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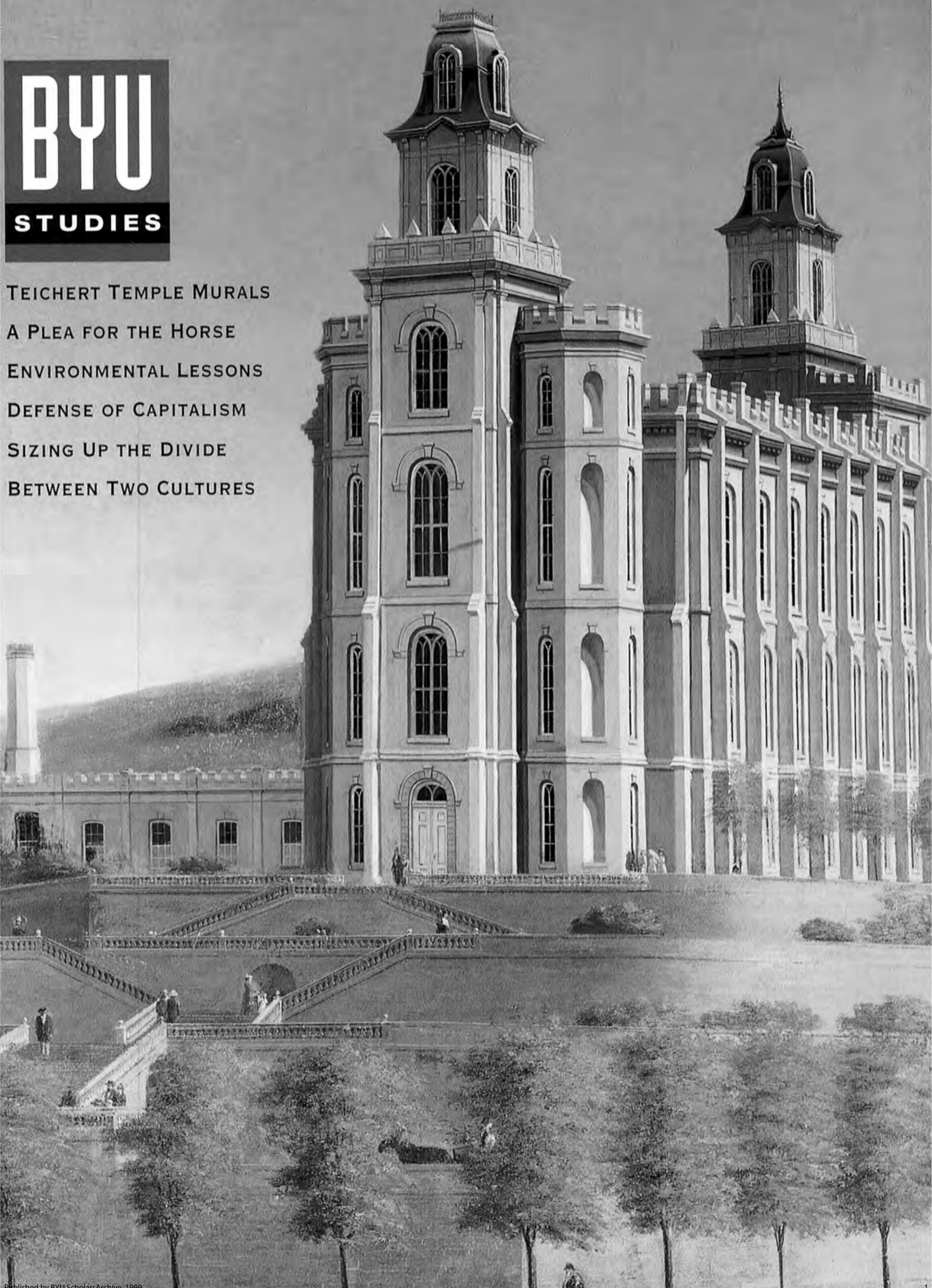
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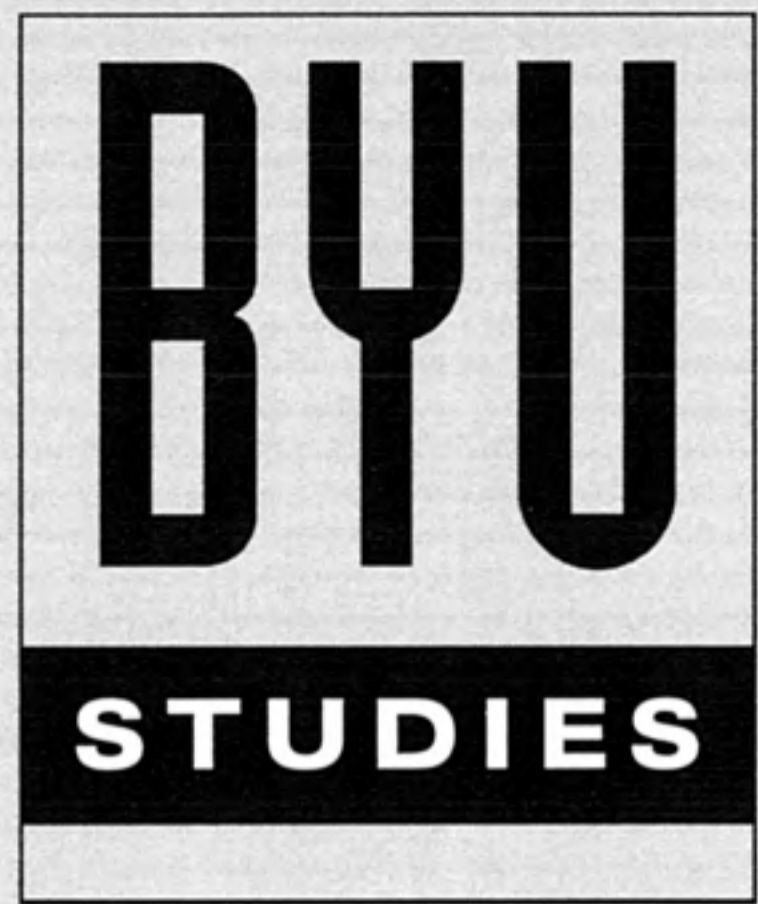
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TEICHERT TEMPLE MURALS
A PLEA FOR THE HORSE
ENVIRONMENTAL LESSONS
DEFENSE OF CAPITALISM
SIZING UP THE DIVIDE
BETWEEN TWO CULTURES



A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT
JOURNAL



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BYU Studies is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth “by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are “many members, yet but one body” (1 Cor. 12:20).

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Front cover: Manti Temple, by C. C. A. Christensen (1831–1912). Oil on canvas, 54¼" x 72¾", 1889. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

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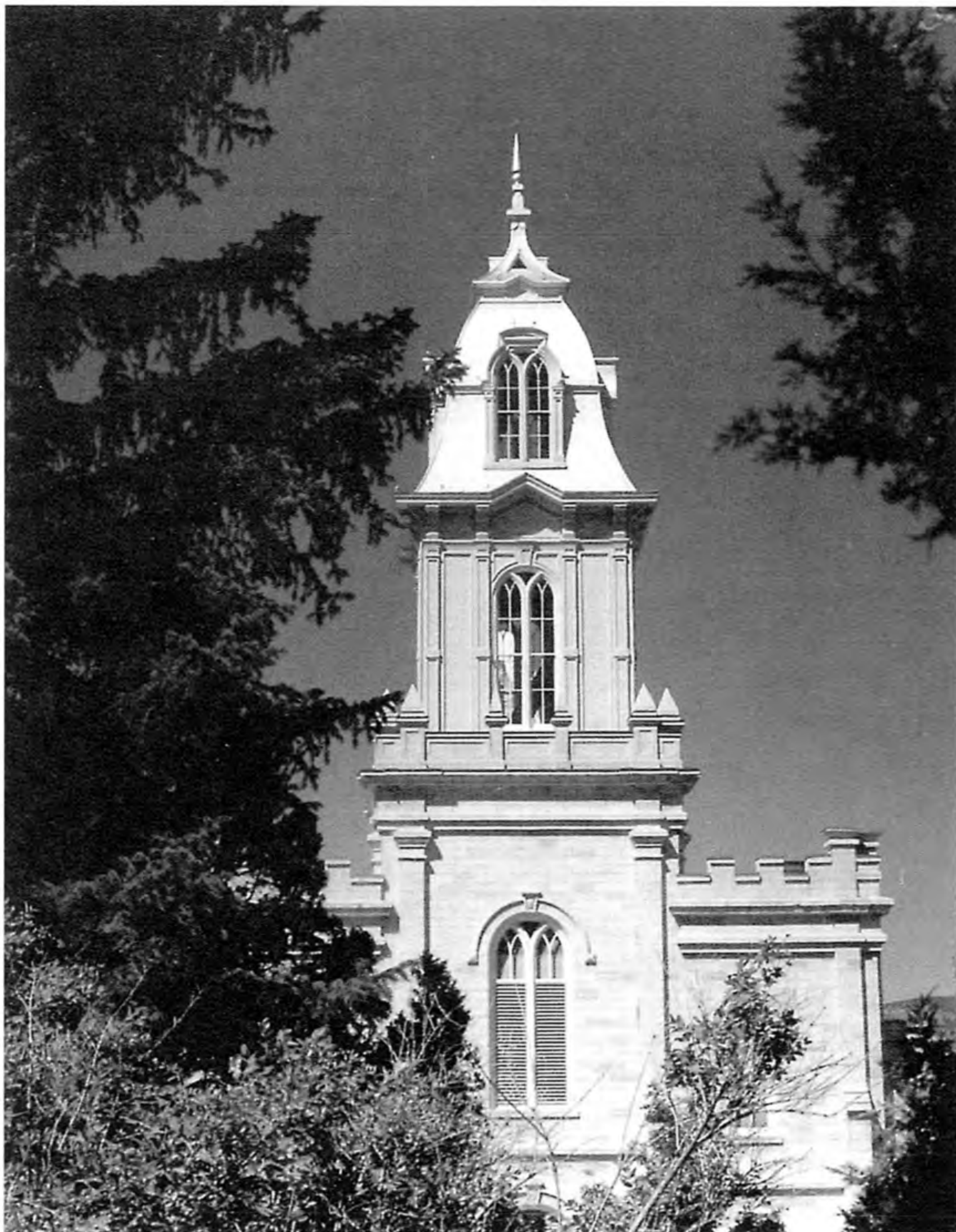
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Courtesy Victor J. Rasmussen

Fig. 1. The front of the Manti Temple, ca. 1988.

Minerva Teichert's Manti Temple Murals

Doris R. Dant

President Gordon B. Hinckley's initiative to build many more temples around the world underscores how far many Latter-day Saints reside from their sacred buildings. In particular, travel to Utah's pioneer temples is frequently prohibitive. In the spirit of making temples accessible to all Latter-day Saints, this article brings to Saints worldwide an appreciative view of some of the Manti Temple murals.

In April 1947, a slight, white-haired grandmother installed herself in a Manti, Utah, motel. At fifty-nine years of age, Minerva Teichert could still keep pace with any Scandinavian farmer in Sanpete County and probably outwork many. After all, she was a rancher's wife who toiled long hours to meet the demands of garden, flocks, dairy, and family. Now for one month, all her drive would be devoted to an undertaking that daunted even her—painting enormous murals for the world room of the Manti Temple. Sustained by prayer and a sole assistant, she covered four walls several times her height with scenes whose conception is at once unique and spiritually profound.

This article tells that story, much of it taken from Teichert's letters and from interviews with her assistant. It also includes reproductions of her world room murals. Although individual Manti murals have been published previously, this is the first time these beautiful works have been printed together. BYU Studies is grateful to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for permission to offer them to our readers.

THE ARTIST

Teichert brought to the world room murals an artistic ability honed through study at the Chicago Art Institute and the Art Students' League in New York City. One of her New York teachers, Robert Henri, challenged her to paint the Mormon story she felt so keenly. This she did, working at night after her family went to sleep and creating time during her crowded days. Many of her works were displayed in LDS chapels and tabernacles, public schools, and Brigham Young University.

But her more significant qualifications stemmed from her faith. A keen student of the scriptures, Teichert was on quoting terms with the Old Testament prophets, and over the years, she had read the Book of Mormon several times through to her family while they ate dinner. She was a deeply

spiritual person who drew upon the Lord's inspiration and healing power as a matter of course in her daily life. "Pray," she once exhorted a family member. "We have done a lot of that. Don't worry." Her own self-assessment was, "Most that I have ever done has been thro faith, prayer and study."¹

An avid genealogist, she also attended the Logan Temple—the one closest to her Cokeville, Wyoming, home (eighty-eight miles away)—whenever possible. In November 1942, for instance, she recorded, "Just home from temple excursion. It snowed all the way down and most the way back."² Temple attendance was more than duty to

the dead; it was spiritually refreshing and hallowed by memories of her first visit, a watershed experience. In a 1943 letter to her daughter, she wrote that her temple endowment and sealing to her husband ten years earlier was "so striking a thing that everything in my life dates before and after." Then she added, "Excuse me dear, if I cut your letter short. I have just been informed that I must talk on temples tonight."³

THE STORY BEHIND THE MURALS

Given her devotion to the temple and things spiritual, it is no surprise that Minerva Teichert viewed painting a mural for a Latter-day Saint temple as an artistic and religious pinnacle. She was disappointed at not being selected to do a mural for the Swiss or Los Angeles Temples, which were in the planning stages at that time, but saw opportunity open when the Church decided to refurbish areas of the Manti Temple. The plaster in the garden and world rooms had deteriorated so much that the valiant efforts to save the murals by Danquart Weggeland and C. C. A. Christensen failed. The rooms were replastered and high-quality sail canvas applied to the walls, the renovation in the world room being completed August 1946. Robert L. Shepherd of Salt Lake City had finished the garden room murals the previous year, but the world room's walls were still bare.⁴



Fig. 2. Minerva Teichert (1888–1976), at age 59. Teichert was the artist primarily responsible for the pageant of nations murals in the Manti Temple.

Approval of the Design

Teichert reports being in the Church architect's office that August. Accounts differ on who initiated the possibility of her receiving the world room commission—she or Edward O. Anderson, the architect—but at some point she presented a new concept for the world room murals. On the basis of their discussion and Anderson's recognition of her ability, she was selected. "I was so happy when they offered [the world room] to me," she wrote in November 1946, "I almost had a heart attack."⁵ "I think," her son Robert has said, "she had a great deal of joy in knowing that President George Albert Smith trusted her to paint that world room in the Manti Temple."⁶ Teichert was the first woman in the Church to be given such a commission.⁷

Because Teichert had "an entirely new attack on the subject, a pageantry of nations," she was asked to submit sketches to obtain approval of her ideas from Church officials. To determine just what she would be dealing with, she went to Manti on November 13, 1946, to "look over" the world room. What she saw overwhelmed her: "I have the hardest Temple room I have ever seen to do, 21 ft. high, 60 ft. long, and abt. 24 wide. The north side wall looks gigantic." (More precisely, the room is 28' high, 50' long, and 25' wide, large enough to intimidate her assistant, who realized "what a big place it was to paint if you did it like a barn, let alone to put a story out there.") The rest of the month she vacillated between fright at the immensity of the task and determination to prove herself to "all the artists and architects" by not backing down. "I was scared," she wrote. "I'm sure they expected me to crawl out. I didn't."⁸

Teichert's concern focused on two issues. The problem of how to set up and move the requisite scaffolding was temporarily resolved when her husband, Herman, agreed to go with her as handyman and model. The second issue was whether her eyesight and health were up to the task, for she suffered from recurrent bouts of acute lead poisoning, which can produce optic neuritis, abdominal pain, and nausea. Her solution was typical: "Pray for me," she asked her daughter. "I need it. I want health, eyesight, and inspiration."⁹

Inspiration was not long in coming. Five days later, she reported, "I've been busy almost night and day making sketches for Manti. Poor dad says he [is] fed up on soup. They still don't suit me, but Shirley [a daughter-in-law] and her babes are here." By Thanksgiving she had worked nine days on the plans and soon moved on to other projects while awaiting approval.¹⁰

In February 1947, Teichert began to worry: "It's getting towards time for the little young things [chickens, calves, etc.] to come into the world and will be harder and harder for us to leave home." Finally, in a March meeting with Church officials, Teichert was asked to redesign one of the walls. Approval was granted either in that meeting or soon thereafter. She would be provided approximately \$4,000 for the project; out of those funds, she was to pay her expenses, buy paint and other supplies, and hire

an assistant to help in painting and moving the scaffolding. For their part, the authorities contracted to supply the steel scaffolding.¹¹

Preparations and Arrival

During the long winter's wait, Bennett Paint from Utah County had treated the canvas in the world room with casein and beeswax. At Teichert's insistence, they next applied a base coat of yellow ocher mixed with white lead and raw linseed oil. Teichert wanted an earth tone that would give a warm feeling to the room.¹²

Because of the spring work required on the ranch, Herman could not stay in Manti with Minerva, but this change in plans did not diminish her husband's support. Minerva was grateful. "Bless his heart," she remarked to her daughter. "He's pretty good to get along and let me come!" A daughter-in-law living in Cokeville, Buhla Brady Teichert, agreed to take over many of Minerva's home duties. Again, this sacrifice was not lost on Minerva: "Buhla is grand. She is surely going to have her hands full with egg washing, butter making and washing Dad's things even if he doesn't eat with them."¹³

In Herman's place, Minerva hired Frank Stevens to paint the "big spaces" and move the scaffolding.¹⁴ Stevens, age thirty, was an amateur artist living in Green River, Wyoming. He had become acquainted with Minerva through his wife, who had lived in Cokeville and was related to friends of the Teicherts. During each family visit to Cokeville in the 1940s, he had spent time drawing and painting under Minerva's tutelage.¹⁵

To obtain Frank's services, Minerva mailed him \$100 and set a date for him to meet her. Expecting that the money would induce him to make serious plans, she assumed that because he was in a family dairy business his partners would be willing to release him for a month. She was right on both counts. Frank was "pleased and scared and flattered" and immediately began to make arrangements.¹⁶

The week before leaving, Minerva worked on the maquettes (sketches serving as models for the murals), drawing them on plywood to a scale of an inch to the foot. The five-foot maquettes for the long walls, she believed, "should be easy to work from." But preparations for an extended painting stint in Manti did not deter Minerva from indulging in her other passion right to the last moment. On her last night at home, with family assisting her, she stayed up until eleven to work on genealogy.¹⁷

April 17, 1947, Minerva and Herman drove to Salt Lake City, where she met with Presiding Bishop LeGrand Richards, signed her contract, and bought paints, brushes, and other supplies. That night they arrived in Manti, and Minerva settled into a motel, although she fretted over the expense: "I haven't found any other place to stay. It costs me \$2 a day just for my apartment. I have shower, steam heat, and kitchenette. It is quiet and comfortable and near the temple." Despite the late hours the night

before, she took advantage of Herman's presence to deliver supplies to the temple. Now, though she would be without an assistant for another six days, Minerva was ready to embark on this grand project.¹⁸

Schedule and Procedure

After two days on the job, Teichert was painfully aware of the rigors of painting a world room solo:

Since my scaffold isn't here yet from Salt Lake, I have been working on the north wall. . . . I can reach higher from ladders but so far have only worked on figures within ten feet of floor. . . . My legs are terribly sore from climbing up and down ladders so much the last two days but a hot shower helps a lot.¹⁹

She would continue to work alone and without scaffolding for four more days, sketching in figures from six in the morning until six at night, taking a break and putting away her gear only when a company would come through the temple at ten and two. The grueling schedule fatigued her: "When I get down to my room, I just fall. I don't care whether I eat or not."²⁰

She was impelled by a sense of urgency apparently stemming from her desire to return home quickly as well as from the pressure of wanting to please Church authorities. Certainly she was encouraged to work quickly, but all indications are that she alone was responsible for setting herself a deadline of a month. "These people expected me to be working on these gigantic murals for a year," she commented. "Dad was afraid I'd be several months since Robert Shepherd, the artist who did that lovely 'Garden of Eden' in Idaho Falls was six months on the garden room here but I expect to be a month if the Lord gives me health and eye sight."²¹ Even so, at times during the project, she and Stevens would give a whole day to a small section.²²

When Stevens joined her in the world room on April 24, Minerva equipped him with charcoal, rags, brushes, and a plywood palette about fifteen by twenty inches in size. To free his hands for climbing around the scaffold, she also gave him an apron she had fashioned to hold his equipment. At first he recoiled at the thought of wearing an apron but was soon convinced by its practicality.

They worked six days a week. Every morning began with prayer, work began with prayer, and whenever Teichert encountered a problem, they would resort to another prayer. If they became so excited they forgot to pray before painting, they would kneel the moment they remembered. Stevens remembers those prayers vividly. Teichert would express gratitude for the opportunity to create the murals and "always prayed for safety" and inspiration to depict the subject properly. She would add, "May even Frank be inspired along with me to do the thing and put the color in the depth of it and all so that we will really tell this story as it should be told." Regardless of who was mouth for a prayer for assistance, Teichert would inject a very

specific plea: “Lord, help us get those people on top of that mountain” or whatever the issue was. When the predicament was particularly difficult, she would pray, “Oh, Lord, if we could just have a miracle, if we could just have a miracle today. This is what we need, Lord.” Stevens marveled at how she would pray the same way she talked to friends.²³

For Teichert, scriptures were critical to the murals’ success. She studied scriptures; she quoted scriptures. While engaged on the south wall, she applied “a lot” of them to Abraham, Joseph, and Moses. “But,” Stevens discovered, “her real excitement was the world . . . and how scripture pertained to the prophecies which would happen.” She was particularly fond of Isaiah.²⁴

Rather than loiter while waiting for a temple session to finish in the world room, Teichert and Stevens would retire for prayer and study to the office of President Lewis R. Anderson. There, with the president’s permission, Teichert kept the art books with which she taught Stevens lessons on anatomy, particularly during their work on the north wall. That he improved steadily enough to end up entirely responsible for creating the fur trader on the west wall is not surprising. No time was wasted. “You’re going to work on [the lessons] every minute that we’re not painting down there,” she informed him. But her art lessons were not like those she had received in New York. “We had art lessons and prayer and prayer,” Stevens recalls, “and then [more] art lessons and more prayer. Day after day. Operating on our knees many days.”²⁵

When not praying or quoting scripture, Teichert was likely talking anyway, expounding her ideas and giving instructions. Some of the



Courtesy Frank Stevens

Fig. 3. Frank Stevens, 1941 wedding picture. Stevens modeled for Teichert, provided the muscle needed for handling the scaffold, and under her close supervision sketched and painted. Pleased with his progress during the project, Teichert asked him to create the fur trapper on the west wall.

instructions were necessitated by Teichert's need to gain perspective on the work in progress and communicate to Stevens what was needed:

She would say draw this line in here, Frank, and I'd paint that real heavy. . . . I could hardly see what I was doing because some of the sketches had been made and I was working so close to it, but she'd back off down the hall and shout instructions and make observations about what she wanted it to do. . . . [C]onstantly giving instructions: "A little higher. Make that line stronger over there."²⁶

"She talked much, very fast, thinking just part of her words," Stevens remembers. "Sometimes she wasn't coherent, the way she would explain things." But he was "thrilled" to be part of the project and inspired by her presence: "I've never met a person in my life that even compared with her in her enthusiasm for the gospel and the building of the kingdom and how art could play its part."²⁷

Physical Challenges

For a woman who stood only 5'2" and weighed "scarcely" 117 pounds, painting walls twenty-eight feet high was physically stressful. Even with Stevens taking the brunt of moving the heavy scaffolding, Teichert still had to move the boards that went on the scaffold and climb up and down with her supplies. But more serious were the risks of working at such heights. Often she needed to perch on a board that extended beyond the ends of the scaffold. Nothing would be underneath to break a fall. "She was nervy, I'll tell you," Stevens declares.²⁸

He would know, for he had to overcome his own height-induced fears:

One Swede came up to me, and I was working moving the scaffolding around. He said, "Do you like to do this work?" I said, "Well its new work to me. I guess I like it better than anything I've ever done before." He said, "You're going to have to get up on top. You are going to be pretty high to reach that ceiling." I said, "Yes, it's kind of scary to reach out there on the end of a board and try to do any painting." He said, "Well, if you're scared, you shouldn't be up there in the first place." I said, "I found out in my life that I've been scared of a lot of things, and I've still had to do them. I think . . . one of my challenges [is] to overcome whatever fear I might have to accomplish this work."²⁹

The risks were not to be discounted, as they learned when Minerva fell off the scaffold and hurt her arm shortly after painting the Tower of Babel scene. She missed work a few hours to see a doctor and then resumed painting, going out on the edge as usual.³⁰

The same determination prevailed when she became ill:

Night before last I came home with a high fever and very sick. I went straight to bed, didn't eat or say a word to anyone. I took three aspirin and prayed and tossed 'til near midnight, then drank lots of water. In the morning the fever was gone and I was well. That was wonderful, for never in my life have I raced so with time.³¹

One motivation for pressing through hazards and discomfort was her loyalty to the General Authorities. “I shall not fail them,” she wrote in the letter describing her illness. She did not. The murals were completed four days later.

Finishing Up

Wednesday, May 7, the team received the first of their reinforcements—Nancy Taylor Stevens, Frank’s wife. Nancy and Minerva were friends, Minerva having sold some paintings to Brigham Young University to pay part of Nancy’s tuition there. Knowing that Nancy had studied calligraphy, Minerva asked her to do some lettering under the foreground groups on the north wall.

That and Nancy’s other contributions would help greatly as they geared up for the last phase. Nevertheless, Minerva longed for three or four more helpers for the next few days. “I’m tired, very tired,” she wrote.³²

Interruptions broke the artists’ frantic rhythm. As usual, the team stopped painting whenever a temple session was underway, but now more people than ever would “come back and demand a speech.” Minerva would comply but regretted losing any of the little time remaining.³³

Herman arrived on Friday, bringing their youngest son with him, and ran errands for Minerva. They all hoped to complete the work on Saturday but had to stop short of their goal: “Saturday Frank Stevens, Nancy, Dad and I all worked from 6:00 A.M. to about 9:00 P.M., still it was not finished.” Although work remained, the Stevenses were slated to go home on Sunday. Minerva recorded their departure and in few words described the final effort: “We took . . . Frank and Nancy to Provo Sunday A.M., then worked again Monday, Dad helping cover spaces.” The completion date was May 12.

At home again, Minerva noted that she probably had been “homesick all the time” and was “terribly tired from the experience.” But she was also exultant:



Fig. 4. Nancy Taylor Stevens with her baby, Janet, 1943. Nancy assisted with the murals the last few days and sketched in the calligraphy.

Courtesy Frank Stevens



Fig. 5. Herman A. Teichert, Minerva's husband, in his later years. Herman supported Minerva throughout the murals project and, in the last few days and during the touch-up phase, moved scaffolding, painted "large spaces," and modeled.

Oh, but I have done a terrific job. It's wonderful that my health held up and I was able to go through with it. The authorities could hardly realize that it was ended.

They had heard that I was working very fast, and I sure did. No mural decorator in America ever beat that—nearly 4,000 sq. ft. in 23 days.³⁴

Just how surprised the General Authorities were was detailed in a letter two weeks later:

It seems that my painting in Manti caused a little stir. Apostle Widstoe [*sic*] saw me at conference Sunday. He said, "Aren't you the same Sister Teichert I left painting in Manti." He was staring wide-eyed at me. I said, "I finished it." "Finished," he said, incredulously. "How long did you work?" "Exactly 23 days," I answered. . . . He [had] wondered how many years I would be.³⁵

Touch Ups

Teichert was to discover that more work remained. In June, probably at the request of the Church architect and the Presiding Bishop, she returned to Manti with Alice Merrill Horne, her art agent, to finish and modify the murals. Once her paints arrived—the bus had carried off her supplies—she reported she was "working hard and enjoying it—just put on brightening color and better drawing on all the 120 figures."³⁶

Yet another trip occurred in July. Accompanied by Frank Stevens, who had volunteered his help, she returned to reconstruct the Tower of Babel. "We knocked the top off, putting clouds behind it, and about $\frac{1}{3}$ way down put workers placing a stone, etc.," she related in a letter a few days later. "We 'con-centered' all the lines of rock on the three remaining ramps, and I feel fine about it. There are only 28 days work even now on it. But two of us working from 5:30 A.M. until about 8:00 or 8:30 at night as fast as we paint is terrific."³⁷ According to Stevens, the two also worked on the south wall.

There she changed the colors and brought “emphasis to certain parts. . . . She did quite a bit on this wall.”³⁸

Still, more detail was desired. In December she spent a few days “touching up generally,” focusing primarily on the Mayflower and on hands. Herman helped by “lifting plank, ladders, paints, and everything for me.” Bothered by an arm broken in September, she labored on, even though “I do not feel so much like painting as I did last spring, but I guess that’s only natural since it will be a year before I can do much with my left hand.”³⁹

Tiring of “that Manti job,” she and Herman made another trip to Manti in March 1948. Perhaps to her surprise, she found her two days of effort to be quite satisfying, even though “I worked, as usual, . . . beyond my strength.”⁴⁰ Her report was glowing:

I’ve enjoyed this trip and gone over this entire mural, pulling it together finishing a nose or a hand. My feeling is that it is the most tremendous thing in the world. It is a great pageant, 120 people marching by in grand review, not a head or hand sticking out but figures, every one requiring infinite attention.

. . . I worked hard and I surely love this gigantic temple.⁴¹

THE DESIGN OF THE MURALS

Several constraints were placed on Teichert’s “great pageant.” It had to enhance the spiritual themes of the world room. It had to wrap under windows and around doors and fit in tight corners. It had to cover almost 4,000 square feet but be finished quickly. It had to stay true to scripture. Above all, it had to be shaped by prayer and the inspiration gained through temple attendance. Although Teichert had moments of concern about realizing her artistic vision,⁴² she embraced the challenge with gratitude and dedication.

The following sections delineate the design and look briefly at Teichert’s style, drawing primarily upon the scriptures and upon statements from Teichert and Stevens. The opinions expressed here are not the official views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. And, as is the case with all great art, what is suggested here barely touches the possibilities, for each viewer will respond uniquely to the murals.

The Artistic Narrative

The symbolic significance of the murals’ temple setting is important to appreciating them. At the time the Manti Temple was constructed (1877–88), the floor plan of all Latter-day Saint temples was designed around a series of rooms in which the temple course of instruction was given in stages.⁴³ Although some of the early temples have been remodeled, the Manti and Salt Lake Temples retain this arrangement. The world room Teichert painted is one such instruction room. In *The House of the Lord* by

Elder James E. Talmage is an explanation of the room's name: "From Eden man has been driven out to meet contention, to struggle with difficulties, to live by strife and sweat. This chamber may well be known as the room of the fallen world, or more briefly, the World Room."⁴⁴

In Teichert's day, the murals on the walls of world rooms in other temples were populated only with animals. One such room, the world room of the Salt Lake Temple, was described by Elder Talmage:

Beasts are contending in deadly strife, or engaged in murderous attack, or already rending their prey. The more timorous creatures are fleeing from their ravenous foes or cowering in half-concealed retreats. . . . All the forest folk and the wild things of the mountain are living under the ever-present menace of death, and it is by death they live. . . . The scenes are typical of the world's condition under the curse of God.⁴⁵

Teichert's concept for the Manti Temple world room, however, looked to the language of Doctrine and Covenants 76, which contrasts the behavior of worldly individuals with the actions of those striving to reach celestial goals. She determined that, since the figures of greatest import in the eternal plan are people, humanity is what should be shown: "The world has no significance other than people, and that's what it was created for . . . that's the story of the world room, it is a 'people room.'"⁴⁶ Teichert's focus on people enabled her to tell "the story of the world." "What could be more significant or greater," she asked Frank, "than to tell the story of mankind from the Tower of Babel to the Zion in the tops of the Rocky Mountains?"⁴⁷

East Wall. Teichert's narrative begins in the East, the post-Deluge birthplace of the civilizations of the world. On the east wall (appropriately) of the world room is depicted the Tower of Babel under construction in the Plain of Shinar. The tower is pictured as "a great observatory"⁴⁸ in the form of a ziggurat. Interestingly, Hugh W. Nibley connects both with ancient temples. The temple, he cites one ancient author as saying, is "a sort of observatory where one gets one's bearings on the universe." The ziggurat form of temple was viewed as a stairway leading to heaven. "It resembled a mountain," Nibley adds, "for 'the mountain itself was originally a place of contact between this and the upper world.'"⁴⁹ Thus a ziggurat is a fitting choice for a temple mural of people attempting to build a tower by which to reach heaven (Gen. 11:4).

Likely unaware of these ancient echoes, Teichert may have selected the ziggurat because it was an ancient building form in the Middle East; she always attempted to depict architecture accurately. And it harmonized with the observatory theme she chose for representing the learning—astronomy and mathematics in particular—that came out of the East. According to Teichert, this knowledge is also represented by the lever employed by a laborer on the mural's left, the compass in the architect's hand, the square

held by a supervisor, and the wheeled carts. These are tools for a massive, concentrated effort—“almost the birth of cooperation”—made possible by the desire unifying the dominant people. Stevens notes, “We tried to depict the great element of work which was required even at that time. . . . [Building the tower was] quite a project; you’ve got to admit.”⁵⁰

Teichert also portrays the harsh realities of slavery⁵¹ and the builders’ lack of faith in God’s promises. The ominous cloud hovering over the misbegotten enterprise may denote God’s displeasure, which resulted in the dispersal of the people when their language was confounded. This dispersion is hinted at by the varied garb and headgear of the workers.

South Wall. In the next murals, the two biblical divisions of people—the Israelites and the Gentiles—move westward separately from the tower to eventually join in North America. The north wall encapsulates the history of the Gentiles in one panorama. On the south wall, whose expanse is broken up by four large windows, Teichert elected to portray four discrete critical events in the history of the house of Israel.

