

Andrew Jenson, president of the Scandinavian Mission, 1911. Photograph courtesy Church History Library.

# Around the World a Second Time: The 1912 Travel Writings of Mormon Historian Andrew Jenson

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"I left home January 9, 1909, and returned July 19, 1912; hence I had been away just 3 years, 6 months," Andrew Jenson wrote shortly after arriving home in Salt Lake City following his service as president of the Scandinavian Mission. "During my absence I traveled about 77,690 miles, namely, 47,000 miles by rail, 27,906 by ocean steamers, 370 miles by cabs and other vehicles, 42 miles by row boat, 2 miles by canal boat, 15 miles by sleighs, 230 miles by automobiles, 165 miles on horseback, 67 miles by jinrikishaw and 1893 miles on foot." The longtime LDS Assistant Church Historian further noted that he had given over a thousand public speeches, presented nearly eighty illustrated lectures, and offered about sixty translations for non-Scandinavian-language speakers during his missionary tenure. "I had enjoyed good health nearly all the time I had been away and rejoiced in the success that had attended my labors," Jenson summarized.1 His return to Utah marked the end of his second trip around the world, an accomplishment he highlighted in his personal writings with pride. Jenson believed he was the first Latter-day Saint to achieve this globe-trotting status.<sup>2</sup> The following year Jenson would establish and

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preside over Salt Lake City's "Round the World Club," an organization dedicated to the celebration of the few Utahns who had circumnavigated the globe.<sup>3</sup>

#### Andrew Jenson's First around the World Tour, 1895–1897

Fourteen years earlier, before his appointment as president of the Scandinavian Mission, Jenson was a promising, part-time employee of the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City. In 1895 he received the permission and sponsorship of Church Historian Franklin D. Richards and the First Presidency to travel on a two-year mission to the Church's non–North American missions and branches to collect and preserve Church history. The intrepid Dane departed from Salt Lake City on May 11, 1895, and did not return until June 4, 1897. He made his way by train through the Pacific Northwest until he reached the Pacific coast. From the deepwater Canadian port of Vancouver, he crossed the Pacific Ocean by steamer, eventually arriving in Honolulu, Hawaii. He remained in Hawaii for two months, touring the branches and districts of the Hawaiian Mission. Jenson next boarded a steamer heading to Suva, Fiji, although the islands of Melanesia hosted no Latter-day Saint congregations or missionary outposts. After the Fijian Islands, he toured the Samoan Mission, which at the time comprised the island nations of Samoa and Tonga. New Zealand was next on his itinerary. In a matter of weeks, Jenson came to love the Maori Latter-day Saints and their devotion to the gospel. From New Zealand he traveled east to the Society Islands and French Polynesia. Here, the region of the Church's earliest venture into the Pacific world in 1844, he stayed for nearly two months. Next he went to Australia, where he met with the members and missionaries of the Australasian Mission. After visiting Australia, Jenson made his way to the Middle East via the Indian Ocean. After Cairo and Jerusalem, he made a circular tour of Europe. There he collected Latter-day Saint historical data from England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.<sup>4</sup>

Jenson returned to Utah in early June 1897, twenty-five months after saying good-bye to his loved ones. He had traveled nearly fifty-four thousand miles over land and sea by steamship, schooner, boat, train, carriage, and rickshaw, and on the backs of horses, camels, and donkeys. In addition to his historical labors, he accomplished a great deal of Church work. He delivered more than 230 sermons and discourses, baptized two converts, confirmed eleven new members, blessed six children and eight adults, ordained four men to the priesthood, and set apart one sister. Jenson further logged that he had enjoyed great vigor despite his arduous schedule: "In all my travels I enjoyed good health considering that I had been subject to so many changes in climate and diet, and returned home well satisfied with my labors. I worked hard and was in this respect perhaps more zealous than wise, for I often stuck to my task 16 hours a day."<sup>5</sup>

Jenson hoped that his two years abroad on behalf of the Church Historian's Office would lay the foundation for future historical studies of the global Church. "During my mission I circumnavigated the globe, traveled about 60,000 miles, preached the Gospel on land and on sea, whenever I had the opportunity, and gathered a great deal of historical information, which I trust will prove beneficial and interesting when it is prepared hereafter and incorporated in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the Nineteenth century."<sup>6</sup> Jenson's travels were an unprecedented adventure in Latter-day Saint history. In fact, no member of the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve (or their designee) had visited the isles of the Pacific (with the exception of Hawaii) or the continents of Asia and Australia by the end of the nineteenth century. Since the South African Mission was then closed and the Japan Mission had not yet opened (1901–1924), Jenson became the first Church member to visit all the existing non–North American Latter-day Saint missions.

Jenson's world tour was also a watershed event in Mormon history. After sixty-five years of persecution and decades of exile in the American West, the Church was emerging from the shadows of plural marriage, theocracy, and isolationism and was adopting a new identity as part of the American mainstream and global Christianity. In fact, while Jenson was abroad, the territory of Utah gained American statehood. Up to that point, as historian Richard E. Turley Jr. has pointed out, the Church Historian's Office, which sponsored Jenson's two-year journey, had largely been focused on chronicling the history of Brigham Young and the Mormon colonization of the Great Basin kingdom. "By the end of the century, a great opportunity existed to document and preserve the history of the Church throughout the world," Turley writes, and Jenson would single-handedly jump-start the office's transition from a provincial worldview to a global one.<sup>7</sup>

Jenson's two-year tour of the Church's borderlands also enabled him to later compile the *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, with an entry on every important place in the Latter-day Saint past. While visiting the missionary outposts of the Church in Polynesia, Australasia, the Middle East, and Europe, he trained local Latter-day Saint clerks in proper record-keeping procedures and would, in time, help formalize and standardize Mormon history writing. Jenson's success abroad also solidified and elevated his employment status to full time in the Church Historian's Office, something his previous historical labors had failed to accomplish. On October 19, 1897, four months after his return, the First Presidency called him as Assistant Church Historian, a position he had sought for years. Church members sustained Jenson at the following general conference in April. The significance of this formal calling to Jenson and to the Church cannot be overstated. It provided Jenson and his family with financial security, professional respect, and ecclesiastical support. In return, Jenson devoted the next four decades of his life to gathering and writing Mormon history for the Church, working under Church Historians Franklin D. Richards (1889–1899), Anthon H. Lund (1900–1921), and Joseph Fielding Smith (1921–1970).

