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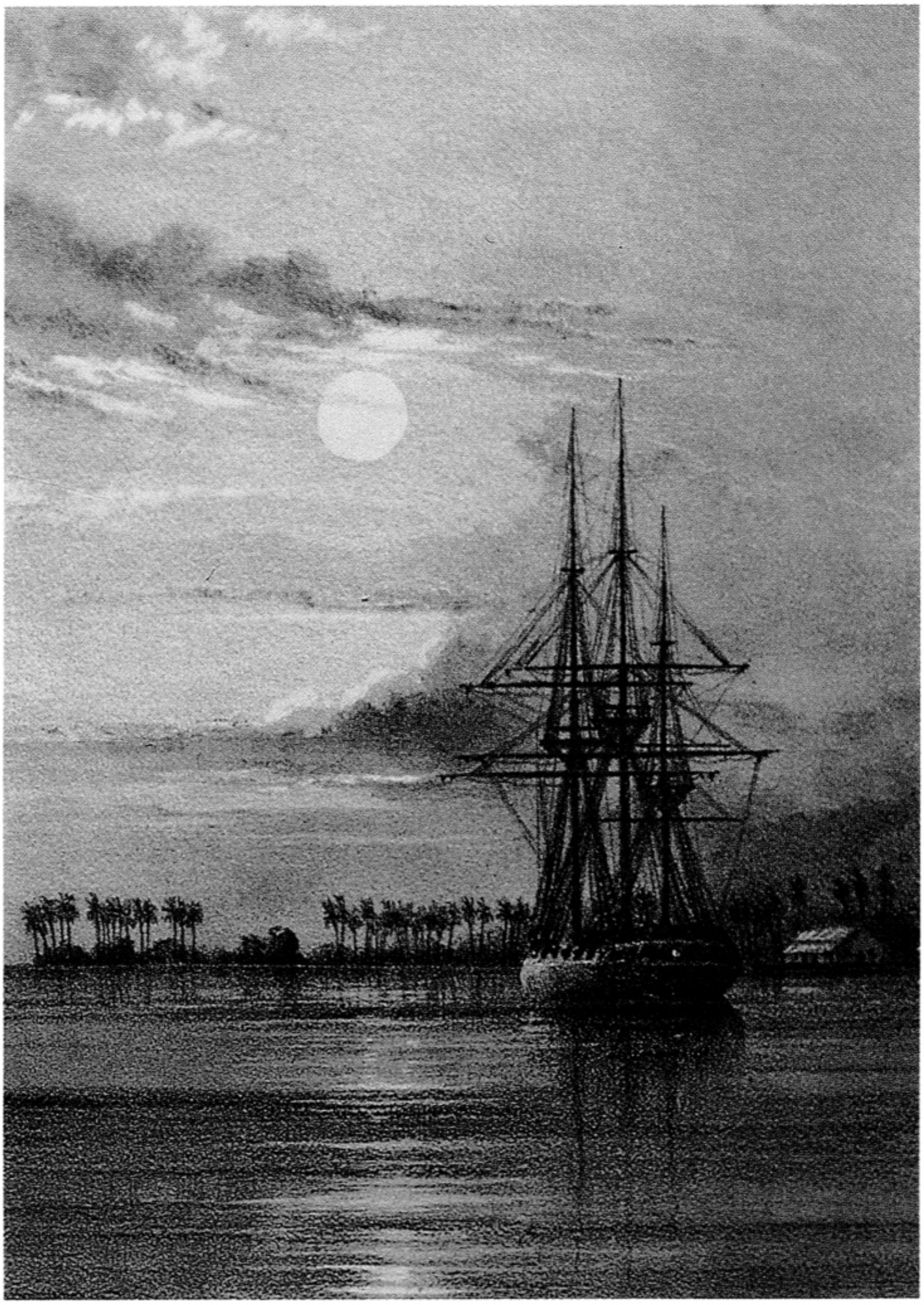

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C O N T

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BOOK REVIEWS

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Front cover: Conway Shipley, *The Anchorage of Fare, Huahine, by Moonlight,* in Conway Shipley, *Sketches in the Pacific: The South Sea Islands, Drawn from Nature and on Stone* (London: C. McStan, 1851), plate 15.

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The Wreck of the *Julia Ann*

John Devitry-Smith

Between 1840 and 1890, approximately 335 organized companies carried more than eighty-five thousand Latter-day Saints by sea to the United States from around the world.[1] Remarkably, only one of these vessels, the *Julia Ann,* was shipwrecked and Mormon passengers drowned. A reporter for the *San Francisco Herald,* upon hearing an eyewitness narrative of the wreck wrote that it exhibited "a picture of suffering, privation and distress seldom equalled in the annals of maritime disaster."[2] The following is an account of that voyage, a look at the lives of the Mormons aboard, and a description of the ordeal that followed the shipwreck.

Australia accounted for less than 1 percent of the total worldwide Mormon migration. The first group of twenty-nine converts, under the direction of Elder Charles Wandell, left Sydney on 6 April 1853, bound for San Francisco.[3] By January 1854, mission president Augustus Farnham and his first counselor William Hyde had set about securing a vessel for the second company to leave for Zion in April. An agreement was reached in the weeks following with Benjamin Franklin Pond, part owner of the relatively small 372-ton American barque, the *Julia Ann,* skippered by Captain C. B. Davis of New Bedford, Massachusetts.[4] The fare per adult was twenty-four pounds sterling, quite expensive considering wages at the time.[5] Elder John Perkins, for example, worked as a storekeeper in Sydney and earned two pounds five pence per week.[6]

The first company of Mormons to sail on the *Julia Ann* left Newcastle, New South Wales, 22 March 1854, for San Pedro, California, under the charge of Elder William Hyde.[7] The vessel made exceptional time for the first leg of its journey, but the latter part became "protracted and tedious" after the ship encountered a "succession of head winds for some fifty days."[8] To replenish supplies, stops were made at Huahine, an island northwest of Tahiti, and again at Hawaii. Periods of seasickness, an outbreak of measles, and the death of a Sister Esther Allen following the birth

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of her child were the low points of the passage, which lasted eighty-three days. Despite these difficulties, Elder Hyde was impressed by the accommodations, crew, and sailing qualities of the vessel, remarking that "the officers generally have shown us every kindness I could reasonably look for." After arriving at San Pedro, Hyde wrote to President Farnham with the news that the *Julia Ann* would soon be back in Sydney, stating that "should there be a company of Saints in readiness I do not think the chances will be very frequent for finding a vessel on this trade, where the same number of passengers can be accommodated."[9] Captain Pond was likewise impressed with the orderly conduct of the Saints and sent word to Farnham, "[I] should be glad to make another passage engagement with you, and hope that another trip may prove more expeditious and successful than our last."[10]

President Farnham contacted Captain Pond upon his return with the *Julia Ann* but found not as many members were ready to make the voyage as previously expected.[11] When the vessel sailed, only twenty-eight of the fifty-six passengers were Latter-day Saints: John S. Eldredge, age 34, and James S. Graham, both returning American missionaries; John Penfold, Sr., in charge of the company, and Elizabeth Penfold, his wife; Peter Penfold, 24; Stephen Penfold, 19; John McCarthy, 25; Andrew Anderson, 44, and Elizabeth Anderson, his wife, 44, with their children Jane, 19, Agnes, 17, Alexander, 14, Marion, 10, and James, together with three other children not named; Eliza Harris, 30, and her children Maria, 2, and Lister, 6 months; Martha Humphries, 43, and her daughters Mary and Eliza and son Francis; Charles Logie and his wife and child; and Brother Pegg.[12]

Although the party was a small one, several members had played important roles in the history of the Church in Australia. Andrew Anderson, his wife, and three children arrived in Sydney on 6 October 1841, as the first known Mormon family in Australia.[13] The only active Mormon to precede them was William James Barratt, who arrived in Adelaide, South Australia, November 1840.[14] Elizabeth Anderson was baptized in Edinburgh, Scotland, in September 1840 by Orson Pratt.[15] Andrew was also baptized by Elder Pratt, most likely at the same time as his wife. After arriving in New South Wales, the family moved inland to Wellington, 240 miles from Sydney, where Andrew worked as a shepherd for Robert Howe, who had assisted in paying the family's passage from Scotland in exchange for a year's labor at moderate wages.[16] Considering his situation, Anderson was a remarkable missionary in the Wellington district. He traveled extensively, held meetings, and despite the threat of expulsion from the area

managed to organize the first branch of the Church in Australia in late 1844.[17]

Eliza and Edmund Harris were among the half-dozen documented Mormon families to arrive in Australia before the full-time missionaries in late 1851. They were "rediscovered" in May 1852 after reading an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in defense of Mormonism by Elder Charles Wandell. Eliza made a plea to the elders in Sydney for any Latter-day Saint literature, stating, "I care not what I pay for [it]," and requesting the elders to be sent to their home in Maitland as soon as possible.[18] Although very poor, Edmund and Eliza were instrumental in introducing and setting up meetings for the first missionaries in the remarkably successful Maitland area. The majority of the first company of sixty-three converts who sailed on the *Julia Ann* in 1854 were from the Maitland district. Edmund Harris did not travel with his wife and children on the second, and fatal, voyage of the *Julia Ann,* in which his wife and son were drowned. He had planned on making the trip, but the recent news that assistance could no longer be given through the Perpetual Emigration Fund probably forced him to remain in order to save enough to pay his fare with the following company.

John McCarthy and John Jones were the missionaries sent to open the Maitland area as requested by the Harrises. McCarthy stands out as one of the greatest local converts to emerge from the Australian mission. Born in Ireland and raised in a staunch Catholic family, he began studying to be a priest at an early age. He had a brief encounter with Mormonism while at school and later dropped out of the Catholic church. For this he was disinherited by his parents and "punished for his rebellion. He was placed in a dungeon with skeletons; a horsehair coat, which had been dipped in lime, was placed upon him, and the punishment was so severe from this treatment, that he carried flesh wounds from it for the rest of his life."[19] With the help of a friend, he escaped and boarded a ship as a stowaway. His adventure eventually brought him to Sydney, where he listened to the preaching of Elders John Murdock and Charles Wandell. After his baptism in May 1852, at the age of twenty-two, McCarthy was set apart within the month as a traveling elder to Maitland, where he excelled as a missionary. In the following years, he traveled extensively throughout New South Wales, and he was the first elder to proselyte in what is now Queensland.[20] Accounts of his great faith and ability to heal the sick are among the very few existing credible miracles documented in Australia. The following was recorded by Charles Wandell and later published in the *Western Standard* at San Francisco in 1856 by George Q. Cannon:

> As Elder McCarthy was proceeding to the water at Williams' river to baptize brother Bryant and household; his wheat, being just ready for the sickle, was set on fire by the carelessness or malice of a neighbor. The brethren hastened to the spot as quickly as possible. The fire raged fearfully. There was no help, but from God; and the Elder prayed to God to quench the fire; when to the astonishment of the spectators, the fire went out apparently of itself in less than five minutes. What is not the least remarkable, Elder McCarthy, when he rebuked the fire, he went directly into it; and although the flames reached above his head, yet even his clothes were not scorched, neither was the smell of fire found upon him.
>
> These facts were testified to the writer by brothers Bryant's and Stapley's families and others, not less than a dozen persons in all.[21]

Wandell also reported an account by Martha M. Humphries, who wrote that she was "raised from a bed of severe fever," through the ministrations of John McCarthy at the time of her baptism, 17 December 1853: "I was taken from my bed, against the remonstrances of my physician, who threatened elder McCarthy with prosecution if I died, and was placed in a carriage and taken more than a mile to the water and baptized, and walked home well. I was healed by the power of God."[22]

John Penfold, Sr., was appointed by Australian Mission President Augustus Farnham to take charge of the company of Saints leaving on the *Julia Ann*. He and his family had been baptized by Elder William Hyde on 15 August 1853 in Clarence Town. Three months later the Clarence Town Branch was officially organized, and in accordance with the wishes of the Saints, John Penfold, Sr., was appointed to preside.[23] Charles Logie and family were members of the Sydney Branch. He was an experienced seaman, and signed on in Sydney as one of the crew of the *Julia Ann* and helped load her with coal.[24] American Elders John Eldredge and James Graham had arrived in Sydney on 9 April 1853 and were appointed to travel together in the districts of Camden and Penrith in New South Wales. They were returning to Utah after completing successful missions.[25]

After a final farewell from the Saints in Sydney, the *Julia Ann* with fifty-six souls and a 350-ton load of coal left Sydney Heads at 2:00 P.M., 7 September 1855, bound for San Francisco.[26] As the voyage began, the passengers gathered between the poop and steerage house to sing "The Gallant Ship Is Under Weigh," but the thought of leaving friends and familiar surroundings for an uncertain future made the departure a more solemn occasion than joyous for many. Most of the adults had traveled from the British Isles to Australia and knew from prior experience the perils of the sea. Cramped quarters, poor food, and months of boredom awaited

them, and the cool sea breeze rekindled these memories and created a chill of apprehension and anxiety. Andrew Anderson, upon leaving, commented that the song sounded "more like a funeral hymn than on the occasion it was."[27] Captain Pond expressed the same sentiments in his retrospective account: "The day seemed very unpropitious and gloomy and before our anchor was weighed it commenced blowing and raining, and in getting out of the harbor we met with very many annoying accidents."[28]

Nonetheless the converts on board felt God's church had once again been restored to the earth and were determined to gather and contribute in its restoration. This conviction overshadowed all their fears, as expressed in a letter Martha Humphries wrote to her mother before leaving on the *Julia Ann:*

> and now my dear mother, I will answer that question you put me, of when, are we going. . . . We leave Australia with all its woes, and bitterness, for the Land of Zion next April . . . perhaps you will say, I am building on worldly hopes, that never will be realized, not so, Mother . . . knowing what I know, I tell you, if I knew for a positive certainty, that when we get there, persecutions, such as have been the portion of the saints before, awaited us, I would still insist upon going, what are a few short years in this present State, compared with Life Eternal.[29]

Rough weather and strong head winds during the first two weeks caused considerable sickness and generally made the passage "altogether exceedingly unpleasant."[30] Many were unable to keep their first few meals down. After they cleared the New Zealand coast and entered the south-east trades, the weather turned fine, and they began to expect a quick voyage. Meetings were held regularly, and at night there was singing and prayer. After twenty-six days at sea, the *Julia Ann* continued "getting on with good wind," and aside from seasickness the voyage was a complete success with talk of soon arriving in San Francisco.[31]

On the evening of 4 October 1855, Sydney time (3 October international time), Captain Pond had been on the lookout for low land all day and appeared anxious and apprehensive. The general area of the Scilly Isles was "a very dangerous locality for navigators."[32] Many of the reefs were incorrectly recorded on the charts, and "an extra press of sail" had been carried with the hope of clearing certain dangerous reefs before nightfall. Knowing land was nearby and expecting to pass between Mopelia and the Scilly Isles, Pond had posted a watch in the foretop. The wind was blowing free, and according to John McCarthy's report the barque was making eleven and one-half knots per hour. At 7:30 P.M., the sea became broken. At sundown no land could be seen, and the

Captain presumed he was at least sixteen miles past any land. At eight o'clock, after a nerve-racking day, Captain Pond decided to go below and get some rest. Before retiring he gave the order to chief officer Coffin to relieve Charles Logie, who had been at the helm since six o'clock. This was a customary precaution always taken by Pond "when in the vicinity of reefs or islands."[33] Coffin was an experienced seaman and whaler who had commanded several vessels for himself and others. After giving Coffin the course he had been steering, Logie also went below to rest as he was off duty until midnight.[34]

By this time many of the children were asleep below while the majority of adults were out in the general area of the steerage house and poop deck. The night was dark with neither the moon nor stars visible. Soon after 8:30 P.M. an alarming cry of "Hard down the helm!" was heard, and the *Julia Ann,* with a tremendous crash that sounded like thunder, smashed head-on into a coral reef.[35] The bottom of the vessel could be heard to "grate harshly on the rocks," leaving a gaping hole and lifting the bow of the ship high out of the water.[36] The stern of the ship "immediately swung around with her broadside" pressed hard up against the reef, "the sea [making] a complete breach over her at every swell."[37] Pond wrote, "I sprang to my feet, but my heart failed me, as I was nearly thrown upon the floor of the cabin by the violent striking of the ship, and before I could reach the deck, she was thumping hard."[38] Peter Penfold and others were singing on top of the midship house at the time of impact and, finding it too dangerous where they were, headed for the cabin. According to Penfold, "[T]he sea [was] breaking over us every moment, so that it was a thing impossible to stand."[39]

Captain Pond remained below momentarily to pick up his nautical equipment and soon after was on deck, only to be met by the stark realization that there was no hope of saving the vessel. Esther Spangenberg, a young non-Mormon passenger, recollects that "his chief desire seemed to be to save the lives of the passengers and crew."[40] All passengers were ordered to head for the after-cabin, and indescribable confusion immediately followed as the steerage passengers rushed into the cabin, "mothers holding their undressed children in their arms, as they snatched them from their slumbers, screaming and lamenting."[41] When the women asked the officers what they should do, they were told to cling to whatever they could, but this in itself was no easy task. As Captain Pond recalled, "the vessel was laboring and thumping in a most fearful manner, and it was almost impossible to cling to the iron railing upon the quarter deck."[42] Miss Spangenberg described her attempt to reach the cabin in these terms:

> I managed to reach the deck, and wedged myself between the bittheads, clinging to the iron railing. I looked over ship's side, but could see nothing but the breakers, which struck the ship with tremendous force. The rudder was broken, and the spanker-boom swinging to and fro, struck me severely in the head, while at the same time I narrowly escaped being swept overboard by a huge wave. I looked on death as certain, but I resolved to meet it bravely, and I returned to my state-room to devote the remaining moments of my life in thinking of friends whom I loved, and that I should never see more.[43]

John McCarthy recalled, "I saw mothers nursing their babes in the midst of falling masts and broken spars, while the breakers were rolling twenty feet high over the wreck."[44] Andrew Anderson, his wife, and Sisters Harris and Logie were below in the steerage at the time of impact. By the time the Andersons could get four of their younger children out of bed, water was knocking about the boxes. Anderson's leg was bruised badly by a large box that hit him. With considerable difficulty they made it to the after-cabin.[45]

Many passengers were still clinging to the poop deck. The bashing from the waves was too much for young Mary Humphries and ten-year-old Marion Anderson. Both were washed off the poop deck into the foaming surf shortly after the ship ran aground and seen no more. Elizabeth Anderson and her husband tried frantically to gather all their children together but in such conditions found it physically impossible to account for eight children.[46]

The *Julia Ann* was not sinking but breaking up on the rocks from the continual pounding of the waves. The vessel had precariously fallen over on its seaward side and was jammed hard up against the reef. Although fearful that the ship could break up at any instant, Captain Pond wisely delayed briefly before cutting away the masts and kept the sails up, trying to force the ship as high as possible onto the reef. There was no time to lower boats as the sea had torn them from the davits, and at any rate they were useless in the surf and rocks.[47] As the last boat "broke adrift . . . and plunged headlong into the sea,"[48] Second Mate Owens and three or four other crewmembers courageously leaped in after it, only to be catapulted into the reef along with the boat by a large wave. Owens suffered serious injuries and for a time lay incapacitated but soon after continued in his efforts to help others from the wreck.

All were fully aware the ship was going to pieces and, as there was no land in sight, Pond called for a volunteer to attempt to swim to the reef and find a firm footing. Posthaste a crew member stripped and by the aid of the spanker boom and expert swimming managed to fasten a rope to a rock upon the reef, by which the captain hastily began sending the women and children to relative

safety. "The process was an exceedingly arduous one, and attended with much peril,"[49] but with no other options available the struggle continued. During this time the passengers were forced to remain collected in the after-cabin, a chaotic haven at best, considering the description given by Esther Spangenberg:

> When I reached the cabin, the scene that presented itself to my view, can never be erased from my memory. Mothers screaming, and children clinging to them in terror and dread; the furniture was torn from its lashings and all upturned; the ship was lying on her beam ends; the starboard side of her was opening, and the waves were washing in and out of the cabin.[50]

The passengers were forced to remain in the cabin until their names were called. Then each attempted to make it to the reef by the rope. The rocks proved to be a poor sanctuary, for not a dry spot was to be found as the sea broke over the reef continually. Captain Pond had given his quadrant, nautical almanac, and epitome to the first man to go to the reef, making it clear that if anyone did survive the night their continued existence depended upon the preservation of these articles. Pond recollects that upon reaching the reef "the man was required to do nothing, but to watch over the safety of those precious articles, to us far more valuable than gold."[51] The captain's presence of mind in saving this equipment later proved crucial.

Esther Spangenberg remembered her ordeal in getting to the rocks:

> The Captain and officers had great difficulty in persuading the greater number of the ladies to [try to escape on the rope]; as for myself, I considered to remain on the ship was sure death, and I might save my life by trying to reach the reef by means of the rope. I therefore bade my fellow passengers farewell, and reached the deck by swaying myself there with a rope, the steps being gone. . . . I was assisted over the side of the ship, by some of the crew, and directed how to haul on by the rope; when, after considerable difficulty, I reached the reef, my clothes torn in shreds, and my person bruised and mangled. But I was fortunate in escaping, even in that plight.[52]

A number of women and children still remained below and were being helped up onto the poop deck by a few men. Two of the women, Eliza Harris and Martha Humphries, were without their husbands, who had intended to follow them in the next company. Eliza Harris had two children to fend for, her six-month-old son Lister and her two-year-old daughter Maria. She was no match for the conditions. She bravely strapped her son to her breast in readiness to go to the rocks. But before she could begin, a cry was

heard, "hold on all!" and "an awful sea struck the ship, tearing up the bulwarks, threatening death and destruction to every thing within reach. A fearful shriek arose from the cabin."[53] The *Julia Ann* had broken in two across the main hatch. The forward part of the cabin had been smashed in, and the starboard stateroom completely washed away. Eliza Harris, with her boy in her arms, hardly knew what hit her and was engulfed amid the waves and debris of the wreck. Both were drowned. Also in the cabin was forty-three-year-old Martha Humphries, who just before drowning requested of her friends to "protect her children and convey them to Great Salt Lake City, for her earthly career was run."[54] Peter Penfold recalled that after helping the remaining women and children out of the cabin, he climbed up from below and "found the vessel all broken up into fragments except the cabin, and into that the water was rushing at a furious rate, sweeping out all the partitions."[55]

One man abandoned his wife and six children and went alone to the rocks. The Captain, feeling there was "no hope [that] the children" could make it across the hauling line alone, implored the mother to save her own life, but she could not bring herself to let her children face death alone, and remained. When her husband reached the rocks, the crew realized that he had deserted his family, and "they threw him back into the sea; the next wave, however, washed him up, and they permitted him to crawl to a place of safety."[56] A seventeen-year-old mother and her husband courageously strapped their baby to his back and struggled together to the reef with the aid of the rope.[57] Captain Pond displayed his true colors and high moral character throughout the ordeal by ordering Second Mate Owens, who was about to carry eight thousand dollars belonging to the captain to the rocks, to carry a small girl to safety first. This was done, and "the child was saved, but the money was lost."[58] The rope soon parted, leaving the captain on board "to what appeared inevitable destruction." He recounts:

> There was no confusion: up to the last all were subservient to my orders. But the scene rapidly drew to a crisis.
>
> The vessel had fallen off the reef to more than double her former distance; the rope attached to the rocks was stretched to its utmost tension, the hauling line had parted for the third time; the crew were all on the reef, and after repeated efforts to join us, the attempt was abandoned. At every surge of the sea, I expected the vessel would turn bottom up. . . . I urged those remaining to try to get to the reef, on the rope, before it parted—it was a desperate, but only chance for life. The women and children could not, and the men shrunk from the yawning gulf as from certain death.[59]

As no more passengers would leave the ship, Pond and Coffin in a last ditch effort to save their own lives threw themselves upon the rope. Nineteen passengers still remained on what was left of the ship, unable to make it safely to the reef: "parents and children, who preferred death sooner than separation from each other."[60]

The Anderson family were one of two families still on the wreck, and mother Elizabeth was determined not to leave until she had all her children. Seventeen-year-old Agnes Anderson had escaped to the reef, while the rest of the family remained on board. Captain Pond recorded the following touching scene:

> The hauling line had parted, the forward part of the ship had broken up, and no hope remained for those who were yet clinging to the quarter deck; but above the roar of the breakers and shrieks of despair, a mother's voice was heard, crying "Agnes, Agnes, come to me." Agnes was seated on the wreck of the main mast, that had floated upon the reef, but no sooner did she hear that mother's piercing wail, than she sprang to her feet, threw her arms up, shrieking "mother! mother! I come, I come," and plunged headlong into the sea. A sailor was fortunately near, seized her by the clothes and drew her back again. . . . The mother said she felt as though she wanted Agnes with her and then all would die together.[61]

Around 11:00 P.M., "just as their last hopes were dying out," the vessel broke into pieces, and "a heavy sea striking her" carried the quarterdeck high upon the rocks.[62] When the vessel finally split in two, the cargo of coal immediately sank and miraculously the part of the vessel on which the passengers clung was carried upon the rocks and "in consequence most providentially saved."[63]

The whole ordeal had lasted nearly three hours. Bruised, with lacerated arms, hands, feet, and numerous other injuries, the fifty-one surviving men, women, and children waited for the dawn. Many were sitting on parts of the broken masts and others on pieces of the wreck. Peter Penfold records they spent a dreadful night "up to the waist in water."[64] They were stranded in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, uncertain of exactly where they were, and all conceded there was no chance of survival on the reef for any extended amount of time. The chance of being rescued by a passing ship was almost nonexistent as they were miles off course and in dangerous water.

Pond wrapped himself in a wet blanket he had found among the floating spars and climbed into the battered boat, where he sat waist-deep in water. According to his later account,

> Though death threatened ere morning's dawn, exhausted nature could bear up no longer, and I slept soundly. 'Twas near morning when I awoke. The moon was up and shed her faint light over the dismal scene; the sullen roar of the breakers sent an additional chill through my already benummed frame. The bell at the wheel, with every surge of the sea, still tolled a knell to the departed, and naught else but the wailings of a bereaved mother broke the stillness of the night, or indicated life among that throng of human automata; during the long hours of that weary night the iron had entered their souls, and the awful solemnity of their situation was brooded over in silence.[65]

Esther Spangenberg recalled the night in similar terms:

> I cannot help but return thanks to Him who rules the sea and land, for His mercy and kindness to me and others, in first rescuing us from a watery grave, and afterwards sustaining us through that night of horrors. Imagine our situation, the water above our knees, standing on a sharp reef, with the tempest howling above us, the sea washing and roaring like a lion for his prey at our feet, cold, naked and dispirited, women lamenting, children crying, and none of us certain but the next moment would be our last. . . . The ship's bell could also be heard, tolled by the motion of the waves, as if it were our funeral dirge.[66]

At first daylight, a full realization of their situation settled on the survivors as no land could be seen. If land could not be reached in the next few days and fresh water found, many would die where they stood. At length, to the relief of all, some of the crew sighted land about eight miles distant directly into the sun.[67] All were in agreement that they had to get to the island and find a supply of drinking water. In spite of extensive damage, the quarterboat saved by the crew was hastily repaired with "copper and canvas," and although the boat would scarcely float, Captain Pond and a few crew members rowed out to survey the land a little after sunrise, assuring the others they would return with a report as soon as possible. The first island they encountered was covered with rocks and "presented a very barren appearance," and although it was covered with pandanus trees and a variety of unusually tame birds, "no water, fruit or vegetables could be found."[68] The islands, three in number, turned out to be little more than sandbars, and at low tide it was possible to wade from one island to the next. The highest point was no more than twelve feet above sea level, and the "only inhabitants were rats and sea-fowl."[69] The islands were completely encompassed by a coral reef approximately seven miles long and five-and-a-half miles wide that formed a beautiful lagoon.[70] As evening was closing in, the party was forced to return with the disheartening news, arriving back at the reef about 4:00 P.M.[71]

Those who remained on the reef had been busily engaged wading around picking up any provisons that could be found. After considerable difficulty, a makeshift raft was built from floating spars and pieces of the wreck to carry the salvaged supplies. Among the items found was the ship's clock. It was still operational, but after it ran down it never worked again.

The precarious situation of those remaining on the reef is well illustrated by young Miss Spangenberg: "We remained in the water all that day, keeping as close as possible to prevent the sharks from attacking us, as there were a great many of them swimming about close to us. We had nothing to eat all day, and truly presented a miserable group; almost naked, our faces bloated, and our lips swollen to an unusual size."[72]

With the return of Captain Pond and the quarterboat, the women and children were loaded and taken to the land by Captain Coffin, where they spent another "wretched night, lying on bare rocks"[73] which were, nonetheless, a marked improvement over the reef. Ever gallant Captain Pond remained on the reef for another night, during which the tide came up so high the men were obliged to stand and still the water came around their middles. Unfortunately all the men could not fit upon the makeshift raft, and some were forced to stay in the water.[74]

After one day and two nights on the reef, the men were desperate for drinking water. When Coffin returned on the second morning, Pond sent him again in search of water. As it would take too long to carry everyone to the islands by the quarterboat, a precarious plan to "walk" around the circular reef in an attempt to reach the land was adopted. About ten in the morning, after loading the two rafts with several bags of flour, a barrel of bread, beans, peas, and whatever clothing could be found, the men began wading along the reef pulling the rafts in a bid to reach the islands. The older and more helpless men were placed aboard the rafts as the water proved deep most of the way. For over a mile they were up to their necks with the shorter men being forced to "cling to the rafts." Sharks posed an ominous threat, and at regular intervals the men were compelled to scurry from the water onto the rafts; at one time over twenty sharks were counted in their wake. Attesting to the difficulties encountered in wading along the reef, Pond records, "Several deep inlets had to be crossed when our best swimmers were called in requisition. In one of these attempts I nearly lost two of my best men."[75]

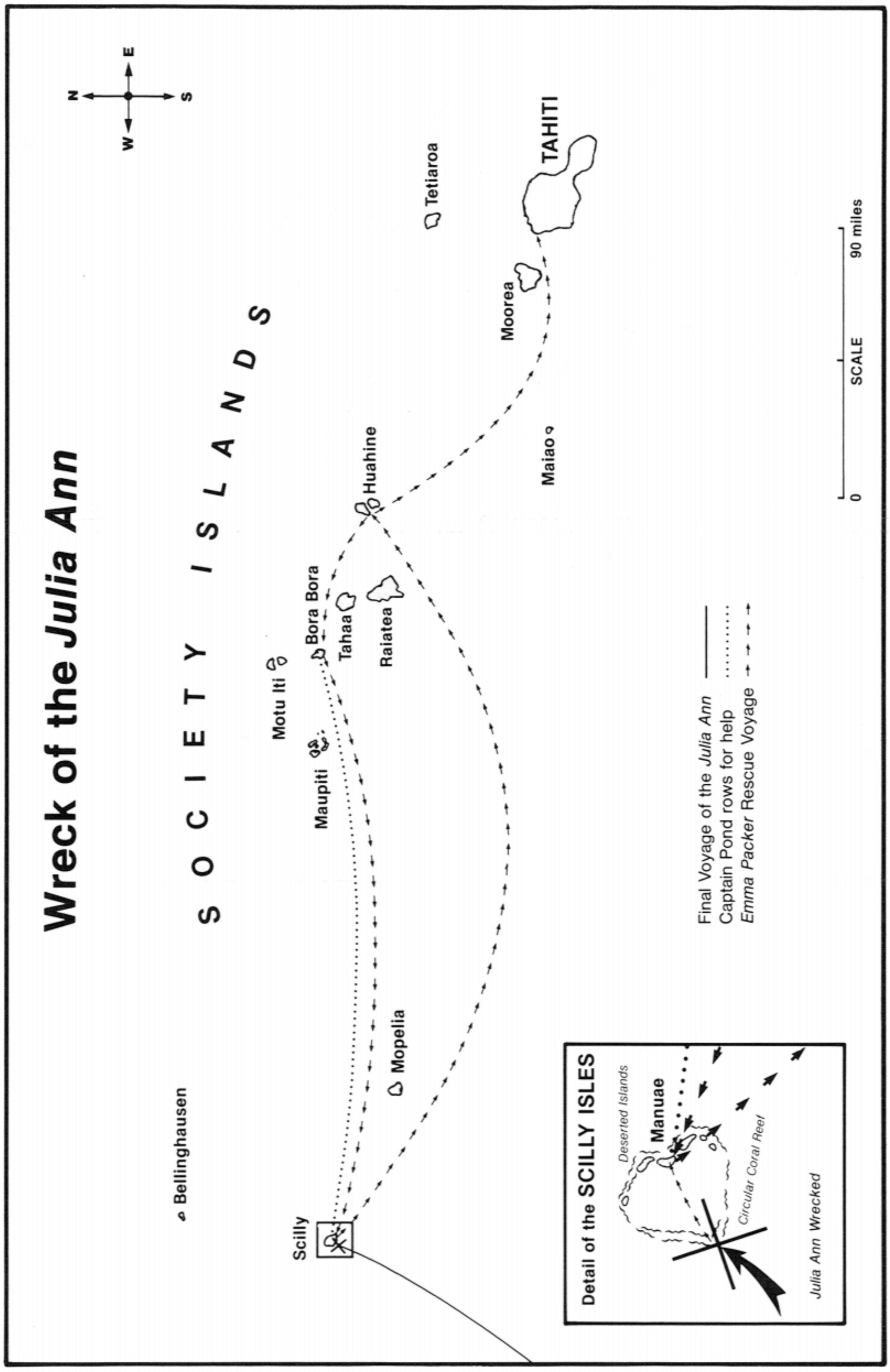
By late evening, after hours of steady, painstaking progress, they finally trudged onto dry land, exhausted. The magnitude of the feat they had just accomplished was briefly forgotten as the

children directed the men to a number of holes filled with fresh water. Drinking water had been obtained by digging a hole in the sand below the level of the sea. A pearl shell placed at the bottom of the hole would soon fill with water filtering through the sand, which rendered it comparatively fresh and palatable. For a more permanent and ample supply, a common flour barrel was later buried in the coral sand, level with the surface.[76]

A fire was started by using a sun glass, and a light meal of roasted shellfish was prepared for the men. Now that all had arrived on the island, Captain Pond called the survivors together and stated, "[A]s they were cast upon a desolate island a common brotherhood should be maintained, and every man should hunt birds and fish for our common substance."[77] All consented to the proposition, and the company began to improvise and do the best they could with what they had: "We divided ourselves into families, built huts, and thatched them with the leaves of the pandanus tree. All the provisions found were thrown into one common stock, and equally divided among each mess every morning, and we gradually became reconciled to our sad fate."[78]

Two days after arriving at the reef, Pond took an exploring party to the far side of the reef about seven miles distant and discovered another small island with a fine grove of about twenty coconut trees. "Our hearts dilated with gratitude, for without something of this kind our case would have been indeed desperate."[79] On the chance that a vessel might pass by, a lookout was shortly thereafter posted on the island where the coconuts were found.

The first week the group survived mostly on crabs while the search for a more stable and substantial supply of food continued. John McCarthy writes, "Too much cannot be said in commendation of the Saints in this very trying situation. I have seen an old lady of sixty years of age out at night hunting turtles." Within the week a three-hundred-pound turtle was found on the beach, which provided a good meal for all.[80] They soon discovered that the turtles came up on the beach at night to lay eggs in the sand. The boys in the party were assigned to go out at night and lay them on their backs, and the next morning one would be brought in for food. A pen was soon built for them and one killed every day. With the coconuts and turtle eggs and meat plus flour and other foodstuffs saved from the ship, the risk of starvation had been averted for a time. The women improvised their own brand of pancakes by grating the coconut meat and then mixing it with turtle eggs and a little flour.[81] Sharks were caught intermittently and added a little variety to the castaways' diet. A garden


Wreck of the Julia Ann
SOCIETY ISLANDS
E
N
S
W
Tetiaroa
TAHITI
Bora Bora
Tahaa
Raiatea
Huahine
Moorea
Maiao
Motu Iti
Maupiti
Mopelia
Bellinghausen
Scilly
0
SCALE
90 miles
Final Voyage of the Julia Ann
Captain Pond rows for help
Emma Packer Rescue Voyage
Detail of the SCILLY ISLES
Deserted Islands
Manuae
Circular Coral Reef
Julia Ann Wrecked

planted with pumpkin, pea, and bean seeds from foodstuffs saved in the wreck flourished for a few weeks then withered up and died.[82]

The captain had saved his quadrant and found by taking observations from the sun that they were some three hundred to five hundred miles from the nearest populated island of the Society group. He also ascertained that the *Julia Ann* had struck the south-west reef of the Scilly Isles; they had been sixteen miles off course due to an error on his charts.[83] Forty-seven days passed before any attempt was made to go for help. The only hope of deliverance was with the quarterboat. To make nails and the ironwork necessary to repair the boat, a forge and smith's bellows were constructed, and several trips were made back to the reef to obtain "canvass, boards and many other necessary articles."[84]

The trade winds were constantly blowing from the east, the direction of the Society Islands, and Captain Pond wrote: "[I] reluctantly abandoned all hope of ever reaching them, and turned my eyes to leeward. The Navigator Islands seemed our only chance; and though the distance—some 1,500 miles—was appalling, I determined to steer for them."[85] This decision was supported by Chief Officer Coffin and the rest of the crew as the wisest course to take. Pond picked his four best men, and a departure date was set. They immediately began searching for an opening from the lagoon to the open sea, but for two days no opening could be found. "[W]e were imprisoned in a circle of angry breakers. . . . Gloomy despair seemed to fill every breast, those most active and energetic heretofore, seemed prostrated."[86] Pond's leadership was now needed more than ever, and with all his energy he dispersed the crew in every direction in a last-ditch systematic search for a break in the rocks. After three days an area was selected.