Abraham. The first represents the story of Abraham, a man of undeviating, and unpopular, loyalty to the living God. Having been saved from the sacrificial knife by an angel, who said he would take Abraham “into a strange land” (Abr. 1:16), Abraham is shown about to enter Canaan.⁵² With him are his wife, Sarai, and his nephew, Lot, both mounted on camels, their rolled-up packs behind them. Their cattle are driven before them, and their sheep trail behind.

Abraham is especially significant to those receiving the temple ordinances, for, he was told, “as many as receive this Gospel shall be called after thy name, and shall be accounted thy seed, and shall rise up and bless thee, as their father” (Abr. 2:10). This depiction of Abraham may remind viewers of the covenants and promises granted to Abraham and his heirs.⁵³ It also suggests that through Abraham’s seed the nations represented in the murals and all others in the world will be offered the blessings of the gospel, “which are the blessings of salvation, even of life eternal” (Abr. 2:11).

Joseph. The next scene is Joseph being sold to Ishmaelite traders traveling from Gilead to Egypt. To help viewers identify the story, Teichert painted Joseph wearing his many-colored robe, although she knew that in the Genesis account this much-envied gift from Jacob had already been taken away. Joseph is down on one knee but not cringing, restrained by three of his brothers, his head unprotected from the sun. Nine of his ten older brothers cluster around, Reuben, who had hoped to save him, not being there at the time. One of the Ishmaelites, distant kinsmen to Joseph, stands in the center of the group, holding out the twenty pieces of silver agreed upon as the price for Joseph. Another fez-wearing Ishmaelite watches over his shoulder, distancing himself from the proceedings. In the

background are other traders, their camels loaded with their wares of spices, balm, and myrrh. Two royal pyramids rise on the horizon, signifying Joseph's eventual destination as second in command over all Egypt.

On one level, Joseph represents obedience and chastity, having resisted the unrelenting advances of Potiphar's wife and thereby remaining true to God at all costs. On another level, as a deliverer of the house of Israel (Ether 13:9), Joseph is a type of the Redeemer (2 Ne. 3:15), who was also betrayed for a handful of silver. Finally, Joseph is a prophet who "truly saw our day" (2 Ne. 3:5) and testified of the doings of his descendants, the faithful of the tribes of Manasseh and Ephraim. Among his seed were the great Nephite and Lamanite nations, to whose remnant, he foresaw, the gospel would be taken in the latter days. It is primarily Joseph's posterity who now preach the gospel to them and whose feet are "beautiful upon the mountains" (Mosiah 15:17), the mountain of the Lord often being another name for a temple. It is they who will build the New Jerusalem, or Zion (Ether 13:8). Joseph saw his descendant Joseph Smith, who would bring "to pass much restoration unto the house of Israel" (2 Ne. 3:24), including the temple ordinances.

Moses. The third scene shows Moses after he descended Mt. Sinai, the tablets of the Lord's decalogue in his hand, only to find his people singing and dancing before the golden calf (Ex. 32:18–19). Teichert does not present this scene precisely but chooses instead to reveal the core issue: the people have violated the first three of the very commandments Moses brought to them.

Through the power of the Lord, Moses had brought his people out of a land of idolatry and servitude and led them to Mount Sinai, a place of heavenly communication used in lieu of a temple, where they would become a covenant people (Deut. 5:2–3). Here, they were offered the privilege of hearing the Lord's voice, but they requested that God not speak with them, and they "stood afar off" (Ex. 19:9; 20:19, 21) while Moses conversed with the Lord. When Moses was with the Lord for forty days, the people turned away and broke their covenant to do "all the words which the Lord hath said" (Ex. 24:3). Symbolically, the first of the tablets lies at their feet, broken. Moses points condemningly toward the shards and thrusts forth his other arm, holding the second tablet aloft in warning, ready to dash it, too, to the earth. If the people have broken the first three commandments, surely they will disdain others.

In this scene, the people have rejected Jehovah—literally turned their backs on him—who is present on the mountain and who is typified by his prophet, Moses, for Jesus identified himself as being "like unto" Moses (3 Ne. 20:23). The Israelites have reverted to a false god of their own making and prostrated themselves before it. This picture of the exclusive nature

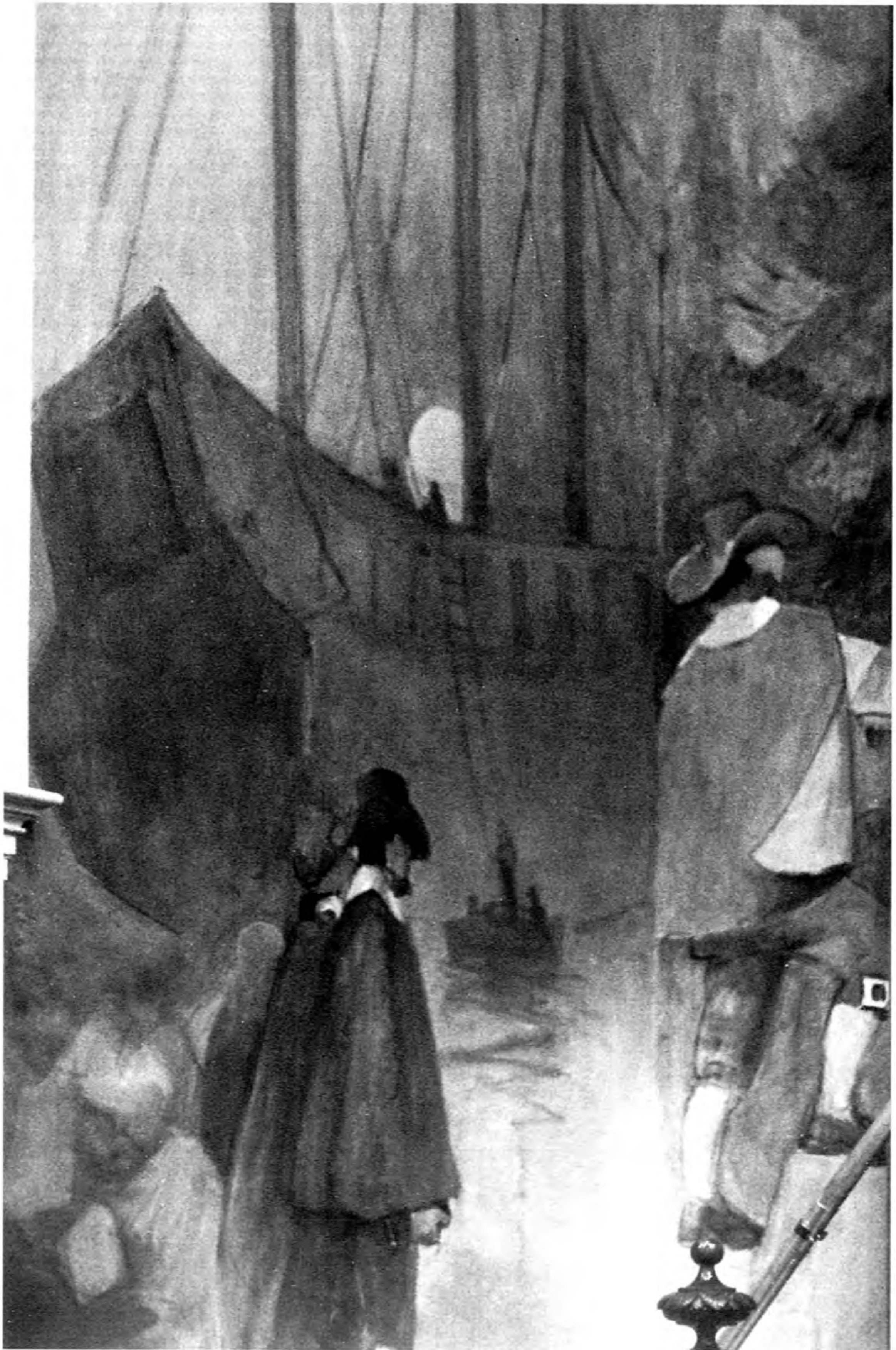


Fig. 6. Pilgrims and the Mayflower. Southwest corner.

of idolatry reflects Christ's warning "No man can serve two masters. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon" (Matt. 6:24). To those living in the latter days, Christ also prophetically commanded, "Thou shalt no more worship the works of thy hands" (3 Ne. 21:17).

The Pilgrims. The final scene on the south wall is of a Pilgrim family on the shore awaiting transport to the Mayflower. All the father carries is a Bible. Other emigrants are in a small boat about to embark; one is already climbing up a ladder on the side of the ship. According to Teichert, one of their links to Abraham, Joseph, and Moses is this: "Israel is embarking to the West for the New World."⁵⁴ Just as the three prophets and their people were delivered by journeying to a new land, so too were the Pilgrims, whose deliverance was prophesied: "I beheld the spirit of God, that it wrought upon other Gentiles; and they went forth out of captivity upon the many waters" (1 Ne. 13:13).⁵⁵

The Pilgrims were also a covenant people. When they signed the Mayflower Compact, they agreed, among other things, to "covenant & combine" themselves "for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith."⁵⁶ This compact helped establish a covenantal foundation, not only for a nation, but also for families in the New World. This, Teichert believed, continues to be their contribution to Zion.⁵⁷

North Wall. The fact that the north wall was mostly one long, continuous expanse allowed Teichert to paint a single procession of Gentiles (Gentiles in the Book of Mormon sense) "from the Orient to the chivalry of Europe, even to the sailing of Columbus." Against a backdrop of "great and spacious" buildings (1 Ne. 8:26) and a harbor scene are pictured the two queues of the procession: one on some form of conveyance and the other walking. In the foreground is a series of shadowed semi-silhouettes representing the poor and the oppressed. The viewer "reads" the wall from right to left (east to west) beginning, according to Teichert's instructions, with the group by the only window on the wall.⁵⁸ For convenience, the mural will be divided into five areas: the Esau, Orient, Crusader, Columbus, and shadowed sections.

Esau Section. The window, located on the extreme east end, needed figures that would fit under it. Teichert devised this solution: Esau the Edomite, drawn in shadow, is "down on his knees dragging an Israelite girl out to sell her to a big . . . Sabaean slave trader for a jug of wine."⁵⁹ While working on the murals, Teichert was repeatedly asked what biblical passage this image is based upon. Finally, she could no longer escape the challenge. The resulting story is worth repeating in Teichert's own words as it tells us much about her knowledge of the scriptures, her approach to scriptural art, and her confidence:

Old brother L—— the night watchman, said, "Sister Teichert, that story is not in the Bible." I nearly blew my top, "Why it is too." "Well, you've got to prove

it to me,” he answered. And I knew I had to either paint it out (a 2 or 3 hundred dollar job or prove it). Just before I left to come home dear little Pres. A. came sneaking up exactly as a cat creeps up on a mouse. . . . I knew something was up. He said, “Sister Teichert, before you go, there’s that Edomite story. A number of the sisters say they know that is in the Bible, ~~can~~ but none can tell me where. I believe it’s there alright, but it’s up to you, you’ve got to prove it.”

I’ve been on the spot[;] to tell you the truth I thought my eyes would come out before I finally went blind. . . . I’ve used up more eyesight than on the entire 4000 sq. ft. of painting. I read the entire prophets then apocalypse and new testament running a card down the columns and stopping at every Edom, or Heathen, or Idunea, or Esau. Then Kings and Chronicles. I borrowed every reference book besides my own many. Today, after a ten-day search and a lot of prayer, I found it in Joel chapter 3 [Joel 3:3, 7, 8]. By combining that with Obadiah 1 I got it pieced out and sent it to them.

Never get yourself in a mess like that. Better not put it down in paint if you can’t prove it right now.⁶⁰

Orient Section. Traders of various nationalities ride their burdened camels to the west. Their desire for gain is both positive and negative: positive in motivating exploration and providing goods, negative in leading to idolatry in the form of worshipping wealth. At their side are representatives of several ethnic groups: an Arab sheik, a Chinese, the Greek goddess



Fig. 7. Esau the Edomite selling an Israelite. North wall, detail of east end.

Diana, a Turk, “James” (a Jew wearing a phylactery on his forehead), and a Greek Orthodox priest. All are worshipers of various eastern faiths and hold what Teichert considered to be symbols of their religions.⁶¹

A goddess rather than a human, Diana is almost colorless, less real than her processional companions. Her presence is an allusion to Acts 19:21–34,⁶² which portrays the strength of idol worship, both that of wealth and that of graven images. Paul had been so persuasive in garnering converts in Ephesus that the silversmiths whose wealth was based on making silver images for Diana feared that their “craft [was] in danger.” A near riot ensued, during which was heard the repeated chant “Great is Diana of the Ephesians.” Clearly Diana symbolizes idolatry in all its various guises, including the exploitation of religion for lucre.

Crusader Section. The Oriental traders give way to the European crusaders. In their midst is a representative of western Christianity or the “Mother Church”⁶³—a priest carrying a cross. Again the Crusaders are a human mix of both good and bad. They were responsible, Teichert was taught as a youngster, for bringing to the West the learning of the East, including its numerals, medicine, and design,⁶⁴ the latter typified by the red paisley pattern in one of the women’s robes. But they and other armies also bring with them all the horrors of war. In this procession are many other notables: a king, queen, and prince; an “explorer with a globe”; and “a Judge in wig and gown of the courts” holding a scroll.⁶⁵ They may signify the pride of the world and those who seek power and gain.

Columbus Section. At the end of the procession is Columbus on one of his ships, waving farewell to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, joint sovereigns of Castile and Aragon, who have helped finance this voyage west. Columbus was motivated by scripture,⁶⁶ and his voyage will fulfill prophecy—“I beheld the Spirit of God, that it came down and wrought upon the man; and he went forth upon the many waters, even unto the seed of my [Nephi’s] brethren, who were in the promised land” (1 Ne. 13:12)—and help prepare the way for the restoration of the gospel and the establishment of Zion. Waiting for the royal couple are their coachman and two of their entourage,⁶⁷ symbols of their earthly power and glory.

The Shadowed Section. In 1943, Teichert shared this concern: “I dread what America faces. I’m very sure it will face hunger in cities and what could the huddled poor do.” Four years later on a Manti Temple wall, she painted those huddled masses—the halt, the blind, the “beggars from many causes”—all going unheeded. Of the wealthy who are pictured, “only a King is giving,” she wrote, “and he doesn’t even look at the hand of the mother as he tosses his coins.”⁶⁸

First on the right are a blind woman (designated by the blindfold on her eyes) and a man, both barefooted. Three veiled women, Teichert noted,

hide from the beggars' pleas,⁶⁹ and the religious pass them by. Nephi linked the plight of such poor to the pious proud:

The Gentiles are lifted up in the pride of their eyes, and have stumbled, because of the greatness of their stumbling block, that they have built up many churches; nevertheless, they . . . preach up unto themselves their own wisdom and their own learning, that they may get gain and grind upon the face of the poor. (2 Ne. 26:20)

Next is a fatherless, homeless family, their few belongings on the ground beside them.⁷⁰ The mother has a baby in her arms and a very young child beside her. It is to her that the king is impersonally tossing a few coins, not concerned whether she catches them or not. Next to this family is one composed of a mother and her lame son. All the passersby are indifferent to their hardships. "Because they are rich they despise the poor," Jacob aptly stated, "and they persecute the meek, and their hearts are upon their treasures; wherefore, their treasure is their god" (2 Ne. 9:30).

Lying in isolation is a "crippled soldier, who lost a leg in battle."⁷¹ In spite of his service to his country, he is judged unrighteously by the judge and, ironically, ignored by the crusading soldiers. The mural reminds us of King Benjamin's warning:

Perhaps thou shalt say: The man has brought upon himself his misery; therefore I will stay my hand. . . . But I say unto you, O man, whosoever doeth this the same hath great cause to repent. . . . For behold, are we not all beggars? (Mosiah 4:16–19)

The "perfumed set," as they were named by Horne⁷²—now including a trader carrying a balance in one hand and greedily clutching his bag of gold in another—comes upon a woman clutching her head in utter despair and a mother cradling the limp body of her son in her arms, much as Mary is often depicted, mourning over the crucified body of her son. These women, struggling alone in their distress, may remind viewers of covenantal obligations to help those in need: to be "willing to bear one another's burdens, that they may be light; Yea, and [be] willing to mourn with those that mourn; yea, and comfort those that stand in need of comfort" (Mosiah 18:8–9).

Standing close by the despairing woman but completely disregarding her is a "gaudily dressed woman," who stands for vice in its sundry forms. Rather than offer succor, the young woman eyes the trader approaching with his gold,⁷³ obviously scheming, since he ignores her, how to make him part with it.

Next to Columbus's ship is a family of emigrants. They have been "driven to the ends of the earth by the pressure from the vast crowd to the east. These will be the next to find the new world. There they wait with their worldly possessions to cross the mighty ocean."⁷⁴

West Wall. The central figure on the west wall, which the audience faces, is a towering “Indian Brave as the symbol of the American Continent.”⁷⁵ Recapitulating some of the continent’s history, this descendant of Joseph welcomes both the fur trader on his left and the Pilgrim on his right. The latter two are contrasting figures, representing the worldly and the spiritual strains that arrived on American shores as well as the various motives that brought them here. The trader grasps his gun—which is both a defense and a dealer of death—and pelts he plans to sell. The Pilgrim carries only his open Bible.⁷⁶ Avidly reading the holy book, he steps toward Zion far above him in the tops of the mountains but does not yet see it. The trader, too, is accepted as part of God’s plan for preparing a country in which the gospel can be restored and Zion established.

Above the trees behind the brave is the city of Zion, the pure in heart (D&C 97:21). Teichert explained, “We have not had in mind any city exactly. It could be Salt Lake, Logan, Provo, Bear Lake, Manti, but it is the place where the little stone cut out of the mountain without hands should begin to roll forth until it should cover the whole earth.”⁷⁷ Stevens adds, “It represents the Zion people, not merely the place, but the spirit of the people who build the place. . . . Zion has to be established not only spiritually but physically.” He suggested that while the Pilgrims were driven to America, they also “came here because they were gathered.” Similarly, the Saints were not “merely driven by some enemy or persecution”; they came “to gain Zion.”⁷⁸

In contrast to the darkened trees, the city is full of light, which may signify the love of God. It also suggests the truth and light of Christ that reside in the premillennial Zion and may refer to his actual presence in the millennial Zion. The city is placed near the ceiling, nigh to heaven, and in the mountaintops in fulfillment of Isaiah’s prophecy: “And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills” (Isa. 2:2). “That’s why,” Stevens clarifies, “she wanted the mountains so rugged.” The seagulls, he continued, “represent celestial intervention into our lives,” depicting “the Lord’s hand in a very physical as well as a spiritual way. That Zion may be established.”⁷⁹

Zion the Nexus. Zion is the nexus of Teichert’s entire narrative. In Zion, the events pictured in the world room reach their climax; the history of Israel and the history of “the gentile nation” have been shaped by God’s hand to culminate in the events of the last days. Those seeking furs and gold have played a role just as surely as the immigrants seeking a haven for their families (1 Ne. 13:14).⁸⁰ And while the south side reflects the spiritual side of humanity and the north side their carnal nature, neither side is

purely one or the other. Israel is sometimes faithless; the crusaders were impelled partly by a spiritual quest.

With the exception of Columbus and the sovereigns sending him off, no person on the north wall interacts with any other person. Each is isolated, profoundly alone. No person other than Columbus smiles. All others are dreary. Even the rich and powerful have received no lasting joy from their possessions and status, for “wickedness never was happiness” (Alma 41:10). For them and for all people, Zion stands as a bright beacon of hope and a symbol of eternal life. There the king of kings will reign in righteousness. There love will abound. There the repentant may rest from their labors.

Zion is the place to which “all nations shall flow” (Isa. 2:2). To it may come the “tired,” the “poor,” the “huddled masses yearning to breathe free,” and “the homeless, tempest-tossed,”⁸¹ and in the millennial Zion, the gathered will be exalted, for there will be no poor among them (see Moses 7:18; 4 Ne. 1:3).

“Oh yes, that is Zion, this is the combination of everything; this is what we’re talking about,” Stevens recalls Teichert as saying. “And while she would talk she would reach back with those big brushes and stand with her back real straight, and her eyes wide open and stretch her arms out just as far as possible.” Repeatedly, she would cite the Lord’s designs for all in the world who will hearken: “This is my work and my glory—to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man” (Moses 1:39).⁸²

Elements of Teichert’s Style

A striking feature of Teichert’s style—one that is puzzling to many first-time viewers—is her minimal use of detail. Latter-day Saint art, she believed, should be “rich in story and backed by a great faith.”⁸³ Once the story was told, in her opinion the painting was finished. “Not going to do any more with that,” she would say. “That tells the story.” Detail that was irrelevant to the story but that many would think was necessary to finish the figures was excluded. “Don’t get so excited about doing a tremendous technical job of talking about nothing,” she cautioned Stevens.⁸⁴

For her, the attitude and position of the figures were far more important to the story than detail. The issue is not that she painted only what she was capable of. She had studied anatomical drawing and as a student was known for her astute drafting of figures. Furthermore, she relished the nuances: “The human form, so tremendous; horses are so beautiful.” She taught Stevens, “All of these figures that God has made and the construction of them and all—you must get them right.” Wryly, she added, “It doesn’t look like I do sometimes, but you believe me. I know what I’m talking about.” She was just more concerned about the overall story.⁸⁵

Thus it is that some faces are indicated only sketchily. The characters' postures and gestures are more telling, much as is the case when a viewer sits at a distance from actors upon a stage. And indeed, Teichert, having been trained in mural art theory, was always cognizant of how her large works would look from a distance. Of noses, she had her own philosophy, though one still consistent with her stance on story versus detail. A nose, she claimed, does not have expression; therefore, it "isn't that important. Don't paint it." In this and other issues, she departed markedly from her New York mentor, Robert Henri,⁸⁶ but with the result that her style is strongly individualistic and instantly recognizable.

Another element Teichert considered essential to her narrative was color, as Stevens points out: "There was no question but what her values, her colors, spelled out the story that she wanted to tell."⁸⁷ He remembers her saying, "The values of color is the only thing that makes things go round, and unless you do that you haven't accomplished anything."⁸⁸ The skin tones of the people on the north wall are unhealthy, for example, "due to their oppressed and 'dreary' state" and indicate the people are "out of harmony with their creator."⁸⁹ Terry O'Brien claims that Teichert is quite successful in matching color to purpose. The artists of other world rooms "match up only occasionally." He believes Teichert's colors "depict the barrenness, strife, contention, disorder, chaos, opposition, loneliness, death, mourning and dreariness also present in the representation of people."⁹⁰

For the world room, Teichert wanted the colors to be "soft." Almost everything was mixed with white lead—bought in five-pound cans—which Stevens recalls as having a warm tint. No colors, even the purples and golds on kings and queens, were used straight out of the tube; doing so was anathema, a sign of "calendar art." Teichert loved the earth colors—the earth reds, siennas, ochers, and terra burnt greens. Yellow ocher was the unifying color of the room, even grays and reds beginning with it, for the earth is "yellow ocher when the sun hits it." But "ultramarine is the thing to stick to," she maintained. It could be mixed with yellow to warm it up or green to cool it down. Stevens states that "she loved the subtle blues as they wrapped around different objects."⁹¹

The many subtle shifts of color in an object are another distinguishing feature of Teichert's style. "Learn to use all of the colors," she instructed Stevens, who up to that time had never owned a set of oil colors. "Colors don't really hurt each other. Look at nature; it has all of them." What was of concern to her was the proportion of one color to another: "A little bit of violet," which she considered to be a "dynamite color," "or some of these very extremely vivid colors can come out if they're in the right proportion." Then she went on to teach Stevens about the way "sunlight will change all of them. Look at water. . . . Water isn't any certain color—it can be all."⁹²

In keeping with her training in painting murals, Teichert applied her paint thinly, in imitation of fresco, where the paint is applied to wet plaster. The Church architect, she complained later, required thicker paint than was her wont. Even so, the paint is often just a wash, resembling watercolors, a medium she had used before art school. According to Stevens, “her idea was never to paint it too thick but just bring out whatever colors you had to do.”⁹³

CONCLUSION

In the Manti Temple world room, Minerva Teichert and Frank Stevens labored and prayed to tell the story of the fallen world from the Tower of Babel to the establishment of Zion. The resulting design magnifies God’s glory and reveals his hand in the broad sweep of human history. While the details of the murals’ messages will vary for each individual, any Church member may harvest their spiritual lessons. The pageant’s inspired power is undeniable, as Frank Stevens testifies: “It’s just one mural in one spot, but to me it’s so big in my life that I can’t imagine it not being important to my family and to all who really try to enter into it.”⁹⁴

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1. Minerva Teichert, *Letters of Minerva Teichert*, ed. Laurie Teichert Eastwood (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1998), 74, 76 (April 9 and October 8, 1945).

2. Teichert, *Letters of Minerva Teichert*, 45 (November 15, 19, 1942); some of the other letters recording temple visits are dated February 3, 1945; June 1, 1946; October 24, 1949, pages 71, 83, and 129, respectively, of *Letters*.

3. Teichert, *Letters*, 53 (Sunday).

4. John H. Nielson, letter to Scott [Haskins], May 19, 1982, in Scott Haskins, Conservator’s Report on the Garden and World Rooms, Manti Temple, 1982, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); Frank Stevens, interview by Marian Johnson, November 3, 1986, 14, transcript in possession of Marian Johnson; Minerva Teichert, Notes, in Manti Temple Historical Record, August 1946, typescript, 95, LDS Church Archives.

5. Teichert, *Letters*, 87, 93 (August 14 and November 10, 1946); Frank Stevens, interview by Doris R. Dant, January 28, 1999, 1, Orem, Utah, transcript in possession of author. Richard and Susan Oman, “A Passion for Painting: Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert,” *Ensign* 6 (December 1976): 57, present one version of the selection process; family members and Frank Stevens, her assistant, offer still others. As far as I could determine, neither Teichert nor Anderson recorded the details of how she was selected.

6. Robert Teichert, interview by Marian Johnson, December 4, 1985, 2, Provo, Utah, transcript in possession of Marian Johnson.

7. Dawn Pheysey, "Foreword," *Letters of Minerva Teichert*, ed. Laurie Teichert Eastwood (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1998), x; see also Teichert, *Letters*, 101 (April 20, 1947).

8. Teichert, *Letters*, 93, 94 (November 13, 18, 23, 28, 1946); Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 3. The dimensions of the room are listed by the 1982 conservator. Haskins, Conservator's Report.

9. Teichert, *Letters*, 94 (November 18, 1946); "Lead Poisoning," The Lead Page, orion.oac.uci.edu/~epinet/The_Lead_Page. Minerva was aware that her vision difficulties stemmed from lead poisoning: "For the last several years I've had serious eye trouble, one of the results of lead poisoning." *Letters*, 70 (January 14, 1945). "My eyes are in a bad shape. Dr. Ed [Jeppson] looked at them the other day. It's neuritis again and I musn't paint for some time." *Letters*, 126 (February 25, 1949).

10. Teichert, *Letters*, 94 (November 23, 28, 1946).

11. Teichert, *Letters*, 99, 100 (February 9, March 14, and April 11, 1947); Frank Stevens, cited in "Statements and Writings about Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert," research notes by Robert Davis, Museum of Church History and Art archives (hereafter cited as MCHA), 6.

12. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 14, 18.

13. Teichert, *Letters*, 101 (April 20, 1947).

14. Teichert, *Letters*, 100, 101 (April 11, 20, 1947).

15. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 11; Frank Stevens, phone conversation with Doris R. Dant, April 20, 1998.

16. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 11, 12; Frank Stevens, interview by Marian Johnson, November 12, 1986, 7, transcript in possession of Marian Johnson; Frank Stevens, Panel Discussion, Minerva Teichert Lecture Series, Museum of Art at Brigham Young University, May 7, 1998, 2, transcript in possession of Doris R. Dant; Stevens, "Statements," 7.

17. Teichert, *Letters*, 100, 101 (April 11, 17, 1947); Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 12.

18. Teichert, *Letters*, 101 (April 17, 20, 1947).

19. Teichert, *Letters*, 101 (April 20, 1947).

20. Teichert, *Letters*, 102 (April 23, 1947). Stevens remembers them working from seven in the morning to seven or nine at night. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 12; Stevens, "Statements," 6.

21. Stevens, "Statements," 8; Teichert, *Letters*, 100, 101 (April 11, 20, 1947).

22. Stevens, "Statements," 6.

23. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 12; Stevens, "Statements," 6, 7, 8.

24. Stevens, "Statements," 7, 8.

25. Teichert, *Letters*, 102 (May 1, 1947); Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 5; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 4–5; Stevens, Panel Discussion, 3; Stevens, "Statements," 3.

26. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 8.

27. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 3; Stevens, "Statements," 3.

28. Robert O. Davis, "I Must Paint," in *Rich in Story, Great in Faith: The Art of Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1988), 13; Teichert, *Letters*, 101 (April 20, 1947); Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 15; Stevens, "Statements," 3; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 3.

29. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 4.

30. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 15; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 9; Stevens, "Statements," 5. Laurie Teichert Eastwood states that Minerva worked on the murals in July 1948, during which time she fell again and hit her head. The examining doctor sent her home to recuperate from the resulting concussion. Teichert, *Letters*, 124 n. 38.

31. Teichert, *Letters*, 102 (May 8, 1947). For more information about Teichert's Manti Temple murals in the context of her whole life, see Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert, *Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), where the photographs of Herman and Minerva were published. Note especially the time line on pp. 147–48. For a documented biography, see Eastwood, "Introduction," 1–19.

32. Joyce Stevens Waite, comments to author, January 28, 1999 (Joyce is a daughter of Frank and Nancy Stevens); Teichert, *Letters*, 102 (May 8, 1947).

33. Teichert, *Letters*, 102 (May 8, 1947); Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 5.

34. Teichert, *Letters*, 103 (May 13, 15, 1947).

35. Teichert, *Letters*, 104 (May 27, 1947).

36. Teichert, *Letters*, 104 (June 8, 1947). The Church architect and the Presiding Bishop are each mentioned separately as being involved in the touch-up requests.

37. Teichert, *Letters*, 105, 107 (July 7, 27, 1947); Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 8.

38. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 8.

39. Teichert, *Letters*, 111, 116 (September 20, December 13, 16, 1947).

40. Teichert, *Letters*, 120 (March 7, 17, 1948).

41. Teichert, *Letters*, 120 (March 13, 1948).

42. Stevens, Panel Discussion, 3.

43. James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 84.

44. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, 158.

45. Talmage, *The House of the Lord*, 158.

46. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 13; Laurie Teichert Eastwood, cited in "Statements," 5. Teichert may have based her view upon Abraham 3:24–25, among other passages: "We will make an earth whereon these may dwell; and we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them."

47. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 13.

48. Minerva Teichert, Notes, 99.

49. Hugh W. Nibley, "Meanings and Functions of Temples," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1458, 1460.

50. Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 1; Teichert, Notes, 99; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 8.

51. Teichert, Notes, 99.

52. Teichert, Notes, 100. In this record, the artist mistakenly states that Abraham's party "are entering the land of Shinar." Exactly what she intended is difficult to determine. Teichert knew scriptural history minutely, well enough to know that Terah went with the party when they left Ur but was later left behind in Haran. He is not included with the group in the mural. So I have somewhat arbitrarily replaced Teichert's phrase "land of Shinar" with "Canaan."

53. "Abraham, Covenant of," LDS Bible Dictionary, 602.

54. Teichert, Notes, 100. See also Stevens, "Statements," 7.

55. See also Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 6.

56. "The Mayflower Compact," in *The American Canon*, ed. Daniel L. Marsh (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1939), 126.

57. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 6. For more information on the covenant legacy, see Lynn D. Wardle, "The Constitution as Covenant," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 3 (1987): 11–28.

58. Teichert, Notes, 99.

59. Teichert, *Letters*, 122 (April 1, 1948). See also Teichert, Notes, 99.

60. Teichert, *Letters*, 122–23 (April 1, 1948). Obadiah treats Esau and Edomite as synonyms. Joel 3:3, 7, 8 gives the story itself. It reads:

And they have cast lots for my people; and have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink. Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head: And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off: for the Lord hath spoken it.

61. Teichert, Notes, 100; James is named by Frank Stevens in the November 3, 1986, interview, p. 15.

62. Teichert, Notes, 100.

63. Teichert, Notes, 100.

64. Minerva Teichert, transcription of undated tape recording, MCHA.

65. Teichert, Notes, 100.

66. John W. Welch, ed., *Reexploring the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1991), 32–35.

67. Teichert, Notes, 100.

68. Teichert, *Letters*, 50 (February 28, 1943); Teichert, Notes, 100. Teichert clearly had the Emma Lazarus poem on the Statue of Liberty in mind as she created the huddled masses in her foreground. In the January 28, 1999, interview, p. 2, Stevens notes that Teichert believed the desire for freedom was one of the motivations for coming to the New World, and in conversation with me on January 25, 1999, he confirmed that she referred to the Lazarus poem. She may have visited the Statue of Liberty while a student in New York City. She linked refugees to the statue in her painting *Jewish Refugees Reach the Statue of Liberty*, which was displayed in the ZCMI Tiffin Room in 1940; she describes the scene in a January 14, 1945, letter: "Lee Maxwell . . . told of the six hundred Jewish Refugees that came into New York on his 'boat' even tho their quota was all 'used up.' He told me of them looking at the NY sky line at early dawn, the hope, the hunger and fear on their faces." Teichert, *Letters*, 70.