#### Andrew Jenson's Scandinavian Mission Presidency, 1909–1912

Jenson was laboring with fellow Scandinavian Anthon H. Lund<sup>8</sup> in the Church Historian's Office in December 1908 when the First Presidency-Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, and Anthon H. Lund-named him as President Søren Rasmussen's successor in the Scandinavian Mission, headquartered in Copenhagen, Denmark. Jenson served admirably in this ecclesiastical capacity from February 1909 until May 1912. As historian Alexander L. Baugh makes clear, Jenson's mission presidency was "remarkably successful" in terms of converts: a total of 1,146 baptisms between the years 1909 and 1911, the highest annual numbers in decades in both Denmark and Norway. He also enjoyed at least five major accomplishments during his presidency. To begin with, Jenson held semiannual conferences throughout Denmark and Norway, enabling him to tour the entire mission and its scattered conferences seven times during his tenure. Moreover, he created a successful lecture program using illustrated slides, which helped spread the gospel throughout Denmark, Norway, and Iceland. Jenson also met with religious, government, and legal leaders to ensure that the Latter-day Saints continued to enjoy religious liberty as they proselytized throughout Scandinavia. During his presidency he oversaw the printing of tens of thousands of tracts, an updated edition of the Pearl of Great Price, and thousands of copies of the Book of Mormon in the local languages. Last, he served as the Mormon representative to the International Peace Congress. In summary, Jenson made a "significant impact and difference" to Church growth in Scandinavia.9 After Jenson had served as mission president for three years, the First Presidency named Norwegian immigrant Martin Christoffersen as his successor. He arrived in Denmark in early April 1912, just in time to join Jenson on his final mission tour.

Still filled with wanderlust and a desire to collect and preserve Church history after his 1895–1897 westward world tour, Jenson decided to circumnavigate the globe the opposite direction by traveling east across

Sweden and Finland to Russia by steamer and then traversing the Russian Empire by railroad. From the eastern Russian port city of Vladivostok he planned to sail across the Sea of Japan and meet up with the leadership and missionaries of the Japan Mission, headquartered in Tokyo. From there he would cross the Pacific, stopping over at the Hawaiian Mission, centered in Honolulu, before his arrival in San Francisco. This ambitious itinerary would allow him to experience parts of Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, areas new to him and the Church. It would also mean more than doubling the distance of his return trip home: the Atlantic route to Utah was about five thousand miles long as the crow flies, while the Pacific route home was nearly eleven thousand miles long. As Jenson said his final good-byes to the Scandinavian Saints, he received an encouraging letter about his missionary labors and forthcoming travels from longtime friend and Apostle Rudger Clawson: "I congratulate you most heartily upon the success of your missionary labors, and trust that your homeward journey, when once undertaken, will be pleasant and profitable to you. You are certainly a 'lucky boy' in having the privilege to go home by way of Russia, Japan, Hawaii, and California. Bro. Clawson wouldn't object to a prospect of that kind."10 Not even the members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had ever enjoyed this kind of travel opportunitynone of them had ever circumnavigated the globe once, let alone twice, a feat Jenson set out to accomplish.

On May 12, 1912, Jenson preached his final sermon as mission president to the Danish Saints in Copenhagen. "My last testimony before leaving my field of labor seemed to make a deep impression upon my hearers. I was subjected to a handshaking that nearly paralyzed my right arm. Much love and good feeling were manifested."<sup>11</sup> He spent the next two days packing his bags and reading for his trip to Russia and beyond, until he was joined by Elder Peter Christian Rasmussen, who had been laboring in the Aarhus Conference and would accompany Jenson home to Utah.

A word about Jenson's traveling companion seems in order. Elder Rasmussen, born on June 7, 1856, at Gronfeldt, Denmark, was the son of Rasmus Rasmussen and Bertha Maria Pedersen. He married Mette Marie Jensen on August 9, 1880, and together they had eighteen children. He joined the Church in April 1882, when he was baptized by A. C. Nelson, and was ordained a teacher in the Aaronic Priesthood that same year by Lars Svendsen. He was later ordained to the office of Seventy by Richard Ballantyne and as a high priest by Joseph F. Smith. He and his family immigrated to Utah in 1883 and settled in Draper. Between 1893 and 1895 Rasmussen served as a missionary in the Scandinavian Mission, spending most of his time in Norway, after which he was called to a bishopric in Draper. In 1910 he was called to serve again as a missionary in the Scandinavian Mission, where he labored for about twenty months, presiding over the Christiania Conference in Norway and the Aarhus Conference in Denmark.<sup>12</sup> Jenson and Rasmussen would travel together for the next two months.

After bidding the Saints farewell in Copenhagen, the two Latter-day Saints sailed for Malmo, Sweden, aboard the steamer *Sverige*. From there they took a train to Stockholm, where they exchanged their Danish currency for Russian rubles and purchased their train tickets to St. Petersburg, Russia. They also visited the grounds of the 1912 Summer Olympics, which were then in progress, and toured the Swedish Royal Library, where they noted the titles of anti-Mormon publications for the Church Historian's Office back in Utah. Then they boarded the Finnish steamer *Döbeln* and sailed along the Swedish archipelago as they crossed the Baltic Sea. Their steamer stopped at two Finnish ports, then under Russian control, before continuing eastward toward Russia.<sup>13</sup>

On May 20, the two Mormon travelers cruised into Russian waters near the head of the Gulf of Finland. Neither man had ever been in the Russian Empire before. Jenson recorded, "As we sailed eastward, vessels became more numerous and we passed several islands. At 5:00 o'clock we passed the city and fortifications of Kronstadt, where numerous Russian battleships were anchored. The strongly fortified islands drew our special attention." Blessed with pleasant late spring weather, they were impressed with the sights they encountered. They disembarked at St. Petersburg, the imperial capital of Russia from 1713 to 1728 and from 1732 to 1918 and the country's westernmost city. "We approached St. Petersburg through a beautiful and unique canal and sailed up the river Neva, anchoring near the Nicolai Bridge," Jenson wrote.<sup>14</sup> After showing their passports to Russian customs officials, they made their way to the Hotel du Nord but discovered it was too expensive and instead checked into a more affordable room at 51 Newsky Prospective.

