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The Mormon History Association is an independent organization dedicated to the study and understanding of all aspects of Mormon history. We welcome all who are interested in the Mormon past, irrespective of religious affiliation, academic training, or world location. We promote our goals through scholarly research, conferences, awards, and publications.

Correction: The Acorn cartoon of David O. McKay dashing on horseback to the train station (Mary Jane Woodger, “David O. McKay’s Progressive Educational Ideas and Practicese, 1899–1922,” 30, no. 2 [Fall 2004]: 240) should be dated 1908.[Lavina: I put this where it was in Fall-BC]

COVER: Abstraction of the window tracery, Salt Lake City Tenth Ward. Design by Warren Archer.

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CREATING THE SACRED SPACE OF ZION

Martha Sonntag Bradley

“We ought to have the building up of Zion as our greatest object. When wars come, we shall have to flee to Zion. . . . The time is soon coming, when no man will have any peace but in Zion and her stakes.”¹

The third chapter of James Joyce’s Ulysses begins with Stephen Dedalus pondering the comprehensibility of space. He thinks to himself: “Ineluctable modality of the visible; at least that if no more, thought through my eyes. Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot. . . . Shut your eyes and see.”² This “ineluctable modality of the visible,” is the topic of this paper, the imagined and lived space of Zion suggested by theology and discourse, embodied by saints and sinners, seen best with the mind. Certain religious groups


build spatial communities that marry theology and form, architecture and belief, social activity and space. The spatial grammar they create tells the story of their lives together as in a text. Mormon spaces expressed a belief in Zion, that Zion was indeed possible, a complex, hierarchical spatial vision of the world drawn by their charismatic prophet. Joseph Smith proposed a new way of living in the world, a version of the good life that played out in separate inclusive communities and which reshaped ideas about family, community, and self in the process. The Mormons seized sacred space wherever they settled and rendered it meaningful. Space helped members of this faith live together in religious fellowship, forge a distinctive identity, and carry forward a particular interpretation of history.

On February 15, 2004, just past St. Valentine’s Day, the headline of the Salt Lake Tribune queried: “Is Downtown Becoming Another Vatican?” As a professor in a school of architecture and urban planning, I found this headline too good to be true, a hot topic laced with theological, social, and cultural overtones playing out right in front of us. The city became our classroom, and my students and I analyzed the ways social realities become spatial realities.

In 1999, Mayor DeeDee Corridini, and the Salt Lake City Council, sold the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints a block of Main Street for $8 million, now known as Main Street Plaza. Today, after four years of litigation and controversy, theatrical demonstration and debate, Main Street Plaza features fountains and planter boxes, an open and generous view of the Salt Lake temple. It makes a connecting thread between the Church Office Building Plaza on Block 88 and Temple Square, contributing to a cluster of religious administrative and sacred buildings and, as a continuous space, blends two city blocks into a newly defined “center space” for both the city and the worldwide church.

In February 2004, Heather May, reporting for the Salt Lake Tribune, interviewed parties on various sides of what had by then become a controversial issue to flesh out the complex debate about Main Street Plaza and the discussions over values that it generated. The LDS Church’s representative, Presiding Bishop H. David Burton, asserted the Church’s point of view: “What we’re trying to do is control that part of our destiny that is immediately adjacent to the most important, sacred parts of the property owned by the church.” He described “the properties and the events held on the plaza” as “compari-
ble with the principles of the church, the doctrine of the church” and protested, “We’re not buffering ourselves from anything.” The American Civil Liberties Union, a party to the suit, interpreted this issue differently and said it was one step more in the Church’s transformation of downtown which changed a secular part of Main Street Plaza into a religious space. The ACLU saw it as the “church’s encroachment on traditional government functions” and called it “a dangerous mixture of church and state.” Lane Beattie, president of the Chamber of Commerce and former majority leader of the Utah Legislature, countered, “They [the Church] are going to keep it beautiful and maintained. It’s kind of like being in the Vatican.”

Although Beattie’s comment is amusing on some level, it is not surprising, because it is natural and comfortable to talk about spaces—urban spaces or structures—in familiar terms. What is more, few can argue with the concept of “beauty” which in the ancient world was regarded as the equivalent of truth. Indeed, we most often study or talk about architecture in terms of visual styles. It is easier to describe what we “see” than to explain what it means. Buildings imprint our lives with space that form the backdrop for our lives as human beings. They define boundaries that help us understand our position in the world; the distinction between inside and outside becomes more meaningful in space as social relations are represented in spatial forms. Space and social life combine in symbolic or metaphoric ways, and through patterns of movement, such as encounter and avoidance, or hierarchies and understandings—all of which render social relationships meaningful in spatial ways. Indeed, space helps us maintain social relations. Because of this, the strategic decisions we make about architecture, cities, or spatial systems have social consequences.

We begin, then, with the belief that architecture and built environments are powerful metaphors and signifiers of what past generations believed. This paper examines the relationship between society,

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space, and religion in the narrative of Zion. Eventually I intend to use this method to study spatial religious communities as a new way to look at new religious movements, but here it is useful for speculating on the spatial patterns that have historically characterized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Through its ordering of the human-made physical world, space constitutes (not merely represents) a form of order intended for religious purposes. It is in part through space that Mormon religious society was both constrained and made recognizable. One can describe or analyze this type of system and, in the process, better understand them.

**FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS AND KEY QUESTIONS**

In important ways, space fuses function, religion, and social meaning in the physical and tangible forms of the Church's built environments. The order of space reveals similar order in social relations between people. Individually and as a group, Mormon buildings and towns created and ordered space as they revealed religious and social ideas. Here ideas took tangible, concrete form. As Christian Norberg-Schultz says, they were “concretized” or given concrete form. This process is incredibly complicated (but I believe rich) with significant implications for the study of Mormonism. While we have scholarship about the Plat of the City of Zion, temple architecture and even folk-building traditions, we need to develop strong theoretical frameworks to comprehend the spaces that the social processes or structures of the early Church created.\(^5\)

In 1977, Architect Christopher Alexander and a team of colleagues and graduate assistants at Berkeley, documented in their studies, *The Timeless Way of Building* and *A Pattern Language*,\(^6\) traditional and repetitive patterns in which human beings intuitively build and generally prefer in their constructed environments. Among

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\(^6\)Christopher Alexander, Sara Ishikawa, Murray Silverstein, with Max
more than two hundred patterns they identified were “sunny places,” “cozy niches,” “alcoves,” and “legible public spaces.” They attempted to understand what these patterns suggest as essential about human experience and where they might have originated. Alexander calls this point of origination a fundamental syntactic generator or core concept, driving both the creation of form and reproducing it for varied social situations.

What were the characteristic “syntactic generators” or “core concepts” that yielded particular spatial forms unique to the Mormons? To what degree did the Mormons invest order in space and restate it through production and remembrance? During the past several decades, we have examined the Church’s past through the lens of biography, political history, and social history. The study of space and form in the Mormon world of the past and present is another rich method for illuminating both memory and meaning in the Church’s history. My study begins with the categories of space recommended by Henri Lefebvre in his *The Production of Space* (Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell Publishers, 1974). How was space represented? How did the Mormons live in this space? And finally, what spatial patterns characterize the Mormon world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

When we traveled to Sanpete County as part of the Mormon History Association’s annual conference in May 2004, it stimulated our imagined sense of the physical confines of the Mormon world, the tangible boundaries formed by buildings and natural features such as rivers or hills. Spaces such as these help us to imagine the patterns of lives lived in the past, and stimulate a type of spatial remembering.

In temples or towns built by the Latter-day Saints, were there identifiable hierarchies of space? When a woman swept her front steps on the Nauvoo flats and glanced up at the temple walls, rising on the crest of the bluff overlooking the river, with what emotions did it fill her? What did it mean to her experience as a woman or a member of the Church? Would a visitor to Nauvoo have understood the space of the temple or of the city itself differently? Were there observable or functioning permeability patterns, or was it easy for newcom-

ers or strangers to infiltrate such spaces?

It is perhaps obvious that the answers to these questions are varied and complex. Many valuable spatial patterns illuminate the meaning of Zion in the Mormon world. This paper focuses on three: (1) the narrative of Zion or the Mormon version of the good society; (2) the gathering; and (3) boundary maintenance, or the spaces of exclusion/inclusion and the sacred.

LeFebvre recommends that we begin by questioning how the members of the LDS Church represented space, a process that begins with conceptualization. Representational space is "the dominant space of any society because it is intimately tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations." A site of representation is a geographical place, a tangible physical space, or a geographical, cultural, political, theoretical viewpoint.

Religious communities make these sites sacred. Mircea Eliade in *The Sacred and Profane*, suggests that this process is perhaps inevitable. He describes how religious people "often attempt to reside as long as possible in a sacred universe," occupying "space made over to mirror their sense of a wholly different order, a reality that does not belong to our world." Most often, representational space has a strong "affective kernel or centre"; "it embraces the loci of passion, of action and of lived situations." This space projects an understanding, a set of meanings upon which members of the group agree.

Center spaces for the Latter-day Saints were typically rich with meaning and often became sacred spaces, imbued with intricate spiritual or religious content. The form of such content, like that of the town central square, the site of a temple, or a meetinghouse is as modern artist Ben Shann says, "The visible shape of content, . . . a certain intellectual attitude—a complete dedication to comprehending something, someone outside himself"—or what William James describes

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9LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, 42.
10Ben Shann, *The Shape of Content* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Uni-
as “something there.” Rudolf Otto, in his book, *The Sacred*, attempts to explain the distinction made by the sacred identifying its heightened significance to religious people such as the Mormons. There the believer “finds the feeling of terror before the sacred, before the awe-inspiring mystery, the majesty that emanates an overwhelming superiority of power; he finds religious fear before the fascinating mystery in which perfect fullness of being flowers.” Otto characterizes these experiences as “numinous” (from the Latin numen, “god”), for they are induced by the revelation of an aspect of divine power. The numinous presents itself as something “wholly other,” something basically and totally different. “It is like nothing human or cosmic; confronted with it, man senses his profound nothingness, feels that he is only a creature, or, in the words in which Abraham addressed the Lord, is ‘but dust and ashes.”

Religious content demonstrates the way individuals lived in or occupied this space. “Lived space is an elusive space,” Henri Lefebvre writes, “so elusive in fact that thought and conception usually seek to appropriate and dominate it. Lived space is the experiential realm that conceived and ordered space will try to intervene in, rationalize, and ultimately usurp.” In Zion, wherever it was built, space set up dualities which distinguished insiders and outsiders, the faithful or those without faith. Moreover, space divided the sacred and the profane. “For religious man,” Eliade suggests, “space is not homogeneous; he experiences interruptions, breaks in it; some parts of space are qualitatively different from others.” “Draw not nigh hither,” says the Lord to Moses; “put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground” (Exod. 3:5). Establishment of a particular place, organizing it, inhabiting it, are acts that imitate a vision of the universe; lived space reflects understandings about one’s relationship with God. “To settle in a territory, to build a dwelling, demand a vital decision for both the whole community and the individual. For what is involved is undertaking the creation of the world that

13 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 33.
Spatial practices can be deciphered through examination of the lives of human beings and have close affinities with perceived space created through individuals’ perceptions of their world, particularly with respect to their everyday lives and its spaces. Thus, spatial practices structure everyday reality and broader social and urban realities that include networks and patterns of interaction that link places set aside for work, play, and leisure. These agreed-upon practices somehow ensure societal cohesion, continuity—what Lefebvre calls a “spatial competence.” What’s more, he says, “abstract space has a very real social existence. It gains objective expression in different buildings, places, activities, and modes of social intercourse over and through space.”

BUILDING ZION OR THE GOOD SOCIETY

The Prophet Joseph Smith wove a narrative, or a story, about Zion that had, at its core, concepts about space—hierarchies that were spatial in nature and that prescribed spatial behaviors. As both a storyteller and as an actor in the same narrative, Joseph constructed a discourse or a text read and interpreted in diverse and often conflicting ways. The way he fashioned the story had profound implications for what came next, the course of action taken by the Mormon people—how they behaved in the spaces they created, and what those spaces meant to them. As he told the story of Zion, he filled it with interesting and believable characters—Church leaders or Saints, the enemy or those who persecuted the Saints—each of whom had a spatial position—inside or outside, guardians of the boundaries or rules, and those who tore down boundaries or defiled sacred spaces. These same characters played their roles in settings, in Zion wherever it appeared, in the grove near the temple stand, in the rooms of the temple, behind or beyond the veil, and so forth.

As the author of the story, Joseph built conflict into the narrative as well as crisis and resolution, always explaining or alluding to its theological significance. His authoritative stance as prophet created a unique vantage point that privileged his information. The narrative reflected his unique understanding of past, future, and present. This awareness enhanced both the story itself and the way it played out in

15Ibid.
16Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 33.
the lives the people lived. Because of his characterizations, descriptions of settings, assignments of meanings, particular emphases, and distinctive imagery, this narrative unavoidably shaped how people reacted and turned their attention in a particular direction, impacting the choices they made.

The raw material for the narrative of Zion came from the real world in which they lived, which was not at all self evident, but which was, rather, transformed into a meaningful narrative by Joseph. Yi-Fu Tuan’s important work, *Space and Place*, describes the space of narratives like that of the story of Zion as mythical space, suggesting that there are two kinds of space. The first is pragmatic space, which is empirically known and manipulated, while the other is the “spatial component of a world view, a conception of localized values within which people carry out their [life] practice activities.”17 As Tuan says, “Mythical space of the first kind is a conceptual extension of the familiar and workaday spaces given by direct experience.”18

Therefore, through selection and emphasis Joseph wove a narrative that told the Saints what to remember. It was a narrative filled with powerful memories, deep fears, passionate hopes, intense angers, visionary dreams and a profound sense of space. Indeed, these emotions gave the narrative its power as did the dimensions of its spatial conception. Such a story shaped meaning and told Joseph’s listeners what was important and what was not. In a way the narrative was about the past, but it was also future-oriented, guiding their sense of what was possible and desirable.19 For Tuan, “Mythical space functions as a component in a world view or cosmology. It is better articulated and more consciously held than mythical space of the first kind. [A] world view is a people’s more or less systematic attempt to make sense of environment. . . . All people require a sense of order and fitness in their environment, but not all see it in the elaboration of a co-

17 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 86.
18 Ibid.
herent cosmic system." Such narratives question a human being’s relationship to the earth or the cosmos.

Joseph told the story of Zion with each settlement that the Church carved out in the Midwest. This narrative blended an understanding of the past, the restoration of ancient order, and the future of the Church. “Our reflections were many,” he reportedly said in 1831, “coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the east, and standing now upon the confines or western limits of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those that sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity, and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times, and to feel for those who roamed about without the benefit of civilization, refinement, or religion; ... yea, and exclaim in the language of the Prophets: ‘When will the wilderness blossom as the rose? When will Zion be built up in her glory, and where will Thy temple stand, unto which all nations shall come in the last days?’”

This particular understanding of the nature of Zion enhanced building efforts with particular seriousness. Kirtland, Far West, and eventually Nauvoo were more than Midwestern towns, with settlement efforts enhanced by a sacred sense of space dedicated to God. Rather than neutral spaces or even blank slates, in Joseph’s estimation, the Saints were arriving in a place that had been peopled only by the “Other” who were hampered by darkness and characterized by what they lacked, rather than what they possessed. It was a land cursed by God, waiting to be redeemed.

For Joseph, Zion was a specific place and also a way of being together as Saints. “The season is mild and delightful nearly three quarters of the year,” he boasted about Nauvoo, “and as the land of Zion, situated at about equal distances from the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, as well as from the Allegheny and Rocky mountains in the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude,” he saw it as perfectly sited. Zion was west of major population centers but central to the continent. “It bids fair,” Joseph reportedly continued, “when the curse is taken from the

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20Tuan, *Space and Place*, 86.

21*History of the Church* 1:189. “Those that sat in darkness” is an allusion to Isaiah 42:7, while the reference to the blossoming wilderness is from Isaiah 35:1.
land—to become one of the most blessed places on the globe.”

Perhaps to seduce believers with the narrative of Zion, Joseph wove a sensual, physical, and textural picture of Zion:

But all these impediments vanish when it is recollected what the Prophets have said concerning Zion in the last days; how the glory of Lebanon is to come upon her; the fir tree, the pine tree, and the box tree together, to beautify the place of His sanctuary, that He may make the place of His feet glorious. Where for brass, He will bring gold; and for iron, He will bring silver; and for wood, brass; and for stones, iron; and where the feast of fat things will be given to the just; yea, when the splendor of the Lord is brought to our consideration for the good of His people, the calculations of men and the vain glory of the world vanish, and we exclaim, “Out of Zion the perfection of beauty, God hath shined.”

The richness of the sensuous presentation of the promise of Zion tantalized the imaginations of even the most conservative members of the Church and promised a life that was prosperous, secure, and good.

The myth of Zion positioned Joseph’s vision in a quintessential American vision of the good society, located in the particular spaces of the American landscape: “The city of Zion spoken of by David, in the one hundred and second Psalm, will be built upon the land of America,” prophesied Joseph, quoting a biblical prophecy which thus became part of the Mormon sacred future: “And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.” These are testimonies that the Good Shepherd will put forth His own sheep, and lead them out from all nations where they have been scattered in a cloudy and dark day, to Zion, and to Jerusalem; besides many more testimonies which might be brought.”

Thus, he purposefully invoked spaces of inclusion and of boundaries made meaningful by differences.

A belief in Zion—that Zion was possible and indeed imminent—rendered Joseph immensely powerful and layered his encouragement to build homes and towns with a gravity that had mythic significance. Moreover, Zion required the finest efforts among the

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22History of the Church 1:198.
23Ibid., 1:198. The final quotation is Psalms 50:2.
24Ibid., 1:315. The quotation is Isaiah 35:10.
Saints to live decent, righteous lives of dedication, service, and labor. “The Lord will have a place whence His word will go forth, in these last days, in purity; for if Zion will not purify herself, so as to be approved of in all things, in His sight. He will seek another people; for His work will go on until Israel is gathered, and they who will not hear His voice, must expect to feel His wrath,” Joseph warned. The restoration played out in a explicit setting and time and was dependent on a righteous generation for success. Misfortune, whether minor or significant, was traced to unrighteous behavior that threatened Zion and the Church’s future welfare. Joseph spelled out the relationship: “And so long as unrighteous acts are suffered in the Church, it cannot be sanctified, neither can Zion be redeemed.” The space of Zion enveloped the word of God and became the place for the edification of the most faithful.

The requisite set of behaviors and attitudes required of those who dwelled in Zion included manual labor, personal sacrifice, consecration, and faith in God and in Joseph Smith. Together these values prepared the Saints for the imminent end of days. Recognizing the diverse talents and contributions each member might make, Joseph counseled: “Let every one labor to prepare himself for the vineyard, sparing a little time to comfort the mourners; to bind up the broken-hearted; to reclaim the backslider; to bring back the wanderer; to re-invite into the kingdom such as have been cut off, by encouraging them to lay to while the day lasts, and work righteousness, and, with one heart and one mind, prepare to help redeem Zion, that goodly land of promise, where the willing and the obedient shall be blessed.” Joseph encouraged the Saints to consider their relationship to each other and to remember that Zion depended on cooperative effort. The ultimate objective of Zion was “that the pure in heart may return with songs of everlasting joy to build up her waste places, and meet the Lord when He comes in His glory.” It was left to them to make it happen.

The territoriality of Joseph’s template for town building, the Plat of the City of Zion treats space as a distinctively spatial reality. Zion staked off or marked territory which the Mormons would in-
habit and from which others would be excluded. Territoriality in this sense identified similarities—a belief system, a set of core values and understandings—as well as what the Church selected for exclusion. The clear, identifiable, geometric forms and traditional patterns of the lines of the Plat of the City of Zion created an imprint of the conceptual organization of society. In this spatial milieu, social and spatial patterning became distinctive and particular to the Mormons. Indeed, spatial order is one of the most striking ways we distinguish cultural differences between religious groups and is an expression of culture and ideology creating a sort of ethnicity in space.  

The model Joseph used to instruct the Saints on the way to build Zion was the Plat of the City of Zion, first in Ohio and Missouri, then in Illinois. Joseph introduced the plat to the Church in 1833 as a revelation, reminding the people that the Lord had “manifested Himself unto us, and designated, to me and others, the very spot upon which He designed to commence the work of the gathering, and the up building of an ‘holy city,’ which should be called Zion—Zion, because it is a place of righteousness, and all who build thereon are to worship the true and living God, and all believe in one doctrine, even the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” For the LDS Church, the plat was both a map and a system of ideas about how to live together as members of Zion. The plat demonstrated Mormon theology: the centrality of God in the lives of believers and the ideal relationships among Mormons. It mapped the Mormon world wherever they built it, laying out towns, articulating connections, and materializing commandments that worked as boundaries excluding outsiders and surrounding insiders—the body of Saints living in a way collectively agreed upon as pleasing to God.

LeFebvre’s *The Production of Space* illuminates the significance of this phenomenon by identifying what he calls a “unitary theory of space,” a “rapprochement between physical space, nature and mental space (formal abstractions about space) and social space (the space of human action and conflict and sensory phenomena).”

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29 The relationships between spatial morphologies and social structures/systems have long been a concern of geographers and anthropologists, but they are still limited in methods that use architectural and built environments for building new theory centering on the society/space/religion relation.

LeFebvre asserts: "Space has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces." The territoriality of Joseph's template for town building in the plat, treats place as a distinctively spatial reality. Zion staked off or marked territory for the Mormons and excluded strangers or moderated their interactions with the Church. The plat surfaced during a period of flux—growth, conflict, and persecution—and was based in part on a desire to locate the Church in a particular place, to ground it in a theological vision of Zion. The Zion narrative figured in the encompassing process of community formation and maintenance; it legitimized the community, in part guaranteeing its continued existence. This territoriality identified similarities, a belief system, a set of core values and understandings, as well as what the Church selected for exclusion. The clear, identifiable forms and traditional patterns of the lines of the Plat of the City of Zion created an imprint of the conceptual organization of society. In this spatial milieu, social and spatial patterning became distinctive and particular to the Mormons.

Joseph intended that the strict cardinality of the plat, the centrality of the temple block, its territoriality, and the close coordination of settlement and religious activities would make the sacred city legible. Zion would expand across the continent in a systematic, orderly manner. Ideally, each new city would be in perfect semblance of the first. Parallel to the immigration into the West and the peopling of the frontier, the settlement of Zion mirrored the American dream, the belief that God chose this land for a special mission and that it was the responsibility of a people of God to settle it. The plat was both theology—Church doctrine and teaching—and a vision or dream of the good society.

Mircea Eliade identifies the importance of such visions for religious people who conceive of themselves at the center of existence as demonstrated in a centerplace, which he says, possess "existential value for religious man; for nothing can begin, nothing can be done, without a previous orientation—and any orientation implies acquiring a fixed point. . . . If the world is to be lived in, it must be founded—and no world can come to birth in the chaos of the homogeneity and relativity of profane space. The discovery or project of a

31Lefebvre, The Production of Space, 39.
fixed point—the center—is equivalent to the creation of the world.\textsuperscript{32} Building the kingdom was quite literally creating a center place where God’s people could build a perfect world.

The spatial patterns that radiated out from the centerplace and were revealed through this settlement type provide important insights about Mormon values, behaviors, and beliefs. The public space of such settlements, in their infinite variations in the Midwest and in Utah, became a kind of interface between the “inhabited world” and the world outside the settlement. The former was the domain of inhabitants/insiders and the latter was the domain of strangers/outsiders. Therefore, two relationships existed as a result. The internal space was that of personal negotiations, shared assumptions, and common beliefs, while the exterior space was that of the “Other.” The boundary was distinct between the two and was legible or understandable in physical and social forms. The plat included space of structured and immutable categories—inside/outside, community/individual, cooperation/capitalism, and ultimately faith/disbelief. Moreover, it was a highly portable, reproducible model.

Cultural geographer David Harvey portrays space as an “active moment” in expansion and reproduction. “It is a phenomenon which is colonized and commodified, bought and sold, created and torn down, used and abused, speculated on and fought over. It all comes together in space: space internalizes the contradictions. . . . To know how and what space internalizes is to learn how to produce something better, is to learn how to produce another city, another space.”\textsuperscript{33} The point of this process, he writes, is to “trace out the actual dynamic and complex interplay of space itself—of buildings, monuments, neighborhoods, whole cities, the world—exposing and decoding those multitudinous imperceptible processes.”\textsuperscript{34} The Mormon world grew through the reproduction of certain spatial patterns; because it was duplicable, it was a commodity that expanded the boundaries of the Mormon world.

This patterning continued through each era of the Church’s

\textsuperscript{32}Eliade, \textit{The Sacred and Profane}, 22.


\textsuperscript{34}Ibid.
growth and evolution. For instance, in Utah Brigham Young reinterpreted Joseph’s story of Zion when he built his own family kingdom on Block 88 in the center of Salt Lake City adjacent to Temple Square. With the first distribution of land, Brigham Young secured his family’s position at the city’s center. Young owned the majority of land on Block 88, the block immediately east of Temple Square, bordering South Temple and State Streets. There he carved out a family kingdom and built the components of the good life—the complex architecture of plurality, a schoolhouse, barns, and other outbuildings to supply his large family with food, education, transportation, and recreation. Distinctive as the homes of the Church president and leader of a territorial government, the Beehive House and Lion House represented an unusual family dynamic, an adaptation to a peculiar way of being together in a family.

Equally interesting is the way Brigham Young shaped his version of the good life in terms of the urban space which abutted his own family property. Within two blocks in each direction, Young oversaw the building of the various physical components of the good life—a new version of Zion. Architectural historian Thomas R. Carter describes it as a “genteel city”—a cultured city which aspired to more than just cooperation but rather desired to create a brand of civility more like that of eastern secular cities than a sacred city. The Salt Lake Theatre, the Social Hall, the Council Hall, and eventually the Gardo House were styled buildings with a self-conscious assertion of a certain power and influence. Reflecting a value system different from that of Zion and explicitly including the influence of art, music and theater, even wealth, this network of buildings and social institutions reflected the movement of the Utah Mormon world in a different direction from its Midwestern antecedents. Moreover, this combination of buildings—whether Brigham’s homes or Salt Lake City’s cultural centers—connected to each other both visually and physically, creating a diagrammatic representation of Zion sketched in the blocks of the city.

Such physical patterning is the earliest manifestation in Salt Lake City of the story which played out on Main Street Plaza. A single building such as the temple was not enough to carry the rich message of Zion. Instead, a complex of buildings and functions, and the relationships between them, narrated in visual and tangible ways what it meant to build in and live in Zion. It did this through view corridors or juxtapositions, or in social ways through the interactions of Saints with the city. As is true in the twentieth-first century, the relationship
between Temple Square and Block 88—and the Church’s administra-
tive buildings, the Lion House, the Beehive House, and the Joseph
Smith Memorial Building—is made more meaningful through the
Main Street Plaza, which connects the spiritual “work” of the Church
with the secular, organizational role of the Church which makes the
worldwide Church possible. What is more, Main Street Plaza places
the Church at the literal and absolute center of the city, drawing atten-
tion to its temple and its messages. The Nauvoo Temple claimed this
centrality in a different way by drawing the eyes of members upward
like the ancient Acropolis in Athens, demanding attention and
reminding the Saints that they lived in the Kingdom of God.

THE GATHERING

The bas-relief sculpture embedded in the facade of the LDS
Church Office Building on North Temple expresses the twenti-
eeth-century hope that the Church will gather Saints from across the
globe. But many early revelations and even the movement of the
Church in search of a permanent home in the mid-nineteenth century
portended the doctrine of the “gathering,” a theme that wove
throughout Mormon history and shaped many of its early institu-
tions. The gathering, or the immigration of Mormon converts to the
Church center, was central to the success of building and rebuilding
Zion. It was a concept that was spatial at its core.

The notion of the gathering surfaced in Fayette, New York, in
September 1830 when Joseph first directed a gathering of the elect
“unto one place upon the face of this land,” saying that, although “no
man knoweth where the city of Zion shall be built,” it was to be “on
the borders of the Lamanites,” or in Indian country (D&C 28, 29). In
February 1831, he announced a revelation to the elders of the Church
to baptize new members to build up churches, “until the time shall
come when it shall be revealed unto you from on high, when the city
of the New Jerusalem shall be prepared, that ye may be gathered in
one, that ye may be my people, and I will be your God.”

The endless chain of cities in the landscape of Zion would be
peopled through the gathering. At the dedication of the Kirtland
Temple, Joseph and Oliver Cowdery testified to seeing the heavens
open and Moses, who passed on to them the keys of the gathering of
Israel, charging them to gather the faithful, and to build temples to

redeem the dead. Based on an Old Testament conviction that Christ would visit the earth when the temple had been prepared, Latter-day Saints from this point forward made temples one of their most principal “works.” Community building and temple building were part of the same design motif. At the figurative and actual center of the plat, the temple plot became the center of worship, cosmology, and social practice. As historian William Mulder writes, “While other millenarians set a time, the Mormons appointed a place. Joseph Smith split the Hebrew metaphor of Zion and Jerusalem: he saw Judah returning to Jerusalem, Israel to Zion. And America was the land of Zion. All history had been prologue.”

The Zion narrative created a Mormon spin on Manifest Destiny and the providential view of the settlement of the American continent, weaving America’s destiny into the Mormon design. Although this view of America as the promised land was certainly not unique to Mormons, it was nevertheless, in terms of its magnitude and its dimensions, a powerful manifestation of a belief system and vision of the world both on the earth and in the hereafter. The story of the plat and the story of the gathering were one.

The doctrine of the gathering brought converts from across the globe into fellowship in Zion, building Zion in literal and figurative ways at the same time it peopled a kingdom. “In speaking of the gathering, we mean to be understood as speaking of it according to scripture,” Joseph dictated in 1833, noting the importance of “the gathering of the elect of the Lord out of every nation on earth, and bringing to the place of the Lord of Hosts, when the city of righteousness shall be built, and where the people shall be of one heart and one mind, when the Savior comes; yea, where the people shall walk with God like Enoch, and be free from sin... We want all honest men to have a chance to gather and build up a city of righteousness, where even upon the bells of the horses shall be written Holiness to the Lord.”

Like the threshold across which the proverbial hero moves on his journey toward enlightenment, the gathering brought the convert from one reality into another. The gathering functioned as a crucible that forged new identity. Whether immigrants came from England, the South, or the Northeast, the gathering turned them into Mormons.

36 William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 23.
37 History of the Church, 2:357-58.
In Zion, they became citizens of a new world: the Kingdom of God. The conceptual space formed by the narrative of Zion provided a platform for the creation of identity, the search for new meaning, and engagement in a story Joseph continued to tell. Zion was both an idea and a way of being.

The rhetorical story of the gathering ran through one circular written in July 1840. Joseph expanded his growing concept of the gathering and its relation to the building of Zion as often as he could to keep the enthusiasm for the venture at a fever pitch. In this way Joseph encouraged the Saints to unite their “energies for the upbuilding of the Kingdom, and establish . . . the Priesthood in [its] fullness and glory. . . . The work of the gathering spoken of in the Scriptures will be necessary to bring about the glories of the last dispensation.” Joseph explicitly linked the concept of Zion with the idea of the temple “where the ordinances can be attended to agreeably to His divine will . . . to accomplish which, considerable exertion must be made, and means will be required.” Joseph’s audience heard the tireless emphasis that this work depended on them for success: “To those who feel thus interested, and can assist in this great work, we say, let them come to this place; by so doing they will not only assist in the rolling on of the Kingdom, but be in a situation where they can have the advantage of instruction from the Presidency, and other authorities of the Church, and rise higher and higher in the scale of intelligence until they can ‘comprehend with the Saints what is the breadth and length, and depth and height; and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.’”

Images of the gathering emerged from Joseph’s remarks at the 1840 April conference of the Church as he answered critics concerned about the magnitude of the wave of immigrants coming into the area. “If the work rolls forward with the same rapidity that it has heretofore done, . . . we may soon expect to see flocking to this place, people of every land; the polished European; the degraded Hottentot, and the shivering Laplanders; persons of all languages . . . and of every color; who shall with us worship . . . in His holy temple and . . . in his sanctuary,” he proclaimed. “It is for the same purpose that God gathers together His people in the last days, to build unto the Lord a house to prepare them for the ordinances and endowments, washings

38Ibid. 4:185–86.
39Ibid.
and anointings, etc.... Why gather the people together in this place? For the same purpose that Jesus wanted to gather the Jews—to receive the ordinances, the blessings, and the glories that God has in store for His Saints.” Before the eyes of the Saints he painted a vision of them as powerful, preparing a place which would draw down instruction from the heavens and the direct blessings of God. Salvation hinged on building the temple in the landscape of Zion.

Spatial imagery was implicit in how Joseph talked about instruction, the transmission of the word of God, and the gathering together of the Saints for worship. “I preached in the grove, on the keys of the kingdom, charity, &c.” he noted in May 1, 1842. “The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed. The rich can only get them in the Temple, the poor may get them on the mountain top as did Moses. The rich cannot be saved without charity, giving to feed the poor when and how God requires, as well as building.”

BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE: THE SPACE OF INCLUSION, SEPARATION, AND THE SACRED

The boundaries of the Mormon world had religious significance, sharply identifying those in the faith and differentiating them from those cut off from God’s word. Laurence Moore in his important book, Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans, argues that “outsiderness” has been a necessary part of the struggle through which new religions emerge as they forge a distinct identity and carve out a spot for themselves in American society. Part of this is a type of self-stigmatization, which Moore argues is part of what it means to be American, but it was also evidence of a group’s effort to be distinctive. Significantly, the meaning assigned to the difference between inside and outside is how societies generate and control encounters. Buildings participate in this system, because they spatially relate to other buildings, and they separate systems or categories from the outside world both spatially and conceptually. Even the simplest architecture creates a boundary between inside space and outside, a

41Ibid., 4:608.
threshold defined by an entrance, and a pattern that facilitates human activities or rituals. The meaning of buildings is related to experience and form, ideology and materiality. With the Main Street Plaza, this line is drawn across what used to be a city street, creating a beautiful open space to be sure, but also eliminating its earlier function as the “main” street in the heart of a city’s downtown area, defining appropriate ways it can be used or occupied, and identifying who can enter that space.

Religious people often build restricted spaces intended for special uses or for believers, in part out of respect for the sacred nature of ritual or doctrine. For the Church, this patterning of inside and outside relations often played out in architecture and in larger settlement patterns. This is perhaps most evident in the spaces of the temple. Over time temple attendance, open to the general membership in Kirtland, became restricted to only the most faithful members of the Church. In Nauvoo, however, before the temple was completed, this space of exclusion, secrecy, and loyalty manifested itself in secular or more vernacular types of environments such as the upper floor of the brick store which became temporarily sacred. In May 1842 when Joseph organized the Quorum of the Anointed and first administered the endowment that was later performed in the temple, he specified the spaces in which this activity took place:

I spent the day in the upper part of the store, that is in my private office... and in my general business office, or lodge room... in council with General James Adams, of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, and President Brigham Young and Elders Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, instructing them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, attending to washings, anointings, endowments and the communication of keys pertaining to the Aaronic Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchisedek Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days, and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the First Born, and come up and abide in the presence of the Eloheim in the eternal worlds. In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. And the communications I made to this council were of things spiritual, and to be received only by the spiritual minded: and there was nothing made known to these men but what will be made known to all the Saints in the last days, so soon as they are
prepared to receive, and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of the Saints; therefore let the Saints be diligent in building the Temple, and all houses which they have been, or shall hereafter be, commanded of God to build; and wait their time with patience in all meekness, faith, perseverance unto the end knowing assuredly that all these things referred to in this council are always governed by the principle of revelation.43

For several months during the last half of 1843, the Quorum of the Anointed continued to hold prayer meetings in the upstairs space over the store. The members of the Nauvoo Relief Society, presided over by Emma Smith, occupied this room as well for their meetings.

An undated statement of Dimick Huntington’s illuminates the spatial practices that turned this ordinary space over a store chamber into a sacred interior dedicated to rituals for God:

In Nauvoo [Illinois] In [18]40 or [18]41 Wm Felshaw, Samuel R[o]lfe, Dimick B Huntington prepared the Masonic lodge room in the brick store chamber for the first endowments[,] took some bars of lead to hold up the tre[e]s of the garden and piece of carpet for a curtain[,] Joseph Smith giving directions how to prepare all things[,] the masonic lodge met nights and he [Joseph Smith] used the room days for endowments[,] [O]ne night after [Asahel] Perry the tyler sayed a brother wishes to enter let him enter[,] George A Smith was the master[,] Joseph Smith entered sayed h[e] I have done what king Solamon King Hiram & Hiram Abbif could not do[,] I have set up the Kingdom no more to be thrown down forever nor never to be given to another people. . . . D[imick] B Huntington’s words the night of 12 of Dec[ember] 1878 S[alt] L[ake] City.44

Interestingly, because strangers were more likely to move through space and inhabitants to stay, it is possible to hypothesize a strong relation between spatial form and the ways these encounters were generated or monitored and by whom. In this relationship, permeability, or the degree to which outsiders could pervade the rhetoric of Zion or the actual spaces of Zion created social conditions—collaboration and common understandings or even conflict and separa-

43History of the Church, 5:1–2.
44Dimick Huntington, Statement, n.d., photocopy in Mary Brown Firmage Papers, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
tion. Although some spaces separated or excluded, other spaces were about keeping secrets, loyalty to Church leaders, or safeguarding sacred doctrines. Such spaces revealed the order that Joseph saw in the word of God, in theology, and in his relations with others.

It was in the sacred spaces of temples that theological ideas about heaven gave permanency to the idea of Zion, linking its transmission to future generations. The temple operated as a system of signs and symbols, embodying the discourse between earth and heaven and serving as a metaphor for the thin veil that obscured a direct vision of heaven. Buildings and cities always reveal what people considered sacred or profane, what centered their lives, and what came next. This is certainly true of the sacred spaces of Zion. The sacred interiors of Mormon temples evolved from Kirtland, to Nauvoo to those built in the Great Basin and presented in ritual and form theological ideas about the nature of heaven, the process of the plan of salvation, and the relationship of human beings with God and each other.

The centrality of the temple to Mormon belief and in particular the building of Zion heightens the significance of the debate over the Main Street Plaza. The plaza extends the sacred space of Temple Square and connects the block to the Church Administration block. But it also creates an important buffer or protective zone, thus inserting a threshold from the secular space of the city to the more sacred space surrounding the temple itself.

It has always been true that the temple was important as the scene of holy rituals and ordinances, for instruction, and the demonstration of the link between those on the earth and their ancestors who had died. Joseph enunciated that link:

Believing the time has now come, when it is necessary to erect a house of prayer, a house of order, a house for the worship of our God, ordinances can be attended to agreeably to His divine will, in this region of country—to accomplish which, considerable exertion must be made, and means will be required—and as the work must be hastened in righteousness, it behooves the Saints to weigh the importance of these things, in their minds, in all their bearings, and then take such steps as are necessary to carry them into operation; and arming themselves with courage, resolve to do all they can, and feel themselves as much interested as though the whole labor depended on themselves alone. By so doing they will emulate the glorious deeds of the fathers, and secure the blessings of heaven upon themselves and their poster-
Joseph often used the metaphors and imagery of construction or architecture to enthuse his followers about the importance of building the Kingdom of God and to give them something tangible that they could comprehend easily in terms of the work that lay before them. The temple was a centerpiece in this rhetoric. “We would call attention of the Saints more particularly to the building of the temple, for on its speedy erection great blessings depend. . . . Those who cannot contribute labor will bring their gold and their silver, their brass and their iron, with the pine tree and the box tree, to beautify the same.” Testifying that the Lord had instructed the Church to build a temple in Nauvoo, Joseph emphasized the link to sacred ordinances that would connect members of the Church to their ancestors through space and time. The temple grounded the Church in a continuum that linked past and future and emphasized the literal work members could perform during their own lives on the earth. “Men and angels are to be co-workers,” explained Joseph, “in bringing to pass this great work, and Zion is to be prepared, even a new Jerusalem, for the elect that are to be gathered from the four quarters of the earth, and to be established an holy city, for the tabernacle of the Lord shall be with them.”

Certain rules dictated appropriate behaviors in the temple, who could sit where and when, where rituals were performed or how. Such rules imply relationships between persons and certain hierarchies, appropriate behaviors toward the sacred, and processes that went beyond religious rituals to include deportment, and conduct among the users of the sacred building itself. In 1834, the rules and regulations to be observed in the Kirtland Temple (“House of the Lord”) were implicitly spatial in character—about maintaining order in this sacred space but also about maintaining relationships:

It is according to the rules and regulations of all regularly and legally organized bodies to have a president to keep order. II. The bodies thus organized are under obligation to be in subjection to that authority. III. When a congregation assembles in this house, it shall submit to the following rules, that due respect may be paid to the order of

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47Ibid., 2:260.
worship, vis: 1st. No man shall be interrupted who is appointed to speak by the Presidency of the Church, by any disorderly person or persons in the congregation, by whispering, by laughing, by talking, by menacing gestures, by getting up and running out in a disorderly manner, or by offering indignity to the manner of worship, or the religion, or to any officer of said Church while officiating in his office. . . . 3rd. All persons are prohibited from going up the stairs in times of worship. 4th. All persons are prohibited from exploring the house, except waited upon by a person appointed for that purpose. 5th. All persons are prohibited from going into the several pulpits, except the officers who are appointed to officiate in the same. 6th. All persons are prohibited from cutting, marking or marring the inside or outside the house with a knife, pencil, or any other instrument whatever, under pain of such penalty as the law shall inflict. 7th. All children are prohibited from assembling in the house, above or below, or any part of it, to play, or for recreation, at any time: and all parents, guardians, or masters, shall be amenable for all damage that shall accrue in consequence of their children's misconduct. 48

Joseph saw the temple as critical to sacred ordinances essential to the restoration. "The Temple of the Lord is in process of erection here, where the Saints will come to worship the God of their fathers, according to the order of His house and the powers of the Holy Priesthood, and will be so constructed as to enable all the functions of the Priesthood to be duly exercised, and where instructions from the Most High will be received, and from this place go forth to distant lands." 49

The actual construction of the temple tested the mettle of even the most faithful—and demonstrated Joseph’s faith in the power of architecture to carry the “shape of content” and mediate the space between God and man.

Temples were more than simply backdrops to rituals and sacred ordinances. Rather they were driven by liturgy and theology in every way. Although their forms mimicked those of other denominations—the rectangular mass of a quintessential congregational meetinghouse—the spaces held the meaning and ideology of the Mormon vision of heaven. Moreover, according to Joseph, the Church built temples according to God’s design. “If the strict order of the Priest-

48 Ibid., 2:368-69.
49 Ibid., 4:269.
hood were carried out in the building of Temples, the first stone would be laid at the south-east corner, by the First Presidency of the Church. The south-west corner should be laid next. The third, or north-west corner next; and the fourth, or north-east corner last. The First Presidency should lay the south-east corner stone and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other corner stones."\(^{50}\) Joseph's scribe recorded his thoughts about the sacred relationship between the temple's built forms and the order of God. "The order of the house of God has been, and ever will be, the same, even after Christ comes; and after the termination of the thousand years it will be the same; and we shall finally enter into the celestial Kingdom of God, and enjoy it forever."\(^{51}\)

The temple was at the center of the Church's Zion-building effort, which was not complete until there was a place where the Saints could be taught God's word, perform holy ordinances, and remember their connection to those who were dead. "The Church is not fully organized, in its proper order, and cannot be, until the Temple is completed," insisted Joseph Smith, "where places will be provided for the administration of the ordinances of the Priesthood."\(^{52}\) The tie between the temple and priesthood rituals was explicit. Priesthood was the temple's *raison d'être*, and placed it at the center of religious activity and authority:

The declaration this morning is, that as soon as the Temple and baptirnal font are prepared, we calculate to give the Elders of Israel their washings and anointings, and attend to those last and more impressive ordinances, without which we cannot obtain celestial thrones. But there must be a holy place prepared for that purpose. There was a proclamation made during the time that the foundation of the Temple was laid to that effect, and there are provisions made until the work is completed, so that men may receive their endowments and be made kings and priests unto the Most High God, having nothing to do with temporal things, but their whole time will be taken up with things pertaining to the house of God.\(^{53}\)

These spaces became sacred through their use, their association

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\(^{50}\)Ibid., 4:331.  
\(^{51}\)Ibid., 2:309.  
\(^{52}\)Ibid., 4:603.  
\(^{53}\)Ibid.
with sacred concepts and the experiences that transformed the Saints while they were there. Joseph continued on this theme, “There must, however, be a place built expressly for that purpose, and for men to be baptized for their dead. It must be built in this the central place, for every man who wishes to save his father, mother, brother, sisters and friends, must go through all the ordinances for each one of them separately, the same as for himself, from baptism to ordination, washings, and anointings, and receive all the keys and powers of the Priesthood, the same as for himself.”

CONCLUSION

Regardless of how often successive generations of Mormons redefined Zion, whether in the Midwest or in the spaces of Block 88 of downtown Salt Lake City, spatial patterns linked these new places with the earlier history of the Church. Zion is still sketched through spaces of exclusion, sacralization, and the much modified version of the gathering in space such as those created by the enormous assembly room of the new LDS Conference Center with its multi-million person television audience. The most recent version of Zion embedded in the space of the Main Street Plaza represents a profound belief that a better world is possible, indeed imminent, and that it is the obligation of the Saints to build it wherever they live. Moreover, as a narrative form and using the rhetoric of Zion, Main Street Plaza helps modern-day Saints forge identity, remember a shared sacred history, and draw meaningful lines about who is inside the faith and who is not. The Main Street Plaza is significant as a site of representation for the Church, involved in the memory of Zion. For the Mormons, it is a new sacred place, of both beauty and refuge. More important, it embodies the ideas of Zion—of the gathering, of exclusion, of the sacred, and finally of the good society.

In some ways the battle over Main Street Plaza brought to a head long-standing tensions in Salt Lake City between Mormons and non-Mormons. Present always just beneath the surface, the debate allowed the specter of religious difference to rise and taunt the city. Regardless of the technical agreements that both prefaced the deal between the Church and the city and marked its eventual resolution, this exchange demonstrated the vast difference in values and beliefs at play. Pluralistic rather than monotheistic, it was in some ways a sec-

54Ibid., 6:319.
ular argument over legal rights and responsibilities at the same time that it was a battle over whose God demonstrators could address on this public/private terrain. Understandably, the media swooped in on the Main Street Plaza debate like a vulture on road kill, portraying the daily and weekly machinations of the story in an endless soap opera. Since the case was virtually impossible to resolve without resorting to the courts, the Tenth Circuit judges entered the dispute in October 2002 and aspects of the dispute continue to the present.

In the nineteenth century, Joseph often recounted the prophecy of Enoch—“I shall prepare a holy city that my people may gird up their

55“In a packed, and semi-stunned, council chambers,” one article read, “[Mayor Rocky] Anderson then attacked the council and the 1999 process where another City Council and then-Mayor Deedee Corradini sold a block of Main Street to the LDS Church and retained the easement now in question.” In another example, “The rancor over religion and politics that has been simmering below the surface of the Main Street Plaza easement debate boiled into full public view Tuesday night. . . . ‘To make public statements that because of a council member’s religion he or she is biased and unable or unwilling to be fair or objective is offensive, and it’s also destructive. I ask that you raise the civility of this discourse and refrain from any further or future personal attacks,’ Council member David Buhler said. Church officials and Corradini have said the church planned to control behavior on the plaza all along—though how well that part of the plaza sale was represented to the public is being debated.” Heather May, “Religion Arises in Plaza Flap,” Salt Lake Tribune, November 20, 2002, B-1.

56The Tribune quoted the ACLU’s statement: “The American Civil Liberties Union has its principles. So does the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Because it is not unusual for Americans to have deeply held principles that conflict with the deeply held principles of other Americans—such as the ACLU, the LDS and their rival views of how the Salt Lake City Main Street plaza should be controlled—we have developed a system for resolving conflicts between principled adversaries.” The ruling of the Tenth Circuit judges made clear the legal issues at root in the case. They concluded that whether the church “uses the plaza as an ‘ecclesiastical park’ was deemed irrelevant.” Heather May, “LDS Church Appeals Plaza Ruling,” Salt Lake Tribune, October 24, 2002, B-1. “In the record there is undisputed testimony that at least 4,500 people use it as an end destination every day,’ church attorney Von Keetch said in an interview. And during the church’s biannual general conferences, up to 30,000 people congregate on the plaza. “There is nothing in the record showing that any particular indi-
loins, and be looking forth for the time of my coming, for there shall be my tabernacle, and it shall be called Zion, a new Jerusalem” (Moses 7:62). Even now, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints makes meaningful the narrative of Zion through space—most recently in the grand forms of the Conference Center, the Main Street Plaza, and through its on-going program of temple building throughout the worldwide Church.

The religious world that the LDS Church created in the nineteenth century and continues to build in the twentieth is a spatial one. It uses space to forge identity, remember its rich and distinctive history, and to repeatedly recreate Zion—the LDS Church’s version of the good life. In spatial religious communities, religious people build and inhabit spaces that are rich narratives of the values and beliefs they hold, that shape their decisions about family and politics, and that reveal their social relationships. Space contributed to the collective memory of the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, revealed religious values and ideas, showed patterns of behavior and community, carried stories about past, present, and future, and suggested that the Main Street Plaza was contested space worth battling over. Space is at the core of the Mormon idea about earth and heaven, manifested in the construction of Zion wherever and whenever that has occurred. Indeed, the “building up of Zion” is one of the “greatest objects” of the modern-day Church still. What is perhaps most true, is the “ineluctable modality” of the spaces of Zion. As hard as one might try to describe and define the spaces of Zion, they remain illusive and shifting in their meaning. Unarguably, space is one way the narrative of Zion has continued to the present, but its “ineluctability”—its illusiveness—is what makes it a fascinating and irresistible subject for study.

individual uses it as a public thoroughfare.” The battle continued both in the courts and in the press. “There is no one who values free speech rights more than the church,” Keetch said. “We depend upon them. We respect them. But this piece of property is different.” Ibid.
THE KINDERHOOK PLATES, THE TUCSON ARTIFACTS, AND MORMON ARCHEOLOGICAL ZEAL

J. Michael Hunter

In 1843, Robert Wiley unearthed a set of six brass plates in a burial mound near Kinderhook, Illinois. An iron ring bound the plates together, and each plate contained indecipherable engravings.1 In 1860, David Wyrick found an inscribed stone in a burial mound ten miles south of Newark, Ohio. Inscribed on all sides was a condensed version of the Ten Commandments in a peculiar form of post-Exilic square Hebrew letters. A robed and bearded figure on the stone was identified as Moses in fanned letters over his head.2 In 1889, John W. Emmert, a field surveyor for the Smithsonian Institution, found a stone inscribed with Paleo-He-

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2See Charles Wittlesey, “Inscribed Stones, Purporting to be in Hebrew from Licking County, Ohio,” in Proceedings of the 3rd International Con-
brew letters in a burial mound in Eastern Tennessee. In 1890, James Scotford dug up clay artifacts on his farm in Michigan. In-
vestigators eventually recovered seventy-five cuneiform tablets, some disks, and several small caskets from the site. In 1924, Charles Manier discovered a series of lead objects near Tucson, Arizona, shaped like crosses, swords, javelins, batons, and paddles. The artifacts contained engravings in Latin and Hebrew. Kentuckians dug up Hebrew coins at Louisville (1932), Clay City


(1952), and Hopkinsville (1967). In 1949, Robert H. Pfeiffer of Harvard University made the first known translation of an ancient inscription on Hidden Mountain near Los Lunas, New Mexico. The inscription was the Ten Commandments in Phoenician, Moabite, and Greek. In 1963 and again in 1970, limestone tablets—a total of twelve—containing strange inscriptions unearthed


near Manti, Utah caused a stir among Utah archaeologists. The twelve limestone tablets contained strange inscriptions. The controversy over the tablets became more intense in 1972, when someone discovered, again near Manti, a lead box containing seven lead plates with indecipherable inscriptions.⁸

What all of these discoveries have in common—besides that most have been declared fraudulent—is that some Mormons have tried to use these discoveries to support the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. Many of these Mormons created connections to the Book of Mormon where no connections actually existed and pushed their theories forward with such zeal that they ignored evidence that undermined their presumptions. As Hugh Nibley once remarked, “True knowledge never shuts the door on more knowledge, but zeal often does.”⁹ This is not to say that faithful followers of the Book of Mormon willfully distorted the truth with an intent to convince the world of their beliefs. Rather, they were so overcome with zeal that they truly did not see the undermining evidence. Joseph Smith warned against such zeal. Speaking to the Relief Society, “[he] commended them for their zeal, but said sometimes their zeal was not according to knowledge.”¹⁰ Speaking of the Kirtland Saints, Joseph Smith said, “Many, having a zeal not according to knowledge, have, no

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¹⁰Joseph Smith, The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph, compiled and edited by Andrew
doubt in the heat of enthusiasm, taught and said things which are derogatory to the genuine character and principles of the Church." In the minds of the overzealous, the nonexistent connections to the Book of Mormon truly existed.

This article explores the zeal which accompanies archeological discoveries that seem to support the validity of the Book of Mormon. It explores two of the cases mentioned above, one from the nineteenth and one from the twentieth century. One of these cases was definitely a fraud, while the other is still very much a mystery.

**THE KINDERHOOK PLATES**

In April 1843, Robert Wiley, a merchant, began digging in a large mound near Kinderhook, Pike County, Illinois, fifty-five miles south of Nauvoo. According to the *Quincy Whig*, Wiley "dreamed three nights in succession, that in a certain mound in the vicinity, there was treasures concealed—Impressed with the strange occurrence of dreaming the same dream three nights in succession, he came to the conclusion, to satisfy his mind by digging into the mound." Dr. W. P. Harris reported that "quite a number of citizens," including himself, gathered at the mound to help Wiley dig on April 23, 1843. At least two of those citizens—a Mr. Marsh and a Mr. Sharp—were Mormons. The group discovered human bones, rocks that appeared to be burned, and "six plates of brass, of a bell shape, each having a hole near the small end, and a ring through them all,


12 "From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery—Materials for Another Mormon Book," *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 1, 1843): 186. W. P. Harris, Letter to W. C. Flagg, April 25, 1855, quoted in "A Hoax: Reminiscences of an Old Kinderhook Mystery," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 5 (July 1912): 271–73, has slightly different details: "Robert Wiley, then a merchant of that place, said that he had had a number of strange dreams (as I have learned) that there was something in the mounds near Kinderhook."