69. Teichert, Notes, 100.

70. In a swash banner now barely legible, Teichert labeled this group "poverty."

71. Teichert, Notes, 100.

72. Alice Merrill Horne, letter to Minerva [Teichert], 1947, cited in Teichert, *Letters*, 107.

73. Teichert, Notes, 100.

74. Teichert, Notes, 100; underneath the family is a swash banner with the barely discernible text "To Earth's End."

75. Teichert, Notes, 100.

76. Teichert, Notes, 100.

77. Teichert, Notes, 100.

78. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 6–7.

79. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 6–7.

80. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 2, 6.

81. Emma Lazarus, "The New Colossus," on the Statue of Liberty.

82. Stevens, "Statements," 3; Frank Stevens, communication with author, July 2, 1999.

83. "Typed Copy of Hand-Written Message of Minerva Kohlhepp Teichert" [1947], MCHA, 8.

84. Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 2; Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 17.

85. Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 1; Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 17; Stevens, "Statements," 8.

86. Marian Eastwood Wardle, "That He Who Runs May Read," *The Book of Mormon Paintings of Minerva Teichert*, eds. John W. Welch and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1997), 31–34; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 9; Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 18; Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 9.

Henri taught, "The painting of a nose is the painting of an expression." Robert Henri, *The Art Spirit* (New York: Harper and Row, 1923), 251.

87. Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 1.

88. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 17.

89. Terry John O'Brien, "A Study of the Effect of Color in the Utah Temple Murals" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1968), 83.

90. O'Brien, "Effect of Color," 99.

91. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 17–19; Stevens, interview, November 12, 1986, 1, 3, 6.

92. Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 15, 17–18.

93. Marian Wardle, "That He Who Runs," 31, 33; Haskins, Conservator's Report; Teichert, *Letters*, 121 (March 17, 1948); Stevens, interview, November 3, 1986, 15, 18.

94. Stevens, interview, January 28, 1999, 7.

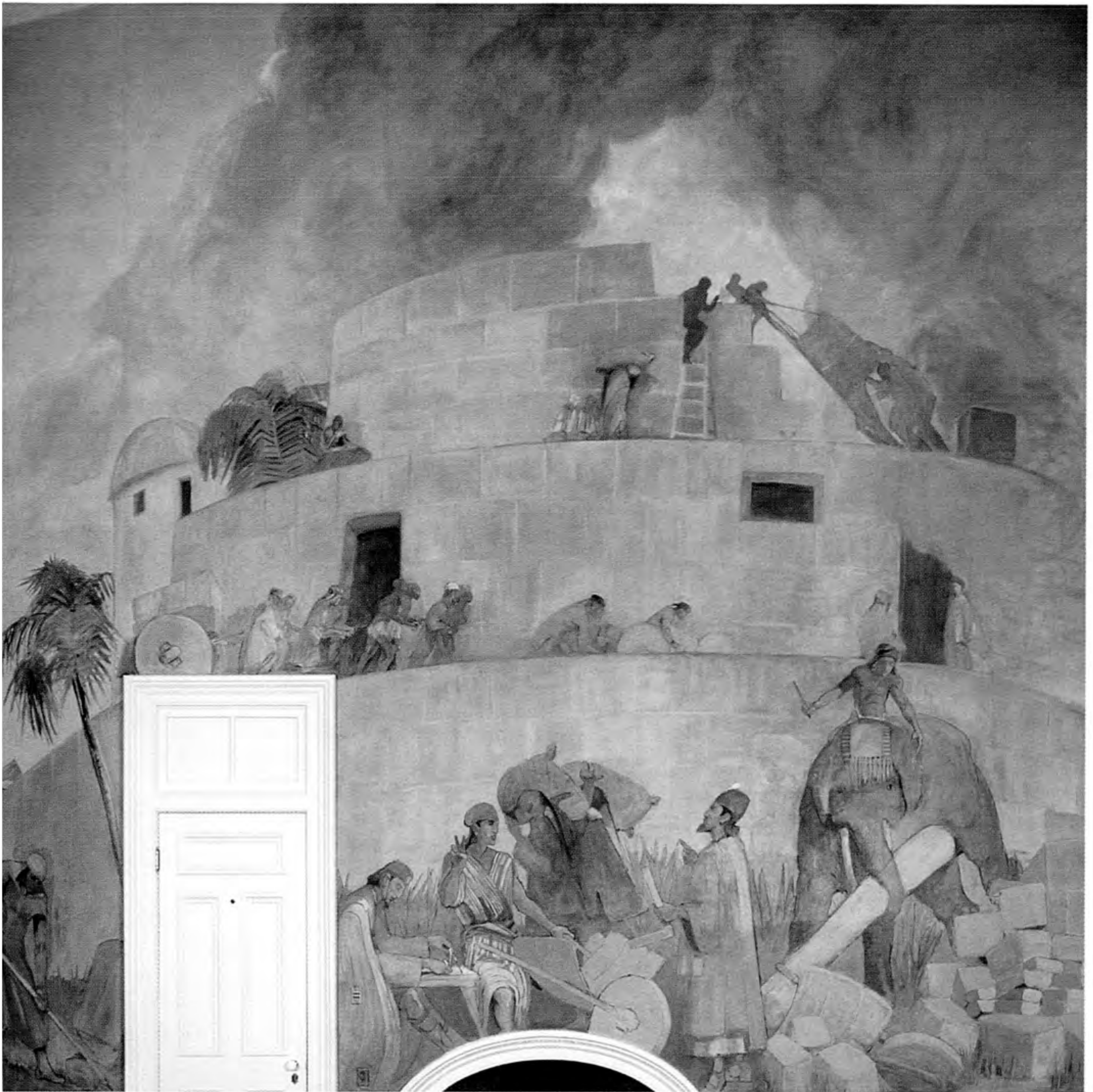


PLATE 1a. Construction of the Tower of Babel. East wall. 1b. Detail.

This and the following murals were photographed by Val Brinkerhoff, Associate Professor of Visual Arts at Brigham Young University.

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PLATE 2. *Above and right:* South wall, full view.

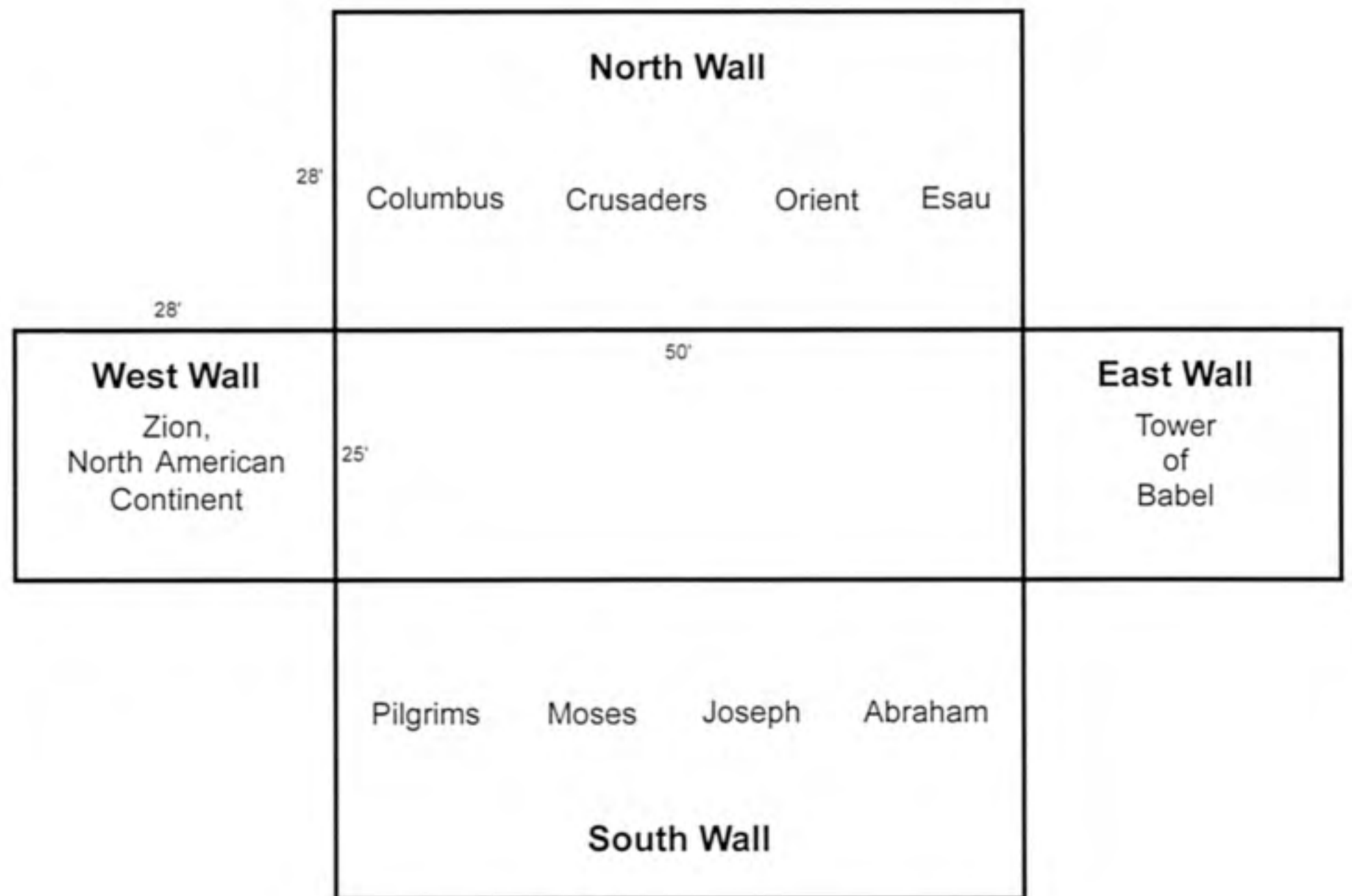


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PLATE 3. Above and right: North wall, full view.

PLATE 4. Layout of Minerva Teichert's murals in the Manti Temple.





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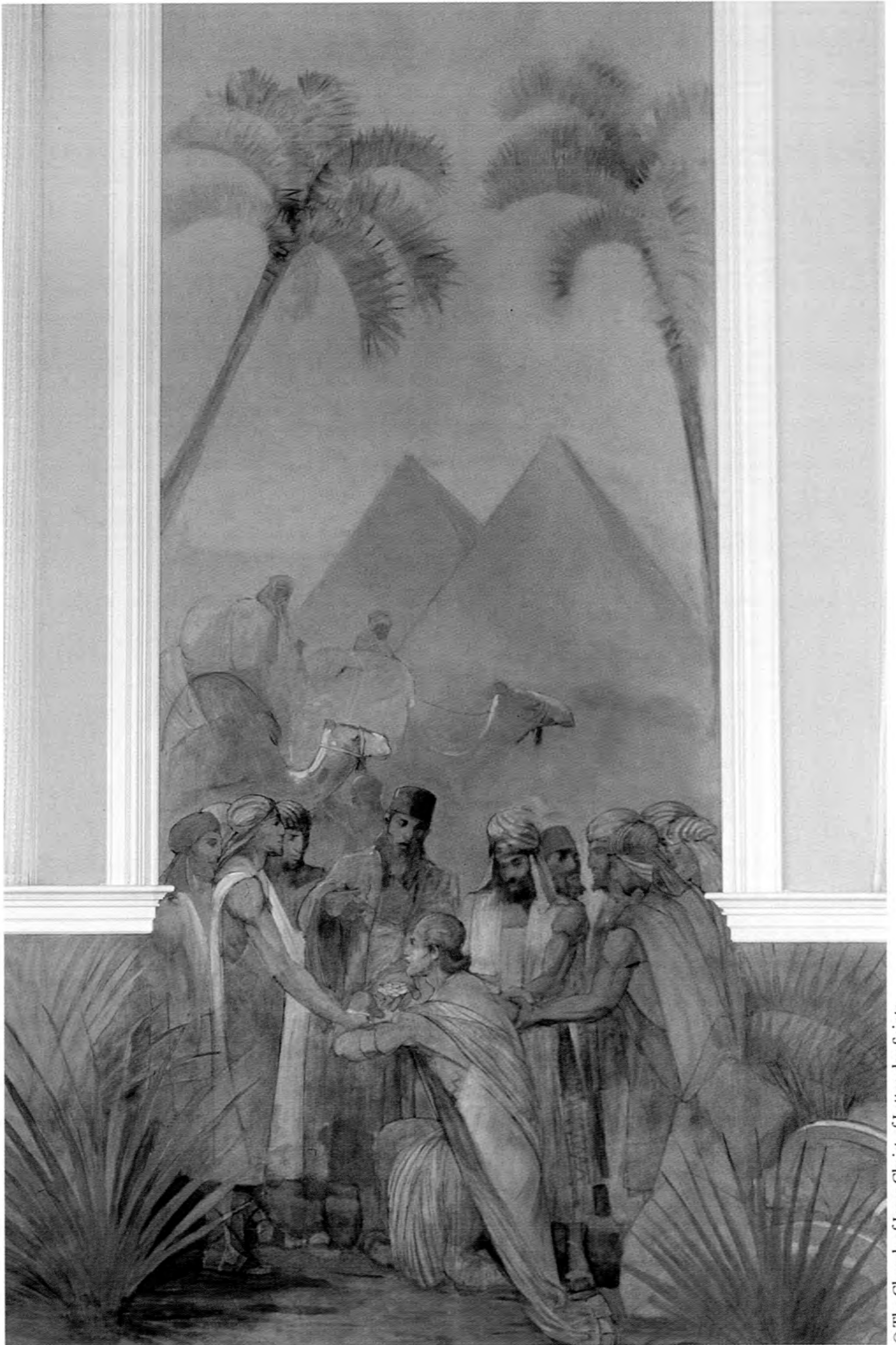


Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art

PLATE 5. Maquette of north wall.



PLATE 6. Abraham, Sarah, and Terah. South wall, east end.

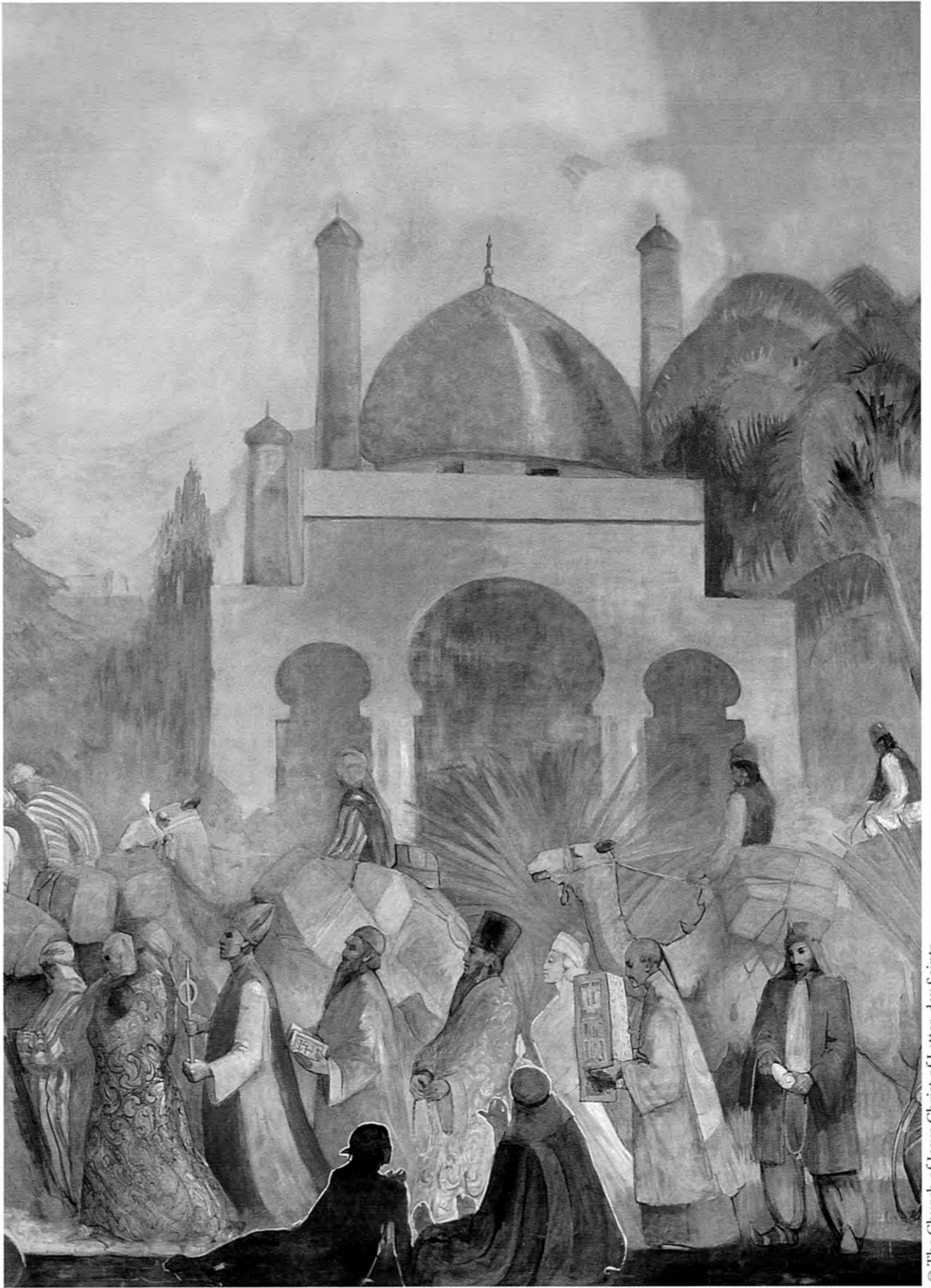


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PLATE 7. Joseph being sold. South wall, center.



PLATE 8. Moses at Mt. Sinai. South wall, west end.



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PLATE 9. The Orient. North wall, east end.

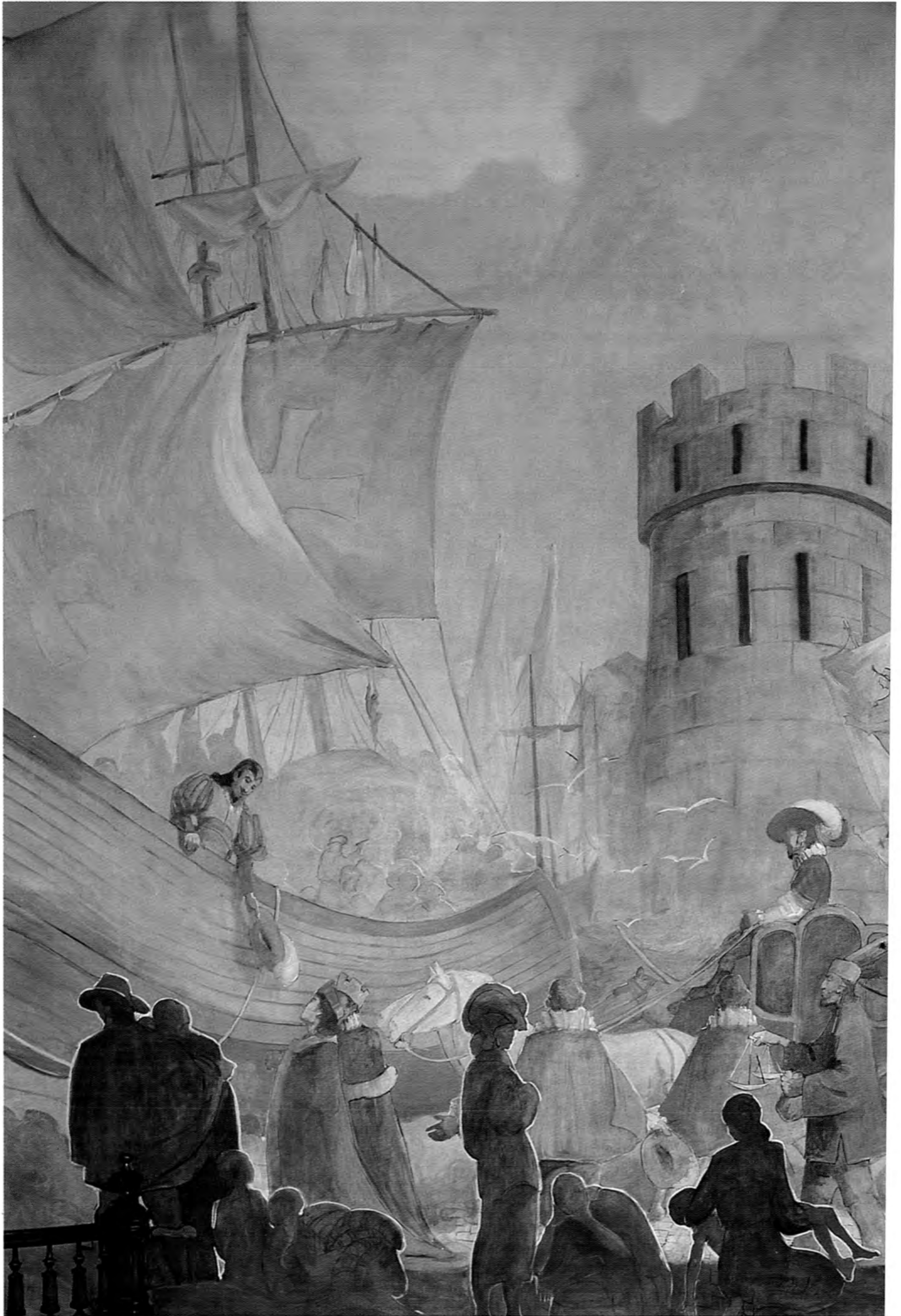


PLATE 10. Columbus. North wall, west end.



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PLATE 11. Crusaders. North wall, center.



PLATE 12a. Zion and the North American Continent. West wall. 12b. Detail.



Green Rain

I prefer things blurred,
borders soft,
God amplified by a cloak of clouds.

When she finally got contact lenses,
my sister was disappointed,
never having guessed
so many faces were blemished.

In March, it's first green, hum
at the tip of the twig,
parsley risen to the surface of the soup,
zest at summer's door.

Unlike yellow streaming through glass
flooding the flowered chair,
unlike rose and hyacinth
crowding out the winter browns,

I like what's barely there—
the quiet ones, lashes,
pianissimo,
a dance in stocking feet.

—Marilyn Bushman-Carlton



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

George Q. Cannon, ca. 1890, C. R. Savage, photographer.

“A Plea for the Horse”: George Q. Cannon’s Concern for Animal Welfare in Nineteenth-Century America

Aaron R. Kelson

Taking a position somewhat unusual for his time, President George Q. Cannon actively taught respect for animals as a matter of religious principle.

George Q. Cannon (1827–1901) is remembered as a gentle and diplomatic leader in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; nevertheless, he was a courageous and outspoken defender of the principles he valued. His resolute dedication to principle outweighed his desire for comfort or popularity. One of the best examples of President Cannon’s forthright nature is his more-than-thirty-year effort to promote the humane treatment of animals among the Latter-day Saints. When one considers the historical context of President Cannon’s advocacy for animal welfare, his unusual strength of character is evident. This article reviews the major themes of his written pleas for animal welfare as published in the *Juvenile Instructor* magazine during his tenure as the magazine’s editor from its inception in 1866 until his death in 1901. Relevant events concurrent with his teachings are described with the review, and the philosophical and religious historical context follows.

Early Reformers

One of President Cannon’s most often repeated themes was that the Golden Rule applies to the treatment of animals. He began expressing this viewpoint early in his career as editor of the *Juvenile Instructor*. His first editorial on the subject was published in 1868:

No man or woman, no boy or girl, who has any kind feelings will inflict unnecessary pain upon any creature. Such persons will not hurt a worm. . . . [Those who do so] prove themselves unworthy of the power they have, and, by their cruelty, they sink beneath the brute.¹

President Cannon reiterated these sentiments the following year in an account about a man who severely beat his horse while the animal struggled to pull a heavy wagon. During the course of the beating, the man



Illustration of cruelty to animals. This drawing was published in the *Juvenile Instructor* as an illustration for Cannon's cautionary tale about "a rough unmerciful man" who "struck his horse in the eye with his whip" and later regretted that act when he lost the sight in his own eye. From George Q. Cannon, "Don't Be Cruel," *Juvenile Instructor* 4, no. 25 (1869): 197.

whipped one of the horse’s eyes. Some time later, this same man got into a fight and lost an eye himself, at which time he remembered how he had whipped out the eye of his horse and “too late realized the folly and danger of brutally treating Heaven’s dumb creatures.” But President Cannon added that fear of punishment should not be the motive for kindness to animals: “[We] should be kind to others, and to animals, and birds, and creeping things, because it is right to be kind.”²

After nearly thirty years of emphasizing the need to be kind to animals, the culmination of President Cannon’s campaign was official LDS Church sponsorship of an annual “Humane Day” celebration, beginning in 1897 and lasting until 1918. Each year, one issue of the *Juvenile Instructor* contained supporting material for Humane Day.³ Following President Cannon’s death in 1901, President Joseph F. Smith (1838–1918), another strong and active voice for the welfare of animals, oversaw the Humane Day program.

Since at least 1874, President Cannon had encouraged the Church to sponsor an active animal welfare program. Speaking about humane societies being started in the eastern U.S. and in Europe, he said, “Something akin to this is needed in some parts of Utah, by which men may be taught that even beasts have rights which must be respected.”⁴ Just eight years earlier, in 1866, the first organization dedicated to animal welfare in the U.S., the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA), was chartered in New York City under the leadership of Henry Bergh (1811–88). This organization was patterned after the Royal SPCA chartered in London in 1824. Organizations such as these were primarily dedicated to investigating cruelty cases and to promoting new or improving existing humane legislation.⁵

The most successful animal welfare educational program during President Cannon’s lifetime was initiated by George T. Angell (1823–1909). Angell founded the Massachusetts S.P.C.A. in 1868 and published the first periodical in the world devoted to animal welfare, titled *Our Dumb Animals*, under the auspices of the organization.⁶ Given that President Cannon also began writing about animal welfare in 1868, he was clearly an American—and even an international—pioneer in the field.

Angell’s Massachusetts S.P.C.A. was successful in organizing American students into “Bands of Mercy,” based on a similar English movement. By 1912 over three million elementary school students in the U.S. were enrolled in over eighty-five thousand chapters. Members wore badges with the wording, “I will try to be kind to all living creatures, and try to protect them from cruel usage.”⁷ Membership in Bands of Mercy began declining after World War II. The rise and subsequent decline of the LDS Humane Day program closely paralleled the Bands of Mercy effort except that Humane Day did not last quite as long as the national program.⁸

President Cannon's attempts to help Latter-day Saints develop a concern for the welfare of animals were apparently not as effective as he would have liked. In 1899, after more than thirty years of emphasizing the topic, the need he felt to advocate the cause was undiminished.

[There is a need] for a better, higher and more humane sentiment among our people, especially among the rising generation. Horses and cows and other animals are frequently treated with a cruelty and a hard-heartedness that are almost wicked. . . . It is a very great sin in the sight of the Almighty for the dumb creation to be treated with cruelty or even with neglect. A merciful man is merciful to his beast.⁹

The Spirit of Destruction

Although some people were sympathetic to treating domestic animals kindly, their concern was not often transferred to wild animals. Hunting for sport was one of the most common recreational activities in the U.S. during the latter half of the nineteenth century, partly because it was almost unregulated at the time. President Cannon differentiated between hunting for food and hunting for sport. He was not opposed to hunting for food when it was truly needed, but he was strongly opposed to taking animal life for the enjoyment of killing. He referred to those who were inclined to do so as having the "spirit of destruction." He wrote, "It is the spirit of destruction that we deplore and that we wish to call attention to—the disposition to destroy life and to slaughter the creatures which God has created, for the sake of sport. This is not right."¹⁰ He also wrote with characteristic candor, "The disposition of men and boys to kill wild animals and birds, and even every insect which crosses their path, is very general—far too general among Latter-day Saints. Why should there be such eagerness to kill these creatures?"¹¹ Indeed, in the nineteenth century, sport hunting was popular not only among men and boys, but among women as well.

Sport hunting of the American bison, or buffalo, exemplifies the spirit of the times especially well.¹² Once numbering as many as sixty million, the buffalo population was reduced to only about five hundred animals, primarily over the forty-year period from 1845 to 1885.¹³ Marketing of buffalo robes and later of leather from buffalo hides were most responsible for the slaughter, but sport hunting was also a factor.¹⁴ The contribution of sport hunting to the near extermination of the buffalo was intensified with the coming of the railroad to the western frontier. Railroad companies promoted buffalo hunts to entice travelers to take western excursions. For ten dollars, a passenger could buy a trip on a luxury coach with rifle and ammunition provided. Hunters were told that they could shoot from the train windows until they were out of bullets or until their rifle barrel became too hot.

One typical adventure occurred in 1868, the same year President Cannon began his published campaign for animal welfare. Passengers traveling on the Kansas Pacific Railway encountered a buffalo herd in western Kansas after traveling approximately 325 miles from Lawrence, Kansas. Forty miles later, when the herd was near enough to the train, the hunt began. The buffalo ran alongside the moving train while "the boys blazed away at them without effect." Finally, a bull was mortally wounded. The train stopped, and the passengers disembarked to surround the fallen animal. They celebrated: "A cornet band gathered around, and, as if to tantalize the spirits of all departed buffalo, . . . played Yankee Doodle." This particular animal was eviscerated and carted home so that friends and relatives would have "the pleasure of seeing the dimensions of the animal."¹⁵

Predictably, President Cannon did not agree with sport such as this. Regarding the buffalo the Saints encountered during the exodus from Illinois to the Salt Lake Valley, he wrote, "The temptation to shoot them was very hard for many of the men to resist; but early in the journey, they were taught that it was a sin in the sight of God to waste flesh."¹⁶ Few others agreed with him during the era when famous buffalo slaughterers such as William F. Cody (1846–1917), a.k.a. "Buffalo Bill," were acclaimed as national heroes. The attitude of two European noblemen touring North America who stopped in Salt Lake City in 1869 was quite typical. President Cannon and other Church leaders had the opportunity to visit with these men. When inquiry was made as to whether or not the hunters had found plenty of game, they replied that they had been very successful, killing as many as 81 buffalo in a single day. President Cannon wrote, "When we heard this reply, the interest we had taken in them vanished."¹⁷

Hideous Mistakes

Perhaps the most controversial animal welfare issue addressed by President Cannon was the "bounty" or "scalp" laws that were ubiquitous in North America during the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Under the provisions of these laws, hunters were paid by the government for killing an animal deemed to be detrimental to settlement. Virtually all large predators, such as wolves, coyotes, cougars, and black and grizzly bears, were targeted by these laws as were rodents, crows, and birds of prey.

President Cannon was concerned that bounty laws were just an added enticement for people to participate in the spirit of destruction. In opposition, he defended many of the animals targeted by bounty laws, including even the European starling. Of the starling, he wrote, "He has his uses, and many things can be said in his behalf. He has great persistency, moreover, and vitality of the most superb kind. The more he is persecuted, the more he prospers." One cannot help but wonder if he saw parallels between his life and the life of a starling. Both originated in England, and both were the

object of much persecution. But even President Cannon was willing to concede that starlings can be “very exasperating.”¹⁹

He also took up the cause of the coyote, another highly disparaged animal on the North American frontier: “The coyote has few friends, a good word is hardly ever said for him, and every man’s hand is against him.” He argued that the coyote eats rabbits, which if allowed to multiply without a check on their population would be a true scourge to human civilization. As such, he did not think it was harmful if the price paid for such a service was “a lamb or a stray sheep occasionally.”²⁰

The challenge faced by President Cannon even within the LDS community is illustrated by the “war of extermination” that Mormons declared in 1849 against wild animals. Prizes were offered to hunters who killed the most predators and “vermin,” including wolves, wildcats, bears, skunks, eagles, hawks, owls, crows, and magpies. In addition to the prizes awarded, bounties were paid for wolf and fox skins.²¹

President Cannon’s concern for predators stemmed, not only from his gentle nature, but also from his appreciation for ecological balance. His depth of ecological understanding was rare even among professional biologists of that time. He believed that ecological balance had to be the natural result of a world created by God. He stated, “An all-wise Creator has arranged many things which puny man does not fully understand. In our attempts to improve on nature we frequently make hideous mistakes. In most cases these bounty laws are among the gravest of these mistakes. Nothing was created in vain.”²²

The rarity of President Cannon’s understanding of ecological balance in 1899 can be demonstrated by considering a case that occurred just a few years after he made this statement. The case occurred not far from Salt Lake City. It was the first management program for the Kaibab deer herd in southern Utah and northern Arizona lasting from 1906 until about 1926. In 1906 the decision was made by President Teddy Roosevelt’s administration to turn the parklike ponderosa pine forests of the Kaibab Plateau, north of the Grand Canyon, into a vast deer preserve. Wildlife managers reasoned that an increased deer herd could be sustained if all the predators in the area were killed. Consequently, “Uncle” Jim Owens, a Yellowstone Park guide and hunter, was employed to kill all the cougars, wolves, and coyotes that he could. From 1906 to 1910, Owens killed between 125 and 150 cougars and an undisclosed number of wolves and coyotes.²³

In 1910 the Biological Survey took over for Owens and killed nearly 100 cougars and about 600 coyotes. By 1912 literally all the deer herd’s predators on the Kaibab Plateau had been exterminated. Deer hunting was prohibited. For a few years, the plan seemed to be a success as the deer herd flourished.²⁴ By 1926 the deer herd numbered approximately 40,000 animals, up from between 4,000 and 5,000 animals in 1906.²⁵ But the success was short-lived.