Jenson and Rasmussen spent the next day and a half touring the sites of St. Petersburg, one of Europe's most beautiful cities. They marveled at the beauty of Saint Isaac's Cathedral, the grandest Russian Orthodox house of worship in the city, constructed between 1818 and 1858. And they toured the Peter and Paul Fortress, the city's first citadel, built from 1706 to 1740, which guards the Neva River. They also crossed the Trinity Bridge, which connects Kamennoostrovsky Prospect with Suvorovskaya Square, the city's third permanent bridge, constructed between 1897 and 1903. They walked within a city block of the Summer Garden, where Apostle Francis M. Lyman had dedicated the Russian Empire for the preaching of the gospel in 1903, just nine years earlier, but apparently had not stopped by the location.<sup>15</sup>

Although the First Presidency never formally called missionaries to Russia between 1903 and 1914, the beginning of World War I, a few European members and missionaries made evangelistic forays into the region with little success. The faithful, converted family of Johan Lindelöf lived in St. Petersburg until 1918, with no other Latter-day Saint companionship. As former president of the neighboring Scandinavian Mission, Jenson was almost certainly aware of the Lindelöfs but seemingly made no effort to visit them while in St. Petersburg, unlike other mission leaders who sought out the family in September 1912 and August 1914.<sup>16</sup>

Just days after their arrival in Russia's European capital, Jenson and Rasmussen felt compelled to continue their journey east. Once again they packed their bags, checked out of their room, and made their way to the central train station. There they purchased their train and steamer tickets (each ticket cost 137 rubles total) to get them all the way to Japan on the Trans-Siberian Railway. Jenson noted with relief that "they managed to find the right train and got on board without much trouble. My limited knowledge of German helped me wonderfully during our travels through Russia." The two men traveled in second-class railcars to Moscow, about four hundred miles to the southeast of St. Petersburg. "Between St. Petersburg and Moscow we saw many small towns where nearly all the houses were small wooden structures and the whole appearance of the country indicated poverty. We also crossed several rivers which nearly everywhere had overflown their banks, and placed many towns more or less under water," Jenson recorded.<sup>17</sup> When they arrived in Moscow, they found lodging at the Hotel Metropole, paying five rubles per night for their room.

Like spectacular St. Petersburg earlier that week, modern Moscow was a revelation to the two Latter-day Saint tourists. There they spent the next two days sightseeing and making preparations for their continued Trans-Siberian Railway journey. Like most travelers, they made their way to the historic Kremlin in the heart of Moscow. "Our visit there became so much more interesting by our meeting a polite young lawyer (Alexander Wilenkine) who could talk English. He took pains to explain many things to us about the Kremlin and conditions in Russia," Jenson wrote. "As we met him in the great court building within the walls of the Kremlin, he took us into a large court room where judge and jury entered to render an important decision, and then he took pains to tell us something about Russian jurisprudence which he in some respects thought superior to our American system." The duo also toured the Grand Kremlin Palace, the tsar's residence in Moscow. They enjoyed the tourist sites of Cathedral Square, which is enclosed by six buildings, including the Cathedral of the Dormition, the Cathedral of the Annunciation, and the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael. Later they toured the Novodevichy Convent, a well-known religious cloister built in the seventeenth century, just as a Russian Orthodox funeral was beginning.

Jenson described witnessing the "orthodox Greek Church priests chant and pray, clad in their rather handsome white robes. A chorus of nuns sang and chanted after the priests. The graveyard and church buildings as well as the dwellings containing the cells of the nuns and the houses of the priests were very attractive." Then they visited the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, "one of the most beautiful and costly buildings in the world."<sup>18</sup> Both men left Moscow impressed.

#### **Trans-Siberian Railway Journey**

On the evening of May 24, Jenson and Rasmussen made their way to Moscow's bustling Kursky Station and departed on board the Trans-Siberian Railway bound for Siberia to the east. Jenson wrote, "It was most interesting to watch from the car windows the disappearance of Moscow as we were carried away from it; at last, looking back over the immense plain upon which Moscow is situated we could see nothing but the towers of the Kremlin and the domes and spires of the many other churches."<sup>19</sup> Over the next twelve days the two travelers rode in train carriages across the breadth of Russia, as well as parts of China and Manchuria, until they reached the Pacific Ocean port city of Vladivostok on June 5. Had they purchased their tickets earlier, they could have completed the entire trip in nine days on an express train, a fact they would lament in the coming weeks. The Mormon travelers had reserved sleeping bunks in their compartment, and together with the warmth of blankets and coats, they slept comfortably at night. They rode in a second-class railway car, which was divided into six compartments holding four passengers each. Their seat backs could be folded down at night, turning the area into a series of upper and lower berths that accommodated four people comfortably. But all passengers were expected to bring their own bedclothes and blankets.<sup>20</sup>

Jenson and Rasmussen, like other passengers of the Trans-Siberian Railway, were also expected to purchase or pack their own meals for the entire twelve-day journey. "At nearly every station, when the train stopped, women, standing behind long tables, were at their post, and as soon as the train stopped the passengers engaged in a race with each other for supplies," Jenson wrote. Food staples, including eggs, milk, bread, cheese, and meats were sold at all of the major train stations by local vendors. The Mormon travelers regularly ate hot soup with bread, which they could purchase cheaply. Meals were typically consumed in their train compartment because the train rarely stopped for long as it continued pushing eastward day and night. Jenson described, "We ate at least three times a day and, as our appetites were good, we ate with relish, thanks to the hot water so easily obtained en route."<sup>21</sup>