The fatigue and stress of the ordeal were pressing hard on all the survivors, particulary upon Captain Pond. He knew it was his decision that would determine the fate of his company: "My own spirits now seemed crushed; I felt like one going to the stake; a foreboding evil came over me; the weather was unsettled and threatening, and I retired to my tent—as I thought, for the last time—unhappy and without hope. The clouds gathered in gloomy grandeur, and finally broke in a tornado over the island."[87] His life or death decision continued to weigh heavily upon his mind, and with the tropical storm he could not sleep. About three in the morning, he walked down to the beach where he discovered that the boat had disappeared. The devastating news spread like a plague from tent to tent. Soon the party of despondent men, women, and children had gathered, gazing in despair at the location "where the

night previous they had seen that priceless boat so snugly moored."[88] Everything of value had been placed in the boat in readiness for departure. The compass and nautical equipment were the lifeblood of the attempt. All available materials had been exhausted in repairing the quarterboat.

Captain Pond, with his usual tenacity and vigor, tried to convince the group that the boat must still be nearby and had probably "dragged her anchor into deep water, and after drifting across the bay, anchored herself again off one of the leeward islands." A search began and shortly after, as predicted by Pond, the boat was discovered, "nearly full of water" but undamaged.[89]

At this point, Captain Pond made a fateful decision that affected the whole party. In a strange turnabout and against all logic, he decided to row in the direction of the Society Islands:

> The trade winds blew less steadily, and all appearances indicated a change. Secretly influenced by a gloomy, undefined premonition of evil and disaster, as the result of my proposed attempt to reach the Navigator Islands, and having no charts—all of my charts were lost—I now determined on the apparently more desperate course of double banking the boat with a crew of ten men, and, watching a favorable oppourtunity, endeavor to pull to the nearest windward island. Against this course Capt. Coffin, an old whaler, opposed all his influence and experience—said he would rather venture alone than with ten months [mouths] to feed; that it would be impossible to pull our boat, so deeply loaded, against a head wind and sea. . . . That, in fact, it was a life or death undertaking—success or certain destruction awaited us. But desperate diseases require desperate remedies.[90]

Pond's idea was accepted by the crew with the exception of Chief Officer Coffin, whose experience, logic, and common sense outweighed his confidence in Pond. Coffin "said he was an old man, and preferred to die where he was."[91] Nevertheless the decision had been made, and all waited "impatiently" for an opportunity to launch the boat.

Many passengers thought the captain should remain with them in case the attempt failed, and to satisfy those remaining Pond proposed to stay with them, but the crew adamantly objected, stating they would not leave without him. All agreed the captain had led them successfully this far and he should continue to do so. There would be no second chances, and all hopes of rescue lay with the captain and his men being able to row the quarterboat hundreds of miles, find a ship, and come back to rescue the others.

On 3 December, almost seven weeks after the wreck, Captain Pond was awakened by Second Mate Owens and informed that for the first time since their arrival on the island the wind was blowing

from a westerly direction. After a stormy night, the clouds hung heavy and overcast with a drizzly rain still falling. Pond hesitated for a long moment then gave the order. The day of departure and hopeful deliverance had finally come, and Pond with nine other men, including John McCarthy and Charles Logie, prepared to leave. Their provisions consisted of two casks of water, a little salt pork salvaged from the wreck, and some jerked turtle. When all had climbed aboard, the boat was almost level with the water and there was a great danger of being swamped in the waves breaking over the reef. Providentially, they succeeded in getting safely over the breakers and were cheered on by those ashore.

After three days of steady progress, their greatest fear was realized when the wind blew up again from the east and storm clouds began to gather. Nevertheless, they continued rowing. The captain sat at the helm steering and trying to inspire his men despite the obvious odds against them. Pond later wrote a letter to his niece Orella recounting what they all thought were their final days of mortality:

> For hours, and hours, the fearful but unequal contest, was maintained, 'till human endurance could bear up no longer, and we lay exhausted in the bottom of our little boat, now floating at the mercy of the sea. The goal of our hopes, and our very lives, that dim cloud upon the verge of the horizon, gradually faded from our view! Oh! the blank despair of that moment; and as we drew the tarpaulin over the boat, to shelter us from the dashing spray, thoughts of home mingled in our prayers; for the sailor, in his hour of peril, never forgets his youthful home. . . . Thus for hours we were driven at the mercy of the raging wind and sea, but not forgotten by a kind Providence.
>
> Late in the afternoon, as we lay huddled together, under the protecting cover of the tarpaulin, drenched by the salt spray, faint and exhausted by severe toil, listlessly gazing out upon the combing, raging sea, that threatened instant destruction, the sudden cry of "land! land!" . . . Tears of gratitude filled our eyes.[92]

After four days of hard rowing night and day, they had reached Bora-Bora. They spent two annoying hours of rowing outside the reef looking for an entrance then determined to attempt to go directly through the breakers. A native who was spearing fish observed their difficulties and motioned them farther up the reef. Shortly thereafter, they found a fine harbor and a small native village.[93] The natives at first were suspicious, thinking the men pirates, but nevertheless gave them a good meal of poi and bread-fruit. Their attention then turned to the welfare of their stranded company.[94]

There was no ship available at Bora-Bora large enough to attempt the rescue. Pond attempted to persuade the captain of a

small native schooner to take him to Tahiti, but the captain became suspicious and instead sailed to Maupiti and informed the king of the newly arrived strangers. In the meantime, Pond had sent part of his crew to Riatia with a letter to the British consul asking for immediate assistance.[95] The consul, Mr. Chishom, had no way of contacting the United States consulate at Tahiti. Feeling the situation an urgent one, he sent a message to Captain Latham, master of the schooner *Emma Packer*,[96] which was docked at the nearby larger island of Huahine waiting for a load of oranges.[97] A plan was devised in case no help could be found there that John McCarthy and two of the crew would go to Maupiti to try to find a boat.[98] Fortunately, Captain Latham responded to the request for assistance without delay, only touching long enough at Bora-Bora to take Captain Pond aboard and thereafter making directly for the Scilly Isles.[99]

On 2 December 1855, sixty days after being shipwrecked, the forty-one castaways still on the island "in a state of anxious suspense, thinking continually of the success of our company" sighted the *Emma Packer*.[100] Returning missionary John Eldredge writes, "I need not attempt to describe our feelings of gratitude and praise which we felt to give the God of Israel for His goodness and mercy in thus working a deliverance for us."[101] The ship lay a short distance from the island for a day and a night, then came closer in and sent a boat.[102] All survivors were taken aboard the *Emma Packer,* and early the following morning they sailed for Huahine, arriving there 11 December 1855. Here they saw the grave of Sister Allen, who had died on the previous successful voyage of the *Julia Ann*. After a stay of three days, they continued on to Tahiti, arriving 19 December.[103] The survivors "arrived in a most destitute condition, having saved literally nothing from the wreck; from the captain down to the cabin boy." They were all shoeless and had "barely sufficient clothing to cover their persons."[104] Many of the children had spent their time swimming and playing along the beach and were almost as dark as the natives.

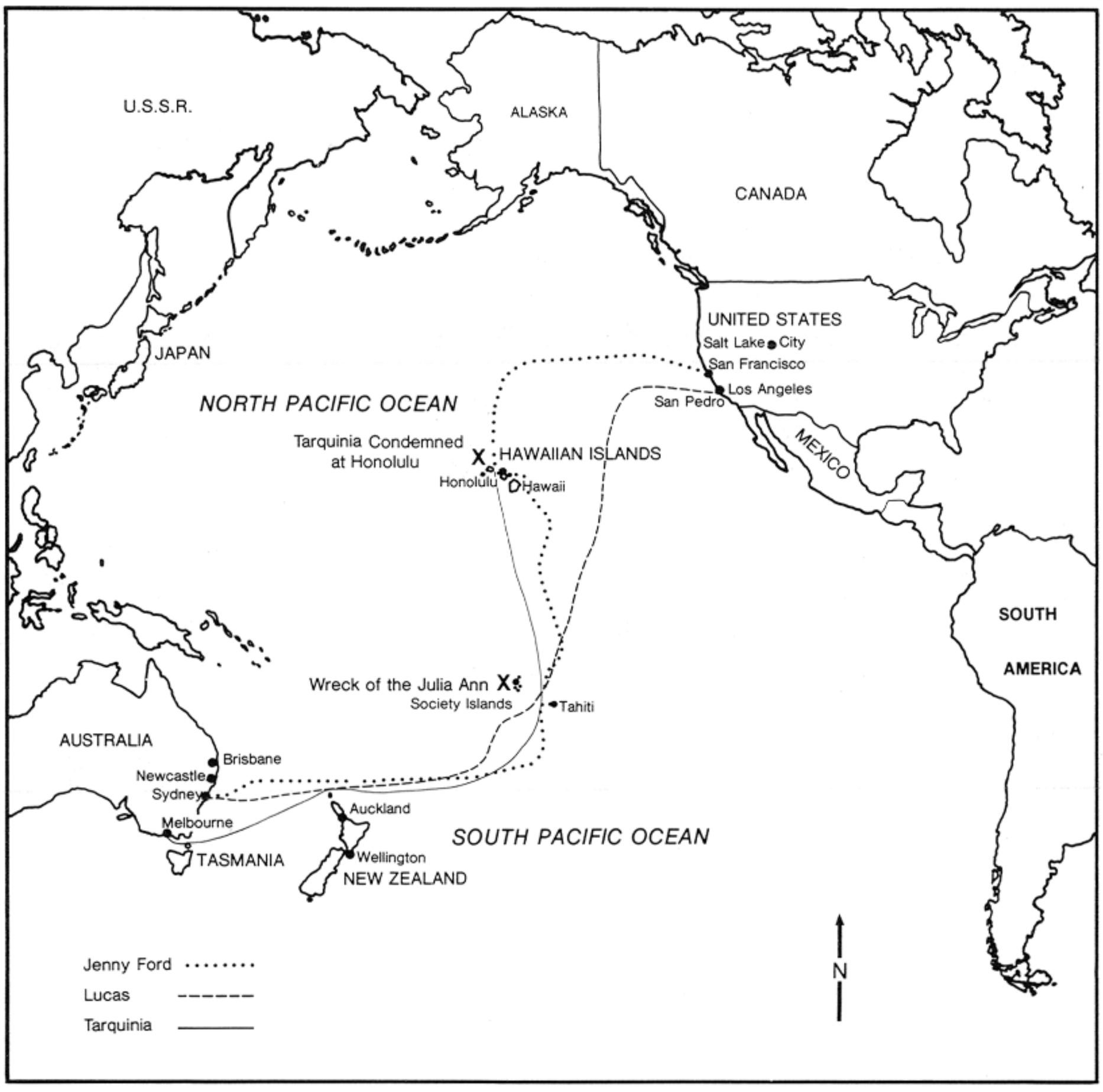
With the loss of all worldly goods, the party expected to be provided for by the American or English consuls until they could find a way to continue on to the United States; however, the American consul said they were not authorized to make provisions available to English citizens, and the English consul refused on the grounds that they were on an American ship. Fortunately, the United Board of Masonic Lodges showed great compassion and took immediate measures to relieve the destitute party's wants by providing shelter and food for all.[105]

A ship stopped at Tahiti on its way to Sydney in late February 1856, and letters were sent back to President Farnham explaining details of the disaster. This news was not received until 30 March 1856 and "cast a sad gloom over the mission."[106] The news of the *Julia Ann* disaster reached Brigham Young 30 April 1856. President Young gave instruction by letter to George Q. Cannon asking Charles C. Rich for means to bring the stranded Saints to San Francisco, but apparently nothing came of this.[107] In the fourteenth General Epistle of the Presidency, Brigham Young recounted the event and the loss of five persons, adding, "the remainder barely escaped with their lives." A general word of caution was then issued:

> Without reflection upon the officers of the *Julia Ann* all of whom are well spoken of by our brethren, or even upon the strength and sea worthiness of the vessel which we understand was good and new, still we wish to caution our Elders, not only those in Australia but all in foreign countries, not to permit an over anxiety to emigrate and gather with the Saints to make them careless or indifferent to the kind and condition of the vessel in which they embark, nor to the character of the officers and crew on board. This is the second instance of vessels, sailing from that mission with Saints on board, not reaching their destination. In the other case no lives were lost, though the vessel had to put into port where she was condemned and the Saints, after having paid their passage to the western coast, were left on the Sandwich Islands. It is a matter worthy of record, and a source of great joy and satisfaction to us, that in all our foreign emigration those are the only losses by sea, of that character, that have occurred.[108]

James Graham and John Eldredge decided to return with the *Emma Packer* to Huahine and, after remaining there one month, met with the opportunity of continuing on to Honolulu aboard different whaling ships.[109] The two met again in Honolulu, where they found some of the seventy-two Mormons who had sailed from Melbourne, Australia, 27 April 1855, aboard the *Tarquinia*.[110] A number of passengers from the *Tarquinia* paid Eldredge's and Graham's passage to San Francisco aboard the *Francis Palmer*, which departed Honolulu 1 April 1856 and arrived in San Francisco after a twenty-three day passage.[111]

John McCarthy, after borrowing two small schooners from King Tapoa at Maupiti, found that Captain Pond had already taken everyone from the island twelve hours previous and so returned the schooners to Maupiti. McCarthy, never one to miss an opportunity, turned his attentions to sharing his beliefs with those on Maupiti. Before long he had baptized a Captain Delano, King Tapoa's interpreter, and through Delano was able


U.S.S.R.
ALASKA
CANADA
UNITED STATES
Salt Lake City
San Francisco
Los Angeles
San Pedro
JAPAN
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Tarquinia Condemned
at Honolulu
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
Honolulu
Hawaii
MEXICO
SOUTH
AMERICA
Wreck of the Julia Ann
Society Islands
Tahiti
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
Newcastle
Sydney
Melbourne
TASMANIA
Auckland
Wellington
NEW ZEALAND
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Jenny Ford
Lucas
Tarquinia
N

to preach to the natives. After a stay of about three weeks at Maupiti, he sailed to the island of Raiatea where he baptized a Mr. Shaw and Mrs. Showers, ordaining Shaw an elder before he left. After spending two weeks at Raiatea, he continued on to Tahiti in a French sloop and from there on to San Francisco, arriving 14 April 1856. John McCarthy married Eliza Telford in 1858 and eventually settled in Smithfield, Utah, where he had nine children. He returned to his homeland of Ireland as a missionary in 1877. McCarthy, truly one of the great early Mormon figures in Australia, died 25 August 1898 at Smithfield.[112]

The Saints remaining at Tahiti were kept by the Freemasons' lodge until 19 January 1856, when they could no longer feed them. The party again solicited the help of the English consul, who agreed to feed them until the end of February. In late February, Charles Logie, his wife and child, along with Peter Penfold and family, and orphans Maria Harris, Frank Humphries, and Eliza Humphries, all embarked for San Francisco.[113] After living for a time in San Bernardino, the Logie family eventually settled in American Fork, Utah. The Penfold family also made it safely to Utah. Maria Harris was probably reunited with her father, who left Sydney aboard the *Jenny Ford* in May 1856 and later settled near Payson, Utah.

The Anderson family with their seven children, the last of the shipwrecked company, sailed from Tahiti 5 May 1856 on the *G. W. Kendall,* arriving in San Francisco 27 June 1856 after a tedious passage, nine months after leaving Sydney.[114] Ironically, the Andersons would never make it to Utah after fifteen years in Australia, which Andrew referred to as "this my exile."[115] Andrew Anderson, the first recorded Mormon in New South Wales, joined the RLDS church on 2 August 1868 and was ordained a priest the following year at Washington, Alameda County, California. He lived near Mission San Jose. He died 1 January 1891, age eighty-one, while visiting his daughter at Petaluma.[116] His wife Elizabeth died 21 January 1894.[117]

Captain Benjamin Pond was forcibly detained in Tahiti by the French government at the request of the British consul, who felt Pond was still responsible for his passengers and was obligated to find a way for them to continue on to California. After numerous requests, Pond was eventually released and sailed for Panama and then on to San Francisco.[118]

All accounts of the disaster speak highly of Captain Pond and the crew, whose determination, courage, and quick thinking greatly reduced the loss of life. The account of Esther Spangenberg is typical and a fitting conclusion to this remarkable story:

> Next to God, our thanks are due to Captain Pond, his officers and crew, for their noble exertions on our behalf. They fearlessly risked their lives in endeavouring to do all in their power to save the passengers. For one moment neither the Captain or his officers ever lost their presence of mind. Had they done so, the loss of life would have been great.[119]

NOTES

[1]Leonard J. Arrington, foreword to *Ships, Saints, and Mariners: A Maritime Encyclopedia of Mormon Migration 1830–1890,* by Conway B. Sonne (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), x.

[2]Quoted in Esther E. Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," in *Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque 'Julia Ann'* (New York: Francis and Loutrel, 1858), 5.

[3]*Zion's Watchman,* 12 April 1855, 262.

[4]The *Julia Ann* was a three-masted bark built with one deck, a square stern, and a billethead. It had been built at Robbinston, Maine, in 1851 and its home port was San Francisco (Sonne, *Ships, Saints and Mariners,* 124–25).

[5]William Hyde, Journal, 15 February 1854, 77, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[6]John Perkins, Diary, 4 January 1854, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

[7]Hyde, Journal, 22 March 1854, 78. For a partial list of the passengers aboard the first voyage of the *Julia Ann* see Diane Parkinson and John Parkinson, *James Parkinson of Ramsey: His Roots and His Branches, England-Australia-America* (Spanish Fork: Historical Publications, 1987); *The Private Journal of William Hyde* (N.p.: Privately printed, n.d.), 77; and William Good, "A Forest of Blanches—The Story of the Blanche Family 1838–1988" (Sydney: Star Printery, 1988).

[8]"Original Correspondence," *Zion's Watchman,* 14 October 1854, 157, 158.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]The passage from Australia to California was a great financial burden for many of the convert families, often requiring years of preparation and saving. The organization of the Australian Perpetual Emigration Fund by Charles Wandell, 6 April 1852, delivered some from the dilemma. Emily Messer, a passenger on the *Envelope* was the first to have her fare paid under the scheme (Records of The Australasian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1851–53, kept by Charles Wandell, LDS Church Archives). As many as half the converts on the first voyage of the *Julia Ann* may have received assistance (*Zion's Watchman,* 6 May 1854, 94). Unfortunately the Australian branch of the PEF was short-lived, coming to an abrupt end when Brigham Young heard that a number of the Saints from Australia expected to be credited on the record of the PEF. He wrote to Farnham on 19 August 1854, stating that the fund was not yet large enough to extend to Australia and was needed for the poorer converts from the British Isles (Brigham Young to Augustus Farnham, in *Zion's Watchman,* 15 February 1855, 217). This ultimatum resulted in fewer Saints making the trip on the second voyage of the *Julia Ann* than previously expected. Some who had expected assistance were forced to delay.

[12]The only reference to Pegg is found in the journal of Augustus Farnham, who wrote upon learning of the shipwreck, "After reading the above with Bro. Flemming I called on Brother Jones, Evans, Bennett, Robb and commenced the intelligence to them and Bro. James Pegg. He had a son on board the ill-fated *Julia Ann* this communication was eared these elders for the purpose that we might be in the advantage of the paper as I intended to put it in the papers the next day" (Augustus Farnham, Journal, 30 March 1856, LDS Church Archives).

[13]J. N. Rawlings, *The First Saints in Australia and an Early Chapter in the Life of C. W. Wandell* (Drummone, New South Wales: Reorganized LDS Church, Australasian Headquarters, n.d.), 1.

[14]See my article "William James Barratt: The First Mormon 'Down Under,' " *Brigham Young University Studies* 28 (Summer 1988): 53–66.

[15]Madelon Brunson, Archivist for the RLDS church, to the author, 8 June 1987 and 27 April 1987.

[16]Incoming Shipping List to Sydney for 1841. The ship was the *James Moran* (British Film Area, Family History Library, Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City).

[17]*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 August 1845): 989.

[18]Records of The Australasian Mission.

[19]John McCarthy Papers, 1856–98, 1, LDS Church Archives.

[20]Ibid., 1–2.

[21]Charles Wandell, "Credibility of the Book of Mormon as Compared with That of the Bible," *Western Standard* (San Francisco), 7 February 1857, 3.

[22]Ibid.

[23]LDS Ward Records, 29 November 1853, film no. 105, 320, pt. 4, Utah Valley Branch Genealogical Library.

[24]"Local and Other Matters," *Deseret Weekly,* 23 April 1898, 591.

[25]William Hyde, Journal, 9 April 1853, 60. John Sunderlin Eldredge was born 30 April 1831, in Cannan, Columbia County, New York. He served as a teamster in Brigham Young's company that crossed the plains to Utah. After returning from Australia he again took up farming in Charleston, Wasatch County. At age forty-two he died suddenly of a heart attack while plowing on 7 May 1873 (see Kate B. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage,* 19 vols. [Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1959], 2:563–64).

[26]John McCarthy Papers, 9.

[27]Andrew Anderson, "The Annual Conference," *Zion's Watchman,* 24 May 1856, 76.

[28]Benjamin F. Pond, "Capt. Pond's Narrative of the Wreck," in *Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque 'Julia Ann'* (New York: Francis and Loutrel, 1858), 13.

[29]Martha Maria Humphries to her mother, 8 December 1853, Manuscript Collection, Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia, quoted in Marjorie Newton, "The Gathering of the Australian Saints in the 1850s," *BYU Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 76.

[30]Pond, "Narrative," 14.

[31]Anderson, "Annual Conference," 76.

[32]Andrew Jenson, "The *Julia Ann* Wreck," *Deseret Weekly,* 14 May 1898, 698.

[33]Pond, "Narrative," 14.

[34]*Deseret Weekly,* 23 April 1898, 591.

[35]Pond, "Narrative," 14; John McCarthy Papers, 10. Esther Spangenberg states she heard the words "Hard down your helm" not "Hard down the helm!" (Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 6).

[36]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 6; Amasa Potter, a missionary in Australia, 1856–58, claims through a secondhand account that the *Julia Ann* "rose out of [the] water about four feet" ("A Perilous Sea Voyage," *Deseret Weekly,* 9 April 1898, 526). Potter wrote a second inconsistent and unreliable article about the wreck of the *Julia Ann* in "Missionary Sketches: A Shipwreck," *Juvenile Instructor* 9 (1874): 152, 164.

[37]John McCarthy Papers, 10.

[38]Pond, "Narrative," 14.

[39]Peter Penfold, "The Annual Conference," *Zion's Watchman,* 24 May 1856, 77.

[40]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 7.

[41]Ibid., 6.

[42]Pond, "Narrative," 15–16.

[43]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 7.

[44]John McCarthy Papers, 10.

[45]Anderson, "Annual Conference," 76.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Charles Logie, "Local and Other Matters," *Deseret Weekly,* 23 April 1898, 76.

[48]Pond, "Narrative," 15.

[49]Anderson, "Annual Conference," 76.

[50]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 7.

[51]Benjamin F. Pond, "Incidents of the Wreck," in *Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque 'Julia Ann'* (New York: Francis and Loutrel, 1858), 29.

[52]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 8.

[53]Pond, "Incidents of the Wreck," 27.

[54]John McCarthy Papers, 11.

[55]Penfold, "Annual Conference," 77.

[56]Pond, "Incidents of the Wreck," 28.

[57]John McCarthy Papers, 11.

[58]Ibid., 14. The *Boston Daily Advertiser,* 18 March 1856, later reported the cargo of the *Julia Ann* to be "valued at $10,000, besides which the captain had $15,000, and the passengers about $5,000 in gold coin, all of which was totally lost. The captain was half owner of the ship and cargo and sole owner of the coin. The other half of the vessel was owned in San Francisco by Henry Wetherbee and J. C. Stone" (R. Gerard Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific, 1790–1870: A History, Geography and Ethnography Pertaining to American Involvement and Americans in the Pacific, Taken from Contemporary Newspapers, etc.,* 8 vols. [Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1967], 2:353). Pond later wrote in a letter to his nephew dated 1 June 1856 that he did manage to save "a roll of Sterling Exchange valued at $10,000." Pond records: "When the ship first struck, Mr. Owens, (my second officer) came to me and inquired whether I had considerable gold on board? I told him that I had. He then offered, with my consent, to make an effort to save a portion of it. He went into my state room and opened the iron safe, in which I had three gold watches, some rings and other jewelry and $15,000 in English sovereigns. I took out two bags of gold,

containing about $8,000 or $9,000, and gave them to him. I was in great haste, for the sea was breaking over the ship and my presence was very necessary on deck. I thought it very doubtful whether we should save our lives, and therefore considered the gold of but little importance; but as I was closing the safe I happened to see a roll of Sterling Exchange for $10,000 lying before me, utterly forgotten. I picked it up, and stuffed it into my pocket; also my favorite watch cased in gold of my own digging in the mountains of California. It was well that I put them into my pantaloons pocket, for when I left the ship I considered my chance so very dubious that I threw off all my clothes, excepting my pants, thinking nothing of gold or valuables; and thus this large amount of money was eventually saved" (in Pond, "Incidents of the Wreck," in *Narrative of the Wreck,* 26–27).

[59]Pond, "Narrative," 16.

[60]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 8.

[61]Pond, "Incidents of the Wreck," 28–29.

[62]Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 353.

[63]Pond, "Narrative," 16. Pond reasons: "When she broke in two, the cargo of coal must have slid out, and the stern, relieved from the pressure of the cargo, and the fore part hanging seaward, righted, and was thrown high up on the reef, and the remaining passengers easily escaped on floating spars" (17).

[64]Penfold, "Annual Conference," 24 May 1856, 78.

[65]Pond, "Narrative," 17.

[66]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 9.

[67]Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 353.

[68]Pond, "Narrative," 18.

[69]John McCarthy Papers, 12.

[70]Pond, "Narrative," 24.

[71]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 10.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid.

[74]Pond, "Narrative," 18.

[75]Ibid., 19.

[76]Logie, "Local and Other Matters," 591.

[77]John McCarthy Papers, 13.

[78]Pond, "Narrative," 20.

[79]Ibid., 19.

[80]John McCarthy Papers, 13.

[81]Logie, "Local and Other Matters," 591.

[82]Pond, "Narrative," 19–20.

[83]The Scilly Isles, 16°30´ S, 154°35´ W, also known as Manuae or Fenua Ura, was discovered by Samuel Wallis in 1767. Of Atoll formation, the Scilly Isles are the westernmost islands in the Society Group. They are leased until 1999 to the Compagnie Francaise de Tahiti and are presently planted with coconut palms. Copra cutters visit them periodically; otherwise they are uninhabited. Scilly has a landing place for boats, but no entrance for vessels into the lagoon (see John Carter, ed.,*Pacific Islands Yearbook,* 15th ed. [Sydney: Pacific Publications, 1984], 184). Andrew Jensen wrote, "Besides the circular reef composing the island a hidden reef extends westward for many miles. It was on this reef that the*Julia Ann* was wrecked" (Jenson, "*Julia Ann* Wreck," 698).

[84]Ibid., 20.

[85]Ibid., 21.

[86]Ibid.

[87]Ibid., 21–22.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Ibid., 22–23.

[91]Ibid.

[92]Benjamin F. Pond, "The Boat Voyage," in *Narrative of the Wreck of the Barque 'Julia Ann'* (New York: Francis and Loutrel, 1858), 31–32.

[93]Ibid., 32.

[94]John McCarthy Papers, 13–14.

[95]Pond, "Narrative," 24.

[96]Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 354.

[97]Logie, "Local and Other Matters," 591.

[98]John McCarthy Papers, 14.

[99]Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 354.

[100]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 11–12.

[101]Journal History, 28 April 1856, 2, LDS Church Archives.

[102]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 11–12.

[103]Penfold, "Annual Conference," 24 May 1856, 78.

[104]Ward, *American Activities in the Central Pacific,* 354.

[105]Penfold, "Annual Conference," 78.

[106]Augustus Farnham, Journal, 1852–1856, March 1856, 1–2, LDS Church Archives. In May of that year, President Farnham and 122 other Saints left Sydney for San Pedro, California, on the *Jenny Ford*. Farnham wrote that on 22 June 1856, the *Jenny Ford* arrived at Tahiti "for the purpose of relieving the Saints who survived the wreck of the *Julia Ann*." He found, however, that all the survivors had already been assisted on to San Francisco (*Millennial Star* 18 [15 November 1856]: 733).

[107]Journal History, 30 April 1856, LDS Church Archives.

[108]Ibid., 10 December 1856.

[109]Ibid., 28 April 1856.

[110]Samuel H. Hurst and Ida Hurst, comps. and eds., *Diary of Frederick William Hurst* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1961) 18–19; see also "Journal of John T. Caine," in *Heart Throbs of the West,* comp. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1944), 5:242–48. The *Tarquinia* had started leaking three days out of Tahiti and docked at Honolulu for repairs. Over a week later the vessel sailed again, but after three days, having been hit by very strong winds, began to leak on both sides. The pumps were worked day and night. The captain concluded that the vessel was unseaworthy and returned to Honolulu, where he attempted again to repair her. In the process the *Tarquinia* sank, leaving the party stranded, along with the loss of their passage money. This gave the Australian mission the worst statistics on record with only two of the first four ships arriving at their destination.

[111]Jenson, "*Julia Ann* Wreck," 698.

[112]John McCarthy Papers, 15–17, 32.

[113]Jenson, "*Julia Ann* Wreck," 698.

[114]*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 August 1845): 989.

[115]"Arrivals," *Western Standard,* 1 June 1856, 2.

[116]"Died," *Saints Herald* 38 (February 1891): 95.

[117]L. Madelon Brunson to the author, 8 June 1987.

[118]Pond, "Narrative," 33–36.

[119]Spangenberg, "Particulars of the Wreck," 9.

The Paleontologist with an Ear Infection

I am hearing through my bones
Older noises you don't lean into.
This morning's shower beat upon my skull
Till I was clean as an echo,
Sentience with the dust knocked out.

In the lab, a buzz and scrape rise in my back
As I fit vertebra to vertebra to the bony
Plate of the triceratops, its lumbering spine
Fossilized to brutal hardness still aquiver
Beneath my hands, inside my ears.

Now it is a hum along my jaw.
How can a cry heard one hundred
And thirty-five million years be old?
Always this beast feeds. The howl
Of the mortal fights its way out and in.

—Susan Howe

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The Zelph Story

Kenneth W. Godfrey

When the twenty men who formed the vanguard of Zion's Camp left Kirtland, Ohio, on 1 May 1834, they could not know that one of their most lasting and intriguing contributions to Latter-day Saint history would take place, not on a Missouri battlefield but rather on top of a large mound in Illinois.[1] This elevation, located about one mile south of modern Valley City, has been called Naples-Russell Mound Number 8, Pike County. According to historian Stanley B. Kimball, this mound is a "typical prehistoric Middle Woodland mortuary complex of the Hopewell culture."[2] There, on 3 June 1834, members of Zion's Camp located a few bones, including a broken femur and an arrowhead, approximately a foot below the earth's surface, and these remains became the catalyst for revelation to Joseph Smith regarding the skeleton's identity. Subsequently, the information recorded by several of the camp's members would be used by historians, geographers, and other scholars as evidence that Book of Mormon events, especially those reported in its closing chapters, took place in the north-eastern part of the United States.[3] Because this account is cited so frequently, usually as it is given in the *History of the Church,* it seems useful to examine closely the primary sources reporting the details of this extraordinary event.

The day after the finding of Zelph, the Prophet Joseph Smith, "on the banks of the Mississippi River," wrote a letter to his wife, Emma. While he does not mention Zelph by name, Joseph describes the setting in general:

> The whole of our journey, in the midst of so large a company of social honest and sincere men, wandering over the plains of the Nephites, recounting occasionaly the history of the Book of Mormon, roving over the mounds of that once beloved people of the Lord, picking up their skulls & their bones, as a proof of its divine authenticity, and gazing upon a country the fertility, the splendour and the goodness so indescribable, all serves to pass away time unnoticed.[4]

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Naples-Russell Mound Number 8, Pike County, Illinois,
where Zelph was found

Photograph, taken March 1989, courtesy of Donald Q. Cannon

Obviously, Joseph and his companions were inspired and elated as they moved closer to their land of promise in Missouri. The territory they were in was vast, rich, and unsettled. The ghostly mounds of former inhabitants, however, reminded Joseph and his camp that the land had once been occupied. As they went, they naturally talked about the Book of Mormon. Joseph called the land "the plains of the Nephites." They believed that the mounds had belonged to "that once beloved people," and they interpreted the mere fact that skulls and bones were readily found as evidence of the divine authenticity of the book. Evidently they were most impressed by the evidence that a prior civilization had been destroyed from off the face of this land, for the Book of Mormon similarly reports the destruction of a large group of people on this continent. Simple confirmation of the fact that destructions had taken place was evidence enough for these adventurers that the Book of Mormon was true.

Beyond enjoying this general confirmation of their faith, the members of Zion's Camp received more specific information about one skeleton in particular. Although Joseph did not mention this particular episode in his letter to Emma, seven others in the camp made records about the finding of Zelph's bones and what Joseph said about them. These records are generally consistent with one another, but they leave a number of details in doubt. Who was Zelph? Was he a Nephite or a Lamanite? When did he die? What army was he in? As will be seen, the answers to these questions cannot be given with certainty from the complex historical sources that resulted from this event. While this means that Book of Mormon scholars must remain tentative in drawing implications from this notable incident, it does not diminish the fact that Joseph was moved by the spirit of revelation to speak about Zelph and his noble past in connection with Book of Mormon peoples or their descendants.

FINDING ZELPH

The seven accounts written or dictated by members of the expedition will be discussed in the apparent order in which they were written. The data they furnish is summarized in a chart as Appendix 1. In quoting from these diaries and journals, minor improvements in some spelling and punctuation have been made to enhance readability.[5]

Reuben McBride's account is shorter and less detailed than the others, but it may have been the first one recorded, possibly having been written on the day the find occurred, although in no

case are we completely sure when the information was put down in writing. McBride writes:

> Tuesday 3 [June 1834] visited the mounds. A skeleton was dug up [by] Joseph, said his name was Zelph a great warrior under the Prophet Omandagus. An arrow was found in his Ribs—[page break; top of next page begins with different, lighter ink, indicated here by italic; it is partly illegible, but appears to read:] *His name was Zelph a warior under the Prophet Omandagus Zelph a white Laman[i]te*
>
> *Crossed the Missipi River on the 4* [th of June] *2 days in Crossing*
>
> *June 6 resumed our jorney* [illegible] *at Salt River Staid 12 days*
>
> *From Salt River to Richmond Ray County* [illegible] *that* [illegible] *the* [illegible]
>
> [June] 19 on fishing River
>
> [June] 20 went 5 miles meeting held counsel
>
> *June 24 Colera* [illegible]
>
> [June] 23 Arived at Rush Creek
>
> *Rush Creek Mo Clay Co*
>
> Choler [June] 24.
>
> —which he said he suposed ocaisoned his death ~~Said~~ he was killed in battle. Said he was a man of God and the curse was taken off or in part he was a white Lamanite **was known from the atlantic to the Rocky Mountains** [bold type indicates words added interlinearly].
>
> June, the 4 came to the Missipi River were 2 days in Crossing being very high one mile wide
>
> On the 7th arived at Salt River. Staid their 12 days to recrute and reorganise. Some came from Michigan and joined the company.[6]

According to Reuben McBride, then, Zelph was a great warrior under Omandagus, a man of God, and a white Lamanite known from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, and the arrow that killed him was found with his remains.[7] Joseph Smith is credited with uncovering the bones, but little more is said.

A puzzling thing about this diary is the way that it duplicates itself. The first entry for Tuesday, 3 June, appears at the bottom of page 3 in dark ink. The top of page 4 repeats in light ink the information that Zelph was a warrior under the Prophet Omandagus and adds that Zelph was "a white Lamanite." The light ink continues on page 4 to give information about events up to 24 June and then at the bottom of the page the dark ink returns midsentence to the events of 3 June. The account then reports again the events from 4 June to 24 June on page 5. Finally, the information that Zelph "was a man of God" and "was known from the atlantic to the Rocky Mountains" was added above the line, apparently sometime later as an afterthought. This seems to indicate that McBride made entries in his diary about the Zelph incident on perhaps as many as four separate occasions. The information about his name, his status

as a warrior under Omandagus, and his being a white Lamanite appears to be present in the earliest entries. The information surmised about his death, the removal of the curse, and his widespread reputation seems to have been added about three weeks later.