13 W. Fugate, Letter to James T. Cobb, June 30, 1879, quoted in Welby W. Ricks, "The Kinderhook Plates," *Improvement Era* 65 (September 1962): 658. Fugate writes, "On the following morning quite a number of citizens were there to assist in the search, there being two Mormon elders present
and clasped with two clasps, the ring and clasps appeared to be of iron very much oxidated, the plates appeared first to be copper, and had the appearance of being covered with characters.\textsuperscript{14}

According to Wilbur Fugate, an eyewitness, “Sharp, the Mormon Elder, leaped and shouted for joy and said, Satan had appeared to him and told him not to go (to the diggings), it was a hoax of Fugate and Wiley’s, but at a later hour the Lord appeared and told him to go, the treasure was there.”\textsuperscript{15} The \textit{Quincy Whig} also found this detail important enough to record: “We learn there was a Mormon present when the plates were found, who it is said, leaped for joy at the discovery, and remarked that it would go to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon.”\textsuperscript{16} Fugate reported: “The Mormons wanted to take the plates to Joe Smith, but we refused to let them go. Some time afterward a man assuming the name of Savage, of Quincy, borrowed the plates of Wiley to show to his literary friends there, and took them to Joe Smith. The identical plates were returned to Wiley.”\textsuperscript{17}

The \textit{Times and Seasons}, however, published a certificate signed by nine people, including Fugate, which attested, “The above described plates we have handed to Mr. Sharp for the purpose of taking them to Nauvoo.”\textsuperscript{18} In a letter dated “City of Nauvoo, May 2, 1843,” Charlotte Haven explained that a Mr. Moore brought the plates to Nauvoo:

\begin{quote}
We hear very frequently from our Quincy friends through Mr. Joshua Moore, who passes through that place and this in his monthly zigzag tours through the State, traveling horseback. His last call on us was last Saturday [April 29] and he brought with him half a dozen thin pieces of brass, apparently very old, in the form of a bell about five or six inches long. They had on them scratches that looked like writing, and strange figures like symbolic characters. They were recently found, he said, in a mound a few miles below Quincy. When he
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14}W. P. Harris, “To the Editor of the Times & Seasons,” \textit{Times and Seasons} 4 (May 1, 1843): 186.
\textsuperscript{15}Ricks, “The Kinderhook Plates,” 658.
\textsuperscript{16}“From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery,” 187.
\textsuperscript{17}Ricks, “The Kinderhook Plates,” 658.
\textsuperscript{18}“We the Citizens of Kinderhook,” \textit{Times and Seasons} 4 (May 1, 1843): 186.
showed them to Joseph, the latter said that the figures or writing on them was similar to that in which the Book of Mormon was written, and if Mr. Moore could leave them, he thought that by the help of revelation he would be able to translate them.19

Whoever brought the plates to Nauvoo apparently did so because eager Mormons at the scene of discovery suggested Joseph Smith as a worthy translator and suggested that the plates were related in some way to the Book of Mormon. As the Quincy Whig reported, “Some pretend to say, that Smith the Mormon leader, has the ability to read them. If he has, he will confer a great favor on the public by removing the mystery which hangs over them.”20

Once the plates were in Nauvoo, Church leaders took an interest in them.21 In his journal entry on May 1, 1843, William Clayton, secretary to Joseph Smith, drew a diagram of one of the plates and wrote:

I have seen 6 brass plates which were found in Adams County by some persons who were digging in a mound. They found a skeleton about 6 feet from the surface of the earth, which was 9 foot high. [At this point there is a tracing of a plate in the journal.] The plates were on the breast of the skeleton. This diagram shows the size of the plates being drawn on the edge of one of them. They are covered with ancient characters of language containing from 30 to 40 on each side of the plates. Pres J. has translated a portion and says they contain the history of the person with whom they were found and he was a descendant of Ham through the loins of Pharaoh king of Egypt, and that he received his kingdom from the ruler of heaven and earth.22

Certainly Clayton’s entry has some errors. For example, Fugate states that “there were a few bones” and that there “was no skeleton

20“From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery,” 187.
21Kimball, “Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph,” 71–72; The plates were apparently in Nauvoo from April 29 to May 3, 1843, a period of five days. They were again returned to Nauvoo in June.
The plates, therefore, could not have been "on the breast of the skeleton." Furthermore, the mound was in Pike County, not Adams County. The source of Clayton's information is not clear from the entry.

Whether Joseph Smith actually tried seriously to translate the Kinderhook plates is a matter of controversy beyond the scope of this article. The point here is that the enthusiasm of local Mormons at the scene of discovery brought the artifacts to Church leaders' attention and that some of these leaders responded with similar enthusiasm.

Brigham Young, for example, drew an outline of one of the plates in his notebook on May 3, 1843. Inside the drawing he wrote, "I had this at Joseph Smith's house. Found near Quincy." On May 7, 1843, Parley P. Pratt wrote in a letter, "Six plates having the appearance of brass have lately been dug out of a mound by a gentleman in Pike Co. Illinois. They are small and filled with engravings in Egyptian language and contain a genealogy of one of the ancient Jaredites back to Ham the son of Noah." John Taylor, editor of the Times and Seasons, wrote his response to the Quincy Whig article, saying, "It will be seen by the annexed statement of the Quincy Whig that there are more dreamers and money diggers, than Joseph Smith, in the world, and the worthy editor is obliged to acknowledge that this circumstance will go a good way to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon."

Word that Joseph had the plates also caused excitement and speculation among the general membership of the Church. The Quincy Whig's May 1 headline read, "Singular Discovery—Material for Another Mormon Book." The article continued, "The public curios-

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24 For more on this controversy, see Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph," and Mark R. Ashurst-McGee, "Joseph Smith, the Kinderhook Plates, and the Question of Revelation," Paper presented at the Mormon History Association annual meeting, 1996, photocopy, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).
26 Ibid., 73.
ity is greatly excited and if Smith can decipher the hieroglyphics on the plates, he will do more towards throwing light on the early history of this continent, than any man now living.”

In spite of the apparent unrestrained excitement of some Church leaders and members in general, Joseph Smith remained cautious. Unlike the mummies and papyri associated with the Book of Abraham, which Joseph Smith purchased for $2,400, he did not attempt to purchase the Kinderhook plates. Markedly lacking the eagerness with which he pushed forward the Book of Abraham translation, Joseph apparently gave the Kinderhook plates no more than cursory treatment. Fugate writes, “We understood Jo Smith said [the plates] would make a book of 1200 pages but he would not agree to translate them until they were sent to the Antiquarian society at Philadelphia, France, and England.”

When John Taylor printed Wiley’s certified account of the discovery in the *Times and Seasons*, he explained:

The following letter and certificate, will, perhaps have a tendency to convince the sceptical, that such things have been used, and that even the obnoxious Book of Mormon, may be true; and as the people in Columbus’ day were obliged to believe that there was such a place as America; so will the people in this day be obliged to believe, however reluctantly, that there may have been such plates as those from which the Book of Mormon was translated.

Mr. Smith has had those plates, what his opinion concerning them is, we have not yet ascertained. The gentleman that owns them has taken them away, or we should have given a fac simile of the plates and characters in this number. We are informed however, that he purposes returning with them for translation; if so, we may be able yet to furnish our readers with it.

In June, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* press published a broadside entitled *Discovery of the Brass Plates*. This broadside contained a reprint of the *Times and Seasons* article with twelve facsimiles, one for each side

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28 "From the Quincy Whig: Singular Discovery,” 187.
On June 24, 1843, the Nauvoo Neighbor published a broadside entitled Discovery of the Brass Plates. The broadside contained twelve facsimiles, one for each side of the six Kinderhook plates (sides of only four shown here).
of the six plates, but the proposed translation never materialized.  

In the years following the discovery of the Kinderhook plates, information slowly came forth revealing a conspiracy on the part of Wiley and his associates. On April 25, 1855, Dr. Harris, a witness to the Kinderhook plates discovery, wrote a letter summarizing the incident: “I washed and cleaned the [Kinderhook] plates and subsequently made an honest affidavit of the same. But since that time, Bridge Whitton said to me that he cut and prepared the plates and he and R. Wiley engraved them themselves, and that there was nitric acid put upon [the plates] the night before that they were found to rust the iron ring and band. And that they were carried to the mound, rubbed in dirt and carefully dropped into the pit where they were found.”

Meanwhile, most Mormons had abandoned Nauvoo and settled further west in the Salt Lake Valley. While Wiley and others were confessing to fraud in the East, the Mormons were publishing documents about Joseph Smith’s alleged efforts to translate the plates. For example, work progressed on the serialized “History of Joseph Smith” which consisted largely of items from other people’s personal journals, edited and pieced together to form a history of Joseph Smith “in his own words.” An excerpt from William Clayton’s diary concerning the Kinderhook plates was recast in first person, as if it were Joseph Smith’s words: “I have translated a portion of them, and find they contain the history of a person with whom they were found. He was a descendant of Ham.” This altered version of the extract from Clayton’s journal was reprinted in the Deseret News in 1856 and in the Millennial Star in 1859.

However, some Church leaders were aware as early as 1858 that the Kinderhook plates were fraudulent. Dr. W. Wyl, who had visited Salt Lake City by the early 1880s, wrote:

Now just hear what was told me by a Mormon elder, an eye and ear wit-

32 Discovery of the Brass Plates, broadside, June 24, 1843, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

33 Harris, Letter to Flagg, April 25, 1855, 272.

ness: A class of elders, eleven or twelve, of whom I was one, was assembled in the Endowment House in 1858. Apostle Orson Pratt told us that he had been reading a work in which an account was given of the Kinderhook plates. An archeological society had heard of the plates and they wanted to get a reliable account of them. They sent down to Kinderhook, Ill., two men to investigate the matter. These men had been there for two or three weeks without result. At last they learnt the names of the parties concerned, and that the plates were made by a blacksmith; they were told so by the artist himself. Pratt told the class that he was well convinced that the plates were a fraud.

In an 1879 letter, Wilbur Fugate, one of the citizens who helped dig up the plates, wrote that the discovery of the Kinderhook plates was "a HUMBUG, gotten up by Robert Wiley, Bridge Whitton and myself." He went on to explain, "We read in Pratt’s prophecy that ‘Truth is yet to spring up out of the earth.’ We concluded to prove the prophecy by way of a joke." Fugate confessed they had etched the engravings with acid. Because the whereabouts of the plates since at least 1844 were unknown, no one could subject Fugate’s claims to a test. However, in 1920, one of the plates came into the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, and direct testing of the plates became possible.

In 1962, "two non-LDS professional engravers" examined the plate and stated that it "was engraved with a pointed instrument and not etched with acid." In an Improvement Era article, Welby W. Ricks, president of the BYU Archaeologic Society, commented: "The plates are now back in their original category of genuine. What scholars may learn from this ancient record in future years or what may be translated by divine power is an exciting thought to contemplate. This much remains. Joseph Smith, Jun., stands as a true prophet and translator of ancient records by divine means and all the world is invited to investigate the truth which has sprung out of the earth not only of the

35Wyl, Mormon Portraits, 211.

Kinderhook plates, but of the Book of Mormon as well.”

However, in 1965 George M. Lawrence, an LDS physicist, examined the plate and concluded that the “dimensions, tolerances, composition and workmanship are consistent with the facilities of an 1843 blacksmith shop and with the fraud stories of the original participants.” Another examination followed in 1980. D. Lynn Johnson, a professor in the Department of Materials Science and Engineering at Northwestern University, performed destructive tests, using a scanning electron microscope to examine the grooves. He concluded that the plate was not of ancient origin but had been etched with acid.

In 1984, Barry Fell, president of the Epigraphic Society, studied the Kinderhook facsimiles and deciphered from all the plates together a hidden message: “W Fugates Fakes. April Fools Day 1843 for Joseph Smith.”

The discovery of the Kinderhook plates was one of Mormonism’s first encounters with New World archeology. The encounter revealed a belief among early Mormons that the cultures of the Book of Mormon anciently dominated the landscape of the New World. Presumably anything dug out of the ground should relate to the Book of Mormon. Believers in the Book of Mormon apparently supposed that other sacred records like the gold plates were to be found across the American countryside. Brigham Young once spoke to the Saints about these other hidden artifacts:

There were a great many treasures hid up by the Nephites. . . . I lived right in the country where the plates were found from which the Book of Mormon was translated, and I know a great many things pertaining to that country. . . . Oliver Cowdery went with the Prophet Joseph when he deposited these plates. Joseph did not translate all of the plates; there was a portion of them sealed, which you can learn from the Book of Doctrine and Covenants. When Joseph got the plates, the angel instructed him to carry them back to the hill Cumorah, which he did. Oliver says that when Joseph and Oliver went

there, the hill opened, and they walked into a cave, in which there was a large and spacious room. He says he did not think, at the time, whether they had the light of the sun or artificial light; but that it was just as light as day. They laid the plates on a table; it was a large table that stood in the room. Under this table there was a pile of plates as much as two feet high, and there were altogether in this room more plates than probably many wagon loads; they were piled up in the corners and along the walls. The first time they went there the sword of Laban hung upon the wall.41

Young indicates that Cowdery told him this story in the early years of the Church. With such stories of “hidden treasures of the earth,”42 the Saints greeted archaeological discoveries with great zeal, convinced that such things would eventually prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. As the Times and Seasons editorialized about the discovery of some stone artifacts near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1845: “Such relics are capital stock for the Latter-day Saints, as well as is the cities, and ruins in Central America, discovered by Mr. Stevens [sic] in the very places where the Book of Mormon left them.”43

Unfortunately, the Kinderhook plates incident was also one of Mormonism’s first encounters with New World archeological fraud. The Kinderhook plates greatly disappointed those Mormons who yearned for them to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. In a sense, the Mormons’ early embrace of the Kinderhook plates backfired, since the incident has been repeatedly used in anti-Mormon literature to support claims that the Book of Mormon is false. The phrase “only a bogus prophet translates bogus plates” has been used again and again.44 However, this encounter did not stop Mormons from entangling themselves with future archeological finds.

42“Oliver Cowdery to W. W. Phelps,” Times and Seasons 2 (May 1, 1841): 393.
43“Another Mormon Witness,” Times and Seasons 6 (March 1, 1845): 831. “Mr. Stevens” is John Lloyd Stephens (1805–52), a nineteenth-century Maya explorer.
44Charles A. Shook supposedly coined this phrase, according to James D. Bales, Book of Mormon? (Rosemead, Calif.: Old Paths Book Club, 1958), 98. Shook’s phrase is quoted extensively on anti-Mormon websites.
THE TUCSON ARTIFACTS

On September 13, 1924, Charles E. Manier, a resident of Tucson, Arizona, took a drive with his family to visit the famous Picture Rocks in the Tucson Mountains ten miles northwest of downtown Tucson. As the family traveled back home on Silverbell Road, they became interested in some old lime kilns they saw on a hillside west of the road. The decaying lime kilns had once been an important industry in the Tucson area when lime was being used to waterproof adobe homes. Manier stopped the car, and the family walked to the site.

As the family approached the kilns, Manier noticed a peculiar object sticking out of the ground. Thinking it was merely a stone, he struck it with his cane. When it made a sound like a metal object, he tried to use his cane to uncover the object, but it was solidly imbedded in caliche (ka-LEE-chee), a crust of calcium carbonate that forms in arid regions over long periods of time within or on top of a stony soil. Caliche is sometimes as hard as concrete, and dynamite is often needed to break through it. Manier retrieved a pick and shovel from the car and hacked away at the resistant caliche until he uncovered a large lead cross which he later learned weighed sixty-two pounds. The cross appeared to have been cast by pouring molten metal into a rough mold that had apparently been made in the earth. The family thought they had stumbled on a headstone from an old grave.

They took the massive cross home and washed it, discovering that it was, in fact, two crosses securely fastened together by metal rivetlike fastenings. When they pried apart the two pieces of metal, they found the inner surfaces covered with a foul-smelling substance whose texture resembled beeswax. The substance was carefully removed and placed in a glass container. A form of writing, which a neighbor recognized as Latin, had been carved on the metal. The metal was also carved with depictions of three men, under which were the names “Jacobus,” “Theodorus,” and “Israel.” Above these pictures were the words “Britannia,” “Albion,” “Romani Aetius,” and “Gaul Seine.” Under the pictures was the inscription: “Councils of great cities with seven hundred soldiers A.D. 800—January 1.”

Manier took the cross to Frank H. Fowler, a professor in the Col-

45Bent, The Tucson Artifacts, 1–8; the wax was sent to the University of Arizona for analysis where a student, thinking it was garbage, threw it away.
46Ibid., 11–12, 102.
lege of Letters, Arts, and Sciences at the University of Arizona. Fowler did a partial translation, which Covey later gave fuller form:

We are borne over the sea [to] Calalus, an unknown land [where] Toltezus Silvanus ruled far and wide over a people. Theodore transferred his troops to the foot of the city Rhoda and more than seven hundred were captured. No gold is taken away. Theodore, a man of great courage, rules for fourteen years. Jacob rules for six. With the help of God, nothing has to be feared. In the name of Israel. OL. Jacob renews the city. With God's help Jacob rules with mighty hand in the manner of his ancestors. Sing to the Lord. May his fame live forever. OL.47

Later that day, Manier took the cross to anthropologist Karl Ruppert of the Arizona State Museum at the University of Arizona. After discussing the find, Ruppert agreed to go with Manier to the site the next day. While excavating further, Ruppert discovered a broken triangular piece of natural caliche with a crudely drawn head and a partial date in Roman numerals. This discovery further stirred Ruppert's curiosity, and he decided to continue working at the site.48

Manier next made contact with the owner of the property, Thomas W. Bent. At first, Bent dismissed the find as nothing more than an old tombstone. Determined, Manier returned to Bent's house bringing the cross itself on November 25, 1924. After examining the Latin text and its translation, Bent concluded: "Here was something more than just a headstone from a grave, a real mystery that aroused my intense interest."49

Manier and Bent drew up a formal agreement; and on November 28, they drove out to the site. As they began digging, Bent uncovered another cross, this one weighing about twelve pounds. Like the first cross, this cross was in two parts secured with the same rivetlike fastenings. Once the cross was taken apart, the men discovered the same foul-smelling waxy preservative under which was Latin writing. Fowler again translated the text,50 which Covey's translation later rendered as:

47Covey, *Calalus*, 187. While local newspapers speculated that "OL" was the hoaxer's initials, no one has been able to explain their meaning.
49Ibid., 16.
50Ibid., 17.
From the egg (i.e. the beginning), A.D. 790 [to] A.D. 900. Nothing but the cross. While the war was raging, Israel died. Pray for the soul of Israel. May the earth lie light on thee. He adds glory to ancestral glory. Israel, defender of the faith. Israel reigns sixty-seven years. Israel II rules for six. Israel VII [should be III] was twenty-six years old when he began to rule. Internecine war. To conquer or die. He flourishes in ancestral honor day by day. But for either event our hope is not broken in this day of grace (or: by grace of God). Time having elapsed since the source and beginning of evils, the last day and unavoidable time had come (or: is coming?). I the Lord am with Thee. OL. 31

On November 30, 1924, Manier and Bent returned to the lime kiln, and Manier uncovered another inscribed cross, crudely made in only one piece. Fowler translated the inscription: “Land of tin. Theodore. James. Romans. We are carried forth over.” 32

In December Bent hired some laborers to help with the work, and the excavating began to progress rapidly. On December 5, one of the laborers uncovered a fifth cross. It was like the first crosses—two pieces riveted together with the same waxy substance between segments. 33 Fowler’s translation reads:

Benjamin ruled the peoples. From the Seine the bravest of the Gauls came to Rome. He came to the aid of the people to lay the foundation for the city. He built a wall around the city to resist the enemy. Mighty in strength, Benjamin. He filled the multitude with religion. He was slain by Thebans. This I heard from my father five hundred years after, behind the mountain. In memory of my father Joseph.

A.D. 880: Israel III, for liberating the Toltezus, was banished. He was the first to break the custom. The earth shook. Fear overwhelmed the hearts of men in the third year after he had fled. They betook themselves into the city and kept themselves within their walls. A dead man thou shall neither bury nor burn in the city. Before the city a plain was extending. Hills rung the city. It is a hundred years since Jacob was king. Jacob stationed himself in the front line. He anticipated everything. He fought much himself. Often he smote the enemy. Israel turned his attention to the appointment of priests. We have life, a people widely ruling. OL.

51Covey, Calalus, 187–88. The bracketed correction to III is in Covey’s translation.
53Ibid., 23. See Appendix for a complete list of all thirty-two artifacts.
A.D. 895. An unknown land. Would that I might accomplish my task to serve the king. It is uncertain how long life will continue. There are many things which can be said while the war rages. Three thousand were killed. The leader with his principal men are captured. Nothing but peace was sought. God ordains all things. O.L.\textsuperscript{54}

On January 24, 1925, Eli Abegg, a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from Fort Lowell, Arizona (now part of Tucson), accompanied Manier to the site with Ruppert, Bent, and three laborers. Abegg had heard that the names on the artifacts were similar to some of the names in the Book of Mormon—Jacob, Benjamin, Israel, Joseph, although all of these names also appear in the Bible—and that some dates on the artifacts coincided with dates in the Book of Mormon. Abegg was interested in the account of a devastating final battle. Manier and Bent welcomed his interest. Abegg was well rewarded for his visit. Two more crosses were excavated during his visit. Like most of the others, these crosses consisted of two parts fastened together, with a waxy substance between each part.\textsuperscript{55}

The first cross had pictures and symbols on both parts. Its images (right-hand cross) included a crown shaped like the “crown of the Israelites” or a “bishop’s cap.” Three men were depicted, labeled Judas, Benjaminus, and Isaacus. Benjaminus wore an Egyptian headdress. Under the pictures of the three men was a Roman map, including Rome, Gaul, Briton and Calalus land. The initials V-O-C followed the map. The second part of the first cross had a Roman lamp or a Hebrew habdalah, both of which were used in ceremonies and found on Roman and Jewish coins. Under the lamp was found a Roman R similar to that found on Roman pictures. This was followed by a picture of a Hebrew temple and the initials T.O.B. The second cross depicted two men labeled Josephus and Saulus and the three-forked staff of the Hebrews. All images suggested Roman, Jewish, and Christian cultural influences. The Latin engravings were translated as: “L[audatur]: is praised. Joseph Saul. In memoriam. K[ing]. Joseph is praised.”\textsuperscript{56}


\textsuperscript{54}Covey, \textit{Calalus}, 188–89.
\textsuperscript{55}Bent, \textit{The Tucson Artifacts}, 28–34.
\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., 106–7.
On December 5, 1924, laborers uncovered this fifth cross near Tucson, containing the most detailed Latin inscription. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

lives at Fort Lowell, is aiding Manier and Bent in searching out this theory. At his request Eli Abegg has been supplied with blueprints of the several plates found. Other Mormons soon got involved. The *Arizona Daily Star* reported:

While laymen and scientists, novice and expert file past the display of artifacts taken from the excavations in the lime kiln near the Silver Bell road, arguing the authenticity of the leaden relics, followers of the Book of Mormon, of which there are about 150 in this community, are the only ones to offer a solution of the mystery. The relics, the Mormons say, bear out the epic tale of their golden book. . . . The parallel, as drawn by Gordon Kimball, first counselor to the presiding elder, A. B. Ballantyne, points out the definite resemblance between the inscriptions on the artifacts and the story as told in the

57 “Inscribed Plate Found Near City May Unfold Story of Early Race Here, Belief Now,” *Tucson Citizen*, February 1, 1925, 14.
Eager, even zealous, local Mormons were determined to make a connection between the discoveries and the Book of Mormon. As Bent later put it, "We must admit . . . that some of the [Mormon] membership were rather enthusiastic in their conclusions as to the bearing the artifacts might have on [Mormon] history, and were in a most receptive mood." Some local Mormons tried to pull Church leaders into the mystery. According to the Arizona Daily Star: "Heber J. Grant, president of the Mormon Church, positively declined to comment upon the statement by Gordon Kimball, first counselor to the presiding elder at Tucson, carried in Associated Press dispatches tonight, when they were read to him. 'We do not care to make any statement at this time,' said President Grant. He expressed doubt that Kimball was qualified to make an authentic statement regarding Cumorah Hill."

Abegg convinced Manier and Bent to send blueprints of the artifacts to Heber J. Grant, but President Grant remained courteously skeptical, responding: "The plates which have been unearthed by you we think have no connection with the plates from which the Book of Mormon was translated." Abegg then sent a letter and photographs of the artifacts to Anthony W. Ivins, Grant’s counselor. Abegg wrote, "If I were called upon to make a statement as to whether or not [the artifacts] were genuine, I would certainly say that they were." Ivins responded: "They appear to have no connection with the people referred to in the Book of Mormon, but there is a well established tradition among the Welsh people that at about the time of the date marked on the plates, Prince Madoc of Wales sailed away with twelve ships to America, to which country he had been before, and that nothing was heard from these people afterwards. I am wondering if it is not possible that these plates may have

58 "Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition Except Dates, Says Elder," Arizona Daily Star, December 16, 1925, 1. Kimball was a counselor in the Tucson Branch, which was a unit in the California Mission.
61 Bent, The Tucson Artifacts, 189.
On January 24, 1925, laborers uncovered this seventh two-part cross and another in the presence of LDS Church member Eli Abegg. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

something to do with that expedition.”

Ivins shared the information sent to him with the editorial staff of the Improvement Era, the Church’s official magazine. J. M. Sjodahl used this information to compile an article about the Tucson artifacts for the July 1925 issue. In addition to a historical report of the discovery and excavation, Sjodahl also speculated that the hill or mountain referred to by the artifacts could be the Hill Cumorah, since the dates noted on the artifacts “present an extraordinary coincidence with the chronology of the Book of Mormon.”

For the moment, the Mormon connection to the Tucson artifacts continued to play itself out in the media. In 1925, one local Tucson paper seriously asked, “Did the Lamanites settle in Arizona after

63Bent, The Tucson Artifacts, 190.
64Sjodahl, “Archaeological Finds in Arizona,” 818.
they had killed off the Nephite tribe?” The article explained: “The Book of Mormon recounts the slaying of the Nephites and records that the Lamanites, after the slaying journeyed to the southwestern part of the North American continent, where they were said to have settled.”65 The Arizona Daily Star contacted Levi Edgar Young, professor of western history at the University of Utah and a member of the First Council of the Seventy, who gave it as his opinion that the “battle of the mountain” mentioned on the Tucson artifacts could refer to the battle of the Hill Cumorah and that the retreating Lamanites “might have gone to Arizona.”66

The Mormons were not the only ones taking the Tucson artifacts seriously. On February 14, 1926, the American Association for the Advancement of Science held a conference in Phoenix, Arizona. Several of the participants presented papers supporting the authenticity of the artifacts. Laura Ostrander, a history teacher at Tucson High School, focused her paper on the history of the Jews in the Roman Empire and possible causes for migration. Ostrander believed the find was genuine and that it provided evidence of a Roman Jewish colonization of America seven hundred years before Columbus discovered the new land. She reported from her research that Albion was a district in Cornwall, England (Britannia) in which the Romans worked some tin mines from the fifth century. The Seine River and Seine provinces of France (Gaul) were connected to Rome by one of the Roman roads. Roman writers spoke of the vineyards along the Seine as early as the fourth century. The inscriptions showed both a Jewish and Roman influence. There was, in fact, a Roman Jew named Theodorus who lived sometime between A.D. 550 and 800. Ostrander even suggested that the bearded white man of the Toltecs might be the Israel III mentioned in the artifacts.67

Dr. Clifton J. Sarle, a southwestern geologist, focused his paper on the caliche formation, believing it had formed on the artifacts over a period of many centuries. He rejected the idea that the artifacts could have been placed under layers of caliche as a hoax. Dr. Sarle then hypothesized, based on geography and geology, that Roman Jews had voyaged by sea to the coast of southern Mexico, then fol-

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65“Inscribed Plate Found Near City,” 14.
Allowed the Santa Cruz River to the Tucson area.\textsuperscript{68}

Dr. Byron Cummings, curator of the Arizona Museum and head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Arizona, also supported the authenticity of the artifacts at the conference. "On the basis of the apparent geological evidence," said Cummings, "I believe that these objects had been embedded in the caliche here for a few centuries before they were discovered, but I would not hazard any estimate as to how many centuries." Dr. Andrew E. Douglas, an archaeologist, concurred: "The difficulty is that the caliche looks as if it had not been disturbed for even thousands of years. Caliche constitutes the crux of the problem." Dr. Neil M. Judd of the Smithsonian Institution wrote to Manier, "I am still at a loss to explain the paradox of your interesting discoveries. The inexplicable fact in connection with the finds is their occurrence beneath layers of caliche."\textsuperscript{69}

But the artifacts also aroused doubts. The odd mixture of symbols later led Judd to hypothesize that the objects might be traced to some "mentally incompetent individual with a flare for old Latin and the wars of antiquity."\textsuperscript{70} The New York Times reported: "The combination of Christian cross, Moslem crescent, Hebraic seven-branched candlestick and Free-masonry emblems has imposed a heavy tax on the credulity of investigators, but their appearance of having been covered and embedded in stone by natural processes has puzzled skilled archaeologists. Some have arrived at the opinion that, whatever their origin, the objects lay for centuries in the earth where they were found."\textsuperscript{71}

The New York Times also reported Fowler's observation that virtually all the Latin inscriptions on the Tucson artifacts were either quotations from Latin writers like Virgil and Cicero, or common Latin expressions easily found in Latin grammars and glossaries. Fowler also pointed out that the English word "Gaul," found on the artifacts, was not adopted from the Latin "Gallia" until around 1600. "What we have," explained Fowler, "is a collection of phrases and sentences strung together, sometimes with some slight connection,

\textsuperscript{68}"The Leaden Artifacts," \textit{Arizona Republican}, February 19, 1926, 4. The newspaper's name changed to \textit{Arizona Republic} in 1930.
\textsuperscript{69}Bent, \textit{The Tucson Artifacts}, 99, 161, 238.
\textsuperscript{70}Ibid., 99.
sometimes with none." Fowler concluded, however, that "if it was a hoax" it had been "committed several hundred years ago" and was therefore "almost as interesting as if it had been the work of the people whose history it purported to tell."\(^7^2\) One unidentified "eastern scientist" commented to Bent, "My guess would be if they are old, that they represent the regalia of some peculiar cult that might have flourished for a time near Tucson. The serpent-cross would indicate something of a semireligious nature."\(^7^3\)

As the debate between supporters and detractors heated up, it resulted in name-calling, innuendo, and accusations on all sides. Eastern scientists began to question the authenticity of the relics and even suggested that Bent and his colleagues were themselves the hoaxers. Bent called this conclusion a "trial by remote control," contending that the eastern scientists had jumped to conclusions without taking

\(^7^3\)Bent, \textit{The Tucson Artifacts}, 333.
the time to study the facts of the case.\textsuperscript{74}

The local Mormons found themselves in the midst of this controversy. On December 16, 1925, the \textit{Arizona Daily Star} reported, “It has been intimated from several sources that the find was only a colossal hoax which was planted by the Mormon followers.”\textsuperscript{75} Bent dismissed this suggestion out of hand: “Any probability or possibility of a ‘hoax’ or ‘planting’ by the members of the Mormon faith is not only ridiculous but a dastardly canard to either delude the public or besmirch the name and character of an exemplary religious order.”\textsuperscript{76}

One of the most interesting theories was that the Mormon Battalion had perpetrated the hoax when it passed through the area in 1846. Bent, seeking information about the Mormon Battalion from the University of Utah, received a reply from A. William Lund, Assistant LDS Church Historian:

Your letter to the University of Utah has been given to me for answer. The Mormon Battalion left Tucson on Dec. 18, 1846, and continued its journey toward the Gila River. At the end of a 5 or 6 miles travel the battalion stopped to fill their canteens and water the animals. Henry G. Boyle in his journal states that “at nine a.m. the Battalion started and marched down Tucson Creek [Santa Cruz River] Six miles.” This is the only mention of any stream of water being named. After watering the animals the Battalion continued its march until 9 p.m. when the camp was made without water. I have checked the names of the members of the Battalion but find no one whose initials are O.L. We would be pleased to have, for filing in our library, your story of the finding of the artifacts that were excavated on your property and of the characters, etc., contained on them.\textsuperscript{77}

Fortunately for the Mormons, the press found a more intriguing theory to fill its columns. In 1926, the \textit{Tucson Citizen} reported that Timotio Odohui, a talented sculptor, had once lived near the kilns. According to the \textit{Citizen}, Odohui was a near-genius who had graduated from a Mexican university but had fled to the United States be-

\textsuperscript{74}Bent, \textit{The Tucson Artifacts}, 136.
\textsuperscript{75}“Tucson Artifacts Bear Out Mormon Tradition,” 1. Mormons were also accused of planting the Los Lunas Decalogue Inscription in New Mexico. Deal, \textit{Discovery of Ancient America}, 1, 10.
\textsuperscript{76}Bent, \textit{The Tucson Artifacts}, 191.
\textsuperscript{77}Ibid., 195-96.
The serpent cross (left), discovered August 29, 1925, was similar to Celtic cross designs and had a snake slithering through it. The Latin engravings have been translated as: "We are born over the sea from Rome [to] Calalus, an unknown land. They came in the year of our Lord 775 and Theodore ruled the peoples." The crescent cross (right), discovered September 1, 1925, contained engravings similar to those found on the other Tucson artifacts: winged angels, a menorah, incense lambs, and a bishop’s cap. However, the crescent design was unique, similar to that found in ancient Islamic art. Courtesy Arizona Historical Society.

cause of political difficulties. Odohui was said to be eccentric with a near-obsession about buried treasure. He owned a large library of books, including Roman classics and books in Greek and Hebrew. The paper also said its source, a man named Ruiz, had seen some of Odohui’s art work.

Curious about the reports, Cummings located and interviewed Ruiz, who insisted that he had seen a stone cross intended to be a tombstone, a stone head, and a metal horse. Ruiz knew that Odohui had some books, but he did not know what kind or what language. The family spoke only Spanish, as far as he knew. Ruiz confessed that he could not point out the exact location of the Odohui home site.78

Local newspapers argued over the meaning of this latest hypothesis:

_Arizona Republican:_ A sculptor hardly would devote himself to the manufacture of swords or crosses, the latter inscribed with Hebrew, Greek and Latin phrases of doubtful meaning. Besides, if he did desire to perpetrate a fake, he could not have piled upon the artifacts twenty centuries of caliche and other sediment, such as it is agreed overlaid the discoveries. Yet the cattleman’s [Ruiz] story, in which a sculptor, dim and shadowy as he appears, figures, is just that much more evidence to be dispelled before the genuineness of the artifacts will be admitted by the unthinking public.79

_Tucson Daily Independent:_ The _Tucson Citizen_ is going out of its way to stamp the artifacts found on the Silverbell road as fakes. It

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78Ibid., 212–20.
seems as if the *Citizen* is deliberate in attempting to "laugh the matter out of court." The reason for the *Citizen*’s attitude on the matter is that it feels, evidently, that it did not get the right "news break" on the story, according to Messrs. Bent and Manier. If that is the case, the *Citizen* is going to some lengths to "take it out of the hides," of the discoverers of the relics.\(^{80}\)

*Arizona Daily Star:* It is but natural that in the search for the truth concerning the Tucson artifacts, there will be a few who will try to cloud the issue by bringing forth evidence which after investigation, fades into thin air.\(^{81}\)

*Prescott Courier:* One Tucson paper affirms the "artifacts," relics found near the Old Pueblo are real, while another contends they are not. What does a newspaper know about tablets with inscriptions on them anyway? If they were aspirin tablets, it would be different.\(^{82}\)

Nothing more was ever ascertained about Timotio Odohui, but few accepted the story as an adequate explanation for the relics found on Silverbell Road. Of the many theories, Bent wrote: "Many people have been ready to condemn the artifacts without a complete investigation and a fair trial. The discovery had never really had its day in court." The great bulk of the evidence contra to the authenticity of the artifacts has been hearsay and unsubstantiated. It is the type that would be summarily thrown out of court as being incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial. Instead of having a solution to this problem, we find it more deeply steeped in mystery as the years have rolled by."\(^{83}\)

In the 1970s, Cyclone Covey, a history professor at Wake Forest University, came out in support of the authenticity of the Tucson artifacts. Covey put forward the theory that the artifacts are evidence, not of Romans, but of a massive expedition undertaken in secret by Charlemagne, king of the Franks. From A.D. 800 until his death fourteen years later, Charlemagne was also emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and a warlike expansionist. Latin was the official language of his realm, and Charlemagne showed great tolerance toward Europe's Jewish population. The year of Charlemagne's ascension to emperor, 800, is prominent among the dates on the artifacts. Covey pointed out that scribes had produced multiple copies of manuscripts written in Latin since the days of the Roman Empire and that a group of emi-

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\(^{81}\)"Clouding the Issue," 6.

\(^{82}\)Bent, *The Tucson Artifacts*, 222.

\(^{83}\)Ibid., vi.
A few of the various swords found at the Silverbell Road excavation site in 1925.
grating Europeans would have likely brought some of these literary and historical treasures with them to preserve their heritage. Covey believed that OL was a war survivor who was not entirely literate. OL knew enough to borrow familiar and descriptive passages from a surviving manuscript to piece together a history of his people, which explained why some inscriptions on the artifacts were in flawless Latin while others were in imperfect Latin.84

In 1990, Barry Fell, president of the Epigraphic Society, discovered that all but one of the sayings on the artifacts were mottos of British nobility who had been honored with coats of arms by the British sovereigns. Fell guessed that the artifacts were the “regalia of some order of Freemasons, with special interest in Hebrews,” the same conclusion drawn by Judd and others in the 1920s.85

Detractors, however, have never adequately answered the questions about the caliche. All archaeologists who had worked on the site agreed that the caliche had not been disturbed, that the objects were well embedded and had even left impressions where the caliche formed around them, and that the objects had been in the area for a very long time. In 1990, geologist Phil Pearthree, who visited the site, “felt that in this type of setting and under normal circumstances caliche would not form over decades but rather over centuries and perhaps millennium.”86

Thomas Bent died in 1972. His son, Thomas Bent Jr., donated the artifacts to the Arizona Historical Society Museum in Tucson in 1994.87 Don Burgess, a guest curator, prepared an exhibit of the artifacts in February 2003.88

As with the Kinderhook plates, the Mormons’ eager interest in the Tucson artifacts backfired and led to accusations of fraud. As late

84 Covey, Calalus, 33–34.
86 Stanton, Visitors to America, 190–91.
as August 2002, an article about the artifacts in the Arizona Republic stated: "The idea of lost Hebrew tribes making their way to the New World suggested to some that Mormons may have had a hand, though the dates are not consistent with Mormon theories. One theory even has it that Brigham Young himself manufactured and planted the items but died before he could 'discover' them."\(^{89}\)

Accusations of fraud failed to squelch Mormon curiosity in the artifacts. In 1929, the senior Bent moved to Phoenix, Arizona, where he found that the Mormons' interest in the artifacts "was most intense": "Requests were received by me from several of the Mormon churches in the valley for talks on and exhibitions of the relics." James W. LeSueur, an assistant to the Arizona Temple president, asked permission to take the artifacts to Salt Lake City, where they could be exhibited in the Church's museum on Temple Square and be examined by scientists in Utah. In his request, LeSueur wrote, "Our people are still talking of the wonderful privilege of viewing [the artifacts] at our Stake Mezona, for which we surely thank you."\(^{90}\) However, Bent declined the invitation, adding: "The members and officials of the Mormon Church, in Arizona and Utah, were very interested in the relics. This interest, while somewhat diminished by the passage of time, continues to this day. A number of the members of the church believe that the artifacts are directly related to the history of their people and their religion. However, the stamp of approval has never been placed upon these conclusions by the hierarchy of the church."\(^{91}\)

**Conclusions**

Believers in the Book of Mormon, when confronted with archaeological discoveries, responded with enthusiasm and zeal, seeing in them possible support of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon. The evidence shows that such support becomes an intensely passionate experience steeped in inner desires rather than reasoned judgments. Such advocacy can perhaps best be explained as a psychological, emotional, and spiritual state based on the individual's desire or yearning for religious certitude, thus seeking to find in archaeological evidences the physical proof that would not only justify their faith but also convince the world of the truthfulness of their religion. John Tay-

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89Ibid.
91Ibid., 189.
lor expressed this desire to convince the world through physical proof in 1843 when he compared the discovery of the Kinderhook plates to the discovery of the New World by Columbus: “Thus at variance with the opinions of the great, in opposition to science and religion, he set sail, and actually came to America; it was no dream, no fiction; but a solid reality; and however unphilosophical, and infidel the notion might be, men had to believe it; and it was soon found out, that it would agree both with religion and philosophy.”

This need for justification and validation causes otherwise rational individuals to leap to conclusions about archeological finds that are based on slender evidence. Charles A. Shook observed this phenomenon: “It is astonishing with what ease Mormonism swallows any story that smacks of mystery, no matter how preposterous the story may be or how much of scientific condemnation there may be against it.”

Hugh Nibley observed:

Not infrequently, Latter-day Saints tell me that they have translated a text or interpreted an artifact, or been led to an archeological discovery as a direct answer to prayer, and that for me to question or test the results is to question the reality of revelation; and often I am asked to approve a theory or “discovery” that I find unconvincing, because it has been the means of bringing people to the Church—such practitioners are asking me to take their zeal as an adequate substitute for knowledge; but . . . they refuse to have their knowledge tested.

This is not to say that there is no value in exploring the Book of Mormon through New World archaeology or that the research conducted by groups such as the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) is misguided. The FARMS webpage explains:

The insights of studies such as those produced in the name of FARMS are of secondary importance when compared with the eternal truths that can be learned by a careful reading and study of these revealed texts, guided by the Spirit. Still, solid research and a faithful academic perspective on the scriptures can supply certain kinds of useful information and can answer questions, even if only tentatively, concerning

93Charles A. Shook, American Anthropology Disproving the Book of Mormon (Cleveland, Ohio: Utah Gospel Mission, 1952), 20.
94Nibley, “Zeal without Knowledge,” 73.
many significant and interesting issues dealing with the ancient backgrounds, origins, composition, and meanings of scripture. 95

Indeed, Mormon scholars involved in linking the scriptures to New World archeology have produced “many significant and interesting” findings. 96

Yet the cases above illustrate that Mormon zeal to connect the Book of Mormon to New World archeology can be misguided and lead to unfounded presumptions and shaken religious faith. Joseph Smith cautioned the Nauvoo Relief Society sisters against being “subject to overmuch zeal, which must ever prove dangerous and cause

95 “About FARMS,” The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, retrieved on May 14, 2004, from http://farms.byu.edu/aboutfarms.php. After years of studying New World archaeology and the Book of Mormon, Paul R. Cheesman, “External Evidences of the Book of Mormon,” in By Study and Also by Faith, 2:86, concluded: “The Book of Mormon was not intended to be read as an archaeological document. Certain mundane activities were only mentioned to provide cohesion to the narrative. . . . The main purpose of the Book of Mormon is spiritual.”

them to be rigid in a religious capacity." When individuals seek with great zeal to validate their faith through physical proof, they can lose their faith when the proof fails to materialize. Such was the case with Thomas Stuart Ferguson.

Ferguson, founder of the New World Archeological Foundation (an organization devoted to proving that the Native American civilizations derived from ancient Israel), called this intensely passionate experience his "magnificent obsession." In a letter to Elder LeGrand Richards about Book of Mormon archeology, Ferguson admitted, "I burn with a desire to see the work expanded and pushed forward with zeal." Stan Larson, Ferguson's biographer wrote: "Filled with confidence and fired with enthusiasm, Ferguson embarked on a real-life odyssey in search of the origins of the high civilizations of Mesoamerica, firmly believing that such investigations would bring forth incontrovertible evidence supporting the historical claims of the Book of Mormon."

During the 1940s, Ferguson proclaimed: "For many years I have been actively interested in the Book of Mormon, and I believe I have an unusually strong testimony of its divinity." Over the next two decades, Ferguson conducted numerous expeditions to Central America, some of them financed by the LDS Church. He also produced a number of publications on how archaeological evidence supported the Book of Mormon, one of them coauthored with a General Authority. In January 1955, Ferguson wrote to the First Presidency, asking for additional support for his archaeological work:

98 Stan Larson, "The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 23, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 64, 67. The New World Archeological Foundation was founded in 1952 with the goal of "testing the theory that [the high civilizations of the Americas] as set forth in the Book of Mormon were derived from ancient Israel" (63). Ferguson was the foundation's president from 1952 to 1961.
99 Ibid., 59.
100 Ibid.
101 Ferguson authored *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon* (Oakland, Calif.: Kolob Book Company, 1950) with Milton R. Hunter, a member of the First Council of Seventy.
The Book of Mormon is the only revelation from God in the history of the world that can possibly be tested by scientific physical evidence. . . To find the city of Jericho is merely to confirm a point of history. To find the city of Zarahemla is to confirm a point of history but it is also to confirm, through tangible physical evidence, divine revelations to the modern world through Joseph Smith, Moroni, and the Urim and Thummim. Thus, Book of Mormon history is revelation that can be tested by archeology.102

However, after spending decades trying to find “tangible, physical, enduring, unimpeachable evidence that Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God and that Jesus lives,” Ferguson became disillusioned when the hoped-for evidence did not materialize. In 1976, Ferguson stated that the Book of Mormon was “fictional and will never meet the requirements of the dirt-archaeology. . . . What is in the ground will never conform to what is in the book.”103 Larson concluded: “Perhaps Ferguson’s case shows the real danger—and futility—of trying to use archeological evidence to prove theological dogma, since religious faith ought to be based on an inner conviction not external evidence.”104 Referring to the Kinderhook plate incident, Stanley B. Kimball, wrote: “Many people . . . have an appetite for hearsay and a hope for ‘easy evidence’ to bolster or even substitute for personal spirituality and hard-won faith that comes from close familiarity with truth and the communion with God.”105 Believers in the Book of Mormon will, no doubt, always have an interest in archaeology. After all, the faith of most Mormons “rests on the conviction that the Book of Mormon, the Bible, and other ancient scripture such as the Book of Abraham and the Book of Moses are all the word of God, written by prophets of God, and that they are authentic, historical texts.”106 Mormon interest in linking the Book of Mormon to archeology goes back to Joseph Smith himself. The Book of Mormon, the record of ancient inhabitants of the Americas, was originally written on gold plates deposited in a stone box in the side of a hill with other artifacts, including the Urim and Thummim (Joseph

102Larson, “The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson,” 64.
103Ibid., 66, 79, 86.
104Ibid., 86.
105Kimball, “Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph,” 74.
Some Mormon archaeologists believed that the “Lehi Stone” in Chiapas, Mexico, represented Lehi’s dream of the Tree of Life. Here, on June 16, 1960, Thomas S. Ferguson stands behind (left) Ernest L. Wilkinson (BYU president), an unidentified young native, General Authorities Mark E. Petersen and Marion G. Romney, and BYU administrator Joseph Bentley. Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Smith—History 1:34–35). Within its pages we read of an expedition to “a land covered with dry bones,” where a record “engraven on plates of ore is found” (Mosiah 21:26–27). Lucy Mack Smith spoke of Joseph’s early anthropological interests, reporting that he “would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of
traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship.”

When in June 1834, members of Zion's Camp uncovered a skeleton on the top of an Indian mound along the Illinois River, Joseph identified the skeleton as a man named Zelph, a white Lamanite warrior who died in battle. In July 1835, Joseph Smith authorized the purchase by the Church of four Egyptian mummies and two rolls of papyrus for $2,400. In October 1842, while Joseph was acting as editor, an editorial appeared in the *Times and Seasons* that was basically a book review of *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* by John Lloyd Stephens. This work was the first accessible book in English containing detailed descriptions and drawings of ancient Mayan ruins. Excerpts from it were included in the *Times and Seasons*, along with the editorial comment: “It will not be a bad plan to compare Mr. Stephens’ ruined cities with those in the Book of Mormon: light cleaves to light, and facts are supported by facts. The truth injures no one.”

For those Mormons who tried to link the Kinderhook plates and the Tucson artifacts to the Book of Mormon, the truth was, no doubt, painful. Archaeology can fascinate and enlighten, but it cannot sustain faith alone. Yet many find themselves caught under the spell of Mormon archeological zeal; they cannot seem to help it. Ferguson told a group of General Authorities that he “had prayed to [the] Lord and asked him to stop me if it weren’t his will that we go forward.” To this remark President David O. McKay replied with a smile, “Brother

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Ferguson, you’re a hard man to stop.”

APPENDIX

LIST OF TUCSON ARTIFACTS UNEARTHED 1924–30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>By:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cross (2 parts)</td>
<td>September 13, 1924</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Caliche</td>
<td>September 14, 1924</td>
<td>Karl Ruppert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cross(2 parts)</td>
<td>November 28, 1924</td>
<td>Thomas Bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cross</td>
<td>November 30, 1924</td>
<td>Charles Manier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Cross (2 parts)</td>
<td>December 5, 1924</td>
<td>hired laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Cross (2 parts)</td>
<td>January 24, 1925</td>
<td>hired laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cross (2 parts)</td>
<td>January 24, 1925</td>
<td>hired laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>February 13, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Javelin</td>
<td>March 4, 1925</td>
<td>hired laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Spear</td>
<td>March 27, 1925</td>
<td>John S. Bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>March 28, 1925</td>
<td>hired laborers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>April 5, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier and John S. Bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Monstrance</td>
<td>April 5, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier and John S. Bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sword head</td>
<td>May 26, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sword blade</td>
<td>May 26, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier</td>
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<td>Sword grip</td>
<td>July 10, 1925</td>
<td>Charles E. Manier</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Sword tip (blade)</td>
<td>August 27, 1925</td>
<td>Antonio Corella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Cross (snake)</td>
<td>August 29, 1925</td>
<td>Antonio Corella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Spear</td>
<td>August 20, 1925</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Crescent cross</td>
<td>September 1, 1925</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Spear shaft</td>
<td>September 2, 1925</td>
<td>L. A. Borquez</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Spearhead</td>
<td>September 2, 1925</td>
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<td>Sword blade</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>November 6, 1925</td>
<td>Placido Ochoa</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Spear tip (blade)</td>
<td>November 6, 1925</td>
<td>Ricardo Balancuela</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sword</td>
<td>November 7, 1925</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Spear tip</td>
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<td>John S. Bent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Spear fragment</td>
<td>mid-January 1928</td>
<td>University of Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Spear fragment</td>
<td>February 9, 1928</td>
<td>University of Arizona</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Spear shaft</td>
<td>February 11, 1928</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Spear fragment</td>
<td>March 3, 1928</td>
<td>University of Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Spear shaft</td>
<td>March 15, 1930</td>
<td>John S. Bent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111 Larson, “The Odyssey of Thomas Stuart Ferguson,” 63.
DESERT IMAGERY AND SACRED SYMBOLISM: THE DESIGN OF THE ARIZONA TEMPLE

Paul L. Anderson

The Latter-day Saint Temple at Mesa, Arizona, is an austere and dignified structure set in a beautiful garden with desert plants and reflecting pools. Its handsome symmetrical facade forms an impressive termination to First Avenue, a broad boulevard leading east to what was once the edge of the Mormon town. The temple’s distinctive exterior design is among the simplest in the Church—a composition of rectangular forms with no suggestion of the towers and pinnacles, buttresses and arched windows that are the major features of most LDS temples. Its light tan color and broad horizontal lines connect it to the flat expanses of the desert landscape, and its plain rectangular silhouette invites comparison with the flat-topped mesas of the Southwest. It is a structure in harmony with its arid Arizona setting.

The interior of the temple is also distinctive, a unique arrangement of impressive rooms surrounding a grand skylit stair hall. The architectural plan leads temple visitors on a carefully conceived procession that symbolizes the progression of souls from earthly to heavenly realms.

The architectural design of the Arizona Temple is surprisingly

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The flat-roofed temple rises like a mesa behind the cactus garden on the Mesa Arizona Temple grounds, 1959. LDS Church Archives.

well documented. In addition to a variety of contemporary historical accounts and descriptions, original drawings and historical photographs preserved in the Utah State Historical Society, the LDS Church Archives, and private collections give an unusually detailed picture of the creation of this remarkable structure. These rich historical resources illuminate the process by which Church leaders selected a group of talented architects and challenged them to do their best work. These sources also document the wide-ranging explora-
A crowning achievement of pioneer-era architecture, the Manti Utah Temple mixes elements of medieval castles and cathedrals in its buttresses, towers, and tall windows. Photograph by Paul L. Anderson.

tion of architectural ideas and the creative sensitivity with which the architects responded to the unique circumstances of this project. Constructed with meticulous craftsmanship and attention to detail and enriched with paintings and sculpture by some of the Church’s most talented artists, the completed temple succeeded both as a powerful landmark in its community and as an evocative setting for the
most sacred rituals of Mormon worship.

**THE EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY TEMPLES**

To appreciate the originality of the Mesa Temple's architectural design, it is helpful to see it in its historical context. It was the last of three early twentieth-century temples built to serve the members of the Church on the outer fringe of Latter-day Saint settlements. These three, located in Canada, Hawaii, and Arizona, were the first new temples built since pioneer times. Brigham Young had approved the planning for the last two of the previous temples in Logan and Manti, Utah, in 1876, buildings which crowned their hillside sites with towers, buttresses, and tall windows reminiscent of medieval castles and cathedrals.

During the ensuing decades, the Church had endured a period of severe government harassment that seemed for a time to threaten its survival. As the Church made peace with the outside world in the 1890s, the Latter-day Saints transformed themselves from refugees and outcasts from American society into members of a religious denomination seeking acceptance in the life of the nation. Mormon architecture reflected this emergence into a wider world, embracing a wide variety of styles fashionable throughout the country at the time. Gothic spires, classical domes, scalloped Spanish Baroque gables, and Romanesque arches all became part of the Mormon architectural vocabulary for chapels and tabernacles in the first decade of the twentieth century.

In 1912, President Joseph F. Smith and other Church leaders marked the Church's new stability and confidence with an architectural milestone—the announcement of a new temple to serve the Mormon settlements in southern Alberta, Canada. However, this new landmark posed an architectural dilemma: Which of all the popular styles of the previous decade would be appropriate for the first temple in the new century? Church leaders addressed this question by seeking the creative ideas of the most talented people in the Church: There would be an open competition with designs submitted anonymously and placed on public display before a final selection was made. Seven architectural firms submitted entries by the December 1912 deadline, and the result was announced on January 1, 1913.¹

The First Presidency's surprising choice reflected their openness to new ideas. The winning scheme was a revolutionary design by

¹"Approved Design for Temple in Alberta Province," *Deseret Evening*
Pope and Burton's 1912 winning design for the Alberta Temple evokes the daringly modern style created by Chicago architect Frank Lloyd Wright. LDS Church Archives.

young Salt Lake architects Hyrum C. Pope (1880–1939) and Harold W. Burton (1887–1969). Pope, the thirty-one-year-old senior partner, was a bright and ambitious German immigrant who had studied architecture and engineering by correspondence and worked in architectural offices in Salt Lake City and Chicago before establishing his own Salt Lake firm in 1910. Burton, his twenty-four-year-old junior partner, the son of English immigrants, was a talented designer with one year of college training as well as work experience in several leading Salt Lake architectural offices. Their design did not draw its inspiration from any of the familiar historical styles. Rather, its powerful composition of interlocking vertical and horizontal planes and its abstract geometric ornament connected it to the modernism of Frank Lloyd Wright and other avant-garde architects of the period. Its selection in this prestigious competition gave official Church sanction to a dra-

News, January 1, 1913, 9.

2 Hyrum C. Pope, “Personal History,” n.d., typescript; photocopy in my possession. Another photocopy is in the Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

3 Evelyn Burton, interviewed by Paul Anderson, October 1973, Beverly Hills, California; notes in my possession.
matic new direction in Mormon architecture and launched the young architects into professional prominence in the city. More than two dozen meetinghouses and other structures were built in a similar modern style throughout the remainder of the decade.

Church leaders, seeking to avoid unnecessary expense in the Alberta Temple, had decided to omit the large assembly room that occupied a full upper story in each of the four earlier Utah temples. As a result, the four major ordinance rooms and the celestial room became the largest spaces in the building, and their arrangement could shape its ultimate form. Burton, the design architect, accommodated this new situation in a brilliant symmetrical architectural composition. He arranged the four ordinance rooms around the center like the spokes of a wheel, each one a few steps higher than the one before, with the celestial room in the middle at the very top of the building. Although earlier temples at Logan, Manti, and Salt Lake City also contained ordinance rooms that progressed upward through each building, the Alberta Temple placed these spaces in a more geometrically disciplined, aesthetically resolved, and symbolically powerful relationship. A person participating in a temple session would pass through all four of the ordinance rooms in an ascending spiral, finally arriving at the central celestial room, a tall space with light coming down from high windows above the roofs of the other rooms. Burton’s wife Evelyn often told the story of her husband’s jubilation on the day that he worked out this perfectly simple and powerfully appropriate plan.4

This internal arrangement also created a handsome and symbolically rich exterior form for the temple. The four ordinance rooms became the arms of a cross, each arm pointing in one of the cardinal directions, with the tall celestial room providing the suggestion of a tower in the center. Minor wings projected diagonally between the major wings, accommodating stairs and rest rooms. Standing on a terrace supported by retaining walls like a pre-Columbian temple, the symmetrical, somewhat pyramid-shaped building appeared strong and dignified, looking out over the Alberta prairies equally in all directions.