As they were cooped up in their train cars, except at short stops in major cities along the way, Jenson took careful note of the company they were keeping. Their fellow travelers were often an invaluable source of information for Jenson's personal writings, and they helped pass the tedium of train travel through casual conversation. Out of Moscow they shared a train compartment with an English-speaking Russian who generously offered commentary as they traveled. When they arrived in Novo-Hikolavski a female traveler joined them. "Here a young woman (a Russian) was ushered into our compartment and though at first we looked upon her as an intrusion, she afterwards became good company for us, as she was sociable and talkative, and she could speak a few words of English. She traveled with us to Irkursk and we missed her very much when she had left us."22 At another stop Jenson and Rasmussen were joined by a more cosmopolitan group: "We began to neighbor with a Russian student, who could talk German, and a Chinaman who could talk a little English and also an elderly Russian drummer who could talk German."23 On a later date, they shared their cabin with a polyglot gentleman: "Mr. A. H. Hofschneyder, who could talk English, German, Greek, Italian and Russian. He was quite sociable and told us many things about the country through which we traveled, some of which, however, may have been exaggerated. But we were thankful for his company," Jenson noted.<sup>24</sup> A low point in their travels was the night they had to share their sleeping compartment with a father, his son, and their dog.<sup>25</sup>

As they continued their travels east, Jenson and Rasmussen noted a change in the ethnic makeup of their fellow travelers and the surrounding populace. "The population in this part of Russia was mainly composed of Tartars of the Mohammedan faith. . . . After our English-speaking friend left us, we made the most of a fine young Siberian student who could speak about as much German as I could. We could discover neither Americans, Germans or Englishmen on our long train. This, of course, made the journey less interesting for us."26 A day later they passed through Samara as they began climbing toward the Ural Mountains to the east. As they plunged farther east into the heart of Russia, the two Americans could understand less and less because of the linguistic barrier. "We were getting used to Russian methods and Russian food, but could not get accustomed to the language. By some effort I began to read the Russian characters or letters, so that I could use my Russian time table and notice the names of the stations as we passed along," Jenson described. "Since we left Merchansk we had been only three in our compartment, but tonight a Tartar slept with us as a fourth man; he could neither speak English nor German, but we talked with him by signs."27 One can only imagine how tedious it was to travel in the same carriage hour after hour with men and women with whom they could not converse.

In addition to learning from and enjoying the company of their ever-changing travel companions, Jenson and Rasmussen were also protected by them while traveling through the totalitarian Russian and Chinese Empires. For example, when their train arrived in Harbin, Jenson toured the Chinese city and took notes in his journal, as was his custom as a historian. "I walked into the commercial part of the city and witnessed many things that greatly interested me. In the course of a few years Harbin has grown from an insignificant Chinese village to a city of 50,000 inhabitants," Jenson described. "It is perhaps, at present, as wicked a city as can be found on earth. Robberies, theft, and murders occur almost daily. Even the Russian soldiers cannot, with their iron rule, keep order in that city. There were some fine modern buildings in Harbin, but most of the houses were low one-story edifices and the bulk of the inhabitants Chinese." Their new railway acquaintance, Belgian Consul Wilfrid Grosjean, warned Jenson that Russian officials were watching him, suspicious that his note taking might be military espionage. In fact, the Belgian diplomat interceded on behalf of the Mormon travelers, preventing their arrest. "My friend explained that I was an American journalist, making notes for his paper, and that I was absolutely harmless as far as the Russian government was concerned. Upon the consul promising that he would be responsible for me, the officer dropped the matter. I had been taking notes at the time without thinking of giving offense to Russians, but after this little episode I was very careful about writing when anybody saw me."28 Given the military and political strains in the region between the Russians, Chinese, and even Japanese, the two Mormons were lucky to avoid prosecution.

Spectacular scenery and an occasional natural landmark of a lake or mountain formation marked the long days. They passed one manmade highlight as they summited the Ural Mountains, the ridge that traditionally separated the two bordering continents of Europe and Asia geographically: "A stone pyramid with the inscription 'Europe' on one side and 'Asia' on the other stands on the summit about 2,500 feet above sea level. From this summit we noticed a mountain top on our left, where there was a wireless telegraph station from which messages were sent to St. Petersburg, and as far as Vladivostok. A snow-capped range of mountains was noticed on our right," Jenson described. "From the Ural we descended upon the great Siberian plain known as the steppes, where grass was plentiful but trees scarce. The plains seemed to be as endless as the sky above it."29 On June 5, after twelve days of continuous railroad travel (the only break being their sixteen-hour stopover in Manchuria), Jenson and Rasmussen crossed over from Manchurian to Russian territory again. That afternoon their train passed near the Uglovoi Bay on the Pacific Ocean in eastern Russia, a sight for sore eyes, and that evening the weary travelers arrived at the train station in Vladivostok, Russia,

"thankful indeed that our long and somewhat tedious railway journey was at last ended."<sup>30</sup>

Since leaving St. Petersburg on May 22, they had traveled a total of 8,740 miles by rail. They boarded that night at Vladivostok's Grand Hotel. The next morning they awoke and made their way to the harbor to confirm their tickets to Tsuruga, a Japanese city across the Sea of Japan, on the Russian steamer *Penza*. "We next called at the American consulate, our attention being drawn to it by an American flag floating in the breeze in front of a large building; there we had a pleasant conversation with a Mr. Newhart belonging to the consulate," Jenson wrote. "It afforded us much satisfaction to have the opportunity to converse freely with an American in good English, a privilege that we had not enjoyed since we left the Elders in Stockholm. And then to see good 'Old Glory' in this far-off corner of the globe!" They spent the rest of the morning sightseeing in the streets of Vladivostok.<sup>31</sup>

### **Collecting and Preserving Japanese Church History**

The two Latter-day Saint travelers shared a large stateroom with nine other passengers on board the Penza for the two-day crossing of the Sea of Japan, including several Russians, a Frenchman, and an Austrian with whom Jenson conversed in German. Jenson and Rasmussen finally saw the mountainous, western coastline of Japan as they pulled into Tsuruga Bay. Once inside the safety of the harbor, they disembarked from the Penza by a small steam launch that whisked them to the Japanese wharf. After passing through government customs inspections, the two Latter-day Saints made their way to the main railroad station located a few miles from the seacoast. "This was the second time I rode in a jinrikisha (a two-wheeled cart propelled by human instead of horse flesh), and we found this way of locomotion at least interesting." Jenson continued, "In passing thus through the town of Tsuruga, following some of its main thoroughfares, we got a pretty good idea of a Japanese town."32 There they purchased their secondclass tickets and then traveled by railroad eastward through mountainous country, passing Lake Biwa and the city of Maibara, where they changed to the Shimbashi Express train bound for Tokyo.