Another member of Zion's Camp, twenty-two-year-old Moses Martin, also kept a diary of his experiences while traveling through Pike County. He reported the incident in the following terms:

> This being in the Co of Pike, here we discovered a large quantity of large mounds. Being filed with curiosity we excavated the top of one so[m?]e 2 feete when we came to the bones of an extraordinary large person or human being, the thigh bones being 2 inches longer from one Socket to the other than of the Prophet ~~whi~~ who is upwards of 6 feete high which would have constuted some 8 or 9 feete high. In the trunk of this skeleton near the vitals we found a large stone arrow which I suppose brougt him to his end. Soon after this Joseph had a vision and the Lord shewed him that this man was once a mighty Prophet and many other things concerning his people. Thus we found those mounds to have be deposits for the dead which had falen no doubt in some great Batles. In addition to this we found many large fortifications which als[o] denotes siviliseation and an innumerable population which has falen by wars and comotion and the Banks of this Beautiful River became the deposit of many hundred thousands whose graves and fortifications ~~have~~ are overgrown with the sturdy oak 4 feete in diameter.[8]

It appears that Moses Martin was present when the digging occurred, since he reports vividly the party's curiosity that led them to excavate and find the bones. It seems likely that this diary entry was made while the party was still in Pike County, shortly after the event. It is interesting to note that while Martin is impressed with the size of the skeleton and with Joseph's vision of the unnamed prophet, he says nothing about his being killed in battle, about his ancestry, his name, his being a white Lamanite, or his having served under a prophet chief named Omandagus or Onandagus. Instead, in the Martin account, the deceased man was "a mighty prophet." No details are given about who did the excavating.

Wilford Woodruff, who five years later would be called to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, recorded in his journal the following account of what transpired:

> While on our travels we visited many of the mounds which were flung up by the ancient inhabitants of this continent, probably by the Nephites & Lamanites. We visited one of those Mounds and several of the brethren dug into it and took from it the bones of a man. Brother Joseph had a vission respecting the person he said he was a white Lamanite, the curse was taken from him or at least in part, he was

killed in battle with an arrow, the arrow was found among his ribs, one of his thigh bones was broken, this was done by a stone flung from a sling in battle years before his death, his name was Zelph. Some of his bones were brought into the camp and the thigh bone which was broken was put into my waggon and I carried it to Missouri. Zelph was a large thick set man and a man of God, he was a warrior under the great prophet that was known from the hill Cumorah to the Rocky mountains. The above knowledge Joseph receieved in a vision.[9]

Sometime later (date unknown), Woodruff added interlinearly in the same paragraph the following information:

> considerd to be 300 feet above the level of the Illinois river, three persons dug into the mound & found a body, Elder Milton Holmes took the arrow out of the back bones that killed Zelph & brought it with some of the bones into the camp, I visited the same mound with Jesse J. Smith. Who the other persons were that dug into the mound & found the body I am undecided.

Apparently at the same time, he also added the word "Onandagus" after the words "great prophet," and inserted the words "on East sea" after "Cumorah."

Woodruff writes that the Prophet "Onandagus" was known "from the hill Cumorah on East sea to the Rocky mountains." This is the earliest source for this geographical data. (In Reuben McBride's account it is Zelph who was widely known.) Woodruff also reports that the information about the skeleton came through a vision given to the Prophet Joseph. Two other accounts of this incident were later penned by Woodruff, but their wording is essentially identical to the one above except for omitting the information added interlineally (see appendix 1).

From the last few lines of the interlinear addition, it seems that Wilford Woodruff visited the mound only after the original group had made the find and that he remained "undecided" about who dug and found the body. While the point is not entirely clear, it appears that he was not with the original party. Thus his value as a witness to the events on the mound is somewhat diminished. He almost certainly was a party to discussions that took place away from the mound, however, since the thigh bone was carried in his own wagon.

The longest and most detailed near-contemporaneous account was written by Levi Hancock, later one of the Presidents of the Seventy. Like Wilford Woodruff, he was not with the group that discovered the remains of Zelph, but he saw the bones and the arrowpoint they brought back to camp. Hancock wrote the following account in his journal:

> On the way to Illinois River where we camped on the west side in the morning, many went to see the big mound about a mile below the crossing, I did not go on it but saw some bones that was brought with a broken arrow, they was layed down by our camp Joseph addressed himself to Sylvester Smith, "This is what I told you and now I want to tell you that you may know what I meant; this land was called the land of desolation and Onendagus was the king and a good man was he, there in that mound did he bury his dead and did not dig holes as the people do now but they brought there dirt and covered them untill you see they have raised it to be about one hundread feet high, the last man buried was Zelf, he was a white Lamanite who fought with the people of Onendagus for freedom, when he was young he was a great warrior and had his th[igh] broken and never was set, it knited together as you see on the side, he fought after it got strength untill he lost every tooth in his head save one when the Lord said he had done enough and suffered him to be killed by that arrow you took from his brest." These words he said as the camp was moving of[f] the ground; as near as I could learn he had told them something about the mound and got them to go and see for themselves. I then remembered what he had said a few days before while passing many mounds on our way that was left of us; said he, "there are the bodies of wicked men who have died and are angry at us; if they can take the advantage of us they will, for if we live they will have no hope." I could not comprehend it but supposed it was all right.[10]

Hancock reports different information than do the earlier accounts when he tells us the land was named Desolation and Onendagus was a king and a good man, but he says nothing about his being a prophet. However, he does inform us that Zelph lost all his teeth but one, and he implies that Zelph was relatively aged at death. His account makes no mention of the Hill Cumorah or of Onendagus's wide fame, but it agrees that Zelph was a white Lamanite. Hancock's is the only source to report any specific circumstances surrounding Joseph Smith's statements about the skeleton, and this information may be significant: Joseph spoke about it to Sylvester Smith. This is not a trivial point, for Sylvester Smith was a troublemaker in the camp who "rebelled against the order of the camp," eventually apostatizing.[11] We do not know to what extent others heard Joseph speak about Zelph or whether some of their information was filtered through Sylvester Smith. The possibility seems small, however, that Sylvester Smith had much influence on the story, since no other account mentions him. Joseph's addressing him specifically may have been intended as a warning of evil influences and threats from "the bodies of the wicked men" buried in these mounds who were "angry" at the camp as they marched through "desolation." Such threats surrounding the group required their fullest obedience and alertness in order to escape.

An account by Heber C. Kimball of the discovery of Zelph was published in the *Times and Seasons* in 1845 under the title, "Extracts from H. C. Kimball's Journal." An identical account, except for a lack of editing, is found in the autobiography Kimball dictated to James Sloan after the Saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. The version in the autobiography goes as follows:

> On Tuesday the 3rd, we went up, several of us, with Joseph Smith Jr. to the top of a mound on the bank of the Illinois river, which was several hundred feet above the river, and from the summit of which we had a pleasant view of the surrounding country: we could overlook the tops of the trees on to the meadow or prairie on each side the river as far as our eyes could extend, which was one of the most pleasant scenes I ever beheld. On the top of this mound there was the appearance of three altars, which had been built of stone, one above another, according to the ancient order; and the ground was strewn over with human bones. This caused in us very peculiar feelings, to see the bones of our fellow creatures scattered in this manner, who had been slain in ages past. We felt prompted to dig down into the mound, and sending for a shovel and hoe, we proceeded to move away the earth. At about one foot deep we discovered the skeleton of a man, almost entire; and between two of his ribs we found an Indian arrow, which had evidently been the cause of his death. We took the leg and thigh bones and carried them along with us to Clay county. All four appeared sound. Elder B. Young has yet the arrow in his possession. It is a common thing to find bones thus drenching upon the earth in this country.
>
> The same day, we pursued our journey. While on our way we felt anxious to know who the person was who had been killed by that arrow. It was made known to Joseph that he had been an officer who fell in battle, in the last destruction among the Lamanites, and his name was Zelph. This caused us to rejoice much, to think that God was so mindful of us as to show these things to his servant. Brother Joseph had enquired of the Lord and it was made known in a vision.[12]

Only Heber C. Kimball says that Zelph was killed in "the last destruction among the Lamanites," and the meaning of this phrase is unclear. "Last" may refer to the final destruction of the Nephites fifteen hundred years earlier, or it may have reference to the last battle of Zelph's people, whoever they were. The battle was "among the Lamanites," which may mean between the Nephites and the Lamanites but may also refer to a battle of Lamanites against other Lamanites, if we assume that the Lamanites may have had prophets among them. Kimball's account is also unique in that he says he went with Joseph Smith to the top of the mound and relates that they felt prompted to dig down into the mound, but first they had to send for a shovel and hoe. The discovery was made after digging about one foot.[13] The other early accounts do not say

that Joseph was present when the bones were dug up; rather they state or imply that he was not involved until some time later. According to Kimball, it was later in the day while continuing on the journey westward that the Prophet made the identification of the person whose bones they had found. This is consistent with Hancock's statement that Joseph spoke "as the camp was moving off the ground." Kimball states further that this was made known by means of a vision to Joseph after he had inquired of the Lord.

Kimball's account has a different tone from the earlier ones, especially those of Martin and Hancock. Instead of mentioning any concerns about death, destruction, evil influences, the angry dead, or thousands of graves, Kimball paints an idyllic scene, pleasantly overlooking meadow and tree tops, and he recalls their "peculiar feelings" as feelings of sympathy for these "fellow creatures" whose bones had been scattered in ages past. His depiction is in keeping with the joyous spirit reflected in Joseph's letter to Emma.

Kimball also speaks of locating certain remains that had "the appearance" of three altars, a detail mentioned in no other primary source. The passage of time may have dimmed Kimball's memory on this point. His account appears to be a later recollection, written possibly around 1843. (See the connection with the work of Willard Richards discussed below.) Moreover, Kimball's account makes no explicit reference to the Nephites, and he sees the value of Joseph's vision primarily not in what it revealed about the ancient inhabitants of that region, but in how it showed that "God was so mindful of" the camp and especially of his "servant, Brother Joseph."

George A. Smith, another member of Zion's Camp who became an Apostle, included the following information in a history prepared in 1857: "Monday, 2 June 1834: Some of us visited a mound on a bluff about 300 feet high and dug up some bones, which excited deep interest among the brethren. The President and many others visited the mound on the following morning."[14] According to this brief version, Joseph's visit to the mound came on the morning after the discovery of the skeleton.

Sometime after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, probably during the 1850s, Wilford Woodruff began writing his autobiography. An examination of the manuscript in his own hand, now in the Church Archives, reveals that when he came to that part of his life when the bones of Zelph were found he added information not found in his journal account. Woodruff's autobiographical account is as follows:

> During our travels we visited many mounds thrown up by the Ancient inhabitants of Nephites and Lamanites, this morning we went unto a high mound near the river Joseph & many of the Brethren went up this mound was very high from the top of it—we could overlook the tops of the trees as far as our vision could extend and the scenery was truly delightful. On the top of the mound were stones which presented the Appearance of three Alters having been erected one above the other according to the Ancient order of things & human bones were strun upon the ground. We had taken a shovel along with us Brother Joseph wished us to dig into the mound we dug into it about one foot & came upon the skeleton of a man almost entire and an Arrow was found sticking in his back bone Elder Milton Holmes picked it out & brought it into camp with one of his leg bones which had been brocken He put the leg bones in my waggon & I carried it to Clay County Missouri. Brother Joseph feeling anxious to learn something Governing the man, prayed to the Lord & the Lord gave him a vision in open day while lying in his waggon, this mound & his history was placed before him. His name was Zelph, He was a white Lamanite the curse had been taken off from him because of his faith and righteousness He had embraced the gospel, he was a short stout thick set man, He had been a great warrior, Had joined the Nephites & fought for them under the direction of the great Onandagus who held sway & command over the Armies of the Nephites from the Hill Cumorah & Eastern sea to the rocky mountains though the Book of Mormon does not speak of him, He was a great warrior leader & great prophet Zelph had his thigh bone brocken from the sling of a stone while in battle in the yr of his youth He was killed with the Arrow sticking in his back bone the vision of the great prophet at the time that Zelph was killed was opened to the prophet Joseph & there [word unclear] were heaped upon the earth & that great Mound of near 300 Feet High placed over them. I felt impressed to bury Zelph's thigh bone in Temple Block at Jackson County Missouri but I did not have an opportunity and I brought it to Clay County near the house owned by Colonel Arthur & occupied by Lyman Wight.

At the end of the account, written in a different hand and probably at a later date, are the words, "The arrow head is now in possession of his wife Emma Woodruff."[15]

In this account, written upwards of twenty years after the event, Joseph Smith is described as lying on his back in his wagon when he received the vision in "open day" regarding not only Zelph but the mound and its history. Zelph is here described as a "short, stout, thick set" man, in contrast to the extremely tall man in the Moses Martin account. According to Woodruff, Zelph had joined the Nephites and fought for them under the direction of the Prophet Onandagus, who "held sway" from the Hill Cumorah and eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains. Zelph's thigh bone was broken by a stone while in a battle in his youth, and he was killed by the arrow found in his back. We are led to believe that the thigh bone was buried near the Clay County house owned by a Colonel Arthur and

that Emma Woodruff had possession of the arrow, not Brigham Young or Burr Riggs, as in other accounts. This might indicate that President Young did not attach any particular significance to either the arrow or the remains in which it was found. Finally, in this account, Zelph was clearly associated with the Nephites, as was Onandagus.

On 22 February 1893, James E. Talmage reported a visit with Wilford Woodruff during which President Woodruff showed him "a sacred relic then in his possession in the shape of an Indian arrow head." This arrow was said to have been the cause of the death of the white Lamanite, Zelph. According to Talmage's account the arrow point had come into Wilford Woodruff's possession through Zina Young Card, a daughter of Brigham Young, who had formerly had possession of it. At the suggestion of George F. Gibbs, his secretary, President Woodruff then dictated the following account of the finding of Zelph:

> While traveling with Zion's camp, through the State of Ohio, we came to a very high mound, to the top of which we climbed by means of steps over which grass had grown. The steps were very wide, probably about twelve feet. We found the top of the mound to be quite level and to cover a great deal of ground. After overlooking the surrounding country, and descending half way down we were halted by command of the Prophet Joseph. We had taken a shovel with us to the top of the mound, thinking we might have some use for it, and after halting, the Prophet, speaking to the man who had the shovel, told him to throw up the dirt at a certain place to which he pointed, After removing a little more than six inches of soil the skeleton of a man was discovered, from a joint in whose backbone the Prophet drew a flint arrow head which had been the means of taking his life.
>
> The Lord showed the Prophet Joseph that this was the skeleton of a white Lamanite named Zelph, and that he fought under a great chieftain named Onandagus, whose dominion covered an immense body of country. The book of Mormon does not mention the name of this Indian Chief, Onandagus.[16]

In this account, dictated fifty-nine years after the event, Woodruff says that he accompanied the Prophet onto the hill, which was not the case according to his earlier accounts; he also adds details that are absent from his journal and from the other primary sources. He tells us they took the hoe and the shovel with them, while others said they had to send for them after they arrived on top of the hill. He also states that they were halfway down the hill before they began digging and that they commenced at the request of the Prophet himself. President Woodruff also tells us that they found ancient steps which they used to make their way up the hill. According to James L. Bradley, who has visited the mound many times, there are no steps leading to the top, or altars. However, the

writer recently climbed the eastern side of the mound and found in certain places indentations that might be described as steps. Understandably, some details had faded in the memory of President Woodruff and other points had been logically added over the space of many intervening years. Still several basic parts of the story are recognizable in this late recollection.

My purpose in scrutinizing these accounts closely is not in any way to discredit the diligent writers of these diary and journal entries. Given the circumstances under which these records were kept and the independent viewpoint of most of the authors, it is remarkable that they agree in as many respects as they do. There can be no doubt that the men of Zion's Camp were deeply impressed by the discovery on 3 June 1834 of the bones of a man Joseph Smith called Zelph. Nevertheless, the accounts give varying and sometimes conflicting details. Interestingly, the earlier accounts do not expressly identify Zelph with the Nephites, as do the later accounts. Perhaps this is because Joseph's statements to his brethren were not as clear to them at the time they were made as they seemed in retrospect or as we might be inclined to assume today. It also appears that some information couched in somewhat speculative terms in the earlier accounts later came to be understood with greater certainty and specificity. For these reasons, close and cautious examination of these historical records is necessary.

THE ZELPH STORY AND THE *HISTORY OF THE CHURCH*

The foregoing examination of the primary sources for the Zelph story has laid the foundation for a comparison of them with the section on Zelph in the *History of the Church,* the most familiar source on this subject. The story is related in this history as if Joseph Smith himself were telling it, but that is not actually the case, of course. How then did the story reach its present form in this history?

In 1842, Willard Richards, as Church Historian, was assigned the task of compiling a large number of documents and producing a history of the Church from them. He worked on this material between 21 December 1842 and 27 March 1843. He himself had not joined the Church until 1836, but he would easily have learned from associates that Joseph Smith had kept no record of the march of Zion's Camp. Therefore, Richards presumably had to rely on the writings or recollections of Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and perhaps others for his information. The McBride and Martin accounts in particular, and perhaps also the Hancock record, may have been unknown to him, as the writers were not prominent Church figures. It is possible that Richards consulted with Joseph

Smith, for the Prophet was overseeing the preparation of the history.

Blending the sources available to him, and perhaps using oral accounts from some of the members of Zion's Camp, but writing as if he were Joseph Smith, historian Richards drafted the story of Zelph as it appears in the "Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-1" (words in italic are in the handwriting of Wilmer Benson):

> Tuesday the 3rd During our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this country, ~~Nephites, Lamanites &c.~~ and this morning I went up on a high mound near the river, accompanied by *several* ~~the~~ brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend and the scenery was truly delightful.
>
> On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three altars ~~having been erected~~, one above the other, according to ancient order and *the remains of* ~~human~~ bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered the skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs *the stone point of* was a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death. Elder *Burr Riggs* ~~Brigham Young~~ retained the Arrow, ~~and the brethren carried some pieces of the skeleton to Clay County~~ The contemplation of the scenery *around* ~~before~~ us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms and *subsequently* the vision of the past being opend to my understanding by the Spirit of the Almighty, I discovered that the person whose Skeleton *we had seen* ~~was before us~~ was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man and a man of God. *His name was Zelph*. He was a warrior *and chieftain* under the great prophet Onandagus who was known from the ~~hill Cumorah or~~ eastern Sea, to the Rocky Mountains, ~~His name was Zelph~~. The curse was taken from *Zelph* ~~him~~, or at least, in part. one of his thigh bones was broken by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle, years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during a ~~last~~ great struggle with the Lamanites ~~and Nephites~~: *Elder Woodruff carried the thigh bone to Clay county*.[17]

It is apparent that a number of details were not settled in Richards's mind as he drafted and revised this statement. A close study of the primary accounts enables us to see how Richards probably came to write what he did. Since this was only one small incident in a long narrative, he understandably did not go to great lengths to check for detailed consistency in what he wrote. At any rate, he introduced minor differences or discrepancies into the story. For example, Wilford Woodruff's "inhabitants of this continent" became "the inhabitants of this country" (others would later say "county"), and Woodruff's statement that mounds in the area had been built "probably by the Nephites and Lamanites" became

an implied certainty when Richards left out the word "probably." The mere "arrow" of the three earliest accounts became an "Indian Arrow" (as in Kimball), and finally a "Lamanitish Arrow." The phrase "known from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains," as in the McBride diary, became "known from the Hill Cumorah" (stricken out) or "eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains," similar to words penned by Wilford Woodruff. The statement that the battle in which Zelph was killed occurred "among the Lamanites" (as in Kimball) became "with the Lamanites." We cannot tell whether these changes were true to Joseph Smith's original intent, for they give the account an air of greater precision than may have been originally present.

A second copy of the same material exists, known as "Manuscript History of the Church, Book A-2," apparently written entirely in the hand of Wilmer Benson. It differs from the Richards version in a dozen details of spelling, punctuation, and phrasing, but only two differences are substantive. Where Richards describes Zelph as "a man of God," Benson puts "a son of God," and Richards's "a great struggle with the Lamanites" reads in Benson, "the last great struggle with the Lamanites." The second manuscript was written as a back-up in case the first was lost or destroyed.

Following the martyrdom of the Prophet, the *Times and Seasons* published serially the "History of Joseph Smith." When the story of the finding of Zelph appeared in the 1 January 1846 issue, it read as follows:

> We encamped on the bank of the river until Tuesday the 3rd during our travels we visited several of the mounds which had been thrown up by the ancient inhabitants of this county, Nephites, Lamanites, &c., and this morning I went up on a high mound, near the river, accompanied by the brethren. From this mound we could overlook the tops of the trees and view the prairie on each side of the river as far as our vision could extend, and the scenery was truly delightful.
>
> On the top of the mound were stones which presented the appearance of three alters having been erected one above the other, according to ancient order; and human bones were strewn over the surface of the ground. The brethren procured a shovel and hoe, and removing the earth to the depth of about one foot discovered [the] skeleton of a man, almost entire, and between his ribs was a Lamanitish arrow, which evidently produced his death, Elder Brigham Young retained the arrow and the brethren carried some peices of the skeleton to Clay county. The comtemplation of the scenery before us produced peculiar sensations in our bosoms; and the visions of the past being opened to my understanding by the spirit of the Almighty I discovered that the person whose skeleton was before us, was a white Lamanite, a large thick set man, and a man of God. He was a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet

> Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah, or Eastern sea, to the Rocky Mountains. His name was Zelph. The curse was taken from him, or at least, in part; one of his thigh bones was broken, by a stone flung from a sling, while in battle years before his death. He was killed in battle, by the arrow found among his ribs, during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites.[18]

Most of the words crossed out in the Richards manuscript are, for some unknown reason, included in this publication, along with the point that the prophet's name was Omandagus. Brigham Young, not Burr Riggs, is still said to have retained the arrow, and the reference to the Hill Cumorah, from the unemended Wilford Woodruff journal, is still included in the narrative. Further, the concluding sentence in the *Times and Seasons* account reads, "during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites," whereas both the Richards and Benson manuscripts had crossed off "and Nephites."

The story of Zelph appeared again in June 1888 in the *Historical Record,* a periodical edited and published by Andrew Jenson, the Church's primary historical writer at that time. In this account, Burr Riggs is said to have retained the arrow, and the Hill Cumorah is still mentioned, as are the Nephites.[19] The 1904 first edition of the B. H. Roberts edited, seven-volume *History of the Church* repeats the account as Richards had left it. In 1948, after Joseph Fielding Smith had become Church Historian, explicit references to the Hill Cumorah and the Nephites were reintroduced.[20] That phrasing has continued to the present in all reprintings.

When Reorganized LDS Church historian Heman C. Smith, in 1922, wrote his "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 1805–1890," he followed the 1845 *Times and Seasons* account with only minor editing. However, he did not give Zelph's name.[21]

It is obvious, then, that historians in both the LDS and RLDS churches have written the accounts so that the reader believes he is reading the Prophet Joseph Smith's own words. While, as Dean Jessee has shown, this was an accepted practice among nineteenth-century historians,[22] it has misled many readers by conveying the impression that Joseph Smith personally recorded far more about the events in which he participated than was the case. Moreover, the official historians would be faulted by modern scholars both for shaping and modifying the published narratives to agree with particular sources without considering their factual merits and for ignoring several of the earliest sources. I shall not attempt to reconstruct what Joseph Smith may have said to members of Zion's

Camp regarding Zelph on 3 and 4 June 1834. His exact words are beyond our historical grasp. But it seems to me we are warranted in drawing certain conclusions from the available evidence.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ZELPH

It seems obvious that discussion and argumentation about historical and geographical questions in LDS circles has put more weight than is justified on the detailed phrasing of the account of Zelph as it is published in the *History of the Church*. Joseph Smith himself did not write much about the incident. He alluded to it only once, in his letter to Emma of 4 June 1834, when he identified the terrain over which the camp had marched as the "plains of the Nephites." Evidently these plains were in some respect associated with, or comparable to, the battlefields of the Nephites, but beyond that it is unclear what Joseph meant by this expression.

An examination of the original accounts of the events of 3 June 1834 yields the following general descriptions: The extant accounts vary widely in length (from 40 to about 375 words) and in the range of information they cover. Where they report statements or observations about the same particular point, unanimity is rare; noticeably different "facts" are reported about the same events. Only Hancock's account makes it perfectly clear that he was not a firsthand witness to the primary happenings. All the others leave it unclear whether the writers saw or heard for themselves some or all of what they report or whether their information came by hearsay. In no case are we certain how much time elapsed before the journal accounts were recorded.

The experience of historians and the experiments of psychologists have established that precise recall of details about a happening fades notoriously rapidly. Differences in the reported facts among the basic sources may owe in part to delays in recording. Certainly Wilford Woodruff's recollections fifty-nine years after the event were markedly inaccurate, and Heber C. Kimball's story, which he seems to have put on the record at least a decade after the Zelph affair, contains phrasings only uncertainly supported by other accounts. The earlier accounts are more tentative, including words such as "suposed" (McBride), "suppose" and "no doubt" (Martin), "probably" and "undecided" (Woodruff). The later accounts are more specific and certain. The chart in the appendix at the end of this essay shows the points of agreement and difference in these sources.

While it is impossible with the available evidence to reconstruct the exact process by which the narrative as it appears in the

History of the Church was constructed by historical writers, some points are apparent. Practically all elements of the story incorporated into the account by Willard Richards are found in just two sources, Woodruff and Kimball. Kimball's diaries begin with his British mission in 1837, and the journal from which the account of the finding of Zelph is taken was dictated from memory to Robert B. Thompson in 1840.[23] It is probable that Joseph Smith read what his clerks, Willard Richards and Wilmer Benson, wrote about this event for the *History of the Church*. Their manuscript accounts cross out all reference to "the Nephites" and to the "hill Cumorah." We cannot know on present evidence, however, whether the crossing out was at Joseph's instance or with his approval.

That members of Zion's Camp dug up a skeleton near the Illinois River in early June 1834 is certain. Equally sure is that Joseph Smith made statements about the deceased person and his historical setting. It is unclear which statements attributed to him derived from his vision, as opposed to being implied or surmised either by him or by others. Nothing in the diaries suggests that the mound itself was discovered by revelation. Moses Martin indicates that the men dug because they were "filled with curiosity." Levi Hancock simply reports that "many went to see the big mound about a mile below the crossing." Heber C. Kimball seems to say they went to the mound to get "a pleasant view of the surrounding country."

Most sources agree that Zelph was a white Lamanite who fought under a leader named Onandagus (variously spelled). Beyond that, what Joseph said to his men is not entirely clear, judging by the variations in the available sources. Therefore, those who try to support a particular historical or geographical point of view about the Book of Mormon by citing the Zelph story are on inconclusive grounds.

The date of the man Zelph remains unclear. Expressions such as "great struggles among the Lamanites," if accurately reported, could refer to a period long after the close of the Book of Mormon narrative as well as to the fourth century A.D. None of the sources before the Willard Richards composition, however, actually say that Zelph died in battle *with* the Nephites, only that he died "in battle" when the otherwise unidentified people of Onandagus were engaged in great wars "among the Lamanites." Archaeological research in mounds near the one where the bones of Zelph were discovered indicates that the mounds and the artifacts found within them belong to the Middle Woodland Period, dated somewhere between perhaps 100 B.C. and A.D. 500. However, the Zelph skeleton came from a shallow burial near the top of the mound.

Who knows whether it was intrusive, buried there more recently than the period of the main mound construction? Apostle John A. Widtsoe once wrote, "Zelph probably dated from a later time when the Nephites and Lamanites had been somewhat dispersed and had wandered over the country."[24] Thus, it is unclear when Zelph himself lived.

Zelph was identified as a "Lamanite," a label agreed on by all the accounts. This term might refer to the ethnic and cultural category spoken of in the Book of Mormon as actors in the destruction of the Nephites, or it might refer more generally to a descendant of the earlier Lamanites and could have been considered in 1834 as the equivalent of "Indian" (see, for example, D&C 3:18, 20; 10:48; 28:8; 32:2). Nothing in this study can settle the question of Zelph's specific ethnic identity.

Exactly what Joseph Smith believed at different times in his life concerning Book of Mormon geography in general is also indeterminable. Only a few clues remain. For example, while the Church was headquartered in Nauvoo, Joseph read a best-selling book of his day by John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan,* which John Bernhisel had sent to him from the East. In a letter dated 16 November 1841, the Prophet thanked Bernhisel and wrote of the book that "of all histories that had been written pertaining to the antiquities of this country it is the most correct" and that it "supports the testimony of the Book of Mormon."[25] Ten months later, the *Times and Seasons* printed an enthusiastic review of the Stephens volume. John Taylor was the editor, although Joseph Smith had shortly before announced his own editorial responsibility for the newspaper. The unnamed writer of the review (probably Wilford Woodruff) stated that "we have just learned . . . the city of Zarahemla . . . stood upon this land" (Guatemala, whose ruins Stephens was reporting). Still, other data seem to reflect a different view and make it uncertain just what geographical conception, if any single one, prevailed among the early Church leaders. Evidently Joseph Smith's views on this matter were open to further knowledge. Thus in 1834, when Zelph was found, Joseph believed that the portion of America over which they had just traveled was "the plains of the Nephites" and that their bones were "proof" of the Book of Mormon's authenticity. By 1842 he evidently believed that the events in most of Nephite history took place in Central America. While it is possible to reconcile these two views—for example by believing that the bulk of Nephite history occurred in Central America while only certain battles or excursions took place in Illinois—it is likely that the thinking of the early Church leaders regarding Book of Mormon geography was subject

to modification, indicating that they themselves did not see the issue as settled.[26] When the committee preparing the 1921 edition of the Book of Mormon (composed of George F. Richards, Orson F. Whitney, James E. Talmage, Anthony W. Ivins, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Melvin J. Ballard) met "to give certain brethren an opportunity to state their views regarding the geography of the Book of Mormon," none of the scholars who spoke to the group used the Zelph story as evidence for their position. That was probably because the quartet who made presentations—Joel Ricks, Willard Young, B. H. Roberts, and President Ivins—generally argued that the Nephite-Lamanite civilization spoken of in the scripture was centered in South or Central America. A quarter of a century later, however, Joseph Fielding Smith used the Zelph story to support his view that the Hill Cumorah in the state of New York "is the exact hill spoken of in the Book of Mormon."[27] The debate about Zelph's relation to Book of Mormon geography will likely continue since the facts in hand do not allow for a decisive settlement of the matter.

Daniel J. Boorstin has reminded historians that they are both discoverers and creators, always trying to reduce or remove ambiguity. The successful historian leads his readers to take—or mistake—his accounts for what really occurred and was recorded. The historian's labor is limited by the reliability of "the remains of the past as clues to what was really there."[28] In the case of Zelph, the clues are sketchy and in some cases inconsistent. In such circumstances, it is the historian's responsibility not only to gather and present the evidence but to advise caution in drawing conclusions.

APPENDIX

The Various Sources and Some Variations in Content Used to Reconstruct the Story of the Finding of Zelph

	McBride 1834	Martin 1834	Woodruff 1834	Hancock 1834	HC A1 1842-43	Kimball 1845	Times & Seasons January 1846	Woodruff 1850	George A. Smith 1857	Jenson 1888	Woodruff 1893	HC 1904 Edition	HC 1948 Edition
Where it took place	Illinois	Pike Co., Illinois	Illinois	west side of Illinois river	Illinois	on bank of Ill. river	Illinois		Illinois		Ohio		
Day of personal visit	3rd		"we visited" but implied not with the large group	"many went: I did not go"		3rd	3rd	3rd	2nd, "some of us visited"				
Day Joseph visited					3rd, morning, with several others	3rd, "with Joseph"	3rd	3rd	3rd, with many others				
Multiple mounds	yes	yes	yes		had visited several		yes	yes					
Who built mounds			probably Nephites and Lamanites				ancient inhab. of this country	ancient inhab. of this country				Same as HC A1, 1842-43	Same as HC A1 and HC 1904 editions except where indicated
Fortifications near		yes											
Land once called				Land of desolation									
Mound height			300 ft. above river	about 100 ft.	"high," over-looking prairie	several hundred ft. above river overlooking prairie		very high, 300 ft.	on a bluff about 300 ft. high		very high		
Bones seen on surface					yes	yes	yes	yes					
Altars seen					stones presented appearance of three altars	appearance of three altars	yes	three altars					
Steps up mound											yes		
Motive in digging		curiosity				felt prompted		Joseph told them to					

Dug at whose insistence								Joseph's			Joseph's		
Who dug	Joseph	we	several of the brethren addendum: M. Holmes and others implied				brethren	we or us					Same as HC A1 and HC 1904 editions except where indicated
Were tools sent for					yes	yes	procured	had shovel			had shovel		
Where dug on mound		top					top	top			halfway down		
Dug how deep		about two feet			about one foot	about one foot	one foot	one foot			little more than six in.		
Remains found	a skeleton	the bones of	a body, bones of a man	some bones brought back and a broken arrow	skeleton and arrow	almost entire skeleton, arrow	skeleton	skeleton	some bones		skeleton of a man	Same as HC A1, 1842-43	
Name of remains found	Zelph		Zelph		Zelph	Zelph	Zelph	Zelph			Zelph		Same as HC
Was Zelph a warrior	a great warrior		yes	when young, great warrior	yes		yes	yes					
Was Zelph a captain					chieftan	officer	chief						
Was Zelph godly	a man of God	yes	a man of God		a man of God		yes	joined the Nephites					
Who was Zelph fighting under	Omandagus		Onandagus	Onendages, Onendagus	Onandagus		Omandagus	Onan-dagus		Oman-dagus	Onan-dagus		Onen-dagus
Was Zelph a prophet	prophet	a mighty prophet	great prophet		great prophet			warrior and prophet					yes
Was Omandagus a chief/king				king and a good man			prophet	great warrior, leader, and prophet					

APPENDIX - *Continued*

	McBride 1834	Martin 1834	Woodruff 1834	Hancock 1834	HC A1 1842-43	Kimball 1845	Times & Seasons January 1846	Woodruff 1850	George A. Smith 1857	Jenson 1888	Woodruff 1893	HC 1904 Edition	HC 1948 Edition
Omandagus known from	Atlantic to Rocky Mountains		Hill Cumorah on the East sea to the Rocky Mountains		eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains		Hill Cumorah to Rocky Mountains	Hill Cumorah to Rocky Mountains		Hill Cumorah or eastern sea to Rocky Mountains			Hill Cumorah or eastern sea to Rocky Mountains
Cause of Zelph's death	arrow	large stone arrow	arrow		evidently a stone point, a "Lamanitish arrow"	"Indian arrow"	Lamanitish arrow	arrow	flint arrowhead				
Where was arrow point	ribs	in trunk near vitals	among his ribs, out of backbones	breast	between his ribs, among his ribs	between two ribs	between ribs	backbone	a joint in backbone				
Cause of death					during a great struggle with the Lamanites	in the last destruction among the Lamanites	last great struggle of Nephites and Lamanites		a last struggle with the Nephites and Lamanites			Same as HC A1, 1842-43	last struggle with the Nephites and Lamanites
Who removed arrow									Prophet				
Zelph's unusual size		estimate 8 or 9 feet high	large, thickset		large, thickset			short, stout, thickset man					yes
Aged				clearly implied				implied					Same as HC A1 and HC 1904 editions except where indicated
Prior broken thigh			yes	yes	yes		yes	yes					
A white Lamanite	yes		yes	yes			yes	yes	yes				
Curse removed	yes, "or in part"		yes, "at least in part"		yes, "or at least in part"			yes					

When Joseph explained about		soon after		as camp was moving	subsequently	"while on our way"	same day while on mound (implied)	lying in his wagon					
How Joseph learned about		a vision	a vision		visions of the past by Spirit	vision	vision	a vision in broad daylight			Lord showed Joseph		
Who was Joseph speaking to				Sylvester Smith								Same as HC A1, 1842-43	Same as HC A1 and HC 1904 editions except where indicated
How mounds built				they brought dirt and covered dead				by Nephites and Lamanites					
Mound's purpose				bury dead									
Multiple battles, deaths		some great battles, 100,000 dead											
Who kept the bones			W. W. carried thigh bone to Missouri		Elder Woodruff	we	brethren	Milton Holmes and Wilford Woodruff					
Who kept arrow					Burr Riggs	Brigham Young	Brigham Young	Emma Woodruff		Burr Riggs			

NOTES

[1]Roger D. Launius, *Zion's Camp* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1984), 50.

