provenance. Since complete sets of editions (that is, *every* instance of an imprint) almost never exist and would set difficult comparison problems if they did, it is important to identify which printed texts are involved in the apparatus, which I try to do.

³ In 1877 Woodruff noted that he wrote the sermon, resting his writing materials on the brim of his hat. This was almost surely his notes of the sermon, since his diary entry for the sermon shows none of the marks of hurried composition. Hence his reconstruction naturally contained some exact quotations and some paraphrase. Some of the phrases in Woodruff's account are identical to those in other accounts, while many of them differ in verbiage. See Diary of L. John Nuttall, 537 (typescript), LTPSC.

⁴ TS was compiled by Thomas Bullock from his own and Clayton's report in late April 1844. This version was copied into the ms history, but discarded in favor of the Grimshaw text (see notes below). The ms history copy variations from TS are noted in this compilation.

⁵ This is the version (RC) which appears in the ms history as a replacement text for the TS text and was first compiled in 1855 for the history project. Planned and executed by Willard Richards, it was continued by his successor George A. Smith and assistant Wilford Woodruff. Grimshaw worked on the fusion text from October 10 to 15, producing GM0, on which RC is based. GM0 was reviewed and altered by George A. Smith and his assistant, Thomas Bullock to create GM1. GM1 was created by pen and ink, and graphite pencil alterations to GM0, hence GM0 no longer exists, as such. However, a close approximation may be recovered, which we have done elsewhere (see the typographical facsimile reproductions of section 4 noted above). The church historians and their assistants attempted to recreate JS's sermons as best they could, partly by compiling fusions of available sources of the speeches when multiple sources were known. Since Jonathan Grimshaw was not an eye-witness to this discourse, he interleaved the various notes to create the source of RC. Grimshaw's method created a number of odd repetitions in the speech, something to which George A. Smith did not object. Mostly this resulted from the way the Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff notes were included. Richards, more than Woodruff, tended to summarize in short remarks, though he also reports apparently exact phrases. Woodruff often took notes at the sermon and then later transcribed them into his journal, filling in missing material from memory. Woodruff undoubtedly comes much closer to the actual discourse than Willard Richards in terms of bulk and may add a few phrases missed by the other scribes, or inserted ideas he knew JS advocated to flesh out some remarks (see notes below). However, in many cases Woodruff's account is simply in somewhat different words than the others. Grimshaw however often tried to include these as though they were genuinely unique additions. He may have been instructed to do this, and other editors modified his draft further. There are phrases and constructions in the final Grimshaw version which do not appear in any of the four source documents (noted in red print). RC was printed for the first time in the *Deseret News*, July 8, 1857. Some textual variants in published versions are noted, however the systematic study of variations among published texts is found in the materials of section 3.

At the end of Grimshaw's fusion text (RC) in Book E-1 (6:1979) of the Manuscript History of the Church, the following docketing by Leo Hawkins appears and suggests the identity of redactors in this final version:

[Compiled from the four reports by Jonathan Grimshaw; carefully revised and compared by George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock; read in Council Sunday 18 th Nov. 1855, and carefully revised by President Brigham Young.]
Aug. 9th. 1856 B.Y. J.M.G. W.W. L. H

The manuscript history at this point was penned by Robert L. Campbell. The initials B.Y. and J.M.G. refer to Brigham Young and his First Presidency counselor, Jedediah M. Grant, while W. W. and L. H refer to Wilford Woodruff and historical clerk Leo Hawkins. Woodruff was serving as historian in George A. Smith's absence. Grimshaw's original ms with notations by George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock (GM1) is part of the Joseph Smith collection, MS 155, CHL. GM1 variants from RC are noted. See the GM1 typographical facsimile in section 4.

⁶ JS had intended to speak on the subject of King Follett's demise in the initial conference session but was prevented by his own ill health. This conference was unique in that it avoided the typical business of hearing grievances and ecclesiastical complaints brought up from lesser venues, etc. Joseph purposely avoided such procedures in this conference, partly to avoid giving a platform for his critics like William and Wilson Law.

⁷ The word "president" is capitalized in RC here and below.

⁸ The choir consisted of approximately 27 women and 18 men, with choir director Stephen Hezekiah Goddard (1810-1898). Goddard would direct singing in the 1847 Mormon pioneer camp. (Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 43.)

⁹ Comparing the texts, it is clear that while Grimshaw's editors wrote that the 1855 text was compiled from WR, TB, WC and the WW, the VOT (see note 6) was the base text for GM0-1, which in turn was based on the TS. WW and WR were used as supplements for the VOT. There are a few exceptions to this rule, where the original reports of Clayton and Bullock were consulted. These are noted in RC as they occur.

GM1 was modified here by Bullock, by the insertion of the material "being . . . Clayton." The ordering of the sources is clearly based on the hierarchical ranking of the scribes and not the amount of text contributed to the final manuscript. Bullock contributed the largest share to TS, GM0-1, and RC.

¹⁰ The Phelps/Taylor-edited text in *Voice of Truth* (VOT) leaves its first mark on RC: [BELOVED SAINTS: - My subject is the dead; on the decease of our Brother Follett, who was crushed to death in a well; I have been requested]. This and the other variations between the TS text and VOT show that Grimshaw used the VOT as his base text, not TS. See Appendix D or E.