The deer herd began to collapse because the animals were literally eating themselves "out of house and home." The management response was to ship live deer to other parts of the country, open the area to licensed hunters, and sell meat from deer killed by government hunters. Federal wildlife managers realized after the fact that the deer and the deer's predators existed in a state of mutual balance rather than in a state of perpetual competition.²⁶

Early LDS Animal Welfare Thought

President Cannon's concern for the precarious status of animals in the nineteenth century was supported by LDS scripture and by the teachings of other early LDS leaders, most notably Joseph Smith (1805–44), Brigham Young (1801–77), Lorenzo Snow (1814–1901), and Joseph F. Smith (1838–1918).²⁷ The Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price, and Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible add to and clarify animal-related topics mentioned in the Bible. These new insights surely influenced what may have been natural inclinations held by early LDS leaders toward animal welfare.

In addition to the animal welfare subjects developed in the Bible, latter-day scripture emphasizes that mankind will be held accountable for "the blood of every beast" (JST Gen. 9:11); meat should be eaten sparingly (D&C 89:12–15); God remembers all of his creatures (Mosiah 27:30, Moses 1:6); all life, human and nonhuman, is immortal (D&C 29:24, 25); dominion in the eternities is dependent on gentleness and meekness in mortality (D&C 121:41–46); all living things are sustained by the light of Christ (D&C 88:13); the earth itself is a living entity (Moses 7:48–61); and all animals and plants are intelligent, living souls created spiritually prior to being created physically (D&C 93:29, 30; Moses 3:9, 19).²⁸

Furnished with such revealed knowledge, Joseph Smith promoted animal welfare among the Saints, including teaching that mankind could not expect animals to abandon their vicious natures as long as people "possess the same disposition."²⁹ Joseph Smith practiced as well as taught kindness and respect for animal life. His example was remembered long after his death, evidenced by his well-known regard for wildlife on Zion's camp,³⁰ as well as by a nine-year-old boy's letter published in the *Juvenile Instructor* sixty years after the Prophet Joseph was martyred. The letter describes in appreciative language how the Prophet Joseph was kind to his dog Major. One winter evening in Nauvoo, a group of Saints gathered in Joseph's home for a meeting. Young Artemus Ward recorded the event as told by his great-aunt Charlotte Cole:

When it was time to begin the meeting Joseph said, "It is too cold tonight to turn the dog out. Major, (that was the dog's name) you can go under the bed."

The dog did as he was told, and stayed there while they held the meeting. . . . I have a pony and a dog and I try to be kind to them.³¹

Brigham Young echoed Joseph Smith's teachings about kindness and respect for animal life.³² President Young taught that every member of the "animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms" will "receive their exaltation" by virtue of their abiding the laws "by which they were made."³³ He taught the Saints that gentle dominion over the animal kingdom was a prerequisite for being made a ruler over many things in the world to come.³⁴ And he had little patience for those who did not care for animals in a manner befitting disciples of Jesus Christ, stating that disregard for the well-being of animals was a "great sin" and that many Saints were spared being cursed by the Lord for animal neglect only because they were ignorant of their sin.³⁵

Judging by the frequency with which the message was reiterated, Presidents Smith and Young were challenged in their efforts to ennoble the Saints' behavior toward their animals. Yet their teachings must have had some effect on the Saints, as Colonel Thomas L. Kane (1822–83) said that he was impressed by the Saints' "kindness to their brute dependents, and particularly to their beasts of draught." He further stated that Mormons cared so much for their animals that they would have washed them with old wine had they had any.³⁶

Lorenzo Snow, like Presidents Smith and Young, was converted to the worth of nonhuman life. His humane attitude crystallized when he was gaining his strength back after battling a lengthy illness in Far West, Missouri. To combat the boredom he felt at not being able "to either do or read much," he decided to hunt wild turkeys, a practice of which he had been particularly fond. But while he was stalking turkeys that day, he had a striking change of heart:

While moving slowly forward in pursuit of something to kill, my mind was arrested with the reflection on the nature of my pursuit—that of amusing myself by giving pain and death to harmless, innocent creatures that perhaps had as much right to life and enjoyment as myself. I realized that such indulgence was without any justification, and feeling condemned, I laid my gun on my shoulder, returned home, and from that time to this I have felt no inclination for that murderous amusement.³⁷

Two years before his death, Joseph F. Smith summarized the LDS perspective on animals by stating simply, "The Latter-day Saints have always taught kindness to animals."³⁸ And just seven months before his death, he penned what became his concluding published thought about animal welfare. He wrote, "Love of nature is akin to the love of God; the two are inseparable."³⁹

The emphasis early LDS leaders placed on animal welfare led one researcher to conclude, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has

evidenced far more zoophilic teachings in an official capacity than other denominations in the United States.”⁴⁰ Thus, even though President Cannon was the most visible advocate for animal welfare within the LDS Church for over three decades, he was not alone among prominent LDS figures. It is likely that he refined and strengthened his philosophy in communication with other leaders in the LDS Church.

Other Philosophical Influences

In addition to these important LDS-specific influences, President Cannon was affected also by the thoughts of non-LDS individuals.⁴¹ He recognized these influences and, in fact, seemed anxious to use them for good when he thought that could be done. When he introduced the Humane Day program and instructed Sunday School teachers to provide appropriate lessons for the children, he added, “There is a large field from which information can be gleaned, and which will be exceedingly interesting to the children to listen to, and they can be impressed in a way that will not soon be forgotten.”⁴²

President Cannon’s admiration for the work being done by others is unmistakable in his writings. He seemed to have been especially impressed with George T. Angell. He praised Angell highly as “a fearless and an able champion of the rights of dumb animals. . . . His only object in life is to do good to his fellow-creatures.”⁴³ However, President Cannon did not elect to reproduce many outside articles in the *Juvenile Instructor*.

On the other hand, President Cannon’s successor to the editorship, Joseph F. Smith, relied heavily on outside resources to support the Humane Day program. Material published in the *Juvenile Instructor* in conjunction with the Humane Day program from 1902 to 1918 came from a wide variety outside sources including George T. Angell’s publication *Our Dumb Animals*, *Home and School Visitor*, *Forest and Stream*, *Popular Science News*, *Phrenological Journal*, *Spectator*, *Youth’s Companion*, *New Orleans Picayune*, *American Humane Education Society*, *New York Sun*, *Christian Register*, *Boston Globe*, Clara Barton (founder of the American Red Cross), and many others.⁴⁴

The thoughts of many of America’s early animal welfare activists refuted long-standing philosophical attitudes about animals. President Cannon was no doubt aware of the philosophical attitudes that had, in the minds of some, validated cruel behavior toward animals. One of the western world’s most prominent philosophers, René Descartes (1596–1650), was prominent in contributing to the inhumane treatment of animals. Descartes argued that animals are nothing more than biological machines, incapable of feeling pain or of reasoning. His philosophy was accepted by many of the other influential thinkers of his day. French

philosopher Nicolas de Malebranche (1638–1715), one of Descartes’s followers, attributed the howls of a dog he had just kicked to “the creaking of the gearing and the turnspit.”⁴⁵

Not all western philosophers shared Descartes’s views. One prominent thinker who disagreed with Descartes’s ideas was the famous French writer Voltaire (1694–1778). Voltaire argued that the “animal-machine” idea was ridiculous, pitiful, and sorry. Another prominent Frenchman, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) also disagreed with Descartes.⁴⁶

Despite opposition, the animal-machine philosophy still prevailed in England just a few decades prior to President Cannon’s birth in that country. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that serious efforts were made in England to elevate the status of animals from machines to sentient beings capable of suffering.⁴⁷ Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), a famous English jurist and economist, was one of the first prominent Englishmen to challenge the animal-machine philosophy. Bentham made a statement now considered to be a classic in the animal welfare debate. “The question is not, Can they *reason*? nor Can they *talk*? but Can they *suffer*?”⁴⁸

Even with this growing support, most efforts made in eighteenth-century England to promote kindness to animals were met with derision or even punishment. Reverend James Granger (1723–76), a vicar of the Church of England, went to prison for twice preaching against cruelty to animals.⁴⁹ On October 18, 1772, Reverend Granger chose as the text of his sermon Proverbs 12:10, “A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast: but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.” He dedicated his remarks to a neighbor he had often seen whipping his horse. Reverend Granger spoke in a forceful manner:

For God’s sake and thy own, have some compassion upon these poor beasts. . . . I give thee fair warning, that a worse punishment waits for thee in the next; and that damnation will certainly come, according to thy call. . . . I advise thee to fall upon thy knees, and ask God forgiveness for the cruelty.⁵⁰

Reverend Granger later described the reaction to his sermon: “The foregoing discourse gave almost universal disgust to two considerable congregations. The mention of dogs and horses was censured as a prostitution of the dignity of the pulpit, and considered as proof of the author’s insanity.”⁵¹

At the dawning of the nineteenth century, domestic animals in developed western societies were still generally regarded, at best, as items of personal property “not much different than a shovel or plow.”⁵² It is not surprising, therefore, that sentiments such as those expressed by Reverend Granger were considered perverse. European attitudes toward animals remained so callous that when President Cannon was born in Liverpool, England, the practice of stealing cats, skinning them alive, and then selling the pelt was common in his country.⁵³

As inhumane treatment of animals continued in England, a growing body of English philosophers, including Lord Thomas Erskine (1750–1823), Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), and Richard Martin (1755–1834) felt compelled to promote animal welfare despite formidable opposition.⁵⁴ Joseph F. Smith noted Lord Thomas Erskine's attempt to pass animal rights legislation in 1809, the first attempt made in England: "The first movement ever made in the British Parliament to obtain some law for the protection of animals from cruelty was by a distinguished English statesman, who was met by such a storm of ridicule that he abandoned the attempt."⁵⁵ In 1822, Richard Martin earned the distinction of being the first person in England to successfully introduce humane legislation.

President Cannon's Millennial Vision

President Cannon's gentle nature may have caused him to be naturally inclined to champion the cause of animals, and his efforts were inspired by the work of U.S. and British contemporaries who were eloquently defending animal welfare during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Yet his faith was the most pervasive rationale he used to support his defense of animal welfare. Because of this, President Cannon differentiated himself from most other nineteenth-century champions of animal welfare.

Even among those whose philosophies were religiously based, President Cannon was distinctive because of the unique beliefs about animals supported by LDS doctrine. One difference between President Cannon's writings and those of other Christian authors stems from different beliefs about the timing of the Second Coming of Christ, an event early members of the LDS Church felt was imminent.⁵⁶ He was aware that the relationship between mankind and the animals was prophesied to be much different during the millennial era (Isa. 11:6–9; 65:25; Ezek. 34:25; Hosea 2:18). For President Cannon, preparing for the changed relationship mankind would have with the animals during the Millennium was just as fundamental as the other preparations the Saints were making for that event.⁵⁷ Faithful Latter-day Saints were likely responsive to this theme because the vision of Zion, or a people prepared to live under millennial conditions, was what compelled many of them to sacrifice virtually all that they had to immigrate to the Great Basin.

This vision of a peaceful existence, including not only peace between God and mankind but also peace with the animal world and with all the rest of creation, seemed to inspire President Cannon. Of this hope he wrote:

The time will come when man and animals which are now wild and ferocious will dwell together without hurting each other. The prophets have foretold this with great plainness. But before this day comes men will

have to cease their war upon the animals, the reptiles and the insects. . . . When man becomes their true friend, they will learn to love and not to fear him. The Spirit of the Lord which will rest upon man will also be given to the animal creation—man will not hurt nor destroy, not even tigers and lions and wolves and snakes, and they will not harm him—and universal peace will prevail.⁵⁸

In harmony with the Prophet Joseph's teachings, he taught the Saints that if they could control their "destructive propensities" a different spirit would "take possession of fowls, animals, fish, reptiles, and insects." This change of heart, according to President Cannon, would help to bring about the Millennium.⁵⁹

President Cannon's gentleness is an important legacy in the history of the LDS Church. Because his teaching was expressed during an era when gentleness was less common and admired than conquest and dominance, it is all the more valuable today.⁶⁰

Aaron R. Kelson is a Presidential Management Intern at the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. The author would like to thank Charles Romesburg, two anonymous reviewers, and the editor for their helpful comments and encouragement, and Margaret Robertson for exceptional research assistance. The quotation "a plea for the horse," used in the title of this article, comes from a Humane Day article published in *Juvenile Instructor* 50, no. 4 (1917): 172.

1. George Q. Cannon, "Editorial Thoughts," *Juvenile Instructor* 3, no. 17 (1868): 132.
2. George Q. Cannon, "Don't Be Cruel," *Juvenile Instructor* 4, no. 25 (1869): 197.
3. References to Humane Day in the *Juvenile Instructor* from 1897 to 1918 include the following volume and page numbers: 32, no. 2 (1897): 58–60; 33, no. 2 (1898): 69–70; 33, no. 4 (1898): 152; 34, no. 4 (1899): 104–5, 110–11, 113–14; 35, no. 4 (1900): 122, 126; 36, no. 4 (1901): 119; 37, no. 3 (1902): 84; 38, no. 4 (1903): 97–109, 115, 125–26; 39, no. 4 (1904): 97–106, 113, 122–26; 40, no. 4 (1905): 97–106; 41, no. 4 (1906): 101–6, 126; 42, no. 4 (1907): 97–103; 43, no. 2 (1908): 57, 59–60; 44, no. 3 (1909): 95–98, 110–13; 45, no. 2 (1910): 60, 85–88; 46, no. 2 (1911): 83, 108–14; 47, no. 2 (1912): 78–79, 112–16; 48, no. 2 (1913): 84–85, 125–28; 49, no. 2 (1914): 94, 127–36; 50, no. 2 (1915): 93, 126–37; 51, no. 2 (1916): 84–90, 92–93; 52, no. 4 (1917): 171–76, 193–94; 53, no. 4 (1918): 182–83. In addition, many other issues from 1868 to 1920 contained articles on animal welfare which were not directly connected with the Humane Day program.
4. George Q. Cannon, "Editorial Thoughts," *Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 25 (1874): 294.
5. Lewis G. Regenstien, *Replenish the Earth: A History of Organized Religion's Treatment of Animals and Nature—Including the Bible's Message of Conservation and Kindness toward Animals* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 109.
6. Gerald E. Jones, "Concern for Animals as Manifest in Five American Churches: Bible Christian, Shaker, Latter-Day Saint, Christian Scientist, and Seventh-Day Adventist" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1972), 28.
7. Francis H. Rowley, *The Humane Idea* (Boston: American Humane Education Society, 1912), 50–51.
8. Another LDS leader who strongly advocated kindness to animals, David O. McKay (1873–1970), initiated a "Kindness to Animals Club" for LDS children in 1952.

"Kindness to Animals Club," *Children's Friend* 51, no. 1 (1952): 23. This club existed for five years, but it did not generate as much interest as President Cannon's Humane Day program.

9. George Q. Cannon, "Kindness to Dumb Animals," *Juvenile Instructor* 34, no. 4 (1899): 113.

10. George Q. Cannon, "Taking Life Unnecessarily," *Juvenile Instructor* 34, no. 19 (1899): 592.

11. George Q. Cannon, "Revelation—Wanton Killing," *Juvenile Instructor* 24, no. 23 (1889): 548.

12. During President Cannon's effort to curb sport hunting, extermination was also in the process of occurring for two well-known species of birds in North America. Once numbering several million, the passenger pigeon was considered rare by 1895. The last passenger pigeon died in Cincinnati Zoological Gardens on September 1914. North America's only native parrot, the Carolina parakeet, was hunted to extinction in the wild by 1900. The last captive Carolina parakeet died in 1914 in the same zoo as the last passenger pigeon. See Ralph Whitlock, *Birds at Risk* (Whitshire, Eng.: Moonraker Press, 1981), 39.

13. Approximately 200 thousand bison now live in North America, roughly 150 thousand in the U.S. and 50 thousand in Canada. About 90 percent of these animals are in privately owned herds. Utah has two publicly owned bison herds: over four hundred head in the Henry Mountains and over five hundred head on Antelope Island in the Great Salt Lake.

14. David A. Dary, *The Buffalo Book: The Full Saga of the American Animal* (Dayton, Ohio: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press, 1974).

15. E. N. Andrews, "A Buffalo Hunt by Rail," *Kansas Magazine* 3, no. 5 (May 1873): 450, 453–54.

16. George Q. Cannon, "Hunting Buffalo," *Juvenile Instructor* 4, no. 20 (1869): 157. A few buffalo were present in Utah Territory in 1847 when LDS pioneers arrived there. Renowned Smithsonian zoologist William T. Hornaday (1854–1937) wrote in his examination of the extermination of the buffalo:

It is well known that buffaloes, though in very small numbers, once inhabited northeastern Utah, and that a few were killed by the Mormon settlers prior to 1840 [*sic*] in the vicinity of Great Salt Lake. . . . There is no evidence that bison ever inhabited the southwestern half of Utah, and, considering the general sterility of the Territory as a whole previous to its development by irrigation, it is surprising that any buffalo in his senses would ever set foot in it at all. (William T. Hornaday, *The Extermination of the American Bison* [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889], 383)

17. Cannon, "Hunting Buffalo," 157.

18. Some states still have bounty laws on the books. They are seldom used, however, because the bounties are usually negligible in today's dollars. Other states have only recently rescinded these laws, such as Wisconsin in 1996.

19. George Q. Cannon, "Why Continually Want to Kill, Kill, Kill!" *Juvenile Instructor* 34, no. 16 (1899): 492.

20. Cannon, "Why Continually Want to Kill," 492.

21. John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee*, ed. Robert Glass Cleland and Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:82, 99–100; Hosea Stout, *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout*, ed. Juanita Brooks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:337–38.

22. Cannon, "Why Continually Want to Kill," 493.
23. Will C. Barnes, "Those Kaibab Deer," *Forest Worker* 1 (November 1924): 60.
24. Barnes, "Those Kaibab Deer," 60.
25. Barnes, "Those Kaibab Deer," 60; Will C. Barnes, "Game, a Forest Asset—and Sometimes a Liability," *Forest Worker* 3 (May 1926): 21.
26. Barnes, "Those Kaibab Deer," 61–62.
27. For a more comprehensive review of the teachings of early LDS leaders about animals, see Jones, "Concern for Animals"; Gerald E. Jones, "The Gospel and Animals," *Ensign* 2 (August 1972): 62–65. A complete review of these teachings is beyond the scope of this paper.
28. According to Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 43, the Hebrew words *nephesh*, or "soul," and *nephesh chayah*, or "living soul," are used in the original biblical text in the account of the Creation. The latter designation is found in Genesis 2:7, referring to Adam, and is translated in the King James Version as "man became a living soul." However, when the same terminology is used in Genesis 1:30 in reference to animals, it is translated as "wherein there is life." Interestingly, Joseph Smith chose to restore the original meaning in the book of Moses.
29. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 71. Joseph Smith's philosophy toward nonhuman life was distinctly different than the understanding of nineteenth-century Christians. His belief in the sanctity and unity of all living things has been described as being more closely aligned with the philosophies of Native Americans and modern Gaians than with traditional Christianity. Thomas G. Alexander, "Stewardship and Enterprise: The LDS Church and the Wasatch Oasis Environment, 1847–1930," *Western Historical Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (1994): 344.
30. Sandra Bradford Packard, "Animals," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:42–43.
31. Artemus S. Ward, "Kindness to Animals," *Juvenile Instructor* 39, no. 4 (1904): 125.
32. Latter-day Saint scholar Hugh Nibley has written about Brigham Young's teachings regarding animal welfare and environmental stewardship. For additional discussion on President Young's teachings regarding animals, see Hugh W. Nibley, "Brigham Young on the Environment," in *To the Glory of God: Mormon Essays on Great Issues—Environment, Commitment, Love, Peace, Youth, Man*, ed. Truman G. Madsen and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 3–29; Hugh W. Nibley, "Subduing the Earth," in *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless: Classic Essays of Hugh W. Nibley* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1978), 35–99.
33. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 8:191, September 30, 1860.
34. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 11:141, October 9, 1865.
35. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:218, May 17, 1868; 15:227, October 9, 1872.
36. William Mulder and A. Russell Mortenson, eds., *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 205.
37. Clyde J. Williams, comp., *The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 188–89.
38. Joseph F. Smith, "Humane Day," *Juvenile Instructor* 51, no. 2 (1916): 93.
39. Joseph F. Smith, "Humane Day," *Juvenile Instructor* 53, no. 4 (1918): 183.
40. Jones, "Concern for Animals," 132.

41. Some researchers believe that attitudes toward the environment were diffused, or at least selectively filtered, into LDS consciousness from outside sources during President Cannon's lifetime. For further discussion, see Jeanne Kay and Craig J. Brown, "Mormon Beliefs about Land and Natural Resources, 1847–1877," *Journal of Historical Geography* 11, no. 3 (July 1985): 253–67.

42. George Q. Cannon, "Humane Day," *Juvenile Instructor* 32, no. 2 (1897): 60.

43. Cannon, "Kindness to Dumb Animals," 110–11.

44. In all likelihood, the volume of material published in the *Juvenile Instructor* about animal welfare written by non-LDS authors represents the most material on any subject written by non-LDS authors published in an official LDS periodical.

45. C. W. Hume, *The Status of Animals in the Christian Religion* (London: Universities Federation for Animal Welfare, 1957), 184, as quoted in Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 79.

46. Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 79–80.

47. David Favre and Vivien Tsang, "The Development of Anti-Cruelty Laws during the 1800s," *Detroit College of Law Review* 1 (spring 1993): 1–35.

48. Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (London, 1780), 310–11, as quoted in Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 88; italics in original.

49. Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 88.

50. Edward G. Fairholme and Wellesley Pain, *A Century of Work for Animals: The History of the R.S.P.C.A. 1824–1924* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1924), 7–8, as quoted in Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 88.

51. Fairholme and Pain, *A Century of Work for Animals*, 8–9, as quoted in Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 88.

52. Favre and Tsang, "Development of Anti-Cruelty Laws," 2.

53. Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 93.

54. Regenstein, *Replenish the Earth*, 89, 91. The western world's growing interest in animal welfare during the late 1700s and the early 1800s is consistent with a common LDS viewpoint that attitudes were shifting during that time period in preparation for the restoration of the LDS faith. For a discussion on this viewpoint, see Kay and Brown, "Mormon Beliefs about Land," 253–67.

55. Joseph F. Smith, "First Law for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," *Juvenile Instructor* 41, no. 4 (1906): 104.

56. Eugene Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988); Dan L. Flores, "Agriculture, Mountain Ecology, and the Land Ethic: Phases of the Environmental History of Utah," in *Working the Range*, ed. John R. Wunder (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

57. John B. Wright, *Rocky Mountain Divide: Selling and Saving the West* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), argues that belief in the imminence of the Millennium was responsible for environmental abuses in Utah, which, if true, would have affected animals, particularly wildlife. However, Alexander, "Stewardship and Enterprise," 341–64, disagrees with Wright and attributes environmental problems in early Utah history to "secularized entrepreneurship" aided by science and technology and the neglect of religious environmental principles such as those discussed in this article.

58. Cannon, "Revelation—Wanton Killing," 549.

59. George Q. Cannon, "Obedience—Do Not Kill," *Juvenile Instructor* 26, no. 14 (1891): 442–44.

60. See, for example, Spencer W. Kimball, "Fundamental Principles to Ponder and Live," *Ensign* 8 (November 1978): 43–46.

Adam's Song

Tommy was the first pet I had in Eden,
par'a-keet' seemed to fit—*small parrot*
with long tail, the color of apple, new leaf,
and lemon; harsh, irritating song.
 I called it “screaming” at first, but my softer side
 said, “Song, Adam, song.”

Eve taught me about *mu'sic*—*a medley*
of sounds and tones, as of the wind.
 Cain taught me that some music is hard
 to hear: “Father, I have killed Abel
 and buried myself in a darker earth
 where frozen stars draw black flowers
 from my grave.” That was a song.

I clipped Tommy's wings that day,
 with *scis'sors*—*a cutting instrument, two pivoted blades.*
 I gathered the yellow, green, and dark
 red shadows in the valley of my palm.
 Eve sang a music I could hardly hear.
 I inserted one by one into the warm earth of Abel's grave
 the cool *feath'ers*—*lighter than flowers, less afraid*
of flying; colorfast and hardened by a harsh song.

—James Richards

This poem won first place in the *BYU Studies* 1999 Poetry Contest.

Environmental Lessons from Our Pioneer Heritage

Terry B. Ball and Jack D. Brotherson

The efforts of the pioneers and their posterity to correct their mistakes in agricultural and ranching practices set an example for us today.

In 1847 the Mormon exodus reached the Great Basin and settled in the shadows of the Rocky Mountains. There they were joined by immigrants from Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and other parts of the world. Most participating in the gathering shared the common experience of conversion to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Indeed, their commitment to their faith led them to seek refuge in the seclusion of the Great Basin. They believed that there they could build a Zion society, free from the persecution and hatred that had followed their church from New York to Ohio, to Missouri, and then to Illinois.

As the pioneers began to build Zion, they reshaped the environment to make the land more productive and suitable for their needs. Occasionally, however, their policies and practices were not environmentally sound—over time, the land's ability to provide for them was diminished rather than enhanced. Fortunately, they and their posterity established a pattern of striving to correct their environmental mistakes, once they were aware of them. In so doing, they set a precedent for citizens today.

The Presettlement Environment

Understanding the Great Basin's presettlement environment is requisite to understanding the impact of the pioneers' activities on local ecosystems. The Great Salt Lake Valley and adjacent areas had been visited by travelers, explorers, government agents, and missionaries long before the Mormon pioneers entered. Many early visitors kept journals in which they described the land. From these journals, we get a reasonably good picture of the state of the land and its resources as they existed when the Native Americans were the sole occupants.

Two of the earliest presettlement visitors to the Great Basin, Fathers Domínguez and Escalante, entered Utah in 1776 from present-day Colorado

and traveled west to Utah Valley. They wrote of “marshy estuaries” associated with lakes and rivers, “a good deal of pasturage” along all the streams, and abundant land that could be farmed “with the aid of irrigation.” They also wrote of flat stretches of sagebrush, some with associated prickly pear cactus.¹

Fathers Domínguez and Escalante were particularly interested in identifying potential sites for settlement. They found many in the Great Basin. For example, around present-day Duchesne, Utah, they noted “beautiful poplar groves, fine pastures, timber and firewood not too far away, [enough] for three good settlements.” They described the Strawberry Valley as possessing “good pasturages, many springs,” “beautiful groves,” and “all the conveniences required for a settlement.”² Concerning Utah Valley, they commented that the area between the Provo and Spanish Fork Rivers consisted of “level meadows with good land for crops . . . with opportunities for irrigation sufficient for two or even three good settlements.” So enamored were they with the region that Captain Miera y Pacheo, a cartographer with the expedition, wrote to the king:

This is the most pleasing, beautiful, and fertile site in all New Spain. It alone is capable of maintaining a settlement with as many people as Mexico City, and of affording its inhabitants many conveniences, for it has everything necessary for the support of human life.³

Some sixty years later (1839 or 1840), a Rocky Mountain fur trapper named Osborne Russell gave a similar description of the presettlement Great Salt Lake Valley. He described the area as “a beautiful and fertile valley intersected by large numbers of fine springs which flow from the mountain to the Lake and could with little labour and expense [be] made to irrogate [*sic*] the whole Valley.”⁴

The presettlement vegetation and water resources of northern Utah also received glowing reports from early visitors. For example, in 1845 the explorer Captain John C. Frémont offered this description of the Bear River Valley in northern Utah:

I can say of it, in general terms, that the bottoms of this river, (Bear,) and of some of the creeks which I saw, form a natural resting and recruiting station for travellers, now, and in all times to come. The bottoms are extensive; water excellent; timber sufficient; the soil good, and well adapted to the grains and grasses suited to such an elevated region. A military post, and a civilized settlement, would be of great value here; and cattle and horses would do well where grass and salt so much abound. The lake will furnish exhaustless supplies of salt. All the mountain sides here are covered with a valuable nutritious grass, called bunch grass. . . . The beasts of the Indians were fat upon it; our own found it a good subsistence; and its quantity will sustain any amount of cattle, and make this truly a bucolic region.⁵

Other presettlement visitors left descriptions of the Cache, Weber, Pavant, Juab, Grass, Tooele, and Rush Valleys. They, too, mention good water resources in those regions, with rich soil and fine grass in valleys, benches, and foothills. They speak of patches of sagebrush and of high-elevation forests of pines, maples, aspens, and cedars.⁶

The descriptions left by early visitors and pioneers indicate that the presettlement composition of the plant communities consisted of grass in the valley bottoms, bunch grass and sage on the foothill slopes, pinyon-juniper on the upper valley slopes merging into mountain brush, and aspen and conifer in the higher elevations. Moreover, adequate water resources could be found in the springs, streams, rivers, and lakes of the region. The land was indeed well fitted for settlement.

Pioneers Enter the Valley

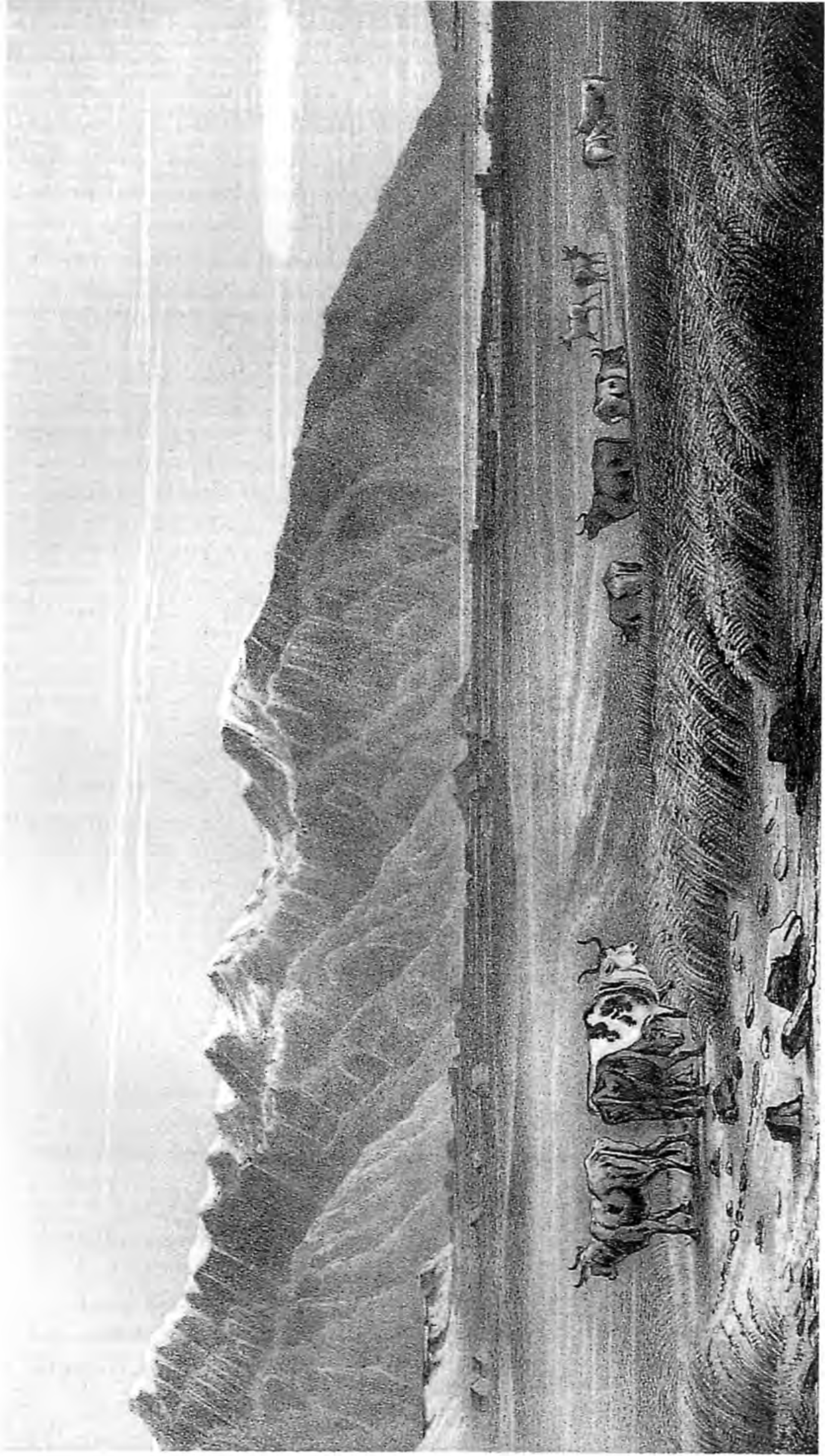
The first Saints to enter the Salt Lake Valley were as impressed with resources as much as earlier visitors had been. For example, William Clayton wrote:

The grass grows high and thick on the ground and is well mixed with nice green rushes. Feed here for our teams is very plentiful and good and the water is also good. . . . The grass here appears even richer and thicker on the ground than where we left this morning. . . . The grass is about four feet high. . . . We could but remark all along, the richness of the soil and the abundance of high, good looking grass.⁷

Upon entering the Salt Lake Valley, the pioneers wasted no time in beginning their efforts to transform their Rocky Mountain Zion into a fruitful homeland. They did so with determination, enthusiasm, and a sense of urgency. The main company of the Saints left their last camp in Emigration Canyon at about 7:00 A.M. on the morning of July 23, 1847. At 9:30 A.M., they held a prayer and thanksgiving meeting in the valley. By 11:30 A.M., a committee had selected spots for planting potatoes, beans, and corn. By noon they were plowing. By the time a convalescing Brigham Young reached the valley on July 24, potatoes were already in the ground.⁸

Irrigating newly planted crops was a priority for the pioneers. They realized that, unlike Illinois and Missouri, in the Great Basin they could not depend upon “the rains of heaven” to water the crops they planted.⁹ As historian Alfred R. Golze explained, “The Mormons were forced to make irrigation a success or perish.”¹⁰ During the afternoon of July 23, 1847, they began “irrigation as it is practiced today” by building a dam across City Creek and diverting enough water to soak “five acres of exceedingly dry land.”¹¹ By spring 1848, they had five thousand acres of irrigated land under cultivation.¹²

Community development proceeded in an orderly and well-planned manner. Under Brigham Young’s direction, ten-acre blocks were laid out



The Mormons' domestic animals grazing on the tall grass in the Salt Lake Valley. By John Hudson, ca. 1849–50, reproduced in Howard Stansbury's *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853), facing 124.

and divided into eight lots of one and one-quarter acres. The lots and blocks were subsequently assigned to families according to their occupations and needs. Generally, professionals and businessmen each received a lot, while mechanics were given four lots or an entire block. Farmers were given one or two blocks each, depending on the size of their families.¹³ The blocks were divided by wide streets with irrigation ditches running down each side to irrigate the orchards and gardens and to carry away sewage.¹⁴

This pattern of orderly development was repeated as Mormon villages spread along the Wasatch Front and elsewhere in the Mountain West. Walter P. Cottam notes that within thirteen years of the pioneers' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley

most of the important towns from Logan on the north to St. George on the south had been founded. . . . Each is located at the base of a mountain front, at an altitude conducive to the growth of a variety of farm crops, on a valley plain of rich soil, where mountain streams supply water sufficient for irrigation and culinary purposes. Sites thus selected for settlement were provided with nearby pasture land that furnished year-round feed for farm livestock and with an expanse of desert range suitable for winter grazing. Mountains nearby provided a perpetual flow of life-giving water, timber for building, wood for fuel, and forage for the summer grazing of range stock.¹⁵

Botanist John Muir gave a description of the success of the Salt Lake Saints as he passed through on a botanical expedition in 1877:

At first sight there is nothing very marked in the external appearance of the town excepting its leafiness. Most of the houses are veiled with trees, as if set down in the midst of one grand orchard. . . .