[2]Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 31. See also James L. Bradley, "The Naples-Russell Mound," unpublished research paper, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). A fine discussion of the route of Zion's Camp through Pike County, Illinois, is found in Edward B. Jelks, "Route of the Zion's Camp March across Pike County, Illinois, June 1834," *Bulletin of the Illinois Geographical Society* 28 (Fall 1986): 17–40. See also Charles W. Allen, "Evidence of Zion's Camp Crossing of the Illinois River," unpublished paper, copy in possession of the author. An archaeological survey of the Naples-Russell Mound Number 8 conducted by the National Register of Historic Places includes the following information: "First reported by Henderson in 1884, this mound is among the largest of the existing prehistoric earthworks in the lower Illinois River region. Artifacts recovered from early amateur excavations clearly identify this mound with the Middle Woodland Period (Henderson, 1884). The structure, therefore, reflects mortuary activity of approximately 2,000 years ago. The size of the mound suggests that it should be classed with other large Middle Woodland structures which Struever and Houart (1972) term local centers of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. However, its location—if it is to be associated with the other earthworks of comparable size—is unique. The mound is located on a loessic bluff approximately three hundred feet above the Illinois River floodplain. In association with numerous smaller and perhaps more typical burial mounds, Naples-Russell Mound no. 8 clearly dominates the landscape. All other mounds of comparable size are located in the valley floodplain." In a letter to Stanley Kimball, Dr. Jane E. Buikstra, Associate Professor of Anthropology at Northwestern University, now at the University of Chicago, makes the following observations: "Archaeologists believe that the Middle Woodland Period is one of great cultural complexity in the eastern United States. During this time both Illinois and Ohio saw extensive population concentrations along the major river systems, with the Illinois River Valley being a major site of this phenomenon. Artifacts were manufactured from 'exotic' raw materials, such as copper, mica, and obsidian, and these artifacts were frequently deposited with the dead. Although there are many mound groups which we think date to this important, yet imperfectly understood, period, the Russell complex is unique due to the presence of the large Naples-Russell no. 8 Mound. This structure, which is much larger than any other bluff crest mound in Illinois, is a monument with special potential for archaeological investigation. A few Middle Woodland mounds of similar large size exist, and some of these have been excavated. However, in all cases the sites were located in the floodplain of the Illinois River, and the soils from which the sites were constructed were of a type which does not allow the preservation of human bones and most perishable artifact types. The potential for Naples-Russell #8 containing unique archaeologically recoverable data is great. Another important aspect of the Napoleon Hollow Complex is the presence of a relatively undisturbed habitation site nearby" (Jane E. Buikstra to Stanley B. Kimball, 4 August 1977, copy in author's possession). Because of the construction of the Central Illinois Expressway, thirteen mounds and several knolls were excavated, including mound number 8, where the members of Zion's Camp found Zelph. A report of these excavations may be found in Douglas K. Charles, Steven R. Leigh, and Jane E. Buikstra, ed., *The Archaic and Woodland Cemeteries at the Elizabeth Site in the Lower Illinois Valley* (Kampsville: Illinois Department of Transportation by the Center for American Archeology, Kampsville Archeological Center, 1988).

[3]See, for example, George Q. Cannon, "Biography: Joseph Smith, the Prophet," *Juvenile Instructor* 11 (1875–76): 242; David A. Palmer, *In Search of Cumorah: New Evidences for the Book of Mormon from Ancient Mexico* (Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1981), 74–78; Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *Cumorah—Where?* (Oakland: Privately printed, 1947); Fletcher B. Hammond, *Geography of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing Co., 1959); Cecil E. McGavin and Willard Bean, *Book of Mormon Geography* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1948); George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Book of Mormon Geography: The Lands of the Nephites and Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1957); Joel Ricks, *The Geography of Book of Mormon Lands* (Logan, Utah: N.p., 1940); Norman C. Pierce, *Another Cumorah, Another Joseph* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1954); Thomas Stuart Ferguson, *One Fold, One Shepherd* (San Francisco: Books of California, 1958); J. A. Washburn, *From Babel to Cumorah* (Provo: New Era Publishing Co., 1937).

[4]Dean C. Jessee, *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 324.

[5]All primary documents are gratefully used here by permission of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. I also acknowledge the work of John W. Welch, Tim Rathbone, John L. Sorenson, James Treadway, and Brenda Miles at F.A.R.M.S. in helping to prepare this article for publication, and I express gratitude to the Church Educational System for sponsoring my research on this project.

[6]Reuben McBride, Diary, 3 June 1834, LDS Church Archives.

[7]John L. Sorenson, in a letter to the author, observes that the only period when an Indian might be known even approximately from the Rocky Mountains to the eastern part of the continent is likely limited to the Middle Woodland Period or Hopewell culture dating within the limits A.D. 1–500. It is possible, though less likely, that something of the same situation of widespread, interregional communication could date to the Mississippian Period, A.D. 1300–1600. It is of course also possible that the Zelph burial, which was near the surface at the mound's top, dated considerably later than the period of mound construction. For information regarding connections between Mesoamerica and the Hopewell Indians, see James B. Griffin, "Mesoamerica and the Eastern United States in Prehistoric Times," *Handbook of Middle American Indians,* 15 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 4:111–31; David S. Brose and N'omi Greber, *Hopewell Archaeology* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1979); "Cache in the Corn Field," *Time* 102 (29 October 1973): 123. Onandagus is the name of a tribe of Indians that belonged to the five-nation confederacy of the Iroquois who occupied upper New York state. At the time when 'the Peacemaker' (whom some authorities label as a prophet) came among these tribes, who much later would become known as the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onandaga, and the Cayuga, he found a powerful disciple in Hiawatha, a member of the Onondago society who was grieving at the deaths of his "beloved daughters." The objective of the Peacemaker, Hiawatha, and the other disciples was to make the world safe from irrational behavior. The center of their new world was to be Onandago, which was also to be the capital at which decisions affecting the continent would be made. The league the Peacemaker founded was characterized by many of the principles of democracy now embraced by the West. These people, called the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), furthermore perfected the skill of negotiating a truly peaceful settlement and provided their people with the vision of a totally peaceful future (see John Mohawk, "Origins of Iroquois Political Thought," *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 3 [Summer 1986]: 16–20).

[8]Moses Martin, Diary, LDS Church Archives.

[9]Wilford Woodruff, Diary, LDS Church Archives. This entry is on a page headed "May 8th, 1834." See also Scott Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal,* 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 1:10.

[10]Levi Hancock, Diary, photocopy in LDS Church Archives. Typically Hancock did not let many days pass without writing in his diary.

[11]Hancock, Diary, 14 and 17 May 1834.

[12]Heber C. Kimball, Autobiography, LDS Church Archives. This was probably written after the Saints had arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. There is evidence that the autobiography was taken from the *Times and Seasons* 6 (1 February 1845): 788.

[13]As to how much time some of the members of Zion's Camp spent on the mound, it has been estimated that it would have taken them at least ten minutes to travel the mile from the camp to the mound—perhaps longer because it is a rather steep climb. Sending for a shovel and hoe would have taken at least another twenty minutes, and some archaeologists estimate it would have taken at least thirty minutes to excavate the almost complete skeleton of a large man. This would mean the group of men were on the mound for at least an hour. See letter of Edward B. Jelks to Warren D. Winston, 13 January 1984, copy in possession of Stanley B. Kimball.

[14]George A. Smith, Journal, 2 June 1834, LDS Church Archives. The following note was appended: "a narrative of which is published in the Church History."

[15]Undated autobiography of Wilford Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff Collection, LDS Church Archives. Wilford Woodruff wrote this autobiography in his own hand through page 50, or through the 25 November 1835 period of his life. After that, probably William Appleby or Robert Lang wrote as he dictated. Woodruff began writing the events in his life after the arrival of the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley.

[16]This account was obtained by Richard L. Anderson on 31 October 1986 from the George A. Smith family papers, MS 36, box 174, folder 1, p. 26, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Questions have been raised regarding the arrowhead referred to in the Woodruff account. When shown pictures of the arrowhead, archaeologists have indicated that it is not of a type common in the area of the Zelph mound. However, survey and archaeological work on the Zelph mound will take years to complete. Furthermore, as Donald T. Schmidt, former LDS Church archivist, indicates, "There are no indications however, that this is the same arrowhead spoken of by Wilford Woodruff" (Donald T. Schmidt to James L. Bradley, 3 February 1975, copy in author's possession). The arrowhead that was found in the Church Archives and shown to experts seems to be of the type used by the Plains Indians and is probably not more than a few hundred years old.

[17]Joseph Smith, *Manuscript History of the Church,* Book A-1, 3 June 1834, LDS Church Archives, see n. 1, Addenda p. 5.

[18]*Times and Seasons* 6 (1 January 1846): 1076.

[19]*Historical Record* 7 (June 1888): 581.

[20]Joseph Smith, *History of the Church,* 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1902), 2:79–80. Compare 1948 edition, pp. 79–80. Fletcher B. Hammond states that Preston Nibley, Assistant Church Historian, had authorized him to say that "the 1904 edition of the *Documentary History of the Church,* vol. 2, pages 79–80, correctly reports the Zelph incident, and that part of the 1934 [sic] [1948] edition of the same history which differs from it is erroneous. That is to say that the Prophet Joseph did not say: 'Onandagus who was known from the hill Cumorah, or eastern sea to Rocky Mountains,' but he did say: 'Onandagus, who was known from the eastern sea to the Rocky Mountains.' He did not say Zelph was

killed 'during the last great struggle of the Lamanites and Nephites,' but he did say Zelph was killed in a battle during a great struggle with the Lamanites." However, as we have shown previously, it is impossible to know exactly what Joseph said on these matters. Therefore, even Preston Nibley's educated statement may attribute more to Joseph Smith than the facts warrant (see Fletcher B. Hammond, *Geography of the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City: Privately printed, 1959], 481–96).

[21]Heman C. Smith, *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,* 7 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Board of Publications of the Reorganized Church, 1922), 1:460–61.

[22]Dean C. Jessee, "Has Mormon History Been Deliberately Falsified," *Mormon Miscellaneous,* no. 2 (April 1982): 1–6; "The Reliability of Joseph Smith's History," *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 23–46.

[23]Stanley B. Kimball, ed., *On the Potter's Wheel, The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), xii.

[24]John A. Widtsoe, "Is Book of Mormon Geography Known?" *Improvement Era* 53 (July 1950): 451.

[25]Letter of Joseph Smith to John M. Bernhisel, 16 November 1841, in Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 501–2. For a discussion of other journal and diary entries concerning the possible location of Book of Mormon lands, see Ross T. Christensen, "The River of Nephi: An Archeological Commentary on an Old Diary Entry," *Newsletter and Proceedings of the Society for Early Historic Archaeology* 158 (December 1984): 1–8. Christensen discusses some diary entries of Charles L. Walker, Reuben McBride, and Levi Hancock, and then treats the topic "How Much Did the Prophet Know?" (about Book of Mormon geography and archeological claims).

[26]See, for example, John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co. and F.A.R.M.S., 1985), 8–23; John Clark, "A Key for Evaluating Nephite Geographies," *Review of Books about the Book of Mormon* 1 (Provo: F.A.R.M.S., 1989): 20–70. Even though the events of most of Nephite history may have taken place within a relatively small area, it is evident that cultural transmissions radiated out from Central America, both to the north and to the south (see "Mesoamericans in Pre-Spanish South America" *F.A.R.M.S. Updates* [November 1986]: 1, and "Mesoamericans in Pre-Columbian North America," *F.A.R.M.S. Updates* [February 1987]: 1).

[27]Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith,* ed. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:232–36.

[28]Daniel J. Boorstin, "The Historian: 'A Wrestler with the Angel,' " *New York Times Book Review,* 20 September 1987, 1.

The Consequential Dimension of Mormon Religiosity

Stan L. Albrecht

Often as I have walked past the east wall of the general reference section of the Lee Library during my years as an undergraduate student and then, later, as a member of the faculty, I have glanced up at the photos of members of the Brigham Young University community who have been selected to give prior Distinguished Faculty Lectures. I have always felt a deep sense of admiration for the contribution each has made to the university and a great personal appreciation for the impact that several have had on my own life. Tonight, I acknowledge again that impact as well as the sense of honor I feel to be included among them.

I will direct my remarks this evening to the general topic of the sociology of religion and, more particularly, the sociology of Mormon life. I begin with the guiding assumption that causal explanation is a hallmark of religion,[1] whether the event to be explained is, in Paul Davies's words, one of the "deep questions of existence" or something that is more mundane.[2] I quickly acknowledge that Davies's deep questions of existence, such as life and its purposes and the origin and destiny of the universe, are addressed by religion primarily through revelation and received wisdom. At the same time, I will attempt to point out that many of the effects of religion on the more mundane questions of life can be addressed empirically through the collection and analysis of social-science data.

In sharing with you a body of such social-science data, my focus will be primarily on what I will call the consequential dimension of religion. I will set aside many of the important personal and spiritual aspects of religious belief and ask, more simply, what difference religious affiliation and practice make in other dimensions of our lives. At the same time, I will treat the consequences of religion a bit more broadly than is often done in

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that I will consider other religiously-related behaviors as relevant outcomes of religious identification and practice. In other words, in what follows, I will treat religion as both a dependent and an independent variable. My approach will clearly imply an important value decision on my part: I begin with the conviction that religious belief and practice can and should be positive forces in our own lives and desirable ends or outcomes for society more generally.

While beginning with the question, "Does religion make any difference?" I will further focus most of my remarks on the more specific, "Does being a Latter-day Saint make any difference?" Are we different because of our religious heritage and practice, or have we become, as someone suggested many years ago, not so much a peculiar people as a rather common people characterized by a peculiar history? One who has studied Mormonism over the last three decades has observed that "with worldly opportunity has come worldly achievement, which has in turn brought worldly respectability; and respectability is always a problem for a 'peculiar people.' "[3] To address this broad issue, I will focus on three areas: religious disengagement and disaffiliation; religion and family life; and religion and education.

Interest in the study of religion has a very long, though sometimes mixed, history in the social sciences. In my own field, three of the most important early founders of the discipline, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Karl Marx, focused extensively on the impact of religion on society. Students from a variety of backgrounds can readily identify Durkheim's important empirical work on the origins of religion, Weber's substantial contributions on the relationship between the development of Protestant religious beliefs and the emergence of capitalist economic systems, and Marx's scathing criticisms of the churches as supporters of the oppressive status quo. Marx's definition of religion as "the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions" still describes the approach taken toward religion by many of his twentieth century followers.[4]

Subdisciplines focusing on religious phenomena in both sociology and psychology began to develop before the turn of the last century, and though interest among social scientists in the empirical study of religion has passed through several cycles of increasing and decreasing intensity, there has accumulated a substantial record of research on such issues as the functional nature of religious belief systems, the dimensions of religiosity, and the religious conversion process.[5] Research on these and related questions now appears with some regularity in the better journals of both disciplines.

With such developments, we are now in the midst of what is being called the most exciting decades since at least the early 1900s in terms of the quantity and quality of research and theory on the social science of religion.[6] The findings I will describe are direct products of that period of revival. I am pleased that we have finally reached this point, particularly as it applies to our own faith, because while substantial treatises have been written on a wide variety of historical topics having to do with Mormonism, very little has been done until this period on the broad topic of our sociology. I underline the significant fact that many of the most important contemporary contributions are being made by faculty members at this university. I will draw upon the work of several of these colleagues in this essay.

DISENGAGEMENT AND DISAFFILIATION

Over the past several years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of studies designed to help us better understand the processes through which people become less involved religiously. Let me try to set the stage for what follows by starting with some national comparisons.

The involvement of Americans with religion presents the researcher with some interesting paradoxes. For example, the overwhelming majority of Americans—95 percent—say they believe in God; four-fifths report that they feel close to God; most believe in life after death, and, of those who believe in the concept of

TABLE 1

The American Religious Landscape

Percent of Americans who:	
1. State a religious preference	92%
2. Claim formal church membership	69%
3. Are actually recorded as church members	59%
4. Say religion is very important in their lives	55%
5. Attend religious services in a typical week	40%

Source: Gallup, Religion in America, 1987

heaven, fully two-thirds believe they have an excellent or good chance of going there. At the same time, there is a very clear lack of depth in the religious experience of most Americans. While virtually every home in this country has at least one Bible, biblical illiteracy is very widespread, and fewer than "half of adult Americans can name the person who delivered the Sermon on the Mount or more than four of the Ten Commandments."[7]

At the present time, about 92 percent of the population of this country state a specific religious preference, though a significantly smaller percentage actually claim formal church membership, are recorded as church members, or engage in regular religious worship. Most of that small minority who report no religious preference were members of a church at some time earlier in their lives. A significant number of the 92 percent who are church affiliates, however, do not identify with the church of their birth. Approximately 40 percent of all American Protestants indicate a denominational preference different from that in which they were raised,[8] though switching is much less common among other groups such as Catholics and Jews. While switching denominational affiliation for many Protestants often involves simply "changing brands" for convenience, rather than actively seeking a religious faith that would more adequately express their personal religious commitment,[9] for some who leave the church of their birth, the change obviously involves a more meaningful conversion experience or a more dramatic loss of personal belief.

TABLE 2

Religious "Switchers" in America

	% of current members not raised in that denomination	*% of those raised in a denomination who have "switched" out*
Protestants	40	27
Catholic	18	8
Jewish	18	6
Other	25	48

Source: Frank Newport, "The Religious Switcher in The United States," American Sociological Review, 1979 (August): 528-552.

All across the American religious landscape, then, are those who were at one time members of a given church but who have now left that church to join another or, less frequently, have given up their religious identity altogether. Based on a variety of data sources, we can now conclude that there is clear and pervasive movement both into and out of virtually all religious orders.[10] New, rapid growth religious movements often experience apostasy at a rate that closely parallels their rate of conversion of new members, and, while the patterns may differ significantly in older, more established religious orders, change is still a regular and common occurrence.[11]

As Latter-day Saints, we are clearly affected by these same forces though, by all counts, the Church has a tremendous net advantage when one examines the phenomena of religious conversion/disaffection.[12] Before I focus on individuals who have lost their faith or who have discontinued their organizational affiliation, let me begin by putting that discussion into a broader perspective. Non-Mormon sociologist Rodney Stark recently introduced his analysis of Mormon growth patterns by stating:

> I shall give my reasons for believing that it is possible today to study that incredibly rare event: the rise of a new world religion. I shall attempt to demonstrate that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the Mormons, will soon achieve a worldwide following comparable to that of Islam, Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, and the other dominant world faiths.[13]

Stark observes further that "Indeed, today, [the Mormons] stand on the threshold of becoming the first major faith to appear on earth since the Prophet Mohammed rode out of the desert."[14] What is it about the Church that leads one not of our faith to make such seemingly outrageous statements? Let me show you by using some of Stark's tables that I have corrected and updated slightly from the time of his analysis.

It is the rate of growth that so startles Stark and leads him to conclude that if growth in the next century is comparable to that of the past, Mormonism will truly become a major world faith. A projected 30 percent growth rate per decade will result in over 60 million Mormons by the year 2080. A 50 percent per decade growth rate, which is actually lower than the rate each decade since World War II, will result in over 265 million members of the Church by 2080. Of course such straight-line projections are very risky because they assume that the future will be much like the past. But, as Stark notes, "it would be wise to keep in mind that back in 1880 scholars would have ridiculed anyone who used a straight-line

TABLE 3

The Growth Record of the LDS Church

Year	Number of Members	Rate of Increase
1830	280	
1840	16,865	5,923%
1850	51,839	207%
1860	61,082	18%
1870	90,130	48%
1880	133,628	48%
1890	188,263	41%
1900	283,765	51%
1910	398,479	40%
1920	525,987	32%
1930	670,017	27%
1940	862,664	29%
1950	1,111,314	29%
1960	1,693,180	52%
1970	2,930,810	73%
1980	4,644,768	58%
1985*	5,910,496*	54%*

* Adjusted for 1990 percentage. Assuming present growth rate.

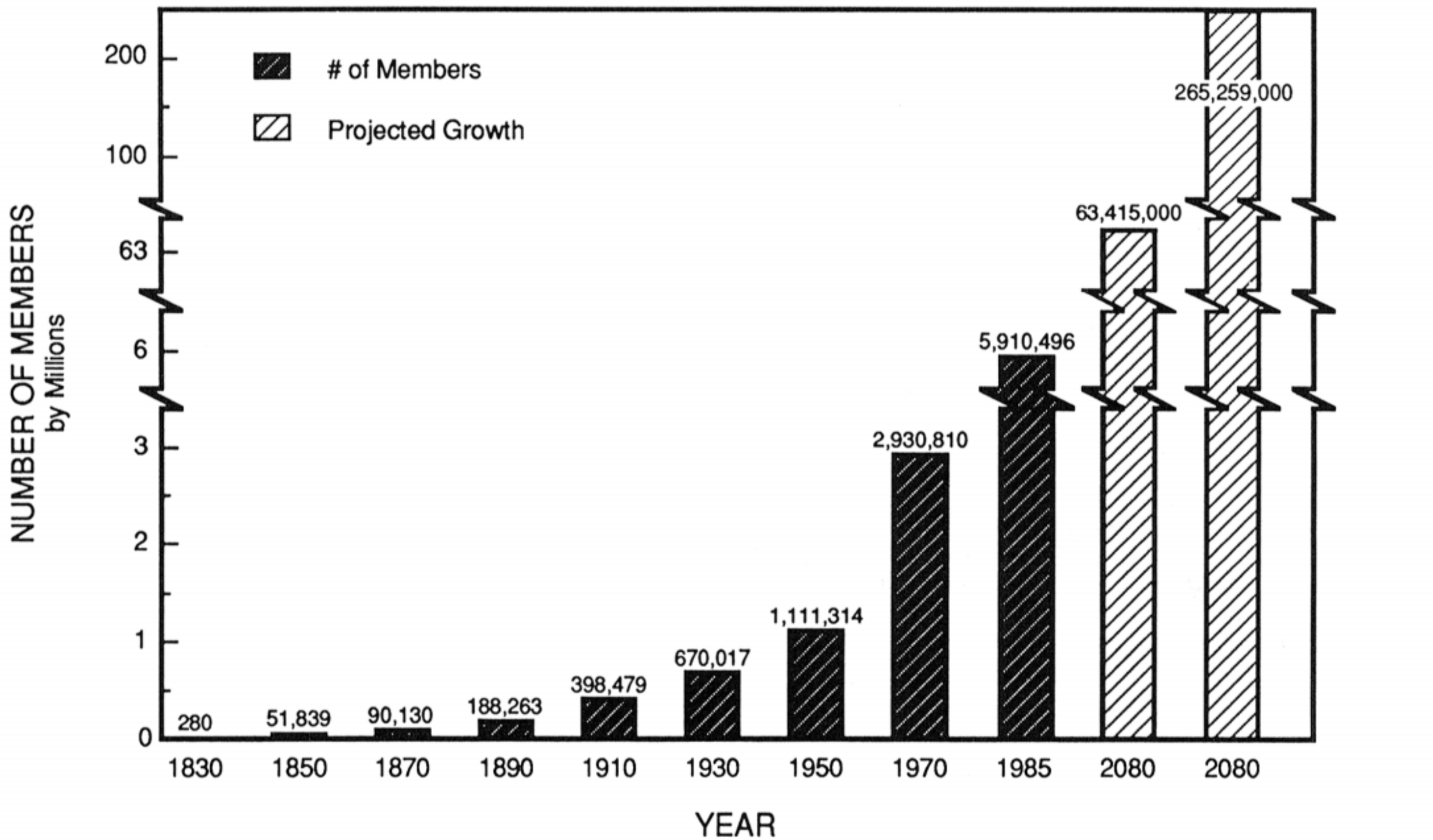
Projections:

Year	Estimate	Estimated Rate
2080	63,415,000	30% per decade
2080	265,259,000	50% per decade

Source: Stark, 1984 and LDS Church Almanac, 1987

TABLE 4

The Growth Record of the LDS Church



Source: Stark, 1984 and LDS Church Almanac, 1987

projection to predict that the 160,000 Mormons of that year would number more than 5 million a century hence. But that is now history."[15]

Stark's view is reinforced by a brief examination of other indicators of growth such as the increase in the numbers of wards and stakes. It is also reinforced by an examination of growth patterns in several selected areas of the world. In some areas the rate of growth is over 100 percent for the last half-decade, and in Central America it has been over 600 percent (see tables 5, 6, and 7). Projections for the future are even more startling, as tables 8, 9, and 10 illustrate.

Other sociologists of religion have talked about the growth of the Church in similar terms. For example, in their analysis of national survey data, Roof and Hadaway calculate what they call "net gains" for a number of American religious faiths. These net gains are obtained by subtracting annual losses from annual gains in membership. They report a 36 percent net gain for Mormons, a rate significantly higher than that for any other group included in their analysis.[16] The overall picture presented by these non-Mormon sociologists is one of continuing, rapid growth. Yet there are obviously some associated with the Church whose mobility is out- rather than in- ward.

TABLE 5

BUILDING THE KINGDOM

Ward and Branch Growth

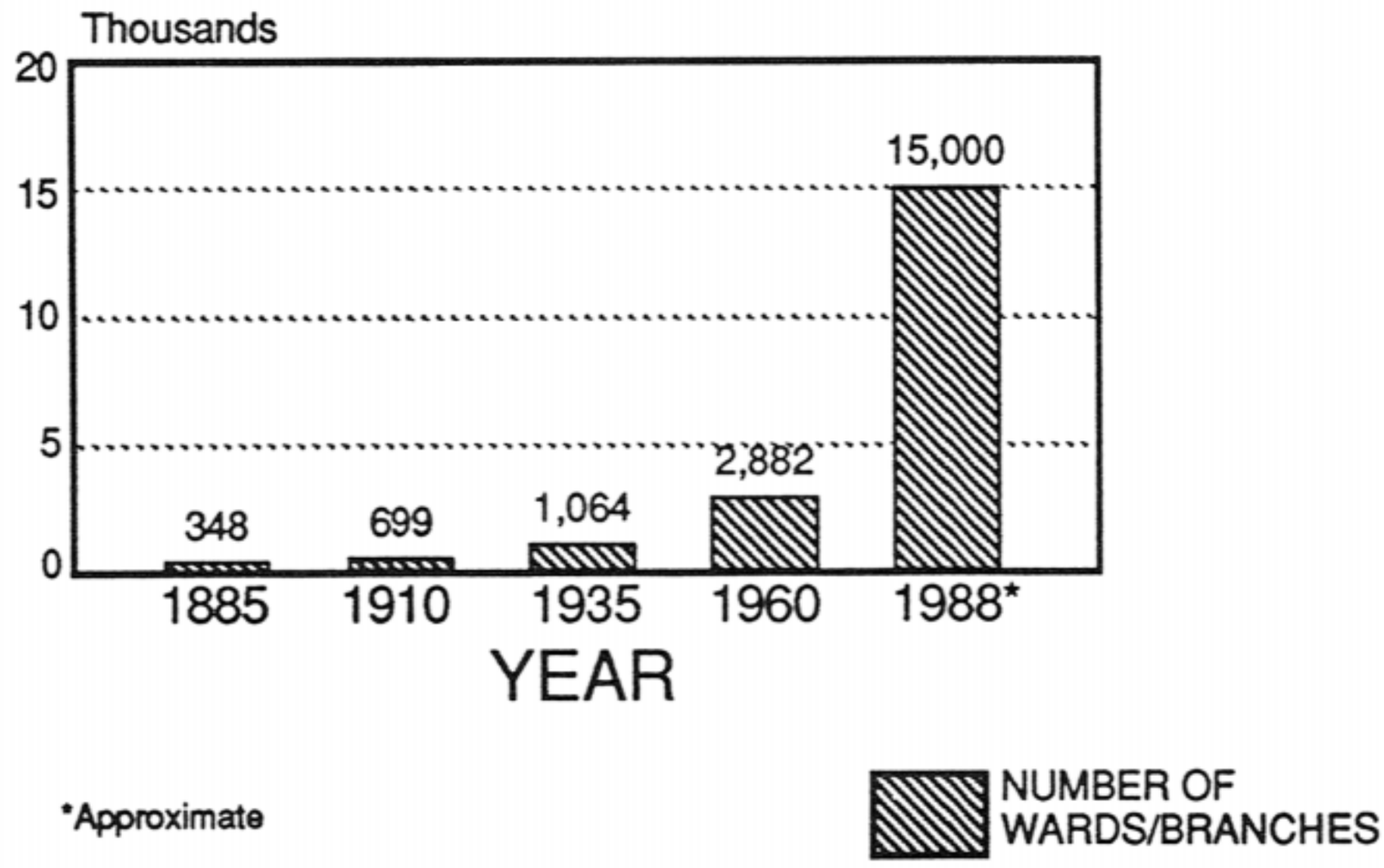


TABLE 6

BUILDING THE KINGDOM

Stake Growth

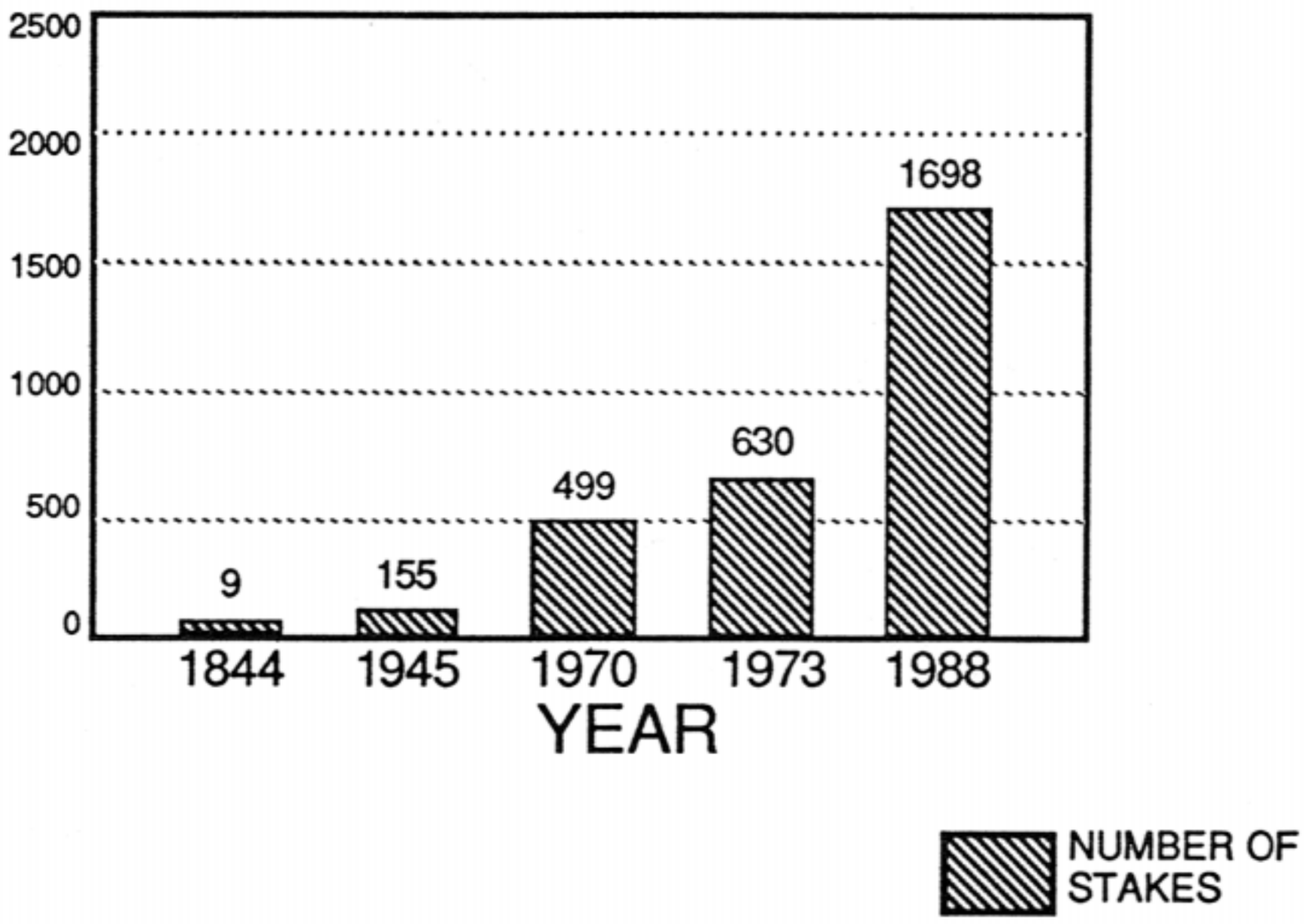


TABLE 7

Five Years of LDS Membership Growth by Area

AREA	*1980*	*1985*	*% growth in 5 years*
South Pacific	135,952	205,499	51%
Asia	139,523	258,766	85%
Europe	99,994	249,328	149%
Central America	51,701	390,410	655%
South America	368,064	783,400	113%
World Wide	*4,644,768*	*5,910,496*	*27%*

Source: LDS Church Almanac, 1987

TABLE 8

BUILDING THE KINGDOM

Philippines Membership

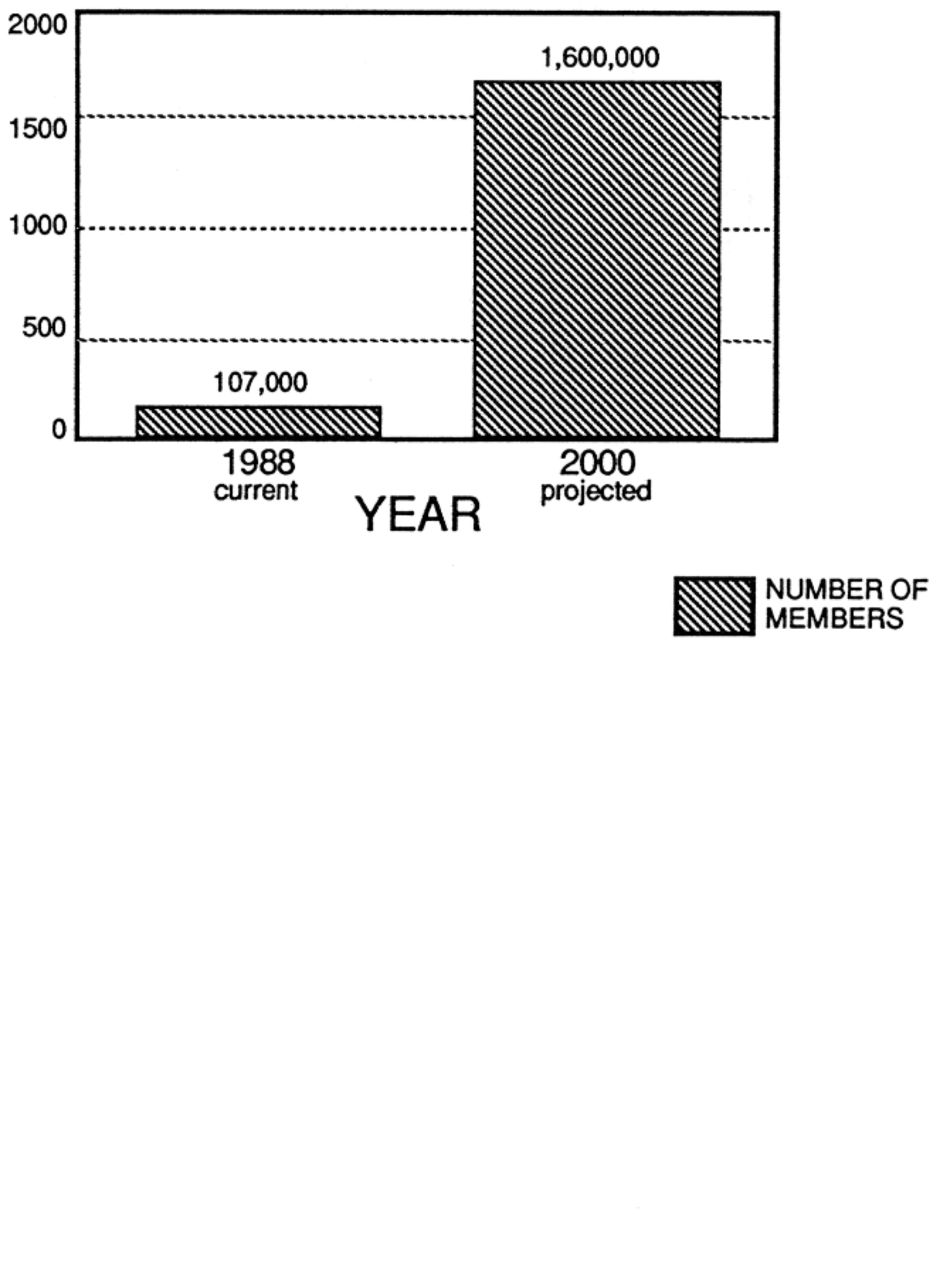


TABLE 9

BUILDING THE KINGDOM

Colombia Membership

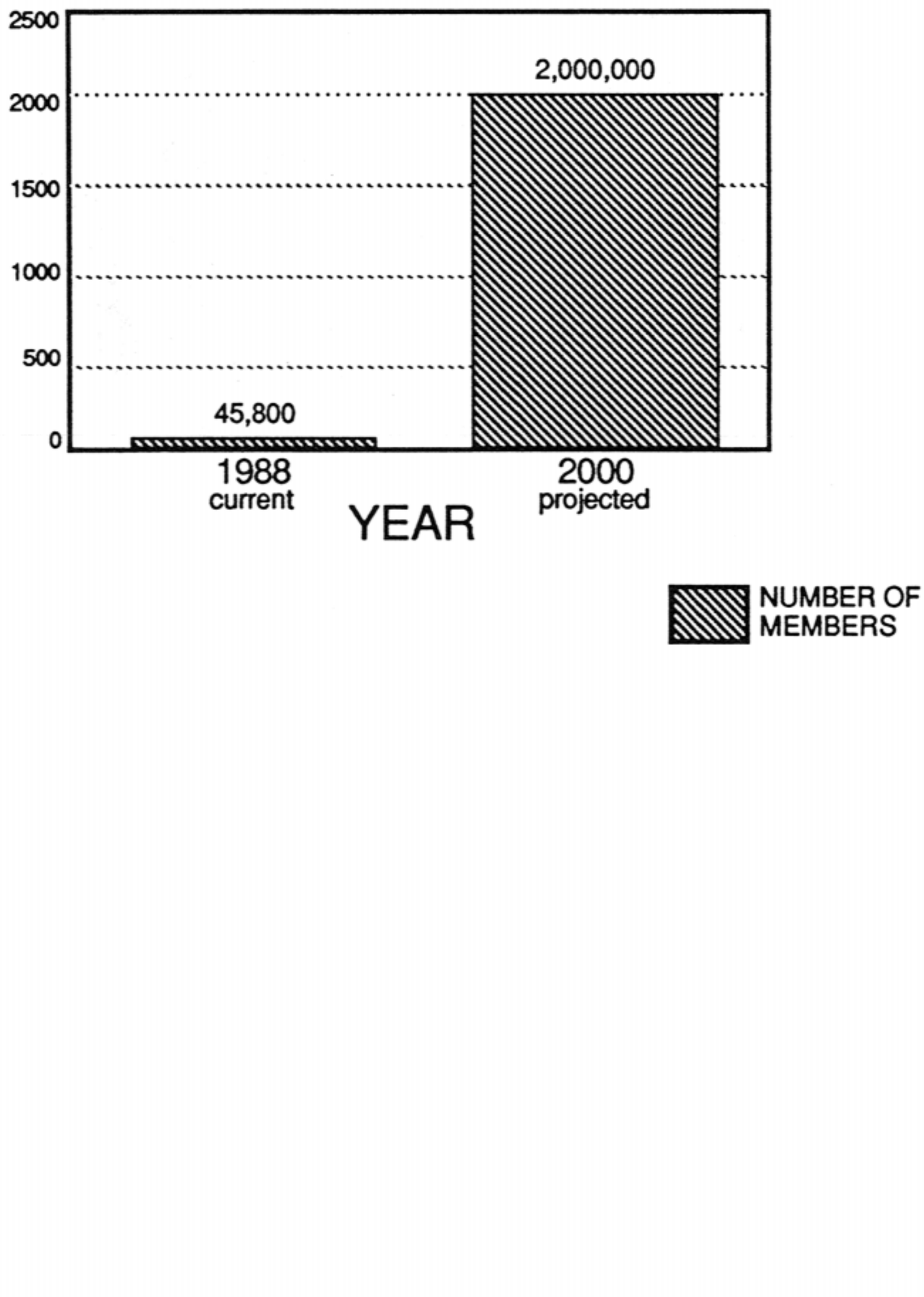
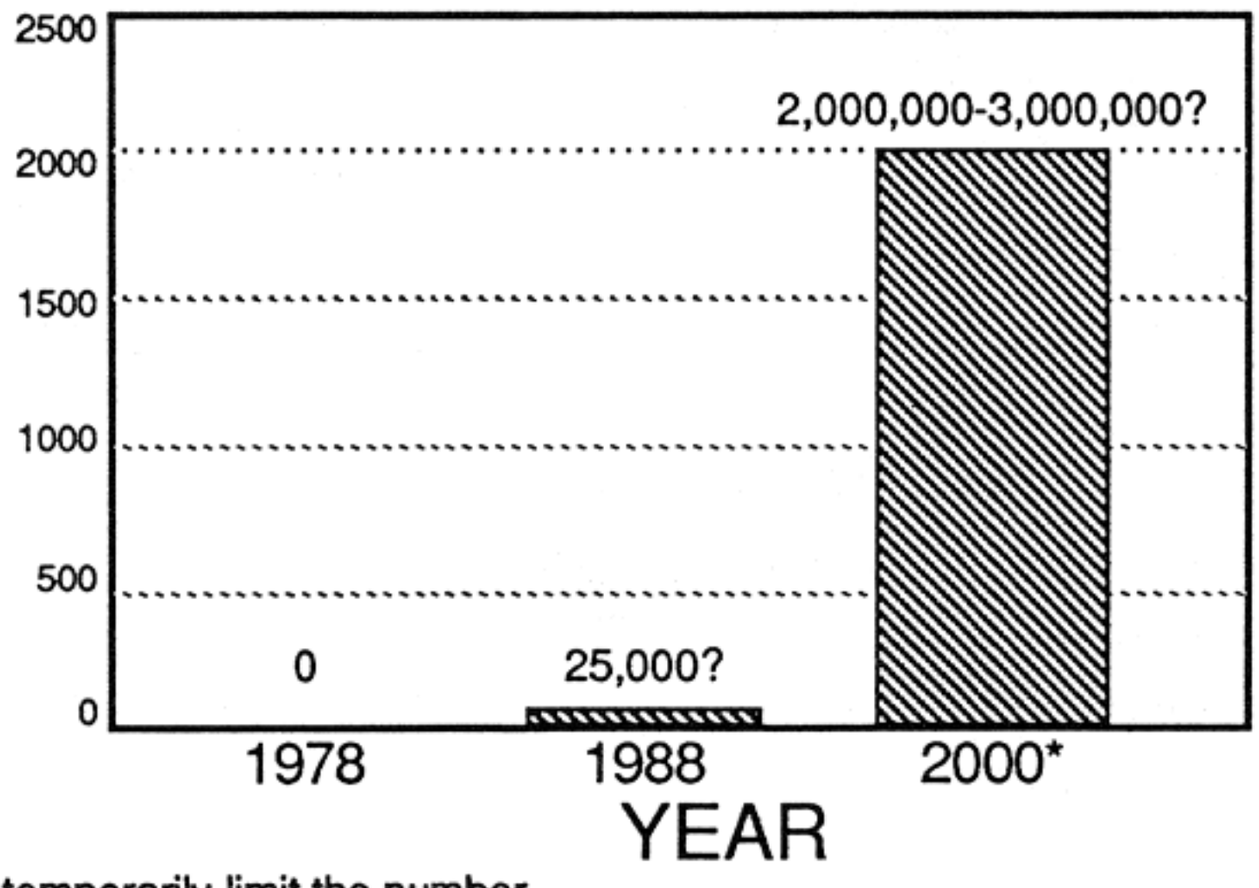