Like most first-time travelers to Japan, Jenson was impressed by his first sight of Mount Fuji, "the so-called Sacred Mountain of Japan," which rises over twelve thousand feet above sea level. He was likewise surprised by how dissimilar the Land of the Rising Sun was from Eastern Europe and Northern Asia, which he had just traversed. "Everything that we saw and witnessed in Japan was so different from Russia that it seemed as if we suddenly had dropped into a new or different world. . . . The clattering of wooden-bottomed slippers on the feet of the natives at the stations, and the cries of vendors of wares at the stations were deafening, and yet it was very amusing indeed to see these little Japs imitate the Anglo-Saxons in dress, manners and general deportment. Throughout, these Japs that we met on that journey seemed extremely obliging and courteous, and quite a number of the men could speak English."<sup>33</sup> After years in occidental Scandinavia, Jenson encountered the novelty of the Orient.

After a long day of travel, Jenson and Rasmussen finally arrived at Shimbashi Station in Tokyo, about 315 miles from the harbor of Tsuruga. Thinking ahead, they had telegraphed the mission home that morning before boarding the train, alerting the mission president of their pending arrival. Elbert D. Thomas, president of the Japan Mission, accompanied by one missionary and one Japanese member, met the weary travelers that night at the station. "We were overjoyed indeed to see these our dear brethren, as it was dark, and it would have been a most difficult problem to find our way anywhere alone," Jenson recalled.<sup>34</sup> The five Latter-day Saints traveled by streetcar to the mission home located at 81, Yakuojimae-Machi, Ushigome Ku, Tokyo, which Jenson described as "a comfortable and attractive building, erected in foreign style." Upon their arrival, several American missionaries as well as President Thomas's wife, Edna, greeted them. "The cordial reception given us made us feel at home at once," Jenson wrote.<sup>35</sup>

When Jenson conducted his earlier world tour in the mid-1890s, he did not pass through Japan, as there was not yet a Mormon member or missionary presence there. In fact, he did not visit any of the nations of East Asia—Japan, China, or Korea-at that time, instead touring Mormon outposts scattered throughout Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australasia in the Pacific. President Brigham Young had sent several missionaries to China in 1853, but their mission was short-lived and unsuccessful. The Taiping Rebellion was raging at the time, and the three missionaries struggled with the Chinese language, culture, and weather in Hong Kong, where they labored until discouragement drove them back to Utah. Japan was closed to outsiders for much of the nineteenth century until the reforms of the Meiji era. President Lorenzo Snow would not send Apostle Heber J. Grant and a small band of missionaries to Japan until the summer of 1901. By the time Jenson and Rasmussen arrived in Tokyo in June 1912, missionaries had been evangelizing in Japan for eleven years. Thomas was the mission's third president, succeeding Alma O. Taylor, who had completed the translation of the Book of Mormon into Japanese two years earlier.36

The two visitors lodged in the Tokyo mission home over the next eight nights. On their first Sabbath morning in the non-Christian nation, Jenson and Rasmussen attended Sunday School services at the mission home. Unable to converse with the Japanese congregants, they "listened with interest to what was going on, though we could not understand the language used." That afternoon they participated in sacrament meeting, where both men spoke, aided by missionary interpreters, and that evening they joined the missionaries at a public meeting attended by about thirty people. "We enjoyed the day, though we could not converse with the people, with the exception of a few who could talk a little English. In being introduced to the different members and friends after the meetings, we noticed the awkwardness of some of the natives in shaking hands, a custom with which the Japanese do not seem to be acquainted. They simply bow to each other when they greet one another, and hardly touch each other," Jenson explained. "Our Sunday in Japan was a new experience to us indeed."<sup>37</sup> The two visitors came to appreciate how different and difficult it was to evangelize the non-Western and non-Christian Japanese in comparison with Western Europeans.

With only a week before their departure to the Hawaiian Islands, Jenson and Rasmussen busied themselves with sightseeing and Church history work in Tokyo. That Monday they traveled about twenty miles south to Yokohama to arrange for their steamer passage home on the Toyo Kisen Kaisha's Tenyo Maru. Tickets in hand, the LDS group rode jinrikishas to the hills of Yokohama in the foreigner quarter, where Apostle Heber J. Grant (in the presence of missionaries Alma O. Taylor, Louis A. Kelsch, and Horace S. Ensign) had dedicated Japan for the preaching of the gospel on September 1, 1901, eleven years earlier.<sup>38</sup> Jenson recalled, "Since that time this spot has been looked upon as sacred and has frequently been visited by Elders. We all three engaged in prayer and felt the presence of God's Holy Spirit. I prayed first and was followed by Elders Rasmussen and Thomas. We almost shed tears of joy, as we prayed earnestly and sincerely for the success of the Japanese Mission and for ourselves and families in Zion."<sup>39</sup> The men then strolled through the Bluff District, where foreigners traditionally lived, and enjoyed the view of Yokohama Harbor below before returning to Tokyo by jinrikisha, train, and streetcar.

They spent the next few days at the mission home perusing Church records, taking notes, and writing letters and postcards to loved ones in America. One evening Jenson helped teach an English class to Japanese students with one of the missionaries. "There were nearly thirty intelligent students present who listened attentively to my little speech on proper living and practical Christianity, advising the natives to copy the virtues, but not the vices of the whites," Jenson recorded. "I was becoming quite interested in the Japanese people." President Thomas also guided them around the famous sites of Tokyo, where they purchased souvenirs for family and friends in Utah. They also visited Buddhist temples, Asakusa Park, the Imperial Palace, and

Ueno Park, all must-see tourist attractions. "Tokyo is a great city and by far the most unique of all the large cities of the world that I ever visited," Jenson wrote. "It is said to cover an area of nearly 10 miles square, and to contain two and one-half million inhabitants. The streets are nearly all narrow and crooked, but order and politeness seem to be the rule everywhere." They later visited the traditional Japanese home of Sister Saigo, a beloved convert. One evening Jenson was again moved by the generosity and refinement of the Japanese: "She and her mother and brother treated us royally, though we had to sit on mats spread on the floor while eating and being entertained with music by some native instruments that jarred our senses very much, and yet with the Japanese it was supposed to be classic and fine music, so the time passed pleasantly. Altogether this was a 'red letter day' in our travels."<sup>40</sup>