Perhaps nineteen twentieths of the houses are built of bluish-gray adobe bricks, and are only one or two stories high, forming fine cottage homes which promise simple comfort within. They are set well back from the street, leaving room for a flower garden, while almost every one has a thrifty orchard at the sides and around the back. The gardens are laid out with great simplicity, indicating love for flowers by people comparatively poor. . . . In almost every one you find daisies, and mint, and lilac bushes, and rows of plain English tulips. Lilacs and tulips are the most characteristic flowers, and nowhere have I seen them in greater perfection.¹⁶

Pioneer Faith and Environmental Stewardship

Much of the pioneers' motivation and success at settling and developing the land can be attributed to their belief in a God-given stewardship over the land and its resources. Their spiritual leaders had taught them that God had created the earth's resources for the use of man and that God expected them to use those resources wisely.¹⁷ They held as truth a revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1831:

Yea, all things which come of the earth, in the season thereof, are made for the benefit and the use of man, both to please the eye and to gladden the

heart; Yea, for food and for raiment, for taste and for smell, to strengthen the body and to enliven the soul. And it pleaseth God that he hath given all these things unto man; for unto this end were they made to be used, with judgment, not to excess, neither by extortion. (D&C 59:18–20)

The Saints' leaders reaffirmed this doctrine as they settled in the Great Basin. They testified that God had brought the pioneers to a new promised land in the Mountain West and that he intended to give the land to the Saints as an eternal inheritance if they proved to be wise stewards over its resources. In speaking of their Zion in the Rocky Mountains, Orson Pratt explained:

This land, about which I have been speaking, is called in some places in the revelations of God to the Prophet Joseph, the land of our inheritance; and in other places it is referred to in the form of stewardships. In one sense it may be considered our inheritance, because the Lord designs, in his own wisdom, that the Latter-day Saints shall possess that land as such, and their dead with them. And having decreed this, even before we ever saw it, he will fulfil it. I will refer you to a part of the revelation given on the 2nd Jan., 1831, at the house of Father Whitmer: "And I hold forth and deign to give unto you greater riches, even a land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey, upon which there shall be no curse when the Lord cometh: And I will give it unto you for the land of your inheritance,"—not only stewardship, but inheritance; "And this shall be my covenant with you," says the Lord further, "ye shall have it for the land of your inheritance, and for the inheritance of your children, forever, while the earth shall stand, and ye shall possess it again in eternity, no more to pass away." In this sense it is called the land of our inheritance. But when we come to speak definitely, we will have to be proven as stewards first. If we shall be unwise in the disposition of this trust, then it will be very doubtful, whether we get an inheritance in this world or in the world to come.¹⁸

The Saints were further taught by their leaders that because God had control over the productivity of the land, bounteous yields came only upon conditions of righteousness.¹⁹ Brigham Young warned the Saints that their wickedness could pollute the very soil, air, and water around them,²⁰ but if they were a righteous people, the earth would "bring forth in its strength."²¹ Daniel Wells, Second Counselor in the First Presidency, testified that making the land more productive was an important part of building the kingdom of God and the duty of every righteous person. He further warned that failure to do so would incur divine wrath.²² Heber C. Kimball instructed the Saints that if they were worthy they could ensure the productivity of their resources by using priesthood power to "dedicate and consecrate" their land, seed, implements, and livestock to God.²³

Because proper care of the earth and its resources was considered a commandment of God, pioneer Church leaders frequently used the pulpit to give practical advice on farming and resource management. During

church meetings, they taught the Saints what to plant, how to care for their livestock, and how to plow, water, fertilize, and improve the soil. They decried it as “not pleasing in the sight of God” to cultivate more land than was reasonable or to be slothful in weeding and plowing the fields.²⁴ They believed that one could not separate the wise use of resources from religion. They did not compartmentalize things as secular or religious, temporal or spiritual. Rather, all temporal resources were recognized as also being spiritual, for God created them as such, gave them to man, and commanded that they be used in righteousness and wisdom.²⁵ Thus, wise management of resources that enhanced the land’s capacity to provide for man was viewed as an act of righteousness, and an increase of productivity was a sign of favor from God.

Pioneer Impact on the Environment

These doctrines served the pioneers well as they settled and developed the Great Basin. Unfortunately, in spite of their environmental theology, environmental costs and consequences of settlement became evident over time. For example, Orson Hyde offered the following observation in October 1865:

I find the longer we live in these valleys that the range is becoming more and more destitute of grass; the grass is not only eaten up by the great amount of stock that feed upon it, but they tramp it out by the very roots; and where grass once grew luxuriantly, there is now nothing but the desert weed and hardly a spear of grass is to be seen.

Between here and the mouth of Emigration kanyon, when our brethren, the Pioneers, first landed here in '47, there was an abundance of grass over all those benches; they were covered with it like a meadow. There is now nothing but the desert weed, the sage, the rabbit-bush, and such like plants, that make very poor feed for stock.²⁶

Such early and rapid deterioration of the environment was certainly alarming, leading the modern researcher to ask how it was allowed to occur in light of what the pioneer Saints believed to be their environmental stewardship. Three contributing factors have been suggested. The first and perhaps the foremost factor was inexperience. Dan L. Flores, an environmental historian, argues that the early settlers simply may have been too unfamiliar with the Great Basin ecosystem to understand all the environmental consequences of their activities.²⁷ The second factor, as historian Thomas G. Alexander argues, was the overzealous pursuit of wealth. He notes that some of the early settlers, “driven by market opportunities,” apparently “valued jobs and wealth more than the sanctity of life, stewardship, and reverence for the earth.”²⁸ The third and perhaps most distressing element was the tendency of some to be disobedient to the environmental

principles taught by the early pioneer leaders. As Alexander explains, “Indeed, there is clear evidence that, whatever they were told, many Utah Mormons *acted* as if ecclesiastical pronouncements regarding the environment were, in fact, little more than rhetoric—either that or they forgot or declined to obey the counsel given.”²⁹

A review of the farming and ranching practices of the early settlers illustrates that, while they did much to accomplish their goals of increasing the utility and productivity of the land, inexperience, avarice, and disobedience did indeed contribute to counterproductive and environmentally harmful practices.

Farming Practices

Perhaps the greatest improvements the pioneers made to the land were agricultural. Most attribute the farming success to their remarkable achievements with irrigation. Despite the vast stretches of desert terrain in the Great Basin, an abundance of water flowed in the streams and rivers originating in the surrounding mountains.³⁰ The settlers’ challenge was to divert the water to the thirsty, but fertile, soil. Although they had little experience with irrigation and made some mistakes, they were still remarkably successful in the endeavor. Most agree the Saints succeeded because, unlike many other communities of their time, they cooperated with one another.³¹ Their common faith gave them a sense of divine purpose and concern which mandated that the success of the community transcended individual prosperity. Their leaders taught the importance of such cooperation from the pulpit:

We can not work here as we could in Jackson County, Mo. In that country we did not have to irrigate. We could settle on a piece of rising ground there, and the rains of heaven watered it. . . . We could settle in any part of the county, or of the counties round about, and the rains of heaven would descend and water our land. . . . If we happen to farm on some of these high grounds, it is very difficult to dig canals and water-ditches to water our little stewardships. What shall we do, then? Join in together, be of one heart and one mind, and let there be a common stock fund, so far as property is concerned, and so far as our own individual labor is concerned. . . . You need to co-operate together in your labors. . . . You need to co-operate in getting out your water from your water-ditches to water your land, and you need to do it in a great many other respects.³²

Alfred Golze credits the pioneers’ cooperation for making irrigation systems that are still “among the finest in the United States today.” He further notes that “their laws for appropriation of water and its priority of use have been a pattern to other Western States.”³³ Still, lack of experience led to some early environmentally unsound and wasteful irrigation practices.

For example, the settlers frequently over-irrigated by turning their water on in the spring and not shutting it off until the fall.³⁴ This practice increased the salinity of the soil and leached vital nutrients from it. Moreover, they often failed to make provisions “against seepage or to divert surface drainage.”³⁵ Consequently, some of their precious water resources were lost.

Pioneering Saints also greatly improved the land’s productivity through the importation and successful cultivation of food crops. Before the arrival of the pioneers, Native Americans living in the land had to rely on native food plants for subsistence. Serviceberries, chokecherries, gooseberries, and currants were typical sources of fruit. Sunflowers and wild grass seeds constituted their cereal and flour grains.³⁶ Se-go lily, biscuit root, and yampa were the among the roots harvested for food. All such native sources of plant food grew in relatively low-yielding, scattered patches and required considerable amounts of time and energy to forage. They could never support a large population.

In contrast, the food crops imported by the Mormon pioneers were high-yielding, easily harvested species. For example, through the efforts of Wilford Woodruff and other pioneers, nurseries and orchards of fruits such as apples, peaches, pears, cherries, and plums were established throughout the Mountain West.³⁷ In an 1865 address, John Taylor reminded the Saints:

We can remember the time when we could not raise peaches to eat, and it was a doubt whether an apple tree would grow or not. Now go and look at your orchards; there is not a better peach growing country in the world than this. How is this? God has blessed the elements for our sakes, and also the earth; but let the Saints leave this place, and it would return again to its wilderness condition; the wicked could not live here.³⁸

Imported root crops such as potatoes, carrots, and turnips also thrived under pioneer cultivation. Sugar beets grew exceptionally well for the pioneers, eventually becoming an important cash crop. The 1904 annual Christmas greeting from the First Presidency of the Church summarized the success of the Saints in sugar-beet cultivation:

The great crops of sugar beets that have been gathered, have been a source of wealth to the community. The establishment of sugar factories in Utah and Idaho has been made possible because of this abundant product. With advanced experience in the cultivation of the beet, and in the manufacture therefrom of first-class sugar, we have promise of a full supply of the saccharine article for home consumption and to supply our neighbors in surrounding states and territories. All this will greatly promote development of the resources and augment the wealth of this intermountain region.³⁹

Important cereal grains such as wheat, oats, and barley were also introduced by the pioneers, as well as legumes such as beans and peas. Wheat

fields proved especially prolific. Alexander reports that between the years of 1869 and 1879, output increased by 109 percent and an additional 512 percent over the following two decades.⁴⁰

Not only did these crops produce enough to support a large and growing population, they also yielded a surplus. This allowed the Saints to move away from subsistence farming and begin selling some of their produce. By the 1860s, the Saints were conducting a lively trade in agricultural commodities with markets outside the territory and began testing new types of cash crops. For example, Brigham Young had the pioneers experiment with cotton farming in Southern Utah.⁴¹ Also, mulberry was imported and cultivated to provide feed for silkworms in an attempt to establish a local silk industry.⁴² While neither of these cash crops proved very profitable, others such as sugar beets and alfalfa proved to be highly successful.

Unfortunately, the zeal to profit from agriculture led some to waste and abuse natural resources. Orson Hyde observed that overambitious men were trying to cultivate too much land, consequently creating water shortages. He noted that the resulting overall production decreased rather than increased.⁴³

In addition to food and cash crops, ornamental and exotic plant species were brought in by the pioneers. Alexander suggests that such introduction was in response to Brigham Young's fostering "the importation of large varieties of alien flora and fauna to the intermountain region."⁴⁴ Accordingly, the pioneers introduced trees such as catalpa, locust, chinaberry, and tree-of-heaven, as well as flowers and herbs such as English tulips, hollyhocks, sweet peas, caraway, spearmint, peppermint, and watercress. Some weedy plant species whose seed were contaminates of crop seeds were imported and cultivated unintentionally.

Many of the plant species the pioneers imported, intentionally or otherwise, managed to establish wild populations in the Great Basin. By 1900 approximately 160 species of introduced plants from about thirty-five different families had produced feral populations. Unfortunately, not every plant species introduced was beneficial to the environment.⁴⁵ Many were noxious, invasive supercompetitors that displaced native vegetation. For example, cheatgrass was imported during pioneer times and soon dominated land once covered by more palatable native grasses. Although of some value as a forage species in its early stages, full-grown cheatgrass injures the animals ingesting its dry, sharp, spiny seed heads. Moreover, such dry plants constitute a tremendous fire hazard, and they are notorious for rapidly depleting moisture and nutrients from the soil.⁴⁶ The gardener's nightmare, bindweed or morning glory (*Convolvulus arvensis*), may have arrived in Utah during pioneer times.⁴⁷ This noxious weed has become so abundant that one frustrated gardener observed, "There is really only one patch of bindweed in the state. It starts at the north and goes clear to the south!"

Other weedy, noxious, and environmentally damaging plant species that came with the settlers include some of the biggest pests, gluttons, and thugs of the plant world. Consider the following list of least-wanted plants that entered Utah during pioneer times: tumbleweed, chickweed, burdock, knapweed, sow thistle, dandelion, cheese weed, Bermuda grass, quack grass, Johnson grass, poison hemlock, deadly nightshade, redroot pigweed, cocklebur, creeping thistle, bull thistle, knotweed, purslane, Jimson weed, stink grass, and marijuana.⁴⁸ Lack of understanding and inattention account for the importation of these plants to the Mountain West. Had the early settlers understood that these species would so impact the environment, surely they would not have purposely introduced them and would have taken precautions against their accidental importation.

Ranching Practices

Perhaps the most environmentally harmful activities of the early pioneers were those associated with the livestock industry. While early descriptions of the Great Basin note the excellence of the native pastures for grazing, within a few decades the grasslands were significantly depleted. Most agree the primary cause of the deterioration was overuse.

At first the Mormon herds were small and kept close to the settlements to protect them from Indian hostilities and predatory animals.⁴⁹ Small herds were generally pooled to form larger groups of animals, which were placed under the care of livestock keepers. Such an efficient arrangement made it possible for farmers and city dwellers who owned only a few head of stock to be about other business, while their animals—important to them for milk, meat, wool, draft, and transportation—were watched over. By the 1860s, land areas near the settlements were already showing signs of widespread overgrazing. Consequently, the territorial legislature in 1865 enacted a law banning beef cattle and sheep herds from the public lands near the settlements.⁵⁰ The communities hoped that doing so would conserve the close ranges for milk cows, draft animals, and riding horses. All other grazing animals were moved much farther afield, where grazing lands and forage were more abundant.

As more and more Mormon immigrants and their livestock entered the area, herds relegated to the more distant pastures increased in number. These herds were soon joined by the herds of “gentile” neighbors who moved in on the fringes.⁵¹ Moreover, the numbers of domestic livestock (sheep and cattle) increased dramatically on Utah ranges after the coming of the railroad in 1869, which provided access to faraway markets. Soon herds were being shipped into the state by outside speculators who saw the vast western rangelands as opportunities for quick profit.⁵² The number of animals utilizing the rangelands increased until 1900, when the grazing on

these ranges peaked at 1.1 million animal units (one unit equals five sheep or one cow).⁵³ It did not take long for these vast herds to reduce the grazing capacity of these once-lush grasslands. The environmental consequences were devastating. As one commentator observed, “Inside his fence the Pioneer made the desert to blossom as a rose, while outside the fence on his range area he made it ten times worse.”⁵⁴ Two areas that illustrate the extent of the damage caused by overgrazing are Tooele Valley, west of Salt Lake City, and Mountain Meadows, in southwestern Utah.

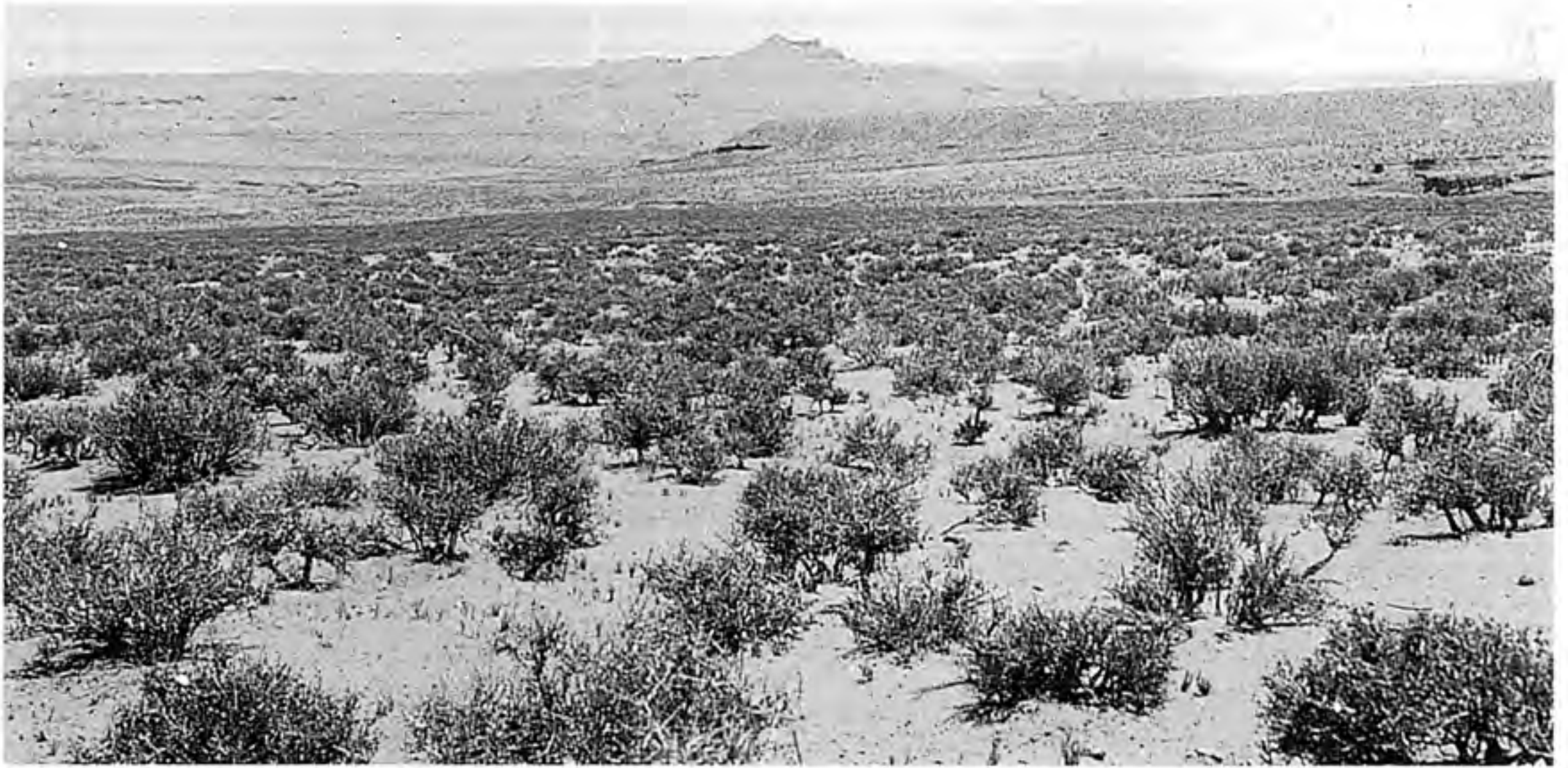
On September 25, 1879, a correspondent to the *Deseret News* wrote about the Tooele area:

At present the prospect for next year is a gloomy one for the farmers, and in fact all[,] for when the farmer is effected [*sic*] all feel the effects. The stock-raisers are all preparing to drive their stock where there is something to eat. This country, which was once one of the best ranges for stock in the territory, is now among the poorest; the myriads of sheep that have been herded here for the past few years have almost entirely destroyed our range.⁵⁵

From this point, the deterioration continued. With little vegetation left to control run off, floods became common in the 1880s and 1890s. In 1929 the first of many great dust storms that were to hit the Tooele Valley occurred, blowing sand from about 320 acres that overgrazing had denuded. By spring 1935, the dust-blown area had increased to nearly twenty thousand square miles, becoming one of the worst dust bowl areas in the nation. The nearby city of Grantsville was said to be so seriously endangered that “unless steps were taken to control the dust, the town of Grantsville would have to be abandoned within two years.”⁵⁶

The landscape of Mountain Meadows was equally altered by overgrazing. Before it became the site of an infamous massacre, Mountain Meadows was a favorite stopping and resting place on the Old Spanish Trail. Travelers knew it for its thriving grasslands and excellent springs. Grazing began in the area in 1862 and continued unrestricted until 1877. When John D. Lee was to be executed in 1877 for participating in the Mountain Meadows massacre, he was asked to point out the actual site of the event, but he could not because the area had changed so much. Since the massacre in 1857, overgrazing had killed most of the forage plants and opened the way for their replacement by shrubs and trees. Moreover, erosion had increased until a huge wash developed (some thirty feet deep and forty feet wide), gutting the meadow and drying up the springs. Junipers had expanded

Sequence of photos illustrating the effects of overgrazing and subsequent wind erosion of Utah desert ranges. *Top:* Emory County desert range, plant community already depleted of grasses and palatable shrubs. *Middle:* White Sage Valley range, showing further grazing and wind erosion—only shrub stems persist. *Bottom:* Wah Wah Valley, exemplifying the final state—a range denuded of vegetation. All photos taken by U.S. Forest Service, 1935.



All photos courtesy Jack D. Brotherson

their occupied acreage of about one thousand acres to more than six thousand acres, making the location unrecognizable.⁵⁷ H. H. Bancroft's 1901 assessment of the damage to the area is descriptive:

Over that spot the curse of the almighty seemed to have fallen. The luxuriant herbage that clothed it twenty years before had disappeared; the springs were dry and wasted, and now there was neither grass nor any green thing, save here and there a copse of sage-brush or of scrub-oak, that served but to make its desolation still more desolate.⁵⁸

Bancroft's observation that in overgrazed areas sagebrush and other less palatable woody plants replace nutritious forage grasses is accurate. Walter Cottam was one of this century's first environmentalists to warn us of this phenomenon:

Unquestionably, most of the desert vegetation of Utah has also undergone significant transformation during the past century with respect to quantity and quality of forage. Grass types have experienced complete change of aspect throughout the entire area of the Bonneville Basin and have been supplanted by desert shrubs of various kinds.⁵⁹

In a study of the impact of a century of heavy grazing in two representative Great Basin valleys, Cottam showed that grass declined from covering 45 percent of the areas in question (1847) to near zero percent (1937). Winterfat, a highly palatable shrub, also decreased in cover by 16 percent. Conversely, pinyon-juniper, sagebrush, rabbit brush, and shad scale (all woody species) increased coverage over the same time period by a combined total of 61 percent.⁶⁰ Other observers have documented similar deterioration throughout the state of Utah in the quantity, quality, and type of rangelands as a result of overgrazing.⁶¹

Considering these devastating consequences, we wonder why any early settlers would allow their animals to overgraze the land. Once again we must conclude that either they were ignorant of the long-range consequences of such practices or they felt that the financial rewards justified the damage to environment.

A Model for Understanding the Environmental Impact of Settlement

The native ecosystems of the Great Salt Lake region had developed over thousands of years in the absence of high densities of ungulate grazers. One of the essential features of such ecosystems is the functional relationship of their individual components. A change in one component of the ecosystem always influences all others. Such a native ecosystem, developed in isolation away from the impact of man's hands, exhibits an internal integrity or balance. If an agent of change is introduced into the established system, wherein one or several components of the system are altered, the

net effect will be the displacement of the balance of the system. If the agent of change is small and does not become a permanent fixture of the system, then in time the original integrity or balance may return. However, if the agent of change is permanent and of major proportion, the displacement will be dramatic, and the system will move so far away from its original balance that it can never be restored to its earlier state.

The pioneers' farming practices, introduction of new plant species, and introduction of domestic livestock can all be considered major agents of change in the Great Basin ecosystem. Perhaps the overgrazing of livestock is most illustrative. As the animals spread across the land, they fed first upon the more palatable plants that generally dominated the grassland ranges. Because these more palatable species were more often selected for consumption by the livestock, they were placed at a competitive disadvantage to unpalatable species. The constant grazing regularly defoliated the palatable plants, which over time severely restricted their capacity to produce the carbon compounds necessary to maintain roots, stems, and leaves. Over time they began to atrophy, die, and be replaced by their unpalatable competitors such as desert shrubs. With continued time and grazing pressure, even the unpalatable species were placed at a disadvantage and died off. In many places, the land was laid bare. Flooding, dust storms, and erosion followed. Thus livestock overgrazing constituted a powerful agent of change that has forever altered the Great Basin ecosystem.

At this point, even if the land were vacated, the Great Basin ecosystem could not return to its presettlement condition. Consequently, our best and only course of action is to assess the condition of the system at present and guide it to a new position of health and stability. This new position will not, and cannot, be like the presettlement condition, but through care and nurturing, it can be one of well-being and soundness.

Our Pioneer Heritage

Our pioneer forefathers have set a precedent for just such a course of action. When they began to recognize that some of their activities had damaged the environment, through their church and government they took steps to mend the damage. Alexander notes that around the turn of the century Church leaders began to reemphasize the teachings of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young regarding environmental stewardship and accountability. For example, in 1902, Joseph F. Smith directed a special priesthood meeting discussing environmental problems. The brethren voted to "support withdrawal from the market all public lands above Utah cities in order to protect them from damage."⁶² A year later, President Smith pled for the brethren to take steps to preserve and restore forest lands and to even consider turning some of their farm acreage into forest.⁶³

Around the same time, the government, by then an entity separate from the Church but comprised largely of Church members, also began work to protect and restore the environment. For example, in 1904 courts issued an injunction prohibiting smelters from processing ore containing more than 10 percent sulphur and from releasing any arsenic into the air.⁶⁴ In 1905, the state legislature established a conservation commission to study environmental damage.⁶⁵ By 1910, the Forest Service was operating in Utah. W. Jones Bowen, one of the early forest rangers to work in the state, noted that at the time the Uintah National Forest was created, most of the commercial timber in the Utah Valley drainage had been logged out, but “men of vision” set to work planting and reforesting much of the area.⁶⁶ Further, these early foresters took immediate steps to restrict the grazing on the native forests by holding the vast herds of sheep and cattle off the land until the vegetation could grow and mature.

Representing his constituency, Utah’s Senator Reed Smoot became known as a “business-minded conservationist” as he promoted federal legislation to regulate land use and protect watersheds.⁶⁷ The soil conservation service also began work in the state, taking steps to educate the public on how to combat soil erosion. For example, in the Tooele Valley, workers designated an overgrazed, barren, sterile dust bowl as a demonstration plot. Among other things, they reseeded the area, applied various mechanical treatments, and protected it from overgrazing, trampling, and fire. By 1938 the demonstration area supported vegetation once again, and the terrible livestock-killing dust storms that plagued the region ceased.⁶⁸

These conservation efforts, and many others like them, demonstrate that regardless of what led to the early settlers’ involvement in activities that harmed the environment, they and subsequent generations worked to repair the damage, once they recognized the need. Many volunteered to sacrifice some opportunities for wealth in order to conserve resources. Those without such a conscience were forced to change behavior through laws enacted by a government that then valued conservation. The results of the environmental efforts can be illustrated by Cottam’s observation made in the late 1940s about the success of earlier Forest Service work:

I just can’t believe how these ranges have improved. The aspens are reproducing again, the grasses are lush and full and up to a horse’s belly. Go to Mt. Nebo or the Fish Lake area, for instance, where they had been stripped of cover, they are now lush with growth again. I’ve known these mountains for many decades. But they are not the same mountains now. The Forest Service has done a magnificent job. And I think the same recovery job could be done with other aspects of our environmental problem, given the same incentive, public support and governmental persistence.⁶⁹

Conclusion

In “The Tragedy of the Commons,” Garrett Hardin, an ecologist, gives insights to some environmental principles that apply to the pioneer settlement and colonization of the Salt Lake Valley and neighboring territories. Ecologists define a “commons” as a basic resource or set of resources that a community shares. Hardin notes that communities typically but regrettably view commons as inexhaustible sources of sustenance and wealth that can be exploited by anyone in any way they please. Unfortunately, such a mentality usually leads to environmental tragedy as too few people take responsibility to manage and conserve the commons. Unabated exploitation coupled with personal disregard promotes degradation and eventual destruction of resources. Consequently, the standard of living is lowered for the entire community.⁷⁰

Elements of Hardin’s tragedy of the commons can be seen in the pioneers’ activities. The vast untrammelled wilderness of the Great Basin constituted the pioneer commons. As the pioneer Saints relied on their commons first for subsistence and then for wealth, these resources were exploited. The pioneers cultivated more land and increased herd sizes. Consequently, the settlers prospered for a time, but the commons starved.

Hardin suggests that there are two means of averting and repairing the tragedy of the commons, one technical and the other moral.⁷¹ Solving the commons problem by technical means requires only a change in management tools or practices. Technical solutions work well to repair environmental damage resulting from ignorance. Moral solutions are more difficult to enact because they require a change of values and ethics in people. Moral solutions work well to avert and repair environmental damage caused by greed and disobedience. For example, as long as people value wealth and prosperity more than the environment, they will continue to exploit the commons and degrade the ecosystem.

The settlers around the turn of the twentieth century sought both technical and moral avenues of averting and repairing environmental harm. Their goal was to restore the ecosystem to a condition of health.

For technical solutions, they employed conservation practices to restore forests and rangelands. For moral solutions, men such as Orson Hyde and Joseph F. Smith recognized the danger of valuing wealth more than the environment in early settlement times and sought to change the values and beliefs of their contemporaries. They reminded the Saints of their God-given stewardship over the land and of the importance of conserving resources for the future. Their efforts, combined with government intervention, fostered a renewed appreciation and respect for the environment and left those who have followed a lesson and a legacy concerning environmental responsibility.

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Luis Silva

Patrick Madden

Luis Silva lived in a cinder-block and whitewash government-housing shack up on the mesa near the outskirts of Durazno, Uruguay. From his doorway, looking west, you could look down into a vast pale-green horse pasture and further, kilometers away, a line of towering eucalyptus trees from the era of the Spanish colonizers, who set out to bring some variety and shade to the monotonous landscape. There was a puddle far away to the north, near the line of trees, that reflected the sunlight in silver flashes. Sometimes in the late morning, the cloud cover would break up and let the sunlight shine down on the shadowy field in shafts of moving beams. Turn around, and you faced a seemingly endless string of houses like Luis's, squat and white, rows and rows of the same. For variation, some had plaques of dedication to the Virgin nailed to the walls, and others had flower pots adorning their windows. Each house bore a simple black identification number just to the right of the door, a step forward for a town whose inhabitants rarely received mail and whose addresses, as a result, were generally *s/n: sin numero*.

Around in back of every home was a cemented-stone washbasin with a built-in scrubboard, and in the winter in every yard, you'd find lines and lines of clothes hanging between bamboo sticks and blowing in the chilling breeze. The clothes took their time drying then, and for all the effort the women gave to clean them, they just gathered dirt and dust from every passing horse cart or from the children playing and kicking the earth around so that it almost wasn't worth it to wash. I suspect that is why some didn't.

During the day, the complex was filled with the common sounds of small children laughing and dogs barking. The old women sat in the shade or in the sun, depending on the season, and shared stories with their neighbors. The unemployed men sat shirtless, sharing their *mate* gourds, sipping the addictive, teeth-rotting tea through ornate metal straws. Down in the pasture, when the horses were gone or could be chased away, the young men played soccer passionately until dark and then disappeared into the corner *boliche* to watch soccer on television and drink wine. Luis never played with them. He spent his days working, and come night time, he was home with his family and sometimes with us.

From far away, you might look up and see the clothes flapping like flags over the small, squarish dwellings and think of an army encampment

overlooking a great battlefield below. And in the evenings, when the dust in the air was just right, you might see brilliant purple-and-orange sunsets that lingered past dark, conjuring images of *Fantasia's* rendition of "Night on Bald Mountain" so that you could almost hear the music and feel the strife.

Luis lived in *vivienda* 24 with his wife and her children, seven in all, including the youngest three, Laurita and the twins, who were his own. We met with them just inside the door in the kitchen, and they all slept somehow on a couple of dilapidated beds with straw-filled mattresses and threadbare sheets behind a homemade curtain that hung in place of a wall or a door. They pulled chairs from all parts inside and out and offered us soft drinks and freshly baked sweet rolls and cookies. We accepted their gifts with reverent humility, and Laurita confided that she liked having us around because they never drank soda otherwise. The gas stove in the corner served to heat corn cakes and sometimes cocoa. And on days when it was especially cold, they left it open, baking nothing, to heat the house.