TABLE 10

BUILDING THE KINGDOM

Southern Africa Membership



* Having to temporarily limit the number of baptisms due to lack of Priesthood authority, experience, facilities, equip

NUMBER OF MEMBERS

There are a number of different ways to conceptualize patterns of religious change. In a recent study, Marie Cornwall, Perry Cunningham, and I distinguish between religious disengagement and religious disaffiliation.[17] We treat disengagement as the process by which individuals who retain an organizational identification discontinue active participation in their religious community for a period. This disengagement can occur at either the attitudinal or the behavioral level, or both. A majority of the adult members of the Church in the U.S. who do not attend worship services regularly would be classified as disengaged, since their names still appear on the rolls of the Church and their personal religious identity is clearly Mormon. However, for at least a period, either their beliefs or their involvement in the religious community will have wavered. A smaller number will move beyond disengagement to disaffiliation, as I will note in a few moments (see tables 11 and 12).

Most frequently, the period of disengagement occurs during the teens or early twenties. The period of greatest risk is between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. Patterns for men and women are a little different with the period extending a bit longer for men (from fifteen to twenty-eight) than for women (from seventeen to twenty-five). The pattern is obviously different for converts. Their period of greatest risk is during the first five years following baptism (see tables 13, 14, 15, and 16).

A clear majority of those who leave come back. Using life tables, we can project that by age sixty-five, approximately two-thirds will be active, scoring high on both the belief and the communal identification dimensions. While some of these will have always been active, others will have moved back into activity following a period of weakened belief or communal identification (see tables 17 and 18).

The most typical period for returning is from the middle twenties to the middle thirties when the individual marries, takes a job, begins a family, and begins to assume a more responsible role in the community. Converts who return are generally going to do that in the relatively short period immediately following their inactivity. If they don't come back during this initial period, they likely will never come back at all (see tables 19 and 20).

If disengagement means a partial and often temporary withdrawal from religious activity, disaffiliation, as we have used the term, refers to the process by which individuals change their organizational identification, either through leaving one church and joining another or through terminating their religious affiliation altogether. Disengagement does not involve the sharp change