When President Joseph F. Smith returned from a trip to Hawaii in 1915 to announce his decision to build a small temple there, he again turned to Pope and Burton to design it. Published early in 1916, the general arrangement was similar to their design for Alberta, but the architects did much more than miniaturize their ear-

4Ibid.
This 1920s aerial view of the Laie Hawaii Temple shows the modern-style buildings surrounded by lush formal gardens. LDS Church Archives.

lier scheme. They simplified the Alberta floor plan, deleting the diagonal wings, thereby giving the structure a flatter, more classical appearance with a definite front facade. In a stroke of brilliance, they surrounded the tiny structure with a lush tropical garden, making it the centerpiece of a grand symmetrical composition leading the eye from the hills behind, past the temple, through the garden, and beyond to the sea in front.⁵

The Arizona Temple

The idea of building a temple in Arizona had been seriously proposed to the First Presidency by Maricopa Stake President James W. LeSueur (1878–1948) in 1912, the same year that planning began on the Alberta Temple. A delegation of Church leaders including President Smith visited the Mesa area in the fall of 1913 to inspect several possible sites, but they made no decision before the outbreak of World War I, which postponed the project. By 1919, however, several changes opened the way for the project: The war was over, Heber J. Grant had succeeded Smith as president of the Church, the Hawaii Temple was nearly completed, and the Alberta Temple was well underway. During October conference 1919, Grant announced the decision to proceed with construction of a temple in Mesa. The following February, he led a delegation that selected and authorized the purchase of a twenty-acre site adjoining the east side of the city. The site was just south of a transcontinental highway—the Apache Trail or Bankhead Highway—which LeSueur reported with some pride, was traversed by “hundreds of cars ... daily during the tourist season.”

For the design of the new temple, the First Presidency once again wisely decided to involve some of the best architects in the Church. This time, however, the presidency organized a competition that was less public than the Alberta Temple’s eight years earlier. During a meeting in April 1920 with the presidencies of the Arizona stakes, the First Presidency announced their intention to invite three of the most prominent Mormon architectural firms to submit competing designs: Pope and Burton, Cannon and Fetzer, and Young and Hansen, all of Salt Lake City. The firms were asked to begin preparation of plans in September 1920, with the final selection to be made by the First Presidency in January of the following year. Amazingly, the original drawings of all of the competing designs have survived,

7Ibid.
8Presiding Bishop’s Office, Diary, April 8, 1920, 293. Despite its title, this book contains minutes of the Presiding Bishopric’s regular meetings. I was permitted to read the minutes of this meeting in the fall of 1973 while working on a fellowship in the LDS Church Historical Department under Leonard J. Arrington. At that time, the diary was kept in the Office of the Presiding Bishopric.
as well as many preliminary studies for the winning scheme.  

For two reasons, all of the competition designs were quite different from either the Canadian or Hawaiian temples. First, although the Arizona Temple was planned to be about the same size as Alberta, its setting on a flat desert site contrasted dramatically with the rolling prairies below the rugged Canadian Rockies or the lush tropical hillside in Hawaii. It seems apparent that all of the architects tried to create designs that would respond in some way to the desert landscape. Second, American architectural tastes had also changed somewhat by 1920. The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright reflected in the two earlier temples had waned, partly as a result of scandals and tragedies in his personal life that forced him away from Chicago in search of work. Moreover, the careers of several other modernist architects also dwindled around the time of World War I. As Wright’s “Prairie Style” went out of fashion in the 1920s, the more traditional historical styles that had remained popular throughout the first two decades of the century had even less competition from modernist ideas. None of the designs for the Arizona Temple imitated the modern style of the Alberta and Hawaii Temples, and none looked back further to the old-fashioned forms of the nineteenth-century temples. All reflected the architectural tastes of their own time in various ways.

Perhaps to distinguish the temple from the churches and cathedrals of other denominations, each of the competing architectural firms looked for inspiration to outstanding secular buildings in fashionable historical styles rather than religious ones, although each of the competitors looked in a different direction.

Pope and Burton’s design for the Arizona Temple attempted to

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9 The Pope and Burton and the Cannon and Fetzer designs are in the possession of family members. Young and Hansen’s competition drawings and many preliminary sketches are in the Ramm Hansen Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, with an additional preliminary study for the Young and Hansen design in the LDS Church Archives.


11 For example, the careers of progressive architects Louis Sullivan, Irving Gill, and Charles and Henry Greene all experienced a hiatus around this time.
achieve a compromise between old and new styles. Their floor plan was similar to their earlier designs for the Alberta and Hawaii temples, with four ordinance rooms surrounding a central celestial room. On the exterior, however, they clothed their familiar plan with a mixture of classical and exotic elements. The symmetrical facade with side wings and a dome was similar in its general form to many state capitols and city halls. However, pierced grillworks over the windows and a reflecting pool with gracefully curved edges gave their design for this desert temple a Middle East or East India flavor, evoking Ottoman mosques and the Taj Mahal.

At the top of the building was a dome—not a classical round one but a modernized stepped version, similar in silhouette to the widely publicized stepped pyramid proposed by Walter Burley Griffin, a former draftsman with Frank Lloyd Wright, for his award-winning 1911 design for the legislative building in the new Australian capital city at Canberra. The architects' renderings for both designs also had reflecting pools in front. Griffin's stepped pyramid was crowned with a decorative pinnacle, while Pope and Burton's stepped dome was surmounted by a similarly proportioned statue of the Angel Moroni. It is very likely that Pope and Burton were familiar with Griffin's Canberra design since his victory in the competition was a major story in the American architectural press. Moreover, Burton's neighbor and close friend Taylor Woolley had worked with Griffin in Wright's office ten years earlier and owned a copy of some of Griffin's Canberra drawings. Whether inspired solely by that project or some other sources, the Pope and Burton design was a handsome composition, domed like a monumental civic structure, but with exotic “Arabian Nights” elements and a somewhat modern flavor.

In contrast, Cannon and Fetzer sought to create an appropriate temple design for the Southwest by turning to a regional historical style reflecting the area's Hispanic heritage. Lewis Telle Cannon

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12Microfilm copies of Walter Burley Griffin's drawings of Canberra are preserved in the Taylor Woolley Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah. Douglas W. Burton, Harold Burton's son, suggested a more direct connection when I interviewed him in October 1973. According to Douglas, Pope and Burton assisted Salt Lake architects Ware and Treganza in preparing an entry for this competition. However, I have been unable to find any evidence that they submitted an entry nor do their names appear on the official list of competitors.

Chicago architect Walter Burley Griffin’s competition-winning design for Australia’s new capital city, Canberra, probably influenced Pope and Burton’s Arizona Temple design. Taylor Woolley Collection, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.
(1872–1946) and John Fetzer (1882–1965) had formed their partnership in 1909, just a year earlier than Pope and Burton. Cannon was a son of George Q. Cannon, who had served as an apostle (1860–1901) and counselor in the First Presidency (1873–1877, 1880–1887, 1889–1901). Lewis Telle Cannon was thus part of one of the largest and most influential families in the LDS Church. He studied at the University of Deseret (now the University of Utah) before completing a bachelor’s degree at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After spending several years in Washington, D.C., as secretary to his father-in-law, Congressman Joseph Howell, he returned to Salt Lake City to practice architecture. His junior partner, John Fetzer, graduated from the Royal Architectural College of Bavaria at Nuremberg, Germany, before immigrating to Utah in 1905. Their earlier projects included the classical-style Park Building at the University of Utah and the Prairie-style technical training building at West High School.

Buildings inspired by Spanish architecture had become popular in the early twentieth century, particularly in Arizona, California, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida. Many churches, hotels, commercial buildings, and houses drew their inspiration from the white-walled and tile-roofed simplicity of the provincial Spanish mission churches of the region, while other buildings imitated the more sophisticated and florid ornament of the Spanish Baroque “Churriguereesque” style. Cannon and Fetzer apparently found direct inspiration for their Arizona Temple design from one of the style’s masterpieces—New York architect Bertram Goodhue’s romantic Spanish Baroque California Building at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego. Cannon and Fetzer, who had designed Utah’s pavilion for the same exposition, had first-hand knowledge of Goodhue’s buildings there, and they apparently adapted some of its decorative el-

13 "S. L. Architect, Active LDS Worker, Dies," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 11, 1946, clipping in “Architects” research files, Preservation Office, Utah Division of State History.
15 The most florid and elaborate Spanish baroque architecture took its name from a family of Spanish architects named Churriguera who were active from about 1690 to 1750.
ements for their temple design. In particular, they surrounded the main entrance and the large arched window in the center of the temple facade with elaborately ornamented columns, pilasters, and geometric decorations, surmounted by a statue—all details borrowed quite literally from the facade of Goodhue’s California Building. Ironically, their towerless temple was actually less religious in feeling than Goodhue’s exhibition building which included both a tower and dome, typical elements of a Spanish or Mexican baroque church. The temple had more of the appearance of a Southwestern public library or civic auditorium.

The winning design in the Arizona Temple competition was a sophisticated composition in classical style by Don Carlos Young (1882–1960) and Ramm Hansen (1879–1971). Their partnership, established in 1916, was the youngest of the three competing firms, although both partners were experienced professionals. Don Carlos Young, a grandson of Brigham Young, began his career in the office of his father, Joseph Don Carlos Young (1855–1938), one of Utah’s most prominent architects. After studying at Brigham Young College and gaining some experience as a draftsman for the Union Pacific Railroad, Don Carlos became a partner with his father in Young and Son, Architects, in 1906. He assisted in the design of two monumental classical-style buildings for the LDS Church: the Bishop’s Building (no longer standing) and the Church Administration Building (47 E. South Temple). In 1916, Ramm Hansen entered the partnership; and two years later, Joseph Don Carlos retired, leaving his son and Hansen to continue as partners. Hansen was a Norwegian immigrant who had studied at Norway’s Royal Academy of Art and Architecture before coming to Utah in 1901. A talented designer and skilled draftsman, he had already practiced architecture independ-

16 My thanks to Robert Judson Clark, former professor of architectural history at Princeton University, for bringing this connection to my attention.

17 The names of the father, Joseph Don Carlos Young, and the son, Don Carlos Young, were similar enough to cause confusion. As a result, Don Carlos Young sometimes added “Jr.” to his name. For more information about the father’s career, see Dean Jesse, Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 263–65.

18 Biographical summary from the register for the Young and Hansen Collection, USHS 1425, Utah State Historical Society.
Cannon and Fetzer’s 1920 proposed design for the Arizona Temple is an essay in Spanish Baroque style, then popular in the Southwest. Photograph courtesy of Henry Fetzer.

ently and with several prominent Salt Lake architects. The Young and Hansen partnership continued until 1959.19

Young and Hansen’s design for the Mesa Temple was an essay in dignified and restrained classical style. Ramm Hansen’s preliminary studies for the project show that during the design process the architects considered and rejected a wide range of more grandiose classical features, including a large dome, a central cupola, and a pyramidal roof. They seem to have drawn their initial inspiration from monumental public buildings of the previous two decades, like the 1907 Allegheny County Soldiers and Sailors’ Memorial in Pittsburg by architects Palmer and Hornbostel. Another of their preliminary studies with a free-standing colonnade surrounding the upper part of the temple bears a close resemblance to two classical buildings of the previous decade in Washington, D.C.: Henry Bacon’s Lincoln Memorial (1911–22) and John Russell Pope’s widely acclaimed Temple of the

19Ibid. Hansen worked as a draftsman for Richard Kletting before entering a partnership with Francis D. Rutherford (1907–11). Hansen collaborated with Cannon and Fetzer on the design of the Park Building at the University of Utah before forming his lasting partnership with Don Carlos Young in 1916.
Bertram Goodhue's impressive California Building at the 1915 Panama-California Exhibition in San Diego, 1915, was a source for many details in Cannon and Fetzer's Arizona Temple design. Photograph from “The Panama-California Exhibition,” a souvenir guidebook.
Scottish Rite (1910–16).

However, Young and Hansen eventually settled on a more modest flat-roofed design that seemed at home in the desert and was more in keeping with the building’s program and budget. Each of the four symmetrical sides of this final design included elongated pairs of simplified Corinthian pilasters framing tall windows and supporting a sculptural frieze in low relief. The delicacy and low profile of the decorative details were in harmony with a general trend in American classical architecture in the 1920s toward elegance and understatement in contrast to the heavy sculptural quality and elaborate decorations of many monumental buildings of the previous few decades.

The subdued exterior of Young and Hansen’s final design belied the temple’s dramatic and original interior layout. The floor plan was quite different from the Alberta and Hawaii Temples, but equally appropriate and impressive. It was based on the classical principle of strict symmetry with circulation paths and major rooms arranged along a central axis. Temple patrons would pass a central reflecting pool before entering through a portal in the center of the facade beneath the inscription “THE HOUSE OF THE LORD.” Moving through a small entrance vestibule into a broad foyer, they passed under two more inscriptions, “HOLINESS TO THE LORD” and “BLESSED ARE THEY WHO OBEY THE GOSPEL,” before entering the chapel waiting room.

Another portal on the inner wall of the foyer marked the entrance to the temple proper, embellished with the promise “BLESSED ARE THE PURE IN HEART FOR THEY SHALL SEE GOD.” As the architects’ cut-away section drawing clearly shows, from here, patrons could look down a marble corridor to the baptistry or directly up a grand marble stairway in the center of the building to yet another impressive portal at the very top, inscribed with the words “THE GLORY OF GOD IS INTELLIGENCE.” After climbing a few steps, men and women would turn aside in opposite directions to dressing rooms to change into white clothing, then come together again to ascend the grand stairway. However, before reaching the top they would turn again to the side at a landing to enter the first of the ordinance rooms where the temple ceremony would begin.

After passing through all four of the rooms surrounding the stair hall, each a few steps higher than the one before, they would arrive in the celestial room, a simple rectangular space ornamented with paired pilasters, classical cornices, and moldings similar to
Above: The winning proposal in the 1920 Arizona Temple competition by Young and Hansen is a restrained and elegant classical design. LDS Church Archives. Below: One of Young and Hansen's early design studies for the Arizona Temple includes a classical dome and massive corner elements. Used by permission. Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.
A central cupola crowns one of Young and Hansen’s many design studies for the Arizona Temple. LDS Church Archives.
A tall facade and pyramidal roof give classical grandeur to this Young and Hansen design study for the Arizona Temple. Utah State Historical Society.

Pittsburgh’s 1907 Soldiers and Sailors’ Memorial exemplifies the monumental classicism that inspired Young and Hansen’s Arizona Temple design. Photograph courtesy of Soldiers and Sailors’ National Military Museum and Memorial, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
those on the exterior of the building. Last of all, they would leave
the celestial room through the portal at the top of the stairs and de-
send to where they began. This arrangement provided a formal
pathway through the temple that symbolized and dramatized the
central theme of temple worship: progression through a series of
experiences toward the final goal of God’s celestial kingdom.

A detailed description of the temple published just before the
dedication makes it clear that the architects consciously evoked sym-
bolism in the architectural plan and that local Church leaders thor-
oughly understood it:

[From the foot of the stairs] one looks through the vault under
the stairway to the baptistry, which represents the condition of burial
below the earth. And then, as he glances upward, along the grand stair
way, he views the connection leading to the different rooms repre-
senting the progress achieved in life by the human race. At its summit,
he beholds the celestial room, the highest of all. In moving upward
from room to room he receives a graphic picture symbolizing the im-
portant steps in the scriptural life.20

Many elements of the design, including strict symmetry, move-
ment along a central axis, and a dramatic skylit stair hall, were com-
mon features in city halls, libraries, museums, Masonic halls, and
other grand public buildings of the time. Young and Hansen adapted
these architectural forms and devices brilliantly to the practical needs
and spiritual message of temple worship, thus imbuing them with
religious symbolism.

Construction on the temple commenced in April 1922 and con-
tinued for five years. Reinforced concrete columns, beams, and floors
formed the structural framework, with walls of brick faced with
glazed terra cotta tiles. LDS Church leaders sent Arthur Price
(1874–1971) from Salt Lake City to oversee the project. The Brit-
ish-born architect had trained as a draftsman before converting to
Mormonism at age twenty-seven and immigrating to Utah in 1905.
He had already worked as a draftsman and architect in Salt Lake City
for fifteen years when he accepted a job with the Church Architec-
tural Department in 1921. The next year, the forty-eight-year-old ar-
chitect moved to Mesa where he lived during the five years of temple

20, 1927, Sec. 3, p. 4.
This Young and Hansen design study for the Arizona Temple with its free-standing colonnade resembles two important buildings in Washington, D.C.: the Lincoln Memorial (1914–22) and the Temple of the Scottish Rite (1910–16). Used by permission. Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.

John Russell Pope’s monumental 1910–16 Temple of the Scottish Rite in Washington, D.C., has a simple foundation story with a central door, a handsome colonnade, and a pyramidal roof—elements that appear in the early design above. Photograph by Paul L. Anderson
construction. Under Price's direction, the builders took great care in obtaining the highest quality materials and workmanship. For example, each load of cement, sand, and rock was tested for chemical purity and strength, and the mixing of concrete was timed "to the second." At the end of construction, the local newspaper extravagantly praised the quality of work: "It was built so as not only to stand but to withstand the spoilation of nature and the ravages of time, as a veritable rock of ages, almost as perfect as if cleft by the hand of God."

Ambitious and impressive murals by prominent LDS artists adorned the major rooms. Well-known Salt Lake artist Lee Greene Richards painted two colorful murals on the walls of the grand stair hall, one showing Joseph and Hyrum Smith preaching to Indians and the other portraying missionaries baptizing Indians. Danish-born painter F. E. Weiborg of Ogden painted the creation room, and Paris-trained A. B. Wright of the LDS University in Salt Lake City painted the garden room with the four rivers of Eden on its four walls (Gen. 2:10–14). Kaysville artist LeConte Stewart's world room murals seemed particularly appropriate to this temple—a harsh desert landscape with barren mountains in the background, hungry lions on a rock outcropping, and vultures gliding menacingly over the desert floor. J. Leo Fairbanks, dean of the Art Department at the University of Oregon, painted the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood in the baptistry, assisted by his father, J. B. Fairbanks, and his younger brother Avard. The font itself was particularly beautiful, cast from the same molds created by Torlief Knaphus for the Alberta Temple, but faced with molded, polychromed, and glazed terra cotta tiles made by the California Faience Company in Oakland.

The exterior of the building included a sculptured frieze on its four corners depicting the gathering of the Latter-day Saints from the

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21 "He's Played a Big Role in Building of Temples," *Church News*, May 10, 1969, 14. Price had a long career working for the LDS Church, serving as Church Architect (1935–44). In 1962 at age eighty-eight, Church leaders called him out of retirement to help supervise the construction of the Oakland Temple.


24 Murals described in ibid.
Young and Hansen’s competition drawings for the entrance (ground) floor (top) and the main (second) floor of the Arizona Temple show the strict classical symmetry of a building centered on a monumental staircase. Utah State Historical Society. Used by permission. All rights reserved.
The strict symmetry of the newly completed Arizona Temple facade, reflecting pool, gates, and walkways gives the structure a sense of repose while emphasizing the central doorway. LDS Church Archives.

This cutaway section drawing of the Arizona Temple from Young and Hansen's drawings shows the dramatic vistas seen from the base of the grand staircase. Used by permission. Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.
This construction photograph shows the reinforced concrete columns and beams that form the building's structural framework. LDS Church Archives.

four corners of the world. A. B. Wright made sketches for the frieze which were sculpted by Torlief Knaphus and cast in glazed terra cotta to match the rest of the building by the California Faience Company. The frieze depicts people of sixteen nationalities leaving their homes, embarking on ships, arriving in America, and crossing the plains by wagon and handcart. In addition to French, Swiss, Italian, Dutch, German, Bulgarian, English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and American pioneers, the frieze also shows Mexicans and American Indians traveling to join the Saints. The Hawaiians, on the other hand, are shown as contented in their own land (one woman is playing the ukulele) because now they have a temple of their own and have no need to gather abroad. Wright reportedly took the figures’ poses and costumes “from native scenes that he had personally observed in his travels.”

Upon completion, the temple was open for public tours for five months, attracting over 100,000 visitors prior to its dedication by President Grant on October 25, 1927. In the decades that followed, the temple grounds developed into an attractive arboretum that accentuated the building’s semitropical setting. Magnificent dark green

Italian cypresses formed impressive rows around the four sides of the temple site, like a line of sentinels between the sacred precinct and the outside world. Eventually, the gardens also included twenty-one varieties of citrus fruit trees, and, according to a 1949 *Church News* article, “every known variety of cactus found in Arizona.” The temple foyer was enhanced for many years by a magnificent hand-woven Navajo rug, one of the largest ever made, that was donated to the building about 1949.

In the 1970s, Church leaders decided to convert the temple to the film presentation, and to add a larger entrance vestibule and a new wing containing modern dressing rooms and other needed facilities. Sadly, this remodeling disrupted the well-conceived sym-

26Young and Hansen’s rendering of the temple shows that these cypresses were part of the original landscape design. In a telephone conversation March 12, 2004, with Courtney Peterson, current Mesa Arizona Temple grounds supervisor, I was delighted to learn that the five surviving original cypresses are being carefully nurtured while new cypresses are being replanted as close to the 1927 landscape design as possible.

27“Unusual Collection of Rare Trees Found on Arizona Temple Grounds,” *Church News*, July 3, 1949. Although the cactus gardens included an impressive array of local specimens, Courtney Peterson reported in a telephone conversation in September 2003 that Arizona has far more varieties of cactus than the gardens could have possibly contained.

28Darrell Jones, “The Navajo Rug,” research report, typescript, Education Department, Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City. I am indebted to Jenny Lund, museum educator, for sharing this report with me. The report presents two alternative histories of the rug. One account credits William E. McGee, Harold Springer, and Clarence E. Wheeler, the three LDS owners of the Lower Greasewood Trading Post near Ganado, Arizona, with commissioning the rug from a local non-LDS Navajo weaver, Stella Clark, in 1945, and subsequently donating the rug to the temple. A second account credits Dr. Junius Gibbons with commissioning the rug for $5,000, lending it to the temple in 1949, and converting the loan into a gift about 1954. After many years in the temple foyer, the rug was transferred to the Museum of Church History and Art in 1979. The museum displayed it for several years in the 1980s at the Jacob Hamblin Home in Santa Clara, Utah. It is currently stored at the museum. Although the temple rug, measuring twenty-two by twenty-seven feet, may have been the largest Navajo rug ever made at the time, at least three larger rugs have subsequently been made by Navajo artisans.
This detail of the temple’s frieze depicts French and Italian converts taking leave of their countrymen as they set off for Zion. LDS Church Archives.

bolic processional pathway through the building and removed the murals from the three ordinance rooms, although the grand stairway with its murals and the celestial room remained mostly intact. The exterior changes, although carefully designed to match the materials and details of the original building, altered its symmetry and proportions. Some of the interior compromises were mitigated in a more enlightened refurbishing in 1992 when portions of the murals saved by local volunteers twenty years earlier were reinstalled on one wall of each ordinance room, and the remaining murals and many architectural details were restored. Mia Struteanu, art conservator from the LDS Museum of Church History and Art who oversaw the reinstallation of the murals, reported a steady stream of admirers as she worked, some of them in tears of gratitude to see the paintings again. As an example of the deep emotion local Saints felt about this project, she tells of introducing herself in a local Relief Society meeting and stating that she was there to restore the temple murals. Her announcement was greeted by a spontaneous burst of applause.29

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the temple’s dedication was celebrated in 2002. Throughout its history, the temple has remained

29Mia Struteanu, conversation with Paul Anderson, 1992, as she was
a much-admired landmark and tourist attraction in the area, fea-
tured in magazines as well as travel and architectural guidebooks. Its gardens continue to draw crowds of admiring visitors, providing a beautiful setting for an annual Easter pageant and a Christmas festival of lights and music.

CONCLUSION

Looking with admiration at the temple today, a modern visi-
tor might ponder how such an innovative and admirable building came to be built on the fringe of Mormon country in the 1920s. The artistic and religious achievement that the structure represents is even more impressive in comparison with many later LDS buildings that lack both the Arizona Temple’s originality of conception and richness of detail. Part of the credit must go to the 1920 First Presidency who set up a competitive process in which architects of proven talent and ability were encouraged to submit their best work. Much credit should also go to the architects who produced designs that reflected sensitivity to the local geographical and cultural landscape, that took inspiration from some of the best architectural ideas of their time, and that recognized the possibility of spiritual symbolism in architectural forms and details. Credit should also be distributed among conscientious and skillful build-
ers, artists, gardeners, local Church leaders and many others who have worked to beautify and preserve this historic and sacred struc-
ture. The purity of the building’s design, its harmony with the desert landscape, the high quality of its craftsmanship and materi-
als, and the symbolic power of its interior arrangements and deco-
rations have made it an enduring monument in the cultural history of the Latter-day Saints.

completing her work on the Mesa Temple. The spontaneous applause in the Relief Society meeting was confirmed to me by two other women who were present on that occasion.

THE HISTORIC ARIZONA TEMPLE

Richard O. Cowan

The Arizona Temple, the ninth of these holy structures dedicated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is historic for a variety of reasons. It was one of three in a new generation of temples built during the first third of the twentieth century, far from the centers of traditional Mormon colonization in Utah. It exhibited a bold new design.¹ For over three decades it served an ethnic minority in quite an unusual way. Then, after being thoroughly remodeled, it once again made history. The story of this unique structure goes back over a century.

From the beginning of the Saints’ settlements in Arizona during the 1870s, they had eagerly looked forward to the time when a temple would be erected there. To receive temple blessings, Arizona Latter-day Saints had to travel as individuals, families, or groups hun-

dreds of miles through the desert to St. George in southwestern Utah. As early as 1908 the presidency of the Maricopa Stake in Mesa discussed with the General Authorities the possibility of a temple in Arizona. Then in 1912, the year that Arizona was admitted to the Union, the First Presidency met with the leaders of the several Arizona stakes and of the California Mission. No final decision was made and the outbreak of World War I caused this idea to be shelved for the duration.

With the close of hostilities in 1918, plans for building the temple were revived. At the general conference in October of the following year, President Heber J. Grant formally announced that the Church would soon build a temple in Arizona.

TEMPLES SITE SELECTED

The First Presidency met with the leaders of the several Arizona stakes and of the California Mission. Although each stake president had believed that his area offered the best location, most now agreed that the proposed temple should be built in Mesa. Only the presidents of two northeastern Arizona stakes favored Snowflake, which had been the original center of Arizona settlement. Some even advocated building the "next temple" in California. A real estate developer there offered to donate ten acres for a hilltop site if the Church would build its temple between Los Angeles and Santa Monica. Church leaders, however, chose not to accept this offer because of financial concerns


related to completing the Alberta Temple.\(^6\)

President Grant with other General Authorities and representatives of the Church's building program personally traveled to Mesa to select the temple site. On February 1, 1920, this party, with the presidency of the Maricopa Stake, selected a twenty-acre tract on what was then the east edge of Mesa. The location was ideal because the "Apache Trail," the local segment of the southern transcontinental highway, ran along the property's north boundary. Hence, thousands of tourists each travel season would pass by the temple.

Fund-raising efforts had already begun; and by 1921, $110,000 had been contributed by members of the temple district, consisting of Arizona stakes plus the California and Mexican missions. This sum represented the largest per capita contribution to a temple to that date. Even members of other churches in the area donated $6,000. The First Presidency had designated September 12, 1920, as "Arizona Temple Day" throughout the Church, and an additional $112,000 had come in.\(^7\)

On November 28, 1921, President Grant once again was in Mesa. In the presence of more than three thousand people, he formally dedicated the site. The outline of the future building was marked with branches from date palms. A large group of children, accompanied by an orchestra, sang "Jesus Wants Me for a Sunbeam" and "Shine On," as they marched around the temple's perimeter strewing flowers.\(^8\)

As Paul Anderson has explained, experience with the Alberta Temple strongly influenced the planning of the temple in Arizona. Don Carlos Young and Ramm Hansen described their design as an American adaptation of classical architecture. The temple itself rises above a surrounding one-story annex, and the whole structure is situated on a raised platform. Hence the design is reminiscent of the ter-

\(^6\)Richard O. Cowan, *Temples to Dot the Earth*, (Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 1997), 139; LeSueur, "Autobiographical Notes of My Life," 1939, 60, microfilm of holograph, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).


raced courts of ancient temples. The temple's interior was arranged around a central grand staircase with the celestial room at the top, representing humankind's quest for celestial glory.

THE TEMPLE CONSTRUCTED AND DEDICATED

Excavation for the temple basement began on April 25, 1922. Arthur Price of the Church Building Department arrived the following January to take personal charge as construction architect. He immediately began stockpiling materials needed for the project. The right kind of sand, gravel, and cement were carefully selected, and tests were thoroughly conducted to determine the optimum mixture to produce flawless concrete, which could withstand the ravages of time.9

On November 12, 1923, the cornerstone was laid under the direction of Elder Richard R. Lyman of the Quorum of the Twelve, including a metal box containing items of interest related to the Church in Arizona and to the temple's construction. Six days later the local Arizona Historical Society placed its own box of memorabilia in the wall. By February 1924, the reinforced concrete outer structure was completed.

During the last two years of construction, the First Presidency authorized the uncommon practice of allowing volunteer guides to conduct visitors through the nearly completed building and grounds. On one occasion, for example, James W. LeSueur, a local Church leader who had played a key role in the temple's planning and construction, escorted a group of 250 special guests of the Southern Pacific Railroad, including the governor of Illinois, around the temple and its grounds.10 A local journalist acknowledged that the Church could reasonably have excluded all visitors from the construction site and expressed his appreciation of this demonstration of generous hospitality. An estimated two hundred thousand visited the temple during this extended open-house period.11 While the temple was being completed, attention also focused on providing beautiful grounds which would create the proper setting. Tall Italian cypress trees bordered the area. Palms of many varieties provided shade. Trees from

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diverse parts of the world were planted. A cactus garden featured the palo verde, the Arizona state tree. Citrus trees with lemons or grapefruit the size of volleyballs created interest. The warm climate allowed brilliant flowers to bloom through much of the year.

Construction of the temple sparked an unusual interest in temple worship and genealogical research among Church members and others in the Mesa area. In 1924, Frank T. Pomeroy, one of Mesa's pioneer settlers and an avid genealogist, launched the *Genealogical and Historical Magazine of the Arizona Temple District*. This quarterly, which depended on advertising for revenue, was distributed free of charge to hundreds of interested readers. Under Pomeroy's editorship for the next quarter century, it featured articles on temple work, genealogy, and local history.

Dedicatory events commenced Sunday, October 23, 1927. From five to ten thousand gathered for a special outdoor sunrise service. A combined choir from the Los Angeles and Hollywood Stakes in California stood on the roof of the temple's annex as they sang "The Vision," a cantata by Evan Stephens, dealing with the latter-day restoration of Christ's gospel. These proceedings, along with the dedicatory services, were broadcast by radio locally and in Utah.\(^\text{12}\)

During the next four days, ten dedicatory services were held so that all who were interested and qualified could attend. Saints from different stakes were invited to each session. Future Church President Spencer W. Kimball, then serving as clerk of the St. Joseph Stake, sang with his stake choir on Tuesday morning. Another evening meeting was for children ages six through fourteen. Many "Lamanites" attended, particularly on Monday afternoon when a session was designated especially for them.\(^\text{13}\) Dozens of wagons and buggies brought Maricopa and Papago Indians to the temple. Spanish-speaking Saints came from near and far by automobile or pickup

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\(^{13}\)"Lamanite" is the term Latter-day Saints use in referring to Native Americans and others believed to be descendants of Book of Mormon peoples.
President Heber J. Grant pronounced the dedicatory prayer in all ten sessions. Among other things, he petitioned the Lord to bless the Lamanites “that they may not perish as a people, but that from this time forth they may increase in numbers and in strength and influence, that all the great and glorious promises made concerning the descendants of Lehi may be fulfilled in them . . . and that many of them may have the privilege of entering this holy house and receiving ordinances for themselves and their departed ancestors.”

President Grant later commented: “The time was very near at hand when this people would be redeemed and fulfill all the promises made to them in the Book of Mormon.”

James LeSueur gratefully acknowledged the extensive coverage given by three local newspapers. Even though he regarded the Mesa Tribune, Arizona Republic, and the Arizona Gazette as “very liberal,” he noted that their “lengthy coverage” of the dedication was “amply illustrated” and “full of gospel doctrine and history.”

LeSueur became an assistant to the first temple president, David K. Udall, one of the two stake presidents who had favored Snowflake. Both men received three months of orientation at the Salt Lake Temple before assuming their duties in Mesa. No time was wasted in getting the temple into operation. The last dedicatory service took place Wednesday morning, October 26, and the first baptisms for the dead commenced that same afternoon. Endowments and sealings were inaugurated the following day.

About two years later, an unusual experience confirmed for the Saints the Lamanites’ interest in the Arizona Temple. While waiting for the temple session to begin, an individual reported looking toward the front of the room. “There stood a Lamanite, a splendid specimen of manhood clothed only with a loin cloth. He seemed to be

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15N. B. Lundwall, Temples of the Most High (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947), 182.
17LeSueur, “Autobiographical Notes,” 63.
looking over the congregation and the room.”

During the first quarter century of its operation, more than 40 percent of those attending the temple came from outside of Arizona, mostly from California. As had been the case with the Alberta Temple, many of these people came in groups. These “temple excursions” provided good fellowship and were memorable spiritual experiences in the lives of those taking part. These groups generally came in private automobiles or by chartered buses, but on at least one occasion by train.

In 1938 a group of ninety-one adults and twenty-eight children from the Pasadena area left Los Angeles on a Friday night in two chartered railroad cars. In each coach the Saints conducted a testimony meeting from 9:00 to 10:30 P.M. Early on Saturday morning they arrived in Mesa, where they were met by a group of a dozen Saints with automobiles who shuttled them to the temple. After participating in endowment sessions and conducting another testimony meeting in the temple, the group caught the train for their overnight trip back home. Such excursions made a lasting and positive impression on the young people who went to perform baptisms for the dead.

In 1934, one bus excursion from California ended in disaster. After four days in the temple, the group was heading home when the driver missed a turn on the rain-slick highway and the bus overturned, killing six. Still, the survivors reported spiritual experiences which assured them of God’s love and concern. One passenger described meeting an individual in the spirit world for whom he had performed temple ordinances. “He told me my work on earth was not yet complete, and accompanied me back to my body.” After regaining consciousness, the passenger looked for his escort, but he was gone.

Howard W. Hunter, president of the Pasadena Stake and future Church president, had a memorable experience on his birthday during an excursion to the Arizona Temple in 1953. While Howard was

The Journal of Mormon History

Growing up, his father was not a member of the Church, but subsequently was baptized. In the Arizona Temple, while he was “speaking to the congregation,” he recalled, “my father and mother came into the chapel dressed in white. I had no idea my father was prepared for his temple blessings, although Mother had been anxious about it for some time. I was so overcome with emotion that I was unable to continue to speak.” The temple president stepped to his side to explain to the group what was happening. “When my father and mother came to the temple that morning they asked the president not to mention to me that they were there because they wanted it to be a birthday surprise. This was a birthday I have never forgotten because on that day they were endowed and I had the privilege of witnessing their sealing, following which I was sealed to them.”

Temple Ordinances in Spanish

An important precedent was set in 1945 at the Arizona Temple when ordinances were presented for the first time in a language other than English. President Lorin F. Jones of the Spanish-American Mission regarded this event as the literal fulfillment of a prophetic promise he received when he was set apart as mission president two years before. George Albert Smith, then president of the Council of the Twelve, declared: “You will see marvelous things transpire as affecting the Lamanite people... These will be history-making events in the Church.”

Two groups of Hispanic Saints had already gone to the temple to receive their sacred ordinances. Even though most members of his mission spoke some English, Jones believed they did not understand the full meaning of the temple ceremony in that language and felt that these Saints should receive the temple ordinances in their native tongue. After touring the mission in 1943, Joseph Fielding Smith, one of the Twelve, concurred: “I see no reason why the English language should monopolize the temple session.” Following the First Presidency’s approval of Smith’s recommendation, the exacting task of translating the temple ceremonies into Spanish got under way. Working in the Salt Lake Temple, Antoine

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22 Lorin F. and Ivie Jones, interviewed by Richard O. Cowan, January 1, 1965, Provo, Utah; audiocassette in my possession.
R. Ivins of the First Council of the Seventy, who spoke fluent Spanish, and Eduardo Balderas, a translator for the Church, carried out this assignment during the next year. "The opportunity of translating the sacred ordinances within the confines of the Salt Lake Temple," Balderas recalled, "was, of course, a wonderful privilege and blessing." He affirmed that the "influence of the Holy Spirit" guided them in their "challenging but enjoyable labors."23

The Spanish-speaking Saints were also making their own preparations. Some members living in the United States made trips into Mexico to trace their family genealogies. The mission office in El Paso became a clearing house for records being submitted for temple ordinances. Jones's wife, Ivie, spent countless hours teaching classes in genealogy and helping the members to get their records in order.

The long-anticipated event came in November 1945. Most of the Saints had to make substantial economic sacrifice, some even giving up jobs to attend the Arizona Temple; nevertheless, about two hundred gathered, coming from as far away as Mexico City. Efforts were made to keep the costs down. The local Maricopa Stake provided food. Housing was to be in the Mezona, a large Church-built recreational hall, which was divided by temporary curtains into three sections—the men's sleeping area on one side and women's on the other, with the main central area for meetings. Members planning to attend were not concerned with their personal comfort. A branch president in Mexico reported: "We talked this matter over with our members, and they said to tell you not to worry about it. They will be happy to sleep on the floor, just so they get to Mesa." It seemed as if they would have to. Sufficient bedding for such a large group had not been located. Then a week before their arrival, a Church member stationed at a nearby army base unexpectedly offered the use of two hundred cots and blankets.24

The special Lamanite Conference convened on Sunday, November 4, a warm sunny day. The Spanish-American Branch chapel in Mesa was filled to overflowing during the three conference sessions. President David O. McKay of the First Presidency, Elder Antoine R. Ivins of the First Council of the Seventy, Relief Society

24Ibid., 31.
general president Belle S. Spafford, and other auxiliary representatives were in attendance. Their presence meant a great deal to the Spanish-speaking members, most of whom had never heard a member of the First Presidency or a Relief Society general president before. President McKay expressed appreciation for being present for an "outstanding event in Church history." He pointed out that other Lamanite groups had enjoyed the temple ceremonies in Hawaii, but always in English.  

All day Monday was spent checking recommends and obtaining temple clothing. The history-making Spanish temple sessions began on Tuesday, November 6, 1945. Anticipation made the visitors restless the night before. "The thought of loved ones waiting, of dreams about to come true, and the nervous strain of getting up early, were not conducive to good sound sleep." An account coauthored by Sister Jones describes how eighty women bathed in a "No. 3 wash tub provided in the [adjoining] welfare rooms... While the bathing was handled army fashion with no respect to privacy, they did take time to empty and refill the tub after each bath." Two Hispanic returned missionary sisters assisted the women through this process.  

About 4:30 A.M. "strange noises" were heard from the direction of the ladies' room. Thinking they might be teenagers, Ivie Jones went to ask them to quiet down. "What a surprise to find about twelve gray-haired widows getting ready for the temple! ... 'We came in here early to get us ready because this is our wedding day,' said one sister in broken English, 'and our husbands are waiting in heaven for this day. We must look pretty for them.'" It was not easy to feed three hundred, make beds, and sweep the large hall and still have the people at the temple by 7 A.M., but the Saints managed.  

Reaching the temple grounds, they conversed only in hushed tones, believing they stood on holy ground. "Yet," Ivie Jones later reflected, "how little they knew that it was made even more sacred by

26Ivie Huish Jones and Richard L. Kneeland, "In Fulfillment: A Pageant-Drama with Song and Dance," October 1950, typescript, 40, LDS Church Archives. Jones was the wife of the Spanish-American Mission president at the time these events occurred, so she was an eyewitness.
27Lorin and Ivie Jones, interview.
their presence in such numbers." During the next three days sixty-nine received their own endowments and twenty-four couples were sealed for eternity. A total of 798 ordinances for the living and the dead were performed.

President Jones regarded the all-Lamanite conference and Spanish temple sessions as the outstanding spiritual event in the mission during the year. He felt that those who had attended could now appreciate the Church as being more than just the small group with which they met each Sunday, often in a poorly furnished room. Elder Alma Sonne of the First Council of the Seventy, who toured the Spanish-American Mission shortly afterward, found that everywhere he went the Saints spoke enthusiastically of their experience in Mesa. "It has given purpose and significance to the lives of those who were able to attend."

The Spanish temple sessions and associated conference became eagerly anticipated events each fall. "Hasta Mesa" ("See you in Mesa") could often be heard as members from different branches parted. Hector Trevino of Monterrey, Mexico, likened these annual excursions to the ancient Jewish custom of returning to the temple in Jerusalem each year at Passover to perform religious ceremonies and to renew covenants with the Lord.

Those coming to Mesa frequently demonstrated great faith as they made the sacrifices required for the trip. One man from Mexico came with his family two years in succession even though his employer did not give him permission to leave and told him he need not return. In each instance he was able to find a different and better-paying job. An older woman in Mexico City earned her living selling fruit. Having no refrigerator, she bought from the wholesaler each morning only enough fruit for that day’s anticipated sales. From her meager income she set aside her tithing and

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28 Jones and Kneeland, "In Fulfillment," 41.
30 President Lorin F. Jones, Spanish-American Mission, Mission Annual Reports, 1945, printed form filled out in pen, LDS Church Archives.
31 Alma Sonne, General Authorities’ Mission Tour Reports, 1945, printed form filled out in pen, LDS Church Archives.
a little for her Mesa fund. After several years she believed she had enough to make the trip. She took her small bag of coins to the mission office. The mission secretary found that the faithful sister did not have quite enough but, rather than disappointing her, made up the difference himself.33

In 1956 a group of ninety-five Saints from Guatemala and El Salvador traveled over three thousand miles by bus to attend the temple. Much of their journey was over dusty, unpaved roads. At dusk on the sixth day they reached Mesa. The buses drove around the beautifully illuminated temple. No sight could have been more welcome to these travel-weary Saints. "They spontaneously burst into singing 'We Thank Thee, O God, for a Prophet.'... Tears of joy and thanksgiving filled the eyes of those who had traveled so far to enter the Arizona Temple." During the trip, so great was the feeling of brotherhood that one of the bus drivers expressed a desire to have the missionaries teach him upon his return home.34

In 1958 Lucian M. Mecham was named coordinator of the annual excursions. As a stake president in Mesa from 1945 to 1950 and as president of the Mexican Mission from 1950 to 1953, he had worked with the Lamanites coming to the Arizona Temple. At the time he left to preside in Mexico, he received a prophetic blessing from a local patriarch: "Through your efforts you will accomplish a great work, and this holy house [the Arizona Temple] shall be filled with those from the south that will come in caravans to claim their place in the house of the Lord. Joy and happiness will be yours as you see all this unfold, for the word of the Lord has gone forth to bring in the remnants of the House of Lehi that they may be counted as the children of Zion."35

In the early years, the excursionists presented dramatic productions, talent shows, or other fund-raising activities to help cover the cost at Mesa. "When the Lamanites arrive," reported Mecham to the Church News, "they don't have any money for motels or hotels. Many have sold their possessions just to get the money to come to the temple," Mecham noted. Subsequently, local Arizona

33Balderas, "Northward to Mesa," 32–33.
members contributed the funds to cover the visitors' expenses. The temple provided white clothing and a noon meal free of charge. Eventually, President McKay authorized the local bishops' storehouse to provide food for all other meals. "Everything is taken care of for them, so they can concentrate on the temple work they came up here to do," Mecham gratefully acknowledged.36

Mecham persuaded the Mesa stake presidents to allow the visitors to be accommodated in the large new interstake center. The gym floor was covered with canvas, and canvas partitions were hung from cables to separate the men's and women's sleeping areas. There was still room at one end for conference meetings.

Apostle Mark E. Petersen was the General Authority visitor in 1958, the first year the interstake center was used. Because there were no dining facilities, he ate with the group at tables outside on the lawn. Flies and dust made things uncomfortable. It was no surprise that, upon his return to Church headquarters, Petersen recommended an addition to the interstake center that would include a kitchen and dining room, more adequate rest rooms, and a storage area for cots and blankets. These new facilities were ready for the 1959 excursion. Three hundred could now be accommodated at the interstake center.37 Any overflow, sometimes as many as 150 visitors, was housed in private homes. Saints in the Mesa area had always been "very cooperative" in providing this help.38

As numbers coming to the temple continued to increase, the single excursion was divided in 1960 into two; one group came from the United States, the other from Mexico. In 1965, there were three groups, and four in the following year. Arrangements were made for patriarchs who could speak Spanish to be available to give blessings. Eduardo Balderas, Lorin F. Jones, and Lucian Mecham were among the first to provide this gratefully received service.

William J. Critchlow, an Assistant to the Twelve, who was the General Authority visitor at the Lamanite Conference in 1964, reported that "the oldest excursionist was 91 years old" and that the largest family consisted of the parents and eight children. The per-


38Ibid., 21.
son coming the farthest was from Guatemala, a round trip of four thousand miles. The most frequent attenders were Hector Trevino and his wife from Monterrey, Mexico, and their brother Carillo and his wife from Fresno, California. “One of each of these two couples, and usually both, had attended nineteen of the twenty excursions. One brother in a wheelchair attended every session each day. One elderly lady sold her home to finance the trip. . . . One young couple sold a horse, a stove and a sofa to raise the needed fare.” When one man crossed the border with only one peso in his pocket, he was asked, “How far will you get with that?” “All the way to the temple,” was his reply.\

When the numbers coming to the temple began to exceed the maximum that could be accommodated in four excursions, a new facility was needed. Scheduling additional excursions in the interstake center was not an option, as this would prevent the local stakes from using their own facility for essential programs. Lucian Mecham therefore had an architect draw plans for a further addition to provide dormitory space. “I endeavored to hold the cost down to $100,000,” Mecham explained, “feeling that if I asked for too much, I would not get the approval of the First Presidency.” Local leaders generally supported the plans, although two were skeptical. Still, the First Presidency approved them “very warmly” and authorized such additions to Mecham’s spartan plans as a nursery, laundry room, showers, and even rooms for giving patriarchal blessings. Four dormitories each for men and women allowed flexibility in accommodating excursions of differing sizes. This structure may have provided the precedent for constructing housing adjacent to other temples around the world for the benefit of long-distance patrons.

With these new facilities in place at Mesa, the number of excursions was increased to seven in 1970. When no groups were present, the facilities were available for use by local Church units.

Children brought to be sealed to their parents sometimes numbered as many as 150. Their care posed yet another challenge. Not wanting to ask the First Presidency for additional appropriations, Mecham encouraged local Church members to donate $10,000 to construct a well-equipped playground, including basketball and vol-

leyball courts as well as a variety of play equipment for younger children. Local Relief Society women volunteered in shifts to supervise this area.\(^41\)

During the early years, the groups attempted to arrive Friday evening or early Saturday morning so that they could arrange for temple clothing and complete other processing before the Sabbath. Sunday included an early morning priesthood meeting, general conference sessions at 10 A.M. and 2 P.M., and a testimony meeting in the evening. These meetings were well attended, attracting not only the excursionists, but also many from the Mesa-Phoenix area. A General Authority was the principal speaker at the Sunday conference sessions and also attended the opening meeting in the temple on Monday morning; their presence was a thrill to the Spanish-speaking Saints.

In 1969, however, basic changes were made in the schedule. The excursion groups arrived on Monday; were in the temple on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday; and left for home on Friday. This shorter schedule cut costs but also eliminated the Sunday conference meetings and General Authority visits.\(^42\)

From the beginning, most came in trucks or "improvised buses" and some in private automobiles. Over the years, there were only two fatal accidents reported. By the 1970s, Church leaders instructed that groups be brought only in chartered buses.\(^43\)

Participants were grateful for what they regarded as divine help. On one occasion, Saints from the interior of Mexico were coming in two old buses. When one of the buses broke down, the passengers doubled up in the other. Then, in the middle of the desert, a radiator hose burst. Without needed supplies repairs could not be made, and the group appeared to be stranded in that desolate spot. Nevertheless, they prayed that the way might be provided for them to continue. To escape the heat in the disabled bus, most of the group climbed out. By the side of the road they found a piece of discarded hose—just what they needed. When repairs had been made, they poured drinking water from their canteens into the radiator and were soon on their way.

\(^{41}\)Ibid., 22–23; "Dorms for Temple Workers," 6.

\(^{42}\)Mecham, "Historical Sketch," 18–19.

\(^{43}\)Ibid., 23–24.
Well before each Lamanite Conference, genealogical information from the many branches of the Spanish-American and Mexican Missions poured into the mission office in El Paso. Geraldine Chytreus, a sister missionary appointed as mission genealogist, reviewed this data “for errors and inconsistencies” before typing it onto legal-sized “family group sheets.” They were then sent to the Genealogical Society in Salt Lake City to be processed and cleared for temple ordinances.

In 1953, the large family of Apolinar Balderas lived both in Mexico and in the United States. His children were making a great effort to get everyone together so they might be sealed in the temple. Because “he was quite elderly and not in good health,” it wasn’t known until the last minute that he would be able to make the trip to Mesa. The deadline for submitting sheets had already passed when their family group information was received. Still, Sister Chytreus sent it in, requesting that it be cleared and rushed to the temple.

Later, in Mesa, she spent long days in the temple helping the Spanish-speaking members with their records. When the Balderases arrived, “it was a wonderful sight to see such a large family all together,” she recalled. She went to the huge stack of cleared genealogical forms to find their group sheet. “I had previously alphabetized them,” she explained, “so it should have been near the top, but it was not there.” Thinking the Balderas sheet might have been misfiled, she looked carefully page by page through the entire pile; but the vital sheet could not be found. “A cold chill went through me as I remembered that it was sent in late to Salt Lake and obviously had not been cleared in time to be sent to Mesa.”

Hearing about the problem, Ivie Jones again searched through the stack of papers but did not find the needed form. “We’ve got to pray about this,” Jones realized. “We need the Lord’s help.” She and some members of the Balderas family were directed to a quiet room nearby where they could seek divine assistance. Upon returning, Sister Jones “went directly to the stack of sheets” and took off the top sheet. The next one was “the one we needed!” The Balderas family

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44 Harold Wright, Arizona Temple president, conversation with Richard O. Cowan, recorded in my journal, August 23, 1982.

45 Any possible relationship to Eduardo Balderas, the translator, is not known.
then went up to the sealing room where the desired eternal ordinances were performed. Afterwards, “they all knelt in prayer and thanked Our Heavenly Father for the miracle.”

Back in El Paso following the excursion, Sister Chytreus plowed through the mail that had accumulated. A letter from the Genealogical Society in Salt Lake City caught her eye: “We are sorry to inform you that the enclosed family group sheet arrived here too late for us to process and send to the Arizona Temple, therefore, we are returning it to you.” With amazement she discovered that it was the very Balderas sheet that she had personally typed, submitted late, but then inexplicably found at the temple.46

Giving endowments at Mesa in a language other than English had a worldwide impact. Just one month after dedicating the Swiss Temple, the first temple in which English would not be the predominant language, President McKay told the annual Lamanite Conference in Mesa: “It was because of your faithfulness and diligence that we felt impressed to give to other people the opportunity for receiving these [temple] blessings. You are serving as an example to the members of the Church in Europe; their eyes are upon you.”47

**MAKING HISTORY IN OTHER WAYS**

Beginning with the Swiss Temple, the Church began using films in presenting the temple endowment. Success with these new methods led Church leaders to rebuild and remodel several earlier temples, including the Arizona Temple. Although the original endowment rooms were retained and modified only slightly, the interior was redesigned to make use of motion pictures and other modern means of presenting the endowment instructions. Dressing rooms, offices, and related facilities were added, increasing the temple’s area from 73,000 to 114,000 square feet.

The Arizona Temple made history in 1975 when it became the first temple to be reopened to the public and then formally rededicated. The rebuilding of this temple was so extensive that tours were conducted as is done when new temples are completed. During the three-week open house, 205,243 persons toured the temple—almost

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the same number as during the original open-house period.  

More than thirty thousand attended the seven dedicatory sessions on April 15–16, 1975. In his dedicatory prayer, President Kimball referred to the Arizona Temple as being unique: “Thou didst acknowledge the role of the Lamanite, especially in this temple, and numerous of the sons and daughters of Lehi have found in these sacred precincts peace, knowledge, and solace to their souls.”

Following the temple’s reopening, the number of ordinances performed reflected a one-third increase. This remodeling, however, not only opened a new chapter in the temple’s history, but also closed another. Even though twenty-eight of the seventy-two stakes and missions in the Arizona Temple district were Spanish speaking, the annual excursions which had been so important in the past were now discontinued. The new technology available at Mesa as well as at other temples made Spanish ordinances available anytime. Hence, Lucian Mecham was released as coordinator of the Lamanite excursions at the time the temple was closed for remodeling in 1974.

Meanwhile, another development was unfolding at the Arizona Temple. In 1938, local Latter-day Saints had launched an annual Easter celebration on the temple grounds in the form of a sunrise choral concert. Under the direction of Irwin Phelps, a drama professor at Mesa Community College, the production introduced a dramatic narrative and costumed tableau in 1967. A decade later, the transition from concert to pageant, under Phelps’s direction, was complete. In 1977 the pageant was presented on several evenings, rather than just Sunday morning. At the time the pageant Jesus the Christ celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, the 250 participants were performing on a three-level, 160-foot-long stage, and a professionally recorded soundtrack featured the London Symphony. This pageant became one of those officially supported by the Church, and its attendance of about 100,000 rivaled that of the noted production at the Hill Cumorah. In 2002, the pageant was presented over a ten-day period, including two nights in Spanish. The pageant has been a significant missionary tool, directly leading to individuals joining the

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49 Ibid.
50 Mecham, “Historical Sketch,” 18.
51 Jill B. Adair, “Message of Resurrection ‘Vividly Portrayed,’” Church
Church and encouraging those who are members to share the gospel with others.\textsuperscript{52}

In the fall of 1999, the Church gave more geographically specific names to its temples. From the beginning, the structure in Mesa was officially known as the Arizona Temple. With the change it became designated the Mesa Arizona Temple.\textsuperscript{53} The need for this change became apparent when a second temple was constructed in Arizona. The Snowflake Arizona Temple was dedicated March 2, 2002. That same year, the Arizona Temple in Mesa celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. It had played and will continue to play a key role in Latter-day Saint history.

\textbf{APPENDIX}

\textbf{ARIZONA TEMPLE MILESTONES}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Arizona is admitted to the Union. The First Presidency considers building a temple in the state.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Plans for the Arizona Temple are announced.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Heber J. Grant presides at the dedication of the site.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Apostle Richard R. Lyman lays the cornerstone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Frank T. Pomeroy launches the \textit{Genealogical and Historical Magazine of the Arizona Temple District}.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Public tours begin while the construction is completed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>President Grant dedicates the temple.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>A busload of members en route to a temple excursion crashes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Easter sunrise concerts are inaugurated as an annual event.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>The first non-English temple ordinances are conducted.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Lucian Mecham is appointed coordinator of the annual Lamanite excursions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>New apartments for temple visitors are erected.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


1974  The temple is closed for reconstruction and Lamanite excursion come to an end.

1975  Following remodeling, temple again opens for public tours, then is rededicated by President Spencer W. Kimball.

1977  The Easter program had become a pageant presented on several evenings.

2002  The Snowflake Temple is dedicated, and the Mesa Temple celebrates its seventy-fifth anniversary.
ELIZA R. SNOW AND THE PROPHET'S GOLD WATCH: TIME KEEPER AS RELIC

Jennifer Reeder

WHEN BRITISH TRAVELER EMILY PFEIFFER visited Utah in the early 1880s, she met Eliza Roxcy Snow, leader of Mormon women and widow of both Brigham Young and his predecessor, Joseph Smith. Pfeiffer described Snow as having “the sort of dignity which comes from the possession of, and living up to, an idea,” even a “Hebrew prophetess.” Pfeiffer reported that “Sister Smith took from her neck a chain to which was attached a large ornamented gold watch, a relic, as she told us, most precious to her, it having been the property of the murdered prophet whose wife she had been.”¹ A relic seems out of place in Mormon culture, yet this was Snow’s own word in describing her watch. More than a cherished keep-

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sake, the gold watch tangibly linked Snow and others to Joseph Smith with deep homage.