Luis was a handsome man in his early thirties with stark features and a body formed by years of working in the fields. He had olive skin pulled taut over his cheeks and jaw and a wave of black hair that, along with his red Members Only jacket, made him look like Thriller-era Michael Jackson if you saw him from a distance or you squinted your eyes. His wife, Susana, a member of our church, was plump and quite a bit older and wasn't actually his wife. She had been married before to a cruel, irresponsible man, who would not grant her a divorce. So she and Luis lived happily committed to one another and with three children common to both of them but without the papers. Those three children were the ones we saw the most—tiny frail bodies and big brown eyes and olive skin like their father's, pocked by the normal scrapes and bruises common to active youth. When we visited, they sat patiently two at a time on their father's lap and stared with wide-eyed curiosity as we spoke.

Luis had studied with the Jehovah's Witnesses, and his questions always had a *Testigo* slant but without the vindictive, accusatory attitude others often communicated to us. He, like they, wanted to know about blood transfusions and holidays and the identity of Jehovah. But when we told him, he didn't fight. He showed us the passages he wondered about or that contradicted what we had said. In that way, we saw scriptures we couldn't explain away and peripherally learned about the sons of God who lay with the lovely daughters of men and produced a race of giants. For everything we were supposed to teach him, Luis flipped nimbly through his scriptures and taught us something back. We spent long hours immersed in an intellectual and spiritual excitement of discovery so thick that the children, oblivious to the profound searching their father was doing, noticed and laughed giddily at our conversation. I laughed with them in my heart. After weeks of long

meetings, contradictions, arguments, and epiphanies, we got somewhere with Luis the Jehovah's Witnesses never did. He wanted to be baptized.

Now there was a problem. The law of chastity requires that a man and woman be legally married as a precursor to having children. If that's not possible, then at least they should be married after the children come but always before baptism. In general, I agree with the commandment, but I felt Luis merited an exception. The Silvas were already soured on the idea of seeking out the derelict ex-husband and convincing him to grant a divorce, but we tried again anyway. It took several weeks to find him, chasing from one address to the next and talking with his drunk friends. When we finally talked to him, he seemed to take pleasure in causing such a problem. He liked the attention he was getting, and though we never fully explained why Susana needed the divorce, he could tell it was important. That was enough to make him plant his feet firmly and deny us. So it seemed as if Luis would have to wait until the man died or the divorce laws changed before he got baptized. But we had a very compelling reason to speed up the process: Luis was dying of cancer.

Doctors in Uruguay have strange customs, and they never actually told Luis what was wrong with him. But he must have suspected, with his frequent visits to the hospital in Montevideo and the constant tests, that he was very sick and probably dying. Despite all the pain he must have suffered, he bore it remarkably well. Sometimes he winced for no apparent reason, and then his eyes radiated a wisdom and resignation I have seldom seen. Although Luis didn't know the name of his disease, we, and seemingly all the neighbors, did. We never got much in the way of details about his cancer, but we heard about it often enough from shifty-eyed informers speaking in hushed whispers and with a mock-concerned tone that suggested more interest in gossip than sympathy.

We researched frantically to find a way around the law of chastity stipulation, but there seemed to be no allowance for exceptions. We called the mission president and asked for a special dispensation because of the extreme circumstances, and he was open to the idea, but Luis was unexpectedly in the hospital on the day of his scheduled interview. It was very doubtful that he would be baptized without getting married. His visits to the hospital became more frequent, and we often found him too sick to receive visitors in the evenings.

In the midst of all the prayers and plans and preparations, I was transferred cross-country to Carmelo. Though I said my goodbyes and kept a strong hope in my heart, I didn't hear anything more about Luis Silva until a year and a half later when I visited Durazno one last time. I rode a borrowed bicycle out of town up the familiar path to the mesa and arrived unexpected at the bishop's house. There I was greeted with surprised

cheers of “Ma-then!” and the expected barrage of questions. We sat down in the shade of the front bushes with glasses of Coke to catch up on each other’s lives and talk with the neighborhood kids. Eventually the giddiness and small talk subsided, and I asked the bishop, “Whatever happened with Luis Silva? Did he ever get baptized?”

He glanced at his wife, then looked at me compassionately and said, “They never got married, but the mission president had an interview with him and decided to let him be baptized. He was baptized last May.”

“That’s great,” I responded. “And how’s he doing?”

The bishop paused, and I suddenly understood his tender look of pity. “He died a few weeks later,” he explained. Then, trying to break the somber hush, “Not a bad time to die, if you think about it.” He laughed uneasily, and I forced a smile.

“Yeah,” I said quietly, looking at the dirt. “Not a bad time to die.”

As I rode away from the *viviendas*, I stopped where the dirt path to Luis’s home turned to pavement and the road downtown. I looked back to see the silhouettes of the government houses against a backdrop of swirling purple and gray on flames of red-and-orange sky, and I squinted to change my focus from the people and the huts to the trees behind and then to the heavens.

Until then, I had lived a life sheltered from the pain of proximate death. My progenitors were not long-lived, and my friends have been fortunate. Two of my grandparents died before I had memory. My grandmother, my mother’s mother, died when I was a small boy, and though I remember crying for her, I cannot remember any of the pain. Today I see the events in my memory as an observer: there is a small boy crying in his mother’s lap on the way to a nursing home or a funeral parlor. But I can’t get back inside the small boy’s head or feel my feelings then. The last to go was my father’s father, but Alzheimer’s disease killed him gradually and, long before he finally died, left his aged body empty of the mind that had been my grandfather. When he died, he was far away, and we never thought much more of his passing than “His suffering is finally over.”

Before Luis Silva died, it had been easy to accept, even to go along with and say the standard condolences for lost loved ones in the Church. People said, “He’s been called to work on the other side,” and I imagined that it might be comforting to think of God needing people we loved more than we needed them. Missionaries joked that the best time to die would be right after baptism, and we believed it, in theory. But like so many things, the theory misses out on emotion. When it came time to check my beliefs against the pain of loss, I was confused and angry, wanting Luis back for his sake and his family’s and for my own sake too, I guess.

I rode away from the bishop's house that day profoundly disturbed by the purposeful detachment we permit ourselves in order to not be bothered by our mortality or the things we don't understand. It seems that we might never make it unless we ignore the parts that don't fit our faith or our worldview, but that day, sad at the loss of my friend, I didn't want to detach. I stayed close. I learned that I don't like everything that goes on here and that I can still believe in God without bowing to the clichés of others who believe in him. Neil Peart made the observation, playing on words and astronomy, that "gravity and distance" not only change the color of light, but also "change the color of right." In my mind, I took his metaphor further. Gravity and distance change our understanding and work our momentary loss of faith into a new comprehension.

I have a videotape of Durazno that I watch every now and then. Somewhere in the middle of it, the picture fades into a bright-red curtain backdrop against a whitewashed cinder-block wall. Luis and his wife are smiling, and Laurita and the twins are swaying shyly in front of them, hands clasped together, with nervous giggles and angel smiles. The children are dressed in sweaters and fresh from the bath. Laurita's teddy bear is named Elder Madden, she says. Elder Kalu is filming, and I'm behind the family in a heavy, black overcoat and a maroon checked scarf. It's cold, even inside. I'm directing and encouraging, hoping for an enduring memory captured on tape. They present themselves to the camera, to the future Elder Madden and his family. A white plastic clock dodges in and out of the scene from behind my head. It's 9:10. They're uncomfortable talking into the void, to an unsure future, and to a person who is, at the moment, standing behind them. "I'm thankful for the clarity of your answers," says Luis. I can barely hear him. He had just returned from a trip to see the doctors in Montevideo. He whispers, "Because I could tell you all my uncertainties and you've answered me very well. I know that we're on the correct path."

They want Gabriela to sing her favorite hymn, but she's too shy. "*Dále, Gabriela, you know, 'Oh, está todo bien.'*" The rest of us end up singing to coax her, and Elder Kalu's melodious voice shines from behind the camera lens, but Gabriela just smiles and turns to look at her father. The camera fades then. I don't know if it's only in my mind, but I think I can hear Luis's voice, slight and wispy but loud enough under the others. I wonder if he's thinking of the rest of the song when the camera cuts out and I hear him singing, "All is well, all is well."

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Past and Present Tenses

(for J., after thirty years)

The moon's weathered hieroglyphs enlarge
with sunset as the speaker drones on.

The outdoor graduation of our youngest,
and the senses reach outward and back . . .

Across the stadium, spring leaves turn
and drop and sprout green again;
that red dress I wore against Wasatch peaks
my first year at college flares
in trees toward the field,
and the old blue convertible of our first
date streaks on a downhill road.

The moment—gold/green caps
tossed high, school emblem lit
on the slope—moves beyond the tentative
to what we think of as set
in the past. Those unmapped landscapes
evolve without our knowing,

while the mind moves
and removes to another section.
Beside me you are gazing above the stands
where seniors already move on
to their graduate lives,
the scattered salt of stars waiting
for floodlights to dim.

—Dixie Partridge

In Defense of Capitalism: Church Leaders on Property, Wealth, and the Economic Order

Phillip J. Bryson

Church leaders have consistently presented a positive view of capitalism and a free market system, while recognizing that the system is vulnerable to greed and oppression by the wicked.

Capitalism, a system of free markets, free enterprise, and private control of property, is sometimes given credit only for being open to abuse. As it allows freedom of choice and action, it admits greed and oppression as well. Many people, including members of the Church, have mixed feelings about capitalism, their perception of abuses of the system coloring their view of the system itself. Some conclude, for example, that careers in business necessarily imply materialistic values and a propensity for unethical decisions and immoral actions.¹

An antimarket viewpoint is expressed by a number of LDS scholars who find in the capitalist system too little of the integrity and virtue that ideally should characterize the actions of those engaged in commercial pursuits.² Moreover, while suggesting that we strive to implement the United Order,³ which founds economic activity on higher, divinely revealed principles, they compare that conceptually perfect system with the capitalist system actually experienced today.⁴ Not surprisingly, in a comparison of the ideal with the real, capitalism is found wanting. Of course, there are problems with the market system. But in trying to teach the Saints that greed is evil, some teach that capitalism is evil as well. When scholars find fault with capitalism, their readers may be led to believe that the market system itself is fundamentally flawed.

Many LDS scholars, including myself, do not subscribe to anticapitalist beliefs.⁵ An alternative view of the nature of the market, or free enterprise, system is that free enterprise requires freedom, which can be misused or abused. Injustice and unethical behavior, which represent such abuse, should be condemned. However, it is, according to this view, inappropriate to equate unethical or immoral behavior with capitalism, free enterprise, or business. Let us, instead, call this behavior what it plainly is—sin. The inequalities of income distribution, the environmental effects attributed to “market failure,” and the nature and persistence of vice markets need not

produce abhorrence for markets per se. A market is really just a social arrangement or institution enabling people to buy and sell products and services according to free choice. Markets are morally neutral. The market mechanism is merely the freedom to buy and sell.

Markets are flexible and spontaneous. They provide powerful incentives to be creative and industrious. They produce new jobs and new products, promote the satisfaction of work, and permit more abundant consumption, saving, and investment for society as a whole. Since markets are merely the activities and efforts of individuals, they do not preclude regulation. Even in a free market, regulatory efforts and effective institutional arrangements can, within bounds, redistribute incomes, subsidize underprivileged individuals and groups, restrict vice markets, protect the environment, and so on. As Adam Smith observed, the market system assures that all members of society will ultimately be better off, even if, within the framework of law and competition, individuals generally pursue only their personal interests.⁶ Those of us who have this positive view of capitalism even dare to hope that free markets will make the world's peoples healthier, better educated, and more prosperous until a millennial order is ushered in by the Redeemer of the world.

In this article, I hope to show that leaders of the Church in our dispensation of the gospel support capitalism as the best economic system now available for the good of free men. After reviewing their written statements on private property, money and wealth, socialism, economic agency, capital, and the United States Constitution,⁷ I conclude that the prophets were prepared to condemn the capitalistic sinner but not the capitalist system; they found much to be praised in the market system. These views can be of assistance in our formulation of social viewpoints for today's economy.

Private Property

Private property—material goods or ideas belonging to an individual or a nongovernment group⁸—is fundamental to capitalism. One prominent LDS scholar, Hugh Nibley, takes an essentially negative view of private property, claiming that it stands in the way of a perfect, celestial society.⁹ Indeed, many Latter-day Saints wonder about the value of a system of private ownership. Support for such concerns seems to come from Acts 4:32, which reports that the earliest disciples of Jesus “were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.”

The first prophet of the modern dispensation to address the concept of common property was Joseph Smith, who wrote, “I answered the questions which were frequently asked me, while on my last journey from Kirtland to Missouri, as printed in the Elders' Journal, Vol. 1, Number 2, pages 28

and 29, as follows. . . . ‘Do the Mormons believe in having all things in common?’ No.”¹⁰ A partial elaboration of “common stock principles” followed later when the Prophet suggested “that there be no organization of large bodies upon common stock principles, in property, or of large companies of firms, until the Lord shall signify it in a proper manner, as it opens such a dreadful field for the avaricious, the indolent, and the corrupt hearted to prey upon the innocent and virtuous, and honest.”¹¹

One might argue that at this point the potential for abuses and free-riding was strong and that the Lord had not as yet announced the inauguration of the United Order. But Joseph’s statements appear to indicate that “having all things in common” was not the Lord’s plan. This expression may serve as a shorthand way of describing how none of the early Saints claimed that “ought of the things *which he possessed* was his own” (Acts 4:32; italics added). The Lord’s plan for this era actually called for a division of all the consecrated assets into private stewardships, with the Lord owning what stewards possessed. Brigham Young, who was instructed by Joseph, taught that the “true principle” was to place

emphatically everything we possessed upon the altar for the use and benefit of the Kingdom of God, and men shall be as stewards over that which they possess, *not that everything shall be common or that all men shall be made equal in all things*, for to one is given one talent, to another two, and to another five, according to their capacity.¹²

In our time, Harold B. Lee gave a more modern flavor to some implications of the United Order that seemed to be too little understood. He taught that “the United Order will not be a socialistic or communistic setup; it will be something distinctive, and yet it will be more capitalistic in its nature than either socialism or communism, in that private ownership and individual responsibility will be maintained.”¹³ Undoubtedly, conditions will be different in an eternal world in which time and other sources of desirable goods are unlimited. But in a mortal world in which humans are to learn and operate within the sphere in which they have been placed, private stewardships are part of the fabric of this creation and its purposes.

According to Brigham Young, private property plays a positive role in the plan of happiness for mortals:

Efforts to accumulate property in the correct channel are far from being an injury to any community; on the contrary they are highly beneficial, provided individuals, with all that they have, always hold themselves in readiness to advance the interests of the Kingdom of God on the earth. Let every man and woman be industrious, prudent, and economical in their acts and feelings, and while gathering to themselves, let each one strive to identify his or her interests with the interests of this community, with those of their neighbor and neighborhood, let them seek their happiness and welfare in that of all, and we will be blessed and prospered.¹⁴

John Taylor rejected Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's challenge that property is theft. To President Taylor, writing in 1852, private ownership was to be encouraged, and thus public confiscation of individual property without a compelling public interest was tantamount to theft. He exclaimed that "to level the world . . . to say the least, is a species of robbery; to some it may appear an honorable one, but, nevertheless, it is robbery. What right has any private man to take by force the property of another?"¹⁵

In a statement on the importance of loving one's neighbors, Joseph F. Smith implied that private property is inviolable. If you love your neighbor, he averred, and see his property in danger of injury, you should "protect his property as you would your own, as far as it lies in your power."¹⁶

Heber J. Grant insisted that "every faithful Latter-day Saint believes, beyond a shadow of doubt, that to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life are inherent rights of which he should never be deprived."¹⁷ Commenting on Doctrine and Covenants 134:2,¹⁸ he observed that "these principles are fundamental to our belief, fundamental to our protection. And in the providences of the Lord, the safeguards which have been incorporated into the basic structure of this nation are the guarantee of all men who dwell here against the abuses and tyrannies and usurpations of times past."¹⁹

David O. McKay spoke out even more boldly on the principle of private property, suggesting that faithful Saints should actually "*preach* that the plan involves the belief that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man [D&C 134:1]. Man was not born for the benefit of the state. Preach ' . . . that no government can exist in peace,' and I quote from the Doctrine and Covenants, 'except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the right and control of property, and the protection of life' (D&C 134:2)."²⁰

Ezra Taft Benson—who while a member of the Quorum of the Twelve served in Dwight D. Eisenhower's cabinet with the approval of President McKay—expressed astonishment that people could consider the abolition of property and property rights once they understood the gospel and principles of liberty:

No property rights! No contractual relationships to buy and sell, since title to possessions of goods could not be granted. No property rights! No recognition of divine law that prohibits man from stealing and coveting others' possessions (see Exodus 20:15, 17). One cannot steal that which belongs to everyone, nor can he covet that which belongs to everyone, nor can he covet that which is not another's! No property rights! No possibility of the sanctity of one's own home and the joy that comes from creation, production, and ownership. . . . Charity, that greatest of godly virtues, would never be possible without property rights, for one cannot give what one does not own.²¹

For some time, the United States government has been striving to obtain global recognition of intellectual property rights. Even before the recognition of intellectual property rights, President Benson called our attention to the fact that “a free-market philosophy recognizes property rights as sacred” and that “the individual is entitled to ownership of goods and property that he has earned.” He also reminded us that James Madison long ago “recognized that property consisted not only of man’s external goods—his land, merchandise, or money—but, most sacredly, he had title also to his thoughts, opinions, and conscience.”²²

Money and Wealth

Money is the means by which societies value property and the medium by which it is exchanged. Heber J. Grant observed that “money is the life blood of a nation. It is exactly like the blood in our bodies; it is the circulating medium.”²³ He also taught that money can be either a blessing or a curse:

Dollars and cents, my friends, are not blessings from God, only so far as we are blessed with intelligence, with wisdom and with the Spirit of God to use them in a wise and proper manner, and to advance God’s kingdom on the earth. If we are blessed with an abundance of this world’s goods and it shall blind our eyes, . . . then instead of being a blessing from God it is a blessing from the opposite direction.²⁴

Nibley takes the position that money is a useful human invention but one that engenders greed, “creates values that do not exist,”²⁵ imposes a “growing burden of evil . . . on the human race,”²⁶ and in fact is itself “the root of all evil.”²⁷ He sees “the law of the marketplace [as] that of an expansive, acquisitive, brittle, untrustworthy, predatory society.”²⁸ This antimarket position is more extreme than the standard liberal viewpoint, which would view excessive corporate profits and an inequitable distribution of income as wrong and unjust but which would refuse to condemn money itself as an evil. Most people agree that it is the abuse of money or the love of money that is problematic, making wealth a particular challenge to the rich trying to enter heaven. As Elder Joe J. Christensen taught in the April 1999 general conference, “Money in and of itself is not an evil, . . . it is the *love* of money that is the root of all evil (1 Tim. 6:10). There are some of the wealthy who deal with their prosperity very well using their resources to bless others and build the kingdom. For many, however, wealth presents major difficulties.”²⁹

The leaders of the Church have condemned neither money nor wealth outright. The Prophet Joseph emphasized that the use of wealth was most pleasing when it helped to establish and build the kingdom of God on earth. He called the attention of the Saints to the fact that he and his fellow workers had received commandments from God to go forth and preach the

gospel but also “to build a house for the Lord, and prepare for the gathering of the Saints.”³⁰ Land had to be purchased to accommodate the arrival of the Saints—first at Kirtland and later at Nauvoo. He called on members of the Church abroad with resources

to come with their money, take these contracts, relieve their brethren from the pecuniary embarrassments under which they now labor, and procure for themselves a peaceable place of rest among us. This place must and will be built up, and every brother that will take hold and help secure and discharge those contracts that have been made, shall be rich.³¹

Brigham Young renewed that challenge to put all resources to work and thereby to build the kingdom:

Then do not hoard up your gold . . . but put out every dollar to usury. Instead of your soul being bound up in your . . . property, put it all where it should be placed for the benefit of the Kingdom of God on earth and for his glory.

A man has no right with property . . . if he does not want to use it; he ought to possess no more than he can put to usury, and cause to do good to himself and his fellow man. . . . Never hide up anything in a napkin, but put it forth to bring an increase. . . . Go to with your might to put all your property to usury.³²

Whereas European leaders of Catholicism and Protestantism had railed for centuries against “usury,” or using money to make money as earned interest,³³ the pragmatism of early LDS Church leaders was noteworthy. Honest financial practice between parties with free negotiating power is perfectly acceptable in building the kingdom of God.

In a similar vein, Wilford Woodruff declared, “I do not find fault with a man getting rich, I find fault with our selling the kingdom of God, our birthright, selling the gospel and depriving ourselves of eternal life, for the sake of gratifying the lusts of the flesh, the pride of life and the fashions of the world; and setting our hearts upon these things.”³⁴ He repeated the theme that riches might damn a person: “Riches are dangerous unless we can use them so as not to destroy us; if we cannot use them to the glory of God and for the building up of his kingdom, we are better without them.”³⁵

Lorenzo Snow likewise encouraged a prudent use of wealth to those blessed with it, as Jacob 2:13–19 recommends:

Charity brings happiness. Men and women of wealth, use your riches to give employment to the laborer! Take the idle from the crowded centers of population and place them on the untilled areas that await the hand of industry. Unlock your vaults, unloose your purses, and embark in enterprises that will give work to the unemployed, and relieve the wretchedness that leads to the vice and crime which curse your great cities, and that poison the moral atmosphere around you. Make others happy, and you will be happy yourselves.³⁶

Harold B. Lee gave an interesting interpretation of Doctrine and Covenants 104:16 (“the poor shall be exalted, in that the rich are made low”): “The rich being made low isn’t communistic; it isn’t socialistic.” It is simply that those “who have leadership, who have skills, who have means, who are willing to contribute, can be put to work with the one who is in need.”³⁷ He believed the time for the exaltation of the poor had come. They would be exalted

or in other words stimulated to success and pride, and uplifted because the rich have been made low—or in other words, because the rich have been made humble and willing to give of their substance, their time, their talents, their wisdom, and their example that the poor might be thus guided and directed. I have seen teamwork and cooperation grow, and I have seen the priesthood take its place in blessing this church temporally and spiritually in a most glorious way.³⁸

Spencer W. Kimball spoke of “clean” money and of “compromise” money:

Clean money is that compensation received for a full day’s honest work. It is that reasonable pay for faithful service. It is that fair profit from the sale of goods, commodities, or service. It is that income received from transactions where all parties profit. . . .

Compromise money is filthy, graft money is unclean, profit and commissions on the sale of worthless goods, contaminated as is the money gained from other deceptions, excessive pricing, oppression to the poor, and compensation which is not fully earned. I feel strongly that men who accept wages or salary and do not give commensurate time, energy, devotion, and service are receiving money that is not clean. Certainly those who deal in the forbidden are recipients of filthy lucre.³⁹

Note that workers as well as corporations and capitalists can compromise themselves in the false pursuit and use of money.

President Benson allowed not only for the honest and upright use of capital but also for the notion of venture capital:

Profit is the reward for honest labor. It is the incentive that causes a man to risk his capital to build a business. If he cannot keep or invest that which he has earned, neither may he own, nor will he risk. Profit creates wealth; wealth creates more work opportunity; and more work opportunity creates greater wealth. None of this is possible without incentive.

There is another benefit to profit. It provides man with moral choices. With profit, man can choose to be greedy and selfish; he can invest and expand, thereby providing others with jobs; and he can be charitable. Charity is not charity unless it is voluntary. It cannot be voluntary if there is nothing to give.

Only saved profit, not government, creates more jobs. The only way government can create jobs is to take money from productive citizens in the form of taxes and transfer it to government programs. Without someone’s generating profit that can be taxed, government revenue is not possible.⁴⁰

In sum, money itself is not evil; it is a tool to be used to build the kingdom, to receive reward for honest labor, and to lift others.

Agency—Fault the Sinner Not the System

In Marxian thought, capitalists or imperialists are fundamentally evil. They stand in the way of social justice and ruthlessly exploit the working class. But that which permits the expression of these vices is allegedly far more evil and detestable: the capitalist economic system. If the system were totally obliterated, its alienation and exploitation would disappear, and man would begin to heal. Under a new economic order, there would be no tendency for men to exploit other men; rather, men would work together to exploit nature for the benefit of mankind. The real evil, then, for Marxists, was the capitalist system itself.

The idea of the inherent evil of capitalism also affects many who have anticapitalist views. Presidents of the Church have not shared this perception. Being both realistic and theological men, the prophets have not overlooked the fact that capitalism provides necessary opportunities for unprincipled individuals to choose to take unjust advantage of others. They have frequently condemned such behavior. But economic sin is treated as an individual, not systemic, problem by the Presidents of the Church. Their response has not been that the capitalist system is evil but that those who take advantage of economic freedom to commit evil should be taught personal repentance.

In the premortal existence, Christ and Michael led the forces of the righteous in a conflict over whether there should be agency and human freedom or whether, since these values would also give rise to harmful choices and sin, there should be a system of enforced security. “If agency permits offense, eliminate agency” was the minority point of view. Karl Marx held that if freedom of enterprise establishes exploitation, one should eliminate the system and establish one that eliminates capitalists, capitalism, and private property in the means of production.⁴¹ Some people confuse this approach with that of the approach followed under the United Order, which does not call for the elimination of anyone, nor even necessarily of an economic system. The United Order could work, conceptually, within a capitalist system, were the practitioners spiritually prepared to apply true and virtuous principles.

Through its emphasis on agency and self-determination, the theology of the LDS Church supports “honest business,” according to Stephen D. Nadauld. These principles, he adds, “provide fertile conceptual soil for fostering business attitudes of free enterprise.”⁴² Several Presidents of the Church have elaborated on the theme that using money as a tool in the exchange of private property offers individuals the opportunity to exercise their agency.

Lorenzo Snow taught that we should change ourselves and voluntarily turn away from the sinful possibilities the economic system might offer, avoiding the worldly in business: “We must dedicate our time, talents, and ability. . . . In all our business occupations we must prove ourselves better than any other people, or we forfeit all. We must build ourselves up in the righteousness of heaven and plant in our hearts the righteousness of God.”⁴³

President Kimball, himself a businessman in his professional years, indicated that there were opportunities in all walks of life for dishonesty. Economists have recognized as well the omnipresence of “moral hazard,” the opportunistic actions that occur when behavior cannot effectively be monitored. “Shun dishonest business practices,” was the plea of President Kimball:

In every walk of life there are chances for the stories of dishonesty. Professional people are said to be charging prohibitive prices for service: “All that the law will allow.” Colored water sold as a costly prescription, a few cents’ worth of drugs for many dollars, poor material in the hidden places in building construction, improper billing, “cutting in” by clerks, so-called borrowing without consent by one entrusted with money . . . the workman who steals time, the employer who oppresses and takes advantage of his employees, the missionary who soldiers on the job, the speeder, the merchant selling inferior goods at marked-up prices, the constant close-out sales intended to misrepresent and deceive, the mark-up of prices in order to show remarkable sales values, the adjusted scales and measures, raising rents because of house shortage not because of increased costs of maintenance or interest rates.⁴⁴

Heber J. Grant, also a businessman by career, urged people in business to be “meticulously honest” and fair: “Good business is profitable to the buyer and the seller. . . . Perhaps the real test of one’s business would be if he can pray for guidance in developing it and ask the blessings of the Lord upon his completed service.”⁴⁵

Those who abhor markets tend also to find corporations immoral or evil. President Grant, however, revealed no such disrespect for or prejudice against corporations as such. In fact, in discussing personal finance, he identified himself as the president of a corporation.⁴⁶ Of corporate leaders, President Kimball said:

Business is bigger, industry more varied, and leaders are commanding more men—but even industrial giants have not learned much better to command themselves, and they still give way to temper, emotions, appetites, and passions. The same great human urges properly controlled and directed could make them world leaders and exalted men.⁴⁷

The desire to protect the domain of free agency against encroachments has lead several Church leaders to speak out strongly against government policies that would limit opportunities for individual economic choice or accountability. In the spirit of Adam Smith, many analysts have readily

found the existence of monopolies and their attendant abuses to be socially detrimental. Ezra Taft Benson drew the same conclusion on religious as well as social grounds. Again the problem lies in the establishment or misuse of a favored position, not in the economic system itself. President Benson was ahead of his time in favoring policies promoting competition rather than those establishing regulated monopolies. He decried ineffective and misguided regulatory policies and practices giving rise to regulated monopoly power that unduly eliminated free competition:

The governments—both state and federal—by making grants and giving exclusive licenses to railroads, banks, and public utilities, created artificial government monopolies. Free competition in these fields was prohibited by law. One had to possess a certificate of convenience and necessity to enter business and these were given to only a select few.

The solution, he felt, was in promoting fair and open access to markets, withdrawing all exclusive privileges, and allowing anyone who has the desire to enter into these fields of economic activity.⁴⁸ If all interested individuals and groups are allowed to choose to compete “and if the consuming public is left completely free to select those with whom they do business, the public will always be served by those who offer the best product at the cheapest price.” Moreover, he believed that “when the exclusive power to make or break business concerns rests in the hands of the consumers, we may rest assured there will be no monopolies. Public opinion can break a business overnight unless the government steps in and forcibly prohibits competition.”⁴⁹

Likewise, Howard W. Hunter’s view on the beneficial effects of free agency, responsibility, and free enterprise gives that system credit for fostering the freedom and prosperity enjoyed in the United States of America:

Under a free enterprise economy, little more than 6 percent of the population has produced nearly half of the world’s goods. We can today best wage a war on poverty by working on the roots of prosperity, not by sapping their vital strength. To sap the self-reliant spirit of enterprising independent souls in the development of a “Welfare State” can only bring “poverty equally divided.” When the responsibility for their own welfare is completely shifted from the shoulders of the individuals and families to the state, a lethal blow is struck both at the roots of prosperity and our moral growth.⁵⁰

Socialism

President Hunter recognized that a secular society offers only one alternative to a free market system—a system of strong central direction and control generally referred to as some form of socialism or communism. Such systems, however, unduly encroach on agency regarding the use

of private property if government is allowed to assume rights that belong to the individual and to private entities.

In the *History of the Church*, the Prophet Joseph Smith used the word *socialism* in reference to a lecture he attended on September 14, 1843, just eleven years after the term *socialist* was coined.⁵¹ He writes, “I attended a second lecture on Socialism, by Mr. Finch; and after he got through, I made a few remarks, alluding to Sidney Rigdon and Alexander Campbell getting up a community at Kirtland, and of the big fish there eating up all the little fish. I said I did not believe the doctrine.”⁵² At that point, the Prophet turned the time over to Elder John Taylor, who “replied to the lecture at some length.”⁵³

The writings of John Taylor make it apparent that he was well informed on matters of this new philosophy. He saw the secular communist and communitarian movements as a union of individuals striving for a new order but often doing so on mistaken principles contrary to those of revealed religion:

Another principle has many advocates on the Continent of Europe at the present time; a principle of Socialism. . . . The leading object of many of these people is to have a community of goods and property. Some of them discard Christianity altogether. . . . [I]f skepticism is to be the basis of the happiness of man, we shall be in a poor situation to improve the world. It is practical infidelity that has placed the world in its present position.⁵⁴

Elder Taylor also remarked on the inability of these movements to improve society without the truly unifying powers of heaven:

As regards Communism, in the abstract, or on the voluntary principle . . . pick out a number of men in Paris, London, Berlin, or any other city, associated with all the evils and corruptions of those cities, and organize them into a community. Will the mere removal of them from one place to another make them better? Certainly not. If they were corrupt before, they will be after their removal; and if they were unhappy before, they will be after. This temporary change will not make a difference; for men in possession of different religious, and political, and moral views, never can be united in harmony.⁵⁵

If one had the impression that early Church leaders, spiritually attached to the United Order, had a natural feeling of kinship to other kinds of socialist principles, it would be necessary to read only these few lines of Elder Taylor’s writings to see why this was not the case. He felt, as did all the prophets who followed him, that socialist systems uniformly lack the characteristics that would have made them functional, let alone ideal or utopian.