TABLE 11

Proportion of Adult Members Who Have a Period of Inactivity Before Age 65

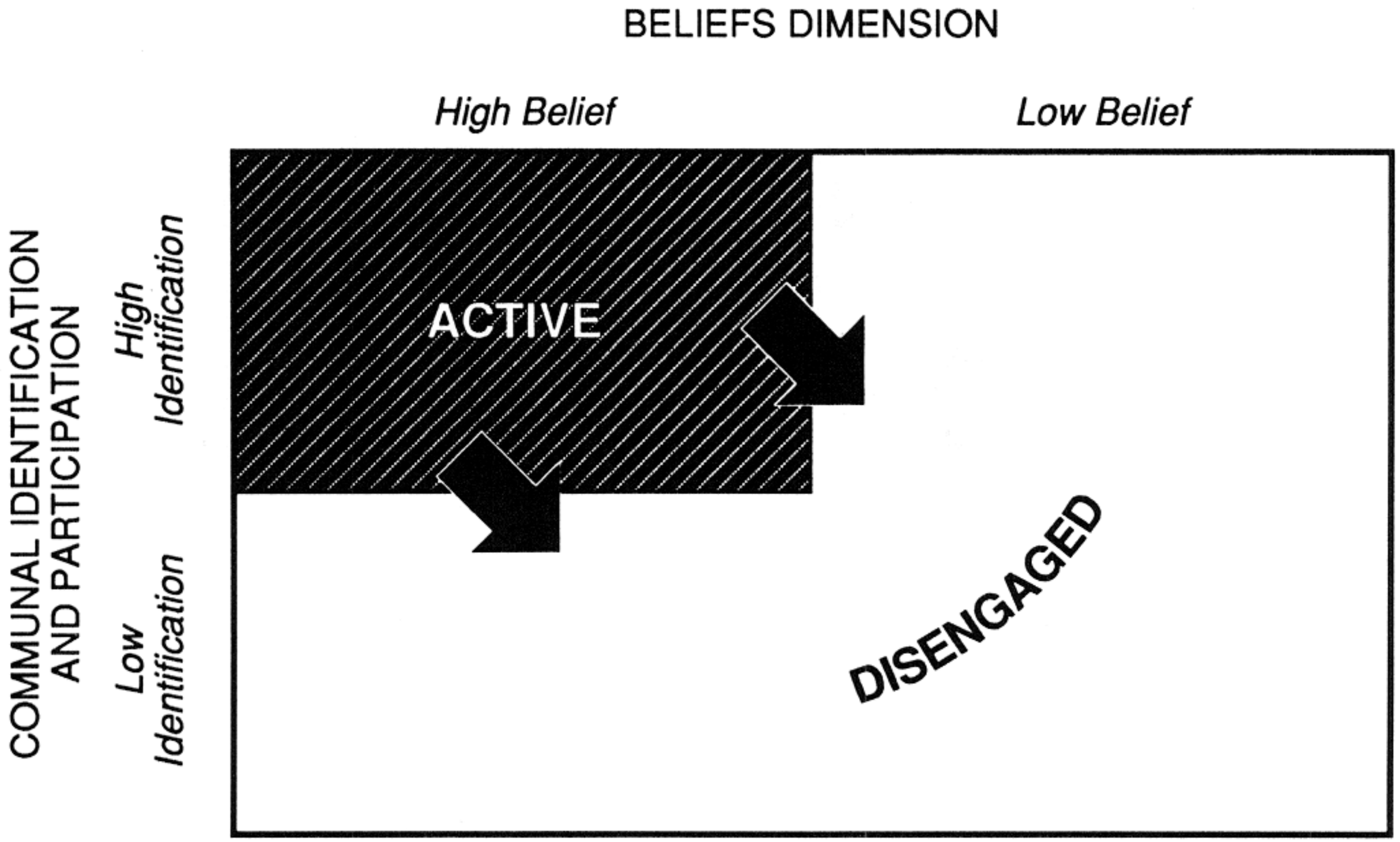


TABLE 12

Disengagement of Adult Members Before Age 65

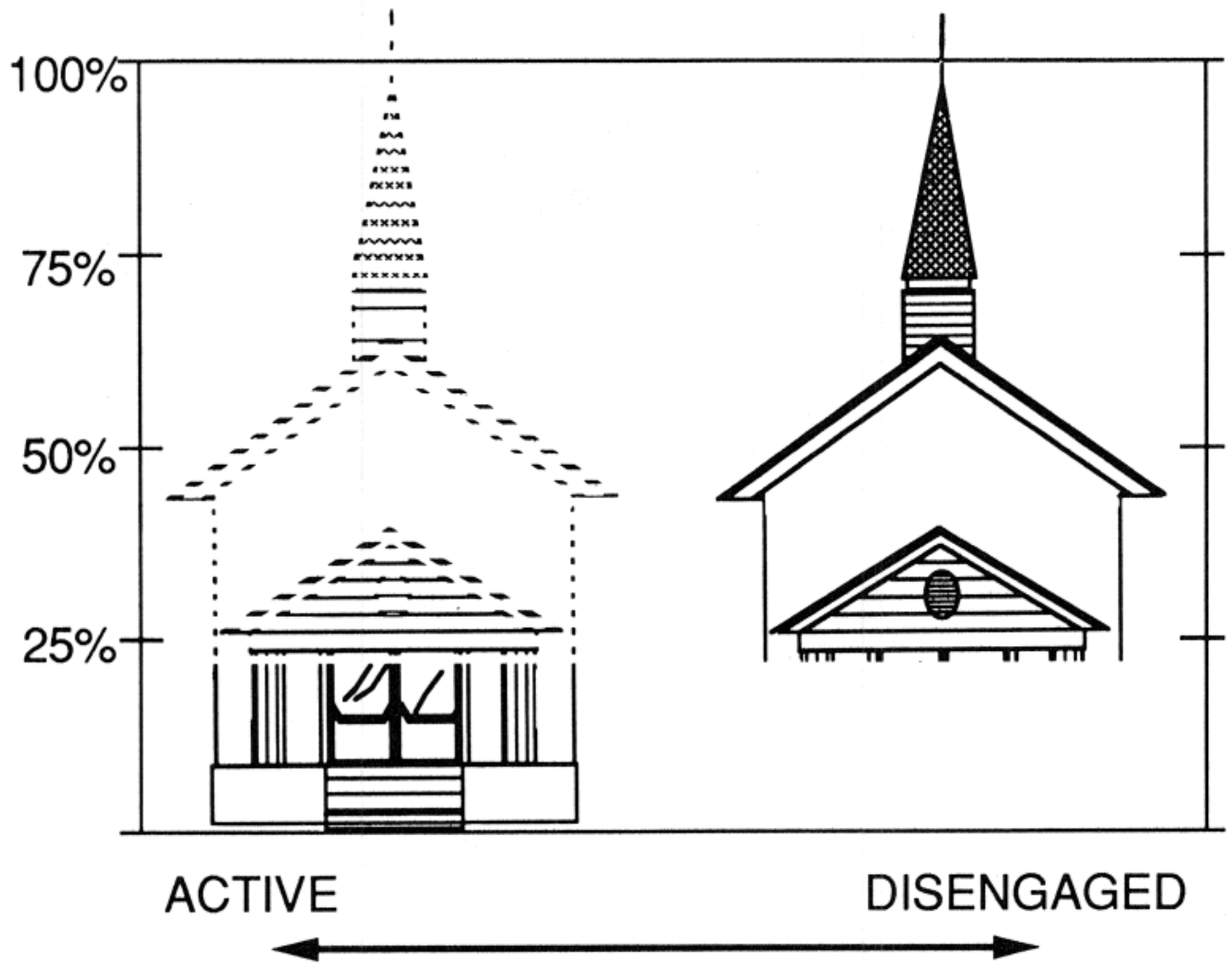


TABLE 13

DROPOUT RATE

LIFELONG MEMBERS

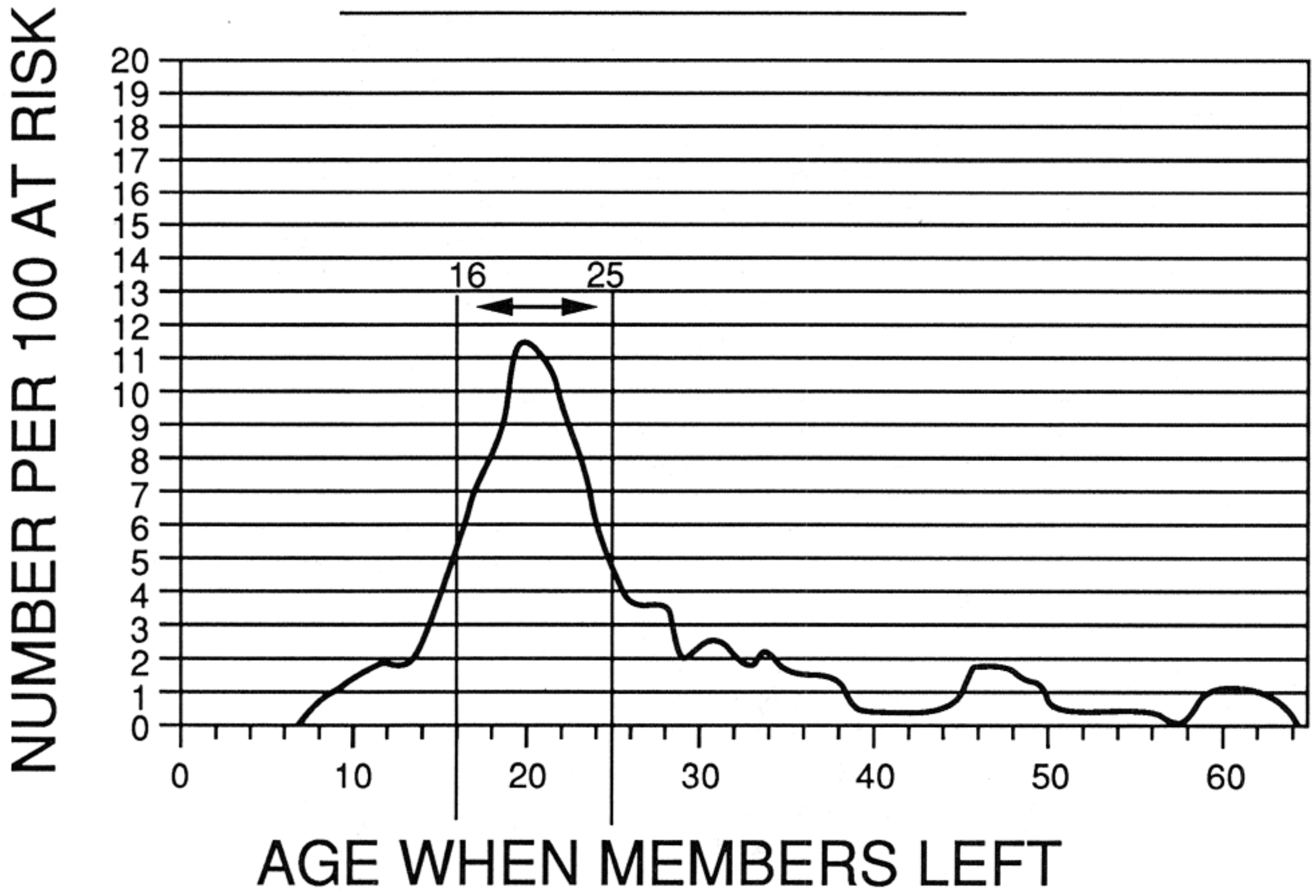


TABLE 14

DROPOUT RATE

LIFELONG MALE MEMBERS

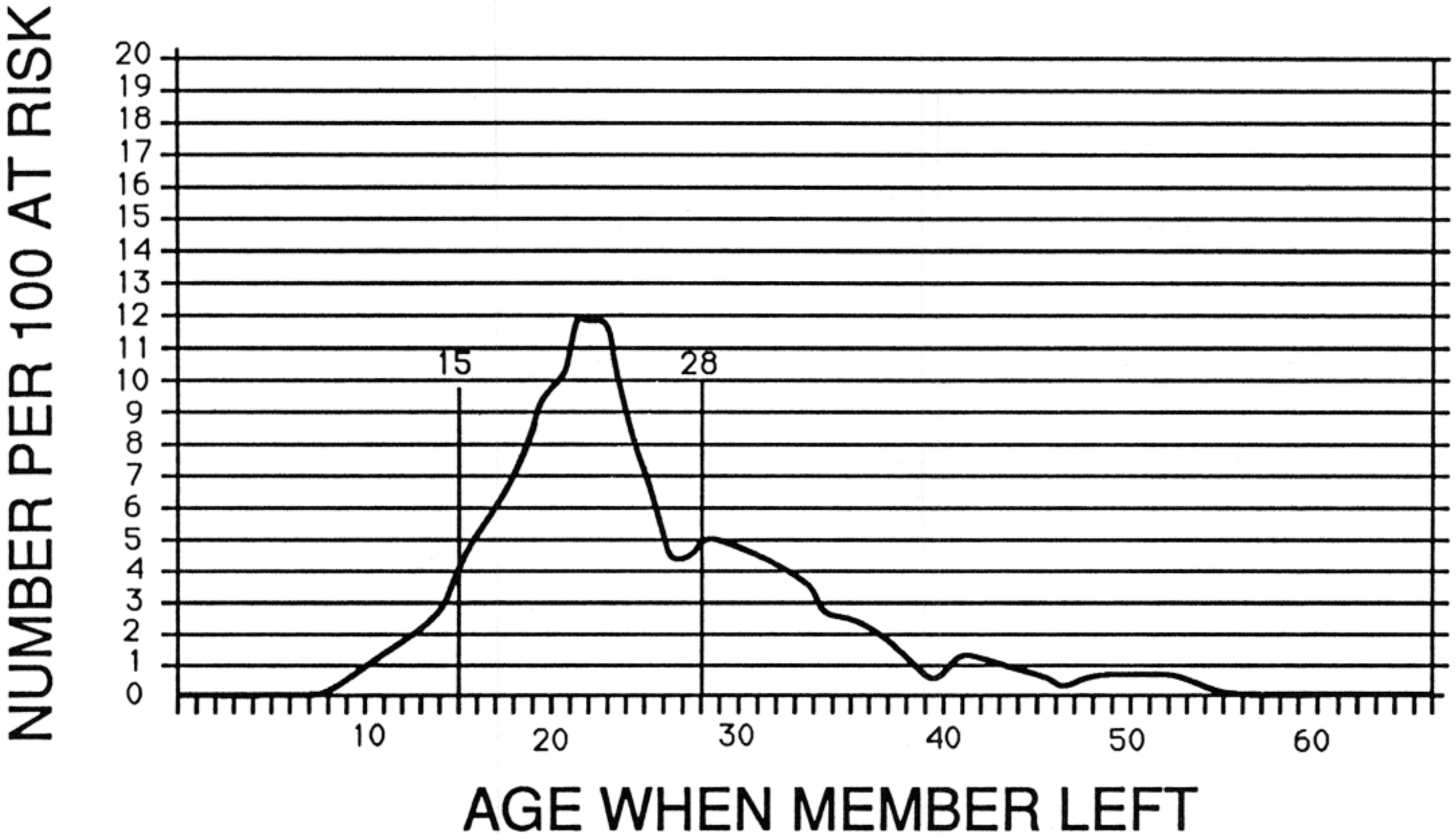


TABLE 15

DROPOUT RATE

LIFELONG FEMALE MEMBERS

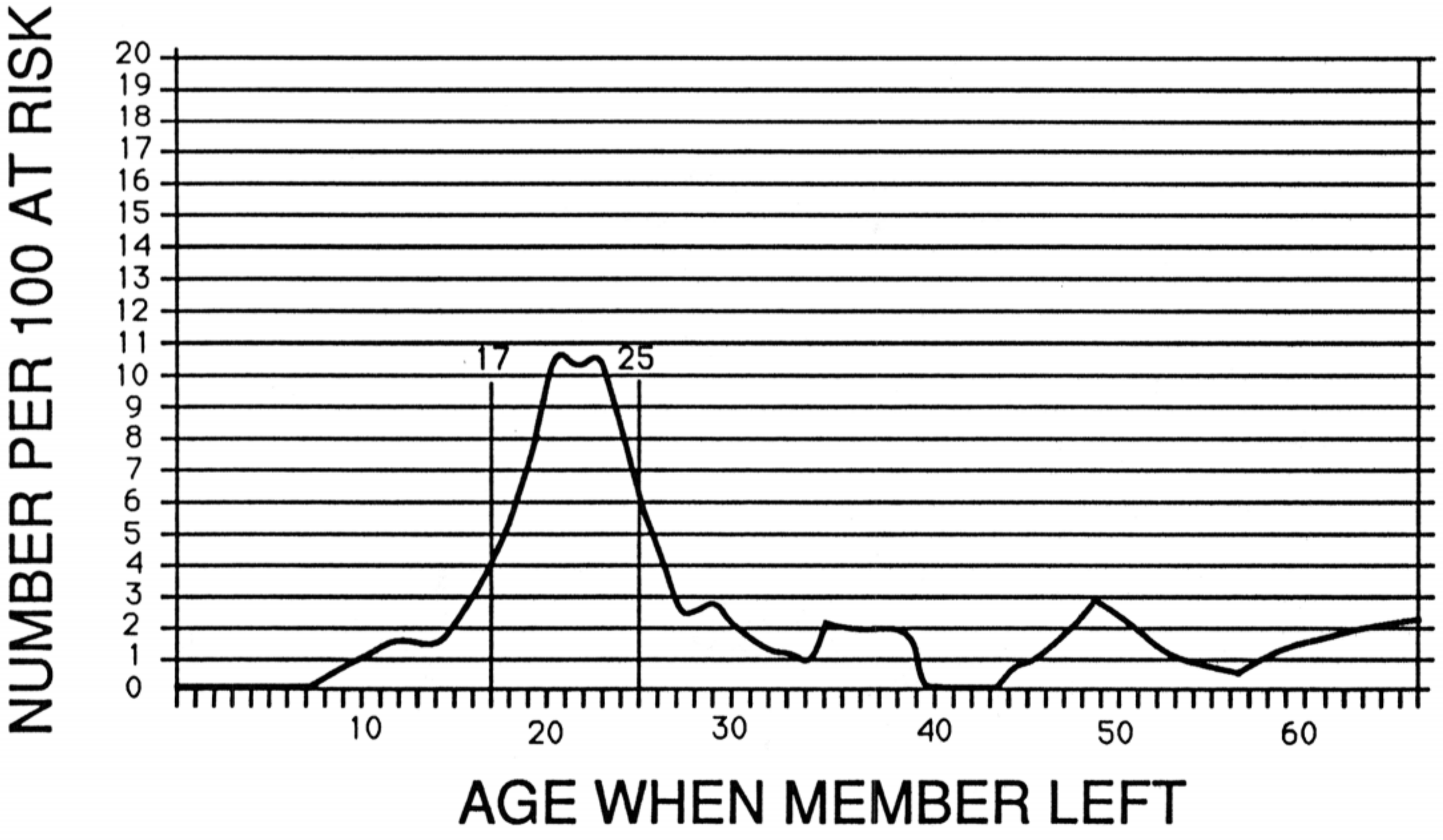


TABLE 16

DROPOUT RATE
CONVERTS

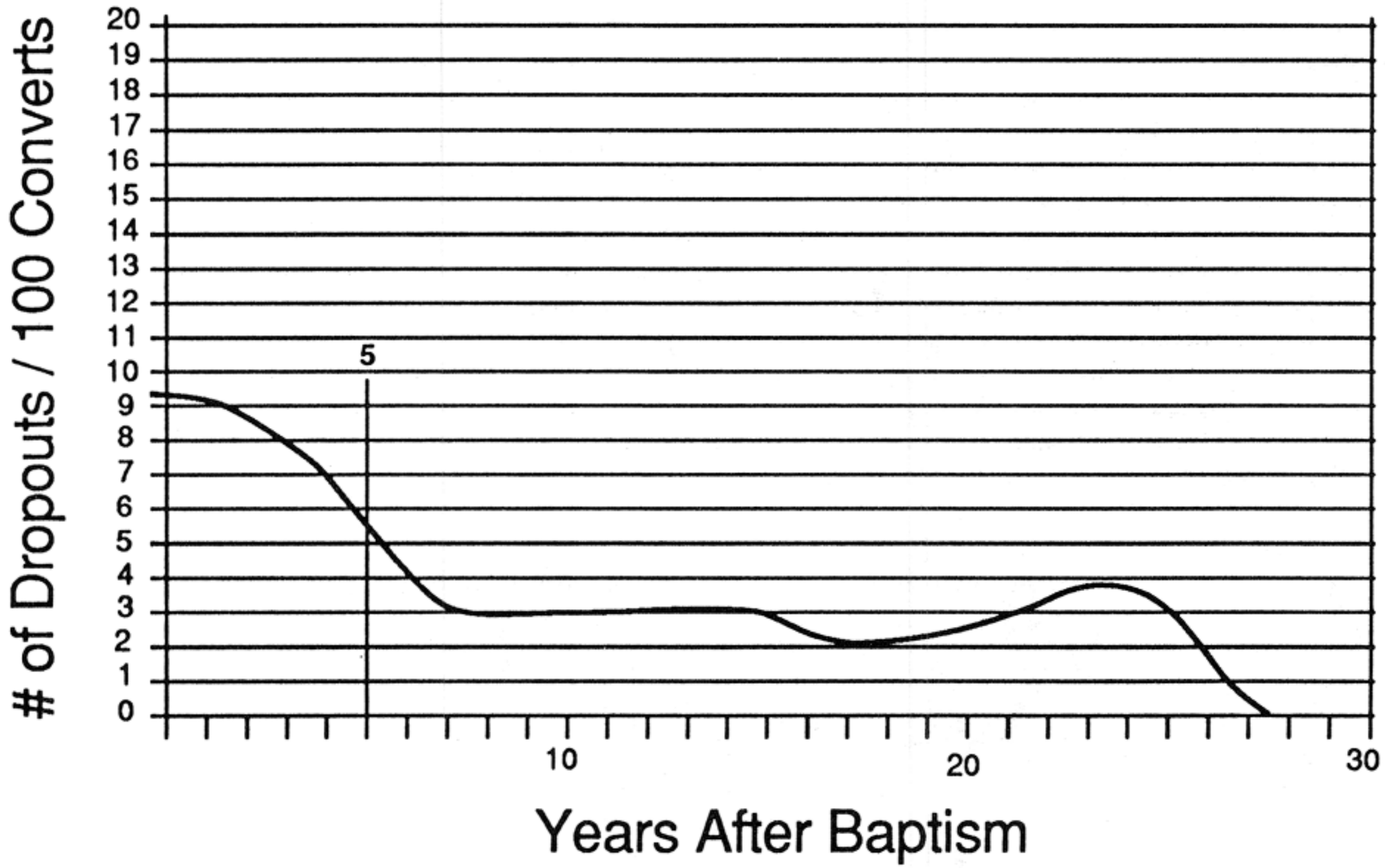


TABLE 17

Proportion of Adult Members at Age 65

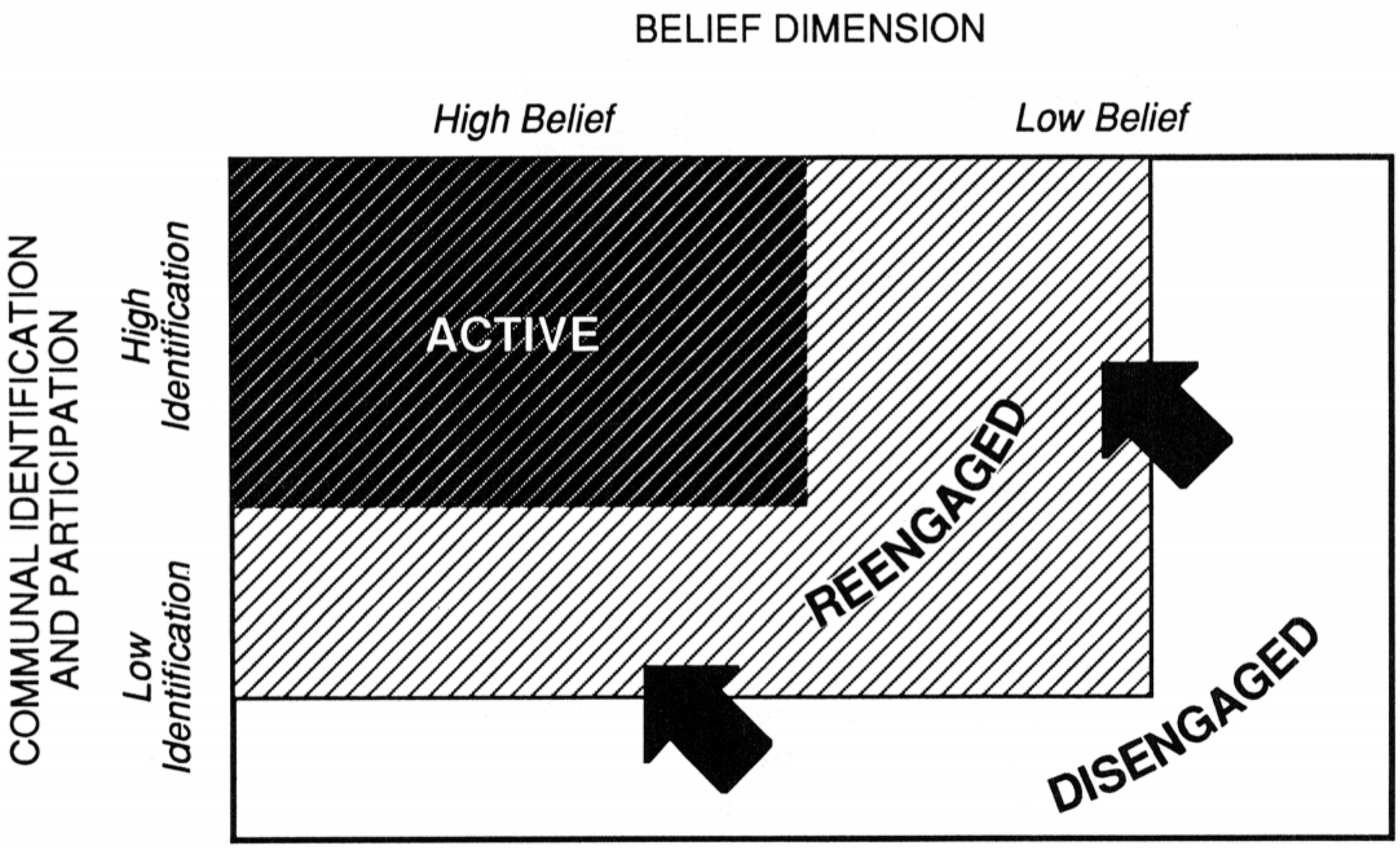


TABLE 18

Disengagement of Adult Members at Age 65

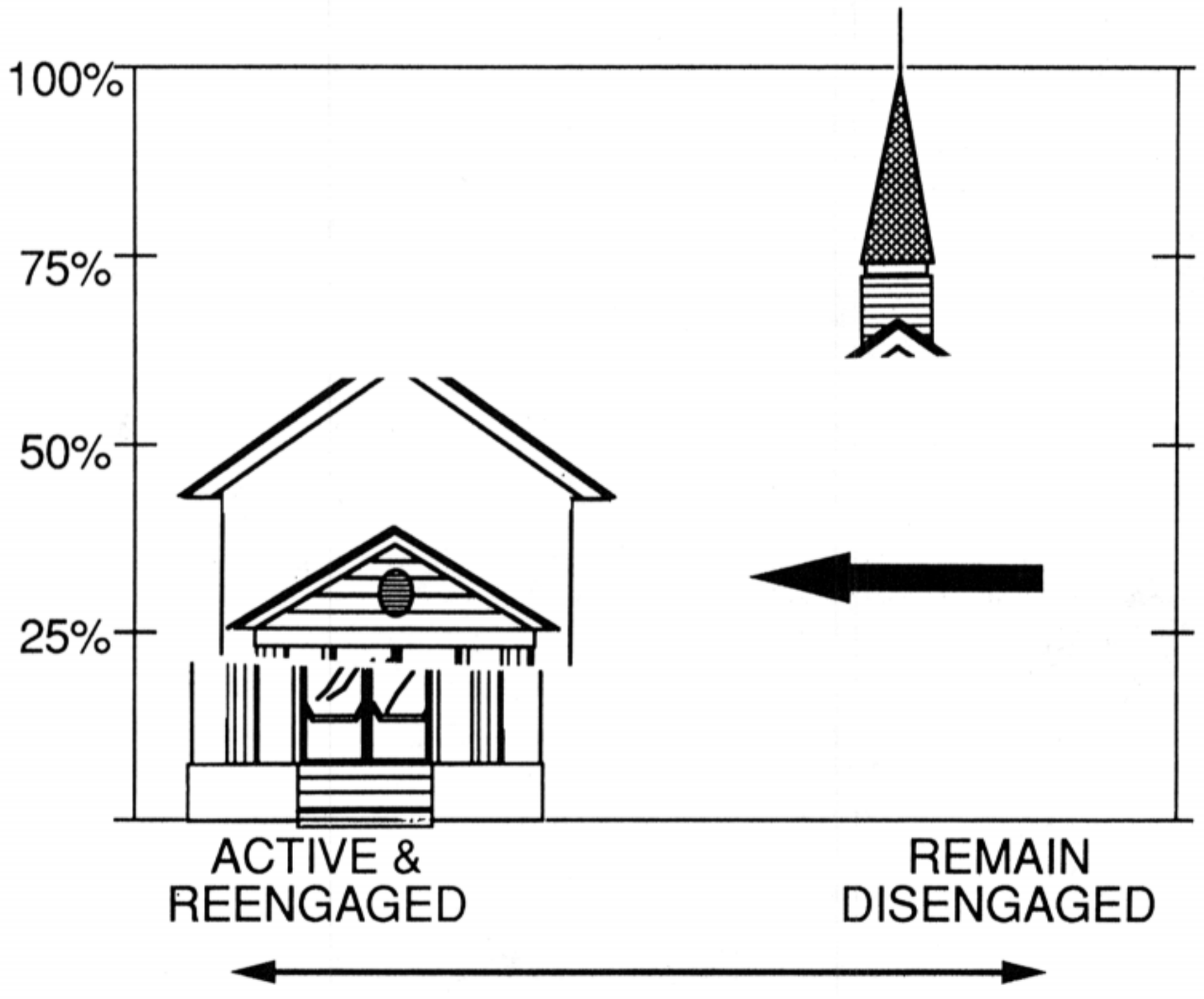


TABLE 19

RETURN RATE

LIFELONG MEMBERS

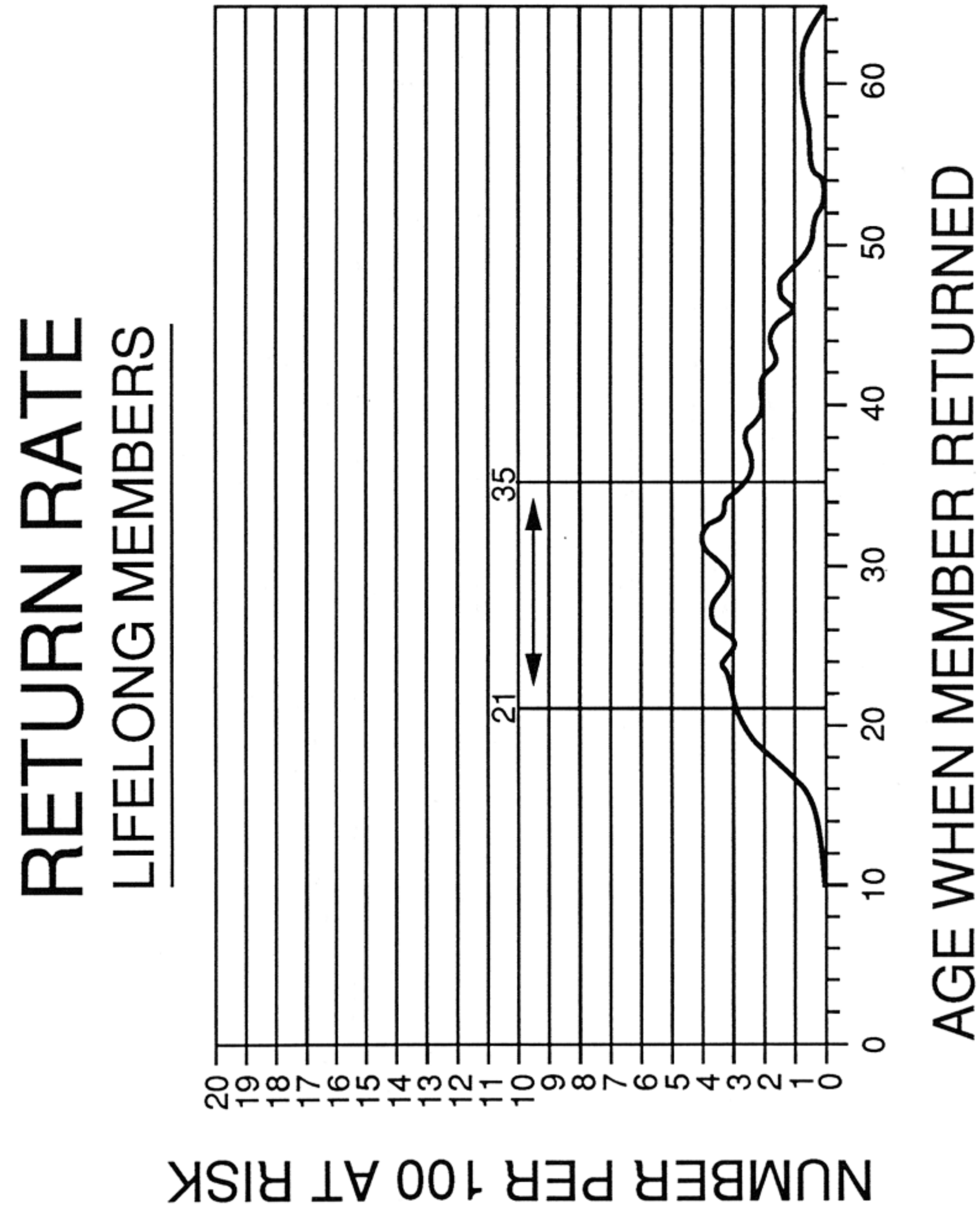
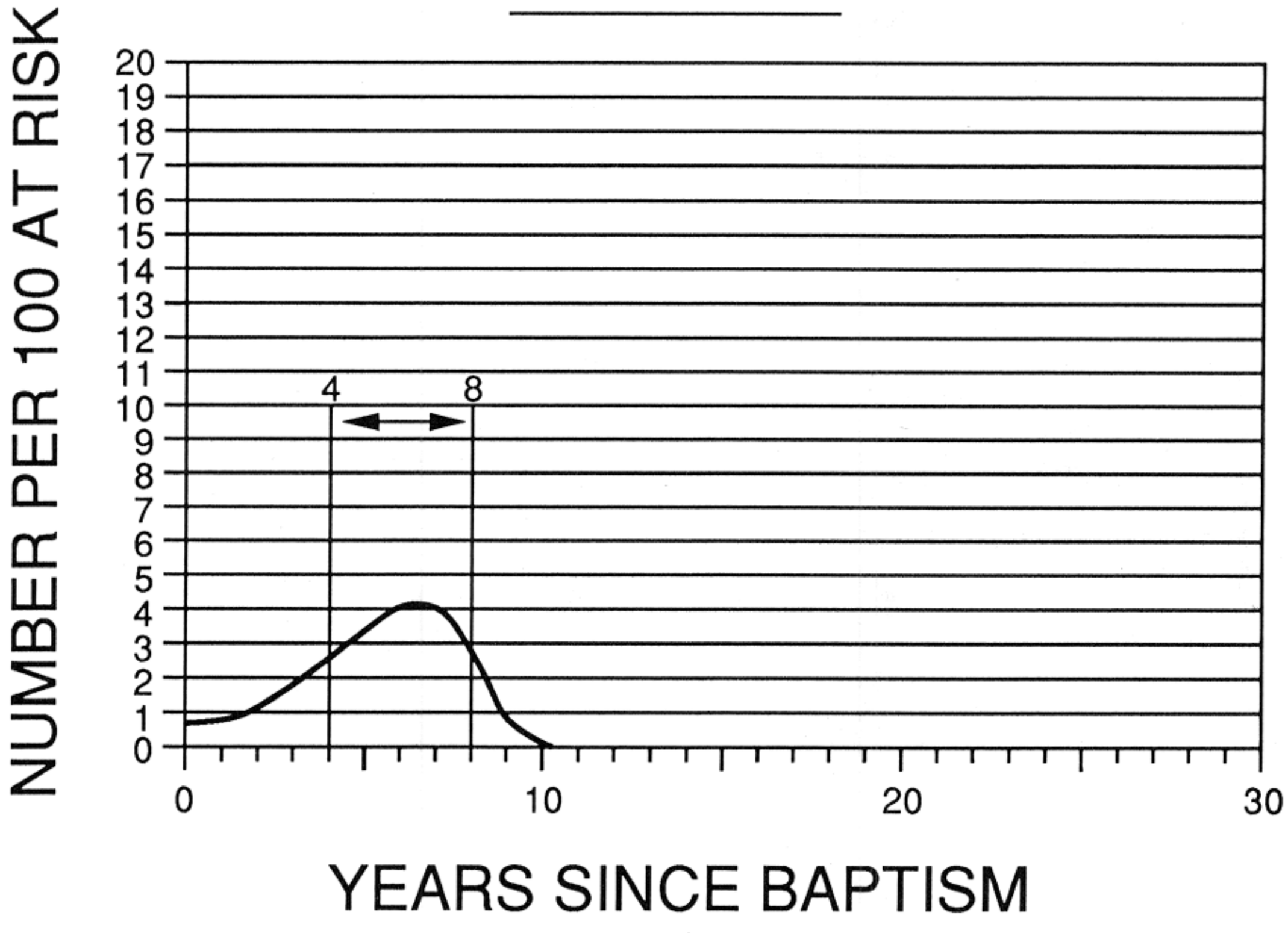


TABLE 20

RETURN RATE

CONVERTS



in personal identity that often accompanies disaffiliation.[18] Most of the group we refer to in our everyday conversations as "inactives" are disengaged, using the language I am using here. While they don't regularly participate in many of the activities we normally require to qualify for the label of "active," they still retain a strong psychological identification with the Church and generally place quite high value on that identity. (Many will speak fondly, for instance, of the role their ancestors played in the foundation period of the Church and in the settlement of the Great Basin. Others will strongly defend the Church against its more outspoken critics.)

The disaffiliated obviously do not feel these ties to the Church. As we interviewed these former Mormons, it became apparent that most of them had always been somewhat marginal in the Church with many reporting that they had never really strongly identified with Mormonism.[19] We must show some caution, then, in even categorizing them as disaffiliates. As Hans Toch reminded us several years ago, "Where there is no commitment, there can be no disaffection."[20] There were several cases, however, where our interviewees clearly had been believing, committed, and practicing Latter-day Saints. Now they were following a different path. In their histories, there is greater evidence of a more dramatic "push" and "pull" than in the histories of those who have simply drifted away because this has been the path of least resistance. The defection of these former believers often extended over several years. The intellectual struggles that many of them faced were only part of the story of what was happening in their lives. The personal struggles frequently occurred in a context of difficult marriage and family-related problems as well as disappointments, perceived betrayals, and disenchantment with what they defined as ignorance and hypocrisy in others.[21]

In analyzing these detailed interviews, Howard Bahr and I have proposed a somewhat more complex typology than that I have discussed to this point, one that looks at a larger range of responses across the two dimensions of belief and communal involvement. Building upon earlier work of Brinkerhoff and Burke,[22] our typology asserts that both disaffiliation and disengagement, as we have defined them here, should be viewed as *processes* that involve dimensions of both belief and identification with the religious community. This results in nine types as follows:

1. Fervent Followers: those who are fervent and committed in their beliefs. They accept wholeheartedly the basic principles of the divinity of Christ, the prophetic mission of Joseph Smith, and the literal truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. They also regularly attend Sunday religious services, pay full tithes, hold temple recommends, and so on

2. Ritualists: those members who maintain strong group identity, regularly attend Sunday services, and participate in the various social activities of the Church but who are weak in terms of their doctrinal conversion and generally exhibit weak faith and limited understanding of the Church and its mission. The ties of these members are primarily social in nature. Basic tenets of the faith are largely irrelevant to their daily lives.

3. Cultural Saints: like the first two groups, these are generally high in terms of their communal identification. They continue to identify with their Mormon roots and ancestry but reject those doctrines that generally define one as a believing Latter-day Saint, such as the prophetic calling of Joseph Smith, the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon, and the principle of latter-day prophets.

4. Outsiders: members who retain their beliefs in the basic doctrines of the Church but who maintain little or no involvement in the "community of the Saints." Often these members are critical of what they define as peculiarities of social and behavioral practices of Latter-day Saints and choose to hold themselves aloof from such activities.

5. Marginal Saints: low in terms of both religious beliefs and level of community involvement. This category is typical of many of the group we would define as "inactive." Using our terminology, they are clearly disengaged from the Church but are generally passive in that disengagement. These individuals are highly vulnerable because they are carried along by their own inertia. Consequently, they are susceptible to being "acted upon" by others, in either a negative or a positive manner.

6. Doctrinal Apostates: like Cultural Saints, these have rejected the basic beliefs of the Church. However, they have taken an additional step and largely removed themselves from the community of Saints. Any remaining ties this group has to the Church are very tenuous at best. We have now moved from passive to active distancing of oneself from the Church, and from disengagement to disaffiliation.

7. Splinter Saints: these still claim some belief in the truths of the Restoration, but they maintain no communal involvement whatever. Some may have even joined another church, while still holding to claims of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon and perhaps even of the prophetic role of Joseph Smith.

8. Social Apostates: these have also rejected the community, retain no identification with it, and have basically lost most of their beliefs. However, their disaffiliation is still more clearly on the communal than the belief dimension.

9. Apostates: these have rejected both their beliefs and their communal identification. They generally abhor anything having to do with the Church and sometimes devote much of their life to attempts to destroy it.

The typology is obviously skewed toward the disengaged and the disaffiliated because that is what it was developed to describe. Furthermore, these are not clearly definable, always distinct

TABLE 21

A Typology of LDS Belief and Involvement in Their Religious Community

COMMUNAL IDENTIFICATION AND PARTICIPATION	BELIEF DIMENSION: *High Belief*	*Low Belief*	*Rejects Belief*
High Identification	**Fervent Follower** Committed in both belief and practice.	**Ritualist** Strong group identification, but weak doctrinal conversion, knowledge, and faith.	**Cultural Saint** Identifies strongly with Mormon roots and ancenstry, but rejects defining doctrines.
Low Identification	**Outsider** Stong in belief, but little identity with or involvement in "Community of Saints".	**Marginal Saint** Both belief and community identification are weak.	**Doctrinal Apostate** Rejects defining beliefs, weak community identification.
Rejects Community	**Splinter Saint** Still claims belief in the restoration, but no communal involvement. May even join another church while claiming belief in basic Mormon Doctrines.	**Social Apostate** Rejects community, little commitment to defining beliefs.	**Apostate** Rejects both beliefs and community. May join groups attacking church.

categories. Neither are they permanently set. There is constant movement among them, though some categories are clearly more fluid than others. For example, based on life projections discussed earlier, 66 of every hundred members of the U.S. membership of the Church will fall into the active, committed cell of our typology at age sixty-five. Of the 34 who are not in this category, 14 will fall primarily into one of the nonbelieving groups, while 20 will still maintain some degree of belief though they are not active participants in the Church. While some of this number will have always been marginal, others will have been, at one time, true believers who have now lost their faith, or their interest in participating in the Church, or both.

Total disaffiliation, of course, is not the final destination of most who disengage. As the typology suggests, there are many other stops along the way and, at any one of these, the individual might stay a while or might reverse directions and move back toward a higher level of belief and commitment. Our research shows that life course experiences are often critical in these reversals. Among the most important of these is the desire for religious involvement for one's children after one becomes a parent. Individual reevaluations, including the need to find greater meaning and purpose in life, are also important, as are interventions and encouragement from significant others such as a spouse, a good friend, or someone from the larger religious community.

I began by indicating that my focus would be primarily on the consequential dimension of religion or on the question of what difference it makes. The very typology itself suggests some of the differences it makes. Let me briefly address others. In so doing, I will draw from interview and questionnaire data obtained from a group of individuals who at one time defined themselves as Latter-day Saints but who no longer do so.[23] Such individuals have two possible destinations: either they change their religious identity through leaving the Church and joining another, or they terminate their religious identification altogether. From our interviews with former Mormons, we discovered the following "destinations" for the outwardly bound. The largest group by far, 42 percent, indicate no religious preference at all—they have become true disaffiliates. The next largest group have joined the Roman Catholic church. The size of this group may be somewhat surprising, but let me note that most of these were urban residents and that the change was often a function of marriage. The remainder, about one-third, join a variety of other groups—mainstream Protestant, Pentecostal-born-again organizations, and in a couple of cases smaller groups such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Greek Orthodox church.

TABLE 22

Current Religious Preference of Former Mormons Residing in Utah, 1980-1981

	#	%
No preference	25	42
Roman Catholic	13	22
Baptist, Born-Again Christian	3	5
Church of Christ	2	3
Christian	2	3
Pentecostal, Assembly of God	2	3
Methodist	2	3
Presbyterian	2	3
Congregational	1	2
Episcopal	1	2
Unitarian	1	2
Jehovah's Witnesses	1	2
Greek Orthodox	1	2
Other	2	3
Protestant, Unspecified	1	2
Sample Total	*59*	*99%*

Source: Albrecht and Bahr, 1983

The thing I want to focus on primarily, however, is the question of outcomes—what difference it makes. Five indicators of current religiosity are summarized in the following chart. On each of these indicators, we compare six groups of respondents: (1) Catholics and Protestants in Utah, (2) former-Mormons who have converted to Catholicism or one of the Protestant churches, (3) lifelong Latter-day Saints, (4) converts to the LDS church, (5) individuals in our sample who indicate no religious identity, and (6) those who indicate no religious identity but who, formerly, were Latter-day Saints.

Let me make several summary observations from the data. First, Latter-day Saints in Utah are more religiously active on all of our indicators than any other category. Converts to the Church are somewhat more active than lifelong members, though only one of the differences is statistically significant. However, both groups score significantly higher on our measures of involvement than any other group.

Second, former-Mormons who have converted to another faith behave pretty much like lifelong members of that faith. On some indicators they are a little more active; on others a little less. But the pattern is similar to that of the group they have joined, and the overall level of involvement is substantially lower than for current Latter-day Saints, either of the convert or lifelong variety.

Third, former-Mormons who now indicate no religious preference behave quite similarly to others who express no preference but who have come from other starting points. However, of all categories in our study, such no-preference former-Mormons are the least active of all groups on four of our five indicators and second least active on the other. Having forsaken their self-identity as Mormons, these individuals largely reject religious involvement altogether.

Let me summarize briefly: many Latter-day Saints will have a period during their lives when their beliefs or their desire to be involved in the community of the Saints may waver. Most who have such periods will eventually return; their disengagement is seldom permanent. Following Dean Hoge, we are reminded that "a researcher must begin with the view that religious change is often temporary, and usually it occurs in the process of other changes in the total life economy."[24] Parenthetically, I might say that anyone with an ecclesiastical calling might benefit by beginning with the same view. At the same time, our data show that among our Latter-day Saint samples some will go through the rest of their lives as either largely passive inactives who retain their religious identification but contribute little to the Kingdom or as disaffiliates who

TABLE 23

Measures of Religiosity Among Utah Adults, 1980 and 1981

	CURRENT RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE					
	Catholics and Protestants		*Mormons*		*No Preference*	
	Total	Former Mormons	Lifelong	Convert	Total	Former Mormons
SELF-DEFINITION OF RELIGIOSITY						
- Extremely or very religious	25%	24%	59%	66%	16%	8%
- Moderately religious	47	47	31	26	23	24
- Somewhat religious	23	18	9	9	19	20
- Not at all religious	5	12	2	0	42	48
	100	101	101	101	100	100
CHURCH ATTENDANCE						
- Regular (weekly)	37	44	68	74	6	–
- Frequently or fairly regular	16	9	14	13	5	4
- Occasionally or not at all	47	47	18	13	89	96
	100	100	100	100	100	100
GAVE MONEY TO CHURCH IN THE PAST YEAR?						
- Yes	76	70	93	93	33	32
- No	24	30	7	7	67	68
	100	100	100	100	100	100
PRIVATE PRAYER						
- Daily	36%	32%	63%	72%	14%	8%
- Often	42	35	25	20	21	28
- Never or only on special occasions	22	32	12	8	65	64
	100	99	100	100	100	100
FAMILY PRAYER						
- Daily	16	21	42	45	6	8
- Often	13	15	27	43	3	16
- Never or only on special occasions	71	65	31	32	91	76
	100	101	100	100	100	100

Source: Combined Samples, 1980 Utah Family Roles Survey and 1981 Women's Issues Survey.

reject their faith altogether or choose to reflect it in another religious organization. Their destination clearly makes a difference on a variety of indicators. It also makes a very important difference in another regard—their family life. It is to that I will now turn.

RELIGION AND FAMILY

The one other major social institution that we expect to have the strongest linkage with religion is the family. There is ample reason for this assumption. Religious rites frequently mark most of the major family events such as birth, marriage, and death. In our society, religion also regulates other family-related behaviors such as premarital sexuality, mate selection, family size, and family stability.[25] In addition, many other areas of decision-making in the family, such as division of labor between spouses and the nature of child-rearing practices, are guided by religious teachings and precepts.

Let me identify some important linkages between religion and family in the Mormon context. I will begin again with comparisons developed to demonstrate some of the behavioral consequences of religion as this relates to several family variables. The following chart, taken from recent work by Heaton and Goodman, shows several patterns of family formation for Catholics, Protestants, Mormons, and individuals expressing no religious preference. While some of the differences are not particularly large, a consistent pattern emerges. Mormons are more likely than other groups to marry; they are less likely to divorce; if they do divorce, they are more likely to remarry; and they are likely to bear a larger number of children. On each measure, there is a clearly-defined impact associated with one's religious affiliation. Those with no religion are generally least likely to marry, most likely to divorce if they marry, least likely to remarry following a divorce, and most likely to have the smallest family size. The no religion group is followed, in most cases, by liberal Protestants, conservative Protestants, Catholics, and then Mormons.

What about the impact of one's level of religious activity as opposed to mere identity? Overall, church attendance is associated with lower rates of nonmarriage and divorce, higher probabilities of remarriage after divorce, and, for Mormons, higher fertility.[26] Level of activity has a clear impact in addition to that observed for affiliation.

Among Latter-day Saints, differences between temple and nontemple marriages enlarge the differences between frequent and infrequent attenders at religious services. Temple marriages are

TABLE 2

Patterns of Family Formation for Catholics, Protestants, and Mormons

	Catholics	Liberal Protestants	Conservative Protestants	Mormons	No Religion
% of those over age 30 who have ever married	89	94	96	97	83
% of persons ever married who have ever divorced	21	27	29	16	41
% of persons ever divorced who are currently remarried	42	56	58	59	42
Children ever born -- standardized for marital duration	2.38	2.03	2.27	3.31	2.02

Source: Heaton and Goodman, 1985

TABLE 25

Patterns of Family Formation by Frequency of Church Attendance

	CATHOLICS		*LIBERAL PROTESTANTS*		*CONSERVATIVE PROTESTANTS*		*MORMONS*	
	Attendance		*Attendance*		*Attendance*		*Attendance*	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
% of those over age 30 who have ever married	88	91	95	93	96	95	97	96
% of persons ever married who have ever divorced	13	30	19	32	20	37	12	23
% of persons ever divorced who are currently remarried	47	40	57	56	67	54	69	49
Children ever born -- standardized for marital duration	2.46	2.26	2.04	2.05	2.14	2.47	3.46	2.78

Source: Heaton and Goodman, 1985

characterized by lower divorce rates and larger family sizes. Non-temple marriages are almost five times more likely to result in divorce than are temple marriages. Remarriage rates are comparable between the two groups.

I will say more about education in just a moment, but let me note here that Heaton and Goodman found that including education as a control in their study of family variables did not negate any of the above conclusions regarding religious differences. In fact, controlling for education actually accentuated the Mormon and non-Mormon differences because highly educated Mormons had higher than group average scores on several of the variables while the opposite was more likely to be the case for the more highly educated in other groups.

Another way to look at the religion-family connection is to examine the concept of religious socialization. Religious socialization involves the transfer of religious attitudes and behavior patterns from one generation to the next. The family is generally seen as the primary force in shaping the attitudes and values of its members, including their religious attitudes and values. Most of us develop our own religious behavior patterns out of the experiences we have had in the home.[27]

Perhaps one of the best ways of addressing the importance of religious socialization is to determine those things that best predict current religious patterns of adults. My colleague Marie Cornwall has shown that parental church attendance and the nature of religious observance within the home have a significant effect on current adult belief and commitment in at least two important ways: first, in the direct effect evident in the transmission of attitudes, values, symbolic references, and behavior patterns from one generation to the next; and second, in the impact that results from the channeling of individuals into friendship networks during the teen and young adult years that will sustain and support the religious values taught in the home.[28]

Let me show you more specifically how that works by turning, again, to our study of disengagement. The chart below shows the influence of family background on activity through the effect of three variables in addition to gender: (1) whether parents are both members of the Church; (2) whether parents attend church; and (3) the nature of home religious observance. The latter refers specifically to whether, in addition to attending church, the family holds family prayer, engages in religious discussions in the home, and reads the scriptures.

Males are 1 1/2 times more likely to have a period of inactivity than females; males from incomplete LDS homes are 2 1/2 times

TABLE 26

Patterns of Family Formation Comparing Temple and Non-Temple Mormon Marriages

	TEMPLE MARRIAGE	*NON-TEMPLE MARRIAGE*
% of persons ever married who have ever divorced	5	30
% of persons ever divorced who are currently remarried	61	63
Children ever born (first marriage intact, standardized for marital duration)	3.46	2.62

Source: Heaton and Goodman, 1985

TABLE 27

Factors Influencing Adult Religious Committment

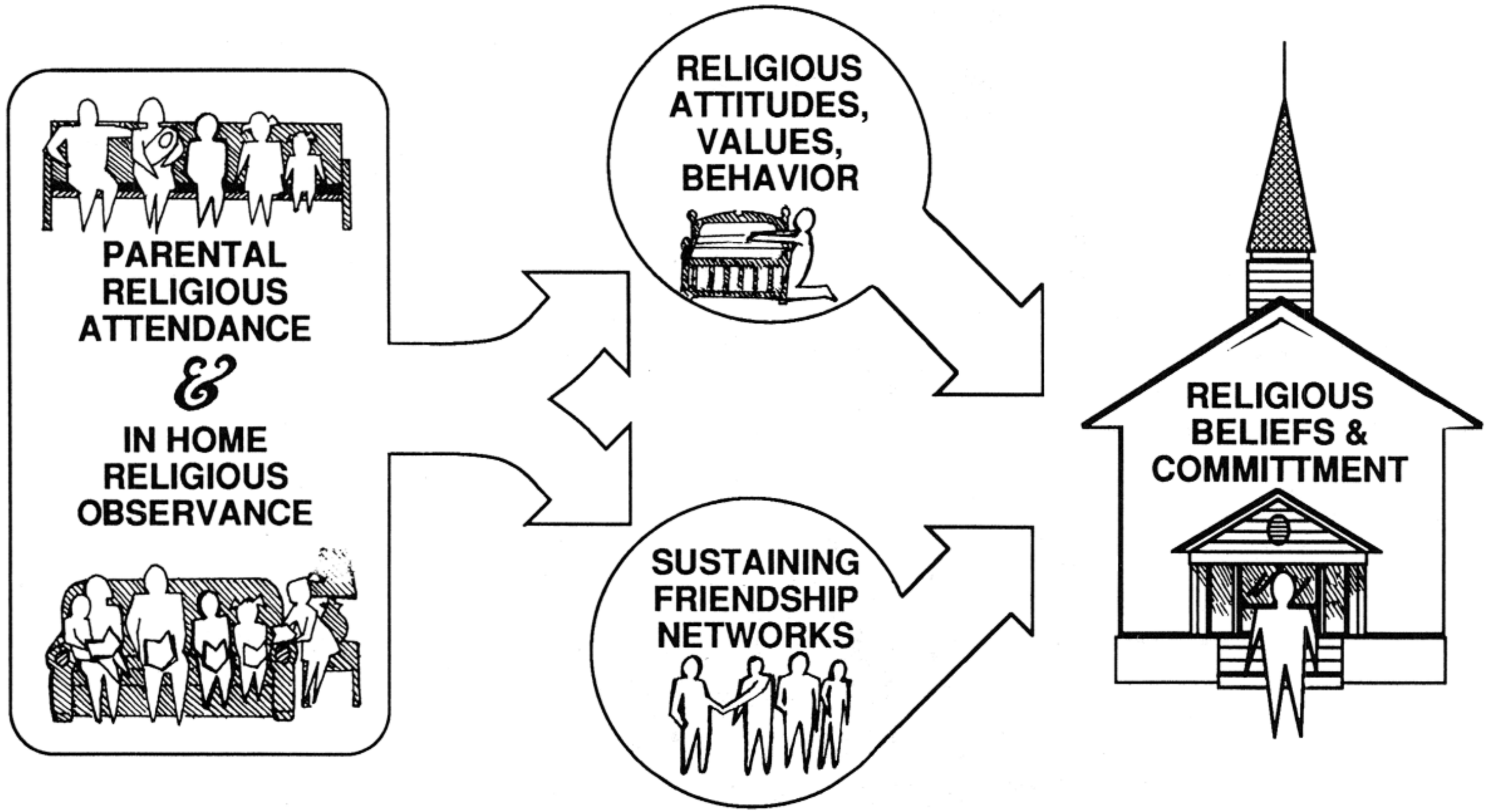
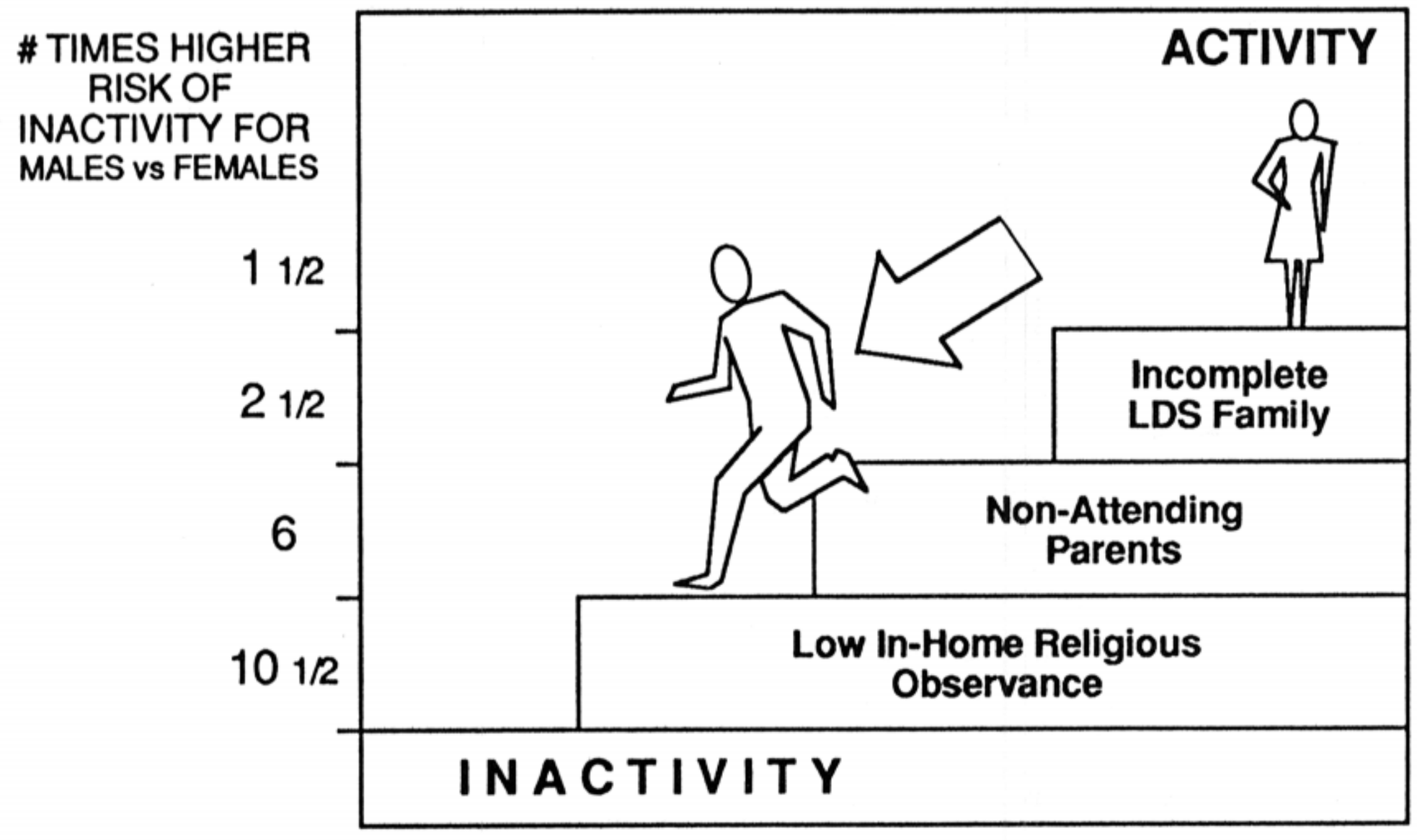


TABLE 28

Effect of Family Background on Religious Activity (Male vs Female)



more likely to have a period of inactivity than females from complete LDS families; and so on. Please note that in family socialization, home religious observance is much more important than just attending church. As you can see, the risk factors become very substantial. Males from incomplete LDS homes with non-attending and nonworshipping parents are 10 1/2 times more likely to become inactive than is the case if we reverse each of the previous variables. Professor Cornwall's studies show that the probability of children avoiding a period of inactivity increases by almost 340 percent as we go from inactive to religious homes.

Religion, then, clearly affects the nature of family relationships, including marital success and happiness. Family activities, in turn, have an important effect on religious outcomes, such as the probability of children remaining active in their church and avoiding periods of disengagement. The next step is to examine the relationship between both family and religious variables and individual levels of overall well-being. My colleague Darwin Thomas is proposing important linkages between family and religious variables and adult social well-being. His analysis of several different data sources provides strong preliminary support for his model.[29]

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

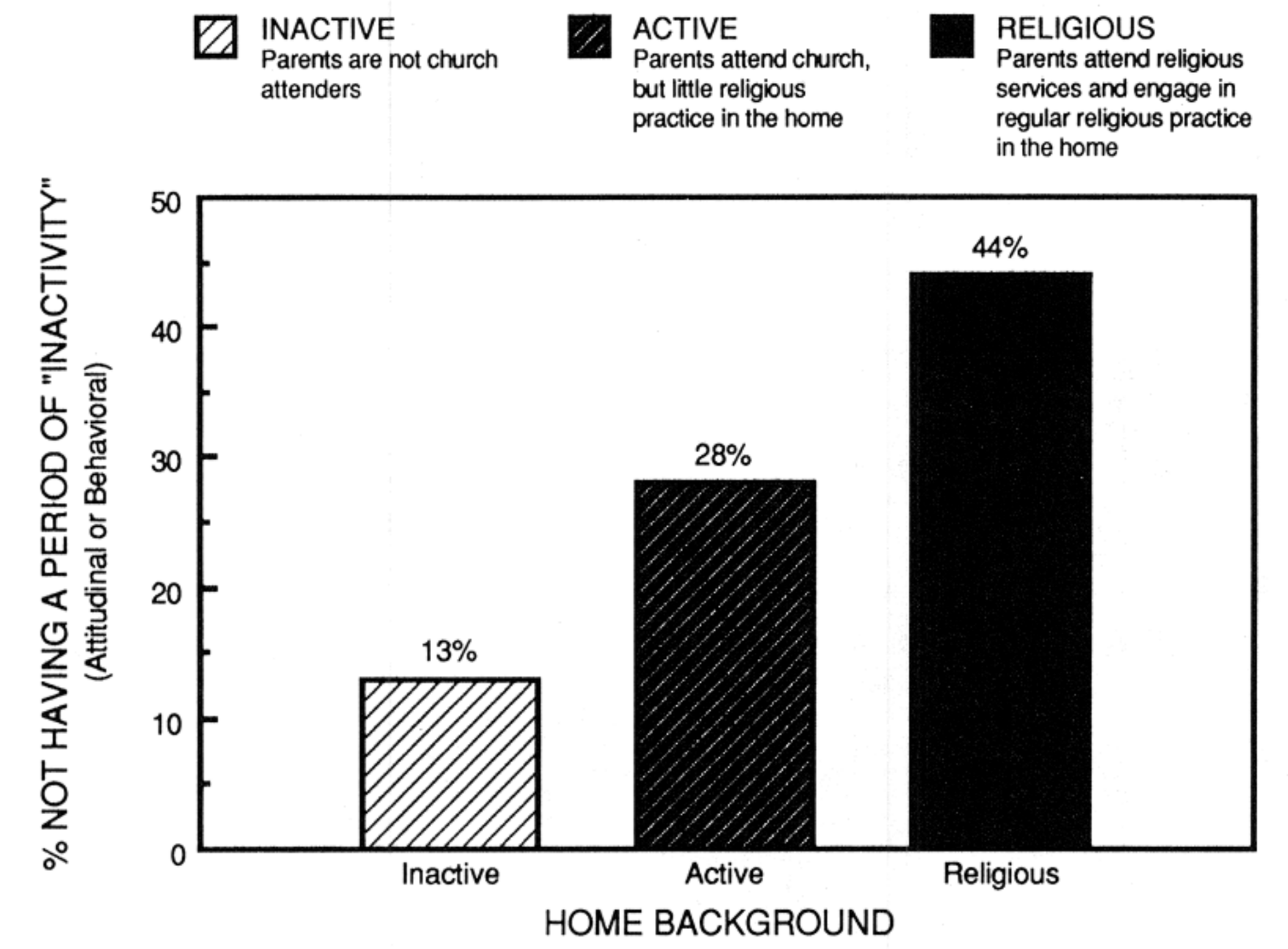
The third and final section of my essay takes me to a topic I have addressed several times before. Specifically, among Latter-day Saints, what is the relationship between the achievement of higher education and religious commitment and behavior, and are we any different from other groups in this regard?