A relic is, simply defined, a physical object accorded spiritual significance because of its association with a holy person. Historian Thomas Head classified relics as "not merely a symbol of the saint; they also denoted the saint's continued physical presence in this world." In a detailed examination of relics and their social and cultural influence, James Bentley described how dead saints continue to live and remain active through their relics. Sacred medieval relics indicated a shared set of beliefs clustered around social events; meaning and value emerged from the desire to acquire such relics and the visits of the devout to their shrines. Relics imbue religious cultural heritage with reverence, emotion, and attachment. 3

Cultural artifacts treated as relics are also part of the Latter-day Saint tradition. Examples include traveling exhibitions of the death masks of Joseph and Hyrum Smith 4 and John Taylor's watch from in Carthage Jail, which memorialize the martyrdom. Other objects have not become part of our system." Historian Davis Bitton theorized that the ritualization of cultural memory as evidenced in a historic site or shrine "was an appropriate symbol of the sacrifice of those who erected it, or the divine power manifested in it;" "to maintain an identity and celebrate history." Clark, On the Way to Immortality and Eternal Life (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1949), 292; Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," Utah Historical Quarterly 43 (Winter 1975): 76, 84.

2"Relics served to objectify and transmit the power (Latin virtus) of the saints." Thomas Head, "Relics," in Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs, edited by Carl Lindahl, John McNamara, and John Lindow (Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 815–19. Patrick Geary, "Sacred Commodities: The Circulation of Medieval Relics," in The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective, edited by Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 174, notes that a relic comes from a very specific set of shared beliefs. While many traditional relics consisted of body parts, significant objects belonging to the deceased saint, such as clothing, were also considered relics.


4David Henry Cannon remembered how his father, George Q. Cannon, made the death masks and the honor and reverence of the process. David Henry Cannon, "The Cannon Family—1847," Our Pioneer Heritage, ed-
been subdivided in hopes of extending a person: Canes crafted from Joseph Smith's coffin and handkerchiefs cut from Eliza R. Snow's temple robes became prized possessions, valuable by association and fostering attachment to the person as well as to a larger cause.

One relic, little-known today but showcased frequently between 1879 and 1885, was the gold watch that Joseph Smith gave to Eliza R. Snow, which Snow later showed to Emily Pfeiffer. This artifact emerges in second-hand reminiscences of important Nauvoo events. Certainly Snow wore it throughout her life as seen in at least five photographs. The watch, currently in the First Presidency's possession, was transformed into a venerated relic as Snow exhibited it throughout her travels, allowing children to hold and kiss the timepiece as a vestige or metonym of Smith years after his martyrdom. These children then treasured their own testimonies of Smith and testified of


The watch appears in the minutes of at least fifteen different Primary organizations throughout Utah Territory and in at least eighteen personal diaries or reminiscences. According to Jonathon Gil Harris, “Shakespeare's Hair: Staging the Object of Material Culture,” Shakespeare Quarterly 52 (Winter 2001): 484: “Whether repudiated or succumbed to, disdained or celebrated, the object remains a thing whose very objecthood is registered
him to others, incorporating a tradition of reverence and attachment. The tactile experience of an object of such value linked them to a legacy many of their parents and grandparents had shared firsthand. The testimony of memory along with history is a powerful witness about association and meaning.

Examining the watch as a relic reveals multiple layers of meaning in what medieval historian Eugene Vance described as “how social events cluster themselves . . . to produce new interdiscursive configurations specific to this or that cultural moment and its texts.”

First, this study will examine the watch in Joseph Smith’s possession, looking at the historical use of his other contemporaneous watches as well as examining details of this specific watch. I will then examine Snow’s possession and display of this watch, as recorded in minutebooks and reminiscences, indicating meanings associated with Snow. Rhetoric about the watch from first- and second-hand accounts of Snow’s travels shows the watch as a corporeal connection between her and Joseph Smith, both in their leadership roles and in their plural marriage. The possession and display of the watch communicated these important relationships and became imbued with reverence, emotion, and attachment, suggesting the inherent power of a holy relic.

SMITH’S WATCH

The gold watch Joseph Smith presented to Eliza R. Snow was one of several with which he is associated. Watches functioned historically in two ways: first, Smith used them as an economic commodity tendered as payment or offered as collateral. Second, he offered them as gifts representing friendship or affection. Watches, like clocks, often appeared on tax and estate records as a measure of

in the present instant of the early modern subject’s or the postmodern critic’s struggle with her desire. The object is apprehended, therefore, as a static entity.”


Eliza R. Snow, seen wearing her gold watch tucked into her belt, ca. 1875. Photo courtesy of Carol Cornwall Madsen.
real worth and were also used as a form of payment.\(^{10}\) Documentation exists of at least five instances when Smith used a watch as a medium of exchange. Between 1832 and 1838, he paid Judge Benjamin B. Bissell of Painesville, Ohio, for legal services with a gold watch worth $150.\(^{11}\) Frederick G. Williams recorded an unspecified business arrangement with Smith at some point between 1832 and 1836 involving a silver watch worth $50.\(^{12}\) Samuel C. Brown presented Smith with a gold watch on February 15, 1843, a gesture of enough importance, probably due to its economic value, to appear in the Church's historical record.\(^{13}\) On an unspecified date, Smith gave Newel K. Whitney, a trusted friend, a watch.\(^{14}\) Finally, the English Saints at Nauvoo gave Smith a silver key-winder watch, again, on an unspecified date.\(^{15}\) According to anthropologist Arjun Appadurai,

\(^{10}\) The inventory of Brigham Young’s estate in 1855 includes one gold watch and chain, $750, one gold watch valued at $100, and four gold watches, $65 each. Elias Smith, “Consecration of Property,” *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 16:316. “Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner,” *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 5:311, paid her rent in ca. 1838-39 with a gold watch, which cost two hundred dollars.

\(^{11}\) John L. Von Blon described this watch with solid gold case, face, hands, and numerals, with thirteen jewels and a separate key winder. The watch was made in England between 1810 and 1818. Von Blon, “Brief History of the Joseph Smith Watch [ca. 1941],” Archives of the Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives).

\(^{12}\) “Statement of Facts Relative to Joseph Smith and Myself,” holograph, n.d., Frederick G. Williams Papers, MS 782, LDS Church Archives.


\(^{14}\) See photograph, *Church History in the Fulness of Times: The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Church Educational System manual (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000): 116. This watch is now in possession of the Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

\(^{15}\) Currently on display at the Community of Christ Museum, Independence, Missouri.
value devolves from transactions; the transfer of a watch from one party to another connotes real worth in an exchange of various kinds of services and relationships.

Watches, for Joseph Smith, were also an element of his marital relationships. The Palmyra Reflector reported the arrival in Ohio of “Joe Smith with his better half,” his wife, Emma Hale Smith: “the prophet well clad, while the female exhibited a gold watch—a profusion of rings.” Sarah Kimball reported that Emma, at her wedding to Lewis Bidamon in December 1847, had “a gold watch and chain.” It is not known whether this is the same watch she had had in Palmyra. There is no documentation on the origin of either watch (if they were different). Possibly the watch was a gift from Joseph, since he was connected to other wives with other watches. For example, on August 23, 1843, Emma demanded that Flora Ann Woodsworth, one of Joseph’s plural wives, return to Joseph a gold watch he had given her. It is not clear whether Smith intended the gold watch he gave Snow to be a gift from husband to wife or from Church president to secretary, although Snow later used the watch in public settings to illustrate the principle of plural marriage, as discussed below.

Snow’s gold watch was a valuable one. It bears hallmarks, also known as assay or standard marks, which guarantee the purity of the

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16 Appadurai, “Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value,” in The Social Life of Things, 3–63, discusses the inherent meaning of an object in human transactions, attributions, and motivations. The present value of any given object derives diachronically from its differential relations to its known (or assumed) past.

17 Palmyra Reflector, March 1, 1831, quoted in Francis W. Kirkham, A New Witness for Christ in America: The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Company, 1959), 391. The article uses the gold watch and rings as evidence that Mormonism is a thriving business.


Cover of Eliza R. Snow's watch showing inscriptions: “1844 / JS to ERS / 1887 to JFS.” Courtesy Church Historical Department.
metal, indicate the sponsor of the craftsman, and tell where and when the article was hallmarked. The crowned leopard was an assay mark used by the Goldsmiths' Company of London Hall before 1823. The crown emblem on the watch is situated over the “18,” specifying 18-carat gold purity. The lion passant was the standard mark on 22-carat gold, indicating a composition of different parts of gold. “F” also appears on the watch, dating its manufacture to 1821, according to a Goldsmiths’ Hall chart. Other distinguishing marks include the initials SH and JW, probably those of the watchmakers. On the opposite inside cover are found engravings made later, after Smith’s death, discussed below. While these hallmarks certify the watch’s authenticity, possession of the watch later became its own hallmark, certifying a relationship to the Prophet.

Traditionally, this particular watch played a role in the organization of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society in 1842, even though its provenance is somewhat conjectural. Memory, while perhaps not entirely factually accurate, reveals important associations and lived meaning for participants. Although the watch is not explicitly mentioned in the organization’s minutes, Martha McBridge Knight, present at the meeting, remembered that “Joseph Smith had to leave before the meeting was dismissed, so he took his watch out of his pocket and laid it on the table by Eliza R. Snow, the secretary of the meeting, and said, ‘Begin your meetings on time and end them on time.’ He left the watch on the table and Eliza R. Snow kept it in her possession until her death.” An engraving inside the watch identifies Snow as the owner in 1844, although the origin and authenticity of these en-

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20 For a list of antique hallmark explanations, see F. J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers* (Suffolk, Eng.: Antique Collectors' Club, 1977), 412–16.
21 Ibid., 415.
22 Mary Louise Belnap Lowe, Statement, May 12, 1941, typescript, microfilm, LDS Church Archives. Lowe, age seventy-one, was recalling stories told to her by her mother and grandmother, Adaline Knight Belnap and Martha McBridge Knight, who were both present at the organizational meeting on March 17, 1842. Susa Young Gates, one of Brigham Young’s daughters who grew up in the Lion House under the same roof as Snow, dramatized the event with the Prophet telling Eliza, “Here is a timepiece, and you may keep it, from me.” “The Mother of Mothers in Israel: Eliza R. Snow,” Re-
gravings are unknown. Perhaps Smith only loaned the watch for the duration of that first meeting, then officially bestowed it later, or perhaps it was on loan at the time of the martyrdom and Snow became the de facto possessor. Snow's name does not appear on the Relief Society records in 1844, so a gift at that time would have been made in private.

Despite some vagueness on the watch's exact provenance and transmission, a connection between Smith and Snow is sure; and Snow certainly made use of it thereafter, as did others in their associations and memories, thus creating the collective meaning that marks a relic. As anthropologist Patrick Geary states, "Relics of saints, whether particles of clothing or objects associated with them during their lives, . . . had no obvious value apart from a very specific set of shared values." In the case of this watch, it was also connected with Mormon women's institutional efforts (Relief Society and Primary) and plural marriage. The documentation of Smith's participation in Nauvoo Relief Society meetings indicates his proclivity for punctuality, order, and proper governance. He instructed the women to keep accurate records as precedents for policy, effect an organization in


23 The engraving says: "1844 JS to ERS, 1887 to JFS." Maureen Ursenbach Beecher examined the watch while it was on display in the Relief Society Building and sketched the engravings. The watch itself was photographed for this article.


25 According to James Dunn, "How Advantages, Temporal and Spiritual, Are Lost," *Improvement Era* 6 (February 1908), 282-83, "The Prophet taught that when an hour is appointed for the meeting of the Saints, the angels will be there, but if the meeting does not begin at the time appointed, the angels leave, as they have no time to idle away, waiting on the tardiness of mortals. If the presence of the angels is a blessing, then we lose that blessing when we fail to be punctual to the appointed hour of meeting."
the “proper order,” meaning part of the complete order of the priesthood, and elect their own officers. Smith “turned the key” to

26Joseph Smith, as quoted in “A Record of the Organization and Proceedings of the Female Relief Society of Nauvoo,” Minutes, holograph, LDS Church Archives, in Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2 vols., DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young
the women, endowing their activities with authenticity, authority, and legitimacy. The watch that Smith left on the table may thus be interpreted as a symbol of his instructions for the women to act institutionally in proper order.

**SNOW’S WATCH: ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENTS**

Joseph Smith’s gift of the gold watch to Eliza R. Snow signaled a link between the two, organizationally and, in Snow’s own interpretation, personally. Snow’s perception of the watch as a relic and her public presentation of it as such reveals her homage for Smith. Snow’s watch kept time and order in Church organization; the watch also symbolically communicated an influential leadership role linked to Smith’s authority. Snow followed Smith’s order in leading the women’s organizations, using his words and his authority. Furthermore, the watch became a public symbol of her personal role as one of the Prophet’s plural wives and as a proponent of the institution of plural marriage.

The location of the Nauvoo Relief Society meeting provides an important institutional link for the watch. Snow not only served as secretary in Nauvoo but also preserved the records through a twenty-four-year hiatus from 1844 to 1868. During that hiatus, Snow maintained a public presence as unofficial poet laureate for the Church, documenting both the persecutions and blessings of Church membership while developing a keen sense of her own place within the Church community. In 1868 when Brigham Young gave her a mission in the newly reorganized Relief Society, he said, “I want you to instruct the sisters.” Snow then made a new realm in which to share her views of the Restoration, based on personal experience, revelation, and relationships with other significant leaders. While her po-

University Press, 2002), April 28, 1842, 1:19 (hereafter Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes).

27Ibid., March 17, 1842, April 28, 1842.


etry output waned, her speeches, letters, editorials, and travels increased dramatically, making her accessible to the entire Utah Territory. In this capacity, she influenced the community, particularly women, in the Relief Society, Retrenchment, and Primary Associations, and in her involvement in community affairs of home manufacture and cooperatives, silk, grain, the Deseret Hospital, the *Woman’s Exponent*, and mass meetings in defense of plural marriage. As Snow traveled and directed, met and spoke, she wore the watch as a badge of identity. Much as the hallmarks on the watch authenticated the timepiece, the watch signaled for Snow—and for those who saw the watch—a crucial element in her authoritative organizational role as “Presidentess” of all women’s organizations and universally recognized female leader of Mormon women within the overall Church organization.  

In Nauvoo, Joseph Smith and others taught the women that their organization’s role was that of companion to the priesthood. Snow took that partnership seriously in every facet of her life. Her affiliation with the group during its foundational period facilitated her ability and ease in teaching organizational principles to the second generation of Relief Society members, as well as to the Primary and Retrenchment Associations. Just as she always carried the watch, Snow also brought the Nauvoo minutes with her, 

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31See especially Smith’s sermons to the women, Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes, March 30, 1842, and April 28, 1842. On May 27, 1842, Newel K. Whitney taught, “Without the female all things cannot be restored to the earth—it takes all to restore the Priesthood.” On August 13, 1843, Reynolds Cahoon said the Relief Society “is according to the order of God connected with the priesthood.”


33For example, T. Callister, bishop of Fillmore Ward, while struggling to organize his Relief Society, told the sisters “he did not understand as fully as he would like about the organization of such societies, but he would in-
reading aloud often to groups of women to illustrate points of governance. Men and women accepted her leadership in preserving the purity of the organization.

As a significant part of her leadership, Eliza R. Snow helped to organize the Primary Association on the general level beginning in 1878 and thereafter instructed the various ward organizations. It was only to congregations of children that Snow displayed her gold watch, most likely as a pedagogical method and always in association with a testimony of Joseph Smith as a way of ordering the kingdom. While Snow's preaching to adults contained organizational and historical references and did not involve visual aids other than the Nauvoo Relief Society minutes, her instructional approach for children included stories, songs, recitations, and question and answer

form himself as soon as possible, and then he would meet with them and complete the organization." Fillmore Ward, Millard Stake, Relief Society Minutes, vol. 1, 1868–77, May 28, 1868, p. 5, LDS Church Archives. That information came shortly thereafter in the form of a letter from Eliza R. Snow, outlining key governance issues as practiced in Nauvoo and later developed in Salt Lake City.

For example, Bishop David Evans requested that Snow read the Nauvoo record at the organization of the Lehi Ward Relief Society. Lehi Ward, Utah Stake, Relief Society Minutes, Vol. 1 (1868–79), LDS Church Archives. Snow brought the minute book to a meeting in Draper Ward, East Jordan Stake, Relief Society Minutes, Vol. 1-supp. (1868–72), May 26, 1870, p. 51, LDS Church Archives. At a Relief Society meeting in Ephraim, June 25, 1875, Snow called “the minutes of this First Meeting... a Treasure beyond Price.” Woman's Exponent 4, no. 5 (August 15, 1875): 42. Snow also wrote an important description in “The Female Relief Society: A Brief Sketch of its Organization and Workings in the City of Nauvoo, Hancock Co., Ill.,” Woman's Exponent 1 (June 1, 1872): 2; cont. in 1 (June 14, 1872): 2. She also pondered the doctrinal significance of the teachings recorded in the minutes. Eighteenth Ward, Salt Lake Stake, Relief Society Minutes, vol. 1, 1877–82, March 4, 1879, p. 47, LDS Church Archives, records her saying, “A day or two ago I was reading the minutes of our meetings in Nauvoo [sic]. Jos. Smith at one time dwelt considerably upon the privilege of the sisters.”


Snow's sermons verbally link her to echelons of distinction, perhaps unfathomable to children through words. For example, when she
periods. She also prayed, with the children repeating the prayer line-by-line in unison after her. The relic became a didactic tool for Snow and thousands of children across the territory; the shiny gold watch and its cool weight in their hands made an indelible impression. Such “unofficial narratives” as children’s reminiscences and secondhand accounts of Snow’s speeches perform important functions, according to folklorist William A. Wilson. “These narratives help contemporary Mormons identify with the dramatic events of their collective past, testify to the truthfulness of their church’s teachings, and persuade them to dedicate themselves fully to the Mormon cause.”

John T. Beatty participated in the Tocquerville Primary organization in 1881 at age eleven; as an adult many years later, he remembered how Snow “let every child there hold her gold watch and told us how the prophet Joseph Smith gave it to her.” Minutes of the Washington Primary record that Snow “showed the congregation a watch that belonged to Joseph.” At Lehi, “Sister Snow also related many little Stories, and concluded by Showing the children the gold watch that once belonged to the Prophet Joseph Smith.” These stories highlighted the Prophet, making a dead name larger than life for the children. When “Sister Snow showed a watch that the Prophet Joseph carried for several years” in the Mona Primary, she taught about the

spoke to the Weber Stake Relief Society, May 9, 1879, she “expressed her gratitude to God for the organization of the Relief Societies; she had been connected with the first Relief Society organized by the Prophet Joseph Smith in Nauvoo on the 17th of March 1842, and remembered he said that it should become a great power and have great influence.” Weber Stake, Relief Society Minutes, vol. 6, 1877–1900, p. 54, LDS Church Archives.

38 Interview with John T. Beatty, “Interviews of Living Pioneers,” compiled by Katie Webb, typescript, LDS Church Archives. See also Mary Elizabeth Woolley Chamberlain, “A Sketch of My Life,” 1936, typescript, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
39 Washington Branch, St. George Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1880-87, November 19, 1880, p. 18, LDS Church Archives.
40 Lehi Ward, Alpine Stake, Relief Society Minutes, vol. 2, 1878–82, November 22, 1879, p. 139, LDS Church Archives.
influence of this "first Prophet in this dispensation." In Santaquin, "Sister Snow made a few very encouraging remarks upon punctuality and showed to the children the Watch that used to belong to the Prophet Joseph Smith." Again the watch witnessed both its literal function as a timepiece and its symbolic function of Joseph Smith's emphasis on institutional order.

Also of interest are the less accurately remembered tales about Snow's gold watch. In Wilson's terms, "rather than viewing these stories as a gateway to the past, it would probably be better to consider them valorizations of the past according to present needs." In the Davis Stake Primary, Zina D. H. Young, Snow's traveling partner and sister-wife, taught the children about the persecutions Smith endured and his enemies' anxiety to imprison him. She then "showed the children a watch that was owned by the Prophet Joseph and he had it on his person when he was killed." This report is mistaken. The watch Joseph Smith was wearing at Carthage Jail is owned by the Community of Christ and displayed at the Joseph Smith Historic Center in Nauvoo. Most likely it never belonged to Young. Perhaps the secretary misidentified Snow's watch in Young's possession, or, more likely, Young showed a completely different watch. Still, this example shows how the secretary valorized the past. Most likely only one watch existed between Snow and Young, and this description seems to be associated with an entirely separate watch. Mary Woolley Chamberlain incorrectly remembered the watch carried by Snow and Young on their trip to southern Utah in 1880-81 as belonging to John Taylor, "which saved his life by warding off the bullet when he was shot in Carthage.

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41 Mona Ward, Juab Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1879-83, August 16, 1880, p. 10, LDS Church Archives.
42 Santaquin Ward, Nebo Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1878-80, November 15, 1879, p. 59, LDS Church Archives.
43 Wilson, "Mormon Narratives," 305.
44 The minutes add: "Said one of his wives had the Penknife that made some of the pens that wrote the Book of Mormon." Davis Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 2, 1880-1904, July 16, 1880, p. 2, LDS Church Archives.
45 A photograph of the watch is found in Shannon M. Tracy, In Search of Joseph (Orem, Utah: Kenninghouse, 1995), 41.
Despite the imprecise detail and incorrect associations, these accounts show that the watch connected these women to Joseph Smith, made him more real to the children, and inculcated in them an attitude of homage to the slain Prophet.

Because Snow traced the ownership of her gold watch to Smith, and because of his prophetic authority in the Church, the transfer of the watch can be read, anthropologically, as a transfer of a portion of that institutional power to her. In 1884, Snow gave the watch to Joseph F. Smith, nephew of Joseph Smith. Joseph's gold watch can be interpreted as a spiritual commodity, because as another anthropologist writes, exchange creates value. Thus Snow's possession of the watch signified her power through association with the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Snow communicated her relationship to Smith by showing the watch. By allowing others to see and touch it, she invited them to participate in and act upon their new connection in the religious community through a gesture of shared identity. In the Big Cottonwood Primary, the children were taught about "Joseph Smith, the prophet of this dispensation, and Sister Eliza showed them his watch; wanted to see them improve." In Scipio, "Sist. Snow then let them view a beautiful gold watch formerly owned by the Prophet Joseph Smith. Told them what would result from there [sic] being faithful in the Primary association." Although it was not a financial transaction, Snow shared her watch and relationship in hopes that it would yield increased commitment and testimony. The watch fostered attachment

46Chamberlain, "A Sketch of My Life."
47Folklorist William A. Wilson, "The Paradox of Mormon Folklore," BYU Studies 17 (Autumn 1976): 45, notes that while folklore may be factually false, it is psychologically true and reflects a larger group consensus.
49Snow died December 7, 1887. Unfortunately, her probate records have not been found. As an apostle, Joseph F. Smith traveled throughout the territory often with Eliza. Perhaps because Snow had no children of her own, she saw Joseph F. as a legitimate heir for this family heirloom. He became Church president in 1901.
51Big Cottonwood Ward, Granite Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1881–84, May 22, 1881, p. 3, LDS Church Archives.
52Scipio Ward, Millard Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1880–84, Nov-
to the group with a different kind of market value—the true value of a religious relic.

Adult minute-takers associated principles that Snow preached with the watch, indicating more links and the inherent value of the price paid by Joseph Smith. Most likely, the children did not read the editorial Snow penned for the *Woman's Exponent*, which testified of Smith's role in opening the dispensation of the fulness of times.\(^{53}\) Her factual report of Smith's philanthropy, integrity, and work ethic probably would not have appealed to children as much as the dramatic vignettes she shared with them. In Goshen, Snow "showed the Watch which the Prophet used to wear, narrated some of the persecutions which the Prophet was subjected to," and appealed to their emotional identification with those earlier trials.\(^{54}\) At a Primary meeting in the Davis Stake, Snow told about a time when Smith "had to have a guard day and night to keep him from his enemies. One evening he happened to go to a house where the children were holding meeting and he overheard them praying for him. He went home and dismissed his guards telling them that he was sure of a good night's rest for the children had been praying for him."\(^{55}\) In Salt Lake City Fifth Ward on February 6, 1882, "Sister Eliza asked the children if they prayed and asked blessings on their food; told them that in the time of Joseph Smith, the children had little meetings and bore testimony and had the good spirit with them."\(^{56}\) Although the children were living through significant anti-polygamy persecution, they had not experienced the intense turmoil of Missouri, Illinois, and the westward trek; but such accounts linked their experiences with those of their parents' and grandparents'. As William Wilson stated, "Experience is not some sort of primeval reality whose nature we have only to plumb and then we will have discovered truth. The way we experience events and bring them to consciousness will be determined by what we take to them, suggesting that not only narratives about experiences but the


\(^{54}\) Goshen Ward, Santaquin Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1878–1971, November 15, 1879, p. 40, LDS Church Archives.

\(^{55}\) Davis Stake Primary Minutes, July 16, 1880.

experiences themselves are socially constructed and that it might therefore be a mistake to exclude the latter.  

The children also connected personally with the watch. Phoebe M. Carling Porter could not attend the special Primary organization meeting in Orderville, Utah, when Eliza R. Snow and Zina Young visited. She recorded how her father, a member of the bishopric, brought the guests home, where Snow allowed Phoebe to hold and kiss the watch. Phoebe wrote, “I remember how sacred the watch seemed to me.” A ten-year-old Scandinavian girl who attended the organizational meeting at the Bear River Ward Primary was impressed with Snow and her watch; as an adult, she related the incident often to her own children. Violet Lunt Uriel of Cedar City, Utah, left a touching account in her autobiography:

One of the most unforgettable things of my life was when Eliza R. Snow came to Cedar City in 1880 to organize a Primary Association. I was about six, and there were perhaps twenty of us who were charter members of that Primary.

During the organization meeting Sister Snow showed us a watch which had been the Prophet Joseph’s. She told us about the Prophet and the watch. She let each of us hold the watch for a short time. I remember as I held the watch in my tiny cupped hands, she gave us an ad-


58*Our Pioneer Heritage*, 15:174–75. This was apparently the same visit that Olive Fackrell Norwood, then a child, described as occurring on February 16, 1881, when Snow and Young organized the Orderville Primary. “I went with mother. . . . In this meeting, Sister Eliza R. Snow, Joseph Smith’s wife, showed us the Prophet Joseph’s gold watch. She let me hold it so I could say ‘I held the President’s watch.’” Adonis Robinson, also present, added the detail that Snow spoke in tongues and Young interpreted but remembered Snow’s story as being that Joseph was wearing the watch “when he was martyred in the Carthage jail” and that “it had been given to Eliza when she was made president of the Relief Society organization.” Both quoted in Margaret K. Brady, *Mormon Healer and Folk Poet: Mary Susannah Fowler’s Life of “Unselfish Usefulness”* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 61–62.

59Nina F. Moss and Edith H. Terry, “Box Elder,” *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 15:182. The woman is identified only as “my mother, a Scandinavian immigrant girl of ten.”
monition not to ever forget that we had held the Prophet's watch. I believe that I am the only one living who was in that group. I imagine the rest remember as I shall always, the story Sister Snow told us of the Prophet and of the wonderful moment when we held his watch.\\(^{60}\)

Likely other children were equally impressed with the direct connection they felt to Joseph Smith after holding the watch. Children like Violet came to relate to both Snow and Smith as they saw, held, and even kissed the watch in that “most unforgettable moment.” The children also sensed the need to share with others, to testify of their experience with the relic, and to teach their children of this association. Thus, as the watch passed literally from the hands of Joseph Smith to Eliza R. Snow to Joseph F. Smith, its testimony filtered through to the children and on to future generations, aligning them in a common cause.

**Snow's Watch and Plural Marriage**

In addition to its institutional meaning as a relic, Snow's gold watch also symbolized her marriage to Smith as his plural wife, a union that she referred to in her Nauvoo journal only in vague references and metaphors and in encoded expressions in her poetry.\\(^{61}\) Twenty-four years after the public announcement of plural marriage, Snow, in “A Sketch of My Life” (1876), carefully described her testimony of plural marriage and her adherence to the principle.\\(^{62}\) Although little is known about the intimacy of Snow's marriage to Smith, Wilford Woodruff paid tribute to her supportiveness in an 1857 letter to Snow: “Many an hour has Joseph spent in gloom and sorrow because of Fals [sic] Brethren and wicked men. Even the hearts of the saints were so barred by fals tradition that He Could not unbosom his soul in the House of His Friends. This Caused him pain. Then thou dist Comfort him. Thy friendly thoughts and acts and words inspired Gods Eternal truth was like a flaming shaft.

\(^{60}\) Violet Lunt Urie, autobiography [ca. 1860], typescript, 5, LDS Church Archives.


Though launch [sic] by a female hand, that hand was nerved by faith and power that it pierced the walls of Darkness fear and death and gave the Prophet Joy.\textsuperscript{63}

Where the watch was concerned, however, Snow waited until Emma Smith's death before making a more public claim of that relationship by exhibiting the watch. Emma died on April 30, 1879, and the \textit{Deseret News} published the news on May 13.\textsuperscript{64} Only two days later, Snow publicly displayed her gold watch for the first known time as a memento of her marriage to Smith.\textsuperscript{65} Why had she delayed? Perhaps it was her way of showing respect for Emma Smith. Or perhaps she waited until Emma could not challenge her association of the watch with the marriage. In both May and June 1879, she again displayed the gold watch. That fall, on October 18, Snow published a letter to the \textit{Deseret News} editor: "Joseph the Seer's Public Marriages. His Wife Emma's Consent Thereto," in response to "The Last Testimony of Sister Emma," an interview that Joseph III conducted with his mother, in which she denied Joseph Smith's participation in polygamy.\textsuperscript{66} It was also in the fall of 1880 that Snow started calling herself Eliza R. Snow

\textsuperscript{63}Woodruff, December 16, 1857, 5:135.

\textsuperscript{64}The unsigned obituary reads in part: "To the old members of this Church the deceased was well known as a lady of more than ordinary intelligence and force of character. Her opposition to the doctrine of plural marriage, which, however, she at first embraced, led to her departure from the faith of the gospel as revealed through her martyred husband. She chose to remain at Nauvoo when the Saints left for the West, and in consequence lost the honor and glory that might have crowned her brow as 'the elect lady.' . . . She has now gone behind the vail to await the great day of accounts. There is no feeling of bitterness in the hearts of the Saints toward Sister Emma, but only of pity and sorrow for the course she pursued. May her remains rest in peace." \textit{Deseret News}, May 13, 1879, 248.

\textsuperscript{65}Tim Dant, \textit{Material Culture in the Social World: Values, Activities, Life-styles} (Buckingham, Eng.: Open University Press, 1999), 131, discusses how societal changes alter the form and meaning of objects, as seen with Snow's new use of the watch.

Smith. Snow’s Relief Society speeches unmistakably connect Smith to polygamy and herself to him, not only in the principle of polygamy, but also in her role to instruct, testify, and lead the women of Zion and their children.

The principle of plural marriage was not reserved for adult discussion only. Four months before Emma’s death, in January 1879, the U.S. Supreme Court had confirmed the constitutionality of the 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Act in *Reynolds v. the United States.* Snow and other leaders recognized the need to teach children about the practice. The gold watch was a safe and positive means to legitimate the practice for children. In Santaquin, after Eliza Snow, Zina Young, and Mary Isabella Horne made “instructive remarks,” the bishop stepped forward and told the children “that now they had seen Joseph’s watch that it was Joseph’s wife that had showed [it] to them.” The testimony of other adult leaders indicated their own understanding of the principle, their adherence to it, and their need to teach children of its importance. Forty-eight-year-old Charles L. Walker attended the Primary meeting in St. George in which “sisters ER Snow Smith and Zina D. Young . . . both declared that they were the wives of Joseph Smith the Martyred Prophet. Sister Eliza showed a watch that Joseph carried while living.” While the watch bore testimony of Joseph Smith, Eliza Snow and Zina Young bore testimony of their connection and relationship to him through plural marriage. Thus, as the watch signified Smith, the women signified the principle. The children, then, learned about the principle of polygamy by the same means through which they learned reverence for the Prophet. As a relic, the gold watch extended the reality of both Smith and his wives to the children, creating attachment to a sacrosanct group and reifying celestial principles. While Snow publicly testified of plural marriage, she pri-

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68Santaquin Ward, Nebo Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1878–80, November 15, 1879, p. 59, LDS Church Archives. See also Washington Branch, Primary Minutes, November 19, 1880.

vately carried a piece of her beloved Joseph on a chain around her neck, resting next to her heart. Thus, she herself became an icon, a relic carrying something of the sanctity of plural marriage.\textsuperscript{70}

The last known time when Snow exhibited the gold watch occurred at the Cache Stake Primary conference in Logan on October 24, 1885. She was eighty-one, traveling and speaking less. “She called the Primary children hers and loved them all.” She told them about her trip to the Holy Land in 1872–73, bore testimony of Christ and enjoined them to be punctual, honest, and obedient. She also spoke of Joseph Smith and displayed his watch.\textsuperscript{71}

Jane E. Molin, the Cache Valley Stake Primary president, spoke after Snow’s remarks, testifying that “Sister Smith was the mother of us all because she was a mother in Israel.” As mother she maintained order and relationships, linking the mythic figure of Joseph Smith whom later nineteenth-century children never knew firsthand to an object they could touch. As a relic, Smith’s gold watch became a conduit, transmitting his spiritual significance to the children. While Emily Pfeiffer almost certainly did not view Eliza R. Snow’s gold watch with anything like Snow’s reverence, she unquestionably captured its significance as a sacred relic and intuited Snow’s role as a “Hebrew prophetess.”

\textsuperscript{70}Geary, “Sacred Commodities,” 176, defined \textit{relic} as: “Relics were the saints, continuing to live among men. They were immediate sources of supernatural power for good or for ill, and close contact with them or possession of them was a means of participating in that power.”

\textsuperscript{71}Logan Utah Cache Stake, Primary Minutes, vol. 1, 1881–1911, pp. 28–30, LDS Church Archives.
A TURBULENT COEXISTENCE:
DUANE HUNT, DAVID O. MCKAY,
AND A QUARTER-CENTURY OF
CATHOLIC-MORMON RELATIONS

Gregory A. Prince and Gary Topping

COMING OUT OF A HISTORY accented with violent persecution from outsiders, Latter-day Saints have responded warmly to members of other faiths who have treated them with even minimal humane consideration, despite disagreeing with their theology. Although Utah history contains many examples of vituperative attacks on Mormonism by members of various other religious groups, particularly Protestant, few such attacks came from Roman Catholics, who generally have been content to pursue their own Christian lives and to minister to their own community without attacking the beliefs and practices of others.¹ Working from the unusual position of a minority church in predominantly Mormon Utah, Catholics have, with some notable exceptions in the late nine-

¹On this general relationship, see Robert Joseph Dwyer, The Gentile
teenth century, assumed a live-and-let-live position. Latter-day Saints in Utah, in turn, generally have been cordial toward Catholics since the pioneer era, when Brigham Young intervened on behalf of Father Edward Kelly to resolve a disputed title to Catholic Church property in Salt Lake City.2

In the quarter-century following World War II, however, relationships between the two churches were seriously strained on several occasions. The story of those strains and their ultimate resolution focuses largely on two church leaders: Duane G. Hunt (1884–1960), bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, and David O. McKay, president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

David O. McKay (1873–1970), the older of the two men by over a decade, had long harbored deep personal distrust of Catholicism. While McKay’s exposure to Catholicism had been minimal in Utah, his service from 1923–24 as president of the European Mission placed him for the first time in countries where it was the dominant church. In 1923 he visited Liège, Belgium, and wrote in his diary, “A Catholic Church celebration was held last night [Saturday]—People drinking and carousing until 6:30 this morning. O what a Godless farce that organization is!”3

As the presiding officer over the Church’s European missions, he also saw that the most successful proselytizing efforts spanning nearly a century had come from Protestant England, Scandinavia, Germany, and Switzerland, whose thousands of nineteenth-century converts, including his own grandparents, comprised the majority of territorial Utah’s population. In contrast, proselytizing efforts within predominantly Catholic countries had been limited, primarily to France, Belgium, and Italy, and had been generally unsuccessful. Missions to the British Isles (although none were headquartered in Catholic Ireland), Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Germany had


3David O. McKay, Diary, June 17, 1923, David O. McKay Papers, Ms 668, Box 7, fd. 10, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Hereafter cited as McKay Papers by box and folder, as needed.
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operated continuously since their founding between 1837 and 1854, while those to France, Belgium, and Italy, opened in 1850, were closed within fourteen years and were not reopened until the twentieth century.  

In contrast to McKay, a lifelong Latter-day Saint, Duane G. Hunt (1884–1960) had been raised a Methodist but left the church of his youth following college and converted to Catholicism. Nonetheless, he never forgot or disparaged his Protestant background and always maintained sympathetic feelings for other churches. Following law school at the University of Iowa, Hunt moved to Utah in 1913, spent three years on the Speech Department’s faculty at the University of Utah, then decided to enter the ministry. After graduating from St. Patrick’s Seminary in Menlo Park, California, he returned to Utah where, on June 27, 1920, he was ordained by Bishop Joseph S. Glass in the first ordination held in the Cathedral of Madeleine in Salt Lake City. Hunt spent the remaining forty years of his life in Salt Lake City, becoming the fifth bishop of Salt Lake City in 1937.  

In 1930, the centenary of the founding of Mormonism, the Catholics leased airtime on Sunday evenings on KSL, the Mormon Church-owned radio station, for a series of addresses by Bishop Hunt to expound the faith of the Catholic minority. While not intended either as an assault on Mormonism or an attempt to lure Mormons to the Catholic fold, Hunt’s addresses were not well received in some Mormon quarters. Nonetheless, the Catholics took the criticism in stride, reporting that the Mormons “have done a good deal of anti-Catholic talking over the radio in recent months, but on the whole they are less intolerant than strongly Protestant communities.”  

The first crisis in Catholic-Mormon relations during Bishop Hunt’s tenure was precipitated by Father Robert J. Dwyer

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5Bernice Maher Mooney, Salt of the Earth: The History of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1776–1987 (Salt Lake City: Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City, 1987), 212.
6Millard F. Everett, “Centenary of Mormonism Coincides with Successful Catholic Radio Work in Utah,” Intermountain Catholic Register, August 30, 1930.
Born and reared in the Avenues neighborhood of Salt Lake City, Dwyer was the first native Utahn ordained in that diocese (1932). Eventually he became bishop of Reno (1952) and archbishop of Portland, Oregon (1966). An omnivorous reader as a youth, Dwyer was a scholar as well as priest. His 1940 dissertation, written at Catholic University and published as *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1941), became a standard work of Utah history; and he contributed regularly to the *Utah Historical Quarterly* during and after his service as an officer of the Utah State Historical Society. Furthermore, he was a prolific and popular journalist, serving as columnist and editor of a newspaper, the *Intermountain Catholic*.

Dwyer had a less tolerant attitude toward Mormonism than Bishop Hunt. He grew up as a member of a Catholic minority in a Mormon community where, although official relations between the two churches might have been cordial, individual relations could be testy. Dwyer was an expert on both Mormon history and doctrine; but although he admired the history, he had no use for the theology and found it difficult to confine his acerbic observations within the tolerant bounds of Hunt's policy. At this point in 1932, Hunt was a seasoned forty-eight while Dwyer, age twenty-four, was rector of the Cathedral of the Madeleine, intermittent editor and columnist for the *Intermountain Catholic*, and a teacher in Catholic schools.

The appearance near the end of November 1945 of Fawn McKay Brodie's unflattering biography of Joseph Smith, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), initially met with a deep silence from official Mormon spokesmen; and while it was being reviewed widely in both popular and scholarly publications around the nation, Mormon publications, as Brodie's biographer notes, “declined to review, or even to acknowledge the book’s existence for months after its release.” Eventually, because the book was such a frontal attack on the sincerity of Joseph Smith's claims to revelation, the Church was obliged to speak. It did so obliquely at first in the form of implied references in speeches by J. Reuben Clark and David O.

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McKay (Brodie’s uncle), later in a negative book review published in the *Improvement Era* by Apostle John A. Widtsoe, and finally during April general conference 1946. In the very last session of the conference, several speakers referred to the book, including Apostle Albert E. Bowen, who “made a stirring defense of the Prophet Joseph Smith against the poisonous slander of those who would make him out an imposter.”

Looking on from the sidelines, it appeared to Father Dwyer that the depth of Brodie’s research and the reasonableness of her interpretations threatened to open up a significant crack between Mormon intellectuals, who would likely find the book convincing, and the rank and file, who were now being lectured into faithfulness by the leaders. Of particular interest to Dwyer was the conference address of J. Reuben Clark, who enumerated ten “false doctrines” that he implied were contained in Brodie’s book, without naming her directly. Among those doctrines were skepticism about an anthropomorphic God, the supernatural revelations of Joseph Smith, divine assistance in translating the Book of Mormon, and the idea of eternal progress.

What most caught Dwyer’s eye was the apparent unwillingness of Mormon officialdom to entertain any kind of critical examination of Mormon history and scriptures, and its decision instead to insist upon nothing less than rock-solid and literal affirmation of received truth. “Higher education,” he observed in his *Intermountain Catholic* column, “has not proved an unmixed blessing so far as adherence to simple faith in the sacred writings of the Church is concerned.” Obviously hoping to widen that crack between Mormon officialdom and intellectuals, Dwyer examined some of the central Mormon doctrines showcased by Brodie’s book, which he deemed to be among Mormonism’s most vulnera-

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10Robert J. Dwyer, “Reflections on the Recent L.D.S Conference,” *The Register: Intermountain Catholic Edition*, April 21, 1946, 11–12. We have seen no evidence that Dwyer had Mormon intellectual friends; rather, he saw his role more as that of a gadfly.
ble tenets. In his eagerness, however, he stepped over an invisible line in Mormon-Catholic relations and precipitated outcries of protest not only in the Mormon-owned Deseret News, but even in the Catholic-owned Salt Lake Tribune, which ultimately resulted in Hunt's suspending him for almost four years as editor of the Intermountain Catholic.\(^{11}\)

Dwyer's defense of Catholic orthodoxy contained nothing doctrinally new, nor was his column even a sustained examination of Mormon and Catholic differences on the points raised in the conference. Rather, it was the sharpness of the barbs he sent against the Mormon positions that aroused the ire of his readers. Reacting to the conference speakers' insistence on a physical rather than solely spiritual God, Dwyer commented that "by this forthright declaration of belief in a physical deity, . . . Mormonism definitely places itself outside the realm of rational inquiry and rests its case upon a philosophical impossibility." Moving on to the Mormon assertion that LDS scriptures came directly through Joseph Smith without human or environmental influence on the final form, Dwyer observed dryly, "Historical criticism thus stands rebuked." To Mormon intellectuals, "the inconsistency of the sacred books of the Mormon Church with any recognizable critical standards is too flagrant to escape their notice," and "in thus throwing down the gauntlet, Mormonism has inevitably drawn attention to those features of its teaching that are most clearly irreconcilable with reason and most violently impatient of critical analysis." The Mormon proposition of "eternal progress," that man can progress to godhood, did not escape Dwyer's sarcasm: "Long a favorite apothegm of Mormon orthodoxy, the idea that God is a kind of principle of eternal progress, and that man reflects this progress by following in the wake of an expanding godhead, is demonstrably an intellectual absurdity." Dwyer concluded by expressing "pity that so many earnest and zealous men and women, capable both by inheritance and native genius of serving the ad-

\(^{11}\) Dwyer was silently replaced after the December 1, 1946, issue and silently reinstalled with the November 19, 1950, issue. Both papers published editorials of protests: "Concerning the Catholic Register's 'Reflections' on Our Annual Conference," Deseret News, May 18, 1946; and "Ill-timed, Ill-Natured and Very Ill-Advised Criticism of a Christian Conference," Salt Lake Tribune, May 22, 1946.
vancement of genuine religion in a world that needs it so sorely, should be deflected into this backwater of ineffectual controversy and spend their undoubted energies in creating a tempest in a teapot.”

The Mormon response in the Deseret News began by nibbling around the edges of Dwyer’s indictment, pointing out such minor errors as referring to the annual conference as “semiannual” (technically, the April conference was “annual” and its October counterpart was “semiannual”), and criticizing Dwyer’s article as “lack[ing] a bit in ... ecclesiastical courtesy” by referring to President J. Reuben Clark as “Mr. Clark” or “Reuben Clark.” More to the point, the response indicated that the rise of heresy in any church is likely to cause “consternation” and that any time a church encourages higher education it is likely to encounter skepticism. Regarding Mormonism’s “philosophical impossibility,” the writer asserted an essential incompatibility of religion and philosophy, so that most religious doctrines seem impossible to the secular mind, and most miraculous interventions in human affairs, like Moses’s reception of the Ten Commandments, elude critical evaluation. Finally, the writer asserted that, to the rest of the religious world, the Catholic attention to transubstantiation, confession, relics, and such things appear as futile as Mormons’ concern over their own unique doctrines.

The Salt Lake Tribune, then edited by John F. Fitzgerald, published an indictment of Dwyer’s article titled “Ill-Timed, Ill-Natured and Very Ill-Advised Criticism of a Christian Conference.” This editorial was both less lengthy and less temperate than the article in the Deseret News. Accusing Dwyer of Pharisaical superiority in condemning another religion, it appealed, rather oddly, to patriotism rather than reason. Its basic point was that, during the time of postwar healing, Americans should stand united in the interest of what it called “the future of the world and the perpetuation of the race” rather than indulging “the narrow opinions of any intolerant egotist or illiberal religionist with a sanctimonious complex.”

Apparently Dwyer accepted the Deseret News response as merely a restatement of Mormon philosophical positions and a further ex-

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14 “Ill-Timed, Ill-Natured, and Very Ill-Advised.”
ample of the kind of doctrinal wagon-circling to which his article had called attention, for he chose not to comment on it further. It was, instead, the Tribune rebuke that aroused his ire. In an Intermountain Catholic editorial, he attacked the "purely negative secularism which holds that all religious controversy . . . is necessarily reprehensible." In such a secular view, disagreement over politics, economics, sociology, or almost anything else is permissible, but "religion is taboo." Scoring heavily against his patriotic critic, Dwyer reminded him that freedom of religion had been one of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, for which the country had recently fought, and argued that "the idea that fraternity should be played up at the cost of playing down honest creedal disagreements" was inimical to "the true advancement of religion in a democracy."  

The rest of the column seemed directed more to the eye of Bishop Hunt, his religious superior, than to a general audience. Although the bishop had enjoined his priests to turn the other cheek in response to attacks on Catholic teachings, he himself, after all, was a vigorous defender of the faith when the occasion presented itself, particularly when Catholic doctrines were attacked by the Mormons. Did editorship of the diocesan newspaper entail the authority for Dwyer to engage in similar polemics? A concomitant question was whether Dwyer had initiated the debate or merely responded to provocation. Ultimately only the bishop could decide the first question, but Dwyer had his own answer to the second.

"Provocation," he began, "is a relative term." It included, to his mind, not only instances of specific attack, but also long-term promulgation of offensive ideas, either of which could justify rejoinder. "Open denial of the divinity of Christ is provocative to the Christian; not less so is the frank avowal of doctrines concerning the nature of the Godhead which are viewed as irreconcilable with the Christian revelation," Dwyer continued. Although he concluded with an apology to any persons he may have offended, or if he had "allowed acerbity to sharpen his comments," it is hard not to regard his words as disingenuous. For one thing, there seems little reason to regard the doctrinal wagon-circling of the Mormon conference as anything but an

attempt to answer heresy within the ranks of the Latter-day Saints, not a renewed attack on Catholic doctrines. Further, Dwyer’s stretching of the elastic clause he thought he could find in the semantics of provocation was nothing less than carte blanche to attack Mormonism whenever he chose and meant nothing less than the onset of the kind of warfare between Catholics and Mormons that had plagued much of Protestant-Mormon relations and which Bishop Hunt had been at pains to avoid. Finally, it would be difficult not to see acerbity in the tone of his initial comments on the conference. “Consternation” there was aplenty among the conference speakers, but Dwyer was well aware that Brodie, for the moment at least, had them down. Thus, he had shown himself as not above adding a kick or two of his own.

Dwyer concluded his article by expressing his willingness “to take his chance with the considered judgment of time and posterity.” Posterity, to this point at least, has rendered the silent judgment of amnesia, but Bishop Hunt took little time to render his: On December 1, 1946, Dwyer’s name silently disappeared from the masthead of the diocesan paper, and it would be almost four years before it reappeared. There was an immense love and a deep respect between the two men, apparent to those who knew them and lingering in their reputations; but the amicable relations between the two churches, now rendered fragile, needed protection; and for the moment, Dwyer’s services were otherwise used as rector of the cathedral and as a teacher at Judge Memorial High School.

The next crisis in Catholic-Mormon relations occurred only a few months later. In January 1948, J. Reuben Clark, first counselor to LDS Church president George Albert Smith and de facto president due to Smith’s failing health, began a series of Sunday night radio addresses on KSL Radio, in which he affirmed the core tenets of Mormon doctrine. At the same time, in a commendable gesture, the station made Sunday night airtime available gratis to Bishop Hunt. Hunt did what Clark did, reaffirming the core beliefs of his own church. Clark, however, misinterpreted Hunt’s addresses on the primacy of the Pope and the Holy See in Rome as an assault on Mormonism, and wrote in his diary, “Bishop Hunt seemed to have declared war.” But it was Clark who waged the war. Speaking to his Catholic friend John F. Fitzpatrick, publisher of the Salt Lake Tribune, he asked a rhetorical question: “What

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16J. Reuben Clark Jr., Office Diary, February 25, 1948, quoted in D.
might be the situation if we went to Rome and applied for time over the Vatican station and they gave us the time for nothing . . . and then we proceeded to lambast the Catholic Church over their own station on the time which they had given us?"\(^{17}\)

The printed texts of Hunt’s radio addresses, however, belie Clark’s charges. While he sometimes addressed doctrines over which Mormons and Catholics disagree, like the apostolic continuity of the Catholic Church, he did so in the context of sermons on basic Catholic teachings, never as an isolated jab at Mormonism and never with any reference to Mormon teachings at all.\(^{18}\) Thus, one can appreciate Hunt’s genuine astonishment when Fitzpatrick reported Clark’s indictment: “Oh, God forbid. Do you mean that?”\(^{19}\)

When Fitzpatrick assured Clark that he had misread Hunt’s intentions, Clark, unimpressed, did not change his view that Hunt had, indeed, declared theological war upon the Mormons. By early March, Clark was shaping his own radio addresses to include direct attacks on core Catholic beliefs. He also began to write an anti-Catholic polemic that he included as a 220-page appendix in a book containing the radio addresses, which was published the following year.\(^{20}\) He also made no secret of his antagonism toward the Catholic Church. A minor incident became, in his eyes, an occasion of offense. While KSL was doing some remodeling, Monsignor Jerome Stoffel, who occasionally substituted for Hunt in giving the radio addresses, was moved from the cramped studio that Hunt normally used to the spacious one used by Clark. After giving one address, he left the studio just as Clark was entering it to give his own address. Clark did not greet him, but instead glowered at him as if to say, “What in the hell

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\(^{17}\)Ibid. No answer from Fitzpatrick is recorded.

\(^{18}\)Typescripts of Hunt’s radio addresses are in the Archives, Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City.

\(^{19}\)Hunt quoted in Clark, Office Diary, March 2, 1948, quoted in Quinn, *Elder Statesman*, 121.

The seventy-five-year-old McKay was, at this time, second counselor in the First Presidency, and thus subordinate to Clark. Though not yet directly involved in the Clark-Hunt dispute, he clearly sided with Clark. After meeting with a group of stake presidents in Ogden early in 1949, he wrote, “Another question that came up was the seeming determination of the Catholics to convert as many Mormons here in the West as they possibly can. There is no doubt but that there is an organized campaign on in this respect.” Only two weeks later, he came into direct contact with Bishop Hunt over another matter, and its affable resolution was typical of McKay’s mixed feelings of genuine benevolence and cooperation toward individual Catholics, whether laity or clergy, but distrust and even animosity toward the church to which they belonged.

At issue was an editorial in the Salt Lake Tribune pertaining to the high divorce rate in Utah. A Mormon friend of McKay, disturbed over the editorial, felt that it was unfairly—albeit only indirectly—critical of the LDS Church. He voiced his concerns to Hunt who, feeling somehow implicated in the editorial, called McKay to clarify the situation. McKay assured him that he did not share his friend’s feeling and affirmed that he felt the newspaper had the right to publish any facts and “to comment on anything that is News.” Appreciative of the response, “Bishop Hunt then said he thought when anything like this comes up that it is better to get in touch directly; that he did not want any misunderstanding.”

In spite of the good personal feelings resulting from that exchange, McKay took aim at Hunt’s institution several months later. While meeting with local LDS leaders in Idaho, “I admonished them to be on their guard against the attempted inroads of the Catholic Church.” One month later a pamphlet written for Utah Catholics and intended to raise money for under-funded Utah parishes inadvertently caused a skirmish that escalated nearly into theological warfare.

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22 McKay, Diary, February 19, 1949, McKay Papers.
23 Ibid., March 2, 1949.
The pamphlet, written by Auxiliary Bishop Leo J. Steck, Hunt's assistant in early 1949, documented the impoverishment of the Catholic Church in many areas of Utah. Only fifty-two priests were assigned to Utah, an area of nearly 85,000 square miles; six of the state's twenty-nine counties had only one priest; and sixteen counties lacked any priest at all. Steck requested donations to support the training of additional priests and the construction of more parochial schools (there were only three in the entire state) and churches. He also called for a Catholic center in Salt Lake City, as there was no adequate place for Catholic youth to gather socially. The pamphlet made no mention of the LDS Church or Mormon beliefs and carried no suggestion or implication of proselytizing among non-Catholics within Utah. However, it was entitled "A Foreign Mission Close to Home!" and therein lay the problem, a problem that Steck, a St. Louis native with no understanding of Mormon vernacular, likely did not even sense. In Catholic usage, and certainly in the context of the pamphlet, mission meant a rudimentary parish incapable of sustaining itself financially. In the LDS lexicon, mission was used only in the context of proselytizing. A Mormon who saw the pamphlet without reading its contents could thus have easily concluded that it was the first foray of a new initiative to lure Latter-day Saints away from their own faith. One such Mormon was David O. McKay. Speaking to local Church leaders in his hometown of Huntsville, "I presented to them the avowed activity of the CATHOLIC CHURCH here in Utah, and called their attention to a leaflet that designates Utah as 'a foreign Mission close at home.'" 26

Apparently McKay was not the only Mormon to react in this way. When Bishop Hunt found that the pamphlet had been widely misinterpreted by the Mormons, he was both hurt and enraged. On the same day that McKay spoke to the leaders in Huntsville, Hunt wrote to his friend John Fitzpatrick, publisher of the Salt Lake Tribune and one of Utah's most prominent lay Catholics, venting his frustration and anger:

I cannot resist the temptation to get a few things off my chest. I refer to the pamphlet published by Bishop Steck this winter and which

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26 McKay, Diary, August 28, 1949.
has apparently aroused some resentment among our neighbors. . . . There is absolutely no reason why anyone of any other church should pay the slightest bit of attention to this pamphlet. It contains not one iota of propaganda against any one else; it does not complain about any one else. It calls attention to a few priests in this Diocese who need financial assistance and of some of our poor missions. It was sent to Catholics only. . . . That anyone should be disturbed about this pamphlet of Bishop Steck's is wholly unreasonable. It makes me furious. Some day our Mormon neighbors will wake up to the fact that my regime represents the high point in the effort of the Catholic Church to be cordial. . . . To all of [our Utah priests] I give the same advice. "Never criticize any other church or its people; confine yourself exclusively to the Catholic religion." I have forbidden priests to reply to attacks made against us on the radio by prominent Mormons. I have forbidden them to reply to the contemptible attacks made in [LDS] ward meeting houses by ex-Catholics. I have forbidden comments about several books published about us during recent years. I have done everything possible to contribute to harmony. . . . Some day I will discuss the whole subject with you, but not at present. I am too angry. I must wait until I have cooled off.  