Not many years after the establishment of Marxist-Leninist socialism⁵⁶ in the Soviet Union, leaders of the Church began to comment on communism. None of their statements was positive. To those who might have wondered if communism or other related “isms” might be construed

as preparatory to the United Order, John A. Widstoe made an unequivocal reply:

An emphatic “No!” is the answer to the question. Untruth is never a preparation for truth. Modern communism, fascism, nazism, socialism, and other related systems, are all the same in essential theory. They oppose religion, except as they themselves claim to be revelations, and they reject Christian morality. They prohibit free speech and action; eliminate private ownership and initiative; hold without exception the state above the individual; regiment the people; allow the strong to dominate the weak; they take government out of the hands of the governed, and place it in the hands of a self-appointed, selfish, self-styled, super-group, and they culminate in dictatorships. The free agent has no place in their systems. Their claim that they believe in human equality, as shown by their tyrannical behavior, is false. Force and terrorism are their weapons. All that makes for human security and happiness is destroyed.⁵⁷

David O. McKay also had very strong feelings against communism:

Communism is antagonistic to the American way of life. Its avowed purpose is to destroy belief in God and free enterprise. . . . The fostering of full economic freedom lies at the base of our liberties. Only in perpetuating economic freedom can our social, political, and religious liberties be preserved.⁵⁸

Who is this man [referring to the premier of Soviet Russia] who presumes to tell the United Nations what to do? He is a man who rejects the divinity of Jesus Christ and denies the existence of God, who is imbued with the false philosophy of Karl Marx, whose aim in life was “to dethrone God and destroy capitalism.”⁵⁹

In an address at Brigham Young University and again—at the request of the Brethren—in the April 1966 conference, Marion G. Romney gave an exceptional address in which he repudiated socialism and sharply contrasted it with the United Order. He noted that socialism is based on “the wisdom of men,” but the United Order is founded on belief in God as the Lord of the earth; “socialism is implemented by external force,” but the United Order relies on “the voluntary free-will actions of men”; “the United Order is operated upon the principle of private ownership and individual management . . . while socialism deprives [men] of it”; “the United Order is nonpolitical,” but socialism, being political, is “exposed to, and riddled by,” corruption; and finally, unlike the undergirdings of a socialist system, “a righteous people is a prerequisite to the United Order.”⁶⁰

Organized Labor

Church leaders have also warned about another possible encroachment upon agency and the use of private property—excesses on the part of organized labor. Early in the twentieth century, Joseph F. Smith argued for recognizing that “there is a limit to the pressure which capital can endure

by the demands made upon it.” He decried “arbitrary demands which labor unions are now making in many cases upon their employers.”⁶¹

Church Presidents have admonished fair play in the struggle between capital and labor, have enjoined respect for the dignity of the laborer, have pled for the freedom of the laborer against encroachments by labor unions, and have warned against abuses in labor’s rightful efforts to secure just outcomes for workers. For example, President Smith worried about labor’s demands for recognition and wrote that “if recognition means the exclusive right of any class of men to gain a livelihood by their work, then recognition should be persistently and forcefully resisted.” His view was that “while there is no reason why workmen should not join together for their own mutual protection and benefit, there is every reason why in so doing they should regard the rights of their fellows, be jealous of the protection of property, and eliminate from their methods of warfare, boycotts, sympathetic strikes, and the walking delegate.”⁶²

Strengths of a Capitalistic Economic System

The strengths of capitalism are to be seen in its preponderance of good fruits. President Benson attributed much of America’s success—our prosperity and freedom—to our economic system. “Past material advances,” he said, “have been the fruit of our freedom—our free-enterprise capitalistic system, our American way of life, our God-given freedom of choice.” He likewise believed that

progress of the future must stem from this same basic freedom. Because our forefathers—yours and mine—fought for the ideal of freedom; because our fathers preserved that ideal through the free competitive enterprise system under our God-given free agency; because they were willing to make religion the vital force of daily living, all of us have climbed through the years to new heights of well-being and inner strengths.⁶³

Just as President McKay often expressed an appreciation of the importance of the principle of agency and the good fruits it bore, President Benson also taught that

nothing is more to be prized, nor more sacred, than man’s free choice. Free choice is the essence of free enterprise. It recognizes that the common man will make choices in his own self interest. It allows a manufacturer to produce what he wants, how much, and to set his own price. It allows the buyer to decide if he wants a certain product at the price established. It preserves the right to work when and where we choose.

In his first inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson said that the sum of good government shall leave citizens “free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.”⁶⁴

President Benson deprecated the tendency of some individuals to make reference “continually to weaknesses of the private-enterprise system without any effort to point out its virtues and the comparative fruits of this and other systems.”⁶⁵ In expressing one such virtue, namely reducing unemployment, he observed:

If the government were genuinely concerned about full employment and real prosperity, it could do much in bringing it about. It could support the proven and successful free-market system, the law of supply and demand, where the buying public, not the government, is the deciding factor in what shall be produced and marketed, including energy products. The bureaucrats ignore the lessons of American history that *freedom works and that the ability of individuals to come to mutually beneficial agreements is the very essence of a free society.*⁶⁶

Conclusion

Capitalism has been deprecated as a social system, and negative outcomes have been attributed to its operation. Anticapitalism has even been viewed as a gospel-mandated intellectual position, since members of the Church are keenly aware of the more sublime United Order. But to compare real-world, warted capitalism (as opposed to the conceptual or theoretical model of capitalism) to a theoretical, scriptural United Order (as opposed to the actual model experienced by the Latter-day Saints) may have the power to distort the preferences of the unwary.

As has been demonstrated above, the prophets have been strongly inclined to praise the fundamental elements of the market system—freedom of choice and action, private ownership of property, incentives for investment and productive effort, and so on. A great advantage of capitalism for this precelestial world is that it can work successfully with imperfect people. It can work especially well in peacetime among people of order and law. It provides incentives that are wanting in social experiments that hope to avoid primary reliance on markets. It does not abrogate the possibility of regulatory constraints on corporate activities; even better, it allows for policies that stimulate competitive corporate performance. Historically, no other system has provided the freedom and encouragement that has sometimes stimulated phenomenal productive creativity in modern capitalism.

Consecration is of a higher order. But its implementation on a large scale would require sanctified, service-oriented people. It may be possible for consecration to succeed, under special conditions or in specific regions dominated by market institutions, for the limited purposes of teaching and conditioning inhabitants of goodwill to appreciate communitarian social arrangements. But it does not appear likely that socialist or other

experimental forms of organization can succeed on a mass, secular scale, after the many, many failures of such experiments on several continents over the past two centuries.

While capitalism is the best system available to us today, its risks and weaknesses are generally apparent.⁶⁷ All of us would join free-market critics in their condemnation of greedy commercialism or the irrational pursuit of industrialism without regard to ecological costs or social consequences. At the same time, the market system has brought Western economies unparalleled prosperity and is bringing other countries out of poverty. It also provides an environment in which Saints can live the gospel and apply the welfare system of the Church, gradually approaching the values of consecration.

In one respect, freedom, money, and capitalism are alike: they all offer opportunities for good and evil, for use and abuse. Certainly, to do away with any or all of these elements of capitalism would eliminate abuses. Satan was prepared to eliminate all abuses by eliminating agency altogether; without that factor, there would also be no capitalism. While it is appropriate to defend the capitalist market system, it is also requisite to heed the plea of Church leaders, who remind the Saints to use their agency to make markets moral and to help adjust for inequalities in ways that harm neither the vulnerable nor the powerful. Elder Christensen has said, “I am confident that we will literally be called upon to make an accounting before God concerning how we have used [our resources] to bless lives and build the kingdom.”⁶⁸ One implication of this statement and others in this article is that honorable participation in the market can actually strengthen personal righteousness and promote the kingdom of God.

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1. For example, Stephen Nadauld teaches a course in BYU’s MBA program entitled “Spiritual Issues in Management.” Early in the course, students discuss whether the choice of a business degree and career inescapably implies selfishness and greed. A surprising number of students have serious concerns about this possibility, causing some of the faculty in the program to fear that talented, honest people are being discouraged from considering business careers.

2. Some of the negative outcomes attributed to free markets include dramatic disparities in the distribution of personal incomes; the production and distribution of “bads”—the commodities and services of vice markets that we avoid and teach our children to shun; markets that generate effluents, congestion, and other environmental hazards; and the unethical and immoral transactions of unscrupulous business people.

3. These individuals generally conceive of a scriptural, idealized United Order to compare with a capitalism very much of this world. L. Dwight Israelsen, “United Orders,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:1493–95.

4. See, for example, James W. Lucas and Warner P. Woodworth, *Working toward Zion* (Salt Lake City: Aspen, 1996).

5. See, for example, Stephen D. Nadauld, "Business: LDS Attitudes toward Business," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:239–40.

6. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R. H. Campbell, A. S. Skinner, and W. Todd, 2 vols. (1776; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 1:26–27.

7. Examining the full text of statements made by past Presidents of the Church on these topics confirms that information used in this paper has not been taken out of context and that the limited passages presented here do not distort more general positions. I have compiled a large collection of statements by each of the past Presidents (in possession of the author), which makes clear that all the prophets had very similar views of the social order. It exceeds the scope of this publication to include that full collection.

8. The ideals of private property extend to individuals and corporations.

9. Hugh Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, ed. Don E. Norton, vol. 9 of the *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1989), 396, 520.

10. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 119.

11. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 144.

12. Brigham Young, in an address before the School of the Prophets, *Journal History of the Church*, November 21, 1868, cited in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 25; italics added.

13. Harold B. Lee, *Stand Ye in Holy Places* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1974), 280–81.

14. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 3:330, June 8, 1856, cited in *Discourses of Brigham Young*, John A. Widtsoe, ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978), 302–3.

15. John Taylor, *The Government of God* (Liverpool: S. W. Richards, 1852), chapter 3. In the same passage, President Taylor elaborated as follows:

Wealth is generally the representation of labour, industry, and talent. If one man is industrious, enterprising, diligent, careful, and saves property, and his children follow in his steps, and accumulate wealth; and another man is careless, prodigal, and lazy, and his children inherit his poverty, I cannot conceive upon what principals of justice, the children of the idle and profligate have a right to put their hands into the pockets of those who are diligent and careful, and rob them of their purses. Let this principle exist, and all energy and enterprise would be crushed.

16. Naturally, President Smith would not have placed the inviolable rights of property above those, for example, of life and liberty. The statement cited appeared in F. W. Otterstrom, "A Journey to the South': Gems from President Smith's Talks to the People on the Way," *Improvement Era* 21 (December 1917): 103, 104. See also Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998), 270.

17. See Heber J. Grant, *Gospel Standards*, ed. G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998), 133.

18. At the end of Nibley's *Approaching Zion* are seven pages of scriptural references cited in the text. D&C 134:2 is *not* among those listed.

19. See Grant, *Gospel Standards*, 134 .

20. David O. McKay, *Gospel Ideals* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1957), 310; italics added.

21. Ezra Taft Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 608. If one were to read a mixed collection of unsigned statements of President McKay and President Benson on the subject of communism, it would be difficult to distinguish between the two.

22. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 608.

23. Grant, *Gospel Standards*, 138.

24. See *Journal History*, October 30, 1892, 5. See also Grant, *Gospel Standards*, 108.

25. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 517.

26. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 518.

27. See Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 480; see also 520, although on other occasions he more accurately identifies the problem as residing “in the search for private gain” and in the “love of money” (39; italics added).

28. Nibley, *Approaching Zion*, 478.

29. Joe J. Christensen, “Greed, Selfishness, and Overindulgence,” *Ensign* 29 (May 1999): 9; italics in original.

30. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 113.

31. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, 113.

32. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 9:191, February 2, 1862; Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 1:252, June 5, 1853, cited in *Discourses of Brigham Young*, John A. Widtsoe, ed., 312–13.

33. For the fascinating history, see R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1926). Biblical law, properly understood, did not prohibit usury in a commercial setting between parties with equal negotiating power but did do so between a rich lender and an impoverished borrower. Ze’ev W. Falk, *Hebrew Law in Biblical Times: An Introduction* (Jerusalem: Wahrman Books, 1964), 98–99; George Horowitz, *The Spirit of Jewish Law: A Brief Account of Biblical and Rabbinical Jurisprudence with a Special Note on Jewish Law and the State of Israel* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1953), 486–87.

34. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 18:121, September 12, 1875.

35. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 18:39–40, June 24, 1875.

36. Clyde J. Williams, *Teachings of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984), 63.

37. Lee, *Stand Ye in Holy Places*, 264. In the April 1999 general conference, Elder Joseph B. Wirthlin commented on the same passage: “The poor are exalted because they work for the temporary assistance they receive, they are taught correct principles, and they are able to lift themselves from poverty to self-reliance. The rich are made low because they humble themselves to give generously of their means to those in need.” “Inspired Church Welfare,” *Ensign* 29 (May 1999): 77.

38. Lee, *Stand Ye in Holy Places*, 282.

39. Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 356.

40. See Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 630.

41. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (New York: International Publishers, 1948).

42. Nadauld, “LDS Attitudes toward Business,” 1:240.

43. See Williams, *Teachings of Lorenzo Snow*, 44.

44. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 196. Note that it is not their affiliation with corporations or corporate leadership that will keep these capitalists from the

kingdom but their temper, emotions, appetites, and passions. Otherwise, we could be talking about world leaders and exalted men.

45. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 195.
46. Grant, *Gospel Standards*, 112.
47. Kimball, *Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, 171.
48. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 680–81.
49. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 680–81.
50. Howard W. Hunter, “The Law of the Harvest: As a Man Sows, So Shall He Reap,” in *Speeches of the Year, 1966* (Brigham Young University: Provo, Utah, n.d.), 9.
51. It was coined in 1832 according to Alec Nove, “Socialism,” in *The New Palgrave: Problems of the Planned Economy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 228.
52. Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:33.
53. That President Taylor was considered an expert on socialism by Church leaders is apparent from a reference by Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 14:21, on May 6, 1870, where he reports: “We heard Brother Taylor’s exposition of what is called Socialism this morning. What can they do? Live on each other and beg. It is a poor, unwise and very imbecile people who cannot take care of themselves.”
54. See Taylor, *Government of God*, chapter 3.
55. Taylor, *Government of God*, chapter 3.
56. Having written on the subject of socialism in East Europe for many years, I personally find it difficult to refer to this as *communism*, since Marxists refer more strictly to the Soviet system merely as *socialism*. The former term is reserved by its advocate for that future era when the political state will have “withered away.” To conform to a more journalistic tradition, however, I will refer to Marxist-Leninist socialism as communism.
57. John A. Widtsoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), 377.
58. David O. McKay, excerpt from Inaugural address for Dr. Henry A. Dixon, President of Utah State University, March 18, 1954, Logan, Utah, copy in possession of author.
59. David O. McKay, “What about Jesus Christ?” *Improvement Era* 63 (December 1960): 904.
60. Marion G. Romney, *Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1966), 95–101. See also Marion G. Romney, “Socialism and the United Order Compared,” March 1, 1966, in *BYU Speeches of the Year 1965–66*, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
61. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, 416.
62. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, 415, 416. In the same source, President Smith elaborated:
The unions are forcing our people into an inconsistent and dangerous attitude when they compel Latter-day Saints within the union to make war upon their brethren who are without the union, and thereby denying the most sacred and God-given rights of one class of Saints that another class may gain some advantage over a third person, their employer. Such conduct is destructive of the liberty which every man is entitled to enjoy, and will lead in the end to the spirit of contention and apostasy. (415)
63. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 634.
64. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 627.
65. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 632.

66. Benson, *Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*, 632; italics added. See also Ezra Taft Benson, *This Nation Shall Endure* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1977), 78. The part of the above statement that has been emphasized reads remarkably like a simplified version of the Coase Theorem, popularized by Nobel Prize-winning economist Ronald Coase. Its point is that lacking legal, strategic, or informational barriers, people can communicate and negotiate about an asset of common public interest. If property rights are clearly defined, they can be expected to reach an efficient outcome without governmental intervention. The political implications of the Coase Theorem also seem to prescribe the political attitude expressed by President Benson in the earlier part of the above statement.

67. See Richard L. Bushman, "Joseph Smith in the Current Age," in *Joseph Smith: The Prophet, the Man*, ed. Susan Easton Black and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1993), 42.

68. Christensen, "Greed," 11.

Charming Feb 17th 1843

Mr J S Fullmer

I recd yours of the 10 Feb on the 14th
 and have been so busy that I could not
 answer it until now & now I will as
 near as I can at this time you will
 know tis a perplexing time for business
 men & My mind is fully engaged in my
 business on acct of the great decrease
 of the currency I will give you a
 short history of what I know about
 Joseph Smith Jr I have been intimately
 acquainted with him about 2 years he
 then was about 20 years old or there
 about I also went to school with him
 one winter he was a fine likely young
 man & at that time did not profess
 religion he was not a popular man
 although I did once in a while hear him
 speak he never gabbled to my
 knowledge I do not believe he ever did
 I will know he was no loose body for he was
 no Judge of Success I told him one that is all
 I ever knew he dealt in the kind I never
 knew him to get drunk I believe he would
 now and then take a glass he never put on
 ed to play the slight of hand nor Black
 leg it was fashionable at that time to drink
 liquor I do not believe in any religion
 & therefore am friendly to all I believe
 that there is a heaven & hell & those that do not
 right here though their lives will be damn
 ed but still I believe I do right myself I
 state this for facts that any thing from what
 I have said about Joseph Smith that is worse
 than I said felt & written

Holograph of Josiah Stowell Jr.'s February 17, 1843, letter to John S. Fullmer. In this letter, Stowell conveys his impressions of Joseph Smith, with whom he was "intimately acquainted . . . for about 2 years." Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

The Josiah Stowell Jr.—John S. Fullmer Correspondence

Mark Ashurst-McGee

Published here for the first time is a strong letter from one of Joseph Smith's early acquaintances, an independent witness who substantiates the youthful Prophet's good character.

In 1843, Mormon missionary John S. Fullmer encountered difficulties proselyting in Pennsylvania due to widespread rumors regarding Joseph Smith's youthful activities in that state and in New York. In an effort to overcome local opinion, Fullmer wrote to Josiah Stowell Jr. asking for a statement regarding Joseph Smith's character. Josiah and Joseph had been schoolmates and friends from 1825 to 1827, when Joseph worked for Josiah Stowell Sr. The following letter of response from Josiah Stowell Jr., including a postscript by Josiah Stowell Sr., conveys their firsthand knowledge of Joseph Smith's character.

Most people who wrote about Joseph Smith during his lifetime were either faithful Latter-day Saints or carping critics. As one would expect, their respective viewpoints tended to influence that which they wrote. Unlike his father, however, Josiah Stowell Jr. never converted to the new faith. In fact, he kept aloof from all denominations. His letter of reply to John S. Fullmer thus provides a rare report by one who was both impartial in his religious convictions and well acquainted with Joseph during the time the Prophet was preparing to receive the golden plates. In addition, the elder Stowell's postscript provides us with the testimony of one of the earliest believers in the divinity of Joseph Smith's prophetic mission. The interchange between Fullmer and the Stowells offers two distinct and significant perceptions of the young Joseph Smith.

An early settler of Bainbridge, New York, Josiah Stowell Sr. owned hundreds of acres in the area, where he farmed and operated sawmills on the Susquehanna River.¹ According to local historian William D. Purple, "Mr. Stowell was a man of much force of character, of indomitable will, and well fitted as a pioneer in the unbroken wilderness that this country possessed at the close of the last century." Purple added that Stowell "had been educated in the spirit of orthodox puritanism" and that he was "a very industrious, exemplary man."²

When Stowell met Joseph Smith in October 1825, he hired Joseph and his father to help him locate a legendary Spanish mine and to work on his farm.³ While searching for the mine, Joseph boarded at the home of Isaac Hale and there met Isaac's daughter Emma, whom he would later marry.⁴

In March 1826, Peter Bridgeman, the nephew of Josiah Stowell Sr.'s wife, Miriam, brought Joseph Smith to trial for deceiving Stowell. During the trial, however, Stowell testified in defense of Joseph. Purple, who attended the trial, wrote that "as the testimony of Deacon Stowell could not be impeached, the prisoner was discharged."⁵ Stowell would also testify on Joseph's behalf in his 1830 Bainbridge trial.⁶

Perhaps because of Stowell's confidence in him, Joseph told him about the visits of the angel Moroni. When Joseph went to recover the golden plates on September 22, 1827, Stowell was at the Smith home.⁷ Stowell later became a member of the Colesville branch of the Church. Although he never gathered with the Saints after their departure from New York, he remained firm in the faith throughout his life.⁸

Josiah Stowell Jr., youngest of the eight Stowell children, was sixteen when he met Joseph Smith, who was then nineteen.⁹ The two attended school together while Joseph was in Chenango County. Josiah probably also worked with Joseph on the Stowell farm.¹⁰ By 1833, Josiah Stowell Sr. had moved westward down the Susquehanna River to the village of Smithboro, Tioga County, New York. Josiah Stowell Jr. also moved west, settling near his father.¹¹ The elder Stowell passed away in this area sometime in the middle-to-late 1840s.¹²

John S. Fullmer was born and raised in Huntington Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. He later moved to Nashville, Tennessee. While living there, he received letters from his family, who had joined the Church in Ohio. In 1839, Fullmer rode his horse to Nauvoo to investigate his family's newfound faith. After being baptized by Joseph Smith, Fullmer moved his wife and children to Nauvoo.¹³ In 1840 the Prophet employed Fullmer as a clerk and secretary, and the two soon became friends.¹⁴

In 1842, John S. Fullmer received a call to serve a mission.¹⁵ In the course of his labors, he made the acquaintance of Josiah Stowell Jr. The two discussed the subject of the Restoration, and Stowell shared his recollections of Joseph Smith. Stowell also mentioned that he had defended Joseph's reputation whenever he had heard it slandered.

Leaving New York, Fullmer traveled southward into Pennsylvania. A few weeks later, he wrote to Stowell from Cambria, a tiny hamlet situated along the southeast slopes of the Appalachians in the northwest corner of Huntington—Fullmer's home township.¹⁶ Fullmer probably came from this corner of Huntington Township. It was a standard practice for LDS



John Solomon Fullmer (1807–1883) in his later years. In 1843, while on a mission in Pennsylvania, Fullmer asked Josiah Stowell Jr. to refute slanderous charges against Joseph Smith then in circulation. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

missionaries to return to their hometowns to preach the gospel. If so, he may have been strongly motivated to change the opinions of his former neighbors and family connections.¹⁷

Fullmer wrote to Stowell regarding a number of epithets ascribed to the young Joseph Smith and requested that Stowell write concerning his personal knowledge of Joseph's character. Fullmer entreated Stowell to write back as soon as possible and further asked that he have his father add something to the letter. Three days after receiving Fullmer's letter, Josiah Stowell Jr. responded, providing a pithy, point-by-point rebuttal to the charges laid at the feet of his former acquaintance. In a postscript, he recorded his father's dic-

tated testimony regarding Joseph Smith's character and the truthfulness of Mormonism. The postscript demonstrates that the elder Stowell still considered himself a faithful member of the Church.¹⁸

The extant letter from Fullmer to Stowell is a handwritten copy that Fullmer made before sending the original.¹⁹ Written sideways in the lower right-hand corner of the verso, Fullmer penned, "Copy of a Letter to Josiah Stowell, *Verbatim et literatum*." The Latin phrase, which means "word for word and letter for letter," indicates that the extant holograph faithfully represents the original letter. Fullmer made this copy in ink on the front and back of a 7¾" by 12½" sheet of paper.²⁰ Josiah Stowell Jr. responded in ink on one sheet of paper (12½" by 15") folded widthwise to form two leaves. Stowell wrote on the front and back of the first leaf. Then he folded the letter up, addressed it on the back, and sealed it with wax. The LDS Church Archives cataloged the Fullmer and Stowell letters in 1980 and 1972, respectively. Information about the dates of acquisition is not known.

John S. Fullmer's Letter to Josiah Stowell Jr.²¹

Josiah Stowell Jr. Esqr.}

Cambria, Luzerne Co. Penn.

February 10th

1843

Elmira N. Y.

Dear Sir,

I hope you will pardon ~~pardon~~ me for the liberty I am taking in addressing you this letter, which is intended, not as an obtrusion, but to elicit a statement of facts which came under your own personal observation, or such as you know to be facts from circumstances with which you are well acquainted, relative to the youthful, and also more mature character of Joseph Smith Jun.²² your play mate and school fellow, but now the leader of the "Latter day Saints."

I have been laboring now for some weeks in this section of the country, by way of preaching the gospe[l]²³ as understood by the said Smith and others, and find here a great deal of opposition & persecution, in consequence of the reputed bad character of Mr. Smith in his youth, and the consequent deception²⁴ he is practising upon the public.

Being convinced of the great injustice done him everywhere in alledging charges of the most heinous ch[ar]²⁵=acter against him, which are verily believed by the people here, and greatly to the prejudice of the spread of the gospel in this section; and having recently had an opportunity of conversing with you, (while at your house together with Mr. Bird) on the subject and learned that you were his youthful companion, and had, on many occasions, defended his character from the fulsome abuse of the slanderer; I cannot forbear to solicit from <you> a statement of such things as you feel warranted in making in his defence and in defence of the truth, & more especially as you are not a member of the <church.>

It is here stated and verily believed, that he, Smith, was a gambler, a Black leg,²⁶ a notorious horse jockey,²⁷ an adept at the slight of hand or juggling,²⁸ and was notorious for frequenting grogshops, and intemperance, and that he was also exceedingly profane, &c. &c. Now²⁹ if this matter can be answered to the satisfaction of some half [*verso*] a Dozen persons in this neighborhood, it would have quite a beneficial effect here; besides, it would be a vindication of the character and reputation of one who is receiving more than his share of misrepresentation and abuse. I have openly and boldly denied these charges, and although not required to prove a negative, have <still> agreed to do so in several instances, which if I can do, through you, will set the matter at rest in this place.

I hope you will take the trouble, (if you think me reasonable in requesting it,) to answer in reply to those charges as soon as circumstances

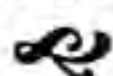
will possibly admit of your doing so; <I should be pleased to have you>
~~mark~~ make also such general remarks as the occasion seems to require.
 I should be pleased also to have the old gentleman, your father, subscribe
 to as much of your reply as he is knowing to.

Address to Cambria &c. as above.

Give my compliments to all that I had the pleasure of seeing at yr.
 house. & to Mr. Bird, should you see him.

Very Respectfully

Jno: S. Fullmer



P.S. I would gladly pay the postage on this letter; but to tell the truth I have
 not got it. am laboring with<out> purse or scrip, & without compensa-
 tion, only such good as I may be the means of doing while on my mission.
 <& may God bless you & yours->

send yours without paying postage.

J. S. F.

Josiah Stowell Jr.'s Reply to John S. Fullmer³⁰

Chemung³¹ Feb 17th 1843

Mr J S Fullmer

I rec[eive]d yours of the 10 Feb on the 14th and have binn so busy that I
 could not answer it until now & now I will as near as I can at this time you
 will know tis a Perplexing time for business men & my mind is fully
 Engaged in my buisness on ac[coun]t of the great derangement of the
 currency[.]³² I will give you a shrot history of what I know about Joseph
 Smith Jr I have binn Intemetely acquainted with him about 2 years he then
 was about 20 years old or there about I also went to school with him one
 winter[.]³³ he was a fine likely young man & at that time did not Profess
 religion he was not a Profain man although I did onc[e] in a while hear him
 swair he never gambled to my knowledge I do not believe he ever did I well
 know he was no Hoars Jocky for he was no Judge of Hoarses I sold him
 one[.]³⁴ that is all I ever knowd he dealt in the kind[.] I never new him to
 git drunk I believe he would now and then take a glass he never Pretend=ed
 to Play the Slight of hand nor Black leg, it was fashionable at that time to
 drink Liquor I do not Believe in any religion & there fore am friendly to all
 I Believe that there is a heaven & hell & those that do not right here through
 there lives will be damn=ed but still I believe I do right myself I State this
 for facts that any thing from what I have said about Joseph Smith that is
 wors than I say is fals & untru [*end of first page*] I am [a]fraid you Cannot
 read what I have wrote my pen is Poor I am in a glassy³⁵ & tired after doing
 a hard days work

I am yours truly

Josiah Stowell 2

8. In 1843, Josiah Stowell wrote to Joseph Smith that he had remained true to the faith and that he desired to gather with the Saints. Martha L. Campbell on behalf of Josiah Stowell Sr. to Joseph Smith Jr., December 19, 1843, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives. In the mid-1980s, a spurious letter from Joseph Smith to Josiah Stowell concerning treasure seeking gained considerable public attention. Later, it was discovered that this letter was the handicraft of document forger Mark Hofmann. Richard E. Turley Jr., *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 74–76, 356; Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders, with a New Afterward*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 557. Hofmann also forged a treasure-seeking contract among Josiah Stowell Sr., Joseph Smith Jr., and others. Turley, *Victims*, 104–5.

9. Josiah Stowell Jr. was born to Josiah Stowell Sr. (1770–184?) and Miriam Bridgeman (1773–1833) in Bainbridge, New York, on April 16, 1809. He and Polly Martha Smith (1812–85) had ten children. He died in Sugar Run, Pennsylvania, in 1875. Stowell, *Stowell Genealogy*, 229–30, 427–28; *PJS* 1:517.

10. Josiah Stowell Jr. became a farmer and a lumberman like his father. *Stowell Genealogy*, 428. So rather than hiring out his labor, he probably spent his youth working in his father's sawmill and on his father's farm, where Joseph Smith worked.

11. Most documents place Josiah Stowell Sr. in Smithboro, Tioga Township, Tioga County. On Josiah Sr.'s relocation, see Larry C. Porter, "The Colesville Branch and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10, no. 3 (1970): 376. See also warranty deed between Stowell and Cyrus McMaster, dated April 25, 1840, which names the former as "Josiah Stowell of Smithboro, New York." Cyrus McMaster Papers, LDS Church Archives. *Stowell Genealogy*, 427–28, states that Josiah Stowell Jr. resided in Smithboro and that all of his children were born there. However, Fullmer addressed his letter to Elmira, in the adjacent county of Chemung, and Stowell replied from the village of Chemung, on the Chemung-Tioga county line. On Elmira, Chemung, and Smithboro, see J. H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York: Embracing a Comprehensive View of the Geography, Geology, and General History of the State, and a Complete History and Description of Every County, City, Town, Village, and Locality*, 8th ed. (Syracuse: R. P. Smith, 1860), 218, 220, 653.

12. *PJS* 1:517.

13. John Solomon Fullmer was the son of Peter Fullmer and Susannah Zerfass. In 1837 he married Mary Ann Price (1815–97). He later took two additional wives: (1) Olive Amanda Smith (1825–85), m. 1846; and (2) Sarah Ann Stevenson (1835–1901), m. 1856. Fullmer had thirty-one children. He was ordained an elder in 1839. He was ordained a high priest by 1844. AncestralFile, ver. 4.19, Salt Lake City, ID # 1RW9–QF; *The John Solomon Fullmer Story, Written by His Granddaughter Clara Fullmer Bullock*, 2d ed. (n.p.: 1968), 1, 3, 109–19; Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 881; Journal History of the Church, October 8, 1844, 2, LDS Church Archives.

14. "Biographical Sketch of Jno. S. Fullmer," 311–12, in John Solomon Fullmer Letterbook, LDS Church Archives; *John Solomon Fullmer Story*, iv, 3–4, 10. Phebie Jane Fullmer Perry and Lutitia May Fullmer Measom, "History of Mary Ann Price Fullmer," 1, LDS Church Archives. Fullmer also served after his mission as a colonel and as paymaster general in the Nauvoo Legion. He accompanied Joseph Smith to Carthage and stayed in jail with him the night before he was murdered. In 1844, Fullmer was sent to bring back the James Emmet company, and in 1845 he was appointed to the Council of Fifty. In 1848 he journeyed to the Salt Lake Valley with the Willard Richards company. There he served in the territorial legislature before and after his mission to the British Isles

(1852–55), where he presided over the Liverpool, Manchester, and Preston Conferences. He died in Springville, Utah, in 1883. *John Solomon Fullmer Story*, 10, 17–22, 29–46, 106–7, 109, 113, 121; Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 881; “A Veteran Gone,” *Deseret News*, October 17, 1883, 617. D. Michael Quinn, “The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844–1945,” *BYU Studies* 20, no. 2 (1980): 194; William G. Hartley, *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993), 169–81; John Solomon Fullmer, *Journal*, 1855, LDS Church Archives; “Meeting of the Legislature,” *Deseret News*, December 14, 1859, 324.

15. Fullmer departed for his mission on or near October 28, 1842. John S. Fullmer to George D. Fullmer, October 25, 1842, John Solomon Fullmer Letterbook, 175, LDS Church Archives.

16. On current maps and in most local histories, this hamlet is named “Cambra.” However, some early residents evidently called the hamlet “Cambria.” Like Fullmer, one early history of the area used the name “Cambria” to describe one of several “pleasant villages” consisting of ten to twenty-five dwellings each. Stewart Pearce, *Annals of Luzerne County: A Record of Interesting Events, Traditions, and Anecdotes from the First Settlement in Wyoming Valley to 1866*, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1866), 202.

17. Summarizing his mission experiences, Fullmer wrote, “I have had some hard fought battles to live through; but thank God, the colours that I defended were never struck; there was no need of it, but were kept floating in the breeze.” Fullmer preached the gospel to several of his extended family, at least three of whom converted. He returned from his mission on June 28, 1843. John S. Fullmer to George D. Fullmer, December 19, 1843, John Solomon Fullmer Letterbook, 178–81.

18. The elder Stowell may have been living with Josiah Jr. by this time. Porter, “Origins of the Church,” 209–10.

19. Compare with the handwriting in Fullmer’s British mission journal and his letterbook. John Solomon Fullmer, *Journal*, 1855; John Solomon Fullmer Letterbook. This latter source shows that Fullmer often made copies of his outgoing correspondence before sending it.

20. A few unimportant changes have been penciled in by an unidentified redactor. Because these appear to be later inclusions, they are discussed in the notes but not included in this transcript.

21. John S. Fullmer to Josiah Stowell Jr., February 10, 1843, LDS Church Archives.

22. A comma has been penciled in at this point. It appears to be a later inclusion.

23. Edge of paper.

24. At this point, “it is said” has been penciled in interlinearly. This appears to be a later inclusion.

25. The edge of the paper has disintegrated here.

26. “A turf swindler; also, a swindler in other species of gambling.” *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s.v. “black-leg” (hereafter cited as *OED*). Webster’s 1828 dictionary defines “turf” as “3. Race-ground; or horse-racing.” *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, s.v. “turf” (hereafter cited as *ADEL*, 1828). See also *OED*, s.v. “turf.” By calling Smith a “black leg,” Cambria residents were apparently saying that Joseph Smith had been one to bet on horses. This interpretation coincides with Fullmer’s placement of the term “black leg” between “gambler” and “horse jockey.”

27. “2. A dealer in horses; one who makes it his business to buy and sell horses for gain. Hence, 3. A cheat; one who deceives or takes undue advantage in trade.” *ADEL*, 1828, s.v. “jockey.” See also *OED*, s.v. “horse-jockey” and “jockey.”