Jenson spent that Friday, late into the night and into Saturday morning, collecting and documenting the Mormon past at the mission home with President Thomas, "culling from the missionary journal such important items which I thought would be wanted for Church history." Following lunchtime, Jenson and Rasmussen traveled with other Latter-day Saints to watch several of the missionaries, including the mission president, play competitive baseball with Japanese players. Several Mormons had joined the Tokyo-American Baseball Team to better integrate into the foreigner community and thereby mingle with higher class Japanese who appreciated western sports. Jenson wrote, "There were six innings played, and the game throughout was well played and interesting. Among the audience were three princes of the royal blood—as far as we could learn, grandchildren of the present Emperor of Japan. Sister Thomas and Brother Rasmussen and I had seats immediately behind the princes." When they returned that evening for supper at the mission home, Sister Nachie Ei, a longtime Japanese convert, gave them a present and fed them a delicious Japanese meal, which the visitors ate "the regular Japanese way" with chopsticks.41

After nine days in Japan, it was time for Jenson and Rasmussen to sail for the United States. On their final Sabbath, they said farewell and concluded their sightseeing; neither man would ever visit Japan again. "We arose quite early to make ready for our departure, but before we got away the Sunday School children had gathered to the number of fifty or more, and we said good-bye to them in the Japanese way by bowing quite deeply," Jenson recorded. "The children answered in concert by saying 'sayonara,' repeating it several times before we left the premises. It made a deep impression upon us."<sup>42</sup> As was his custom when traveling abroad, Jenson distributed his personal photo cards as a keepsake for the local Saints. Taking leave of the Sunday School children, Jenson and Rasmussen traveled with President Thomas by streetcar to the Tokyo foreigner quarter, where they stopped to see the Hotel

Metropole, where Apostle Heber J. Grant and his initial three missionaries had lived when they arrived in Japan in 1901. The men also visited St. Luke's Hospital to check on a missionary convalescing there from a recent surgery.

From the hospital they made their way to "the most elaborate Buddha temple in Tokyo." Jenson made note that "unlike all other temples that we have seen this was a clean one. In other Buddha temples that we had entered, pigeons were allowed full sway, but all birds were kept out of this one." At this point Sister Thomas joined them at the Shimbashi Station, and the group departed by train for Yokohama harbor to the south. Upon their arrival, they traveled by jinrikishas to the steamer Tenyo Maru, which Jenson and Rasmussen were ticketed to board that afternoon bound for Honolulu, Hawaii. Both men were impressed with the Japanese steamer, which enabled them to travel in great comfort.<sup>43</sup> The group ate lunch aboard the ship, and President and Sister Thomas finally bade the two travelers farewell before suppertime. But due to a low tide in the Yokohama harbor, their departure was delayed several hours. Finally they steamed from the coast of Japan and eastward into the Pacific Ocean. "The evening being cloudy and misty we did not enjoy the scenery as we sailed out as much as we would have done had the day been clear," Jenson lamented.44

## **Homeward Bound**

Their 2,500-mile steamer journey between Japan and the Hawaiian Islands proved rather uneventful. At dinner time they had the chance to peruse newspapers, which updated them on world news headlines. The weather alternated between cloudy and sunny during their trip across the Pacific. As was often his habit, Jenson chronicled much around him that he observed. There were 926 passengers on board the steamer, including a few Japanese, clergymen, military men, and physicians. Most appeared to Jenson to be wealthy pleasure cruisers. He further noted that the young adults danced each evening on the upper deck. "Some of the passengers were continually reading, others promenading the decks, again others playing deck games, some playing cards, others conversing, a few courting, many smoking, and a number drinking," Jenson wrote. "The ship was one of the most comfortable and convenient that I had ever traveled on. There was almost everything imaginable to make life pleasant on board."45 Each day, at the signal of the cook's gong, they gathered for breakfast in the dining hall at 8:30 a.m., broth at 11:00 a.m., tea at 4:00 p.m., dinner at 7:00 p.m. and supper at 10:00 p.m.

Jenson spent most of his days reading and writing, as was his custom. He noted some additional interesting entertainment in the form of thirty Japanese sumo wrestlers, naked except for traditional waistcloths and loincloths, which entertained the crowd with their antics and showmanship. They also played games and watched "moving pictures" on the upper deck. Jenson also noted the gambling that went on among his fellow passengers as they bet daily on how many nautical miles the ship would make each day. Finally they crossed the International Date Line, giving them back a day at sea. During their first Sunday on the Pacific Ocean, the two Mormons attended the Christian worship service in the dining saloon. There Reverend J. N. Mills, of Evanston, Illinois, preached to the mixed congregation. "He was a broad-minded man on some points. Referring to the newly organized Christian Church of China, he said though it might be different to the Church (Presbyterian) that he represented, it might perhaps be just as good, perhaps even better," Jenson wrote. "I agreed with his statement, as one man-made church might be just as good as another and even better."<sup>46</sup>

As they neared Honolulu, Jenson sent a short wireless telegram to President Samuel E. Woolley of the Hawaiian Islands Mission, which read: "Please meet me at Honolulu Monday morning with mission records after 1895." (Seventeen years earlier, in 1895, Jenson had toured the Hawaiian Mission while on his first around the world tour of Church history sites and congregations, gathered up all of the records there, and sent them to the Church Historian's Office.<sup>47</sup>) Soon the Tenyo Maru was steaming between the Hawaiian Islands of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau. All of the passengers prepared to land in the Honolulu Harbor on the south coast of the island of O'ahu. Once again, Jenson and Rasmussen joined the crowds as they were inspected and questioned by health inspectors and customs officers before being cleared to go ashore. The two men went on foot straight to the LDS conference house on Punch Bowl Street, where the Latter-day Saints warmly welcomed them. "After meeting with many dear friends, some being Hawaiians, Elder Ernest L. Miner, president of the Honolulu Conference, accompanied Bro. Rasmussen and me to the top of the mountain called Punch Bowl from which we enjoyed a most glorious sunset as 'King Sol' was disappearing behind the rugged heights of the Oahu mountains beyond Pearl Harbor," he wrote.48 After supper the two visitors joined a number of local Saints and missionaries in downtown Honolulu for music and fun before returning to their steamer cabins for bed that evening.