Things then went from bad to worse. Under direction from McKay and his colleagues in the First Presidency, 28 Apostle Mark E. Petersen, who was also editor of the LDS Church-owned Deseret News, initiated a series of meetings with local LDS Church leaders throughout the Salt Lake Valley. Petersen asserted that "a powerful church is mustering all possible strength from all over America for an intensified and concentrated attack on us." 29 Leaving no doubt about the identity of that church, he charged:

About six years ago the authorities of the [LDS] church began to hear of Catholic movements in the east to raise funds for carrying on a campaign in Utah. . . . Bishop D. G. Hunt of the Salt Lake diocese had

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28McKay, Letter to Duane G. Hunt, November 7, 1949, Hunt Papers. McKay's admission that he was authorizing a "counterattack" is in the Hunt Collection, Archives, Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake City. No evidence exists about who reported to Hunt on the ward meetings where Petersen spoke.
29Minutes of a meeting held in the Harvard Ward Chapel, September 22, 1949, Hunt Papers.
made trips to the east for the purpose of instigating anti-Mormon propaganda and at the same time to raise funds. . . . Loss of Mormons to the Catholics in Utah was mentioned. We recognize their right to proselyte, but they will not recognize our right to do so if they ever gain the upper hand.  

While these meetings were on-going, Hunt sent word to McKay through a mutual friend (identity not known) that he wished to speak with him personally in an effort to resolve the crisis. McKay responded, through the same intermediary, that he “should be glad to make a convenient time when he might see me.”

The meeting took place at Holy Cross Hospital where Hunt also had an office. He explained that the sole purpose of the pamphlet had been to raise funds to continue the Catholic Church’s ministry to its own members in Utah but that it was clearly being misinterpreted by both Catholics and Mormons. “When we found out that our own people objected to it, and that your people especially had objected to it, we discontinued the distribution of the pamphlet.” McKay replied, “We received a copy, it seems to me, only six weeks ago. . . . Naturally we were perturbed.” “Well,” said Bishop Hunt, “Catholics all over the United States are. I am very sorry; I hope you will believe me.” He went on to explain the different meaning of “mission” in the Catholic context. McKay responded, “I rather think, Bishop, that the people of the United States would not have that distinction in mind, because it says on the pamphlet, ‘A Foreign Mission Close to Home.’” Hunt acknowledged McKay’s point by saying, “I realize that it would be hard for me to make you believe otherwise,” to which McKay replied, “I believe it would be hard to make anybody believe otherwise.” Despite McKay’s stiffness on this point, Hunt finally succeeded in convincing him that the Catholics were not conducting a proselytizing campaign in Utah, and McKay said he would carry that message to his associates in the First Presidency.

Hunt then reassured McKay that he was a voice of moderation within the Catholic Church in Utah:

I have been attacked recently by our Priests because the report has gone out that the Mormons are attacking the Catholics in Utah,

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30 Minutes of a meeting held in the Tenth Ward Chapel, October 13, 1949, Hunt Papers.
31 McKay, Diary, October 7, 1949.
and that I, as the Bishop, am doing nothing in retaliation, and I am not doing anything, and I do not propose to do anything. Whenever an article was about to appear, I have telephoned them to stop it, if I have known about it. . . . There is a feeling throughout the United States (this is from our side now) that the Latter-day Saints are persecuting the Catholics and are going to drive them out of the city, and they blame me for doing nothing about it.

McKay indicated with some skepticism that “we understand that he [Steck] is especially skilled in missionary work, and that is why he has been sent to Utah.” Hunt replied, “No, he isn’t a missionary; that is not his work.”32 Still the meeting ended amicably and Hunt followed up with a personal letter to McKay, in which he sought to clarify the matter further:

The attitude of the Catholic Church in Utah toward other Churches during this year has been and is precisely what it was last year and what it has always been. Our primary objective here as elsewhere is to safeguard the faith of our people and to administer the Sacraments to them. A secondary objective is to win converts. These come into the Church because they are attracted by some doctrine or devotion, never as the result of a direct approach by a priest, and never as the result of an attack upon the religion of their youth. We preach our doctrines openly so that those who are interested may hear. We give out literature explanatory [of] our doctrines to those who ask for it. Such have been our methods in the past; such are our methods now. In other words and in summary, the disturbing pamphlet has not meant any change in our program or policies. In no way was it intended to affect our attitude toward Protestants and Mormons or our relations with them. It was intended merely as the means of raising additional revenue for a few of our priests whose people cannot fully support them.33

Finally satisfied, McKay responded more warmly:

I am glad that I accepted your cordial invitation to have a personal conference with you on the question of the purpose of your having issued this objectionable pamphlet. . . . As I have already stated to you, when the leaders of the Church first read this appeal

32McKay, Diary, October 12, 1949.
they understood it to be the opening of a campaign in Utah to convert to Catholicism, members of the dominant church. . . . With this thought in mind, we took immediate steps to inform our people of what appeared to be an approaching campaign planned by the Catholics for the specific purpose named above. Your letter sets forth conclusively that there was no such intent, that there has been "no attack upon others," nor "any change in policies" of the Catholic Church here in Utah. Thank you for setting forth so clearly your attitude in this matter.\(^3^4\)

In retrospect, it seems clear that McKay and his colleagues badly and unfairly misinterpreted the pamphlet and subsequently took unwarranted and damaging action in retaliation. Hunt was justified in his initial feelings and showed commendable integrity and charity in initiating the healing process. McKay accepted Hunt's explanation, but with obvious reluctance. A double standard was in effect, but never entered into the discussion. That is, McKay and his colleagues were vehemently opposed to any attempt by the Catholics to proselytize within Utah, yet made no apology about sending thousands of LDS missionaries to Catholic strongholds within the United States and foreign countries, with the expressed intent of converting Catholics to Mormonism. Ultimately, McKay did exactly what he had hypothesized to Hunt, taking Mormonism to the gates of the Vatican when he reopened the Italian Mission after a hiatus of a full century.\(^3^5\)

However, the Mormon-Catholic \textit{entente cordiale} constructed by Hunt and McKay held firm for several years. Shortly after McKay became Church president, he visited Holy Cross Hospital to perform a blessing of healing for a young LDS patient afflicted with polio. As he entered the building, he encountered Bishop Hunt, who greeted him cordially and introduced him to the Sister Superior.\(^3^6\) A year later, Hunt wrote a letter with directions that it be read at Sunday Mass in every parish in the diocese. The letter touched delicately on Catholic-Mormon relationships and urged Catholics to be good neighbors under all circumstances:

\(^3^4\)McKay, Letter to Duane G. Hunt, November 7, 1949, Hunt Papers.
\(^3^5\)The Italian Mission was reopened during McKay's administration on August 2, 1966. \textit{Deseret News 2001-2002 Church Almanac} (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2000), 434.
\(^3^6\)McKay, Diary, December 16, 1951.
You yourselves, precisely because you are Catholics, are often discriminated against. Accept such injustice uncomplainingly, I beg you, as the price to be paid for the true faith. It so happens that you are frequently approached by the zealous representatives of other churches who wish to win you over to their doctrines. For your guidance, I hereby give you a few directions. Never deny your faith. Never apologize for it. State frankly that you are Catholics. Be proud that you belong to the greatest institution in the world, the one Church that goes back to Christ, the one Church that is truly universal. . . . Do not condemn or attack other religions. What they teach is none of our business. Leave them alone. . . . Be good neighbors always. Be kind, considerate, and unselfish. Obey the Ten Commandments and the precepts of the Church. Love God and neighbor. Keep your minds and hearts free from the bitterness of religious controversies.37

Several months later in February 1953, McKay paid a high compliment to Hunt in speaking to local LDS leaders in Ogden:

I shall always respect Bishop Hunt and what he did the other day. Before I went to California, he asked for an appointment, came to the office, and said, “Frankly, we are contemplating building a high school up in Ogden. . . . I understand that if Weber College vacates the buildings on that block, some of them come back to you, but I think that this one is not included. I am here for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not you want that building. If you do, we will withdraw.” . . . Without hesitation, I said, “We want it.” He said, “Then we will withdraw.”38

The following year, McKay visited Brazil, with the largest Catholic population in the western hemisphere. While in Rio de Janeiro, he walked up the hill of Corcovado, to the magnificent statue of Christ, “Cristo Redentor,” that overlooks the city. “When he got up there and saw the statue with the arms outspread, he recited that verse, ‘Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’

37Hunt, undated circular letter, “My dear People,” Hunt Papers. A handwritten note at the top of the letter by Bernice Mooney, former archivist of the diocese, indicated that the letter was read in all parishes between September and November 1952.
38McKay, Diary, February 28, 1953.
Then he said, "These people who have done this are spiritual."

Nonetheless, occasional statements in private settings indicated that McKay still drew a distinction between Catholics, who in many cases were close friends, and the Church to which they belonged, which he continued to disdain. In 1953 he visited San Mateo, California, to dedicate a new LDS chapel. As he and his host drove past a Catholic Church whose congregation was exiting after Sunday Mass, he said, "There are two great anti-Christ in the world: Communism and that church," pointing to the Catholic Church. "Then," recounted his host, "he put his hand on my knee and said, 'Remember that.'"  

The following year, an advertisement appeared in the Wall Street Journal, soliciting funds for the construction of a new abbey at the Catholic monastery in Huntsville. The monastery had been founded in 1947 by the Trappist Order, which had selected the property because its isolated rural setting favored the monastic lifestyle. The fact that Huntsville was McKay’s hometown was unrelated, and the monastery never engaged in proselytizing. Still, McKay interpreted the fund-raising campaign for the abbey as part of "their campaign to convert Latter-day Saints." Speaking at a meeting of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve, he reiterated his statement of a year earlier:

"It is more apparent than ever, becoming more apparent each day, that two great organized forces, the purpose of which is to undermine the high principles of the Restored Gospel, are operating. One is Communism, which is moving aggressively over the face of the earth, fundamentally prompted by disbelief in the existence of God, a rejection of the life of Jesus Christ as the Savior of the world, and is against the Church. The other is the Catholic Church, which is showing more clearly than ever before that they are determined to counteract the influence of the Church in this western country."  

At the same time he was maintaining a critical attitude toward Catholicism, McKay continued to look favorably upon other

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39 Asael Sorensen, interviewed by Gregory A. Prince, November 18, 2000. Sorensen was then president of the Brazilian Mission.

40 David B. Haight, interviewed by Gregory A. Prince, May 21, 1996. Several years after McKay’s death, Haight was called to serve as an apostle.

41 McKay, Diary, June 3, 1954.
churches. Within weeks of establishing a policy discouraging LDS girls from wearing crosses because “this was a Catholic form of worship,” he received a gift of a “Chisma” charm, which combined the Byzantine Cross with the Star of David to symbolize “the essential unity of the world’s great faiths.” The same day, “I took the charm down to my son, owner and manager of the McKay Jewelry Shop and asked him to attach a pin to the charm so that I can wear it on my lapel when I so desire.”

Later the same year, he spoke with Ezra Taft Benson, who was serving simultaneously as Secretary of Agriculture to U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and as an LDS apostle. Benson was about to embark on a world tour that would include a stop in Rome, and the American ambassador there had suggested that a meeting with the Pope could be arranged. McKay told Benson, speaking for the First Presidency: “We are all united in the feeling that if you can in honor, and without embarrassment, avoid that conference it would be well for you to do it. . . . We have in mind particularly the effect upon our own people. . . . [The Catholics] have everything to gain and nothing to lose, and we have everything to lose and nothing to gain.” A week later, upon learning that the Trappists in Huntsville were seeking to buy additional land, he remarked to his fellow General Authorities, “The Catholic Church is against us, and wherever they can prevent our growth they are going to do it.”

However, in 1958 one of McKay’s colleagues unwittingly initiated a series of events that ultimately led McKay to abandon his private diatribe against Catholicism. Bruce R. McConkie, a member of the First Council of Seventy, the Church’s third-ranking presiding quorum, wrote an encyclopedic work that carried the authoritative title of *Mormon Doctrine* but which was published in July 1958 without the consent or knowledge of his fellow General Authorities, including McKay and McConkie’s father-in-law, senior Apostle Joseph Fielding Smith. In spite of its title, the book was filled with erroneous statements. McKay, infuriated when he learned about the book, asked senior apostle Mark E. Petersen to review the work for accuracy;

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42 McKay, Diary, April 29, 1957.
43 McKay, Diary, May 20, 1957.
44 McKay, Diary, October 2, 1957.
45 McKay, Diary, October 10, 1957.
46 Smith, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, succeeded McKay.
Even before McKay saw the book himself, he reacted to reports from his colleagues by instituting a policy (which remains in effect to this day) requiring advance approval before a General Authority can publish any book. In addition to studying the book himself, McKay quickly assigned Mark E. Petersen and Marion G. Romney, both senior apostles, to review the book for accuracy and to report their findings to him. In addition to their oral reports, Petersen also submitted a written report listing 1,067 errors affecting “most of the 776 pages of the book.” Among their criticisms, and of greatest concern to others, was McConkie’s treatment of Catholicism. The dictionary-style definition under the heading “Catholicism” read “See Church of the Devil,” and under “Church of the Devil,” he minced no words: “The Roman Catholic Church specifically—singled out, set apart, described, and designated as being ‘most abominable above all other churches.’” In support of his allegation, he cited a passage from the Book of Mormon (1 Nephi 13:5). It does not name Roman Catholicism—understandably since the writer, Nephi, left Jerusalem in 600 B.C.—but earlier LDS leaders going back to the LDS Church’s founding had not hesitated to make the connection. None, however, had done so as blatantly as McConkie, and the instant popularity of his book meant that the insult to Catholics rapidly became a high-profile issue.

Bishop Duane Hunt, having enjoyed several years of peace with his Mormon neighbors, was stunned. Immediately after the 1958 general election in November, he paid a courtesy visit to newly elected Congressman David King to congratulate him on his victory, yet the experience was bittersweet for both men. Hunt carried a copy of McConkie’s book; and with tears in his eyes, he said to King, a devout Mormon, “We are your friends. We don’t deserve this kind of treatment!” Hunt also took the matter directly to McKay. Robert L. Simpson, who learned about the episode when he became a General Authority in 1961, reminisced, “I know the Catholic Bishop at the

as Church president in 1970. He told McKay that he “did not know anything about it until it was published.” McKay, Diary, January 7, 1960.

47McKay, Diary, February 6, 1959.
49Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 108, 129.
time had a real affection for President McKay, no question about it. And President McKay had a feeling for him, and even went so far as to have Brother McConkie change a line or two in his *Mormon Doctrine* book that would have seemed a little hard on the Catholic Church at the time. McKay’s son Lawrence was even more direct in describing his father’s reaction to Hunt. “[Bishop Hunt] called Father and said, ‘Is this the attitude of the Church, that the Catholic Church is the ‘Great and Abominable Church,’ as expressed in this latest book of Bruce McConkie’s?’ That book was taken off the shelves.” Unfortunately, neither Hunt nor McKay left a written record of their conversation.

In the aftermath of the enormous embarrassment caused to the Church and to himself by McConkie’s book, McKay quietly abandoned his private criticism of Catholicism for the remaining decade of his life. He had come to realize that Bishop Hunt was a true friend without a hidden agenda, and he valued that friendship greatly. In a note to Hunt following the funeral of McKay’s counselor, Stephen L. Richards, McKay wrote: “When, from the rostrum I saw you and my esteemed friend, John F. Fitzpatrick, sitting in the audience, paying tribute of respect to my departed friend and associate, Stephen L. Richards, I wanted to shake your hands in personal appreciation. Thank you for your attendance at Stephen L’s funeral rites.”

In addition to coming to terms with Hunt, McKay realized that the Catholic Church was not a threat to the LDS Church in Utah nor, for that matter, to the vitality of international Mormonism, whose emergence was the centerpiece of McKay’s entire ministry as Church

Hunt himself left no record of this incident or of his subsequent meeting with McKay. King apparently took no action as a result of this incident.


52 David Lawrence McKay, interviewed by Gordon Irving, March 30, 1984, Ms 200 734, James H. Moyle Oral History Project, Archives, Family and Church History Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter LDS Church Archives). He was mistaken, however, about the book’s being withdrawn. Instead the first edition was allowed to sell out.

53 David O. McKay, Letter to Duane G. Hunt, June 1, 1959, photocopy in McKay, Scrapbook #44. McKay had stopped making disparaging remarks about Catholicism even before he received the report on *Mormon Doctrine*. 
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president. Conversely, despite occasional skirmishes at a local level and successful LDS proselytizing among Catholics, particularly in Latin America, Mormonism never posed a strategic threat to Catholicism. Indeed, in recent years the two churches have formally joined forces on occasion to pursue moral issues within the political arena and, more frequently, to work together on charitable ventures.

Less than a year after the death of Stephen L Richards, as McKay and his fellow General Authorities were leaving the Salt Lake Temple following a meeting, they were saddened to hear the news of the seventy-six-year-old Hunt’s death. McKay prepared a statement for the local newspapers that conveyed genuine respect for Hunt, and grief at his passing: “We are deeply grieved at the sudden passing of this eminent and devoted leader of the many loyal and law-abiding members of the Catholic Church of the diocese of Salt Lake City. He gave to them the spiritual guidance that helped them to shape their lives in accordance with the teachings of his Church. They have lost a trusted and respected adviser.”

Beyond the words of written tribute, McKay paid unprecedented respect to Hunt by attending his funeral mass at the Cathedral of the Madeleine. It was the first high mass McKay had ever attended. “At the conclusion of the funeral services at 12 noon, the new Bishop, The Most Rev. Joseph Lennox Federal, came out on the steps of the Cathedral to greet President [Henry D.] Moyle and me, and to thank us for coming to the services. I was very favorably impressed with him.” Federal, in turn, was very favorably impressed with McKay. A decade later he reciprocated the gesture by attending McKay’s funeral. Then, as the cortege passed the Cathedral of the Madeleine on its slow, sad journey along South Temple Street to the Salt Lake City Cemetery, he ordered the bells tolled in a final demonstration of respect.

54 McKay, Diary, March 31, 1960.
55 McKay, Diary, April 5, 1960.
REVIEWS


Reviewed by Samuel Brown

There can be little doubt that Russell Nelson is an extraordinary man who has packed into a lifetime the work of three or more competent individuals. A nationally prominent cardiothoracic surgeon who participated in the innovations that made open-heart surgery possible, he is the patriarch of a grand and harmonious kindred, and he has served for twenty years as an apostle in the LDS Church.

Spencer Condie's biography is as near-official as it can be, since he is also a General Authority and the book was published by the Church-owned publishing company, with Nelson's spirit and direction clear throughout the text. Condie does an excellent job of acquainting us with Nelson's attainments in each area featured in the book's title. The biography takes us from Nelson's childhood in a middle-class, inactive family in Salt Lake City, through undergraduate (1941-44) and medical training (1944-47) at the University of Utah, a brief stint in the military (1951-53), postgraduate training in Minnesota (1947-51, 1954-55) and Boston (1953-54), the return to Salt Lake City to practice academic surgery, and his increasing involvement with Church governance: in a bishopric, as stake president (1964-71), regional representative (1979-84), Sunday School general president (1971-79), and apostle (1984-present).

I feel great sympathy for the author, a former BYU sociologist and a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy. His was a daunting task: to write, as a junior General Authority, the biography of a senior colleague, recapitulating an extant autobiography before describing the last two decades in church service. Those are straitened circumstances for any writer of a traditional biography, and they must be as much or more so when the book is meant as a spiritual document.
Intending to write not so much a biography as a “handbook for happiness” (xi), Condie uses scripture, exhortation, object lesson, anecdote, repetition, and piously cheerful language to make his point: Nelson is a wonderful man whose life is rich because he has chosen the Lord at each critical juncture in his life; the reader is advised to go and do likewise. The book is written homiletically, with proof texts and didactic or hortatory asides and is permeated by apostolic optimism. The superlative, sunny prose was something of a stumbling block for me—I have not read Mormon biography since the Hugh Brown and Spencer Kimball volumes—but I suspect that the book’s target audience will agree that Condie achieved the perfect balance of expansiveness and detail, and I suspect that its devotional significance will be part of its appeal.

The book is pleasant, and (with the exception of several disjointed asides about children, countries, and gospel teachings) it was generally interesting and smooth. There are a few places where the siren of alliteration shipwrecks the prose: “sonorous sounds of song” (23); “undivided devotion, . . . doting father” (35), “wiggles . . . giggles . . . gaggle of girls,” (92). The photo captions are sometimes frankly odd: Russell’s parents “exchange[d] endearing glances” (25); Nelson “conveys a sense of earnestness” (388); and (a double foul) his white-haired wife, Dantzel, is a “beautiful brunette [now with a] cumulous coiffure” (244).

I agree with the admiring Condie that Nelson is a remarkable man. As a physician, father, and Latter-day Saint myself, I am amazed at what Nelson has accomplished. Cardiothoracic surgery is time-intensive and exhausting; and while it is possible that the actual work was easier in the fifties (the general assumption among surgeons I talk to now), I still cannot imagine Nelson’s efficiency and stamina in executing clinical, administrative, teaching, and research tasks, working with the pioneers of open-heart surgery and founding the profession in Utah, much of it while serving as a stake president. I feel that I can barely be a good physician and a good father. Nelson added on heavy civic and ecclesiastical duties. His drive and stamina should not be underestimated.

Still, I am left with the sense that I have not learned enough about Nelson himself. I particularly missed any response from Nelson to the 1978 revelation of Spencer W. Kimball (whose heart Nelson had repaired with his own hands) extending priesthood to worthy black males. Nelson has demonstrated a lifelong commitment to outreach—learning chunks of various languages to address people in their own tongue, establishing personal and professional relationships with foreign surgeons and government officials, and opening missionary doors in various nations. Surely he encountered African Americans at Massachusetts General Hospital (Minnesota and Utah being notoriously and overwhelmingly Caucasian); but how did he interact
with them, and how did he feel about the priesthood revelation? I expect that he rejoiced, but Condie makes only one obscure allusion to the 1978 revelation in his discussion of Church expansion in Africa (312).

As another area where I wanted to know more, I was moved to my core by the account of Nelson’s failed attempts at repairing the hearts of the second and third children of an unfortunate couple whose offspring all had congenital heart defects (133–34). After the last failed surgery, Nelson told his wife that he would never operate again. In my experience, all committed physicians will experience this sleepless torment, the betrayal and shame of failure. I respect Nelson immensely for wanting to quit but deciding to continue. I wish that Condie and Nelson had let us share that richly emotional if painful experience more deeply, but the prose is terse here. A parallel is Nelson’s ironic experience in writing a commissioned volume on grieving while a beloved daughter died of breast cancer; also fraught with human sorrow, this soul-searching time is consigned to a brief paragraph (235).

My chief concern with this book is not with its stated goal of demonstrating how people should live. I found myself—as Condie hopes (411)—wanting to be a better person. There is indeed something infectious about Elder Nelson’s excellence and sacrifice that makes me yearn for greater holiness. What made me uneasy was the book’s clear suggestion that male excellence must be supported by female domestic service. I have no doubt that Nelson loves his family deeply, but it is also clear that he is a successful father of ten only by his wife’s grace (98).

This biography thus raises a central paradox of Mormonism: We take the most successful fathers from their homes to administer a church that is proudly (even famously) devoted to the family. There is something defensive in Dantzel’s statement that “when he’s home, he’s home” (164). We catch other glimpses of a family forced to accept low expectations of time with Nelson (56–57, 61, 65). Despite obvious efforts to celebrate birthdays and anniversaries, taking children on business trips, and making frequent phone calls, he was absent from significant portions of his children’s lives (71, 73). Through the intimate teamwork of marriage, Dantzel White Nelson represented him there. She was able to do so because she heeded the call of the Brethren to turn down a slot at Juilliard (54) to teach school and wait at home until her loneliness was absorbed by motherhood (65).

It appears that a favorite saying of Nelson is that men have to find work in the world because the choicest job—motherhood—is denied them (395). The overall celebratory tone of the book is marred by some sexism: suggesting that Nelson requires the “patience of Job” to shop with his daughters (90), the positive mention of a hurtful proverb by a “wise sage” that the honeymoon ends when “the bride burns the toast” (103), and Nelson’s implication—however facetious—that Dantzel’s involvement in the Tabernacle Choir
amounts to spousal neglect ("I come first in her life, right after the Tabernacle Choir," 56). We should recognize that these comments are in the context of Nelson’s stated belief that “[a] worthy woman personifies the truly noble and worthwhile attributes of life" (394).

While I think that Nelson believes this teaching, the book itself argues against it. I see Nelson’s hand in the structural appearance of chapters on his wife and children, following the order established in the title: father, surgeon, apostle. He wants us to know that his family is the most important thing in life because I believe they are—with certain disclaimers (97)—his highest allegiance. But chapters 6–7 are boringly scrapbookish entries about his nine daughters and long-awaited namesake son, the tenth child. The narrative becomes interesting when his medical career picks up in chapters 9–14 and during his parallel Church career. Despite the pronouncements of Harold B. Lee, David O. McKay, and “The Family: A Proclamation to the World” (all quoted in this book), the narrative is most engaging for its readers when it unconsciously rejects the notion that work in the home is more important than work outside. This message is underscored by the fact that Condie focuses on ecclesiastical and professional accomplishments in describing the nine Nelson sons-in-law and single son (67–84).

My final quibble with the book is its glorification of celebrity and ecclesiastical rank. Condie does not miss an opportunity to mention names, titles, and offices, filling Nelson’s life with encounters with apostles, prophets, seventies, and other Brethren, both current and future, early in life (22, 34, 38), as ski companions (90), by chance on a plane (98), as neighbors (120, 121), and as patients and colleagues. Condie tells us who was present at Nelson’s apostolic ordination (190), who was on the stand at his daughter’s funeral (241), and which future General Authorities went to high school with Dantzel (51). He also includes Russell’s sister’s strange comment: “I didn’t know until 1984 [when he became an apostle] how special Russell was” (42). Sometimes the paraphernalia almost seems absurd—a snapshot of the Condies with the Nelsons that is not directly discussed in the text (304), a photostat of a personal letter from Spencer Kimball to Nelson as his physician (356)—but each establishes significance by acquaintance with more senior General Authorities. In counterpoint, Leonard Arrington proudly admits to being Dr. Nelson’s “last” bypass patient, a “historic” operation on a “historian” (Adventures of a Church Historian [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001], 228); but although Condie recites a veritable litany of Church authorities as Nelson’s patients and dates Nelson’s final surgery on April 23, 1984, he conspicuously omits the patient’s name (190).

This tendency in the book underscores and perpetuates an exclusionary view of Church service that implies that opportunities are limited by social networks, a particularly difficult doctrine for women who are
excluded by policy from most forms of Church leadership.

In sum, this book introduced me to the amazing life and ministry of Russell M. Nelson, a man who in large measure represents the very best of his generation: an undeniably successful parent, surgeon, and churchman who, by his own loving admission, could not have amounted to anything without his wife. The Nelsons are to be commended; I admire them. But this biography leaves unanswered the question that results: Is their model right for the rest of us?

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Reviewed by Linda King Newell

*Four Zinas* is the story of four generations of women with the given name of Zina. Their combined lives spanned nearly two centuries—from 1786 to 1974: Zina Baker Huntington (1786–1839), Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young (1821–1901), Zina Presendia Young Williams Card (1850–1931) and Zina Young Card Brown (1888–1974). The authors, Martha Sonntag Bradley and Mary Brown Firmage Woodward (herself a daughter of the fourth Zina), have created a provocative narrative that guides the reader through births and deaths, prosperity and hardship, faith and perseverance, loyalty and sacrifice.

Distinguishing among four women with the same name is automatically a challenge, leading to the authors' choice to refer to them consistently as Zina Baker, Zina Diantha, Zina Presendia, and Zina Brown. Even with this guide, it is occasionally difficult to tell which is which as the narrative shuffles back and forth between being chronological and topical. Some confusion is probably unavoidable, but I sometimes felt jarred when the story switched from one era to another, then back, and from one Zina to the other. That organizational choice also created some unnecessary redundancies.

In this prize-winning book (Best Book Award from the Utah Historical Society and Best Biography Award from the Mormon History Association),
the authors have placed these women in the larger scope of Mormon history. The personal details of their lives enliven the text and enlighten the reader at every turn of the page. The authors also provided another dimension by including the larger context of national women's history, adding further depth and context to the story.

All four Zinas were prolific writers—particularly the first three. All wrote an abundance of letters. Some kept journals and left life sketches as well. Nearly all their husbands left diaries, journals, and letters, as did brothers and sisters. The fascinating story of how these documents survived is covered in the introduction.

Although the four Zinas were all married to Church leaders, their story shifts dramatically with each generation. All sustained a firm bond of love and support with the Zina who came before and came after her, the theme implied in the subtitle. Zina Baker was born in Plainfield, New Hampshire, on May 2, 1786. She and her twin sister Lina were among twelve children born to the Baker family. At age nineteen, she married William Huntington Jr. and moved 200 miles west to settle in Watertown, New York. There they built their home within a growing community; and Zina birthed ten children, seven of whom lived to adulthood. Although separated in distance, Zina’s family in New Hampshire remained close in her thoughts. She wrote long letters telling her parents of her changing circumstance, the coming of her babies, day-to-day activities, and her lonesomeness for them. She longed for them to visit her and worried about their health and salvation, sometimes chastising them for their lack of faith.

Zina and William were living in what is known as the Burned-Over District, and the flames of religious fervor heated them as well. They attended revivals and camp meetings in their search for truth, a search that ended when Mormon missionaries arrived at their door. William and Zina Baker Huntington were baptized in the spring of 1835. Several months later Hyrum Smith baptized fourteen-year-old Zina Diantha. Zina Diantha’s older sister, Presendia, and her husband, Norman Buell, became the last of the Huntington family to be baptized.

The Huntingtons sold their farm and most of their personal belongings to gather with the Saints in Kirtland, Ohio, where they were immediately swept into the whirlwind of the Mormon movement—from prosperity to financial ruin and from Kirtland to Missouri to Illinois. In Nauvoo Zina Baker Huntington succumbed to malaria on July 8, 1839. Zina Diantha was eighteen when her mother died.

Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs Smith Young’s name itself outlines her bizarre marital life. The authors lead the reader through the tangled web of these marriages in a coherent, direct way. When Joseph Smith approached Zina Diantha about becoming his plural wife, she shunned his pro-
posal and instead married Henry Jacob. Undeterred, Joseph persisted; and seven months later, with Henry’s knowledge, she was sealed to Joseph for eternity. Zina was pregnant with Henry’s child at the time, and her brother Dimick Huntington performed the marriage.

Six weeks after Zina’s secret marriage, Dimick also sealed Presendia (still married to Norman Buell) to Joseph Smith as well. Later Zina and Joseph repeated their ceremony with Brigham Young sealing them for time and eternity.

Zina continued to live with Henry Jacobs; Presendia remained with Norman Buell. After Joseph’s death, Henry stood as witness to his wife’s marriage to Brigham Young “for Time.” Five days later, on February 7, 1846, Zina and Henry, together with their son Zebulon, headed across Iowa. Their second son, Henry Chariton Jacobs was born in their wagon at the crossing of the Chariton River.

In the midst of the supreme hardships of Winter Quarters, Joseph Smith’s plural wives, now his widows, created spiritual and emotional bonds of sisterhood that endured for the rest of their lives. Zina Diantha possessed spiritual gifts that blessed her household and friends—male and female. She worked diligently with many of her sister wives in the Relief Society (becoming its general president after the death of Eliza R. Snow), the Primary, and the Young Women’s organizations. Her work with the Utah suffrage movement placed her in the national arena with other suffragists.

In Utah, Zina Diantha lived as Brigham Young’s plural wife and bore him a daughter, whom Brigham named Zina Presendia after the babe’s mother and aunt. She raised Henry’s two sons and this daughter of Brigham with four foster children who came into her charge after the death of their mother.

Bradley and Woodward recount the ins and outs of Zina Diantha’s complicated marriage arrangements, including what they call the “dark undercurrent” of her “unresolved relationship with Henry Jacobs” (197) in straightforward, clear prose. The heartsick letters that Henry continued to send to Zina throughout most of his life and her care for him in his final years add another layer of poignancy to her story.

Zina Presendia Young Williams Card grew up in the Beehive House as one of a cluster of daughters, close in age, known as “The Big Ten” (219). The domestic and cultural life of that busy home comes into focus through the recounting of Zina Presendia’s life.

At sixteen, she was courted by T. B. H. Stenhouse, who already had two wives. She wrote, “I was sought after . . . by a man who was Educated and fascinating but by a wonderful manifestation in a dream I was preserved and snatched from a man who afterwards proved a traitor to the church and wicked man” (247). Instead, at age eighteen, she became the third wife of her
father's forty-year-old scribe, Thomas Williams. By that time, Zina Diantha had her own home and Zina Presendia continued to live with her.

Six years and two sons later, Thomas Williams died suddenly while presiding over a family dinner at Zina's home. Three years after Thomas's death, Brigham Young advised this daughter to move to Sevier County and homestead a quarter section as a legacy for her sons. The venture was short lived—just long enough for her to secure ownership of the land. Zina and her children went to live again with her mother in Salt Lake City, until Karl Maeser, principal of Brigham Young Academy in Provo, offered her a position. Zina Presendia taught at the academy until 1884, when, at age thirty-four, she became the plural wife of Charles Ora Card and mother of four of his children.

The danger of anti-polygamy raids by federal marshals forced Card to Canada, where he laid out the town of Cardston, Alberta, as a place of refuge for polygamous families. Zina joined him in May 1887 and began her life on a new frontier, first in a tent, then in a comfortable log cabin. In Cardston she became a midwife (a skill she learned from her mother) and leader of women. A little over a year after her arrival, she gave birth to her only daughter, the third Zina. This Zina grew up to marry Hugh B. Brown, later an apostle and counselor to Church President David O. McKay. She was, perhaps, the only Zina to marry for love.

The Card home became the center of Cardston's social life with dinners, dances, plays, and parties. Zina Brown grew up in this busy, happy environment. Her mother and grandmother visited each other frequently, despite the distance. Sometimes Zina Presendia would travel to Salt Lake with her children, and at other times Zina Diantha would visit her daughter and family in Cardston where she spoke in tongues for the edification of the Relief Society and the young women. Through these visits and frequent letters, mother and daughter remained close. Zina Diantha became ill on her last visit to Cardston and died shortly after reaching Utah.

When Zina Presendia and Charles moved to Logan in 1903, Charles's health was failing. At age fifteen Zina Brown began attending B.Y. College in Logan, which offered both high school and limited college classes. Her mother took in boarders, one of whom was twenty-year-old Hugh B. Brown, who came from Canada to attend the college. It did not take him long to fall in love with Zina. The next summer he left on a mission to England, after which he returned to Canada. Meanwhile, Charles Card's health continued to deteriorate and he died in 1906. Zina Presendia took her family to Salt Lake City and, after a year there, moved into her mother's old house on Fourth Avenue.

After a lengthy and romantic courtship that lasted over five years, Hugh B. Brown finally won Zina's heart, and they married in June 1908. She
was the first Zina in three generations to have a monogamous marriage and a traditional home life. They began their married life in Canada and became the parents of two sons and six daughters. The oldest was named Zina Lou, whose story is woven into that of her parents; the fourth was coauthor Mary Brown Firmage Woodward. Through a number of moves, Zina Brown coped with the usual childhood diseases in addition to more serious ones like smallpox, scarlet fever, and polio, which left Zina Lou crippled. Zina Brown was steadfastly supportive throughout Hugh’s business difficulties, his return to school for a law degree, and his various Church callings including coordinator of all LDS servicemen during World War II. Their oldest son, Hugh Card Brown, joined the British Royal Air Force after his mission to England and Scotland, and was lost over the North Sea.

On his fortieth birthday, Hugh wrote, “I have passed another milestone in life. . . . I had thought that I would have made more of a mark in life than I have done and no doubt could have done if I had taken advantage of all my opportunities. . . . The Lord has blessed me with a devoted and capable wife. In all of my travels I have never seen one who could so fill the place of wife and mother” (425). The “mark” he made was in the Church, as president of the British Mission immediately after World War II and his subsequent call as an apostle, then as counselor to President McKay.

Zina Brown was the quintessential Mormon woman—devoted wife and mother, capable homemaker, tireless Church worker, and competent hostess. She served beside her distinguished husband at home and abroad. Hugh cared for her lovingly in her final years after she suffered a debilitating stroke in 1966 until her death in 1974. Less than a year later, Hugh died as well.

This brief accounting of Four Zinas only scratches the surface of the intriguing and fascinating lives each woman led. One must read the book to grasp fully the legacy of these remarkable women. This narrative brings intimacy and humanity to some of the most excruciating trials of obedience and faith in the history of Mormonism—a history that is stranger than any fiction.

LINDA KING NEWELL is coauthor of a prize-winning biography of Emma Hale Smith Bidamon, author and coauthor of two Utah county centennial histories, and past president of both the Mormon History Association and the John Whitmer Historical Association. After nine years in the high desert of eastern California, where her husband, Jack, was president of Deep Springs College, they are living in Salt Lake City.
Simon Southerton is not an author familiar to most readers of the Journal, and this book seems to be his first major venture into Mormon studies. Passing references to his background in the preface (viii), on the back of the title page (iii), and on the back cover indicate that although "no longer practicing," he was an active LDS member for thirty years, a returned missionary, temple married, and a former bishop, presumably in Australia. Professionally, he was a senior research scientist in biochemistry at the University of Queensland and currently holds the same position with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization in Canberra. This much would seem to establish his qualifications to discuss knowledgeably both the LDS experience and molecular biology. His intellectual disaffection from mainstream Mormonism is suggested by earlier presentations he has made before "ex-Mormons" and "recovering Mormons" (253).

In the present volume, the ironic and mildly sarcastic tone of the disaffected sometimes comes through, but not intrusively so. In general the approach is a matter-of-fact critique of conventional LDS apologetics on the historicity of the Book of Mormon, not an anti-Mormon diatribe.

After a brief preface and introduction, the book is divided into fourteen chapters arranged in three sections, "An American Lost Tribe," "The Human Race around the World," and "The Troubled Interface between Mormonism and Science." Following the chapters are four appendices, one describing briefly the process of testing for DNA lineages among American aborigines; a second, much longer one, on the distribution of New World maternal DNA lineages; a third reproducing the Smithsonian's 1996 statement on the Book of Mormon (later drastically shortened, apparently under pressure from Utah, 176); and a fourth listing a variety of websites on LDS matters (pro and con).

Half of the chapters, especially those in the first and third sections of the book, summarize material that will be new only to the uninitiated. Exceptions to this generalization are two chapters that critically examine the development and implications of Mormon conceptions about Polynesians. The total lack of evidence, either in scripture or in science, for conventional LDS assumptions about the Israelite and New World origins of the Polynesians is ironic in light of the extraordinary missionary success and large LDS populations on those Pacific islands. In general, however, readers will find little that they have not read or heard before in the chapters of the first and
third sections if they already know the contents of the Book of Mormon, the conventional racial attributions Mormons have made about Lamanites/Indians, or the similarities between the early American and the original Mormon conceptions about Indians. Similarly, those who have followed the controversies over science, scholarship, and academic freedom at BYU will learn little that they did not already know, though Southerton does not consider the evidence (e.g., the Rose survey in the Spring 1999 issue of Dialogue) that the great majority of the BYU faculty do not find academic freedom in jeopardy there.

It appears that the author put together many of the chapters at the beginning and end of the book simply to expand the context for the middle chapters he had already written as a scientific critique of traditional LDS claims and doctrines about American Indians. In so doing, he might have been thinking mainly of non-Mormon readers, who would need a general overview of conventional Mormon assumptions and truth-claims, and of the derivative controversies so far, in order to understand the need for his own extensive critique. The real meat of the book, however, and its chief raison d'ètre, will be found in the middle section (chapters 5–9), plus the penultimate chapter 13. These chapters are well written, very interesting, and generally unencumbered by an abundance of technical terms that might render them inaccessible to nonspecialists like myself. The glossary at the end of the book, which explains all these terms, certainly aids the book’s accessibility.

These chapters cover, for example, the following important matters: a primer on human molecular genealogy and how it is studied; the evidence on the origins of American and Polynesians aborigines from archaeology, anthropology, genetics, and related disciplines, and from long-established techniques such as blood-typing, dendochronology, and radiocarbon dating; the nature of the evidence that can be obtained from mitochondrial DNA (through maternal lines) and from the Y chromosome (through paternal lines); and the descent of the European and Middle Eastern peoples from their ancient Caucasoid origins to their division into separate genetic “families” about 20,000 years ago. He repeatedly stresses the point that no traces of either the European or Middle Eastern genetic heritage have been found among the aboriginal peoples of America or Polynesia. An especially interesting part of Chapter 9, on the Cohen lineage discovered among the Lemba of Zimbabwe, makes the complementary point that even obscure genetic traces are likely to be discoverable in unlikely places if they were ever really there.

I do not have the scientific competence to assess the validity and reliability of the evidence Southerton summarizes in these interesting chapters; but as a social scientist, I did find myself wondering about a few things. For
example, Chapter 7 seemed to extrapolate the distribution of DNA lineages among aboriginal peoples through the Western Hemisphere based on a sample of only some 7,500 cases, about 500 of which were tested in Central America and the Caribbean and the rest divided more or less evenly between North and South America (80). I saw no information about the sampling system used to obtain these cases, whether random, stratified, clustered, or otherwise. In social surveys, with which I am experienced, systematic samples of populations (rather than "opportunity samples") are necessary in order to make statistically valid generalizations about entire populations.

All told, however, the variety of evidence in these chapters, especially as it converges from different disciplines and different kinds of data, provides little or no support for the traditional beliefs and assumptions of Latter-day Saints about the aboriginal peoples in question or their supposed connection to the Book of Mormon narrative. The author takes no pleasure in pointing to this predicament but emphasizes it as a quandary that cannot be ignored indefinitely by LDS believers and their leaders. He goes on then in Chapter 13, and somewhat in the concluding Chapter 14 as well, to evaluate the success of LDS apologetics in dealing with this quandary. From my own reading of both the critical and the apologetic literature in recent issues of the *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies*, other FARMS and FAIR literature, *Dialogue*, *Sunstone*, and Dan Vogel and Brent Lee Metcalfe, eds., *American Apocrypha: Essays on the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), I would say that, in these concluding chapters, Southerton has made a fair and reasonable summary of the arguments on both sides. Readers who want a quick overview of these arguments as they now stand will find these final chapters very helpful, although it will be clear that Southerton favors the case made by the critics.

It is no small irony that much of the "ammunition" in modern genetics that can now be used to undercut traditional LDS beliefs about Indian origins has, as the author notes, derived from research done right in Utah itself, for instance in the University of Utah's Population Data Base project (based on the extensive LDS genealogical database) and at the more recent Sorenson Molecular Genealogical Foundation (started at BYU but now independent).

In light of some of my own work on lineage, race, and identity, I was naturally attracted especially to certain issues in this book. One that Southerton and I have both found noteworthy is the operational (if unofficial) redefinition of Lamanite lineage and geography that has occurred through the research and arguments of recent LDS scholars (primarily those associated with FARMS). The John L. Sorenson "limited geography" proposal, now about twenty years old, might be easier to reconcile with the
emerging archaeological and genetic evidence than the traditional LDS belief that all the hemisphere’s aborigines are Lamanites and thus might support the apologetic efforts of today’s intellectuals. To the extent that these redefinitions gain general currency, they represent an interesting example of what Southerton notes elsewhere (48) is a “reverse direction” for the development of LDS theology (i.e., from the scholars or missionaries upward rather than from the prophets downward), a process that I would also call “doctrinal drift.”

However, as Southerton points out, such redefinitions, for most Mormons, might “create more problems than they solve. They run counter to the dominant literal interpretation of the text and contradict popular folklore, as well as the clear pronouncements of all church presidents since the time of Joseph Smith” (165). Such pronouncements are found, indeed, in some of the most recent temple dedications in Latin America (excerpted in 38–39), effectively encouraging millions of LDS adherents throughout the hemisphere to embrace the Lamanite identity (45). With Southerton, I can’t help wondering how long this discrepancy between the popular and the apologetic understanding can go on without a resolution of some kind—and what the consequences might be at FARMS if that “resolution” should eventually take the form of a strong rebuke from tradition-minded leaders.

The recurrent message in Southerton’s book is about the gross discrepancies between the empirical data and the traditional LDS truth-claims, with all the inherent racial and cultural condescension implied in the latter. Of course, aboriginal peoples too have constructed mythological identities for themselves and others totally apart from (and sometimes in explicit resistance to) the findings of modern science. Mormons are entitled to do the same, as long as they do not try to wrap their LDS identity constructions in the cloak of science. Southerton recognizes all too clearly that most of the Mormon faithful do not resort to science (to his dismay) but to “feelings” (or, in conventional Mormonspeak, “a testimony”). He sees this approach as ultimately unsatisfactory because it is necessitated by the Church’s “failure to openly confront the evidence and state what it means for the church, as well as from a failure to accommodate the apologists, who themselves feel hemmed in by the church’s insistence that members believe tenets that are clearly untrue” (206).

As a scientist properly focused on empirical facts, Southerton does not address, and might not fully appreciate, the mythological and ideological functions of identity construction and reconstruction, whatever the “facts.” Identity constructions might have benign, pernicious, or entirely neutral consequences depending on the uses to which they are put. The Church has understandably been criticized for the uses it has made of the identities it has historically constructed for both Africans and American aborigines or
Lamanites, but an understanding of the construction or reconstruction of these identities will more likely come from social psychology than from genetics or archaeology. If our goal is understanding, rather than either vindication or debunking, we will try as hard to understand the anomalies and contradictions in Mormon constructions of reality as we do those in the cultures of other peoples on the earth, including the various aboriginal peoples themselves. Such considerations are beyond the scope of this book, but scholars must not lose sight of the flexibility within even the most traditional ideologies to evolve in their claims and in their identity attributions in response to changes in scientific understandings.

Southerton closes his book with a somewhat sympathetic recognition of the predicament that today's Church faces in managing the growing controversy over the historicity of the Book of Mormon in the face of emerging scientific evidence, though he is, in my opinion, unduly pessimistic about the outcome:

The Brethren no doubt recognize that an attempt to change the way Mormons think about the Book of Mormon will bring disruption and turmoil and risks undermining the foundation many people have based their religious convictions on. The faith of most Latter-day Saints is anchored by an emotional, feeling-based “knowledge” that the Book of Mormon is a true history of the Americas. . . . The General Authorities are aware of just how deep-seated and crucial these feelings are in the process of conversion and retention. . . . [No means has yet been discovered] to reinterpret the Book of Mormon in a way that would detach it from [literal history] without doing damage to everything else the church professes on spiritual and moral issues. . . . Absent that, the conflict promises to continue into the very distant future without hope of resolution. (206–7)

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Coke Newell has pulled together a very readable survey of Mormon history which could serve as an introduction to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Just the title of the book tells the reader that it must be a limited survey; how else could an author condense six billion years into just under 300 pages of text? Newell uses very accessible resources in *Latter Days*, making more in-depth study relatively easy for nonhistorians. Newell is a public relations professional; and his ability to tell a story and make it appear balanced to the casual reader, yet still reflect the institution in a good light, comes to the fore in this work. A convert to Mormonism, he provides a fresh view of the LDS emphasis on nineteenth-century pioneers and the heritage they have brought to what could now reasonably be called a first-generation convert church, if Newell’s figures are correct: “By 1998 a total of 67 percent of all living members of the church were first-generation converts” (227 note 443).

In spelling out the purpose of *Latter Days*, Newell identifies three categories into which he believes most extant history books fall: the journalistic outsider, the dissident or malicious exposé, and the apologetic geared toward members. *Latter Days*, he says, is not like any of those. Perhaps he would create a new category for it: the journalistic insider—a book written by an insider for an outsider.

Newell’s emphasis on his convert status, along with a casual conversational tone, is a literary tool that seems intended to build rapport with non-Mormons. Sometimes, however, this casual tone can sound preachy or conversation-stopping at best—derogatory and sarcastic at worst. For instance, in discussing the issue of blacks and the priesthood, he writes:

> Since the 1840s, men of black African lineage had not been allowed to hold the lay priesthood in the church. . . . Many speakers and writers (within the church and without) have attempted to paint this issue with a brush much too large, claiming that the reasons for the ban were not clear, or that they changed over time, or that they were

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2Nearly one-third of his footnotes are references to LDS standard works; another 20 percent explain LDS terminology or beliefs. His other most-used references include Joseph Smith’s *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B. H. Roberts’s *Comprehensive History of the Church*, the *Journal of Discourses*, *Conference Reports*, the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Joseph F. Smith’s *Doctrines of Salvation*, *BYU Studies*, Bruce R. McConkie’s *Mormon Doctrine*, and McConkie’s *Mortal Messiah* series.
simply prejudicial. While I know where they’re going with each of these theories (some with admirable intent), each of them is absolutely false.

There is a single reason the Latter-day Saints kept their black members from holding the priesthood, and that is because the Lord said through his prophets (twelve of them) that it would be so. The reasons behind the Lord’s decision we can only wonder at, and that’s exactly what many have done. (218)

Newell’s discussion of the LDS use of the Bible is another example: “Thus, to contentions of other Christians (continual, incessant and sililoquial) that the Bible is all, and no more is either needed or allowed, we can only answer: ‘Good news! The Lord has spoken again!’ And who are we to tell him what he surely meant or try to shut him up?” (251)

_Latter Days_ begins with premortal existence and the plan of salvation (or happiness) and ends with the final judgment. Early in the book, Newell introduces us to a council in heaven, to a Mother and Father God, to organized intelligences, agency, and a pre-planned creation of the world. He draws liberally from the Pearl of Great Price, specifically the Book of Abraham, and sets forth a very literalistic interpretation of the scriptures: The world was created by God; Eden was in the middle of North America, which itself was part of a singular, worldwide land mass; Adam and Eve had no blood running through their veins prior to the fall; Adam lived exactly 930 years; the flood was the literal baptism of the earth (even if parts were only covered by one millimeter of water, 25); all life on the planet now descends from those saved on the Ark (post-deluge mutants and new species are allowed, 25); and the continents were divided in the time of Peleg.

Despite his strictly literal interpretation of Old Testament scripture, Newell reminds readers that Mormons do not necessarily believe every word in the Bible (which may not be translated correctly). It is an interesting juxtaposition: biblical events and predictions are to be taken literally, yet they may not be completely accurate.

From the creation of the world, Newell moves to Christ’s birth, life, death and resurrection. He includes a brief discussion about why Mormons

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3It is interesting that he chose to use the Abraham version of the creation story, as it references “the gods” creating the Earth, rather than the Mosaic version of the story familiar to endowed LDS members. For Eve’s role in the fall, however, he quotes the version in Moses.

4Newell’s environmentalist/convert status peeks through here as he takes care to spell out the Church’s official noncommitment to either creation or evolution as a tool toward creation (14).
don’t have crosses in their churches and why they reject any lineal priesthood authority which may have begun with Peter. A brief explanation of Christ’s visit to the Americas, followed by a description of the dwindling of Nephite and Lamanite populations, and we’re into the Dark Ages.

Fast forward to 1820 and Joseph Smith Jr. Here Newell describes the founding of the Church and briefly outlines persecutions that drove the Smiths and their followers westward. After a one-sentence mention that Joseph was accused of money-digging in New York, Newell leads us off to Kirtland and eventually Missouri. A reader with no knowledge of Missouri in 1838 would come away from reading *Latter Days* feeling that Mormons were unjustly and severely persecuted. Newell quotes extensively from Governor Boggs’s “Extermination Order” and details how mobs drove Mormons out into the cold and burned down their homes. But other than two brief references to “fiery” sermons by Sidney Rigdon (87) and a sidelong glance at a “covert renegade band” called Danites (87) there is no indication that Mormons of Missouri were anything other than sitting ducks. This lack of balance in disclosing the amount of rhetoric spewed from both sides is misleading at best and dishonest at worst. And this selectiveness is not limited to Missouri history.

The pattern of telling the good in detail and nearly omitting the bad altogether is a plague infecting nearly every section of *Latter Days*. It begins with Joseph Smith and money digging, passes through Missouri, increases with polygamy in Illinois; 5 crosses the plains with a nearly bankrupt church in Utah, continues through twentieth-century issues surrounding blacks and the priesthood, and doesn’t finish until the end of the book with growth statistics trumpeting baptisms while ignoring retention rates. It is exactly the kind of story you’d expect from a teacher in a Gospel Doctrine class.

These are just a sampling of the negative portions of Mormon history Newell buries in single-sentence references surrounded by longer, positive-leaning stories—something a public relations professional is trained to do. Unbelievably, however, he completely leaves out the most atrocious act of

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5Polygamy, perhaps the hottest of modern Church hot buttons, has a lengthy (by Newell’s standards) discussion comprising about six pages, including a quotation by Mark Twain and a description of Emma Smith throwing the polygamy revelation into the fire. Of polygamy, Newell says: “Exploration into the specific reasoning behind an era of very limited polygamy by the Latter-day Saints . . . turns up few hard facts and even fewer clear explanations. The record shows that Joseph Smith was commanded by God . . . to begin the practice. Six decades later, another prophet was commanded to end it. And that’s really all we know or claim” (207).
violence in Mormon history: the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Newell has a perfect setup in which to tell the massacre story (or at least in which to include his one-sentence summary), yet he neglects this duty of full disclosure, opting instead to include nearly two pages of Brigham Young’s proclamation of September 15, 1857, rallying the Saints against Johnston’s Army, and declaring martial law in the territory four days after the massacre.

While *Latter Days* leaves out or minimizes the negatives in LDS history, it also, sadly, leaves out important positives as well. For instance, although Newell reminds readers several times that the LDS Church finds family important, he never once mentions programs and organizations created specifically for non-adult males and omits Primary, MIA, Sunday School, or even Family Home Evening. Relief Society is allowed a one-sentence reference: “Women sewed clothing for the workers [constructing the Nauvoo Temple] and provided meals, an effort launched by a handful of sisters in March 1842 but soon formalized by Joseph Smith as the ‘Female Relief Society of Nauvoo’” (100). It is also indexed under this term, which will be confusing for readers who know it by its modern name.

In a six billion year overview of any organization, it is impossible to include many details at any meaningful level. However some of those *Latter Days* omits are extremely important. Newell declares, “I don’t hesitate to state right up front that you can trust what you read here” (xv). Although readers may trust that they are getting a relatively accurate, easy-to-read overview, they can by no means trust that they are getting the whole story.

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Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander

Since I have done considerable work on the period from 1890 to 1930, I wondered immediately on hearing of Kathleen Flake’s project just what she had added to our knowledge of this crucial period in Latter-day Saint history. I thought first of the various works that had treated this topic, especially three: Milton R. Merrill’s *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990)], which offers an excellent study of

Moreover, as I read through Flake’s book, I saw that she reconsidered some of the same topics as Merrill, Cardon, a number of other authors, and I. In Mormonism in Transition, for instance, I place the hearings within the context of changes within the LDS Church during the period from the 1890s to the 1930s. Both Merrill and I have placed the hearings within the Mormon and American political context. In addition, a number of authors including D. Michael Quinn, B. Carmon Hardy, Kenneth L. Cannon II, Kathryn M. Daynes, and I have considered the extent of continuing polygamy following the Manifesto, which played an important part in the hearings.