Let me begin this section by saying something about the unique nature of the continued vitality of religion in America. I emphasize again the paradoxical nature of American religious practice and the fact that I am concentrating for the moment on only its most public manifestation—that of holding membership in a church. While it is normative for Americans to report membership in a religious organization, this contrasts sharply with the pattern in Western Europe. In America it is generally recognized that religious denominations are "culture-affirming institutions" that symbolize many of the values any "good American" should hold.[30] One simply does not find this assumption in much of Western Europe. Let me examine for a moment the situation in the British Isles as an example.[31]

The decades immediately prior to the 1850s were a time of great religious agitation in Britain. Our historians and theologians

TABLE 29

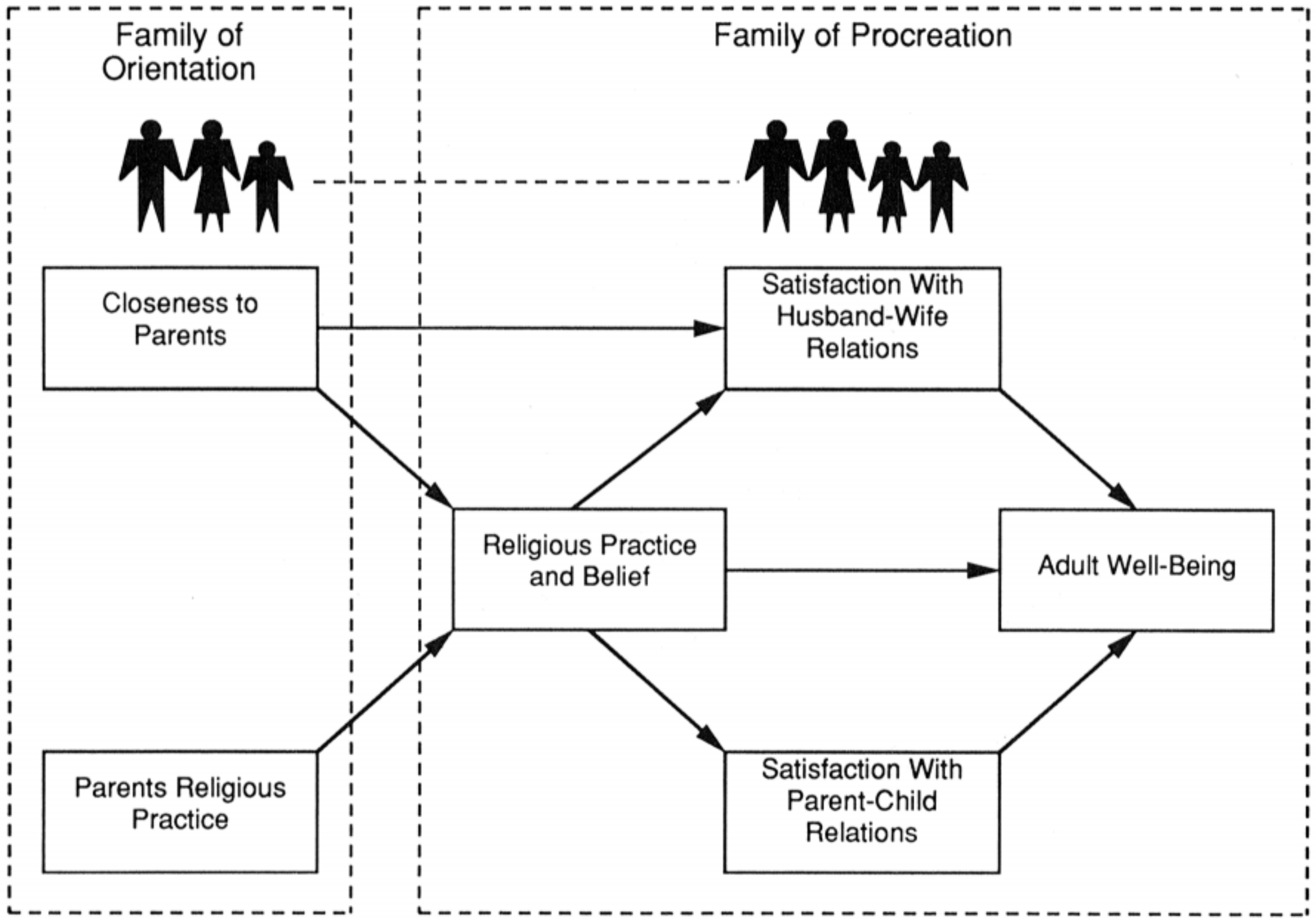
Effect of Family Background on Religious Activity



Source: Cornwall, 1988

TABLE 30

Proposed Causal Model of the Connection Between Religious Variables and Family Variables and Their Theorized Relationship to Well-Being



Source: Thomas, 1988

have made much of the social conditions in upstate New York that surrounded the latter-day restoration. Joseph Smith himself characterized the time as a period of "unusual excitement on the subject of religion" (JS—H:5). We have paid significantly less attention to the social and economic conditions in the British Isles that characterized the period of greatest missionary success there. However, as Tim Heaton and I have noted earlier, the arrival of the Mormon Apostles in England during a time of great religious change had to be more than fortuitous. In this setting, the message of the restored gospel rang true to many who were willing to listen to the testimony of the young Apostles from America. Convert baptisms in Britain reached almost 35,000 in the 1840s and almost 45,000 in the 1850s. This was followed by a precipitous decline to the point of just 3,700 baptisms in the 1890s.

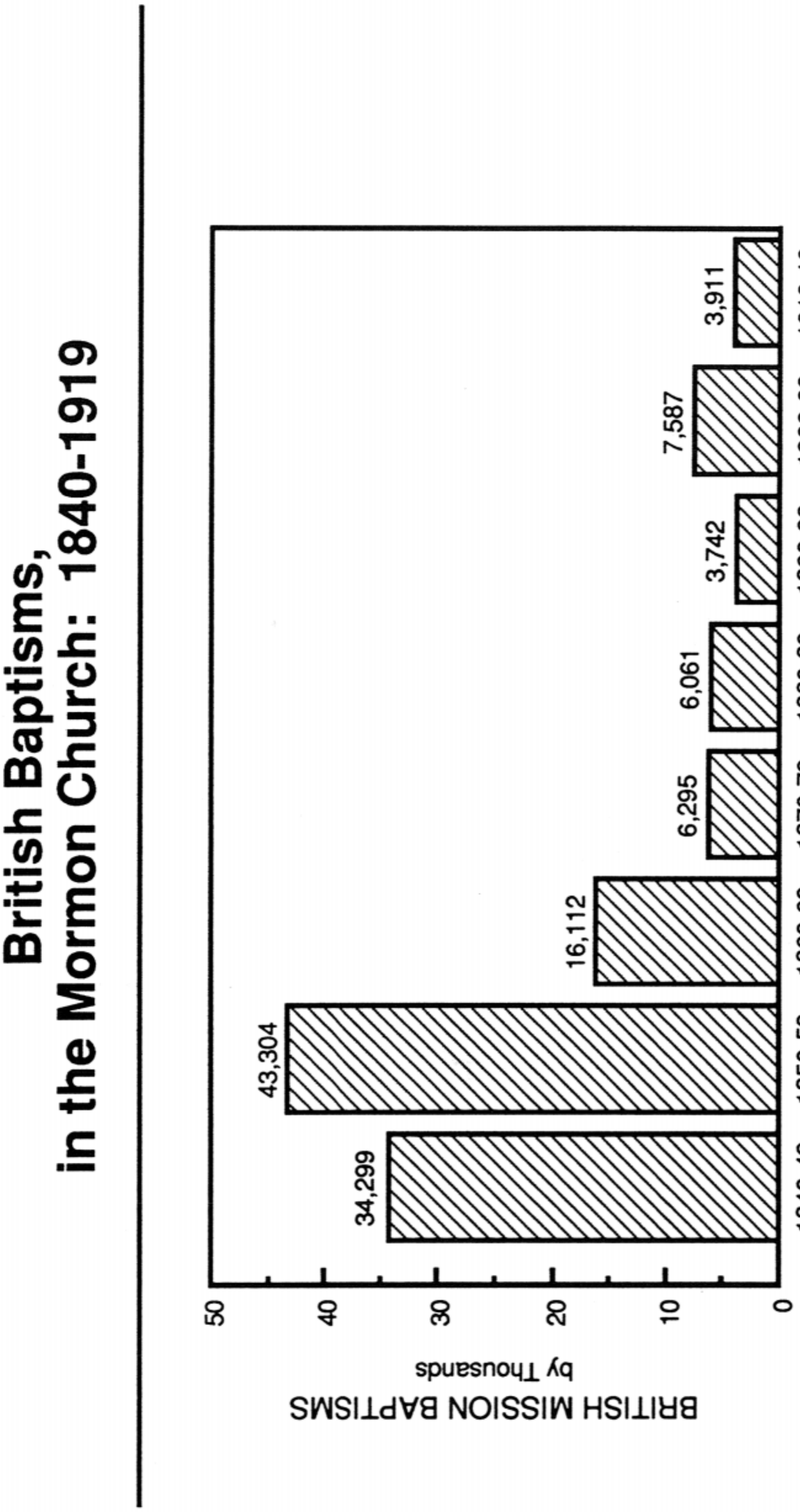
The dramatic downturn in the number of British converts that began in the middle 1850s closely followed the pattern of downturn in religious activity in British society more generally. Cox describes how the 1850s were followed, first, by an increasingly powerful ethical revolt against Christian orthodoxy and then by the Darwinian revolution in thought, both of which made "agnosticism respectable if not universal by the turn of the century."[32] Religious institutions during this period began to wither away in an almost Marxian pattern until by the early 1900s Arnold Bennett could say, "I never hear discussion about religious faith now. Nobody in my acquaintance openly expresses the least concern about it. Churches are getting emptier. . . . The intelligentsia has sat back, shrugged its shoulders, given a sigh of relief, and decreed tacitly or by plain statement: 'The affair is over and done with.' "[33]

The continued decline since the mid-nineteenth century is well-documented. While survey data for the United States show a steady rate of attendance at weekly worship services, the opposite pattern is evident in Great Britain. Wilson notes that "the decline in attendance appears to have taken place in waves," beginning first with the working class and then spreading, in the twentieth century, to the middle class. The Church of England suffered the first losses, followed by the Free churches and then the Catholics.[34] By the 1970s only about 5 percent of the adult population in the Church of England even attended Easter religious services, and the percentage continues to decline.[35]

What is my point? Simply that in the industrial world, where it seems that the impact of science and education are most visible and conspicuous, there has been a sharp decline in affiliation with religious institutions and religious practice. The widely accepted assumption that follows is that we live in a world of irreligion, a

TABLE 31

British Baptisms, in the Mormon Church: 1840-1919



Source: Richard L. Evans, A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britian (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1937), 244-45.

world where advancements in science and education have made religious interpretations superfluous or unnecessary. In the words of British Physicist Paul Davies, "If the church is largely ignored today it is not because science has finally won its age-old battle with religion, but because it has so radically reoriented our society that the biblical perspective of the world now seems largely irrelevant."[36]

But we have already seen evidence that U.S. data seem to contradict this pattern. Church membership is as high as it has ever been, and while British churches are largely empty a significant percentage of Americans still attend worship services on a regular basis. These findings have led Greeley to argue that "there is no unidirectional evolutionary movement from the sacred to the secular" and "what changes have occurred make religious questions more critical rather than less critical in the contemporary world."[37]

Nevertheless, the debate continues. For my present purposes it is enough to reiterate that whatever the historical patterns of increasing or decreasing religious activity, and whatever the depth or superficiality of that activity, the data are overwhelming in their consistency in pointing to a negative effect of education on religiosity. This has recently been confirmed again by national survey data. Hadaway and Roof report that the higher the level of education, the higher the probability that their respondents would have apostatized from the church. They conclude that higher education tends to both expand one's horizons and increase exposure to countercultural values. Such exposure works to erode the traditional plausibility structures which maintain the poorly understood religious convictions so typical of American religion.[38] In other words, poorly grounded religious beliefs have simply been unable to stand in the face of challenges generated by modern science and higher education.

The data presented in the following charts, taken from a national survey by the Princeton Religious Research Center, confirm the Hadaway and Roof findings and show a substantial negative relationship between educational level and a series of measure of religiosity.

On all but one of the indicators, the pattern is the same: the higher the level of education, the lower the level of reported religious belief or experience. The one exception is attendance at worship services, but, as we have noted elsewhere, there is some evidence that church attendance in this country is much like participation in other types of voluntary associations—it has other than religious meanings.[39] And there is extensive evidence of a strong

TABLE 32

Education and Expressions of Religiosity All Religions

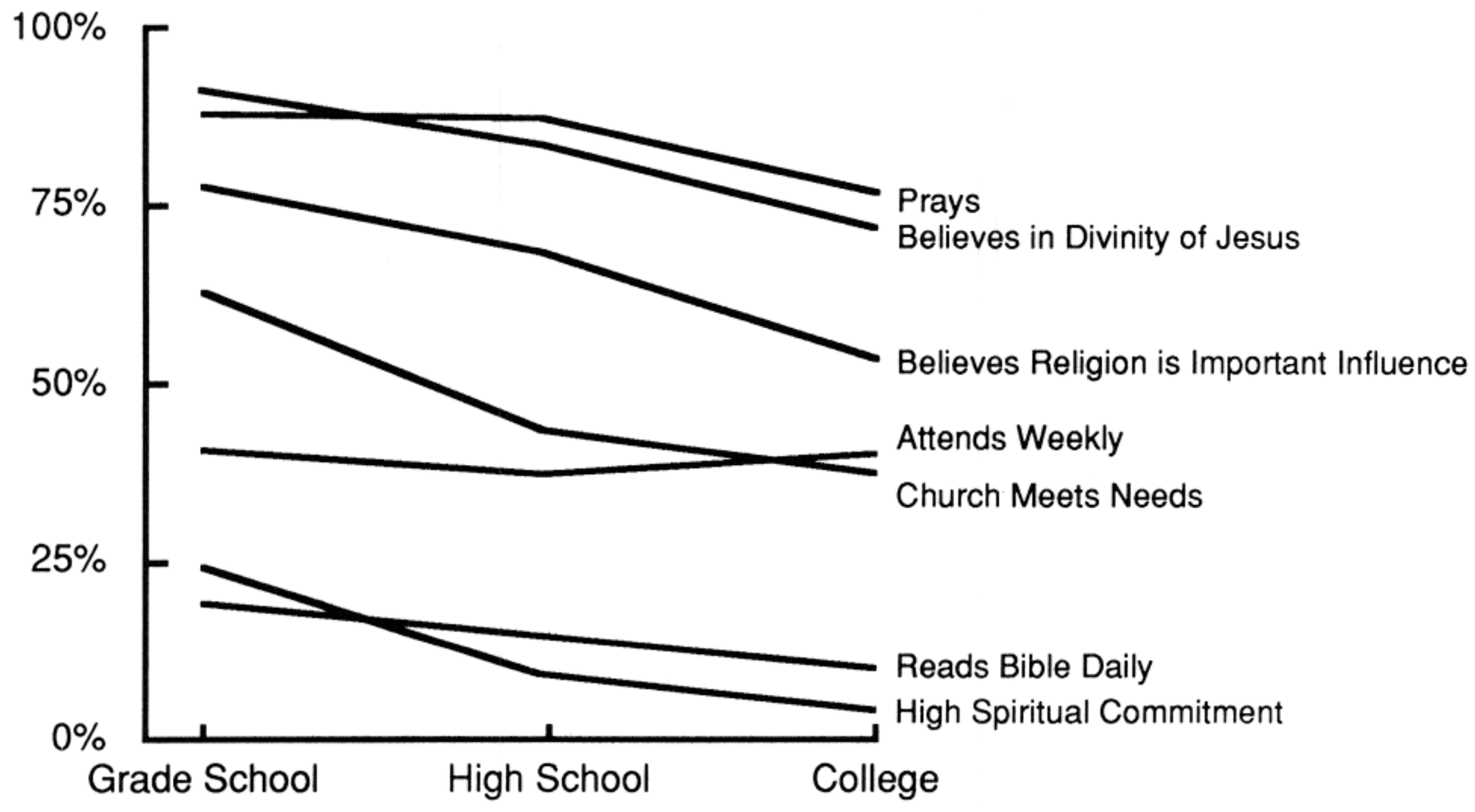
Measures of Religiosity	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL percent grade school	percent high school	percent college
• Attended church/synagogue during average week	43	39	43
• Church receives highest rating for meeting individual's spiritual needs	65	46	38
• Ever proseletyze for Christ	56	46	39
• Believe in literal translation of Bible	56	40	21
• Reads the Bible at least daily	21	16	12
• Agrees that religion is most important influence in life	81	72	56
• Constantly seeks God's will through prayer	86	69	51
• Receives a great deal of comfort from religious beliefs	88	79	72
• Completely or most believes in the divinity of Christ	94	87	74
• Wishes faith were stronger	87	80	68
• Spiritual commitment very high	25	11	6

Source: Adapted from various tables in Religion in America 1982, the Princeton Religion Research Center Inc., Princeton, New Jersey.

TABLE 33

Education and Religiosity

All Religions



Source: Religion in America 1982, Princeton Religion Research Center.

positive correlation between educational level and voluntary association participation.

However, in stark contrast to the pattern evident in these national survey data, our studies of Latter-day Saint samples demonstrate a strong positive relationship between level of education and religiosity. The next graph shows the relationship between education and attendance at weekly worship services. For men in the sample, weekly attendance at Sunday services goes from a low of 34 percent for those with only a grade school education to 80 percent for those with postgraduate experience. For women, the results are the same except for the modest drop-off in attendance for women with post-baccalaureate experience.

But what about other measures of belief and behavior? Generally, the same pattern holds. Whether we are talking about personal value placed on religious beliefs, attendance at church, financial contributions, frequency of personal prayer, or frequency of gospel study, the impact of increased education among Latter-day Saints is positive. These relationships also hold when we control for such other variables as attendance at church-sponsored schools, geographic area of the country, and so on. The secularizing influence of higher education simply doesn't seem to hold for Latter-day Saints.

I have now reviewed several different data sets that speak to the processes through which some become less involved religiously, to the impacts of religion on our family life, and to the effects of higher education on religiosity among Latter-day Saints. These data present an interesting picture of who we are as a people. They indicate areas where we are similar to others and areas where our religion makes us quite different. They provide information that can be useful in our roles as parents, as educators, and as lay leaders in our wards and stakes.

In the sociological studies I have reviewed, we see a picture of a religious organization characterized by vitality, commitment, and growth. On an individual level, it contributes to the success of our marriages and, when applied effectively in our homes, to the continued religious commitment of our children. Membership in the Church results in far more positive religious outcomes when we pursue advanced education. If we adopt the scriptural injunction "by their fruits ye shall know them" (Matt. 7:20), we come out looking pretty good. If we adopt the sociological injunction that any religion's social effects must be judged not by its ideals or its effects in exceptional cases, but by its general consequences,[40] it is my judgment that we still come out looking pretty good.

TABLE 34

Education and Attendance
LDS Men and Women

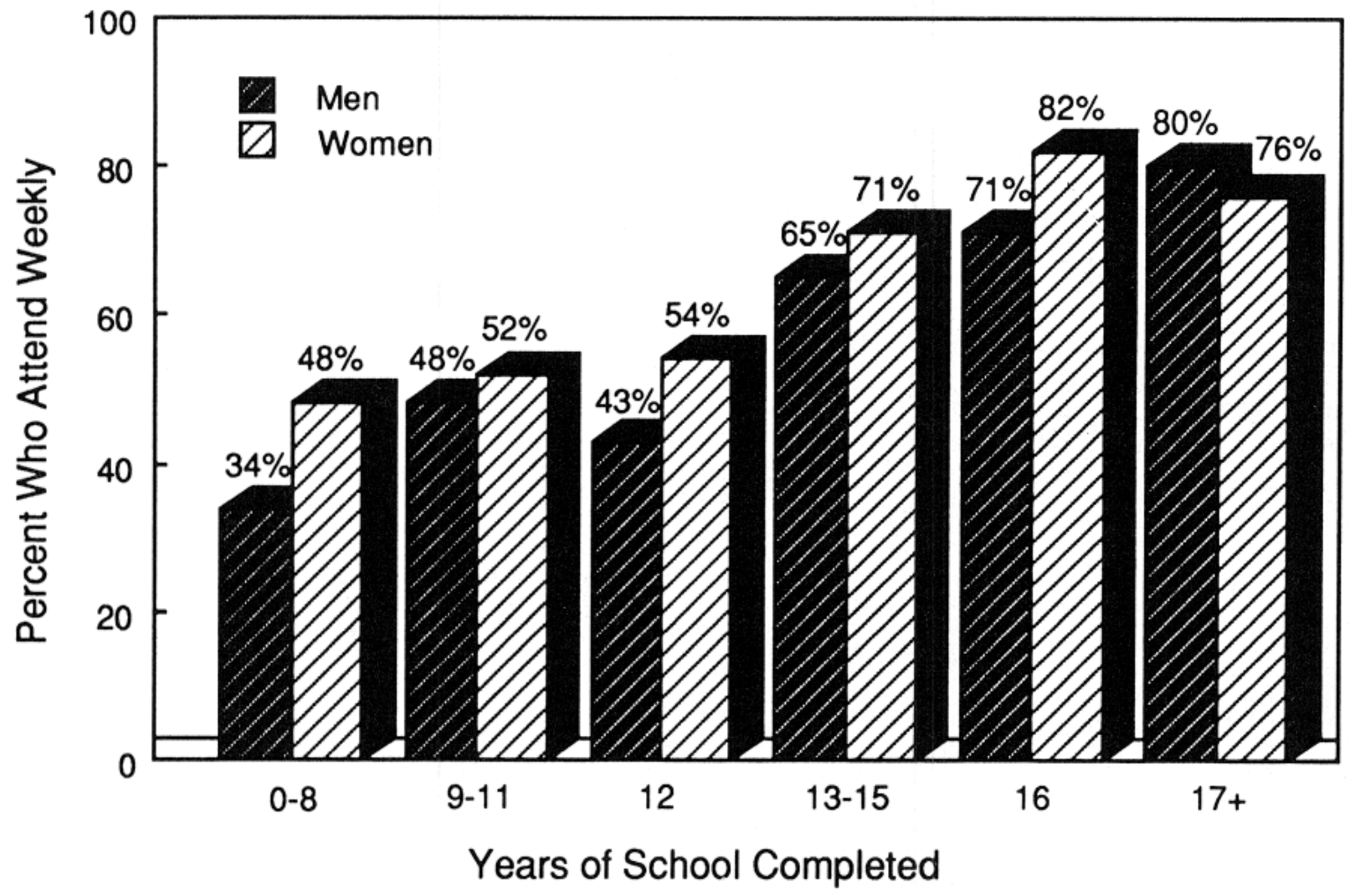
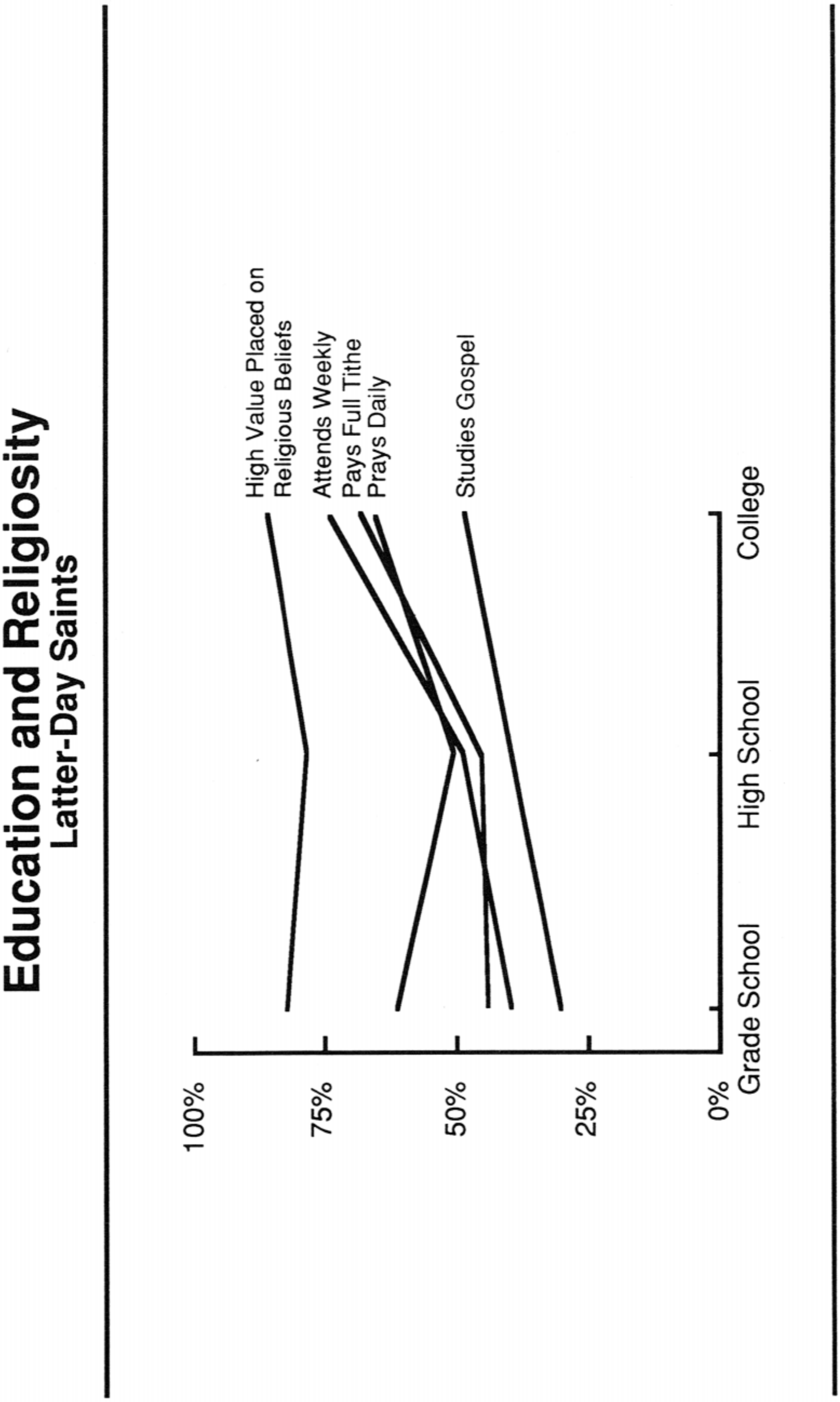


TABLE 35

Education and Religiosity
Latter-Day Saints



Some people still feel uncomfortable with this sociological approach to religion. Christopher Read suggested this view several years ago when he argued that any approach to religion that is based on quantitative analysis can never assess its really important dimensions, which, he felt, must include its saints and martyrs, who will always be statistically insignificant aberrations.[41] Read is correct in noting that quantitative research tends not to highlight statistical anomalies in any organization. It can, however, explore religion's fruits as these are reflected in the general body of its membership. And that has been the topic of this essay. There clearly are those areas that remain to be addressed primarily through inspiration, revelation, and received wisdom—though we shouldn't forget the counsel we have received that at this university the principle of revelation should be fundamental to everything we are as scientists and scholars.[42]

What I have presented is but a first step. There are numerous other questions to be addressed that also have important practical as well as theological meanings. Let me close with just one "for example." Suppose our research should show that participation in organized religion is largely unrelated to the development and nurturing of moral and humanitarian values? Or suppose that we were to find that the religiously involved have no better developed sense of social justice, or greater concern for others, or clearly defined attitudes of right and wrong than do those who are not church attenders?[43] As we view the broader American religious landscape, it is clear that there exists on many fronts a rather profound gulf between Americans' avowed ethical and religious standards and the observable realities of their everyday lives.[44] Study after study shows minimal and undramatic behavioral differences between the religiously active and inactive. A recent *Wall Street Journal*/Gallup Survey, for example, found very little difference between the behavior of the churched and the unchurched on a wide range of items, including lying, cheating, and pilfering. Despite the positive effects I have documented above, some of the highly publicized cases of fraud and dishonesty in our own communities suggest we have some of the same problems.

For most Americans, the effect of reading the Bible and engaging in prayer and meditation is much more often stated in terms of "it makes me feel good" than in terms of making one repentant, or a better neighbor, or willing to do God's will.[45] Every U.S. president has found it important to mention God in his inaugural address (except George Washington in his second inauguration), though it is clear that the reference in many instances is included more for its appeal to the listening audience than as a

clear reflection of deep religious belief on the part of the speaker. The continued invocation of a religious rhetoric provides an overarching sacred canopy under which political and other leaders may appear to operate, but often without much true religious meaning or substance.

For many, then, public expressions of religion are motivated by other than religious reasons. This has important theological, as well as sociological, consequences. The sociological problem of the relationship between attitudes and behavior or between words and deeds becomes the theological problem of hypocrisy, and in the scriptures, no one is more fully condemned than the religious hypocrite—those who use their religion deceptively or who pretend to be holy and virtuous when they are not. Redekop has identified the "curse of Christianity" as "the Christian who can pledge allegiance to Christ and totally disregard His teachings and His life."[46] David Moberg criticizes us all for engaging in what he calls this "holy masquerade." This is an area where social-science data can help us better understand the prevalence and the parameters of the problem.

We should not assume, simply because we can chronicle important positive impacts from our religion, that there are no challenges. Just as in Nephi's time, we murmur "all is well in Zion" at the very peril of our own souls. But still, in the end, I find myself coming back to the need to be reminded that each of us is simply on a pilgrimage toward perfection; no one of us has yet arrived.[47]

NOTES

[1]See Bernard Spilka, Phillip Shaver, and Lee A. Kirkpatrick, "A General Attribution Theory for the Psychology of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 24 (March 1985): 1–20.

[2]Paul Davies, *God and the New Physics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), vii.

[3]Armand L. Mauss, "Saints, Cities, and Secularism: Religious Attitudes and Behavior of Modern Urban Mormons," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 7 (Summer 1972): 8.

[4]Karl Marx, "Contributions to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," in *The Marx-Engels Reader,* ed. R. C. Tucker (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 12, quoted in Lynn D. Nelson, "Disaffiliation, Desacralization, and Political Values," in *Falling from the Faith: Causes and Consequences of Religious Apostasy,* ed. David Bromley (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1988), 123.

[5]See Darwin L. Thomas and Gwendolyn C. Henry, "The Religion and Family Connection: Increasing Dialogue in the Social Sciences," in *The Religion and Family Connection,* ed. Darwin L. Thomas (Provo: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1988).

[6]See Neil J. Demereth, III, and Wade C. Roof, "Religion—Recent Strands in Research," *Annual Review of Sociology* 2 (1976): 19–33; see also Thomas and Henry, "The Religion and Family Connection."

[7]James W. Vander Zanden, *The Social Experience* (New York: Random House, 1988), 394.

[8]C. Kirk Hadaway, "Changing Brands: Denominational Switching and Membership Changes," in *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches,* ed. C. Jacquet (Nashville: Abingdon, 1980), 262–68.

[9]Ibid., 451.

[10]Howard M. Bahr and Stan L. Albrecht, "Strangers Once More: Patterns of Disaffiliation from Mormonism," forthcoming in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.*

[11]Stuart A. Wright, "Leaving New Religious Movements," in Bromley, *Falling from the Faith,* 143–65.

[12]Stan L. Albrecht and Howard M. Bahr, "Patterns of Religious Disaffiliation: A Study of Lifelong Mormons, Mormon Converts, and Former Mormons," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 22 (December 1983): 366–79.

[13]Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (September 1984): 18.

[14]Ibid., 19.

[15]Ibid., 23–24.

[16]Wade Clark Roof and C. Kirk Hadaway, "Denominational Switching among American Protestants," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18 (December 1979): 363–79.

[17]Stan L. Albrecht, Marie Cornwall, and Perry H. Cunningham, "Religious Leave-Taking: Disengagement and Disaffiliation among Mormons," in Bromley, *Falling from the Faith,* 62–80.

[18]See Bahr and Albrecht, "Strangers Once More."

[19]Albrecht, Cornwall, and Cunningham, "Religious Leave-Taking," 73.

[20]Hans Toch, *The Social Psychology of Social Movements* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 180.

[21]See Bahr and Albrecht, "Strangers Once More."

[22]Merlin Brinkerhoff and K. L. Burke, "Disaffiliation: Some Notes on Falling Away from the Faith," *Sociological Analysis* 41 (June 1980): 41–54.

[23]See Albrecht and Bahr, "Patterns of Religious Disaffiliation."

[24]Dean Hoge, "Why Catholics Drop Out," in Bromley, *Falling from the Faith,* 96.

[25]Tim Heaton and Kristen L. Goodman, "Religion and Family Formation," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (June 1985): 344.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Gerald N. Stott, "Familial Influence on Religious Involvement," in Thomas, *Religion and Family Connection,* 258–71.

[28]See Marie Cornwall, "The Social Bases of Religion: A Study of Factors Influencing Religious Belief and Commitment," *Review of Religious Research* 29 (September 1987): 44–56; "The Influence of Three Agents of Religious Socialization: Family, Church, and Peers," in Thomas, *Religion and Family Connection,* 207–31; "The Determinants of Religious Behavior: A Theoretical Model and Empirical Test," forthcoming in *Social Forces.*

[29]Darwin L. Thomas, "Future Prospects for Religion and Family Studies: The Mormon Case," in *Religion and Family Connection,* 357–82.

[30]C. Kirk Hadaway and Wade Clark Roof, "Apostasy in American Churches: Evidence from National Survey Data," in Bromley, *Falling from the Faith,* 29–46.

[31]For a more detailed treatment, see Tim Heaton, Stan L. Albrecht, and Randal Johnson, "The Making of British Saints in Historical Perspective," *Brigham Young University Studies* 27 (Spring 1987): 119–35.

[32]Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 7.

[33]Quoted in Cox, *English Churches,* 8.

[34]John Wilson, *Religion in American Society: The Effective Presence* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 401.

[35]Michael Argyle and Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, *The Social Psychology of Religion* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), 9.

[36]Davies, *God and the New Physics,* 2.

[37]Andrew Greeley, *Unsecular Man: The Persistence of Religion* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), quoted in Nelson, "Disaffiliation, Desacralization, and Political Values," 126; see also Howard M. Bahr and Bruce A. Chadwick, "Religion and Family in Middletown, USA," in Thomas, *Religion and Family Connection,* 51–65.

[38]Hadaway and Roof, "Apostasy in American Churches," 36.

[39]Stan L. Albrecht and Tim B. Heaton, "Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (September 1984): 43–58.

[40]Nelson, "Disaffiliation, Desacralization, and Political Values," 127.

[41]Christopher Read, "Review of Lane," *Religion in Communist Lands* 7 (1979): 182–83, quoted in Nelson, "Disaffiliation, Desacralization, and Political Values," 127.

[42]See Allen E. Bergin, "Bringing the Restoration to the Academic World: Clinical Psychology as a Test Case," *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 449–73.

[43]See Nelson, "Disaffiliation, Desacralization, and Political Values."

[44]Vander Zanden, *Social Experience,* 395.

[45]George Gallup, Jr., *Religion in America* (Princeton, N.J.: Gallup Report, 1985), 387, 390, 394.

[46]Calvin Redekop, *The Free Church and Seductive Culture* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1970), 168; quoted in David Moberg, "Holy Masquerade: Hypocrisy in Religion," *Review of Religious Research* 29 (September 1987): 4.

[47]Moberg, "Holy Masquerade," 18–19.

Book Reviews

CHAD M. ORTON. *More Faith Than Fear: The Los Angeles Stake Story*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987. xi; 372 pp. $12.95.

Reviewed by A. Gary Anderson, associate professor of Church history at Brigham Young University.

Few areas pulsate with more raw energy, excitement, and excess than Los Angeles, California. While early Church leaders possibly never envisioned God's kingdom flourishing amid miles of pavement and masses of people, the Los Angeles Stake has become an important and influential hub of Zion. In this regional study, Chad Orton has traced the history of the growth of the Church in the Los Angeles region.

This is far more than just the history of a single stake. The first three chapters detail the beginnings of the LDS church in California. Among other things, Orton recounts the arrival and subsequent shenanigans of Sam Brannan, the coming of the Mormon Battalion, and the planting of the colony at San Bernardino. He also notes less familiar episodes such as the contributions of Utah polygamists in nurturing the early California church and the diverse (and often inspired) events and happenings that undergirded the establishment of missions and branches. The emphasis is on people, and Orton obviously enjoys detailing the remarkable faith and notable achievements of such people as Henry and Eliza Woollacott and Joseph Robinson. In all of this Orton demonstrates a familiarity with the basic themes and settings of both Church and California history. The volume gives evidence of considerable research and while the writing is not always scintillating, it is solid enough.

The title of the book, *More Faith Than Fear,* is appropriate, referring to various Latter-day Saint leaders and members who, in the face of seemingly insurmountable odds and obstacles, refused to allow fear to override faith. The phrase is applicable both to early pioneers and to later visionary leaders such as John Carmack. In 1974, Elder Carmack, then a stake president, was inspired to preserve the Wilshire chapel. In later years the chapel served many Spanish-speaking wards and was a center of Hispanic activity.