But their tropical stopover was short-lived. After only one day in the Hawaiian Islands, Jenson and Rasmussen, along with their fellow passengers, steamed out of the Honolulu Harbor for San Francisco, 2,100 miles to the east. During their final Pacific leg, they remembered the sixty-eighth anniversary of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (June 27). They continued to pass the time reading, writing, and playing games, including checkers. As they headed north, the weather began to cool. On their second Sabbath crossing the

Pacific Ocean, the two Latter-day Saints again attended the ship's Protestant religious service, this time led by a former Church of England missionary and schoolteacher in Japan named Mr. Parshley. "He preached a sermon with considerable oratorical ability on the unifying powers of Christianity—a sermon suited to the taste of most of the listeners. He reviewed the condition of the world, but failed to mention any method whereby it could be improved only that Christianity could do it, but how and by whom he did not say. After the services I conversed with a Catholic Priest, a Rev. Shiel, on religious subjects and we agreed on many points."<sup>49</sup>

By the first of July, less than a week since leaving the harbor of Honolulu, they sighted the Californian coastline and were escorted through the Golden Gate by a pilot boat. Once again they passed through health inspections and landed at the wharf in the San Francisco harbor. That afternoon the two men traveled to the office of the San Francisco Conference and met Elder Heber J. Hatch, the president there, along with several of his missionaries. The following day Jenson received a telegram from his wife Bertha, son Harold, and daughter Eva, who had traveled to the Bay Area for a family reunion. The Jenson family spent the next few days touring the sights of San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley before departing by train for Los Angeles.

While in Southern California, they recreated on Santa Catalina Island, toured Venice Beach, and socialized with Church President Joseph F. Smith and his wife and daughters, including Martha (who was being courted by Jenson's son Harold) in Ocean Park, California. "Pres. Smith bade me a hearty welcome and we spent the afternoon and part of the evening very pleasantly together," Jenson noted. They also met up with Apostle George Albert Smith and his family and other families from Utah vacationing in the beach towns of Southern California. But Jenson was never one to only play and not work: "During my visit in California I spent considerable time working on the mission records in Los Angeles, as well as doing considerable sight seeing."<sup>50</sup>

#### Home Again at Last

After enjoying two and a half weeks of California sunshine, the Jenson family left Los Angeles by train bound for Utah. Two days later they arrived in Salt Lake City, where Jenson "found everything in good condition." Over three years had passed since he had last spent time in Utah. During his first days back in the Beehive State, Jenson visited the offices of the Danish *Bikuben* newspaper, the Church Historian, and the First Presidency. He "was also bid welcome home by a number of former friends and associates whom I met on the street." On the surface not much had changed since his departure

for Scandinavia in 1909. Several new buildings had been constructed in his absence, including the "magnificent" Hotel Utah, on the prominent corner of Main Street and South Temple Street, and the Deseret Gymnasium, located on Main Street and North Temple Street. "Otherwise everything looked familiar to me in the 'land of Zion,' and I was glad to be home once more to meet family, neighbors and friends."<sup>51</sup>

There had been some changes, however, at the Church Historian's Office in Jenson's absence, which distressed him. Church leaders had promoted newcomer A. William Lund, the son of Church Historian and First Presidency member Anthon H. Lund, to be an additional Assistant Church Historian during the April 1911 General Conference. This was news to Jenson, who had labored for nearly a decade, including his earlier two-year trip around the world to collect and preserve Church history, before being named to the same position in 1897. (Lund would go on to serve as Assistant Church Historian for almost sixty years, until his death in 1971, three decades after Jenson's own passing in 1941.<sup>52</sup>) This would not be the last time in his career that Jenson assumed that personnel decisions in the Church Historian's Office were made as much by relation as they were by revelation.<sup>53</sup>

Distressed by seeming office politics and a cramped workspace layout, Jenson waited a week before returning to his office there and demanded that some changes be made to his workstation: "On July 30th I commenced laboring again at the Historian's Office. Objecting to going back into my small ill-shaped room which I had occupied before going on my mission, my desk was placed in the southwest corner of the largest room in the Historian's Office, where the air and light were good."<sup>54</sup> After many years of incomparable service as a historian, Jenson craved respect and sunlight.

That December Jenson contemplated his eventful year, especially the completion of his Scandinavian mission presidency and second circle of the world. "The year 1912 was, like many of its predecessors, an eventful one to me, and witnessed, among other things, my second trip around the world, my first circumnavigation of the globe having taken place in 1895–1897," he reflected. "I felt thankful for the blessings bestowed upon me by my Heavenly Father, in that I had been permitted to return home in safety from a mission of three years and a half to a foreign land and that at the end of the year my family circle was unbroken, all being in good health and through the blessings of the Lord in comfortable circumstances."<sup>55</sup> Soon Jenson was back putting in long hours to collect, preserve, and share Church history, with characteristic vigor and stamina. The following spring, on May 15, 1923, he would found the Round the World Club with six other Utahns. For many years they would meet each quarter and regale each other with their stories of global adventures and exotic travels.<sup>56</sup> Although Jenson would continue to travel domestically to

the North American stakes of Zion and would take an extended trip to Latin America in 1923,<sup>57</sup> he would never again travel around the world. He would have to be content with having circumnavigated the globe twice, something few Latter-day Saints could even fathom accomplishing in their lifetimes.

#### Notes

1. Andrew Jenson, Autobiography of Andrew Jenson, Assistant Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 510. Prefacing his travelogue, Jenson explained, "The following is a day by day account of the travels through Finland, Russia, Manchuria, Japan, Hawaii and California to Salt Lake City, Utah, culled from my private journal." See Andrew Jenson, Journals, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2. Jenson, Supplement to Church Chronology, 1906–13, July 19, 1912, 53.

3. Andrew Jenson, "Round the World Club Papers, 1913–1935," MS 2465, Church History Library. See Jenson, *Autobiography*, 513–14.