After reading the book, it seemed to me that the originality of Flake’s contribution lay not in the topics she treated, but rather, first, in the original way in which she viewed the context in which the hearings occurred and, second, in exploring details that could not possibly have been considered in any of the other works. Merrill’s work considers Smoot’s political career. Cardon’s typescript focused on the hearings, but it is only the length of a chapter—about twenty-five pages. My book deals with the full range of events that took place over the period from 1890 to 1930.

My own feeling is that Flake’s book is most valuable for the way it teases out the relationship between the hearings and the various contexts in which the events took place. This is particularly evident in her view of how the hearings relate, first, to the context of the changes in the LDS Church; second, to the American political context; third, to the changing context of the religious makeup of the United States; fourth, to the changing response inside and outside the Church to plural marriage; fifth, to the broad question of the relationship between history and memory; and sixth, to changing legal theories on antitrust legislation.

Let me deal with some of these matters. Since Flake has mastered the field of religious studies, her understanding of the American religious context is much more nuanced than were mine, Merrill’s, or Cardon’s. Most particularly, she contributes to our understanding by placing the hearings within the changing dimensions of the American religious context.

She begins with a truism that virtually all historians agree upon: that
the United States experienced the nineteenth century as an essentially Protestant establishment. Moreover, as she points out, Protestants could coexist in America because they considered churches to be voluntary associations "defined primarily by [their] purposive, not [their] confessional commitments" (21). Although Protestants disagreed in certain creedal and sacramental matters such as baptism and transubstantiation, they accepted a sufficiently wide range of doctrinal propositions (e.g., the triune God and salvation by grace) that they could subscribe to a denominational covenant that allowed all to function within the American body politic.

Mormons could simply not accept that compact. The Smoot hearings, however, resulted in an accommodation that allowed them to coexist with churches that subscribed to the denominational compact.

Most significant, it seems to me, is the way in which Flake deals with the question of history and memory. For instance, in my book, I considered the way in which the Church purchased and preserved various historic sites. I did not, however, explore how such decisions as the construction of the monument to Joseph Smith in Vermont reinforced and refocused the memory of the Latter-day Saints away from the conflicts in Utah over political matters and polygamy and back on the Church's founding and especially on Joseph Smith's prophetic mission. Her discussion of these matters is insightful and absolutely first rate.

Another area in which I found the book particularly insightful was in its discussion of antitrust theory. As most students of the Progressive Era understand, although Theodore Roosevelt got a reputation as a trust buster, he really was not. Roosevelt differentiated between good trusts—that is, those that worked in the public interest—and bad trusts, those that functioned contrary to the public interests.

In the past, most of us have seen Smoot's victory as principally a political victory. It was that and much more. Roosevelt asked Smoot whether he was a polygamist, and Smoot could truthfully answer that he was not. Still, Roosevelt and the Republican establishment saw that Smoot carried considerable political clout. Under the circumstances, it was easy to see Smoot's victory as also a victory for power politics because of Smoot's political influence.

However, Flake argues—rightly, I believe—that the Senate establishment came to accept Roosevelt's view of the difference between good and bad trusts. She argues that the Senate came to see the LDS Church as a political and business power—a trust—but that it acted in a generally benign way. It was, in other words, a good trust, and should be allowed to continue to function. Smoot, as a representative of the Church, could function in the Senate just like other senators who were beholden to various large business organizations. After all, many commentators during the Progressive era referred
to the Senate as a Millionaires' Club. Senators represented powerful business organizations. There was no reason that Smoot, as a businessman and apostle, could not also represent a powerful organization. It did not matter that that organization was a church.

Moreover, the Church showed that its members could be good citizens by taking a number of steps, especially how it treated people who were obviously breaking the law. It not only dropped John W. Taylor and Matthias F. Cowley from the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, but also removed people who had entered new polygamous marriages from significant positions—for instance, Benjamin Cluff as president of Brigham Young University.

_The Politics of American Religious Identity_ is a fine piece of work that deserves the careful attention of all serious scholars.

THOMAS G. ALEXANDER, the Lemuel Hardison Redd Jr. Emeritus of Western American History at Brigham Young University, is currently serving a Church Education System Outreach Mission in Berlin, Germany.

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Reviewed by Steven C. Harper

William Hartley’s group biography of Polly and Joseph Knight and their family functions as an efficient vehicle for telling a textured Mormon history from the beginning. In one kinship we have women and men of prominence and ignominy, Joseph Smith’s benefactors and his antagonists. We have Polly Peck Knight, the first Saint buried in Zion’s blessed soil. We have anti-Mormon author Emily Coburn.

Members of the family were nearby when Joseph told of ministering angels, received the plates, organized the Church, received revelations, dedicated the land of Zion and the Kirtland Temple, and established Nauvoo. They continued through the exodus to Utah, the colonization of the Great Basin, and the financing of the Church and Brigham Young University. The Knight family intersected with Joseph Smith early and often. They witnessed events and processes and noted them in documents that are among the most important in the historical record. Knight family history is Mormon history, and Hartley uses biography to tell it. He’s plowed this ground before. _Stand by My Servant Joseph_ is Hartley’s substantial revision of _They Are My Friends: A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825–1850_ (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1986).
Well over twice as long, this second offering is much enhanced. It lacks the appended memoirs of Joseph Knight Sr. and his namesake son, perhaps because these are now more readily available. But *Stand by My Servant Joseph* has almost 270 pages more text, 50 pages of endnotes, an updated bibliography (50 pages rather than 12) and a richer index. Here Hartley relies heavily on the numerous scholars who have mined the Mormon past, including himself. His own detailed research on the westward migration informs the book significantly, especially the last third. This version is much more useful for scholars and serious students of Mormon history, though Hartley’s tone keeps the book aimed at a believing lay reader, perhaps at the many Knight descendants. If so, Hartley’s key contribution is to deliver to this audience much of what has been learned by historians of Mormonism, including knowledge that both clarifies, confirms, and revises earlier assumptions.

For example, Hartley provides an enhanced analysis of Newel Knight’s 1830 exorcism and levitation, “the Church’s first miracle.” Reading carefully, Hartley tells us that no one saw Knight levitate. He alone was conscious of being in the air while the others in the room saw only an immobile body. Hartley sees this disembodied experience as more reasonable and consistent with recent near-death accounts. I don’t know how much to trust such accounts, but Hartley’s careful analysis here is excellent.

He highlights Joseph Smith’s treasure seeking and connects it to his meeting of the Knight family and the work he did for Josiah Stowell; however, this discussion is undeveloped. It could have gained much from Mark Ashurst-McGee’s award-winning thesis, “A Pathway to Prophethood: Joseph Smith Junior as Rodsman, Village Seer, and Judeo-Christian Prophet” (M.A. thesis, Utah State University, 2000), which is missing from the bibliography. Yet it goes further than most Deseret Book publications toward acknowledging Joseph Smith’s participation in treasure seeking.

Hartley also highlights Scott Bradshaw’s investigation of the legal context of Lydia Bailey’s marriage to Newel Knight. (She was already married, though abandoned by an abusive husband.) Bradshaw’s careful legal research exposed the uninformed and misleading conclusions of John Brooke, Michael Quinn, and Richard Van Wagoner that Joseph married Lydia and Newell both illegally and immorally. Hartley delivers Bradshaw’s important findings to a broader audience than may have otherwise received them, showing that Mormon elders were denied licenses to perform marriages by apparently anti-Mormon magistrates. More importantly, Hartley notes Bradshaw’s finding that “the same 1824 Ohio marriage statutes provided yet a second way for religious marriages to happen legally,” namely, for the society to simply show that the marriage was performed according to their respective “rules and regulations.” This, says Hartley, is likely a reason that the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants included a statement on marriage.
Joseph Smith registered the marriage of Lydia and Newel with county officials before the legal deadline. Says Hartley, “No charges were ever brought against Joseph Smith for performing the Knights’ marriage or many others he solemnized after that.” This, as the editors of Smith’s papers are learning, is significant in a society too willing to press charges against Joseph for any potential offense. “Therefore, if he operated within the Ohio statutes and if no one accused him of lawbreaking, then historians must recognize that he did not break the law when he married Newel and Lydia” (227–29).

Indeed, this book is characterized by Hartley’s willingness to acknowledge aspects of Mormon history still considered taboo even as he vindicates Joseph Smith with solid scholarship and what becomes a collective witness of the integrity of the Restoration by the overwhelming majority of the Knight family.

More than in his earlier version, however, Hartley pays attention to the disaffected members of the Knight family. He charts Reed Peck’s role in the later Missouri crisis with balance and candor. He discusses the disaffection of Emily Coburn Slade Austin, who married Joseph and Polly Knight’s nephew and became the first in a long list of formerly Mormon women engaged in the lucrative literary exposé industry when she wrote *Mormonism; Or, Life Among the Mormons* in the 1880s to both gain from and add to the national anti-Mormon sentiment. Even so, the thrust of Hartley’s book shows how the Knight family remained overwhelmingly faithful to a phenomenon they were uniquely positioned to witness. This is a compelling argument for readers willing to believe. Hartley has given them something less engaging than Gerald Lund’s *The Work and the Glory* saga but, especially in this revised version, more substantial and scholarly than the earlier version.

The Knight family gives us one of the best potential case studies aimed at discerning why people became Mormons in the early 1830s, and it provides key examples that lead toward learning why people dissent from Mormonism. Hartley touches on but does not delve into these analytical possibilities. For those of us interested in these aspects of the Mormon past, Hartley’s book serves as a springboard. For the intended and much larger audience, this book provides an informed, soundly argued, and adequately presented biography of a most remarkable, most Mormon family.

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The author of this work, Carlos Illades, is Mexican with a Ph.D. in history; he has written several books and articles on the history and sociology of Mexico and also on the history of thought in Mexico. Awarded the Edmundo O’Gorman Prize of Investigation of the Mexican National Institute of Anthropology and History for 2001, this book is number 127 of the series Pensamiento Crítico-Pensamiento Utopico, edited by José M. Ortega.

Plotino Constantino Rhodakanaty was the first Latter-day Saint baptized in Mexico. He is also an enigma to those few who have tried to write about him. He left no photo or personal papers other than a few letters, some of them to LDS individuals. His published writings are limited to theoretical and idealistic propaganda. There is really very little known about him.

However, Illades did not intend to write a biography. Rather, he presents a good discussion of Rhodakanaty’s thought, its development, and its influence in Mexico. One chapter deals with Rhodakanaty’s relationship with the Mormon Church, and other references are scattered throughout the book.

The book is well constructed with a prologue on Rhodakanaty and the enigma of his life and six chapters on the formation of his thought, an explanation of where his ideas fit into nineteenth-century thought, the philosophical problems of religion, Rhodakanaty’s brand of Mexican socialism, his dealings with “dissident” churches, especially the Mormons, and his attempts to turn theory into practice.

Illades discusses the dispute as to Rhodakanaty’s origin: Some believed that he was a Mexican who had changed his name and taken on a new persona. (Apparently Apostle Moses Thatcher stated in the 1880 general conference that Rhodakanaty’s mother was born in Mexico.) Others have him growing up in London. Even F. Lamond Tullis, in his book Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), gives him only a long footnote (p. 48), alluding to the most popular view of his life story.

Illades provisionally accepts Rhodakanaty’s story that he was born in Athens in 1828, the son of an aristocratic Greek father and an Austrian mother. When his father died, his mother took him to live in Vienna. He attended schools there and in Berlin and Paris, apparently studying medicine and philosophy. He supposedly spoke seven languages (including ancient
Greek and Latin) and traveled widely in Europe. He participated in post-1848 philosophical movements, favoring traditional socialism, but was not a recognized activist.

Illades does a good job of tracing the threads of the Rhodakanaty’s writings and activities, as well as some biographical data, to delineate his intellectual life. For those who do not read Spanish, here are some of Illades’s views on the essentials of Rhodakanaty’s importance and his connection to Mormonism.

Reading of a Mexican policy aimed at land reform with agricultural colonies and concluding that this was an opportunity to try his ideas, Rhodakanaty ostensibly went to Mexico in 1861. He set up a medical practice and taught homeopathy, phrenology, psychology, and socialism while he studied the Mexican philosophical and political situation.

After the expulsion of Maximilian’s empire in 1867, Rhodakanaty rejected the new liberal government’s positivist philosophy as being too materialistic and too systems-oriented rather than addressing the problems of class structure and poverty. Positivists also tended to reject Christianity and the new science of psychology, both of which he saw as being of practical interest.

He envisioned a world order which would progress peacefully to a state of universal harmony. He believed that even the rich and powerful could be persuaded to cooperate with this new order when they had been shown the rationality of a planned system based on everybody working hard for the common good. He advocated free education for all, women’s rights, and respect for nature. He lectured on the futility of violence and the impossibility of human solidarity without God. Illades says of him that, “to stand with one foot in the Enlightenment and the other in Romanticism, and keep his balance wasn’t easy” (135).

Rhodakanaty’s religious ideas were at first pantheistic: God was not a personal being but was absolute reason, present in all things. Human beings advance through the divine power of reason, which they possess inherently as part of creation. In God’s plan, freedom operates as needed, precluding the Christian idea of free agency in our choices. Individuals are insignificant, united humankind represents divinity and is thus capable of achieving a just and equal society. Work would be this society’s utmost morality and idleness its worst sin.

With free religious inquiry being allowed in Mexico for the first time under the liberal government, various Protestant ideas were becoming readily available; and several contemporary thinkers were asserting that their ideas encompassed the primitive doctrines of Christ. In 1876 Rhodakanaty published La Social, a dissertation outlining his own quasi-Christian utopian program.
Also in that year he came across some LDS tracts, including excerpts from the Book of Mormon. He liked what he read and opened a correspondence with Meliton Trejo, a Spanish convert who had done most of the translating, and received more literature. He was especially interested in the United Order, which he saw as paralleling his own plan for a divinely functional society. In 1878 he wrote to President John Taylor that he and several others were ready for baptism and requested that a mission be opened in Mexico. According to Illades, Rhodakanaty’s writings during this period show a shift from pantheism to deism.

In 1879 the Church opened a mission in Mexico City. Rhodakanaty was the first member baptized (November 20, 1879) with several others joining soon after. He was ordained an elder and made president of the branch. He continued writing, advocating radical socialist change in the government of the dictator Porfirio Diaz. His Plan Socialista, a draft constitution for a utopian system, proclaimed in July 1878, backed revolutionary uprisings, one of whose leaders was General Felipe Rodriguez, a close associate of Rhodakanaty’s and also a Mormon, probably baptized within a few days of his friend.

Rhodakanaty disapproved of the violence associated with the insurrections but calculated that the LDS Church would surely institute the United Order there, essentially following his plan, which would eventually turn the country into a utopian society. When this did not happen, his disappointment led him out of the Church; and on May 2, 1881, he published an article, “Social Reform,” which was critical of the Church. Illades speculates that he was possibly trying to goad the General Authorities into following his lead.

He probably returned to Europe in about 1886. Illades comments that, “according to Mormon oral history he returned to Mexico in the 1890s with a new name” (129). Illades gives no source for that statement and provides no further biographical information on Rhodakanaty.

In the end, Rhodakanaty had no real effect on Church policy nor on the successful Mexican Revolution of 1910. But he is recognized as the most important figure in Mexican socialist thought.

This little book is not an easy read. I had a Spanish dictionary and a dictionary of philosophy at my elbow. Even a native speaker of Spanish might have trouble without some background in the history of philosophy. It also helps to be familiar with the purple prose of Latin American expository writing. For example: “Although it is emphatic to denote his inclinations as more theoretical than practical, and critical of his conciliatory proclivities, there is vague coherence in an intellectual line that amalgamated Fourier with Proudhon and Spinoza. ‘Antiauthoritarian socialist’ is the term that defined him” (10). Believe it or not, some of our readers will understand that.
Illades's documentation seems reasonably good, if irregular. Some of it appears as parenthetical page numbers in the text, referring to authors mentioned there. Some of it is in footnotes. There are also explanatory footnotes. The fourteen-page bibliography is good, containing many works by intellectual thinkers and the scholars who wrote about them. There are fourteen Mormon sources listed, all of them available in Mexico.

The "index" at the back is really the table of contents. The book's biggest fault is the lack of a subject index. In a presentation this complex, it would have been helpful.

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Reviewed by Armand L. Mauss

This book received the Smith-Pettit Best First Book Award at the 2004 conference of the Mormon History Association, and I expect that we will see more from its able young author. The "transformation" referenced in the title is one that Yorgason identifies as occurring between 1880 and 1920. This is the period of "Americanization," about which much has already been written, most comprehensively by Thomas G. Alexander in *Mormon in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (1986; rev. ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996). Yorgason cites Alexander regularly, and his general conclusions do not differ from those of Alexander and of virtually all other historians of this period, namely that the Americanization process that began with the final (and successful) push for Utah statehood late in the nineteenth century required the LDS Church to abandon key traditional doctrines and policies involving polygamy, the political kingdom, and communal economic practices. The price thus paid for statehood and acceptance into the American mainstream entailed some losses, both substantively and symbolically, of the Mormon alternatives to American institutions that had proved so appealing to nineteenth-century converts.

It is primarily upon these losses which Yorgason focuses, and that is the main difference between this book and others that have covered more or less the same transitional period in Mormon history. In the most general terms, what was lost were the Mormon "habits of probing received wisdom
and structures of privilege," particularly those governing "gender authority, economic responsibility, and loyalty to the American nation" (9). These "habits" were casualties of the Mormon struggle with non-Mormons, both nationally and within the region, to find a modus vivendi that would maintain not only the viability of the Church as an institution but also the influence of the Church in the social and political life of the region. As Mormons joined with non-Mormons "in political parties, social clubs, and economic pursuits" (3), both sides acquired an important stake in ensuring "that the area did not again become a site of [earlier] unmanageable battles" (5). The general result was to launch the region, including the Mormons, "on a twentieth century trajectory toward cultural conservatism" (5) from which it has never recovered.

A consequence of this process was essentially to silence, or at least neutralize, those earlier tendencies in Mormonism that could have provided "more fundamental critiques of dominant power relations" in America (8), particularly of the Victorian gender relations, the self-centered capitalism, and the unquestioning patriotism that increasingly dominated the nation during the twentieth century. This swamping of nineteenth-century radical Mormon critiques of American culture was not, Yorgason insists, "inevitable" (vii), for "things could have turned out differently" (8).

To some extent, then, this book is an exploration in counterfactual history, in what might have been. With the clues I have given so far, the reader will not be surprised to learn from the preface that the author, although "a white, heterosexual, western, Utah, male Mormon," nevertheless "hold[s] radical leanings. In particular, I believe society has basic problems of inequality and oppression" which "can be solved only by a fundamental redistribution of power" (viii). While uncertain, like most of us, about just how such a redistribution might be effected, the author nevertheless seeks, through this book, "to bring my Mormon identity and heritage into conversation with people who are not likely to equate Mormonism with egalitarian critique" (viii). Needless to say, such people might constitute a very large potential readership for this unique perspective on an otherwise well-known story.

The book has five substantive chapters between an introduction and an afterword. The first chapter offers a theoretical rationale, both for focusing on the region as a unit of analysis and for Yorgason's rather unconventional merging of the classical discipline of geography with the emerging synthetic discipline sometimes called "cultural studies." The last part of this chapter identifies the main sources of data for the study, which the author finds in "seven major events, institutions, and issues" (26), ranging from general conference sermons and MIA magazines and manuals to transcripts of the Smoot hearings in the U.S. Senate, patriotic celebrations, and relations
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with Utah socialists.

The second, third, and fourth chapters—the real meat of the book—apply the author's basic thesis respectively to gender relations, communitarian and cooperative institutions, and the changing LDS posture toward the national government. The titles of these three middle chapters are nicely suggestive: "Moderating Feminist Imaginations," "Privatizing Mormon Communitarianism," and "Re-Presenting America." The final chapter summarizes the process with a discussion of the "politics of home," by which Mormons and non-Mormons eventually negotiated a common regional home "safe from contention and conflict" (172).

The cost of this political process for the Mormons took the form of three losses especially: (1) the loss of the feminist voice that had accompanied the female defense of polygamy; (2) the dissipation of the egalitarian resistance to the cultural logic of capitalism and individual wealth accumulation; and (3) the forfeiture of an earlier critical posture toward the emerging American definition of citizen rights and responsibilities in favor of "jumping on the national bandwagon" (164).

Each of these losses was a casualty of the Mormon effort to cope politically with the national demand for conformity to the conventional American way of life. One of the innovative contributions of this analysis is to show how and why the pressures and demands for such conformity by non-Mormons were even more acute and demanding in the region than in the nation as a whole.

In the Afterword, which Yorgason concedes is "more personal and speculative" (187), he finds the region's old Mormon versus non-Mormon divide still apparent in certain mutual stereotypes and Mormon reactions. One of these is a kind of residual Mormon inferiority complex from always having to explain to non-Mormon locals everything from liquor laws to green Jello. Another is the Mormon tendency to react defensively to regional (and national) moral controversies with "particularly strong and explicit positions on LDS morality" (191).

Many readers of this book, including social scientists of my generation, are likely to be put off by the unnecessary neologisms and jargon that have crept into this work from the new "cultural studies"; e.g., Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" (19); the home as a "site of oppression" (72); and "colonizing" competition (90). Some of the more abstract theorizing actually seemed to be gratuitous and digressive (see esp. pp. 102–3, 157–58). Ultimately, furthermore, I was not persuaded that what might have been really could have been; nor was I convinced of the usefulness of the author's complicated reconceptualization of the conventional meaning of "region" via the "new regional geography" (13) that he employs. I decided, however, to leave other readers to make up their own minds about such matters and to
look beyond them to the many strengths and new contributions this book makes to our understanding of this crucial period in Mormon history.

Chief among these contributions are: (1) an unusually detailed analysis and tracking, with a variety of data, of the process of Americanization; (2) a recovery for modern readers of a radical social and political critique of society in early Mormonism that has all but disappeared from the LDS collective memory; and (3) a number of stimulating and novel insights about the causes and implications of the regional struggle between Mormons and non-Mormons during the period in question. I recommend this book strongly to all who seek “the rest of the story” of the Americanization of the Latter-day Saints.

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Reviewed by Douglas D. Alder

In 1978 the presidential address of the Mormon History Association posed this question: “The Mormon Ward: Congregation or Community?” Twenty-three years later Jesse L. Embry has taken up that question in her enjoyable book, Mormon Wards as Community.

Examining the academic definitions of the term “community,” Embry mounts evidence to support the claim of the book’s title. Her work should be considered social history because she uses sociology as much as history and hints that many ward histories to date are too often merely “a laundry list of who was bishop when” (135).

She reviews the origin of wards in Nauvoo under Joseph Smith’s direction and in mid-nineteenth century Salt Lake City led by Brigham Young. These were temporal organizations intended mainly to alleviate hunger, help the ill, organize employment and construction projects, and collect tithes.

As the Mormon village system expanded throughout the Great Basin, some 500 towns were founded by 1900, most including about 300 people each. Each village had at least one ward. These wards continued their temporal activities and also assumed ecclesiastical functions. Community celebra-
tions, dances, schools, athletics, theatricals, choirs, and brass bands, were central to these wards just as were sermons, classes, ordinances, visits, and counseling directed by the lay priesthood. The village wards were clearly communities of both temporal and spiritual dimensions.

Today some 25,000 Mormon wards and branches appear in every inhabited continent, including scores of languages and ethnic groups. Some are still in agricultural locations but most are in urban, suburban, or town settlements. The important sociological question that Embry poses is: Can the intensity and cohesion of communalism in the Mormon villages transfer to twentieth-century urbanism? Embry argues yes. That same MHA president who raised the question in 1978 recently agreed with her by writing a novel on the same question.

Embry chooses an interesting method to substantiate her claim that wards are more than congregations. She focuses on wards where she has personally lived, conducting extensive interviews among those members. Despite its obvious limitations, this approach has certain advantages. For example, she gives us insights into her North Logan Utah Ward where she grew up in the late 1950s and 1960s. It had a high activity rate (over 80 percent) and numerous devoted adults, youth, and children. (As a former resident of Cache Valley, I can attest that this tradition continued.) In the ward of Embry's childhood, there were few elderly people and everyone was a neighbor. Nearly everyone living within the ward boundaries was a Latter-day Saint, including many Utah State University faculty. Her interviews quote members who express harmony, friendship, and devotion to fellow members. One family "marveled at all the talented and well-educated people" (73). Another said, "If there were disputes, they were just ripples on the water" (73).

Embry details some of those disagreements—the old-timers versus the new move-ins, a debate about the location of the new chapel (dedicated in 1953), and boundary considerations when the inevitable division of the growing ward came in 1963. It is a realistic picture of what I call a "superabundant" ward like many on the foothills of the Wasatch Front, in Logan, Ogden, Salt Lake City, Provo, and their suburbs. It would have been helpful if Embry had included more about recreation, and especially the vital role of athletics in such wards. Richard Ian Kimball's Sports in Zion: Mormon Recreation, 1890–1940 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), gives an excellent account of this key function before World War II—another tradition that continued strongly in the post-war years covered by Embry's volume.

Embry's contrasting case study is Provo Utah Sixth Ward where she currently resides. Here we see a downtown neighborhood that was the thriving center of the city between 1900 and 1950 but is now inhabited by
many elderly people and a few young renters. The transient nature of the neighborhood is discouraging to the more permanent elderly folks, and the demographics have launched a self-reinforcing spiral in which young couples seek starter homes in more children-friendly locations. Despite these limitations, the members Embry interviewed cite close friendships in the ward. Weekly religious and social ward activities are the center of their lives, but the ward has limited talent. Embry quotes ward member Marjorie Winter, who enjoyed the ward "probably because it was small. We all had several callings and really had to pull together to make the ward work" (48). Scarlett Miller said that, when she was a teenager, she was "embarrassed to live in the neighborhood, but as a college student she could say, 'It's a really cute neighborhood. I really like it a lot. It makes me kind of sad when the houses get old and the people die. But it's an old neighborhood, so you have to accept that'" (50).

A third case study is a huge leap from Utah to a Latter-day Saint group in which Embry participated as a ten year old in Iran when her father, Bertis Embry, was on assignment (1960–62) with some twenty Utah scientists who served as agricultural advisors to the Shah's government. The families of these faculty members, most of them also Mormon, comprised about 75 people who were drawn together even more cohesively than the members of her two Utah wards. They represent similar groups in military wards throughout the world who are temporarily but tightly bonded. For example, Dean Peterson wrote to BYU officials: "We are enjoying church affiliations here. We have meetings each Sunday evening where we partake of the sacrament and receive spiritual strength. We have a great comfort in having a branch organized here" (88).

It is too bad that Embry's book is not twice as long since this interesting volume omits other categories of Mormon wards. Particularly in need of study are congregations made up largely of first-generation Latter-day Saints living in noncontiguous locations such as in the U.S. East and Midwest. The three wards Embry describes consist mainly of fifth-generation Mormons living within a single neighborhood or, in the case of North Logan, a village. Her Iran LDS group represents the many members Churchwide who travel long distances to worship with their fellow believers, but that unusual group consisted almost entirely of Utah transplants.

Susan Buhler Taber's *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), describes a ward in Wilmington, Delaware, and is more typical of the hundreds of wards where most members are converts. These people use the same lay priesthood principles as century-old wards in the Mormon core, but they have to learn the system. There are fewer missionary calls from their congregations, fewer temple marriages, fewer seminary graduates, less tithing, and no neighborhood basis to
their ward. Often these wards function with fewer priesthood bearers, fewer seasoned female leaders, and limited youth activities. These wards can be found throughout the United States and Canada but are usually outside the Great Basin.

Another category of wards meriting further study would focus on congregations in Latin America, Africa, Oceania, and Europe with few North Americans and, hence, a different set of cultural possibilities and assumptions. Such a study could be a whole book in itself. The question of "congregation or community" is vital because of the impact regarding religious affiliation of the host nation.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of this book is the chapter examining ethnic congregations. Embry brings perspective to this topic by retelling the story of European immigrants in Utah in the early twentieth century and their various assimilation solutions. She then documents the current situation of African Americans, Latinos, Southeast Asians, and Samoan Mormons in North America. Thanks to Embry's role as director of the oral history program at the Charles Redd Center for Western History at Brigham Young University, she has overseen collection projects on these groups and has written three books and a number of articles on ethnic congregations.¹

Embry has spent a decade interviewing these people and captures their perspective well. She reports the experience of Southeast Asian Latter-day Saints in Virginia, Samoans in Independence, Missouri, and Utah residents who are Mexicans and African Americans. These groups evince additional tensions, since European LDS immigrants were anxious to assimilate (and under direct pressure from Church leaders to do so), but the situation is different with these four groups. Rather, they are devoted to the perpetuation of their national heritage through their wards. "Branch President James Vernon Sharp recalls the 'intense national pride' of the members. 'We celebrated every Mexican holiday.' He found this emphasis appropriate, since 'part of the reason for the existence of the Mexican branch [in Salt Lake City] was so they could retain some of their history of their country'" (115).

This book links the early results of Latter-day Saint communitarianism with the current expansion of Mormonism. It gives evidence of the Church's efforts to establish congregations worldwide. In addition to creating such

organizations, the interviewees clearly express their hope that promoting primary relationships within the group will create and sustain community.

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Reviewed by Paul M. Edwards

I first knew Scott Chisholm as a student. He was unique even then. So, despite the fact that students are not supposed to grow up and surpass their instructors, I must tell you: This is a great book. I cannot imagine any thinking person (and I know this cuts the audience somewhat) who would not enjoy this elongated dialogue with past and present. Some, like me, might have to look up the word “somnolent,” but what’s an education for?

First, after reading the acknowledgments looking for any name I might recognize, I was bothered by four questions: (1) Why would anyone walk anywhere they were not required to walk? (2) Why would a Canadian think the American Dream was any more illusionary than the Canadian Dream? (3) What made this otherwise intelligent person think he would learn anything about God or even about Mormonism, on such a trip? And, (4) Why would this man whom we all thought had successfully escaped Mormonism, give the wrong God yet another chance?

He provides no answer to my questions about why one would walk or what makes Canadians tick (perhaps the two are related), but he certainly deals with the questions about God and Mormonism. I’m aware that some Mormons will be upset by both his attitude and conclusions but only, I believe, if they remain unaware of the desolation of meaning he confronts and the concessions he makes in order to return to a modicum of understanding. I personally found the book meaningful, as well as delightful and only wish that I could articulate my own journey nearly as well. Besides, any book that appeals to both Klaus J. Hansen and Martha Sonntag Bradley (back cover) must be one heck of a book.

The book is a tale of the meanderings of a unique and yes, brilliant, mind trying to keep pace with his feet as they (mind and feet) walk from the west bank of the Missouri into the never-never lands of Utah. It is a journey
that takes us to places famous in the past and dying in the present, to people above and below the salt, to believer and non-believer—characters all—who share with Scott places—both locations and concepts—generally not traveled. One example is Echo City, where each street was named for one of Pete Clark’s fourteen wives.

Like anyone who journeys on “less traveled roads,” Scott found few restrooms for either his body or his mind. His constant paralleling of the Mormon movement—his need (or was it just a pleasure?) to relate his journey to Utah’s “uncomfortable past” (245)—is far more than we might have expected from this marathon of thought and emotion, yet he provides the reader with interesting and sometimes insightful counterfactuals to the “history” we all know and love in our unexamined lives: “And it came to pass that they did leave the land of Wyoming and were led, in the fullness of time, deeper into the desert where they raised temples and an abundance of crops. There they did raise up a mighty people, favored of nations, from which they sent forth melon seeds, two by two, and these bore fruit and were named according to their many varieties, Royal Flush, Oasis, Sweet Scarlet, Sugar Baby, and Star Gazer” (328).

And ever mindful of those whose journey he follows, he writes of the almost godlike western poet/historian John Niehardt: “His middle name, ‘Geneisenau’ sounds like a sneeze and may have been what drove him to belle letters, since onomatopoeia is an attraction to poets” (324).

Don’t be fooled by Chisholm’s laid-back style, however. While his trip is lazy and southern in attitude, he keeps us constantly moving, looking, hearing, wondering; sensing—as only the real radical can sense—life as the present.

Chisholm writes with an almost conversational style, tells stories that slip off his tongue with unexaggerated humor of a Garrison Keillor, and ties the past and the present together with magical ease. As a case in point I quote:

Babe Ruth once stepped down off a UP train and ate lunch at the local one-horse hotel in Lisco, Nebraska—the only piece of interesting information I gleaned over lunch in the place, which I ate on the curb in front of a local store. By late afternoon, when I limped into Broadwater and Kep’s Café, the conversation shriveled as if an unexpected hot spell had sucked the place dry. Right away I knew it was my “short pants.” Even the waitress looked embarrassed by my bare legs. But when I asked who won Indy, the ice broke. I could hear it crack. (191)

The book is of excellent quality and well up to University of Oklahoma Press standard. The type is clear and the cover intriguing. *Following the Wrong God Home* is Volume 12 in the LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN WEST series.

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Reviewed by Val Hemming

Douglas J. Davies is a thoughtful, broadly read, and veteran interpreter of Mormon history, theology, and religious practice. His carefully researched *Mormon Spirituality: Latter-day Saints in Wales and Zion* (Nottingham, Eng.: University of Nottingham Press, 1987), and *The Mormon Culture of Salvation* (Aldershot, Eng.: Ashgate Publishing, 2000), have provided insightful and nonpartisan analysis of several important Latter-day Saint historical and theological themes. In an *Introduction to Mormonism*, Davies continues his nonpolemical comparisons of Mormon theology with other Christian belief systems. This scholarly monograph focuses on “Mormon beliefs, doctrine and opinions in relation to the Church’s sacred texts, epics and revelations” (1). In nine chapters he objectively and respectfully explores the history, evolution, and practice of many major tenets of LDS theology: (1) the birth and growth of Mormonism; (2) prophets and texts; (3) divine-human transformations; (4) death, faith, and eternity; (5) organization and leaders; (6) ethics, atonement, and agency; (7) priesthood, stake, and family; (8) temples and ritual; and (9) identity, opposition, and expansion.

From the perspective of active Latter-day Saint readers, Davies evokes a comfortable, almost insider, vantage of LDS history, belief, and practice while at the same time offering readers new perspectives for understanding the growth and evolution of nineteenth-century Mormonism into the present global Church. For non-LDS students, he writes from broad Christian and theological perspectives that permit ready comparisons of LDS history, doctrine, and practice with Catholic, standard Protestant, and evangelical Christian traditions. Indeed, this book should be highly recommended for both LDS and non-LDS students seeking a contemporary and relative understanding Mormonism in the context of modern Christianity.

Davies’s prose is straightforward, easily read, and easily understood. For example, introducing his chapter on “Death, Faith and Eternity,” he writes:
Latter-day Saint theology is, above all else, a theology of death’s conquest. While that might be said of Christianity in general, it by no means reaches the same degree of complexity or ritual enactment as it does in Mormonism. Here the LDS Church, once more, develops ordinary Christian ideas to the point where they transform into a unique configuration of belief and action. Christianity takes death, with its root cause of sin, as the major flaw in existence that has to be overcome if salvation is to be achieved; in this chapter we see how Latter-day Saints have realigned basic notions of sin, atonement, repentance, faith, resurrection and exaltation to produce a powerful theological basis for a ritual life that relates life to death in a particularly appealing fashion.

Here, “relations and principles” come to cohere in a dramatic way through baptism for the dead: family relationships are framed by the principle of ritual performed on earth resulting in benefits available in the heavens. (91)

He notes that grace, in the unique LDS view, is gifted to all by Christ’s death on the cross and through his resurrection. “Exaltation by contrast, is the outcome of dedicated human endeavour on the part of the Latter-day Saint. Salvation involves freedom from death achieved through resurrection and exaltation, the freedom for the opportunity to obtain the glories of the highest heaven through personal dedication” (92).

In his discussion of “identity, opposition and expansion” Davies provides a plausible explanation for the vigorous animosity sometimes expressed by evangelical Christians for Mormon practice and theology. He suggests a similar genesis for the common zealous anti-Mormon revulsion frequently expressed by ex-Mormon evangelicals:

Mormons and Evangelicals see the world through quite different lenses, and the shared use of common terms only confuses and sometimes frustrates relations between them in a way that is not simply theoretical or abstractly theological but emotional. Most religious and cultural traditions invest their prime doctrines and ideas with such significance that they can be denied only at the cost of being charged with heresy or serious betrayal. The theological idea of abomination is one description of this sense of revulsion at falsehood and it surrounds the way in which some believers in the one tradition view those in the other. Indeed this boundary of similarity—difference can itself breed a kind of theological revulsion when Evangelicals think that Mormons are twisting the great and wonderful words of the true gospel to their own ends. Even the very word “gospel” carries a fundamentally different connotation in the usage of each tradition. (241)
Davies concludes his final essay on “Christian Mormonism” observing two, perhaps incompatible, voices in contemporary Mormonism, i.e., a negative voice that “decries overbearing authoritarianism . . . members who would have been thoroughly at home in Joseph Smith’s and Brigham Young’s more speculative days of theological inquiry” and a positive voice which “pursues a personal religiosity amidst the bureaucracy” (253). He speculates about the past and future evolution of Mormonism from “old time religion and god making” to a more traditional brand of Christianity in which the temple ritual becomes a kind of sacramental system, similar to that found in other Christian denominations. He concludes with the observation that “its continuing appeal lies in the attractive combination of death conquest and family life. The Church, whatever particular name it adopts in each of its eras of existence, is still an extremely young institution that has many miles to travel, and many vestures to change, before the vision of Zion is realized” (254).

With the publication of his books on Mormonism, Davies joins a small cadre of distinguished and reasoned non-Mormon scholars, such as Jan Shipps, Mario De Pillis, and Larry Foster. His theological training, his clerical experience with contemporary Christianity and his deep and broad understanding of Mormonism make him a welcome and informed voice for students seeking to better understand Latter-day Saint beliefs and practices at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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Reviewed by Bron Ingoldsby

Eric Swedin (a historian on the faculty at Weber State University) has provided us with an important contribution to the social history of Mormonism. Healing Souls, which developed out of his Ph.D. dissertation at Case Western Reserve University, has three goals, or central points: First, to explain “that the modern psychologies and religion are such close cousins that they perform the same set of functions for individuals in modern American society” (3); second, to emphasize the extent to which psychological theories have influenced the modern LDS community; and third, to examine “how the LDS integration of the modern psychologies
has differed from that of other Protestant communities” (4). In the nine chapters and conclusion which follow, he details these points in a way that will be useful and fascinating for readers who are interested in the little-studied topic of therapy and Mormons.

In the first chapter, Swedin sets the stage by discussing the rise of modernity in the twentieth century. Over time, the Western world has reinterpreted illness and pain from being caused by evil spirits and, therefore, cured by religious or magical leaders to that of natural forces properly dealt with by science. Freudian psychoanalysis, with its suspicions of organized religion, had tremendous impact on the thinking of academic elites and then, after World War II, with the common person as well. Modern psychology competes with religions by also providing insights into the meanings of existence, but with a broader cultural basis than the individual-sin stance of the traditional religions. While mainstream Protestantism, according to Swedin, adopted this psychological model, more conservative churches, including the Latter-day Saints, saw it as a threat to their more communal values and literal interpretation of scripture.

Swedin then goes on to outline the interaction of the LDS community with this modernity. He explains how the Church welcomes science in the form of technology but balks at other aspects, such as evolution or the naturalistic interpretations of scholars like LDS philosopher E. E. Ericksen. He observes, “Most Latter-day Saints did not appreciate being told that their most treasured beliefs were the natural result of historical and social forces, not supernatural intervention” (35). He then provides an overview of the role of certain Church leaders, programs, and theological principles in the LDS cure of souls. At the same time—probably the 1960s or 1970s (Swedin does not define the period more exactly than post-World War II)—that Brigham Young University was developing programs in clinical psychology, social work, and family relations, Church leaders were expressing concerns that counseling could be misleading or detrimental.

The concern from LDS clients that they might be led into sin by a therapist is a frustrating one that most readers with a counseling background will be able to identify with. As I read this book, I frequently found myself thinking, “This is fascinating. Tell me more!” I especially would have appreciated more quotations from conference talks which contained these warnings.

Chapter 3 details the development of the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists (AMCAP) and of LDS Social Services. The former was organized in 1969 with Joe J. Christensen (later a member of the First Quorum of Seventy) as its first president, who expressed his concerns for keeping useful spiritual constructs such as sin and guilt in counseling. While it has not been an easy process, AMCAP has maintained its two principal goals to the present day. They are “applying LDS values and theol-
ogy to therapy and building confidence among the general authorities in the helping professions” (56). Also in 1969, Church correlation transferred social services from the Relief Society to the Welfare Department. What is presently called LDS Family Services received less than three pages of treatment, which will be a major disappointment to the reader, since understanding how it works should tell us a great deal about how the present Church leadership feels about the counseling profession.

However, Swedin provides us with a long and detailed history of psychology professor Allen Bergin and his Institute for Values and Human Behavior at BYU. Over the course of his career, Bergin became a true leader in his profession but never succeeded in his goal of creating an LDS gospel-based theory of human behavior. Bergin and those working with him felt that psychological disorders resulted from a breakdown in the client’s relationship with God and that, as free moral agents, people create most of their own problems. By the 1990s, Bergin had essentially given up on finding a unique LDS orientation and accepted much of what traditional psychology had to offer.

Chapter 5 addresses some specific theory-building by LDS scholars and their attempts to create a gospel-based therapeutic orientation. The most influential one has been C. Terry Warner’s agentive theory, which is still popular in the BYU community. Drawing on earlier philosophers, Warner concludes that humans are in control of their emotions and that personality problems result from the betrayal of one’s values. Warner’s values come more out of general Christianity than Mormonism per se, and his approach’s most important aspect is its rejection of the unconscious in favor of humanity as very rational. Swedin correctly calls into question research supporting the position that attending Warner’s seminars generally results in significant, though unspecified, improvement for attendees. Instead, notes Swedin, “Warner’s agentive theory is a theory of psychology that describes a process of perfection for people who are conscientiously trying to live correct lives and want to improve even further. . . . [But] there is no evidence that agentive theory is useful in treating psycho-pathological disorders more serious than ‘problems of living’ and so does not constitute the grand theory of gospel therapy that many LDS psychotherapists have looked forward to” (113). I was pleased and relieved to read this section, since in my opinion agentive theory is little more than Albert Ellis’s rationale-emotive therapy (which is ironic given his anti-religious bias) dressed up in religious jargon for conservatives who can’t stand the idea that someone might not be completely responsible for his or her own misery.

Chapter 6 is “Latter-day Saint Psychopathology.” I hope that someday Swedin or someone else will write an entire book on this fascinating topic as it cries out for much more detail and attention. He begins by pointing out
that mentally ill people must have some content for their disturbances and that such content must come from their own lives. Therefore, a religious person, like a devout Mormon, would have delusions centering around the Church. He quotes LDS psychiatrist Louis Moench: “Because of its central position in a believer’s life, it often becomes the matrix upon which psychopathology finds its expression. It may be the ideology by which one rationalizes his neurotic style of living” (119). Swedin then briefly mentions the issues of perfectionism, passive-aggression, and millennialism but in insufficient detail to meet the needs of a reader like me. He does go into detail, with some case examples, on the question of demonic possession versus multiple personalities. After describing one successful treatment, Swedin concludes: “Perhaps Paula contained a destructive ego state that viewed itself as an evil spirit, a manifestation consistent with Paula’s internalized conception of reality. [Her therapist] was willing to accept this classification, and the ego state was forced to disintegrate when its own self-perception was cast out. Then again, perhaps Paula was possessed by an evil spirit, as . . . she believed” (129).

At first I was confused about why Swedin included a chapter on feminism and the role of women. He begins with an overview, well-covered in other texts, on the hierarchal nature of a patriarchal religion and some of the counter movements within the LDS community. After discussing the traditional roles of LDS women, he then focuses on depression in LDS women and its significance in therapy. I had expected to find this material in the earlier chapter on psychopathology, but it is treated well here. In graduate school I remember a Salt Lake psychiatrist referring to the depression which results from perfectionism in LDS women as the Emma Ray McKay syndrome.

Chapter 8 on sexuality is well written. While always based on affirming the value of chastity, Swedin takes us through the evolution of thinking by Church leaders and professionals on the topics of marital sexuality, homosexuality, and sexual abuse. Victor Brown Jr.’s Human Intimacy: Illusion or Reality was sent to every bishop and stake president in the English-speaking church (I remember getting my copy) but was criticized by faithful LDS therapists for downplaying the importance of specialized knowledge of sexual functioning in therapy.

The use of aversion (electro-shock) therapy at BYU in the 1970s is mentioned, as well as the on-going resistance of many in the LDS community to accepting the possibility of a biological cause for homosexuality. The understanding and treatment of sexual abuse cases resemble those of general psychological approaches, with added admonitions to victims to try to forgive their abusers.

In the final chapter and conclusion, Swedin sums up the LDS approach to psychotherapy. Along with other Christian groups, the LDS community
became alarmed at the popular psychology of self-fulfillment and introspection. As one Catholic psychologist put it: “Countless Christians worry more about losing their self esteem than about losing their souls” (188). Paul Vitz rejects this selfish psychology, the root beliefs of which are attributed to the ideas of Freud and others on the centrality of self-motivation in human behavior, in favor of a family salvation perspective that highlights love and integrity over self interest.

This book is an important pioneering contribution to our historical understanding of the relationship between members of the LDS Church and the rising influence of psychology and therapy. It is written so as to be accessible to individuals who are neither LDS nor professionals, although I believe it will be more interesting to those who are. I hope that more work will now build on Swedin’s excellent foundation. As he concludes: “The post-World War II LDS community initially approached the modern psychologies with trepidation. . . . [But] the LDS community was able to absorb what it wanted from the modern psychologies without being overwhelmed. . . . By absorbing the modern psychologies, the LDS community became psychologized, but the community rejected the therapeutic ethos and its excessive focus on the individual” (198).

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Reviewed by Henry J. Wolfinger

This documentary edition reproduces the diary of Helen Mar Kimball Whitney, a prominent figure among nineteenth-century Mormon women. The diary begins in 1884, during her husband’s fatal illness, which left Helen a widow at age fifty-six with several daughters, the youngest of whom was seventeen, still living at home. It covers the remaining twelve years of Helen’s life—her widowhood, as the editors have aptly titled the work—and is set almost entirely in Salt Lake City. The volume is part of a documentary series of life writings of frontier women published by Utah State University and winner of the Mormon History Association’s 2004 prize for the Steven F. Christensen Best Documentary Book Award.
Helen Whitney was directly related to several influential Mormon families. She was a daughter of Heber C. Kimball, a counselor to President Brigham Young, and his first wife, Vilate Murray. She married the Prophet Joseph Smith as a girl of fourteen. In 1846, two years after Smith's death, she married Horace K. Whitney, the son of another prominent Mormon family: that of Newel K. Whitney and Elizabeth Ann Smith Whitney. Horace migrated to Utah with the pioneers of 1847 and later took a plural wife. He was respected in the community but not particularly ambitious, and held a white-collar position as a clerk in the Tithing Office. Orson Ferguson Whitney, Helen's and Horace's eldest son, appears frequently in the diary and presided as bishop over Salt Lake City's Eighteenth Ward. He would later gain fame as a writer and historian and become an LDS apostle.

Helen gained prominence in the community from her writings and advocacy of the faith. She wrote two pamphlets defending the principle and practice of plural marriage and penned faith-promoting pieces for Church publications like the Deseret News and Woman's Exponent. She was a Relief Society officer and represented the organization's leadership at local conferences. With the death of her husband, she suffered financial and emotional strains, and her health deteriorated. Her children were reaching adulthood and becoming increasingly independent. Despite extensive family and community connections, Helen at times expressed a sense of isolation and discouragement and may have suffered from clinical depression. At one point she described her relationship with her son Orson, whom she greatly admired, as distant: "He knows about as much of my daily labors with pen and needle as he does of my secret thoughts and struggles,—I have no body to look to in this world, that will offer releif, or carry my burden, but the Lord" (128).

The diary provides commentary on a number of major events and issues of the era. For example, Helen wrote often on the government's anti-polygamy campaign, interspersing caustic comments about the actions of federal officials with reflections on persecution's role in speeding the ultimate victory of the Church. However, the diary for the most part reflects Helen's domestic life and concerns. In a helpful introduction, the editors provide an overview of Helen's life and discuss several of the subjects on which the diary offers insights. These include widowhood and polygamy in the Mormon community, gender relations and the social and religious interactions of leading Mormon women, medical treatments and nostrums, and Salt Lake City's transition from village to urban center. The editors have broken the diary into year-long chapters, each of which is introduced with a page-length summary of major domestic and public events mentioned in the text.

Even after Helen gave up writing for Church publications, compiling her diary remained an important routine. The diary contains only a few
chronological gaps, occasioned by Helen’s incapacitation by serious illnesses. Helen regularly edited the daily entries, adding words and phrases to clarify her meaning. She wrote discreetly, choosing not to comment on certain painful episodes or controversial subjects. For example, she was unquestionably aware of the issuance in September 1890 of the Woodruff Manifesto, announcing the Church’s intent to comply with the antipolygamy laws, but she chose not to remark on this retreat from plural marriage. Similarly, she commented only obliquely on her daughter Lillie’s plural marriage. But the lack of references to Lillie’s husband and Lillie’s continued residence in Helen’s household after the abatement of the anti-polygamy campaign indicate that the marriage was not successful.

The diary has significant value for indirectly documenting Salt Lake City’s transition from a community strictly segregated along religious lines to one in which Mormons and Gentiles increasingly associated across established boundaries. Remarkably, this development took place during the late 1880s, an era of high social tension. During these years the federal campaign to suppress polygamy resulted in the imprisonment of hundreds of Mormon polygamists and drove much of the Church leadership underground or abroad. But boom times also characterized the late 1880s. Salt Lake City’s population doubled over the decade, and an influx of Gentiles sought to take advantage of economic expansion. Commercial development in turn produced a rapid rise in property values.

Helen, like most orthodox Mormons, opposed associating with Gentiles, whom she termed “outsiders,” “unbelievers,” and occasionally “enemies.” In early 1885, she complained of daughter Genevieve’s entertaining a group that included Gentiles: “I pray the Lord to open Gennie’s eyes that she may see the need of withdrawing from the society of unbelievers & seeking the truth and to please God. This is the only safe course” (62). Later that same year, on learning that a Gentile minister had officiated at the marriage of a son of sister-wife Mary Cravath Whitney, Helen expressed sadness over the union, as “no better than as though there’d been no ceremony over it—in the eyes of the Lord” (116). The following summer she reproved her son Charley for his fascination with a young Gentile widow: “He said she was good—this—I told him I’d heard before, but he could never be happy with an unbelieving wife” (171).

No sooner was this relationship ended by Charley’s unfortunate death than Gennie announced her engagement to a long-time Gentile acquaintance, Ed Talbot. Helen, under whose roof Gennie was living, refused her consent to the marriage, telling Ed, “I’d nothing to bring against him, only that he was an outsider, & that they would never be happy without he became a Latter-day Saint” (199). When Gennie and Ed married less than three months later, Helen was not present for the ceremony. Despite
this inauspicious beginning, bonds of trust developed between Helen and Ed. Ed worked in Utah, Colorado, and Montana at temporary jobs as a miner, boardinghouse keeper, and special policeman, experiencing periods of unemployment. By 1893 Gennie, with their two young children, had tired of this peripatetic arrangement. She decided to remain and care for her mother rather than join Ed in Butte and run a boarding house. Ed's remittances proved invaluable to Helen's cash-short household. On those occasions on which he returned to Salt Lake City and rejoined the household, he performed various chores and handled financial transactions for Helen. At one point Helen commented appreciatively, "Ed is the best help I've had yet" (509).

The boom in Salt Lake City pressured Helen financially. Her property taxes rose as her home increased in value. Family members repeatedly suggested that she sell the place, which was in a prime downtown location, and use the proceeds to build another home and secure a modest nest egg on which she could earn interest. Helen considered doing so for several years. She wanted to get a good price for her house, but she did not want the property to fall into the hands of "outsiders." In discussion with her brother Solomon, she noted, "I did not want to have it come up against me that I'd committed sin in selling my home to an enemy" (290). But other Mormons did succumb to the boom and relinquished their "inheritances in Zion." Sol, for one, tolerated the transfer of Mormon-owned properties to Gentiles. He rationalized the practice, telling Helen the outsiders were "instruments in the hands of the Lord," for they would eventually leave the properties for the Saints to inhabit. Helen finally sold her house to the Church, which was interested in the property because of its proximity to the Tithing Office, and built a new home in the Avenues.

Although Helen remained staunchly orthodox, even her views on associating with Gentiles moderated over time. In 1889, a married daughter temporarily resident in Helen's household consulted her about having a grandson's teeth lanced by a Gentile doctor reputed to be good with children. Helen did not dispute the doctor's competence but hated to employ doctors "outside of our church" (363). Yet, several years later, after lengthy treatment of recurring medical ailments by Mormon doctors, Helen engaged Otto H. Dogge, an apparently Gentile doctor whose clientele crossed religious lines. Dr. Dogge gained the family's confidence and later operated on Helen's daughter Gennie. When a report critical of the doctor appeared in the local press, Gennie and ten other women, Mormons and Gentiles, descended as a group to the offices of two of the city's leading newspapers and remonstrated with the editors on the doctor's behalf.

In addition to its content, what makes A Widow's Tale exceptional is the editorial apparatus that accompanies the text. Compton has identified
nearly all of the hundreds of persons mentioned in the diary and has included a register of names cross-referenced to entry dates. The initial entry for each individual references an endnote identifying the person in terms of his or her relationship to Helen and providing brief biographical details. The reader encountering an unfamiliar name can identify the person by consulting the name register and checking the asterisked entry for a reference to the endnote description of the person. In addition, the introduction to the diary lists and identifies members of Helen’s, her husband’s and their fathers’ immediate families. The listings, which include the nicknames Helen used, are indispensable for helping to place most of the primary figures in the diary within the context of his or her immediate family.

A few minor omissions and errors have crept into the editorial apparatus. For example, an endnote identifies the entry of July 4, 1886, as “the first mention” of Ed Talbot. Yet an Ed Talbot is mentioned in earlier entries of January 3 and 4, 1886, which are not referenced in the name register. Similarly, the introduction to the 1889 segment of the diary erroneously describes a significant judicial decision that “barred Mormons, polygamous or monogamous, from voting” (339). The decision did not bar Mormons from voting. It actually barred the further naturalization of Mormons; and without citizenship, foreign-born Mormons could not register to vote.

*A Widow’s Tale* is an invaluable resource for late nineteenth-century Utah-Mormon history. The diary portrays daily life in Salt Lake City during a period in which commercial development and population growth resulted in increasing accommodation across religious lines. It illustrates the operation of Church institutions such as the Tithing Office and sheds light on the plight of LDS women who had difficulty making ends meet on their own. Most of all, it reflects the struggles of a woman whose religious faith remained constant despite the sorrows of widowhood, the deaths of children and grandchildren, and the stress of continuous financial pressure.

The editors are to be commended for making the diary accessible for both casual research and serious reading. The researcher who wishes to check the diary for references to a particular person or a general subject can readily locate the relevant entries without reviewing the entire work. The reader interested in the viewpoint and life of an articulate representative of Mormon women will find sufficient context to understand nearly all the individuals and events mentioned in the text.

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Reviewed by William D. Morain

It might be said that biographers of Joseph Smith Jr. are like the seven stationary blind men trying to characterize an elephant on the basis of seven anatomical Braille exercises. As such, Dan Vogel may be said to differ from the rest by the length of his arms and the sensitivity of his fingertips. As a consequence, *Joseph Smith: The Making of a Prophet* is now the definitive companion-piece to Fawn Brodie's earlier masterwork. With a crisp, readable style and unparalleled historical detail, Vogel has combined a unifying thesis with critical scholarship to produce a family-burdened Smith who was neither saint nor psycho. And particularly heedful of Smith's personal struggles as expressed in the Book of Mormon, Vogel devotes a full two-thirds of his text to the three-year period during which the work was composed.