In a very real sense the Los Angeles Stake, the first and oldest urban stake, has served as a prototype and even crucible for such stakes throughout the Church. As a small strand in a large inner-city web, stake leaders have had to meet varied challenges seemingly inherent in a complex urban setting. The Great Depression created

especially acute welfare challenges with the influx of Church members seeking employment. World War II brought the challenge of meeting the needs of hundreds of servicemen. The 1950s were characterized by large numbers of members moving to suburbs as blacks moved into the inner-city areas. The so-called "white flight" presented logistical challenges for stake leaders. The 1965 Watts riot transpired in the stake boundaries. During this era the Los Angeles Temple and the LDS institute of religion received bomb threats. By the 1980s the diverse stake membership made it a microcosm of the worldwide Church. In the Hollywood Ward alone, twenty-seven different languages could be heard. At a typical sacrament meeting, one would see not just blacks, whites, or Hispanics, but Armenians, Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, and many others. In dealing with the perplexities of urbanization and cosmopolitanism, stake leaders have established procedures and practices that have benefited other urban stakes.

Indeed, the Los Angeles Stake has pioneered many programs that the Church later implemented worldwide. One such program had to do with missionary work among American Jews. Because of the large Jewish population in the Los Angeles area, LeGrande Richards and Rose Marie Reid, a descendant of Orson Hyde, instigated in 1954 special programs for Jewish people interested in the gospel. The book *Israel! Do You Know?* by Elder Richards was perhaps the most notable result of this venture. Another program or practice in which the Los Angeles area anticipated the worldwide Church was the consolidated meeting schedule. The Los Angeles Stake introduced a consolidated meeting schedule after Pearl Harbor was bombed. With the possibility of meeting disruption due to air raid alerts and the reality of gas rationing coupled with the long distances many had to travel to and from meetings, it seemed practical to lump meetings together. This practice was later abandoned. With the development of a Spanish branch in the 1970s, the Los Angeles Stake moved Primary from Fridays to Sundays, again because of travel distance, thus reimplementing the consolidated meeting schedule. When the Church inaugurated the consolidated schedule worldwide, the only adjustment the Los Angeles Stake had to make was to shorten the time branch members spent in Sunday meetings. The Los Angeles Stake also anticipated the Church in creating single-adult wards and wards for the deaf.

Perhaps the most captivating chapter for general readers would be the one about the Los Angeles Temple. Nearly everything Orton recounts about the temple—from the prophetic utterances concerning its erection to the eventual selection of the site, from the concern about the designation, "Hollywood Temple," to the insight

given temple artist Joseph Gibby by President McKay that the Savior had "chestnut hair, hazel eyes, and fair complexion"—evokes and strengthens faith, and suggests that the Lord indeed had an investment in its completion.

Orton's book may not become a best-seller because of its comparatively narrow historical focus. But to anyone interested in the development of the Church in California or even the western United States, it fills an important need. Certainly it would find a happy and enthusiastic readership in Southern California. But I would hope Orton's study motivates as much as it instructs, inspiring others in branches, wards, and stakes throughout the world to "go and do likewise." Every branch and stake, from Sanpete County to Santiago, Chile, has its own version of stellar Saints such as Joseph E. Robinson and Eliza Woollacott or John K. Carmack and Ella Farnsworth. For many reasons, not the least of which is determining how and where we link up in a great chain of family and gospel continuity, we need to learn about them.

LARRY E. MORRIS. *The Edge of the Reservoir*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988. 233 pp. $7.95.

Reviewed by Randall L. Hall, manager of seminary curriculum, LDS Church Educational System.

Larry Morris's novel *The Edge of the Reservoir* ambitiously weaves together such weighty topics as life, death, religion, love, marriage, and friendship, without being heavy-handed. The novel reads well. The language is simple, lucid, and flowing, carrying the reader along, deftly shifting between the difficulties of the present and the bittersweet recollection of the past. And there are some moments of genuine humor.

The book's focal point is Ryan Masterson, who, in his late thirties, is already drifting in the doldrums of mid-life crisis. Frustrated with his job, his marriage, and unfulfilled dreams, Ryan retreats to junk food, late night TV, self-absorption, and reminiscence. Ryan's transformation from a young, artistically sensitive, outdoor loving, hardworking distance runner to a frustrated father of two, somewhat perplexed dreamer of dreams, late night snacker, whose boss and wife are chief sources of his misery, is nicely done. Carefully selected, well-drawn scenes in the past and present, along with realistic dialogue, give a very believable sense of the pain and frustration in someone we may casually notice on the bus or in the mall, wrapped in the cloak of everydayness, about whose inner

life we can only guess. Morris manages to walk the line describing mid-life crisis without falling off into cliché. Much of this can be attributed to the accessible, everyday reality that makes the book live. However, in some instances the everyday detail may eventually surface as a weakness. Mention of episodes of *M.A.S.H.*, particular items in 7-Eleven stores, and specific Utah Jazz basketball games and players (several of whom are no longer with the team) already date the book and may soon become a distraction.

Of particular interest and insight are the varied family and friendship relationships portrayed in the novel. These relationships, treated with immediacy and poignancy, form, stretch, tighten, and teeter with believable balance. One of the pivotal relationships involves Rosemary Richards, a good-looking, athletic Mormon girl with a weakness for Gene Pitney (a crooner of sad love songs from the 1950s and early 1960s). Ryan's frequent reminiscence of his courting days takes us through the bewilderment, delight, and frustration of a non-Mormon/Mormon romance, with the unresolved emotions, implications, and questions strung along his memories of almost twenty years.

The look at the Mormon church through Ryan's nonmember eyes is fair and often insightful, giving both Mormons and non-Mormons some things to consider in reaching a mutual understanding. But while religion, or at least the difficulty of interfaith dating or marriage relationships, forms a significant part of the book, any real concern with God and his reality, or his relationship to individuals, is relegated to the reader's imagination.

There are some fine moments of complexity and humanity in Ryan's relationship with his Uncle Neal and Aunt Norma, who, especially after the death of Ryan's mother, become his surrogate parents. Ryan's close identification and bond with his uncle is given an added dimension in that, like Ryan, Uncle Neal had courted a Mormon girl. In his case it led to marriage. Uncle Neal's death and funeral serve as the backdrop to scenes of compassion, emotional richness, and depth.

Perhaps fittingly, it is Uncle Neal who accurately puts his finger on Ryan's problem, a problem that drains promise and energy from the last third of the novel. Shortly after the death of Ryan's mother, his uncle tells him to "stop blaming other people for your problems." "You're feeling sorry for yourself" (163), he tells Ryan. Unfortunately, Ryan never seems to grow beyond those feelings, and they tend to paralyze him. For the most part, Ryan doesn't act but is acted upon, hoping some current will carry him to happiness and success. This leaves the last third of the book less satisfying than the first two thirds. The chronicling of Ryan's

frustration is done so convincingly that we anticipate a stronger resolution than the unconvincing drift to Ryan's halfhearted realization of how important it is to have someone love you. There seems to be little significant grappling with values, with understanding, with resolve.

One telling episode in which Ryan, upset over having broken up with his Mormon girlfriend Rose, goes to Rexburg, Idaho, to see her, and then decides not to, is illustrative of his paralysis: "He wandered into the store, sat down at the fountain, and ordered a large Coke, hoping something would happen—that someone would sit next to him and announce a change in the rules: he and Rose could get married without him joining the church and without her compromising her belief" (164).

It is generally what Ryan *doesn't* do that shapes the direction of his life. When a lonely businesswoman suggests he come to her hotel room, he freezes, and his silence is taken by the woman to be a tacit refusal of her invitation: "She walked into the mall without looking back, and was gone. All it would have taken was a simple yes. She had mistaken his paralysis for virtue. He hadn't been able to say yes at the crucial moment, and now the opportunity had vanished" (150). His virtue will remain intact as long as doing nothing will preserve it. But if a woman made a stronger move, Ryan admits to himself in another instance, "He knew what would happen if a woman like that fell into his arms" (126).

Ryan's lack of responsibility may stem from what he perceives as a lack of meaning or purpose in life. His philosophy seems best summed up in his own words: "You lived out a life full of events that had nothing to do with each other. And none of it had anything to do with fairness. But you played along and pretended things were just how they were supposed to be" (183). This same sense of bewilderment and drift is echoed in the final scene where, after almost twenty years, Ryan visits with Mrs. Richards, the mother of his Mormon girlfriend. After staring for a while at the picture of Rose with her husband and family and sorting through his own life, past and present, Ryan admits to himself that "he couldn't understand anything" (232). And we're afraid he's right.

As they say goodbye, Rose's mother tells him, "And I'm glad [things are] going well for you. I always knew you'd be successful" (232). True, there have been some successes here and there, but her statement is much more ironic than truthful. The echo of "you played along and pretended things were just how they were supposed to be," rings rather forlornly. Ryan will continue to play along. Sometimes things will be as they were supposed to be. Often they will not.

STANLEY B. KIMBALL. *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988. xviii; 320 pp. $15.95.

Reviewed by Larry C. Porter, professor of Church history and doctrine, Brigham Young University.

As a mobile society, continually crisscrossing the continent, we have history often at our fingertips, and yet we miss much of it because we are either hurried or ignorant. How many of us have bypassed a host of Mormon and American historical sites time and again because we either didn't know they were there, didn't know who to ask, or just plain didn't have time to make the necessary contact? Stanley Kimball's new guide and commentary on *Historic Sites and Markers Along the Mormon and Other Great Western Trails* is an in-hand compass for both the "easy on, easy off" visitor and the dedicated scholar who wants to spend extended time tracking original routes. Hundreds of site descriptions and thirty quality maps, with insets depicting the locations within the greater geographical area, are augmented by seventy-one photographs to facilitate the reader's perception of place. Now there is little excuse for outbound trail enthusiasts not to slip onto one of these historically exciting corridors of yesteryear and satisfy a personal yen to stand on site.

Whenever a writer undertakes to identify more than 550 historic sites and markers, spread over some ten thousand miles of trail, the possibility of occasional errors, by author or publisher, is increased by sheer weight of numbers. A single example might be cited in the section entitled "The First Mormon Road West: Across New York in 1831," and the "Nineveh Historic Site," segment no. 2 (270). The author states, "In the 1830s Nineveh [Broome County, New York] was known as Colesville, the location of the first branch (congregation) of the Mormon church. This branch was one of the three groups of Mormons that followed their prophet west into Ohio" (270). In actuality, the village of Nineveh was likewise Nineveh in the latter 1820s and 1830s. Situated on the west side of the Susquehanna River in the township of Colesville, Nineveh existed as a contemporary community with the village of Colesville, for which the township was named. The village of Colesville formerly stood near the geographical east-west center of the township at the crossroads of what is now the Colesville Road (or Farm to Market Road) and Watrous Road, southwest of Harpursville. The original village of Colesville has disappeared today. The Mormon Colesville branch was centered in the rural

area of the township at the Joseph Knight, Sr., farm on the east side of the Susquehanna River, adjacent to the village of Nineveh.

There is nothing so sure as change. Throughout this exacting volume, Kimball makes mention of the continual alterations or new conditions affecting a particular site, for example, "New landowners have removed signs and eliminated access to the ruts in this pass" (126), or "To walk there, permission and directions must be secured at the Steel Ranch" (225). Even as the author was putting his manuscript to bed, the rules changed at one of his favorite sites—the Zelph Mound in Pike County, Illinois (293–94). Donald Q. Cannon, who visited that location while researching in the summer of 1988, discovered that one doesn't just "walk on." He informed me that

> the Zelph Mound is located on property owned by the Illinois Department of Conservation. In order to visit the site one should contact Warren Winston of Pittsfield, Illinois, the Pike County historian. Mr. Winston can then make contact with the guard for the Department of Conservation and arrange for an escorted tour of the site. Furthermore, the entire area is heavily wooded and, consequently, the mound is obscured and not visible from the dirt road. It is, therefore, helpful to have a guide when visiting the Zelph Mound in that restricted area.

All this to reiterate what Kimball has specified throughout his book, that fluctuating conditions are perpetual at historic sites and that visitors must remain flexible to those changes.

Through his initial interest in Mormon emigrant history, Stan Kimball has been following trails since 1963. His time in grade, almost a quarter of a century, has allowed him to more than sample the ruts and lore of the fifteen primary trails and their variants examined in this labyrinth of pioneering thoroughfares. A wagon master worth his salt can always be detected by his trail savvy and his ability to protect the people in his charge from potentially surprising or even perilous encounters. Kimball gives periodic warnings to the unsuspecting at crucial locations, such as: "This is rough, desolate country so anyone straying from the main roads should a have a Gray, Haskell, and Grant counties' maps" (200); or "With the proper Hidalgo County, New Mexico and Cochise County, Arizona (sheet 7) maps, an ORV [off-road-vehicle], and luck, you can attempt to follow the MB [Mormon Battalion]" (219); or "At California Hill you can see some of the most dramatic trail ruts . . . also watch out for a temperamental bull" (153); or, while at Chimney Rock, "The ambitious can clamber partway up its base, but watch out for snakes" (125); or, in the state of Kansas, "Watch your speedometer in Finney County. One of the few speeding

tickets I ever received while trailing was given to me here, and it set me back $90.00" (244). Spicing his discourse throughout with a regular touch of wry humor, a tested trail boss talks us safely through the most troublesome stretches.

What has happened and what is now happening on western trails in regards to the erection of monuments and sites markers for the enjoyment and edification of the public did not just occur magically. Such placement has required careful research and planning by organized groups. Perhaps the general readership would have appreciated a brief introductory statement in this volume as to what is occurring among a representative group of U.S. government, state, and private agencies. Is the Mormon Pioneer Trails Foundation currently viable and functioning? Does it have other major works in mind? Are there other organizations interested in western trails? I recognize that design and space constraints in the volume preclude an in-depth treatment, but I would have enjoyed a brief survey of some of the front-running organizations and Kimball's assessment of what the future might have in store for trail identification.

The text of this book is anything but a "dry run" from site to site. It is filled with highly useful historical information that will appeal to the novice and enlighten the scholar. I became completely absorbed in Kimball's description of the Missouri Boonslick Trail used by the Lamanite missionaries in 1831, and of Joseph Smith's employment of that route when first visiting Jackson County during the summer of that same year. Others will be sparked by the identification of five important feeder variants to the Oregon Trail or interested to learn that from 1812 until about 1827 the original Oregon Trail was on the north side of the Platte River and shifted to the south side when Independence became the eastern terminus. The Mormon pioneers of 1847 were primarily following the old traces of the former north side Oregon Trail to Fort Laramie.

I would hope that this volume is but a precursor to a subset of still other trails and sites in Mormon history that the author will undertake to define. I would like to see a similar diagraming of the so called "Mormon Corridor" from Salt Lake to San Diego; the northern routes followed by some members of the Mormon Battalion as they were mustered out at Los Angeles on 19 July 1847; the sites associated with the Latter-day Saint gold argonauts in California; the primary routes followed in the exploration and settlement of Arizona and the subsequent Mormon colonization of northern Mexico in the states of Sonora and Chihuahua; the avenues of settlement missions into western Canada; even the trails followed by "Mormon boys" freighting to the Montana mines. I

suppose a "wish list" of well-defined trails and sites could be endlessly imposed on such expertise as has been displayed by Stan Kimball in this and other trail guides he has published.

Kimball writes of our being in "the midst of a great American western trails renaissance" (xi) and suggests that interest in historic trails has never been greater. Those who have had a long-term fascination with these emigrant routes can only applaud what is happening and pledge their support of such monumental advances. Stan Kimball has been in the forefront of these events and as a recognized authority has given exceptional public service in assuring that both the contemporary generation and those yet future can identify their historical heritage. His current volume is a rare and carefully crafted index to an extensive geographical portion of that legacy.

DAVIS BITTON and LEONARD J. ARRINGTON. *Mormons and Their Historians*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988. 200 pp. $20.00.

Reviewed by Bruce A. Van Orden, assistant professor of Church history and doctrine, Brigham Young University.

"This is not a study of Mormon history but of Mormon historians" (xi), explain the authors, two prominent historians themselves. Thus begins the most ambitious attempt to date in Mormon historiography to analyze the lives and contributions of the movement's principal chroniclers.[1] In this volume Bitton and Arrington answer the questions: "How well did [Mormon historians] do their job? What do we owe to them? Where is it necessary to move beyond them?" (ix). Contending that Mormonism is not merely the story of its "men and women of action," but also "the people of the pen" (ix), the authors insist that "the way we think about our past does much to shape our identity" (xi). This volume is, then, both "a study in intellectual awareness and an exploration of group self-awareness" (xi).

Clearly, the study of historians is not a new historiographical exercise. Any university library furnishes a potpourri of such works devoted to various specialties. The emerging and growing community of Mormon historians naturally awaited a work about the best of their predecessors and contemporaries. Who better to undertake this task than Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, two universally

acknowledged front-runners in the field? Together as director and assistant director respectively of the LDS church's History Division during the 1970s, they wrote the bestselling *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (1979). Both have been exceptionally prolific and versatile in their production and are recognized in fields other than Mormon history.

When I first heard of the prospective publication of *Mormons and Their Historians,* I expected a volume twice the size of what eventually appeared. This book is modest in its size and scope. It is actually an examination both of certain *types* of historians and also a *selection* of notable Mormon historians who fit those types. Bitton and Arrington chose individuals who established a "general pattern" of historical writing and who represented "some of the changing standards of historical writing" (xii). The Mormon historians who were thus analyzed include Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Edward W. Tullidge, Andrew Jenson, B. H. Roberts, Andrew Love Neff, Ephraim E. Ericksen, Bernard DeVoto, Fawn Brodie, Dale Morgan, Juanita Brooks, Richard L. Bushman, Jan Shipps, and Charles S. Peterson. Bitton and Arrington admit that other writers could have deserved similar attention, including T. B. H. Stenhouse, William Alexander Linn, Hubert Howe Bancroft, John Henry Evans, Joseph Fielding Smith, Preston Nibley, Nels Anderson, Milton R. Hunter, and William E. Berrett. Still other authors are noted in intentionally superficial discussions. Modestly, Arrington and Bitton hardly give passing attention to their own worthy contributions.

The authors devote chapter-length sketches to the lives and historical contributions of Church authorities (who also served as historians) Willard Richards, George A. Smith, Orson F. Whitney, and B. H. Roberts, as well as Edward W. Tullidge and Andrew Jenson, who, though not General Authorities themselves, were nonetheless at times closely connected with the hierarchy and were commissioned to complete meaty historical works for the Church. Then, in "The Beginnings of 'Scientific' History," they focus on the lives of Andrew Love Neff and Ephraim E. Ericksen. In similar manner, the authors give snapshots of Bernard DeVoto, Fawn M. Brodie, Dale L. Morgan, and Juanita Brooks in "The Bridge: Historians without History Degrees," and of Richard L. Bushman, Jan Shipps, and Charles S. Peterson in the chapter on three different contemporary ways of writing Mormon history. Each "historian" is critically yet sympathetically reviewed according to the historical standards of his or her era. The authors note, "Along with achievement of our major historical writers we have frankly noticed some weaknesses and limitations as well" (xii).

Perhaps the most interesting and enlightening chapter is "B. H. Roberts: Historian and Theologian." Bitton and Arrington call Roberts "the most important Mormon historian of the transition period stretching from the 1880s to the 1930s. He was energetic, wrote more than anyone else before or after . . . and was popular, thus doing much to establish the way most Latter-day Saints thought about their history" (69). They applaud Roberts for his extensive use of primary sources ("No one before had exploited the raw material of Mormon history so thoroughly" [79]) and his willingness to portray the early Mormons "warts and all" (83). They note that he was remarkably similar in style to the Romantic historians Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, who "compared history to drama and sought to present it dramatically" (84). And they level criticism at Roberts's editing of the official multivolume *History of the Church* for perpetuating many of the original publication errors and making hundreds of additional unacknowledged changes in the wording of original manuscripts. They somewhat excuse Roberts for these failings by recognizing that "standards for the editing of historical documents were not at all firmly established" (76).

As Bitton and Arrington discuss one by one the various types of Mormon historians in various eras, it is easy to sense their admiration for the diversity of styles. In this they would agree with the eminent Allan Nevins:

> Place can be found for everybody but the dishonest and insincere, the great pests of history as of all other writing. Tolerance for all the varied types of historical writing is indispensable to the advance of history, and it opens the door not to confusion but to a desirable complexity. The more ideas we get into history the better, and ideas mean opinions. The enormous variety of historical materials and the steady development of disciplines applicable to these materials (especially sociology and economics) means an ever greater variety of historical views.[2]

Bitton and Arrington display their general pleasure with the arrival to Mormon history after World War II of professionally-trained historians and the proliferation of useful, informative, and well-written articles, monographs, and books. The generation of Mormon historians since 1946 has created a "quantum change" (145) in the field, they assert. They would also agree with Edward Hallettt Carr's assessment, as it would apply to Mormon history: "The historian of the 1920s was nearer to objective judgment than the historian of the 1880s, and . . . the historian of today is nearer than the historian of the 1920s; the historian of the year 2000 may be nearer still."[3] The most troubling concern harbored by Bitton and Arrington regarding Mormon history writing is "access to

materials" at the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City. While expressing appreciation that they themselves once had opportunities to study valuable and rare documents in the archives, they also note that similar access is not now as readily available. "Access is almost never total, and it is sometimes frustratingly capricious" (164), they observe. They also acknowledge that "no substantial collection [of historical materials anywhere] is wide open in the sense that anyone can take out anything he or she wants, no questions asked" (165). Yet they strongly urge increasing the availability of documents to qualified scholars and add, "Most topics, treated fairly, letting the chips fall where they may, simply do not impinge on the basic truth claims of Mormonism. . . . The faith does not require that those who believed it, including the leaders, were perfect" (166).

Even though I truly appreciate this book and profoundly admire its distinguished coauthors, I have two criticisms. One is the virtual ignoring of Joseph Fielding Smith, who began his employment as a young man in the Church historian's office and was himself Church historian from 1921 to 1970. His one-volume survey, *Essentials in Church History,* arguably may be the most widely-read single piece of Mormon history. I fear that Bitton and Arrington did not wish to attempt a critical appraisal of Elder Smith's historical contributions out of political considerations. They probably reasoned that since Joseph Fielding Smith was a recent Church President, even mild criticism of his approach to writing Church history could be a delicate venture. Nevertheless, they did not shrink from evaluating the contributions of other Church authorities, and to be consistent they should have more closely scrutinized the work of Elder Smith.

Bitton and Arrington also gloss over controversial decisions affecting the History Division of the Church in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They mention the sixteen-volume Church history project (138–39), but neglect to explain how and why the project was jettisoned by Church officials. They also deftly avoid explaining all the reasons why the professional historians in the History Division were transferred in 1982 to Brigham Young University to constitute the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History. I feel that a book published by a state-supported press (as opposed to a Church-supported one) should be more complete in its explanation of these delicate matters.

Mormons and Their Historians is beautifully bound and printed by the University of Utah Press. This is volume 2 in the series "Publication in Mormon Studies" edited by Linda King Newell, former coeditor of *Dialogue*. The insightful *Mormon*

Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle (1987) by Jessie L. Embry was volume 1. One hopes that numerous other valuable volumes will appear in this promising series.

NOTES

[1]David J. Whittaker provided a more cursory study in "Historians and the Mormon Experience: A Sesquicentennial Perspective," *The Eighth Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium: A Sesquicentennial Look at Church History* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 293–327.

[2]*Allan Nevins on History*, comp. Ray Allen Billington (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), 5.

[3]Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 173.

JOSEPH FIELDING McCONKIE and ROBERT L. MILLETT. *First and Second Nephi*. Volume 1 of *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987. 414 pp. $13.95.

JOSEPH FIELDING McCONKIE and ROBERT L. MILLETT. *Jacob through Mosiah*. Volume 2 of *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988. 358 pp. $13.95.

Reviewed by J. Frederic Voros, Jr., a lawyer and writer living in Salt Lake City.

Mormons have traditionally viewed theology and theologians with suspicion. Without a tradition of continuing revelation, other churches must rely on theologians to interpret scripture and chart doctrinal direction. But in the Mormon tradition, which proclaims that living prophets resolve doctrinal issues—and even supplement the canon—of what use are theologians? Allowing a place for theology seems to suggest either that the prophets have been insufficiently clear or that there is something worth knowing that they have not told us. Mormonism's practical bias also militates against theology: isn't our time better spent *doing* the word rather than merely *studying* it?

This is the dilemma facing Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet as they undertake their *Doctrinal Commentary*

on the Book of Mormon. On one hand, they are adamantine in their conviction that "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . is led by prophets and Apostles, men with seers' vision" (2:169). For them, the corollary to this truth is that all essential and relevant questions have been answered. But if that is true, what need is there of mere scriptural explicators like themselves? The authors' response to this dilemma is bold: "In writing a commentary on the Book of Mormon it is not the authors' intent to suggest that a proper understanding of this marvelous book of scripture requires the interpretive helps of trained scholars. *Further, we make no pretense to being such*" (2:xiii, emphasis added). I emphasize the last sentence because I find it remarkable that professors of ancient scripture, writing about ancient scripture, would not at least make a pretense to being trained scholars. Nevertheless, their point is clear: you don't need a scholarly commentary to properly understand the Book of Mormon.

Then why write one? Why comment on the scriptures at all? The authors respond: "Were we to take such a suggestion literally, we would no longer have discourses on the scriptures at general and stake conferences or in sacrament and other meetings, and we would not have Sunday School and other classes" (l:xv). In other words, the proper role of a commentary is not to provide superfluous scholarly helps but to discourse upon selected verses much as a Sunday School teacher might, or a General Authority might in general conference.

It is therefore no surprise that *Doctrinal Commentary on the Book of Mormon* reads like a general conference address. Indeed, it reads like a conference address by Elder Bruce R. McConkie. If Elder McConkie had written a Book of Mormon commentary, this would be it. In fact, he did write much of it: the authors quote often and at length from Elder McConkie's books and public addresses. In one seven-page stretch (1:170-76), he is quoted or cited no less than nine times. Considering that a good share of most pages is consumed by the subject verses, that's a lot.

But aside from actual quotations, the entire work is suffused with the McConkie style: grandiose, rhetorical, and cast in the cadences of finality. For example, volume 1 opens with this fanfare: "Let the message be sounded in every ear with an angelic trump; let it roll round the earth in resounding claps of never-ending thunder; let the Holy Spirit whisper it in the heart of every honest man: The heavens have been opened and God has spoken!" (1:1). The following passage, though not the words of Bruce R. McConkie, could surely pass for them:

> Those who choose to reject the prophets and thereby spurn living oracles sleep on, long after the glorious dawn of heaven-sent revelation has brought an end to the night of apostate darkness and the vapor of ignorance and sin. In their pitiable plight they have become comatose as to the things of righteousness. (1:314)

Note that, in keeping with the authors' view of the proper role of a scriptural commentary, neither of these passages communicates any new content about the Book of Mormon; they are in that respect typical of the entire work. The authors don't speculate, they don't explicate, they don't ramify: they preach.

You could do much worse for a pair of preachers. The authors' frequent attempts to turn the stirring and pointed phrase often succeed: "It is in the flames of difficulty that the tempered steel of faith is forged. Ease does not call forth greatness" (1:154). "To seek others as mediators between ourselves and God is to deny Christ's role as Redeemer and Savior" (1:195). "Many have had experiences . . . which are the result of a coalescence of circumstances divinely contrived" (2:305). And, though the tag line here is not original, the thought is well expressed: "Satan's first article of faithlessness has been repeated with creedal clarity since the beginning: One can buy anything in this world for money" (1:302).

But in driving home scriptural truths, McConkie and Millet often try too hard to turn the intensity of a verse up a notch. Consider the passage, "they do err because they are taught by the precepts of men" (2 Ne. 28:14), a favorite theme of the authors. Their commentary begins, "The warning is most sober!" (1:336). Neither this sentence nor the balance of the comment adds anything to the original except weight. In commenting on the verse, "And the blood of the saints shall cry from the ground against them" (2 Ne. 28:10), the authors emphasize, "God will not be mocked, nor will his plan for the salvation of men and the celestialization of the earth be foiled by those with carnal cares and diabolical desires. Truth will prevail. Righteousness will reign" (1:333). This approach may be valuable for those who find scriptural truths too quietly expressed. But the contemplative reader may, after several pages at this volume, begin to feel that Brothers McConkie and Millet have produced a commentary for the spiritually deaf.

Another danger of their hortatory approach is the resultant tendency to reduce all matters of belief, faith, love, and hope—the inner, mystical questions—to mere prescriptive formulations. For example: "As there is no salvation without truth, so there is no salvation without obedience—without a 'broken heart and a contrite spirit' " (1:193). The phrase, "a broken heart and a contrite spirit," speaks of the disciple's inward condition. It resonates

with overtones of emotion and implication: what does it mean about salvation that in order to receive it one's heart must break? Who or what breaks the disciple's heart? What kinds of mortal experiences are most likely to produce a spirit of contrition? But the authors sweep aside all such questions of the heart by equating a broken heart and contrite spirit with "obedience," generally understood in the Church to mean right action. This equation appears to reverse Jesus' admonition to "cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also" (Matt. 23:26).

The authors even maintain that grace, generally considered an antidote to an excessive preoccupation with human works, is itself earned by human works: "Indeed, it is only after a person has so performed a lifetime of works and faithfulness—only after he has come to deny himself of all ungodliness and every worldly lust—that the grace of God, that spiritual increment of power, is efficacious" (1:295). While their position is not without scriptural support (see, for example, Moroni 10:32), it has the effect of desiccating the better supported view that grace is granted through the merits, not of the recipient, but of the Giver.

Whether the commentary intends to teach or preach, expound or exhort, some passages leave the reader merely puzzled. For example, the comment on 1 Nephi 1:1 begins with promise: "This passage has evoked many discourses on the value of good parents, though it is not that to which Nephi was making reference." But that promise quickly melts into confusing sentimentality: "The use of this text for that purpose is nevertheless most appropriate. Few of life's treasures are of greater value than righteous parents" (1:19). Equally puzzling are the following comments: "The twisting winds associated with the ever-destructive fires of contention will turn upon those igniting them" (1:173). "There is *almost* no limit to the Lord's mercy . . . " (1:346, emphasis added). And, "The Lord's Church is a kingdom without a royal court, traditional nobility, gentry, social rankings, or any sort of caste system" (2:302). Elsewhere, the authors describe as "marvelously instructive and prophetic" blessings of which "we have no account" (1:214), assert that the Ten Commandments are not a part of the Law of Moses (2:216), and quote Elder Bruce R. McConkie to suggest that our eternal salvation depends on our ability to understand the writings of Isaiah as fully and truly as Nephi understood them ("who shall say such is not the case!") (1:277). They also maintain the seemingly contradictory positions that "people do not *earn* eternal life" (2:258) and that "there are no unearned blessings" (2:133).

Other passages are more troubling than puzzling. A frequent theme of the work is the foolishness and wickedness of the unrighteous, those who reject the glad tidings of the restored gospel:

> Little imagination is necessary to determine the source of that spirit which is offended by the desire of God's children to become like their eternal Father. (1:197)
>
> It is a simple matter to discern the source of that spirit which protests the announcement that more of the word of the Lord has been restored to us. (1:349)

The unidentified source of these nonmembers' spirits is evidently the devil. Assigning diabolical motives to all who disagree is the ultimate act of ecclesiastical chauvinism. It is repugnant to the character of Joseph Smith and to the teachings of Jesus. It is false and wrong to imply that God's love or approval are reserved for Mormons, and that those who reject Mormon doctrine are Satan-inspired. How can it be a "simple matter" to penetrate the heart of a fellow human and judge his or her motivation? Is this the judgment with which we would be judged?

It is uncharitable at best to revile and accuse any who lack or reject the greater knowledge we have been given. But it is worse to issue a condemnation so sweeping that it might well include Christians such as G. K. Chesterton, C. S. Lewis, Malcolm Muggeridge, and many others who have defended the doctrine of Christ's vicarious sacrifice for human sin. Elder Boyd K. Packer, in a passage quoted in the commentary, calls this teaching "the very root of Christian doctrine." It is perhaps better to be clear on that root than to be among those who "only know the branches and those branches do not touch that root," for there will be "no life nor substance nor redemption in them," according to Elder Packer (2:233-34). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was restored by the Lord's hand. It contains the fullness of his gospel and is the sole repository on earth of all revealed priesthood keys. But it is not the only place he can be found.

Doctrinal Commentary of the Book of Mormon will be read and appreciated by many Latter-day Saints, but I would not expect it to be popular among those whose minds and spirits are challenged by the Book of Mormon. If you enjoy novel insights, scriptural exegesis, or attention to implication, skip this one. But if you value categorical assertions of ultimate truths, if you see mostly darkness without the walls of Zion and light within, if you believe grace is for Mormons who keep all the commandments, then this is your set.

EUGENE CAMPBELL. *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988. ix; 347 pp. $20.95.

Reviewed by Ronald W. Walker, an associate professor of Church history and senior research associate, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute of Church History at Brigham Young University.

I liked Eugene Campbell. I found him genial and very much a gentleman, honest in his opinions yet seasoned with an occasional salty iconoclasm that probably owed something to his Scottish forebears. And "Cam" loved his Mormon history, perhaps more than he himself knew or understood. *Establishing Zion,* his last book, carries much of his personality. It is devoted to the first two decades of the Mormon hegira in the West, 1847-69, when the familiar stories and symbols of Mormonism were forged. But Campbell, in death as in life, is not content to sing the traditional saga. Panorama, drama, and certainty, the stuff of old-line history, are replaced by the materials of modern matter-of-fact history, human complexity and errancy. He adopts a credo early on. "I will never," he approvingly quotes a friend in the early pages, "knowingly teach my students something they will have to 'unlearn' later on" (ix). *Establishing Zion* clearly is meant to set the record straight, at least as Campbell understood it.

There are two main themes: colonization and confrontation. Campbell wants to tell how the Mormon expansion worked within its geography, how the settlers interacted with their Indian neighbors, and how the Saints got on with those imported federal officials who, at least from the pioneers' view, proved so troublesome to their colony. Make no mistake. These categories are quite traditional, whatever the book's claims to "new approaches." Campbell takes the familiar topics that have long dominated Utah history and tells them in his own way. In the process, there is a strong reliance on the findings and language (but not necessarily the conclusions) of previous writers, particularly Leonard Arrington's pathbreaking work.

Other topics, some of them equally important and mainline, receive less attention. Campbell deals only in passing with emigration, Mormon proselyting, and social and cultural developments. Newer historical topics are also put at arm's length: community study, demography, feminism, race, ritual, and folklore. Even allowing an author's right to choose his own terrain, Campbell's approach leaves open the question of proper emphasis, not to mention freshness.

One figure dominates almost to the exclusion of others. Brigham Young is everywhere, much as he was in early Utah. Campbell works with yeoman effort to present him in a balanced way. But the figure of the pioneer prophet proves elusive. Conceding that the Brigham Young enigma may forever be a matter of personal judgment, let me at least express my view. There was a warmth and spiritual dimension to the man that lies beyond Campbell's writing.

The flavor of Campbell's views is fairly consistent. The narrative tells of pioneers who were not always pliable. Some resisted the injunctions of rebaptism or their emerging Word of Wisdom health code. Others were still more wayward, seeking the greener pastures of California and apostasy. Some contended with each other and their leaders. Even General Authorities found unanimity a challenge. While most will welcome Campbell's candor on these items, his treatment of the Mormon Indian experience is more open to challenge. Following a major interpretative school of the 1960s and 1970s, he sets aside the traditional view that the Mormons pursued a kindly and enlightened policy, leading him to conclusions that are not always consistent with his own data.

What might this book have become had Campbell lived to rework his early draft? I suspect there might have been greater story-line depth and detail, perhaps even greater balance. Certainly there would have been better documentation, which with the exception of an inadequate bibliography is wholly lacking. His posthumous editors apparently justified this lamentable omission as a lesser offence than not printing the manuscript at all. Perhaps they were right. There is much to be learned in reading Campbell. He particularly succeeds in telling the story of colonization. Most will welcome his openness and frankness. We are left to mourn his death and his unfinished scholarly labor.

Unconquerable

Obstacles always from the start—
Stone growing under weighted landscapes in primordial
Matter, whose spirit flows leanly into trees, the crabbed
Roots groping for toehold while gnarled limbs breathe
Hardness from rocks into man, original and all
Following, adamantine from mold, crossing
Equators and longitudinal lines of mind
In exploration of lands unknown, forever
Reborn in the sea change worked by earth's power
Between beckoning and opposing poles.
All are discoverers who suck unbreathed air.
The weak and rejected of another world grow stone hard here,
Made molten first in frustration, then congealing
Into flexing forms through the cold fury of work.
However they came here, all are transfigured:
From weakness to strength, from convicts to conquerors,
Serfs to survivors, meeting demands of the land.
Straddled between fire and ice these lands decree
Merging of desert and sea, of man and old habitants.
Building again the bridge leading to other worlds.
Replete with its heroes is history: resilient
Woman in wilderness childbirth, leaching legends
Of iron from hard land and looping a clevis
Of tenderness round every plow pulled in her man's world—
Dissolving gender in time's common cause
Like earth pulling to center from its separate poles.
The land is demanding—promises hard to keep—
From its pioneers, and no giving not total:
Rewarding unconquerable spirits, at long last,
With vision, turned inward, of enduring stone
Singing through fragrant forests of a sweet-won rest.

—Edward L. Hart

Edward L. Hart is a professor emeritus of English at Brigham Young University. This poem was set to music by Robert Cundick and sung by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir on its June 1988 tour to Australia and New Zealand.

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