4. This and the following paragraphs on Jenson's first world tour come from the introduction to *Tales from the World Tour: The 1895–1897 Travel Writings of Mormon Historian Andrew Jenson*, ed. Reid L. Neilson and Riley M. Moffat (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2012), 1–11

5. Jenson, Autobiography, 387.

6. Andrew Jenson, "Jenson's Travels," Deseret Weekly News, February 19, 1898.

7. Richard E. Turley Jr., "Gathering Latter-day Saint History in the Pacific," in *Pioneers in the Pacific: Memory, History, and Cultural Identity among the Latter-day Saints*, ed. Grant Underwood (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005), 148.

8. For more on Lund's tenure as Church Historian, including his relationship with Andrew Jenson, see Jennifer L. Lund, "Anthon H. Lund, Faithful Historian," unpublished paper, copy in possession of author; and Jennifer L. Lund, "Out of the Swan's Nest: The Ministry of Anthon H. Lund, Scandinavian Apostle," *Journal of Mormon History* 29, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 77–105.

9. Alexander L. Baugh, "Defending Mormonism: The Scandinavian Mission Presidency of Andrew Jenson, 1909–1912," in *Go Ye into All the World: The Growth and Development of Mormon Missionary Work*, ed. Reid L. Neilson and Fred E. Woods (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2012), 528–33. See Andrew Jenson to Rudger Clawson, in "President Andrew Jenson's Release," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 74, no. 24 (May 30, 1912): 348–49.

10. Jenson, Autobiography, 494.

11. Jenson, Autobiography, 494.

12. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Company, 1901–36), 2:108; 3:699.

13. Jenson, Autobiography, 495-96.

14. Jenson, Autobiography, 496.

15. See Kahlile B. Mehr, "The 1903 Dedication of Russia for Missionary Work," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986/1987): 110–23; and Joseph J. Cannon, "Praying in St. Petersburg for the Land of Russia," *Millennial Star* 65, no. 34 (August 20, 1903): 530.

16. Kahlile B. Mehr, Mormon Missionaries Enter Eastern Europe (Provo, UT:

Brigham Young University Press: Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 28-36.

17. Jenson, Autobiography, 497.

18. Jenson, Autobiography, 497.

19. Jenson, Autobiography, 498.

20. Jenson, Autobiography, 498.

21. Jenson, Autobiography, 499.

22. Jenson, Autobiography, 499.

23. Jenson, Autobiography, 500.

24. Jenson, *Autobiography*, 502. 25. Jenson, *Autobiography*, 501.

26. Jenson, Autobiography, 301.

20. Jenson, Autobiography, 498

27. Jenson, Autobiography, 498.

28. Jenson, Autobiography, 501-02.

29. Jenson, Autobiography, 499.

30. Jenson, Autobiography, 502.

31. Jenson noted the time change between Copenhagen, Denmark, and Vladivostok, Russia: "Before we sailed I regulated my watch setting it according to local time. I had retained St. Petersburg time since I left that city and found on arriving at Vladivostok that my watch was 6 hours and 46 minutes behind local time. In other words, when the clock shows 12 noon in St. Petersburg it is 9:46 p. m. of the same day in Vladivostok. The difference of time between St. Petersburg and Copenhagen is 1 hour and 11 minutes, and consequently there is a difference of 7 hours and 57 minutes between Copenhagen and Vladivostok. Hence, since leaving Copenhagen we had traveled nearly one third the distance around the globe. Another one-third would bring us home to Salt Lake City." Jenson, *Autobiography*, 503.

32. Jenson, Autobiography, 503.

33. Jenson, Autobiography, 504.

34. Jenson, Autobiography, 504.

35. Jenson, Autobiography, 504.

36. For histories of Mormon growth in Japan, see Reid L. Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan, 1901–1924* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010); and Reid L. Neilson and Van C. Gessel, eds., *Taking the Gospel to the Japanese, 1901–2001* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2006).

37. Jenson, Autobiography, 505.

38. For an account of the 1901 dedication of Japan, see Reid L. Neilson, ed., *The Japanese Missionary Journals of Elder Alma O. Taylor, 1901–1910* (Provo, UT: BYU Studies Press and the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2001), 48–49.

39. Jenson, Autobiography, 504.

40. Jenson, Autobiography, 505-06.

41. Jenson, Autobiography, 506.

42. Jenson, Autobiography, 507.

43. Jenson described their Japanese steamer: "The "Tenyo Maru" was a triple screw turbine steamer, built in Japan. It represented in material, construction, stability and also in splendor, comfort and spaciousness of accommodation, the highest expression of the ship builders' art, all the machine devices for comfort and safety having been employed. The ship was 575 feet in length and had a breadth of 63 feet. It had accommodation for 275 first class passengers, 54 second class passengers and 800 Asiatic steerage. A new system of ventilation provided fresh air in each state room in all kinds of weather and the model ice making plant insured a constant supply of fresh foods in perfect condition. There was also

wireless telegraph apparatus on board." Jenson, Autobiography, 509.

44. Jenson, Autobiography, 507

45. Jenson, Autobiography, 507-08.

46. Jenson, Autobiography, 508.

47. See Neilson and Moffat, "The Sandwich, or Hawaiian, Islands, May 1895–July 1895," chapter 2 in *Tales from the World Tour*, 35–87.

48. Jenson, Autobiography, 508.

49. Jenson, Autobiography, 509.

50. Jenson, Autobiography, 509-10.

51. Jenson, Autobiography, 510.

52. Albert L. Zobell Jr., "In Memorium: A. William Lund (1886–1971)," *Ensign* 1, no. 3 (March 1971): 75.

53. See Keith W. Perkins, "Andrew Jenson: Zealous Chronologist," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985), 91–94.

54. Jenson, Autobiography, 511.

55. Jenson, Autobiography, 511.

56. Jenson, Autobiography, 513-14.

57. More information on Jenson's fact-finding mission to Central and South America is found in Justin Bray and Reid L. Neilson, eds., *Exploring Book of Mormon Lands: The 1923 Latin American Travel Writings of Mormon Historian Andrew Jenson* (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, forthcoming).