Refreshingly, Vogel escapes the usual self-imposed dilemma of having to choose between saint, charlatan, and psycho in portraying Smith himself. Instead, he adopts the empirical position that Smith was a "pious deceiver":

I believe that Smith believed he was called of God, yet occasionally engaged in fraudulent activities in order to preach God's word as effectively as possible. (viii)

[Smith] believed that God sometimes inspires deception, that some sins are committed in accordance with divine will, and that occasionally it is necessary to break one commandment to fulfill another . . . [If Smith] wrote the Book of Mormon, became a prophet, and founded his church as a pious deception, he possessed the psychological means to explain and justify such acts. (xxi)

Again, it is in the vignettes of purposeful deception in the Book of Mormon that Vogel finds the pattern most graphically displayed.

A wise family therapist once defined marriage as two families trying to perpetuate each other. Vogel sees a host of dysfunctional dynamics in the marriage of Smith's parents, including Joseph Sr.'s alcohol abuse and low self-esteem and Lucy's episodic depression:

My approach to Joseph Smith is informed by family-systems theory which views the family as an organism-like system that seeks to maintain emotional equilibrium (homeostasis). In a dysfunctional
family, a family where one or both of the parents are emotionally im-
paired, the family seeks balance in neurotic or pathological ways. An
imbalance between parents greatly affects the family system, espe-
cially the children who usually seek to save the marriage. I argue that
the marriage of Smith’s parents—Lucy and Joseph Sr.—like many mar-
riages was essentially dysfunctional, marked by religious conflict and
financial burden, and that this occurred even before Joseph Jr.’s
birth. . . . I will argue that the “singular environmental pressure” moti-
vating Smith’s behavior came primarily from his family, that he began
his religious career, in part, to resolve family conflict. (xx-xxi)

A wag once described the difference between the two steepled
shacks in a tiny Bible-belt town as, “This one says ‘they ain't no hell,’” and
that one says ‘the hell they ain't.”’ Vogel might well say that something like
this was Smith’s conundrum in trying to resolve the dissonance between
his father’s Universalist tradition and his mother’s brimstone-fired Presby-
terian milieu. And such was the connection that Smith appears to have
made between his father’s shortcomings and the ain’t-no-hell position of
Joseph Sr.’s chosen Universalism. Smith’s own turmoil thus paralleled the
anxiety that anti-Universalists of his day experienced as they perceived
their adversaries to be “a threat to public safety because they did not fear
God’s punishment” (202).

Vogel finds justification for this thesis in the Book of Mormon in the
anti-Universalist themes played out through Noah, Benjamin, Abinadi,
Alma II, Nehor, Jacob, and others. A representative citation is King
Benjamin’s farewell speech on the everlasting torment of the unredeemed, a
powerful anti-Universalist statement that was congruent with the “burned-
over” oratory of Smith’s day.

In contrast to Robert D. Anderson’s hypothesis that the Book of Mor-
mon is a literal chronology of Smith’s life experiences, Vogel postulates in-
stead a close correlation between events in the narrative and contemporary
happenings in Smith’s life—with specific character parallels—at the time of
dictation of various sections of the book. He sees such an example in the vi-
gnette of Limhi’s quest to gain freedom from the land of bondage, written
during the period that Smith was living on his father-in-law’s land under the
threat of eviction. (Vogel accepts the position that Smith restarted his dicta-
tion of the Book of Mormon at the point in Mosiah where the stolen 116
pages left off, went on to complete the book, and finally dictated the missing
opening section at the end.) In the process, Vogel’s mastery of both Jack-

1Robert D. Anderson, Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography
    and the Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999).
sonian history and scriptural scholarship provides a richness of correlation that is unmatched in previous biographies and breaks new ground in understanding Jan Shipps’s “prophet puzzle.”

The greatest resource that Vogel has brought to the table in this biography—his own massive compendium of early primary sources—is also the source of my only substantive disagreement with Vogel. While not uncritical in his use of primary materials, Vogel’s empirical acceptance of the descriptions in Lucy’s biography of her son precludes what I consider to be a properly skeptical view of the gold plates deception. Since there is to be found not a single citation outside the Smith family prior to mid-1827 about any gold plates, I hoped that Vogel had not so readily accepted so much of septuagenarian Lucy’s retrospective narrative of the 1823–27 years with all its “Coray-lations,” including Alvin’s overstylized deathbed blessings. I wish that Vogel would have been more critical of what I see as the fanciful stories of annual visits to the Hill Cumorah in search of its buried treasure.

I also found the organization of the index to be a bit cumbersome. With two-thirds of the book devoted to the Book of Mormon, it might have been easier to use if characters and issues therein had been given independent status in the alphabetical listing rather than jumbled under broad Book of Mormon subheadings over three pages.

But despite more than 700 pages of text, including a remarkable 119 pages of rich end-notes, Vogel does not complete his chronology in this volume, terminating his narrative instead at Smith’s arrival in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831. Absent therefore are the celestial wives, the temple reveries, the military adventures, the interpersonal rivalries, the multiple migrations, the incarcerations, repeated removals, and the violent denouement. Knowing of the progressive serialization of Vogel’s earlier five-volume Early Mormon Documents, there can be little doubt that there will be more to come. It will be hard to remain patient.


3Lucy [Mack] Smith, Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet and His Progenitors for Many Generations (Liverpool, Eng.: S. W. Richards, 1853).

Reviewed by Craig L. Foster

Perhaps Ronald O. Barney said it best in describing *Gathering in Harmony*: "Mormonism, in its early decades, was for the most part, a collection of families" (back cover). Indeed, Mormon history, as with the history of so many other religious movements and most other social organizations, is a history of people and families. Such is the case with *Gathering in Harmony*. This book is first and foremost a family history.

It is an attempt to understand not only the events in Mormon history, but the people who both experienced and shaped these events. As Prince explained in the preface, "I wrote it as the soul-enlarging exercise of understanding a world shatteringly different from mine" (9). The lives and history of the Prince, Allred, Imlay, Redd, and Taylor families are delicately interwoven with the major events of Mormon history.

These events include the families' conversion stories and migration to join the body of the Saints in various locales; as well as founding the earliest Mormon settlement in Missouri (Allred settlement in the Salt River Valley) and the subsequent persecutions and expulsion of the Saints; Nauvoo, the building of the temple and martyrdom of the Prophet; the Mormon Battalion; the trek west; the settlement of southern Utah (they were early settlers of the optimistically named village of Harmony), and the trials of pioneer life.

The last part of the book covers the life and adventures of Antone Benjamin Prince (1896–1977), who was born and raised in the harsh yet beautiful landscape of Washington County. As its sheriff for eighteen and a half years, he exerted a calming, powerful influence on southwestern Utah's law enforcement community. In the process, he helped solve several high-profile murder cases and was intricately involved in the infamous Short Creek raid of 1953, again demonstrating a trait obviously inherited from his ancestors to not only be witness to, but also to be involved with significant historical events.

Practically every page clearly shows that this was a work of love for Stephen Prince, who went to great lengths, not only to understand but also to objectively describe the people and events. Prince was even able to sympathetically describe the life and career of John D. Lee, who will forever be
demonized for his role in the Mountain Meadow Massacre which took the lives of 120 men, women, and children. Unfortunately, in one of the few weaknesses of this book, Prince’s discussion of the massacre is superficial at best and perhaps even a little pedantic. Admittedly, this unfortunate event was not the main subject of the book. Nevertheless, because it shaped the lives of nineteenth-century southern Utah residents—including those of the Prince, Redd, Imley, and Taylor families—it deserved a more thorough, scholarly analysis.

Even so, Prince’s understanding, love, and appreciation for his pioneer ancestors, warts and all, is richly manifested. This is particularly the case with the story of his grandfather, Antone B. Prince. With a genuine affection and admiration that borders on hero worship, Prince describes a man who truly appears to have been, human frailties notwithstanding, a remarkable individual. Famous for not carrying a gun, he approached criminals with a fearlessness that amazed and drew respect from even the most hardened criminals. On more than one occasion, a criminal would tell Prince he didn’t know why he hadn’t shot the sheriff:

Antone knew why. A humbly religious man, each morning he prayed, beginning with the words, “Righteous and Eternal Father in Heaven,” and put his complete trust in the Lord. He was not a gospel scholar and never preached to anyone, but he was committed to and had complete confidence in his religion. With very few exceptions (such as staring down the barrel of a revolver) he was never afraid of a man, for through his faith he knew he would be told when it was time to get out; in the meantime he would be protected. On many occasions, he disarmed a man who could just as easily have shot him, but he oozed confidence and always got the gun. (273)

Again, more than just a family history, Gathering in Harmony offers insights that both teach and entertain the reader. The lives of Prince’s ancestors are placed within the historical and social context of Mormon and American western history which makes them and their surroundings real. I highly recommend this engaging and enjoyable book.

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Janet Bennion. Desert Patriarchy: Mormon and Mennonite Communities in

Reviewed by Brian C. Hales

In Desert Patriarchy Janet Bennion, whose previous fieldwork includes five years researching among the Allred Mormon Fundamentalist polygamists at Pinesdale, Montana, presents a chronicle of her latest fieldwork, this time in the center of the Chihuahuan Desert of Mexico, near Casas Grandes. In June 1999 she and three of her students from Utah Valley Community College visited Mexico for part of the summer to observe three separate religious groups settled there: (1) members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Colonia Juarez, (2) LeBaron fundamentalist polygamists living at Colonia LeBaron, and (3) Swiss Mennonites at Capulin.

The Chihuahuan Desert, the largest in North America, measures 1,200 miles in length by 800 miles in width, presenting its visitors with a harsh, dry climate, difficult to conquer even in the best of circumstances. Bennion creates an impressive “theoretical heuristic”—a model to identify the elements that work together among religious fundamentalists to facilitate successful adaptation to this arid environment. The model itself includes six important components: male supremacy, female networking, nonsecular education, imbalanced sex ratios, alternative sex and marriage forms, and most important, “geographic and social circumscription.” (4) She theorized that “these six elements in combination provide a unique and productive explanation for adjustment to desert conditions in Chihuahua and that the desert in turn facilitates the goals and values embedded in the unique Anglo fundamentalism expressed there” (4; emphasis hers) “All of the Anglo groups now living in Chihuahua were attracted to the desert because it provided (1) geographic isolation from other groups; (2) religious freedom; (3) protection from restrictive U.S. laws; and (4) freedom to raise and educate their children within their own communal systems” (20). Bennion and her students visited the various colonies “to explore the dynamics of gender as it related to five phenomena in their assigned groups: (1) religio-political organization; (2) ecology of the Chihuahuan basin; (3) economic activities of all families; (4) sexuality, marriage, and kinship; and (5) community education systems” (73).

Exiled for the practice of polygamy in the 1880s, Latter-day Saints established several colonies in Mexico by 1885 including one at Colonia Juarez. During the 1912 Mexican revolution, their homes were ransacked, prompting most to retreat to El Paso. They reoccupied Colonia Juarez in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Bennion, at the time of her fieldwork, 80 per-
cent of Colonia Juarez's population of approximately five thousand souls were Latinos, "typically employees of the Anglo landowners" (101).

In the mid-1930s, Dayer LeBaron settled an area south of Colonia Juarez, that became known as "Colonia LeBaron." Today, more than 280 Mormon fundamentalist polygamists call it home. In providing a brief history of the Mormon fundamentalist movement, Bennion reports some details that may reflect fundamentalist tradition more than historical accuracy, in part because, "chameleonlike, LeBaron's history changes its colors depending on who is relating it" (54). Doubtless she experienced the same difficulty sometimes encountered by other researchers: that defining Mormon fundamentalist beliefs and history may on occasion feel like trying to hit a moving target.

"The Mennonite (Anabaptist) faith movement began in Europe in the sixteenth century when a small group of believers led by Menno Simmons challenged the reforms of Martin Luther and the other revitalization movements during the Protestant Reformation" (60). From Poland, groups of Mennonites took refuge in Russia, then moved to Canada. In 1922, new local Canadian laws conflicted with Mennonite standards, prompting them to emigrate again with many congregations, including the one in this study. Bennion describes Mennonite "basic tenets" as "the same today as they have always been: complete pacifism, refusal to take oaths or bear arms, nonparticipation in secular affairs of government, insistence on complete separation of church and state, and the baptism of adults who have made a concrete confession of their faith" (60-61).

In *Desert Patriarchy*, Bennion includes first-hand accounts of the study quarter's experiences with members of the three colonies. She addresses all six of the components listed, supplying remarkable descriptions of the inhabitants in the three pueblos. She notes that "I felt as if we were traveling through a time warp upon entering Colonia Juarez" (80) and that, with the Mennonites, "we all felt instantly transported back in time, beyond the nineteenth century to the sixteenth century" (145). Observations regarding their young people, traditions, clothing styles, education, housing, entertainment and even food preparation provide a fascinating glimpse into the lives and lifestyles of these three patriarchal groups. Dozens of interesting photos supply a rare glimpse of religionists who are often fearful of strangers and their new-fangled ways.

Through her observations, Bennion concludes that "the environmental 'ideological foraging' construct utilized unconsciously by fundamentalists in their adaptation to the desert depends on four steps: (1) spiritual, economic, and psychological deprivation in the mainstream, (2) removal from the secular high-tech world and outside contacts, (3) the creation of a desert utopia using the raw materials of isolation and unpredictable, harsh climate to shape
ideology, and (4) the maintenance of the utopia by controlling women, youth, and access to outside secular/technology resources. . . . Thus, the theoretical evolution of desert patriarchy can be traced to the desert itself—the desert that provided a safe haven from Babylon for the people, a necessity for cooperative labor, a patriarchal social structure, and a circumscribed prison for women and youth who might want to return to the mainstream” (30).

She further deduces: “In order to adapt successfully to any environment, humans must manipulate their beliefs to accommodate that environment, to the point that one mirrors the other. In other words, the desert must be a reflection of patriarchy, and patriarchy may be a reflection of the desert” (21).

Bennion provides several illustrations to support the idea that the desert is a necessary element of her model. “Placed within another ecological system—in the tropics, the fertile valleys of the U.S. Midwest, or in metropolitan areas—these elements would not interact to achieve the same longevity and maintenance of cultural traditions. The desert fosters mysticism and isolation; it is the mechanism by which patriarchal fundamentalism best flourishes” (11-12). The “side-by-side struggle” of fundamentalists to combat obstacles . . . enhances their solidarity. These obstacles create an impenetrable wall that perhaps could not exist in an environment of comfort, economic security, and mainstream modernity” (24). Among the strongest factors is the desert’s isolation; and she hypothesizes that any geographical isolation from modern culture could have the same effect, as she documented in her groundbreaking Women of Principle: Female Networking in Contemporary Mormon Polygyny (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). For example, a successful fundamentalist Mormon commune exists in the heavily forested Bitterroot Mountains of Montana, fifty miles from the closest metropolitan area (26).

Much of the book focuses on the first two components of a desert patriarchy: male supremacy and female networking. If the text has a weakness, it is perhaps the lack of balance in describing the husband-wife relationships. Bennion repeatedly emphasizes male “privilege” (xi, 5, 6) and males’ role to “govern” (164) and “dominate” (5, 7, 11, 175), while the women exist with “formalized inferiority” (172, 182) and “secondary status” (xi, 178), as “tools” for the patriarchy (175). Still, she finds that “women in Chihuahua are finding creative ways to access power and satisfaction in a patriarchal environment (and desert ecology) that is designed to belittle, subordinate, and degrade them” (189). Bennion documents at length a pattern in which men preside spiritually, are stronger physically, and are usually more advanced intellectually (due to the limited educational opportunities provided to the women). However, she leaves largely unaddressed the quality of emotional interaction between husbands and
wives (whether monogamist or polygamist). The apparent male privileging could easily be trumped and certainly mitigated if a heartfelt emotional tie existed between each husband and wife.

Instead, Bennion leaves the impression throughout the text that virtually the only dynamic she observed or considered is that of male domination and female victimization. Indeed, spouses seem to be treated primarily as co-workers rather than as wedded individuals who might share emotional intimacy, mutual respect, and love. For example, Bennion asserts: “Desert fundamentalist women rely on the services and comforts provided by other women; they often prefer the company of a handful of other females, with whom they can gossip and share homemaking ideas and consolation, over that of men, whose religious duty it is to dominate them” (7).

Bennion recognizes women’s power but only as a “them versus us” dynamic: “Against all logic, patriarchal communities provide women with power; autonomy and relative power in the absence of their men, and a high degree of manipulative power in their united opposition in the presence of their men” (177). In fact, among the LeBaron polygamists, “informally co-wives can collectively reduce their husband to a ‘sniveling whipped dog in the corner’” (132). Bennion does not identify this speaker.

In Bennion’s defense, assessing intangible qualities such as love, intimacy, and mutual respect may be difficult. She acknowledges some of the limitations she encountered in attempting to identify sexual practices. Mennonite culture, for example, discourages public signs of affections. “Husbands do not kiss or even touch their wives, or utter words of praise or endearment. They are taught to reserve such displays for the privacy of their homes and bedrooms.” Bennion and her team “wondered how much sexual activity occurs during marriage and if it ever occurs before marriage, but those were questions we could not ask” (164). Part of this reticence was professional ethics: Anthropologists are supposed to observe, not intervene. Furthermore, as an unmarried woman, she had problems of her own when a LeBaron patriarch launched a courtship: “With some difficulty I finally convinced him that I, a university professor and active member of the ACLU and Democratic Party, was not an appropriate candidate for his fourth wife” (140).

Given the “off-limits” signs around investigation into the emotional component of these relationships, however, it seems that Bennion does not consider the element of marital love in any significant degree. It is possible that excluding this powerful interpersonal force from a study of “patriarchy” undermines some of its conclusions, by trivializing marital partnership influences that might also be present.

Bennion attributes male patriarchal power to Judeo-Christian history: “Male supremacy in Christianity, born thousands of years ago in Abraham’s
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dry, dusty land of Ur, stands out as the most vital, essential ingredient of
desert habitation" (175). “A male priesthood is crucial to this state of affairs.
The men must receive their authority to dominate others from God, and ev-
everyone in the compound must respect and honor this authority” (5). Interac-
tion with other women in the colony “replace[s] the aching solitude that of-
ten exists for a woman living with a man who honors his patriarchal duties
above the emotional and economic needs of his wife” (190). Bennion may be
echoing the patriarchs themselves; but either way, the interpretation appears
problematic.

Theologians might wince at the assertion that God gives authority to
men to “dominate” their wives, even ignoring their “emotional and eco-
nomic needs.” This view contradicts other equally historical Christian tradi-
tions. Paul encouraged: “Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also
loved the church, and gave himself for it” (Eph. 5:25), and LDS scripture states:
“Thou shalt love thy wife with all thy heart, and shalt cleave unto her and
none else” (D&C 42:22). Furthermore, husbands are commanded in scrip-
ture to provide for their wives materially (1 Tim. 5:8; D&C 75:28, 83:2), while
Bennion documents the frequent poverty in which women struggle to pro-
vide for their children. Furthermore, while the LDS “The Family: A Procla-
mation to the World” mandates that men are to preside in the home, it is
questionable whether presiding is tantamount to dominating, which in LDS
theology might easily equate to “unrighteous dominion” and is soundly con-
demned (D&C 121:34–39). Joseph Smith spells out the limited emotional
tools which can be used when presiding: “by persuasion, by long-suffering, by
gentleness and meekness, by love unfeigned, [and] by kindness” (D&C
121:41–42). In Bennion’s observations of the families of desert patriarchy,
were these qualities completely absent? Unfortunately, we are left to wonder.

Whether Christian, Muslim, or Jewish, male leadership and authori-
tarianism are almost universally present in fundamentalist movements. A
leading scholar of fundamentalisms, Bruce Lawrence, identified five quali-
fications for fundamentalist groups including: “Fundamentalist leaders
are secondary-level male elites. Fundamentalists claim to derive authority
from a direct, unmediated appeal to scripture, yet because interpretive
principles are often vague, they must be clarified by charismatic leaders
who are invariably male.”

Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, who oversaw the monumental

1Bruce Lawrence, Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt against
the Modern Age (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), 100. Richard T.
Antoun, Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic and Jewish Move-
ments (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 2001), 21, adds: “These males,
“Fundamentalism Project” between 1991 and 1995, observed: “In the process of interpreting the tradition, evaluating modernity, and selectively retrieving salient elements of both, charismatic and authoritarian male leaders play a central role.”

Despite her unconcealed disenchantment with some of the fruits of patriarchy, Bennion also acknowledges some of its strengths: “I cannot deny the powerful impact it had on the cohesion of my family life. Patriarchy exists throughout the world, and it produces secure marriages and cohesive settlements” (176). “Anglo patriarchal systems in desert environments—run by a strong male authoritative body and supported by an equally strong informal female networking system—may be some of the most durable intentional communities in human history” (176). And she also supplies this intriguing view of marriage: “Certainly, the option of plural wives, plural husbands, or, for that matter, “omnigamy” (everyone married to everyone) is one way for the modern family to survive. Monogamy seems to be in trouble in the modern, fast-paced world, and virtually no one seems to see that it was an unnatural institution to begin with” (185).

Janet Bennion should be highly commended for her willingness to do more than search dusty books and mammoth databases to accumulate information for her publications. Her research provides a detailed descriptive snapshot of detached worlds existing beyond our view, populated by sincere individuals worshiping God according to their own beliefs. We are indebted for her efforts.

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Interestingly enough, are dominantly laymen, not clergy.”


Reviewed by H. Michael Marquardt

*Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: New York and Pennsylvania* is the third in a series of essays published by Brigham Young University's Department of Church History and Doctrine. As the introduction states, the essays are based upon papers presented during a tour of LDS Church historical sites in June 1999. The ten essays are “separate papers, from separate authors, on discrete topics in early Church history” (v). Dale L. Berge’s study included in this book was not presented on the tour. The essays will be reviewed in the order they appear.

“Presbyterianism in New York State to 1838” by Roger R. Keller summarizes Presbyterianism in New York to 1838. One fact not generally known which Keller describes is the relationship of Congregationalists and Presbyterians (15–19). The paper shows how a segment of the Presbyterian Church moved into revivalism in New York State.

While the Geneva Presbytery membership figures for 1808–32 is of regional interest (25), no primary research was done for individual congregations and problems with their reported numbers. The interested history student should notice that the membership figures for the Presbyterian Church in Palmyra (of which Lucy Mack, Hyrum, Samuel Harrison, and Sophronia Smith were members) were not considered. If we look at the local church where Smith family members affiliated, it would have shown a local revival for 1824–25, the time most congenial with their association with the Presbyterian Church.

“Early Church History Sites along the Susquehanna River: A Photographic Essay” by Craig J. Ostler is the only essay dealing with Pennsylvania. It contains one map and seventeen photographs (only three of them dated). His essay is a simple recital of events along the Susquehanna River relating to Latter-day history sites. Since it is a photo essay, he does not cite early historic documents.

The location of the Church's organizational meeting is the traditional one of Fayette (29, 42), rather than the more probable site in Manchester. Joseph and Emma Smith left Harmony, Pennsylvania, in early September 1830, rather than in August (42–43). Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery's trip to preach in Colesville, New York, is mistakenly dated as late May 1829, rather than June 1830 (37).
"Lucy Smith's History and Abner Cole's Piracy of Extracts from the Book of Mormon" by Andrew H. Hedges is one of the most interesting essays in the book. Hedges attempts to determine the accuracy of Lucy Mack Smith's account about The Reflector, a Palmyra newspaper that published extracts of the Book of Mormon text. Lucy Smith is not clear about how many issues of the newspaper were published that contains Book of Mormon excerpts. She may not have known, since the editor, Abner Cole (alias Obadiah Dogberry), distributed The Reflector through the mail (58).

In her memoir Lucy Mack Smith describes encounters between Cole and Oliver Cowdery, Hyrum Smith, and Joseph Smith Jr. Since she was not present, the information comes from others who were also quite possibly over-excited in their retellings. Lucy tells of Joseph Smith Jr. making two trips from Harmony, Pennsylvania, to deal with Book of Mormon printing problems. The trip that seems most likely to have occurred was concerning Cole's publication. The other reported trip related to a problem in local citizens boycotting the book's publication. Hedges did not report on this aspect of Lucy's history except in an endnote (67 note 39).

Martin Harris mortgaged his farm in August 1829. Oliver Cowdery, writing from Manchester on December 28, 1829, mentions that Joseph Sr. would be making a trip to Harmony. Exactly when Father Smith made this trip (before, during, or after the printing of extracts from the Book of Mormon) is a question that Hedges tries to resolve. Hedges affirms that Oliver Cowdery and Hyrum Smith discovered Cole working on his newspaper before printing the first extract (62).

Unfortunately, Hedges omits relevant items that would give a fuller picture. That there was some concern within the Smith and Harris families about the proceeds from selling the Book of Mormon when printed and bound is evident. Joseph Smith Sr. signed an agreement with Martin Harris (January 19, 1830) relating to sharing the profits of the book. When Joseph Jr. arrived from Pennsylvania, he reported receiving a revelation (ca. January 1830) on the possibility of selling the book's copyright in Canada and having the Smith family retain what was left over after paying for the book's publication. What is clear is that this revelation failed and no sale was made.¹

The January 13 issue of The Reflector mentions the title of the book "as appears from the copy-right." Since the Smiths had passed out a number of printed sheets freely to those who asked for a copy, it may be inaccurate to say, that Cole had obtained his material illegally. It is true, however, that he did not receive permission from Joseph Smith Jr., the copyright holder, to re-

¹Discussed in my The Joseph Smith Revelations: Text and Commentary (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1999), 372–74.
publish them. The third of Cole's three installments appeared in the January 22, 1830, issue, thus providing an approximate date for Joseph Jr.'s confrontation with Abner Cole and threat of legal action.

"The Early Latter-day Saints in Livingston County, New York," written by Cynthia Doxey, quotes Edwin Holden's 1892 recollection of an 1831 meeting held in a barn in Genesee in which he saw Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon. Holden may have been mistaken and the meeting may have taken place in 1834 (73–74). Edwin Holden may have been referring to the March 1834 meetings held in Geneseo, Livingston County (included in what was known as the Genesee country) while Rigdon and Smith were there.

"The Huntington Family: New York Beginnings" by Robert C. Freeman and Ray L. Huntington tells about the conversion of the William and Zina Huntington family in Jefferson County. Their neighbor, Joseph Wakefield, traveled to Seneca County, where Joseph Smith lived, and returned with a copy of the Book of Mormon (95), which he shared with the Hungtontons. In 1835 William and Zina Huntington were baptized. A photograph caption of William's ordination certificate is misdated September 25, 1835, while the document and transcript read September 3. This license was signed by Hyrum Smith and David Whitmer (96).

"The Knights at Castle Garden: Latter-day Saint Immigration Agents in New York" by Fred E. Woods is a good article explaining that the "knights" were Church agents who helped the Saints arriving at the port of immigration in New York City. He also gives a brief history of these agents' role. Agents included John Taylor, Thomas B. H. Stenhouse, George Q. Cannon, Nathaniel V. Jones, Horace S. Eldredge, William C. Staines, Thomas Taylor, and James H. Hart.

David F. Boone wrote "Palmyra Revisited: The New York Mission of Willard W. and Rebecca P. Bean, 1915–1939." Willard Bean was, for twenty-four years, a special missionary to the Eastern States Mission. He resided in the Smith frame home in Manchester, New York, and farmed the property of approximately one hundred acres. He enjoyed showing visitors the historic sites, frequently abandoning his farm chores to do so. Alvin, the son of Willard and Rebecca Bean, also often explained the significance of the area and the Restoration story. Sometimes the visitors attempted to pay Alvin Bean for his time:

Money was scarce, especially to a young boy on the farm, but he would reluctantly refuse the reward offered him. On one occasion, Alvin asked his father's counsel on the matter. His father told him he "did right in refusing but [he] didn't need to hold out [his] hand while [he] was doing it." On another occasion, Alvin reportedly returned the nickel given him for his guide service and asked the visitor for a dime.
instead. Not really trying to be a shrewd business man, the boy later explained his actions by suggesting that he wanted to pay his tithing on the income, but he didn’t know how to figure ten percent on a nickel. (134)

Willard Bean was instrumental in the purchase of the following historic properties for the Church: the Hill Cumorah, the Peter Whitmer Sr. farm, the Martin Harris farm, and sixteen acres adjacent to the Joseph Smith Sr. farm. Over 30,000 trees were planted by “Willard, his sons, hired men, missionaries, Church members, and other volunteers” on the Hill Cumorah (143).

“Harold and the Hill: Harold I. Hansen and the Hill Cumorah Pageant, 1937–1977” was written by Mary Jane Woodger. This famous pageant began as an Eastern States Mission attempt to interest potential converts in Mormonism (158). Even after its supervision was transferred out of direct mission responsibility, pageant participants considered it a sort of “mini-mission.” Except for six years (1942–47) the pageant has continued to the present time. Rain has prevented the play from being performed a few times.

“The 1982 Archaeological Investigation at the Joseph Smith Sr. Log House, Palmyra, New York” is by Dale L. Berge. Before Joseph and Alvin Smith article for one hundred acres of land in Manchester Township, they resided in a log house in Palmyra Township on property owned by Samuel Jennings. A highway survey states that Joseph Smith Sr. lived there. ²

Alvin commenced building a permanent frame house for his parents before his death in November 1823. The Smith family had moved into the new structure by 1825 and lived there until April 1829. Berge explains an archeological dig conducted at the site in 1982 that unearthed 2,469 artifacts. Seventy-seven percent were ceramics (193). Several tables list the artifacts. Of particular interest was a button from a uniform of the Fourth Regiment of Riflemen between 1792 and 1796 (202). Also recovered was a clay pipe with a stem hole measuring 1/16 of an inch that was dated between 1750 and 1800 (205). The article mentions that Lucy Mack Smith smoked tobacco in a clay pipe. The text indicates that Orsamus Turner refers to Mother Smith loading her pipe with tobacco. The endnote, which is correct, cites Thomas Gregg’s book The Prophet of Palmyra, quoting the statement of Stephen H. Harding, who visited the Smiths in the summer of 1829. ³ These two artifacts therefore date to before the Smiths’ occupancy.

Berge mentions the "boyhood home-site of Joseph Smith Jr. where he

³Reproduced in Dan Vogel, Early Mormon Documents, 5 vols. (Salt
lived between the ages fourteen and twenty-five years (1819–1830)” (177). Actually, Joseph and Emma were living in Harmony Township, Pennsylvania, in northern Pennsylvania from December 1827 to September 1830, except for family visits, completing the Book of Mormon, and meetings at the Peter Whitmer Sr. home in Fayette, New York.

Veneese C. Nelson wrote the last essay, “The Palmyra Temple: A Significant Link to LDS Church History.” It describes the purchase of the Smith farm and other properties in the Palmyra/Manchester area and describes the authorization and construction of the Palmyra Temple. It took less than a year to complete and dedicate this sacred structure (226), whose construction is described as a miracle of miracles.

These essays cover a wide range of topics and a broad chronological scope that may be of interest for readers of New York LDS history. While the work contains some factual errors and a few incorrect dates, it is refreshing to have this compilation made available to a larger audience.

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Reviewed by Wayne K. Hinton

Morris Shirts, a long-time professor of education at Southern Utah University, maintained a deep interest in southern Utah history and did extensive research on its Iron Mission. He passed away with his work in its early stages. His daughter-in-law, Kathryn Hansen Shirts, took over the ambitious project. Using Morris’s research notes and partially completed manuscript, she brought it to a successful completion prior to the 150th anniversary in 2001 of Cedar City’s founding.

The authors follow the story of the iron industry in southern Utah from the Parley P. Pratt expedition of 1849, which was sent out to discover resources and to recommend sites for settlement in southern Utah, until the iron-making experiment ended in October 1858, and even beyond. The authors’ main objective was to understand why, under what appeared to be fa-
favorable circumstances and years of tremendous effort and sacrifice, the Iron Mission failed except for the creation of a few experimental items of little consequence.

Brigham Young’s urgent sponsorship of the Iron Mission is understandable. Iron manufacturing would help the Mormon kingdom in Utah become economically independent from outside suppliers and help to retain the limited amount of hard cash within Deseret, rather than bleeding out of Mormon’s shoestring economy. Experienced individuals with specific skills were “called” to locate Parowan in order to launch the Iron Mission. With high expectations, they set out under the direction of Apostle George A. Smith in December 1850, and they arrived twenty-six days later at their destination on Center Creek (now Parowan), on January 13, 1851.

The authors give a detailed account of the trek, and the efforts to explore the region, erect a fort, establish farming, and build homes. From Parowan, settlers were sent in November 1851 to found Cedar City where coal deposits had been discovered. Here the main effort was to be iron production.

The attempts of the settlers at Cedar City to fulfill their charge to make iron was thwarted by many obstacles. The “Trial Furnace” was both an attempt to construct a successful smelting furnace and a trial of the missionaries’ faith. Difficulties included providing adequate food for the settlers, overcoming bad weather, the lack of readily available charcoal, Indian dangers incident to the Walker War, flooding on Coal Creek, a grasshopper infestation, internal squabbling, drought, distances, lack of the right equipment, the Utah War and, perhaps most devastating, the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

The task was almost overwhelming. The authors detail the pioneers’ work priorities: “Their first priority was tackling the problem of how best to allocate manpower between public works, like ditch- and fence-building, and initial labor on the iron works. Efforts would also go to finding the best coal sites in the area, seeking the necessary fuel to produce useful iron implements in time for fall conference” (223). Settlers moved from one fort location to another, constructed roads, repeatedly built furnaces, mined coal and iron, freighted, built several ovens, and tried several formulas. The results were disappointing. Readers also come to understand frustrations which were offset by the settlers’ commitment: “It is difficult to tell . . . whether the frustration expressed at the meeting was coming from overwork in a taxing environment, which intensified the sense of hardship, or from a simmering case of indignation vaguely directed toward leadership in Salt Lake City but keenly felt in the settlements as a lack of respect for the efforts made to date. In any event, the men were vocal, anxious, uncertain, and divided” (262).

In September 1852, they produced the first bar iron but it was lacking in the desirable qualities. By April 1854, they again managed to produce iron, but it was again of a disappointing quality and in limited
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amounts. Despite bringing in European capital and turning the mission into a commercial venture with added capital and equipment, the cost of production never permitted the Deseret Iron Company to turn a profit. Consequently on October 8, 1858, the Iron Mission experiment was formally ended.

The authors have produced a well researched, richly documented book that descendants of the iron missionaries, researchers, and residents of Iron County will find significant and interesting. It does contain some errors such as: “The exploring party continued down Ash Creek before heading east [should have been southwest] along the Virgin River to the Colorado River” (p. 4). I also found some of the asides distracting. For example, after an extensive quotation from George A. Smith’s letter to Brigham Young from Fort Peteetneet, the authors add information that is not relevant at this point: “Here at Peteetneet, two and a half years later, on 18 July 1853, the first shot in an escalating conflict between Wakara’s Utes and the Mormon settlers would be fired” (36). Other distractions to the reader include many lengthy quotations that could have been paraphrased in the main, quoting only the most telling parts, and discussions within the text evaluating the reliability of sources. Such discussions would seem more appropriate in the notes.

Some questions that were dealt with at length seem rather inconsequential and remain unresolved. It matters little which direction the wagon boxes were laid at the wagon-box camp. Since the sources do not agree, why is such a lengthy discussion desirable? Perhaps all of the descriptions were correct and the wagon boxes were laid east and west and north and south as at some other locations where settlers laid their wagon boxes facing into the center of the camp. Frustratingly, a more significant event—the rescue of John C. Fremont’s 1853–54 expedition by the residents of Parowan—is given but two paragraphs.

Usually good writing style dictates that individuals be fully identified on their first appearance in the text. James James is first introduced on page 263 and is discussed on six other pages until we are told on page 300 that the boys of Cedar City called him “Double James.”

In reference to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, the authors suggest, without laying a factual basis for such a startling claim, that part of the Baker-Fancher party camped about four and a half miles south of the massacre site and that, on September 7, 1857, the party may have suffered the first attack with the survivors retreating to Mountain Meadows. The cited references are secondary, including interviews in 1989–90 and correspondence with two individuals dated 1988 and 1990. These sources seem inadequate for establishing such a revisionist claim as this (389–90, notes p. 406). Perhaps this confusion about the location is related to confu-
sion about which Cane Springs is referred to, as Will Bagley places a Cane Springs at Magotsu Creek rather than four and one-half miles away.¹

My criticisms of these details do not detract from the fact that this work is well researched and well documented. It tells a significant story, illuminating the mission system of Mormon community building. Despite failures to produce significant iron, two communities, Parowan and Cedar City were transformed into successful agricultural colonies that have persisted ever since, rooted in the sacrifices of the Iron missionaries who proved faithful against overwhelming obstacles.

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¹Will Bagley, Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 121. Magotsu Creek runs through Mountain Meadows. Along the stream toward the south end of the valley, the siege of the Fancher party began on September 7, 1857. Near the siege site and the creek is a small spring that Bagley calls Cane Springs. However, on Highway 18 about four and a half miles south and east is a small spring known to locals as Kane Springs which the highway department also labels Kane Springs. Interviews in the 1980s identifying “Kane Springs” as the site of the initial siege misled Shirts into believing that the attack began at the Kane Springs near Highway 18. It did not. It began near the small springs near Magotsu Creek.
BOOK NOTICES

The Journal of Mormon History invites contributions to this department, particularly of privately published family histories, local histories, biographies, historical fiction, publications of limited circulation, or those in which historical Mormonism is dealt with as a part or minor theme.


In these three historical novels, set in both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, Marilyn Brown uses Mormonism both directly as foundation for her stories and also indirectly, as part of the atmosphere. In Statehood, John Sewell, an ambitious young reporter for a Boston newspaper, comes to Utah in April 1890 and finds lodgings in George Q. Cannon’s downtown home. The Tribune editor recruits Sewell to spy on Cannon’s movements to report him to the federal marshals. Sewell is increasingly reluctant to do so, not only because Cannon is unfailingly kind and trusting, but also because he falls in love with Cannon’s pretty niece, Libby Walker.

Libby, for her part, falls in love with “cattle baron” Edward Dawson, marries him as his third wife, and goes with him to Parowan. Dawson, who is modeled on the historic figure of Edward Dalton, is shot in the back by marshals the day after they reach his home. Libby, who is already pregnant, returns to Salt Lake City. Sewell is accompanying Cannon’s party when he attempts to flee from the state to avoid arrest. Thus, the reporter witnesses Cannon’s fall or jump from the moving train and subsequent recapture. Sewell is also present when Wilford Woodruff’s Manifesto is read and accepted at October 1890 general conference. Since he will not convert and since Libby will not leave Utah, their love has a bitter-sweet ending.

In an evocative passage narrated by Libby, George Q. Cannon tells members of his family, including his son Frank, that Woodruff is finding a way to solve the polygamy problem:

For a long time Papa Cannon sat with his feet at the edge of the light. Not one of us moved or coughed or so much as brushed a fly away from our eyes.
In a strange moment of clarity the light from the small widow burnished Papa Cannon's hair with gold. . . . He looked like an angel wearing a halo.

Finally, Papa Cannon raised his eyes and looked at Frank with a long steady gaze before he spoke. "President Woodruff has been praying. He thinks he sees some light. You are authorized to say that something will be done."

Frank's hands dangled between his knees. "President Woodruff will make some kind of a public announcement?"

Papa Cannon whispered, "At least to the world, my son. If they will never understand, God will prepare the way." (257-58)

It is not problematic that Brown goes beyond historical facts in her treatment of characters and episodes, as she does in making T. B. H. Stenhouse editor of the Salt Lake Tribune or in making her Edward Dalton character a sometime actor or in choosing to base a significant development of the plot on "the extraordinary (although somewhat hypothetical) information" from a descendant [vi]—unspecified, but apparently Dalton's marriage of another plural wife just before he was killed. Furthermore, she conscientiously thanks individuals who supplied information about the Cannon family and their residences and explains that she compressed into six months events that actually occurred over "the previous four years for purposes of dramatic intensity," some of which she lists (vi, 321-22). She also credits Gustave (should be Gustive) Larson's The Americanization of Utah (actually The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood) (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971) and Edward Leo Lyman's Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Utah Statehood (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986). Both sources are excellent.

It is puzzling, therefore, to find errors like those which do not affect the plot and which can be answered by reference to any edition of a source so readily available as the Deseret News Church Almanac:

- Sewell "knew the Mormon temple in Nauvoo had been burned at the time of the exodus in 1847" (28). In fact, the exodus occurred in the early spring of 1846, and the temple actually burned on the night of October 9-10, 1848.
- Cannon asks Bathsheba Smith if "your husband" knows about records of illicit sealings (40). George A. Smith had died fifteen years earlier in 1875.
- John Taylor's counselors are identified as George Q. Cannon and John Nuttall (163). Nuttall was never his counselor or even a General Authority. Taylor's counselors were George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith.
- Bathsheba Smith says in 1890 that she had been a counselor to Emmeline Wells "almost twenty-four years" (37). Bathsheba was never Wells's counselor; she was a counselor to Zina D. H. Young for thirteen years (1888–1901) before becoming general president herself.
In the second of the three books described here, *Ghosts of the Oquirrhs*, Marilyn Brown draws on family history. In October 1966, a month before his death at age ninety-three, her Grandfather McKinsey gave her a diary kept by his cousin, Cecily McKinsey, in Mercur in 1902. Although the diary had been damaged severely in a fire to the extent that Brown could not read much of it, it triggered her imagination. Cecily’s uncle had called Mercur a “Sweetie Pie Town,” and George H. Dern, mine manager and later governor of Utah, observed, “It was an ideal community life. Nobody high-hatted anybody else” (x–ix). When Brown visited the town in 1997, there was still a functioning mine and a small museum housing souvenirs that had survived the fire. A few years later, both mine and museum were gone and “the hills were being seeded with pine trees and grass to cover up the tracks of the past” (x). Cheerfully admitting that “I may have elaborated upon [Cecily’s] actual history more than she will appreciate” (x), Brown recreates her seventeen-year-old heroine in “Sweet Pie,” the name she gives Mercur. Cecily falls in love with Brooker, a red-headed miner and fiddle-player. He is suspected of having murdered the owner of the claim he begins working, since the owner disappeared two days before his public arrival.

Brooker is “a connoisseur of tragedy” who predicts not only catastrophes but such marvels as toilets inside houses and a “sea of glass” in each home giving a “window on the world” (44, 133). His own lynching is barely forestalled by the return of the owner, who had simply gone to Kansas City to meet his mail-order bride, nor does Brooker foresee Mercur’s fiery death when a Chinese cook spills flaming bacon grease onto a bone-dry chopping stump: “The fire was raging down Main. [Cecily] could not see the flames, because they were hidden by the plumes of smoke that billowed up into huge clouds, twice higher than the roofs. She heard the roofs . . . fall with terrible crushing sounds. She thought she heard their own roof cave in. The wood crumpled like a newspaper tossed to the ground, but she caught only glimpses of its demise . . . . The fire below was screaming, and she saw the town emptied of its life” (199–200).

Mormonism is mentioned only four times and thus plays virtually no role in this tolerant town where Cecily’s older brother becomes engaged to a black girl and the local preacher is also African American. Cecily asks a fortune-teller about her deceased “Mormon pioneer” grandmother, and, as a child, puzzles over a Mormon playmate’s report that in the temple “they hold you under water in a big copper tub on the back of twelve oxen” (21). Mormon musician Alfred Durham plays his own arrangement of “In Gathering Roses, Look Out for the Thorns” (117) at a community party. When a wedding of two citizens is cancelled spectacularly (the groom’s wife shows up), Cecily’s father muses, “If the Mormons hadn’t made such a point of bigamy, there
wouldn't be such dire consequences for a mistaken acquisition or two" (121).

Mormonism also appears as a minor theme in the third book described here. Brown's *House on the Sound* (Springville, Utah: Salt Press, 2001) is a novel based on the conversion of her parents and dedicated to her two sisters, who appear under their own names. Set on the Puget Sound in Washington from the outbreak of World War II until the family moved to Utah in 1944, the novel deals primarily with the ten-year-old narrator's gradual discovery of the extent of violence and multi-generational incest in a nearby family; but in counterpoint to this revelation is her father's on-going search for “truth” that takes them from Presbyterianism to an unnamed church whose children sing “Give, Said the Little Stream.” The description of the parents' baptism is poetical: (225-26)

My mother agreed that if they did not join the same church and go together it would tear them apart. . . . So reluctantly she read the book the missionaries gave to her and surprised herself by discovering it was true. At last, through happy tears, she reported that she was ready to do what my father wanted to do. On a cloudy day all of us drove down in the Chevrolet to a little cove on the sound hidden among sandy cliffs, the water clear as glass in the afternoon light. . . .

First my father and George Henry walked out into the sound into the half light. . . . George Henry lifted his arm and said a few short words. Then my father . . . slipped back into the water until the smooth mirror covered him up. Then Mr. Henry lifted him, and the silver drops of the sea flew from his head and from his back and his arms.

The other man took my mother down into the sound. . . . The sun spun in a shaft of light over her hair. (225-26)


Blake T. Ostler, an attorney who has published articles on Mormon theology for more than twenty years, projects *The Attributes of God* as the first volume in a trilogy, the other two volumes of which will be *Exploring Mormon Thought: The Problems of Theism*, which will deal with such problems as petitionary prayer, evil, the atonement, and original sin; and *Exploring Mormon Thought: A Fire on the Horizon*, which will not be analytic theology but rather “a break with all previous types of philosophy and theology to better embody the break of Mormonism with prior theological traditions. This work engages in what I call ‘revelatory discourse’ as a means to more faithfully speak to persons within
the faith" (xi).

As these descriptions make clear, Ostler's work is not historical. However, he unfolds his theological discussion against a historical backdrop. After a first chapter in which he defines "God" in Mormon thought, he describes "The Apostasy and Concepts of Perfection" (chap. 2) to provide a summary of the traditional Greek/Catholic/Protestant view of God. His third chapter (69-104) is a historical overview of the development of Mormon thought on the nature of God.

Joseph Smith (1805-1844) did not develop anything like a systematic theology. His teachings are primarily prophetic pronouncements and visions rather than rational theology. However, there is an over-all coherence that developed in his views. . . .

The earliest doctrine encountered by Mormon converts in the 1830s was not a significant departure from the previous catholic-Protestant views. . . . [The Book of Mormon and Book of Commandments/Doctrine and Covenants] defined God in terms borrowed from orthodox theology as the basis of all existence manifesting himself in Jesus Christ. For example, the earliest statement of the Church's doctrine defined God in terms that appeared to adopt the classical notion of divine immutability: "There is a God in heaven who is infinite and eternal, from everlasting to everlasting the same unchangeable God, the framer of heaven and all things which are in them" (Doctrine and Covenants 20:17). (74)

Ostler continues his discussion of Joseph Smith's theological views of the nature of God, including his expansion of "the notion of 'God' to permit that humans, when fully glorified in God's immanent light, possess a fullness of the divine attributes" (80).

He concedes that Joseph Smith's associates "understood the new revelation which he had received in different ways" (82). He has separate sections on several important Mormon theologians. Parley P. Pratt and Orson Pratt, he says, "may legitimately claim to be among the first true process theologians" (82).

The thought of John A. Widtsoe (1872-1952) "probably represented the classical statement of 'progressive' Mormon thought—the view that all persons, including God, progress to Godhood by self-effort and mastery of eternal laws" (88). His views were contested by Charles W. Penrose, who challenged Widtsoe's claim that God had a beginning. Ostler also reports: "The President of the Mormon Church at the time [Widtsoe's] A Rational Theology was published in 1915, Joseph F. Smith, personally halted publication of the work to correct some of Widtsoe's ideas." He asked his counselors, one of whom was Penrose, to evaluate the work. They found most problematic Widtsoe's view that God reached godhood as the end point of "an evolution from intelligences." Commented the other counselor, Anthon H. Lund,
"I do not like to think of a time when there was no God" (92).

B. H. Roberts's theology is, according Ostler, "the most refined understanding [of God] by any Mormon General Authority to date" (83). Although Roberts used the classic terms of omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence, he qualified them all in distinctive Mormon ways to achieve internal coherence.

There have not been any systematic expositions of Mormon thought since B. H. Roberts's death in 1933, though there have been comprehensive treatments of religious doctrines in general. Since the time of B. H. Roberts, the Mormon leadership has insisted on scriptural literalism and a much more conservative view of God. . . . These expositions are not theologically sophisticated and . . . have much more in common with fundamentalist Christian views of scripture and God than their predecessors in the Mormon leadership. For example, they dismiss the theory of evolution as a mere "philosophy of men" which is contrary to Christianity in general and Mormonism in particular as they understand them. Adam and Eve are actual people and the garden story is a historical account. The scriptures relate reliable revelations about scientific facts of creation and history as well as religious principles. (98)

This approach, which Ostler terms "neo-absolutist Mormonism," has been developed primarily by Joseph Fielding Smith and Bruce R. McConkie. Ostler summarizes that Mormonism thus contains "two strains" of theological views of God's attributes, both springing from their understanding of Joseph Smith's prophetic pronouncements and interpretations of Mormon scriptures: the "dynamic perfection" explicated by Widtsoe/Roberts and the "static perfection" of Orson Pratt and McConkie (99–100).


The author's principal intention in 500 Little-Known Facts in Mormon History is to give "brief, unusual
facts—to make Mormon history readable and interesting” (x). In compiling this book Givens assumes that (1) readers will have a basic overview of the Mormon migration that started in the state of New York and ended in the Salt Lake Valley, and that (2) they will recognize the names of early prominent leaders. He includes only the LDS branch of Mormonism. The book focuses primarily on the nineteenth century because, according to Givens, “Like any history, the more remote it is, the less is known about it and there are more ‘little known’ facts to be uncovered” (xii).


The 300 vignettes are arranged chronologically, with footnotes, a bibliography, and index, all of which make it more usable. The vignettes begin in 1813 with Joseph Smith’s operation for osteomyelitis and follow with other interesting events such as an mysterious assassination attempt on Joseph Smith’s life in 1819. Other little-known items include the information that unpopular Utah Territorial Governor Stephen Selwyn Harding (1862-63) was originally from the area near Palmyra, New York, and had visited the Grandin Print Shop while it was printing the first edition of the Book of Mormon in 1829.

An interesting sketch concerned animals on the Mormon Trail. In addition to the usual horses, mules, oxen, cows, sheep, and pigs, Allen Taylor’s 1848 company “included nineteen cats, thirty-one dogs, eight geese, six doves, and one crow. Lorenzo Snow’s train that year included two beehives, while another train, for some strange reason, was carrying seven squirrels” (98).

Another vignette discusses admissions to the Salt Lake Theater. Receipts for one night in 1862 reportedly “included two hams, a live pig, a churn, sixteen strings of sausages, a wolf skin, several bushels of grain, a set of children’s undergarments, and a silver coffin plate” (172).

While not designed for researchers, this book is great for light reading. And since it is footnoted, the readers can return to original sources for in-depth information.


The *Messenger and Advocate*, printed in Kirtland, Ohio, and edited successively by Oliver Cowdery, John Whitmer, and William Marks, was the second periodical published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Lat-
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ter-day Saints. Volume 1 covers October 1834 through September 1835. Volume 2 runs through the next year (October 1835-September 1836), while the third volume concludes on September 1837.

Punctuated by repeated apologies for the lateness of the printing and pleas for financial support, this periodical chronicles the comings and goings of missionaries, prints the reminiscences of Oliver Cowdery's early association to Joseph Smith in translating the Book of Mormon, reports the growth of branches throughout New England, Maine, the South, and other locations, describes the terrain and farming possibilities around Kirtland and Jackson County, prints obituaries, and often fills up spaces in the last column of the paper with a poem or hymn, usually by W. W. Phelps. It also includes the Lectures on Faith and the proceedings of the dedication of the Kirtland Temple.

These descriptions of community life are, however, fitted around lengthy doctrinal treatises that are obviously designed to articulate the new religion's theological positions, provide ammunition for its missionaries, and build consensus in common beliefs. Some of these articles continue through two or three numbers. Topics include the apostasy, signs of the times, the approaching millennium (arguably the most popular topic), the need for unity, the necessity of gathering, the responsibility of the Saints to "warn" their neighbors of the imminent day of judgement, parental responsibilities, and the need for steadfastness despite persecution.

Dipping into these pages is a taste of what it was like to be a Mormon in the first decade of the Church's existence, an experience that contrasts in some ways with contemporary Mormonism. One article (no author identified) comments:

It requires but a limited acquaintance with the Bible to see that, the highest degree of knowledge which was among the former day saints was by reason of their seeing visions.... There was no end to the knowledge which they acquired; there was [sic] no bounds to their discoveries; they reached far into futurity and comprehended the things of both God and man for many generations.... When God went to raise up witnesses for himself, he did so by giving them visions.... And thus by reason of visions the world will be judged, and by them condemned; for it is visions which makes a man a witness for God, and without them he cannot be a witness; for there is not anything of which he could testify; but having visions he can testify of what he both sees and hears, and thereby condemn those who will not believe. ("The Faith of the Church," 1, no. 9 [June 1835]: 133-35)

Although the Messenger and Advocate is available conveniently on at least two Mormon history databases, reference to the paper copy is still essential for checking dubious quotations and possible scanning

This handsome book in modified coffee-table style (10 by 11 inches) is printed on coated stock in full color throughout for its eighty-seven photographs, twenty of them full-page, two complete double spreads, and sixteen that cross the gutter for sizes larger than a full page. The cover is a dramatic shot of the Angel Moroni atop the temple, perfectly silhouetted against a full moon. Busath is “one of only six people worldwide who hold fellowships in both the American Society of Photographers and the British Institute of Photography” and has “photographed every Church president since David O. McKay” (inside back jacket flap). He describes his goal: “I hope this visual tribute captures some of the calm reverential feelings I experience whenever I enter the temple grounds” (iii).

Although the book contains only descriptive captions and no text (hence no historical material), it is an important visual record of Temple Square and the surrounding Church-owned buildings at a particular moment in time. It includes for example, four photographs of the Main Street Plaza, which the Church purchased in April 1999.

As the title suggests, the photographs are arranged to reflect the seasons, beginning in spring with the tulip beds forming a scarlet foreground for the temple and grounds, and continuing through summer, fall, and winter. The snow and fog of the winter shots contrast dramatically with the lushly verdant summer grounds, while other views of trees and shrubbery strung with thousands of tiny colored lights mimic the brightness of the summer foliage.

Most of the photographs are exteriors. Exceptions are a photograph of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir behind massed poinsettias in the Tabernacle for a Christmas concert, the lobby of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and its chandelier, and three Conference Center interiors: (1) the entry hall with its Avard Fairbanks statue, *New Frontiers*, of a pioneer family; (2) the “Hall of the Prophets” with busts of the fifteen Church presidents; and (3) its enormous 21,000-seat auditorium, both empty and filled.

In addition to the temple, tabernacle, Assembly Hall, the North Visitors Center (but not the South Visitors Center) on Temple Square proper, Busath has included shots in a variety of moods of the Conference Center, Church Administration Building, Church Office Building, the Lion House, the Beehive House, the Relief Society Building, the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, the Family History Library, and the Museum of Church History and
Art, all with their spectacularly groomed grounds. A departure from the concentration on Church headquarters is a view of the ZCMI facade, shot with a foregrounding of the flower beds in front of the Church Administration Building. An even greater departure is an evocative depiction of Great Salt Lake, which the caption connects to the rest of the book by calling it “the lake from which the Salt Lake Temple derives its name” (89).

Detail photographs include Mahonri Young’s Seagull Monument and statues of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; the Dennis Smith Joyful Moment sculpture of a long-skirted, long-haired woman playing a circle game with three children; the Nauvoo Bell in its Relief Society Centennial Memorial, close-ups of one of the temple’s doorknobs and a moonstone; the Torlief Knaphus handcart family; a horse drawing a carriageful of visitors past Temple Square; the curved exterior roof support of the tabernacle; a group of golden ranunculus blossoms; and the ornate chandelier in the Joseph Smith Building lobby.

Dedicated to Lance D. Chase, cofounder of the Mormon Pacific History Association, this volume has a preface by Kenneth W. Baldridge, the other cofounder. The association, encouraged by Leonard J. Arrington, held its first meeting on August 1, 1980. The twenty-four papers presented here are drawn from the MPHA proceedings. The editor is Grant Underwood, formerly on the BYU-Hawaii faculty and now at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History.

The lead essay is Arrington’s keynote address at the 1980 organizational meeting, which proposed the “heretical” notion that “it is more important to study and write local history than it is to study and write general history.... It is more important to do stake and ward history than general Church history. It is more important to do the history of your family than the history of the family in general” (3). He followed up this affirmation with seven suggestions for historians:

First, give due importance to the work of the sisters.... It is incorrect to start out with the notion that since men hold all the important policy-making positions, they are the ones who determine the course of events....

Second, ... give due emphasis to the Church’s intellectual, social, and cultural accomplishments....

Third, ... we must acknowledge that not every program and organization proceeded smooth-
ly. Our histories should make us aware of some of the problems, obstacles, objections, and difficulties Church members have faced. It would be especially instructive to know the particular problems of applying Church procedures and programs in the Pacific because of the differing cultural and social backgrounds among the people. . . .

Fourth, we should give due attention to the so-called "ordinary" members of the Church. . . . The "ordinary" member provides a richer field for understanding the functioning of the Church in the lives of people. The unexpected variety of people, the complexity and the uncoached elements of their character, demonstrate the richness of the gospel plan and the manner in which it can serve all men and women. . . .

Fifth, we need to recognize the complexity of people, especially in biographical and family histories. . . . A whole series of qualities—good and bad—may exist in the same person. And sometimes these qualities are contradictory. Historians are obligated to give some indication of this diversity, this complexity, this contradictory nature of historical persons. . . .

My sixth point is that we should tell a straightforward story, not bogging down the narrative with attempts to moralize. . . . The secret of good historical writing is to stick to the point and to cut text whenever you can. There is a tendency for us, especially those who are new at history, to look upon our writing as something of a miracle, to be amazed that we are able to put words on paper at all. When they are on paper, out of our own brain if not straight from heaven, we look upon them as sacred. We cannot bear to sacrifice one of them. The best historians, having cultivated the ability to write, have learned to cut with fortitude. . . .

Finally, I hope you will, through your interviews and writing, convey the lovable spirit of Pacific peoples: their faith, their sense of humor, their playfulness, their physical prowess, their love of nature, their generosity, their practicality, and their happy disposition. . . . We need not just rely on the reports of the so-called white missionaries, but the stories, the tales, the characterizations of the Pacific peoples themselves—illustrations of this spirit from their own lives. (4–7)

The essays themselves are grouped under three heads: "Nineteenth-Century Voyages," "Twentieth-Century Voyages," and "Personal Voyages."

In the first group are "New Wine and Old Bottles: Latter-day Saint Missionary Work in French Polynesia, 1844–1852," by S. George Ellsworth; "The First Mormon Missionary Women in the Pacific, 1850–1852," by Maria S. Ellsworth; "Wars and Rumors of Wars: The Perceived Threat of the 'Mormon Invasion' of Hawai'i," by Jeffrey S. Stover; "The Hawaiian Mission Cri-


The publishers provide no biographical material on the author or history of this 1909 compilation, but the work is a window into the vigorous but now passé LDS-RLDS conflict over presidential succession. According to Sanders’s preface: “The subject matter . . . is replete with interesting historical events which prove beyond a doubt that succession in the Presidency of the Church belongs where the revelations of God designate” (4).

The book is arranged in four parts:

1. An index (pp. 6–37) of annotated, alphabetized topics on the succession issue. For example, under “Appoint another in his stead,”
D&C 43:3-4 is referenced with Sanders’s sarcastic comment: “Why would the Lord tell Joseph that he could appoint another in his place, if God had already decreed that it should belong to the first born? Appoint another, but be sure it’s your first born!” (7)

2. “Part I. Ready Reference” (pp. 39-102). This section overlaps but expands the index with more comprehensive divisions. For example, one subject heading is: “Apostles of the Reorganite Church—How Called! Chosen! Authority Compared with the Above [i.e., the section headed ‘Apostles’].” Subentries are consecutively numbered items given in full in Part II. This heading has items 45-110. It begins with H. H. Deam’s Revelation on March 20, 1853 (44).

3. “Part Two [sic]. Succession in the Presidency” (pp. 104-231). This section consists of fuller quotations of the numbered documents listed in Part I. For example, the Deam revelation, reproduced from Edward Tullidge’s Life of the Prophet, recounts Zenos Gurley’s description of a meeting of pre-RLDS believers who were seeking an answer to the question of how to organize the Church. Deam, a “Brighamite,” half drunk, entered late, sat through the meeting, and later told Gurley that he had received a revelation that answered their question. The conference should appoint three men to select seven apostles for a deliberately incomplete quorum who would, in turn, select twelve men to comprise the high council (124-26). At the actual organizational meeting on 6 April, Deam read the revelation and requested the conference to pray to know whether it was “from God or not.” Sanders heads this document: “Deam Doubts the Divinity of His Own Revelation” (127).

Sanders also includes his twelve “challenges” to RLDS Elder J. F. Karts during a 1908 debate in Murray, Utah (172-73) and two letters from Joseph Smith III in 1909 responding to Sanders’s queries about blessings from his father, the translation of the Book of Mormon, and polygamy (186-95, 202-8). On the latter point, Joseph Smith III said:

I am not prepared to admit that my father, Joseph Smith, was a dishonest, dishonorable man, holding one face to the people of the world, and one to the Priesthood by whom he was immediately surrounded, his associates, and one to the common people of the Church, the lay membership. I am not prepared to accept or believe that after he had given to the world, and to the Church, revelations which were recognized to be the Word of God; and for the validity of which he was pledged by every principle of honor; that he would then deliberately give to his associates what they afterwards claimed to be a revelation from God, containing dogma and practice contrary to the word recognized as the word of God, and which required in its observance a system of secrecy, stealthiness, and hidden conduct in word and deed, stultifying to
every instinct of fair and upright dealing known among honorable men. (195)


Milton V. Backman Jr., an emeritus professor of Church history and doctrine at Brigham Young University, served “several missions” in Nauvoo where he helped organize the BYU Semester Program. He prepared this book with a focus on the original (1840-46) and reconstructed (1999-2002) Nauvoo temples. He explains in the preface: “When one considers nearly every theme relating to the Nauvoo experience, such as the gathering, settlement pattern, doctrinal development, organizational development, economy and forces of oppression, the word temple dominates or is a significant aspect of the discussion” (x). He adds:

Nearly all distinct teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith between 1839 and 1844 were related to the temple. These contributions are concepts that had not been taught by any of Joseph’s contemporaries and had not been taught in public or in known private conversations with others before 1838. (41)

One of the important principles that Latter-day Saints learned in Nauvoo was that of obedience and sacrifice. These principles became ingrained in their pattern of living as they followed the counsel of the prophet, gathered in or near Nauvoo, and devoted much of their time, talents and material wealth to the building of a temple. One cannot adequately discuss the seven and a half year experience of Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo without emphasizing temple building, temple worship, temple teachings, temple ordinances, temple covenants and temple blessings. (48)

Three major organizational developments took place in Nauvoo during the early 1840s, the organization of wards, the formation of the Relief Society and the increased responsibilities of the Council or Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. All these developments were associated with the temple. (49)

The ten chronologically organized chapters deal with: “People and Power of Nauvoo,” “A City of Suffering, Sacrifice, and Service,” “A Commitment to Serve: Challenges and Rewards,” “Listening to the Voice of a Prophet,” “Perfecting and Purifying the Lord’s People,” “A Monument to the Faith and Sacrifices of the Saints,” “Tragedy and Victory,” “The Keys Are Right Here,” “And the Light Will Not Go Out”: Dedicating a House of the Lord,” and “Transplanting Nauvoo:
An Application of Faith and Works.
No mention of the doctrine or practice of polygamy appears.


When newly ordained Elder Lee Nelson was set apart in 1962 for his mission to Germany, Apostle Spencer W. Kimball blessed him "that if I kept the commandments and remained faithful I would be instrumental in bringing a thousand souls to the truth" (18). Nelson, knowing that "the German missions were among the toughest in the church," felt both challenged and intimidated. Hard-working and creative, he galvanized at least one district he was in by forging anti-Mormon letters to the editor, to which he then responded. He also trained the missionaries in effective responses to theological challenges and staged a "debate" with one of the missionaries dressed up like a priest. Tellingly, when the mission president rebuked him for this "monstrous deception," Nelson answered: "I don't mean disrespect, sir, but our model is your Black Book. We conduct fake surveys every day" (135). (This pseudo-opinion poll had been a marginally successful door approach.)

The main thread of this entertainingly written story, however, follows his encounters with a charismatic and compassionate priest who first deflected the elders' efforts and then, on the verge of suicide after he fell in love with a nun, was willing to consider Nelson's form of Pascal's wager: "If the Catholic Church is right, the best you can ever hope for in life, is banishment. . . where you will never see Schwester Frieda again. If the Mormon Church is true, Schwester Frieda will share your life for the rest of eternity. . . If there is only one chance in a million that I am right and you are wrong, isn't it worth checking out?" (159). Nelson also knew this nun, knew she was distraught about something, and just happened to have her address at that very moment. Nelson left his mission feeling that, through two couples to whom he had taught the gospel, "their spheres of influence, and their posterity through three or four generations, there's going to be a lot more than a thousand souls" (165).

Nelson, in an author's note, says that he "didn't keep a daily journal, but I think my memory is sound. I estimate about ninety percent of the events describe in this story really happened, pretty much as I remember them, or perhaps as I wish I remember them." But because he has sometimes changed names to avoid offending participants and also changed the order of some events "to help the flow of the story, . . . I simply declare this book a novel, a work of fiction, but not in the ordinary sense . . . an autobiographical novel" (167; italics removed from all quotations).

The authors designed this book written on a 5.7 grade level, in fourteen chapters, beginning with "A Dreaded Illness" and ending with "The Secret Graves." A preface explains their method: the chapters are designed in lengths "comfortable . . . for bedtime reading."

The book closely follows genuine historical sources, filling in gaps where they exist and at times simplifying or creating dialogue to hold the reader's interest. Some quotations have also been simplified.

Where ambiguity exists in the historical sources, we have simply made choices in order to keep the narrative moving . . .

The book owes a great debt to the standard biographies or writings of Joseph Smith, his wife Emma, his mother, Lucy Mack Smith, and other early Church members, as well as to many other related studies by competent scholars. We wish to acknowledge this debt, even though we have consciously elected not to include source notes for fear of discouraging young readers. (vii)

Illustrated by nineteen pen and ink drawings of various sizes by Robert T. Barrett, the story includes the usual major events and several lesser-known ones that manage to foreground women and children more frequently than standard Church history. These include Lucy Harris’s dream in which the angel showed her the plates (54)—even though it failed to make a believer of her, the angel showing the plates to Sister Whitmer (79) who did become a believer, and Mary Elizabeth Rollins’s eager reading of the Book of Mormon (103–5).

The authors also make commendable efforts at even-handedness, acknowledging that Mormon behavior contributed to the Mormon War in Missouri and including a statement of sympathy from Martin Van Buren (152) although what Joseph Smith reported in Nauvoo was only the well-known statement: “Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you” (153). There is no mention of polygamy in the Nauvoo chapters, and the *Nauvoo Expositor* was suppressed because “it was filled with hateful stories about Joseph. It tried to convince readers that he was a fallen prophet” (168).

As an example of the moderately dramatized writing style, Samuel reports his first (April 1830) mission within the family circle:

“How did it go, Samuel?” Joseph asked.

Samuel grinned. “I’ll let you decide about that. When I first started out, people rejected what I had to say. But I kept go-
ing. After a while, I found a man who bought a copy of the Book of Mormon from me.”


Samuel leaned forward in his chair, holding a copy of the book in his hands. “His name is Phineas Young. I met him at an inn when I stopped to have a meal. Since he was very friendly, I showed him the book and said, ‘This is something I wish you to read, sir.’”

Emma, who was knitting as she listened, broke in. “Did he take to it right off?” (95–96)


The fifteen articles in this issue are arranged in roughly chronological order, beginning with an extensive biographical article, “Warren Post: Beaver Islander Too,” by Jerry Gorden, Post’s great-grandson (1–36). The article quotes but does not cite extensive correspondence between Warren, a Strangite apostle, and his better-known brother, Stephen, an adherent of Sidney Rigdon, journals, Warren’s holograph history of the Strangite movement, and accounts from Strangite newspapers.

Warren Post, converted by the Book of Mormon he received from Stephen, joined the Mormon movement in Pennsylvania in 1835 at age twenty-five. His wife refused to convert, and he divorced her in 1844 when he discovered her adultery. He reached Nauvoo in October 1845, helped complete the Nauvoo Temple, and helped transport one company across Iowa. Back in Nauvoo, he and Stephen became interested in James J. Strang’s claims to lead the Church. Warren converted, spending 1850–56 on Beaver Island where he remarried (1850), performed polygamous marriages, took a second wife (1852), and served several missions.

After Strang was assassinated in 1856, the members scattered. Post’s plural wife returned to her parents with her children. Until his death twenty-two years later, Warren farmed in Wisconsin, visited the Saints, and remained faithful to Strangite principles.

The other articles in this volume deal with more modern topics: “ice walking” (winter expeditions from the island to the mainland to deliver and collect mail until 1926); commercial fishing; boating disasters, logging on the island; the habits of loons; Ina Redding, a widow who homesteaded on the island in 1919; and the “Celtic spirit” from a large influx of Irish settlers and fisher people during the 1880s.

For subscriptions and information about Vols. 1–4, contact the Beaver Island Historical Society, Beaver Island, MI 49782.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1827 to a Quaker family originally from Ireland, Elias Hicks Blackburn moved with his widowed mother and several siblings to Illinois by 1840, was baptized Mormon in 1841 after the baptism of an older brother (father of the well-known Mormon frontiersman Abner Blackburn), came to Utah in 1849, and settled first in Provo where, at age twenty-three (1851), he served as bishop and regional bishop. Chapters 5–15 give a particularly comprehensive account of a pioneer bishop's responsibilities, especially his pivotal economic role in implementing the tithing system. An interesting 1853 list of questions for tithing settlement includes such questions as: "How much land did you till? . . . Did you pay a tenth of your butter? . . . Did you make anything by trading?" (37) Boiling down the sweet secretion on cottonwood leaves produced 332 pounds of "manna sugar" as tithing on the total of more than 3,000 pounds (56). As bishop, Blackburn managed tithing during the Walker War (tithing cattle were presented to Walker), during the Reformation, 1855–56 famine, and move south of 1858. He had Brigham Young's complete confidence ("I know he will do what he is told," 82).

Blackburn married six women, three of whom left him, and fathered thirty-eight children. He served a mission to England leaving four wives (two of them pregnant) and eleven children, four of them one year old and the oldest only ten (121). As a missionary, Blackburn labored so ardently that he compromised his health. George Q. Cannon told him not to work so hard, which "was grievous to me" (129),

Upon his return in 1862, he moved most of his family to Minersville where he served as county selectman (1867–79) and as a diligent Sunday School superintendent for eleven years, also as home missionary, high councilor, and in the short-lived United Order. In 1879, he moved to Fremont Valley in Paiute County, a high mountain location with a very short growing season. Here he served as bishop (1880–89), then as patriarch (1889 until his death in 1908), at which point he had given 2,136 blessings.

He also began "doctoring" people, setting bones, and curing other ailments. "The Lord has so blessed me With a gift of knowing how and what to do for the Sick that a portion of my time is among the Sick," he wrote in his journal (170). On Francis M. Lyman's advice, he took the territorial medical exams and was licensed as a "nongraduate practitioner of medicine."
served selflessly at great inconvenience and even danger to himself; and his remarkable successes, which he attributed to priesthood power and the patient’s faith, soon brought him calls from a wide area throughout the West while hundreds more traveled to his home in Loa.

The book begins with one of his most remarkable cases. Called out at 3:30 A.M. in January, he rode twenty-five miles to the bedside of a boy who had been kicked and trampled in an accident that broke his leg in three places, leaving it “mangled” and “mashed.” Blackburn first administered to the boy, who was speechless from loss of blood, set all three compound fractures “by his [God’s] help,” and had the pleasure three months later of seeing the boy “Running around Well” (1-2). Chapters 27 and 31 provide fascinating details on this aspect of his life, while Chapter 33 analyzes whether they were really “miraculous.”

While using Blackburn’s autobiography/journal, the authors have also conducted painstaking research in city, county, ward, and land records, clarifying and untangling contradictory sources. They have standardized spelling and added initial capitals to sentences but have otherwise retained grammar, capitalization, and punctuation. The text is enriched with excellent maps, many of them topographical, for each locality, and photographs of documents.

Three appendices explain Mormon terminology, give a biographical sketch of Blackburn’s older brother, Anthony, and reproduce the comment of a contemporary physician on the healings Blackburn effected.

The pagination is somewhat confusing since consecutive page numbers are given on the lower outside margins of the page while the numbers given with the running heads begin again with each chapter.


Reid L. Neilson, a great-great-grandson of the Mormon converts whose story he tells in this family history, has produced a handsome and well-researched volume, enriched by eighty-two illustrations, including eight large and legible maps by Robert Spencer, including those of the ancestral villages in England. Although William’s personal history provides the backbone of the narrative (Rachel, unfortunately, was not literate), the discussion is enhanced by solid discussions of the economic, cultural, and historical context. The cover is a painting of Atkinville, Utah, in the Virgin River Valley, commissioned by J. Ralph Atkin from Roland Lee. William Atkin and Rachel Thompson were born in Rutland-
shire (now part of Leicestershire), both in March 1835. Rachel, a servant, was baptized in April 1849, only a month after her fourteenth birthday, the only member of her family to convert to Mormonism. William was baptized in September 1852 and at once launched on a series of local missions. They were married in 1854 at age twenty and emigrated in 1855 aboard the *Siddons*, whose amiable captain encouraged the children to get exercise by personally turning one end of a jump rope for an hour at a time (28).

After four years working the East and contributing most of their wages to help even poorer Saints, the Atkins left with a handcart company in 1859. Amusingly, William relates how a popular song in Florence was J. D. T. McAllister's rollicking “Hand Cart Song,” sung by young Frank Pitman, who had a fine voice. Everyone would join merrily in the chorus. After a few days on the plains, however, Pitman was singing the song only reluctantly and few picked up the chorus. And after a mosquito-harried night on the Elkhorn River, Pitman responded to another request for the song by stamping his feet, wringing his hands, and yelling, “I will never sing the Hand Cart Song again”—and never did (49).

This company’s experience corrects the popular view that the Willie and Martin companies were the last to experience starvation on the trail. They were put on half rations (a pint of flour and a little bacon per day) near Scott’s Bluff. At the Green River crossing, the leader distributed the last remaining flour “about one spoonful per adult” (66). William went “against counsel” here by stopping at Green River and working for two weeks, not only feeding his family but sharing what he earned with other straggling companies of handcart pioneers while many others in his own company were starving to death on the trail ahead though not, fortunately, with the added fatalities caused by snow (68).

Nielsen hopes “readers will see beauty in the complete yet complicated spectrum of William’s and Rachel’s lives” and candidly discloses:

William was occasionally disobedient to priesthood authority while crossing the Plains, didn’t always do his home teaching in Zion, and even feuded with his brother Henry over Atkinville water rights. Rachel refused to support Church leadership on plural marriage; and sometimes as William related their handcart experience to their grandchildren, she would say, “Shut up, William! I want to hear no more about it!” Furthermore, their children were not perfect. Not all married in the temple, nor did all their marriages work. Several children were involved in litigation, and a few turned away from the gospel for a season. . . . [Still] more often, they overcame obstacles and trusted in their God. At all times they were family and loved one another. (xxi)

After nine years in Salt Lake City,
the family (they had eight sons and four daughters) moved to St. George (1868) then, in 1877 eight miles further south along the Virgin River where they diverted some of the water for irrigation and to make a large pond that became a popular recreational area. Thanks to their isolation, they provided shelter for many polygamists fleeing federal marshals, including Wilford Woodruff (1885-86), who visited them frequently, nearly always hunting and fishing when he came. On one day, he caught 100 chub and shot three quail and rabbits (102).

The Atkin children were proud of their ability to lie to federal officers to protect him, and Woodruff continued to correspond with William for many years. The family has preserved fifty-nine of Woodruff’s letters.

In 1890, William and Rachel moved back to St. George where William became an ordinance worker at the temple (1892–1900), having performed 23,345 baptisms for the living and the dead by December 15, 1899. He died in 1900, followed by Rachel in 1903.

The text is marred by some regrettable typographical errors: “watermellon” (93), “Quacking Asp Spring” (93), and Conway “Stone” (although his name is correctly given as “Sonne” in the notes).


This novel’s author is described on the dust jacket as having been “born and raised in Kanab, Utah, where the stories of the Mountain Meadows Massacre are still whispered” but now lives in Texas. Like his protagonist, Brigham Bybee, he is an attorney. The opening scene takes place at Mountain Meadows where John D. Lee, just before his execution, assures a “man in a long, gray coat” that he knows nothing about “what was in the possession of Brother Lamb that awful day” (2). An epilogue describes the actual execution, while a scene partway through the book describes the massacre (156-61).

The reader is thus prepared for a role played by some artifact or document from the massacre as the action, which takes place just before the demolition of Kanab’s historic courthouse, commences in the present. Bybee, an attorney on probation for having manufactured evidence of rape and sexual abuse against a Mormon apostle (who was genuinely guilty), is assigned as co-counsel in a murder case. Divorced, disgraced, and only recently dried out from alcoholism though he is, it becomes rapidly clear to him that not only is his client being framed, so is he. But why? The motive for the murder of an elderly rancher has something to do with his purported possession of the Lamb document, which turns out to be a letter from Brigham Young instructing Isaac Haight to “put them [the Arkansas emigrants] out of the way” (169). When Bybee’s co-counsel is also murdered, the first victim’s grand-
daughter, a redheaded woman named Zolene, with whom Bybee becomes romantically involved, pieces together clues from her own past to figure out where the document has been hidden. Bybee uses it to compel the local Danites to deal justice: to see that the accused killer (who is genuinely innocent) is released and that the guilty apostle is executed in a fake suicide. In exchange, he burns the letter.

He explains his motivation to the sheriff, who asks how he can do this since he is also Mormon: "I was part-time, Lamar. But I'll tell you; I've always been looking for a reason to really join this church, not half-ass it; looking for something that will convince me that things are not twisted and screwed up like Sipes has twisted them or"—he nodded at the letter under the sheriff's hands—"like others have. A few nights ago, I found that reason. Zolene Swapp and I sat at the Gazebo over here and watched everyone dance and have a good time, and I realized that those people are happy and content because they believe in something good. It's that simple" (173).

In the acknowledgements, Gates notes that he drew on Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadows Massacre, William Wise, Massacre at Mountain Meadows, and Charles Kelly's edition of Journals of John D. Lee. Thus, the details about the massacre and execution are generally, with a few exceptions, accurate, although Gates's description of Arizona's raid on Short Creek (162) is inaccurate in every respect except that the raid occurred.

Appealing background in this novel are descriptions of Kanab and the country around it as well as a sustained theme of strange local first names. Bybee makes much fun of "Euzell," "Furl," and "Thurma," but his own daughter is named Brileena (Brigham + Helena).


The author's great-grandparents were part of the Rose-Baley wagon train of California-bound emigrants from Missouri and Iowa that headed west in 1858. At Albuquerque, they learned of Beale's Wagon Road, "newly surveyed" between Fort Smith, Arkansas, and San Bernardino, California. Although much of it later became Route 66, which migrants fleeing the dust bowl of the Great Plains followed during the 1930s, and later still Interstate 40, at that time it was only an explorer's track. Surveyor Edward Beale had employed camels in charting it in 1857.

Unprepared for the rigors of this arduous route, the company had already split and morale was low when Mojave Indians attacked them near the Colorado, killing several members of the group and forcing them to turn back. Baley recreates this
saga of suffering and endurance, including the eventual arrival of some survivors in California in 1860, the U.S. Army’s attempt to punish the Indians, and the ensuing legal wrangling.

Mormon elements in the story include the influence of the Utah War and the Mountain Meadows Massacre on the choice of route. The Oregon-California trail was shorter, but the Santa Fe Trail (from which Beale’s Wagon Road branched off) would allow migrants to avoid Utah (4, 131–32). Baley also suggests that officers of the U.S. Army in Albuquerque may have advised the Rose-Baley train to try the Beale road for “an ulterior motive. . . . In past years the army had furnished escorts for emigrants taking the Southern Route, since this road traversed territory inhabited by the feared Apaches. But this year (1858), because of possible trouble brewing with the Mormons in Utah, the army might have felt that it was not in a position to fight Mormons and escort emigrants at the same time. Besides, there was no known tribe of Indians on this new route that could match the ferocity of the infamous Apaches . . . [The Mojaves] might be a nuisance because of their proclivity for thievery but presented no real threat to the lives of the emigrants” (28).

Although the army made no attempt to find out from the Mojaves why they had attacked, the travelers themselves speculated that the Mormons may have “encouraged the Mojave and neighboring tribes to attack American emigrant trains.”

While clearly labeling this proposal as speculation, Baley adds: “It is a well-known fact that the Mormons sought alliances with various Indian tribes . . . and counseled them to take sides with the Mormons against the Americans” (131).


The first seventy-seven pages of this reprinted historic publication are John Nicholson’s account, based on an interview with and quotations from Rudger Clawson. Both men were then serving sentences for unlawful cohabitation in the territorial penitentiary. Joseph Standing was completing the sixteenth month of his second mission in the Southern States and was anticipating his release soon when he and his companion, Clawson, were warned that a mob was gathering against them. Both men were captured near Varnell’s Station, Whitfield County, Georgia, by fourteen men on Sunday, July 21, 1879, and taken into the woods where Standing was shot by
a man with a pistol.

Clawson heard the leader order his own shooting, followed a moment later by a countermanding order. Standing, shot through the forehead, was not yet dead; and Clawson, rather improbably, got the leader’s permission to go for help. The non-Mormon who had given them shelter the night before, a Mr. Holston, went to the scene while Clawson went on to telegraph the news to the governor (who had earlier assured the missionaries that he would uphold the law) and to the Church authorities.

Holston found Standing still alive and arranged some branches to provide shade, then left, alarmed by the murderers who were still lingering in the vicinity. When Clawson returned with the coroner, Holston, and a few other men, Standing was dead, and a number of other bullets had been fired into his face and neck, presumably to assure their “mutual protection” (44).

Clawson escorted the body to Utah, then returned for the trial at which the jury returned a verdict of “not guilty” (74) for murder, manslaughter, and inciting a riot for all of the defendants. Clawson slipped out of the town on the first train after the trial, having been warned by a stranger that he would be arrested for perjury and jailed (75). Standing was buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery with a “handsome monument, of Italian marble” erected by contributions from the YMMIA.

The second half of the book (pp. 77–160) describes the physical layout of the Utah Penitentiary in 1886, its buildings (the Mormon “cohabs” slept in a separate bunkhouse from the other prisoners while the “trustees,” some of whom were Mormons, slept in a third bunkhouse), the daily and weekly schedule (visitors were permitted on the first Thursday of the month for half an hour, 101), the skimpy and monotonous diet, the prevalence of bedbugs and fleas, and the rules governing the prisoners’ behavior.

The final fifty-eight pages are a valuable catalogue of the seventy-four prisoners present during Nicholson’s own term of incarceration, arranged chronologically in order of sentencing. Clawson, the most senior prisoner, came first with a sentence of November 3, 1884. The last was George Lambert, May 11, 1886. For each individual, Nicholson gives name, charge and plea, judge, date of sentence, terms of sentence, date and place of birth, conversion, physical description (e.g., Thomas Porcher was “unusually round in form and feature,” 123), and profession. Nicholson includes, as part of Lorenzo Snow’s sketch, the speech he delivered to the judge at sentencing (144–48).


This novel designed for readers probably between about ten and fif-
teen, is part of a series, IN THE TIMES OF THE PROPHETS. This particular volume occurs during Brigham Young’s presidency, but his only appearance is to call a group of pioneers to settle St. George and wish them farewell. The narrator is Violet Brookstead, who is writing letters to a friend in Salt Lake City between November 1861 when the wagon train sets off and March 1862 when the novel ends. Violet, age about fourteen, is the second of five daughters, all with flower names. “Ma,” a much-quoted person given to pithy sayings (“Stuff and nonsense”) has brought a jar full of flower seeds, since flowers will make a new country feel like home.

All five of the daughters grow up significantly over the trip, the terrifying descent of Black Ridge, and the hardships of the heat (even in winter), trying to irrigate from the erratic Virgin River, and an accident that leaves Ma bedfast most of the winter with a broken leg. The girls lose half of her flower seeds to alkali and the other half to nonstop rainstorms, but the entire desert springs into bloom “overnight.” The girls bring back buckets of “golden poppies, vermillion, Indian paintbrush, orange larkspur, snow-white sego lilies, delicate lavender filigree, bottle stoppers, yellow and violet bee flowers, bluebells, crimson ground cactus, and baby pink primroses” (109) to celebrate the birth of their brother, (Sweet) William.

The author provides no notes on her historical material, but she includes the technique of dropping sediment out of water by swirling in a glass of milk (40) and also tells the story, probably best-known from Maurine Whipple’s The Giant Joshua, of a husband who persuaded his beauty-starved wife to remain in St. George by finding her a sego lily (48).

The book is attractively designed with a flower motif and script signatures on Violet’s letters.


This book for middle readers is Volume 1 in the DARE TO BE TRUE ADVENTURE series that employs the popular construct-your-own-adventure format. It begins with a warning, “Do not read this book straight through from beginning to end!” Instead, the reader finds him/herself in Palmyra on March 26, 1830, where an advertisement in the Wayne Sentinel announces the publication of the Book of Mormon. The reader moves through the village encountering historical personages who “each had the chance to accept the gospel of Jesus Christ, or to fight against it. From time to time as you read along, you will be asked to make similar choices” (v).

For instance, the reader hitches a ride with Abner Cole and asks what he knows about Joseph Smith:
Once the wagon is rolling again, Abner begins to tell you horrible stories about the Smiths that you can hardly believe.


Abner shrugs and says, "Looks can be deceiving." (26)

The reader then has two choices: "If you get a bad feeling about Abner and choose to walk, turn to page 18. If you keep riding with Abner, turn to page 20." By taking the first choice, the reader goes to the Smith farmhouse where Hyrum Smith describes how Cole got access to the Book of Mormon type by using the same print-shop, would copy part of the Book of Mormon, and "also print lies" about the Smiths. The reader also becomes a target of Cole's lies and decides to avoid both the Smiths and Cole.

But after the Saints leave New York in 1831 to settle in Kirtland, Ohio, you feel a void in your life. You visit the Grandin Bookstore and buy a copy of the Book of Mormon. You read it in four days. You finally pray about it, and you know it is true. You teach your family about the gospel, then you all move to Kirtland and are baptized into the Church. Better late than never! (18–19)

Making the second choice, the reader becomes Cole's employee, also makes up "lies about the Smiths" to meet Cole's goal of selling newspapers, and continues his/her career in New York City where "your sensational stories make you famous. . . .

When you die, you are met by the evil spirits whose whisperings you have listened to all these years. The telestial kingdom is your final destination, where you and Abner spend eternity shouting at each other" (20). These are two of thirty-five possible endings.

Resource material includes a list of the nineteen historical characters in the book with short biographical notes and a bibliography. The publisher also lists the next three volumes: A Crisis in Kirtland, A Firefight in Far West, and An Uprising in Nauvoo.


Weber County was created in January 1850 as one of Utah's first six counties. The authors' discussion of the Great Salt Lake, which lies partially within its boundaries (but also belongs to four other counties) and of the period of trapping and exploring is particularly thorough. The first Mormon settlers arrived in January 1848 (55), Weber Stake was organized in January 1851, and included twenty-six wards when the stake was split in three in 1908 (164).

The influence of the railroad re-
ceives a chapter of its own. In 1860, Ogden had a population of 1,463 "with only 344 living elsewhere in the county. By 1870 Ogden’s population jumped to 3,127. . . . By 1890 it had reached 12,889" (107). The Mormon attitude toward colorful Corinne is captured in the pious lamentation: "God Almighty have mercy on the people of Ogden, if the carcass of Corinne is to be disemboweled in their streets!" (112).

The authors include nineteenth-century political developments in this chapter with a separate chapter on social and cultural history, including religion, recreation, education, the Morrisite schism, polygamy, crime, and dramatics. Included in this chapter is Luman Shurtleff’s “catechism” during the Mormon Reformation of 1856–57 (164–66) and mention of a branch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints organized in Plain City in 1871.

Chapter 8 reprises these same social/cultural themes for the twentieth century, leading off with an acid introduction to Ogden by Bernard DeVoto: “The overland limited stops at Ogden for fifteen minutes. The tourist, a little dizzy from altitude but grateful for trees . . . rushes out to change his watch and see a Mormon. He passes through a station that is a deliberate triumph of hideousness and emerges at the foot of Twenty-fifth Street” (353). In 1996, Weber County had “fifty-nine different religious denominations,” most Christian, but also including “Buddhist and Zen congregations” (392). An interesting sidelight on agriculture in the county was its fostering of the Shupe-Williams Candy Company, which flourished from its founding in 1896, survived the Depression and sugar rationing during World War II, and was finally sold in 1958 by its octogenarian owner, Fred Williams. At its peak, it produced “about 400 varieties of candy” (282–83). Hill Field, which the authors say has "impacted the northern Utah economy more than" any other factor, was located in Weber County thanks to aggressive lobbying by business leaders and the Ogden Chamber of Commerce, getting the nod over the active opposition of "David A. Smith of the Mormon Church’s Presiding Bishopric," who tried to influence its siting in Salt Lake County (286–87). Weber County resident William J. Gibson, commander of the 484th Bomber Squadron, flew from Japan to Washington, D.C., with the footage and stills of Japan’s surrender in August 1945 (295–96).


The Conference Center, constructed by the LDS Church in downtown Salt Lake City, is “one of the world’s largest religious buildings” (5). Dee Halverson, at the invi-
tation of Alan S. Layton, president of one of the three construction firms that built the center, prepared this history of its construction, timed for the building's completion in April 2000. His methodology was "a series of oral-history interviews with those who decided to build the Conference Center; those who would design, engineer, and plan it; those who would be its master builders and craftsmen; and finally those whose hands would create it from the day of its ground breaking [July 24, 1997] to the day of its dedication" (4).

Although there is no bibliography, a paragraph in the acknowledgments lists forty-one individuals with whom Halverson conducted oral histories. The book is designed in a 8½ by 10¼ inch horizontal format with an attractive two-column text that provides space to reproduce the twenty-four architectural renderings in generous proportions. Illustrations also include forty-one black-and-white photographs, some of them historic, about the building of the first tabernacle and the quarry that supplied the granite, and forty-eight color photographs.

The book is organized in four chapters: "Breaking Ground (1997)," "A Miracle in Progress (1998)," "Against All Odds (1999)," and "Sprint to the Finish (2000)." Within this chronological framework are separate sections, for example, on "Workers, Equipment, & Material Supplies," "The New Organ," the construction of the alpine meadow on the roof, and the walnut tree in President Hinckley's backyard that became, at the suggestion of Elder Ben Banks, the pulpit.

Halverson reproduces historic documents, such as most of the text of President Gordon B. Hinckley's address at the groundbreaking, newspaper articles, and quotations from President Hinckley's dedicatory address. A high point, both visually and narratively, is oral histories about the tornado touch-down in August 1997 that did amazingly little damage and caused only four injuries among the thousand-person workforce, at least partly because the building was still sufficiently open that it did not explode when the outside pressure dropped.

Halverson's preface stresses the building as a spiritual structure: "It stands as a witness of the Lord's promises to the members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saint. The story of its construction is more than a story of architects, engineers, builders, and special consultants—it is one of vision, faith, and determination" (5).

Emphasized in the oral histories are the challenges and achievements of the consortium of local contractors that formed Legacy Constructors, to whom the project was assigned. Lonnie M. Bullard, one of the Legacy partners, observed the challenges of "fast-tracking such a unique and one-of-a-kind building... The three Legacy partners felt by combining our labor forces we could succeed, but that... level of cooperation does not happen very often because we are fierce competitors" (97, 98–99).

The spiritual theme reappears throughout the book, and most in-
Interviewees identify "miracles." Steve Watterson, a bishop and operator of the Western Automatic Sprinkler Company with four of his sons, installed the fire sprinklers—15,000 heads and more than 75 miles of piping. He readily admitted that his counselors had to pick up much of the burden in the ward and added: "There was a time . . . that I just didn't see how I could ever get the job done. And I took it to the Lord and said, I've got to have some help. One of our competitors called us and let us take three of his people, after that prayer. Because of those people we are in good shape" (104).

The text is also studded with interesting statistics, like those of the sprinkler heads. Others are: 1,300 spaces in the underground parking garage; 13 passenger elevators, 12 escalators, and three service and stage elevators, a master schedule of about 5,000 activities, several of which are broken down into subschedules that add up to another 3,000 activities, revised weekly during construction; and 50,000 miles of electrical wire housed in 780 miles of conduit (10, 93, 94).

Anecdotes range from the exciting to the amazed to the humorous. For instance, Gerald Ottley, then director of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, when trying to imagine conducting a congregational hymn in the center put it this way: "You think it's a challenge working with a huge choir? Think about turning around and directing 21,000 people . . . I'm not going to use my baton. I'm going to use a starting pistol" (184). President Hinckley decided that the building should be completed for April 2000 conference and pressed the builders hard for that date, quipping, "At my age, I don't buy green bananas" (23). The building was finished enough that April conference could be held there; it was dedicated at the October general conference.


The book by Marianne Perciaccante, an attorney and an independent historian, is a revisionist companion to Whitney Cross's classic The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950). Her interest in revivalist Charles Grandison Finney led her to study his activities in Jefferson County, which lies along the northwest border of New York. She concluded:

While "Burned-Over District" has served as a useful shorthand for referring to revivalism in antebellum New York State, many of the assumptions behind the fiction cannot be applied to Jefferson County. In the early nineteenth century it was an isolated rural region far from the Erie
Canal; of the religious “experiments” that have come to define the Burned-Over District, only the Mormons established a significant presence; Finney’s methods did not revolutionize revivals in Jefferson County; revivalism and reform were not necessarily connected with each other; and the most disastrous socioeconomic development in the county’s history, the opening of the Erie Canal, did not drastically alter the course of religious history in the county. (3)

Perciaccante found that the county had “three different geographically defined socioeconomic regions,” each with its distinctive religious profile. “Each region understood orthodoxy and orthopraxis differently.” For example, Baptists and Methodists interpreted “fervor” as “a normal expression of piety” while “for the Presbyterians, until 1830, fervor represented disorder and thus impiety” (4).

After 1830, Baptists and Methodist grew less enthusiastic and showed greater interest in reform, while “Presbyterians accepted the tempered fervor, translated for them largely through Finney’s work,” and Finney himself, after 1830, adopted more “Methodistlike perfectionism” and became “more acceptable to well-to-do urban congregations.” Perciaccante therefore argues that historians have generally overlooked the development in Finney’s theology and thus “failed to notice” that “the success of the Second Great Awakening . . . along the northern frontier is not a Presbyterian . . . [but] a Baptist and Methodist success” (4).

Perciaccante’s very close reading of economic, social, and cultural sources recreates a remarkably detailed picture of life in this single country, including the dates at which Masonic lodges were established. For Mormon historians, the most interesting section is her discussion of Mormonism (89-99). She characterizes its appeal as “its espousal of antiformalist [personal fervor] values” (97), even though it “bureaucratized quickly and thus appeared to formalize. . . . The Mormons made every man a priest and a prophet, but placed formalist controls over these offices in order to prevent chaos” (97).

She reports the status of branches at Pillar Point, Sacket’s Harbor, and other county towns, including Potsdam and Stockholm, homes of Joseph Smith Sr.’s parents and brothers (98). Mormonism found its best proselytizing in rural areas, at least partly because Universalism with its more formal tendencies dominated the commercial centers. “Reactions against formalization and antiformalization were . . . inevitable,” she summarizes, “as in the cases of the apparently-formalist-but-actually-anti-formalist Mormons and the apparently anti-formalist-but-actually-formalist Universalists” (99).

She mentions names that are familiar to Mormon historians. The William and Zina Huntington family were “disillusioned” Presbyterians even before Mormon mission-
aries arrived to baptize them in 1835. She reports as a “legend” the local folklore lacking “hard evidence” that Brigham Young proselyted in Theresa in 1832 and that Mormons allegedly built a bridge under the surface of the Indian River to convince inhabitants that Mormons could walk on water (98). Perciaccante also devotes a separate chapter to how each of the major religious alliances approached the issue of reform.

Interestingly, Perciaccante thanks Whitney Cross for inadvertently giving her the title of her book. In her research, she found a letter from Cross’s dissertation chair, Arthur Schlesinger Sr., countering Cross’s suggestion that he call his work “Calling Down Fire” with the title that won out: “The Burned-Over District” (x).


Greg W. Haws explains that he wrote this memoir of Hooper, a small town on a sandy peninsula jutting into the Great Salt Lake in Utah’s Weber County, after a dream. In it, he was visited by a delegation of farmers “dressed in well-worn dark suits” with “tanned, leather faces with white foreheads.” They explained that they wanted, not a history of Hooper but a story. “They told me I had most of the material already written in my own story” and added, “Just expand it to include us, and don’t forget the water.” (viii). The water accounts for the pun in the title, which Haws repeats often throughout the book.

Because it is a story, not a history, the book has no clear chronology, does not give surnames for his relatives, and provides no citations to published and manuscript sources. Hooper (the “oo” sound is like that in “hooker,” according to his mother) was named for Captain William H. Hooper, a former Mississippi riverboat captain who never lived in Hooper himself but ran stock on the peninsula and served for a decade as Utah’s territorial representative to Congress. He built a herd house in the area in 1854. A family named Hale, associated with the Morrisites, arrived in 1863 and made salt by boiling off lake water. In 1866, twenty-four men petitioned for permission to build a canal, and, three years later, for the creation of a school district.

Haws describes the geography of Hooper thus:

There are two major sloughs running through town. They both come from the north and east and flow south and west. On our side of the Hooper Slough (which is roughly north of 5100 South) our home was a sand knoll, the top of the hill. From there the drainage went east and south. On our corner the ditches went north and west. On the other side of town, the ditches did nearly the same, except on the far south was the
Howard’s Slough. I had an Uncle Howard so I assumed this was his. This isn’t really important except to point out that Hooper is on a delta on the west edge of an Alluvial Fan created by the rivers and Lake Bonneville. This fan begins in Sandy, near Salt Lake City, and extends north of Hooper. (12)

Other tales Haws relates in a relaxed story-teller’s manner involve lawn games after dark with his numerous cousins, many entertaining incidents of youthful mischief (fruit fights at Hooper’s Tomato Days, begun in 1932), his education, LDS Church activities, community leaders, Scouting, cleaning out the sand-filled irrigation ditches with square-bladed shovels, accidents and adventures, community tragedies, and ward fasts and prayers, both for more rain and, during 1984, that the rain would stop.

Most of the attention is on his youth. He quotes the bishop during most of his teen years as remarking “that at first he didn’t know what to do with me, and then later he didn’t know what he would do without me” (142); but even though Haws himself became a bishop (ca. 1984), there are no stories from those years and little commentary about the town during his adulthood except for the 1964–68 project of cementing the Hooper Canal in an effort to reduce seepage and evaporation. Financed by a federal loan, the project cost more than $1.5 million (146–67).


As the lengthy title promises, this short work recapitulates primarily the Utah period of Church history. It begins with the assassinations of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, moves briskly through such topics as the completion of the temple, the evacuation of the city, the formation of the Mormon Battalion, the westward trek, the reconstituting of the First Presidency, the organization of counties and territorial government, descriptions of educational institutions, newspapers, “Indian Outrages,” agriculture, mining, industry, missionary work overseas, the courtesy with which ministers of other denominations are received, and “judicial persecutions” (largely a denunciation of Chief Justice James B. McKean’s 1870–71 decisions).

An extensive defense of polygamy begins with the revelation (now D&C 132), excerpts from a work by (Presbyterian?) missionary David O. Allen presenting a biblically based argument for accepting po-
lygamy among converts to Christianity in India and a briefer argument, also positive, by an Anglican Bishop Burnett (48–55).

Smith describes the Salt Lake Valley as “so barren as to produce little besides a species of bunch grass, and the ground was covered with myriads of large black crickets, which were the food of the Indians. In this desert place, the site of Salt Lake City was surveyed” (16)

Among the historical documents reproduced are Sheriff Jacob Backenstos’s “Proclamation to the Citizens of Hancock County” on September 13, 1845, ordering “rioters and other peace breakers” to cease and desist (7–8); Thomas L. Kane’s “eye-witness” description of abandoned Nauvoo (18–19); an undated table giving the total acreage devoted to each crop (i.e., wheat, barley, oats, etc.); an 1871 table of twenty-two sets of school statistics by county (number of districts, number of schools, number of students, amount paid to teachers, etc.) (26); Joseph Smith’s Wentworth Letter, a reprint of the 1832 prophecy of the “rebellion of South Carolina” first published in 1851 (41); and Governor J. Wilson Shafer’s 1870 banning of the militia muster, attributed to his “ignorance and imbecility,” with consequent drunken rioting, not by Utah’s Mormon militia, but by U.S. soldiers (62–63).

The type size of the text is small, and the further decrease in quotations makes the book somewhat difficult to read.


This book was first published in 1974, but the title and copyright pages make no mention of this earlier printing, nor does the introduction describe any revisions made between the two.

Despite the “over 100” part of the title, the contents lists ninety-eight individuals, described in the preface as “people who were associated with Joseph Smith and later recalled historical incidents in his life, some of his teachings, and their impressions of him” (v).

The compilers describe their editing procedures: “Some of these statements are combined expressions by a given individual taken from several sources. In their compilation extraneous materials have been deleted, introductory and transitional phrases have been added, major spelling errors have been corrected, and punctuation has been altered where necessary for clarity. In all the statements, however, the original meaning and (as far as possible) wording have been preserved” (v). Such alterations and combinations of material have been done without the usual scholarly apparatus of ellipses and brackets. Furthermore, be-
cause "most of the statements included in this volume may be classified as memoirs" (v), they consist of recollections, sometimes recorded or published decades after the fact. The Andruses have included publication citations or, in the case of manuscripts, depository information, for each item.

The recollections are organized roughly in chronological order according to the earliest memory of the person giving it. Thus, the volume begins with the recollections of "Mrs. Palmer" and "Orlando Saunders" who knew the Smith family in Palmyra, and ends with John Taylor's recollections of the 1844 assassinations at Carthage Jail.

Many of these accounts are oft repeated, while others are comparatively unknown. An example of the latter is the recollection of William Taylor, who met Joseph Smith on the night of September 2, 1842, his nineteenth birthday, when the Prophet was hiding from a Missouri posse. He stayed at the Taylor house for about two weeks with William in constant attendance:

[We] spent most of our time during the day in the woods, near our house on the Henderson bottom, walking around, shooting squirrels sometimes or doing anything we could to amuse ourselves. I was the Prophet's only companion in these tramps through the woods. . . .

It is impossible for me to express my feelings in regard to this period of my life. I have never known the same joy and satisfaction in the companionship of any other person, man or woman, that I felt with him, the man who had conversed with the Almighty. He was always the most companionable and lovable of men—cheerful and jovial! Sometimes in our return home in the evening after we had been tramping around in the words, he would call out, "Here, Mother, come David and Jonathan."

. . . I knew the danger that whatever happened to him would happen to me, but I felt no more fear than I now feel. There was something superior to thoughts of personal safety. Life or death was a matter of indifference to me while I was the companion of the Lord's anointed! (156–57).

This memorandum was first published in the Young Woman's Journal, December 1906, 547–48.

The biographical sketch on Taylor explains that he was "born in Hale, Westmoreland, England, September 2, 1823; baptized 1836; a brother of President John Taylor; associated with the Church as a home missionary and a missionary to German; died in Utah in 1910."

Richard W. Jackson, an architect, began his career in 1937 as a draftman for Fetzer and Fetzer in Salt Lake City, a firm that was then involved in "drawing plans for meetinghouses and other Church buildings" including the Idaho Falls Temple. John Fetzer Sr. was on the Church board of temple architects. After obtaining his degree from the University of California at Berkeley, Jackson was licensed as an architect in 1944, then assisted the Church supervising architect, Edward O. Anderson (1947–49), "directing the design or remodeling of about four hundred meetinghouses" primarily in the Mountain West (vii). With brief interruptions, he maintained a private practice from 1949 to 1969 during which he designed "about sixty meetinghouses." One of the interruptions was a two-year residence (1961–63) in Europe, during which "about sixty meetinghouses" were designed and/or constructed. From 1969 through 1985, he was on the staff of the Church Building Division with a specialty in older meetinghouses (viii).

He has donated his extensive personal papers and collected archives to the LDS Church Historical Department. Because of his area of expertise, most of the meetinghouses in this book focus on North American and European structures.


Each building is identified by location and date of construction (for example, “Wilmette Illinois Stake Center, 1955") and a varying amount of detail—anywhere from three or four sentences to a page or more. Jackson notes that the Wilmette Stake Center was designed in Art Deco style by Douglas W. Burton and constructed in a northern suburb of Chicago from Illinois limestone. Its large "gracefully rounded chapel front[s] on the street with an entrance on either side. The one on the left side sports a large tower that lacks nothing but a carillon to make it really grand." The chapel overflows “into a lounge area and then into a cultural hall with classrooms surrounding the rear portions of the building” (246).

Where more information is available, Jackson provides interesting vignettes. For example, the Salt Lake Olympus Stake Center, a variation from its Fairmont standard plan due to "site conditions," has a
copper-covered mansard roof. Church architect Harold W. Burton "insisted that a tower be placed on the building" but the unnamed contract architect was adamantly opposed to Burton's design of an off-center tower with a miniature roof of the same shape as the building's.

"The stake president and the two bishops involved did not care for [Burton's] proposed tower either. The architect prepared a new study with a simple thin needle spire on the gabled front of the building that passed up between the two roof elements. This design pleased the president and the bishops. A change order was prepared which reflected a substantial saving. The building is frequently referred to as the Pagoda church" (292-93). Jackson's accompanying illustrations include the Fairmont standard plan, Burton's proposed tower, and the architect's successful counterproposal (292).

Of particular interest to historians will be Jackson's documentation of the building missionary program under Wendell Mendenhall, his acknowledgment of and answer to criticism of standard plan chapels, catalogues and illustrations of standard plans, and explanations of the phased-use construction.

Some of the most valuable resource information is in the appendices. Appendix 1 is a lengthy list, as comprehensive as possible, of projects carried out by the Church Architectural Department between 1921 and 1936, each with its design number, property number, location title, and date of construction. Appendix 2 replicates a card file on each project of the Church Building Committee, by unit name, including property, project, and development numbers where available. This index covers 1953 to approximately 1964, when standard plans began replacing individual projects.

Appendix 3 lists the standard plans in alphabetical order, gives the number of buildings that used each between 1958 and 1980, and also the total for each. Square footage and development numbers are included. Appendix 4 is a mini-essay on the "prairie-style" meetinghouses included by Frank Lloyd Wright, and an alphabetical list of the meetinghouses built in this style between about 1910 and World War II. Appendix 5 is a lengthy list in chronological order of the Church's tabernacles, beginning in 1851 and continuing until about 1920, including property number, dates of construction, architect's name, if known, and the remodeling or demolition history.

Appendix 6 lists the eleven men who have held the position of Church architect (title has varied) and provides short biographies. Appendix 7 is an alphabetical listing of architects who have done projects for the Church, with their number of projects, years of contracting with the Church, and locality in which they worked. About a dozen contributed more than a hundred projects. The most prolific seems to have been Theodore R. Pope of Salt Lake City who designed 320 projects between 1947 and about 1959.

The last two appendices make an
effort to identify modern styles, both in standard and nonstandard plans, and then to catalogue the architectural styles of Mormon meetinghouses (e.g., “Gothic, Two Towers,” “Italian Renaissance,” or “Vernacular, Frame”).

The index seems to be only a name-and-place index. Although lengthy, it omits important thematic, historical, and structural topics, such as the meetinghouse libraries (included in standard plans from 1967 on) or the important program of volunteer construction carried out beginning in the 1960s (not indexed under “missionaries,” “labor,” or “building missionaries”).

Jackson chose 1980 as the cut-off date, an invitation for another individual with architectural and historical interests to bring the project up to date for the past quarter century. In fact, Jackson concludes: “Hopefully someone will pick up where this book stops. Architect Lee Gray . . . complained to me that I had stopped just when the story was getting good. There will be still more changes in the ongoing effort to provide meetinghouse for the use of the membership of the Church” (380).


This novel designed for young readers has as its heroine fourteen-year-old Hannah York, whose family is living on an isolated farm near the Santa Rosa Creek in southern Utah. The story opens the spring of 1866 near the outbreak of the Black Hawk War. Hannah’s mother had died of diphtheria the previous spring, but death is no stranger to the family: Grandpa York had been killed at Haun’s Mill, Grandma York died on the trail to Utah, Hannah at age five had seen a friend drown, and three-year-old sister Jenny is also in the grave.

Hannah assumes the responsibility of being the mother that five-year-old Willie needs and keeping the household running with the help of eleven-year-old Nellie. Their twelve-year-old brother, Caleb, though, is a different story, resentful of Hannah’s authority. This abrasive relationship in the family is an internal tension in addition to hostile Indians who kill two neighbors (others help her father when he is injured in an accident), a river in flood, and their father’s frequent absences.

Furthermore, a mountain lion is stalking the sheep herd. Hannah can’t bring herself to shoot it (“I knew I couldn’t kill him. I couldn’t abide more death,” 3), but by turning the job over to Caleb at the novel’s end, she signals that she accepts his youthful manhood and restores harmony to the family once more.

Other personal developments are Hannah’s growing interest in handsome teenage neighbor Charles Whitlock, the visit of their mother’s prim and bossy, non-Mormon sister who blames Hannah’s father for his wife’s death, and the methods that each member of the
family employs to come to terms with their loss.

Some of the most vivid and realistic passages describe farm chores: planting, harvesting and drying apricots and peaches, churning, laundry, and cooking. Sheep-shearing is the heat is particularly memorable:

When bundles of fleece were brought to the scouring vat, we dropped them into the soapy bath. As the steam rose, Nellie scrunched up her nose. “Can’t say I’m fond of the smell of lye soap and wet wool.”

We gripped our paddles and sloshed the fleece about in the sudsy water. When dirt and grass settled to the bottom, we lifted the wool with our paddles and dumped it with a splash into the rinse trough. From there it went to the drying racks. The wet fleece was surprisingly heavy. My arms ached, rivers of sweat ran down my face, and damp strands of hair escaped from my braid and hung limply around my face.

The morning became a blur of bleating sheep, slowing paddles, and the smell of wet wool that grew stronger as fleece piled up on the racks. I shuddered when I thought of what would follow—hours of carding, dyeing, spinning, weaving, and knitting. And the soap! We’d soon be needing to make more soap from lard and cottonwood ashes. It made me tired just to think about it and I was already tuckered out.

The author, a career elementary school teacher, says, “This work was inspired by journals and family histories written by my pioneer ancestors [she does not name them] who helped colonize Southern Utah—pioneers who went about their lives with faith and courage. My aunt sent me a detailed description of her grandfather’s farm. The farm in this story is based on that description.”
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