28. “Playing tricks by slight of hand; deceiving.” *ADEL*, 1828, s.v. “juggling.” See also *OED*, s.v. “juggling.”

29. A comma has been penciled in at this point; it appears to be a later inclusion.

30. Josiah Stowell Jr. to John S. Fullmer, February 17, 1843, LDS Church Archives.

31. Fullmer mailed his letter to Elmira, the county seat of Chemung. The village of Chemung, however, did have a post office and was apparently closer to the residence of Josiah Stowell Jr. On Elmira and Chemung, see French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, 218, 220.

32. According to *Stowell Genealogy*, Josiah Stowell Jr. was a merchant, lumberman, and farmer (428). The primary crops in Chemung County were broomcorn and tobacco. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, 220. In 1842, America finally overcame the depression that had begun in 1837 in response to Andrew Jackson's disestablishment of the Bank of the United States and species circular. Although the bank's charter expired in 1836, it continued as a state-chartered bank until 1841. The demise of a standard national currency and a subsequent deluge of local currencies (such as notes from the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company) reduced currency confidence. The enactment of the Independent Treasury Bill in 1840 and its repeal in 1841 also contributed to the currency problem Stowell Jr. broaches in this letter.

33. On Joseph Smith's schooling in this area, see H. Michael Marquardt and Wesley P. Walters, *Inventing Mormonism: Tradition and the Historical Record* (n.p.: Smith Research Associates, 1994), 44.

34. In 1829, Joseph Smith gave a note to Josiah Stowell Sr. for a horse. Joseph Smith Jr. to Oliver H. Cowdery, October 22, 1829, Joseph Smith Letterbook, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives. When Joseph Smith was brought to trial in Bainbridge in July 1830, he had not paid on his note. The judge queried Josiah Stowell Sr. as to the purchase. Stowell testified that he had sold a horse to Smith and that he would do so again. This shows (1) that a rumor about "horse-jockeying" had already begun and (2) that Stowell did not feel he had been "jockied." In his 1839 history, Joseph Smith wrote that this court had convened "on account of the scandalous falsehoods which had been circulated." *PJS* 1:253, 312–13.

35. "Glassy" can mean "frail" or "lacking fire or life, dull," as in "glassy-eyed." *OED*, s.v. "glassy." Stowell may have been starting to write something like "I am in a glassy state," and then changed his train of thought to something like "I am glassy and tired." His fatigue may account for the inconsistent change in grammatical construction. Or, perhaps being in a glassy is something like being in a dither.

36. Initials for the Latin phrase, *nota bene*, meaning "note well"—or, perhaps the German phrase *nach Brief* (after the letter), which serves the same purpose as "P.S." for postscript.

37. See-er, or seer; one who can see things not otherwise visible to the natural eye.

From This Ground

A visible wind slow-rivers down slopes
of Rattlesnake Mountain,
purples the ridge at the silt edge of sun.
Horse Heaven Hills green into wheatfield
and orchard, and the Interstate between
glints back sides of semis, headlights wicking on . . .
a long and moving constellation.

My lives split directions from this ground.
From mountains back in Wyoming
my daughters have salvaged wagon wheels,
slats of barn wood waiting to be handed down
branded with their grandfather's iron:
diamond-four, no longer in use.
And suddenly our children are states away
into college and next lives.

A hawk startles into dive . . . rises . . .
something dark and small taloned
over scents of sage, clumps of phlox
holding last rays like fluorescence.
As sky's distant dust blossoms into twilight,
an old farm building to the east
comes visible, collapsing in on itself
like a permanent exhale.

What's changing around me
seems not of arrival, but leave taking.
For a moment between light and dark
it lets me recall something more
than I know, moves me
unwary toward altered borders.

—Dixie Partridge

“Many Great and Notable Cities Were Sunk”: Liquefaction in the Book of Mormon

Benjamin R. Jordan

In a recent *BYU Studies* article, Bart Kowallis describes how the events of destruction in the Americas at the time of Christ’s death can be attributed to a single explosive volcanic eruption.¹ He lists the events that occurred during the destruction as recorded in 3 Nephi, and among those mentioned is the sinking of cities into the sea (3 Ne. 8:9, 14; 9:4, 7; 10:13). As a possible explanation for this phenomena, Kowallis offers accounts of *tsunami* (tidal waves) and *seiche* waves (waves generated in lakes), both of which can occur during an explosive volcanic eruption.² In conjunction with these two explanations, I would offer a third possible cause for the “many great and notable cities [being] sunk” (3 Ne. 8:14) that is not addressed in Kowallis’s article.

At 11:40 A.M. on the morning of June 7, 1692, a large earthquake destroyed the famous pirate city Port Royal, Jamaica, causing the deaths of approximately four thousand people. In describing the event in his book *Buccaneer Harbor*, Peter Briggs told of the experience of Reverend Dr. Emmanuel Heath of Christchurch:

On the morning of June 7 . . . Dr. Heath attended divine service as he did every morning, hoping to set an example for “a most ungodly, debauched people.” Dr. Heath was due for lunch at the house of Captain Ruden, but he stopped first at an inn to have a glass of wormwood wine with a merchant friend. . . . Dr. Heath waited impatiently while his friend very slowly finished smoking his clay pipe. The reverend was a courteous man and did not want to be late for his engagement. Then, at twenty minutes before noon, while still at the inn, he felt the earth begin to heave and roll beneath him. “Lord, Sir,” he shouted, “what is this?”

His friend replied, “It is an earthquake. Be not afraid. It will soon be over.”

Dr. Heath ran into the street and, within moments, felt two much greater shocks. By the time he arrived at Captain Ruden’s house, the building itself had vanished into the sea, along with three or four blocks behind Wharfside Street. In panic Dr. Heath raced toward Morgan’s Fort, only to see it crumbling. Then before his eyes his church and its high tower fell. He saw the earth open up and swallow people.³

Another witness to this devastating event, Sir Hans Sloane, was in a small boat in the bay at the time of the earthquake. He wrote that, upon arriving on shore, he “found all houses even with the ground; not a place

to put one's head in" and that "the terrible earthquake shook down and drowned nine-tenths of the town of Port Royal in two minutes time, and all by the wharfside in less than one." Sloane also recorded that his own home "sunk right down and is now under thirty feet of water."⁴

The most intriguing fact about this destruction and the sinking of the city is that a tsunami was not involved. The city literally sank. It was not buried or washed away by a large wave.⁵

To understand the sinking of Port Royal, it is important to understand a phenomenon called "liquefaction." Liquefaction occurs in water-saturated soil or sand where grains are resting on each other with water filling the spaces between the grains. A large earthquake sets up vibrations that put those grains into motion so that they no longer rest on each other. The water becomes the support, and the sand becomes liquefied and behaves like a liquid. The grains can no longer bear weight, and effectively they become a form of quicksand. Anything resting on the sand or soil that is denser than the liquefied material will sink.⁶

Liquefaction occurred at Port Royal. The city was built on a large spit of sand extending off the coast of Jamaica. The sediment was saturated by the surrounding sea. Although the water may not have been visible on the surface, it was there. One witness recorded, "In the violent Shake the Sand cracking and opening in several places where People stood, they sinking into it; the Water boiled out of the Sand."⁷

One of the effects of liquefaction is the "fountaining" of water up out of the ground as it is displaced by sinking objects. If a brick is put into a bucket of water, the water will rise; if a person sinks into liquefied sand, the water in the sand is displaced and will rise. This effect occurs on a smaller scale as one walks along a wet beach. The pressure of feet on the sand squeezes the water up. Thus, water "boiling" out of the sand can be one of the signs of liquefaction.

When the earthquake subsides and the shaking stops, the sand re-solidifies, encasing anything that has sunk into it. One witness of this effect at Port Royal wrote, "Many People were swallowed up; some the Earth caught by the middle, and squeezed to Death; . . . others went down, and were never more seen."⁸

The Book of Mormon mentions that the city of Gilgal was "sunk, and the inhabitants thereof [were] buried up in the depths of the earth" (3 Ne. 9:6). Those victims that had sunk deep enough would have been literally "buried." Those that may have been "caught by the middle" would not really have been "squeezed to death" but rather prevented from expanding their lungs and thus suffocated by the sand as it resolidified. Port Royal was not the only part of Jamaica that sank due to the earthquake—more than a thousand acres of land were also submerged on the north side of Jamaica.⁹

Although this particular earthquake was not generated by a volcanic eruption—since there are no active volcanoes in Jamaica¹⁰—it is entirely conceivable that an earthquake of this magnitude could be generated by a volcanic eruption. The relatively small volcanic eruptions of Mount St. Helens in 1980 and Sakura-jima volcano in 1914 generated earthquakes with magnitudes of 5.1¹¹ and 6.7¹² respectively. Although it is not known what the magnitude of the Port Royal earthquake was, it is estimated to have been near 8.0.¹³ A very large eruption, like that suggested by Kowallis, could generate much stronger earthquakes that last for a longer period of time.

Smaller magnitude earthquakes can also cause liquefaction, based on their duration. The earthquake at Port Royal, as well as having a large magnitude, is also thought to have lasted five to seven minutes—one of the major reasons liquefaction took place there.¹⁴ The account of the destruction in 3 Nephi mentions that the earthquake lasted about three hours (3 Ne. 8:19), which would have been more than enough time to liquefy any water-saturated soil. Thus, if any Nephite or Lamanite cities were built in the same type of geologic and geographical setting as that of Port Royal, the earthquakes reported in 3 Nephi would have been of such duration and magnitude as to cause those cities to sink into the ground as well as the sea.

It is possible that the type of explosive volcanic eruption described by Kowallis could have generated earthquakes large enough to cause liquefaction. Water-saturated, sandy seacoasts could potentially be liquefiable in a large-magnitude, long-duration earthquake. Any Nephite or Lamanite cities built near the coast, on liquefiable soil, could have sunk by liquefaction.

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1. Bart J. Kowallis, "In the Thirty and Fourth Year: A Geologist's View of the Great Destruction in 3 Nephi," *BYU Studies* 37, no. 3 (1997–98): 136–90.

2. Kowallis, "In the Thirty and Fourth Year," 143, 162–66.

3. Peter Briggs, *Buccaneer Harbor: The Fabulous History of Port Royal, Jamaica* (New York: Simon Schuster, 1970), 111–13.

4. Briggs, *Buccaneer Harbor*, 111–13.

5. George R. Clark II, "Swallowed Up: The Quake That Swallowed a City," *Earth Magazine* 4 (April 1995): 34–41.

6. W. W. Hays, ed., *Facing Geologic and Hydrologic Hazards —Earth Science Considerations*, Geological Survey Professional Paper 1240-B (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1981).

7. Clark, "Swallowed Up," 37.

8. Clark, "Swallowed Up," 37.

9. Briggs, *Buccaneer Harbor*, 111–13.

10. G. Wadge, "A Miocene Submarine Volcano at Low Layton, Jamaica," *Geology Magazine* 119 (1982): 193.

11. R. I. Tilling, Lyn Topinka, and Donald A. Swanson, *Eruptions of Mount St. Helens: Past, Present, and Future*, USGS Special Interest Publication (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1990), text-fiche, p. 10.
12. R. P. Hoblitt, C. D. Miller, and W. E. Scott, *Volcanic Hazards with Regard to Siting Nuclear-Power Plants in the Pacific Northwest*, USGS Open File Report 87-297 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1987).
13. Clark, "Swallowed Up," 39–40.
14. Clark, "Swallowed Up," 38.

Two Massachusetts Forty-Niner Perspectives on the Mormon Landscape, July–August 1849

Brian D. Reeves

The year 1999 marks the sesquicentennial of the gold rush of 1849. Two forty-niners passing through Salt Lake City recorded their impressions of the Latter-day Saints and the first of the settlers' annual 24th of July celebrations.

Latter-day Saints held their first 24th of July (Pioneer Day) celebration in Salt Lake City in 1849, two years after Brigham Young first entered the Salt Lake Valley.¹ The Saints had reason to celebrate in 1849: Their second full season of crop raising promised a good harvest. Early maturing vegetables had already relieved them from a winter of extreme want. They were doubly blessed by the temporary influx of gold-seekers hurrying to the California mines.²

The first forty-niners reached the Salt Lake Valley on June 16, 1849,³ bringing with them much-needed supplies that they traded or sold for provisions. During the next fourteen months, an estimated twenty-five thousand argonauts passed through the Salt Lake Valley. For the Saints, the arrival of the gold-seekers fulfilled a bold prophecy of Heber C. Kimball,⁴ who, according to one account, had declared:

I Prop[h]ecy in the Name of the Lord that this People will be the Richest People on Earth, although you are now Poor & destitute, all most naked. But if you are faithful you shall have every desire of your Hearts. Clothing of all kind will be brought here abundantly & my only fears are that unless you are humble & prayerful, you will be led away & lifted up in the Pride of your Hearts & neglect your duty & fo[r]get to give thanks to the Bountiful Giver. This is my only fears. I am not trobled about Your Poverty.⁵

In addition to clothing, the forty-niners brought tools, wagons, and food-stuffs. Joseph Holbrook gratefully declared, “The Lord provided for the poor saints by His providence in opening up the gold mines in California and inspiring the Gentiles with a lust for gold.”⁶

Argonauts welcomed the opportunity that they had in Salt Lake City to rest themselves and their animals, partake of such delicacies as milk and fresh vegetables, and refit for the rugged journey that still lay ahead. They left Salt Lake City, generally having stayed for six or seven days,⁷ with varied opinions about their experiences there. Many felt shortchanged in trading

and business transactions. Others reacted negatively to Latter-day Saint “pulpit oratory,” especially when it included railings against the Saints’ former persecutors in Missouri and Illinois.⁸ On the other hand, many would have agreed with James M. Hutchings, who wrote as he prepared to resume his journey: “Tomorrow we leave civilization, pretty girls, and pleasant memories. . . . I am thankful to you [Mormons] . . . for the many advantages your city in the wilderness offers to the weary emigrant, on his journey overland to California!”⁹

While some Native Americans may have benefitted from trading with westbound forty-niners, the majority experienced negative consequences from the gold rush. It brought another wave of white people to the West and resulted in the destruction of vegetation and game. Some forty-niner companies “burn[ed] the grass behind them” to impede the progress of competitors.¹⁰ Argonaut John F. Cobbey recorded in his journal on May 21, 1850:

A heard of Buffaloes pass the road before us. in the ~~at~~ attempt they ~~a~~ was assailed of the huge animals were brough[t] to ground and yealded their carcasses to the hunters will. . . . they are quite poor at this time and of litle use of killing only as its serves to gratefy the sportmans vain ambition. some of the chois pieces is selected such as the “hump” Toung’ &c.¹¹

Two journals held by the Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts in the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University provide valuable perspectives on the forty-niners’ experiences among Native Americans and Mormons in the land that became Utah. The accounts, recorded by Massachusetts natives William Z. Walker and Edward Jackson, are absent from prominent bibliographies of overland-trail diaries.¹²

There is no evidence that Walker and Jackson knew each other, nor did they travel together, but their journals reveal interesting similarities. They were born the same year, 1827; both embarked on the wilderness section of the journey at or near Independence, Missouri, in May 1849; both reached South Pass on July 9; they arrived in Salt Lake City just a day apart; both attended the pioneer celebration on July 24; and both concluded their journals immediately after they arrived in Sacramento, California.

William Z. Walker was born October 21, 1827.¹³ He left Boston for California on March 19, 1849. He traveled by train, canal boat, and steamer to Kansas City, Missouri, arriving on April 10. After some difficulty, his party headed west from Westport on May 10. He entered the Salt Lake Valley on July 23. His descriptive and matter-of-fact journal includes a drawing of Chimney Rock (Nebraska), where he camped on June 18.

Edward Jackson was born June 14, 1827, in Newton, Massachusetts. He documented his gold-rush experiences as if he were speaking to family members.¹⁴ In 1855 his account was recopied by his sister Marian Jackson Gilbert into a volume of family histories.¹⁵ He began his account in

Independence, Missouri. He entered Salt Lake City on July 24, the day after William Z. Walker.

The following journal extracts focus on the authors' experiences beginning on the Salt Lake Road, east of the Green River in what is now Wyoming, and ending in the vicinity of the Mormon Ferry on the Bear River, near present-day Collinston, Utah. Original spellings, strikeouts, and punctuation, have been preserved as much as possible. Angle brackets < > indicate words written above or below lines in the manuscript texts. Insertions by the editor are indicated by square brackets [].

William Z. Walker Journal Extract, July–August 1849¹⁶

Tuesday July 10th We started early in search of water, and after travelling about 6 miles arrived at the Little Sandy, a small stream of water with plenty of grass along its banks, we remained here till noon, when, we started for the Big Sandy about 10 miles distant where we arrived early in P.M. waiting here till 12 <oclk> for the moon, we started for the next crossing of the Big Sandy 17 miles distant & neither wood water or grass between the two points—<discovered we were on the Salt Lake road>¹⁷

Wed. July 11th We arrived at ~~next~~ the Big Sandy early this morning and remained here till P.M. & started for Green River about 8 miles distant, where we arrived early in P.M.

The river being high we were obliged to cross by ferry (a temporary arrangement kept by Mormons)¹⁸ We got our packs safely over but in spite of all our efforts our animals would not cross: we waited till sundown and ~~started~~ <tried them> again but after an hours hard work we were obliged to give it up till morning

Thurs. July 12th We succeeded with the assistance of the ferrymen in getting our animals across & started from Green River and struck it again <in> about 8 miles. Where we encamped waiting for Nichols whom we left at the ferry & whose mule had come up without him, thinking that he might have been attacked by the indians Crackline went back to look for him.

The mosquitoes here were so thick and troublesome, that Cowan¹⁹ & myself concluded to move on to Black's Fork 15 miles distant and there wait for Crackline & Nichols

Friday July 13th Cowan and myself started for Black's Forks early this morning. We were overtaken on the road by Crackline & Nichols—Nichols having been thrown from his mule and waited at the ferry with the Mormons for his mule which he expected would be sent back. We arrived at Black's Fork (a fine stream of good water) ~~at~~ early in P.M. and encamped.

Sat. July 14th The grass being good ~~at~~ here we remained here throughout the day to give our animals a chance to graze.

Sunday. July 15th Started early, crossed Ham's Fork and several other small streams. We made a long drive in A.M. and ~~remai~~ did not ~~leave~~ start in

P.M. till 6 o'clk when a ~~<the first we ha>~~ drizzly rain set in. By some means we missed the road laid down in our guide book,²⁰ and <finding no water> we travelled till midnight in search of it. The night was pitchy dark. My horse threw me completely over his <head> three times during the night and we proceeded with the greatest difficulty: At last giving up all hopes of finding water, we encamped among some wild sage bushes, and laid ourselves down without any supper, men and animals completely exhausted—dis[tance traveled] 33 miles.

Mon. July 16th I started off at the first appearance of light on foot in search of water, none of us having tasted any for nearly 24 hours.

Seeing some trees to the South of us (almost always sure indications of water on the prairies) I made my search in that direction, and on arriving at the summit of a high ridge I found myself at once on the borders of the beautiful streams around Fort Bridger. The deep green foliage on the banks of the numerous streams, the level prairie along the banks of the rivers <covered> with roses and wild flowers, the Bear river mountains ~~to the~~ covered with snow to the South gave the whole the appearance of a second Eden. After quenching my thirst at a small rivulet, with water fresh from the mountains and as cold as ice, I filled my canteen and returned to our camping place ~~and~~ imparted the welcome news to my companions and we immediately started for this beautiful place, where we remained during the forenoon to rest ourselves and animals. We left here in P.M. in the midst of a drizzly rain passed Fort Bridger²¹ which was near by, (a small trading post built of logs on mud presenting altogether a most miserable appearance,) travelled till near sundown when we met six indians on horseback armed with rifles, pistols, bows & arrows &c who stopped in our path till we came up and shook hands with us all, saying 'how d'ye do' 'how d'ye do' all the english they could speak. They called themselves Shoshones or snakes.²² There being but three of us (Crackline having stopped at the fort to make some purchases) we were fearful that they would attack us or stampede our animals, as they followed close behind us without saying a word, we stopped got our fire-arms ~~in order~~ ready for immediate use and motioned for them to leave us (one of them an ugly looking dwarf ~~making~~ going through with the pantomime of cutting my throat as ~~we~~ <I> gave the order. We camped here and Crackline coming up we got all our arms ready in case of an attack during the night; but we were not troubled by them dis. 8 miles.

Tuesday July 17th Started early. On our road passed an encampment of Shoshones on Muddy Fork without molestation, and Commenced ascending the high range that connects the Bear river and Wind river mountains. At the foot of the ascent we saw a Copperas or Soda Spring, the water of which tasted very much like soda water. The ascent was difficult and tedious. It was 1¾ miles to the summit the altitude of which was 7315 feet above the level, according to our guide book. Our road was along the top of the ridge for 7 miles when we encamped at noon near a Spring of clear water. In P.M our road was through

a deep gorge in the mountains most of the way. We passed Sulphur Creek and Oil Spring which we did not stop to see on acct of an encampment of indians which was there who we feared might be troublesome. We arrived at Bear River about sundown where we found an indian Village consisting of about [a] hundred tents. We passed through them without molestation forded Bear river the water of which was so swift that our ~~mules~~ <animals> could hardly breast it. We camped about a mile beyond in the finest herds grass I ever saw The indians had several hundred horses herded here but we were unable to trade for any of them. Several Shoshones came into our camp during the evening and we had to keep a sharp look out to keep them from pilfering. dis 23. miles

Wednesday July 18th We travelled over a high ridge of the mountains this A.M. and through a deep gorge in P.M. passing over Some of the wildest and most mountainous country we have yet seen. We encamped at night on Echo Creek. dis. 22 miles—<fine grass here.>

Thursday July 19th Quite a <frost> in camp this morning. We commenced travelling through a <deep> gorge in the mountains between Echo Creek and Weber river, a distance of about 20 miles over the worst roads and wildest country we have yet passed. Echo Creek extends the whole length of the gorge and we crossed it about a dozen times. A ridge of high rocks looking very much like freestone almost perpendicular formed in the most grotesque and fantastic shape bounded one side and a ridge of mountains the other. The day was intolerably hot and the road dusty. Some of the way ~~the~~ we passed through long willow groves ~~meeting~~ about high enough for a person to set on horse back, in which the dust was so dense that we could not see a rod in advance. Near the road where we left the gorge the mountains were on fire blazing, and crackling with a tremendous roar we passed here five emigrant waggons, the first we have seen in the last hundred miles the road being almost entirely deserted. We encamped on Weber River having travelled 8 hours, a fine stream, where we found very little feed and any quantity of mosquitoes. dis. 20 miles.

July 20th Travelled over a rough mountainous country road dusty and disagreeable, crossed numerous creeks and small streams and encamped at night in a deep gorge in the mountain, on Kanyon Creek. very hot dis. 19

Saturday July 21st Started early & commenced ascending the Bear River mountains & ~~when~~ from the summit had a splendid view of the valley of the Great Salt lake. The height laid down in ~~the~~ our guide book is 7345 feet above the level.²³ In descending our road was almost perpendicular. The road crosses Kanyon creek 13 times and passes through two bad swamps.²⁴ We had a cool invigorating breeze from the mountains in descending but <in the> valley the rays of the sun almost scorched the skin. In P.M. we passed the last ridge before entering the Valley of the Great Salt Lake.

My horse which I have been unable to ride for the last few days got mired at a creek at the foot & I got him out with the greatest difficulty, hoping to save him by recruiting at Salt Lake I remained behind to drive him along. Having



Street in Great Salt Lake City, looking east, ca. 1849–50. By John Hudson, reproduced in Howard Stansbury's *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, 1853), facing 126.

several bad creeks to cross I endeavored to lead him around them by a narrow trail on the side of the mountains but ~~it~~ it was so steep that he lost his foothold and rolled over a precipice in the gulf below ~~where~~ hurting him so bad that I was obliged to leave him after removing <his> trappings

I was overtaken by a smart shower before arriving at the mouth of the Kanyon and when I arrived at the valley it was so dark that I was unable to find our party ~~it~~ or to tell which was the right road. I gave up the search after travelling an hour an[d] crawled under an emigrant wagon, wet to the skin, where I slept soundly till morning

Sunday July 22nd Started early in search of our party which I found after a short search encamped with[in] a few rods of where I slept. We remained here all day. The city of the G. S. Lake visible about 3 miles ahead.

Monday July 23rd. We started for the city where we arrived after an hour's travel. The city is situated about 25 miles east of Great Salt Lake & about 35 miles from Utah Lake. The city is about 4 miles square and contains 6000 inhabitants <all Mormon,> The town is irrigated by water brought from the Jordan a small stream emptying into G.S.L. They have little or no rain here in the summer although it is frequent in the mountains.

The houses are ~~most~~ all one story high and mostly Adobes (built of sun dried brick) Each man is entitled to an acre of land if he cultivates it. We found here plenty of vegetables and fresh beef, other kinds of provisions we were unable to purchase owing to the scarcity. We passed throug the city and encamped on the river Jordan, a small stream about half a mile West of the city, intending to remain here a week to recruit our animals our horses ~~an~~ completely fagged out and our mules badly galled. Owing to the scarcity of grass we were obliged to herd our mules across the Jordan about two miles distant from our camp.

Tues. July 24th

To day being the anniversary day of the entrance of the Mormons into the valley <They gave a dinner> which we attended. They had their dinner under a roof built for the purpose,²⁵ where we found about 5000 ~~persons~~ <mormons> collected listening to inflammatory speeches and threats against their enemies in Missouri,²⁶ after two hours hard talking dinner was announced and emigrants being kindly invited we sat down to one of the best dinners we had enjoyed for many a day. The tables were loaded with every delicacy. The dinner went off admirably and was followed by toasts songs recitations &c and we left highly pleased with our first day among the <Mormons.>

Wednesday July 25th

We passed the day in visiting emigrant waggons and strolling about ~~among~~ the ~~Mormons~~ town. We lost one ~~one~~ of <our> horses today and have as yet, been unable to <find> him.

Thurs. July 26th We purchased some provisions today of emigrants. I engaged myself today to write guides to California to raise money enough to buy provisions enough to carry us through.

Thurs. Fri. Sat. Engaged in writing. Little doing—We heard a rumour that some emigrants ahead of us had killed some indians of the Utah tribe,²⁷ and taken their horses and that the indians had sworn vengeance against the emigrants. Most of the emigrants here are leaving their waggons and packing fearing they will not get through on account of the scarcity of feed.

Sun. July 29th—I awoke early this morning and started for Warm Springs about 2½ miles distant at the foot of the mountains

When I arrived there I found several persons in the basin enjoying the luxury of a warm bath

The water was strongly impregnated with Sulphur and almost scalded me but after remaining in it a few minutes I found it about the right temperature for bathing. The water in the basin was about <3> feet deep and of density enough to buoy a person up. I remained in the water nearly an hour.²⁸

~~en~~ We spent part of the day in arranging our packs. In the afternoon I visited Mr Carrington a mormon, the same that employed me to write Guides to California, <(>he was formerly a minister of the gospel in Vermont<)> ~~en~~ with whom I passed the time very agreeably.²⁹ I remained to tea ~~with him~~, & left him promising to call on him when I had got plenty of the dust[.]

Monday July 30th Today Cowan and myself after having purchased all our provisions, seperated from our two other companions intending to start in the P.M. but we were so delayed that we concluded to stop till morning

Tues. July 31st Cowan and myself started on route, leaving Crackline ~~to~~ & Nichols to follow at their leisure. Both of us having lost our horses we were obliged to travel on foot and drive our mules.

We have two mules packed with 110 lbs each, about 80 lbs of provisions each and the remainder in clothing. A third mule, which we have is unfit for riding or packing being badly galled & we drive him along hoping for a chance to dispose of him to advantage. We hope to make the trip in 35 days the distance is 861 miles We encamped at noon at Hot Springs where I boiled a peice of meat for dinner in the water coming from the springs, the water comes from a rock in the mountains and is slightly impregnated with Sulphur.³⁰ As we left the Springs we met about 40 indians on horseback, hearing at Salt Lake that they had sworn vengeance against the emigrants we made up our minds our time had come, but they passed us very quietly with the salutation of 'how d' ye do swap' we afterwards learned they were Shoshones and were going to hold a council with the Utahs on account of the murders Comitted on their people by the emigrants—We passed numerous small creeks and encamped at night near a small settlement of the Mormons—dis—10 miles

Wed. Aug. 1st Immediately after starting from camp we were overtaken by Nichols & Crackline who travelled along with us. Our course is along the foot of the Bear River mountain<s> between the mountains and G.S. Lake, which we can see very plainly from the road the shores of the lake are lined with Salt as far as the eye can reach. We passed Several Mormon farm houses to day & encamped at night on a small stream of fine water, dis—15 miles Heat intolerable—

Thurs Aug. 2nd Hot and dusty we made the Weber ~~Creek River~~ about noon and encamped beneath the trees along its banks where we remained till near sundown on account of the heat. I took a swim in the stream which runs very rapid, we forded ~~the~~ it with our animals the water being about 3 feet deep. After an hour's travel we arrived [at] a small settlement called Capt. Browns,³¹ we encamped about two miles beyond the settlement dis—19 miles

Fri. Aug. 3rd Hot—We passed several hot springs at the foot of the mountains, Box Elder Creek & several streams of fine, cold water. The atmosphere is so clear in the valley that objects can be seen at a great distance. The snow clad summits of 'Twin Peaks' near the Mormon city are are [*sic*] plainly visible [from] a distance of ~~a~~ 75 miles. The grass is covered with crickets which are as large as a man's thumb these are dried and used in the winter, by the indians, for food. We were almost devoured by mosquitos during the night dis. 18 miles.

Sat. Aug. 4th Strong wind during the night and this morning which kept me getting up and running after my hat in the night we managed to raise a fire after considerable perseverance. We crossed several fine creeks today and found good camping all along. Arrived at Bear River ferry about sundown & encamped on East side³²

The mosquitos were so ferocious we were obliged to suspend our culinary operations and make a hasty supper on hard bread.

Sun. Aug. 5th We crossed the river by ferry and swam our animals which detained us so long that we made but 3 miles in A.M. & encamped at noon on Malad or Mud creek.³³ the water here was so bad that we could not use it in P.M. we travelled 6 miles before we came to water, which was so brackish we could hardly drink it and we pushed on for better water. We travelled on till 9 o'clk in the evening, a distance of 16 miles when we arrived at 'Warm Springs' The water was salt and unpalatable but we were so thirsty we drank large quantities of it. We made Coffee of it but it was very unpleasant to the taste—dis 25 miles

Edward Jackson Journal Extract, July–August 1849³⁴

[July] 11. This morning the wind was cold & blew directly from the mountains, cold enough to freeze, & our hands & feet were numb. After travelling 9 miles we came to fort Hall, where the Oregon & Mormon or Salt Lake roads meet.³⁵ Which road to take we could scarcely choose, but by vote, decided to take the Mormon. We nooned at the Big Sandy, a rapid current & deep, withal.

This afternoon, our march was hot & short. (For we camped after marching 6 miles) on the Big Sandy with beautiful grass for the mules.

13. Started a little before sunrise this morning for a long march of 28 miles. After rising out of the valley we came upon an antelope but did not succeed in capturing him altho three were after him.

After a march of 3 hours, we met an emigrant, who was on his way to stop emigrants, from taking the Oregon road, as the grass is so scarce & the water so

poor that the cattle are dying off by hundreds, & as few had taken our course, we find the grass plenty, & the water good, & but four dead cattle in two days march, while for the last two weeks, the ~~ave~~ number has been from 30 to 50 a day.

We camped this noon on another Big Sandy which is similar to the first, with a quicksand bottom. We are always grateful when night comes for then it is cool, but in the middle of the day it is excessively hot.

We camped to night on the Green River, a majestic stream with banks well wooded with cotton trees, & plenty of grass. Here the Mormons have a ferry & are taking emigrants across at the rate of 4 dolls. a waggon & one doll. an animal. Their average receipts are \$100 per day; for they only pay the hands to work the boat \$5 a day & the emigrants work a little harder than they do. We crossed one waggon tonight, & 5 mules by swimming.

14. This morning we commenced swimming the rest of our mules; but they would not go; so after trying three times we gave it up & began on the waggons; After getting them across we took an old cart-body & towed the mules across by pairs; which required much hard labor & perplexed us much; & as there are always some drones in the hive, three of us had to do ninetenths of the work. However, we got them all across at 10 o clock. I regret to say that we lost one mule, because we tied the rope so tight round his neck, that he strangled. My own dear 'Mouse'³⁶ as usual took the lead, & swam across last night. We started off, & to let our mules graze a little encamped about 3 miles from the river in an old Indian encampment, where we found a wigwam & other marks of the race. We also caught an eagle which measured 5 feet from wing to wing. We did intend to camp here tonight, but the mosquitoes have driven us off & we encamp on the bluff 5 miles from here & let the animals graze on wild oats

15. <Sunday.> I say nothing against travelling on the Sabbath Stops; it is only to do more work than it will be to travel; so I think it would be as much sin one way as the other. We came today on a branch of the Colerado & stopped here 4 hours. While here Birt caught a salmon, which weighed, according to my best judgement, 5 lbs. We broiled him & he proved to be one of the few sweet morsels a fellow gets in crossing a prairie. We journeyed on to the next creek, called Black Fork, intending to camp there; but finding 4 encampments there we concluded to push on. In so doing we lost our way & did not come to the little dirty creek where we encamped till 10 o clock. It was quite dark, no moon, & so we just pickk~~et~~ted our mules as best we could; made a little tea, broiled a little fish, then turned in for the night having travelled 36 miles in the day.

16. As we turned in late, so we turned out late. It was 4½ when I awoke & I awakened the rest of the camp & we hitched right up as there was no feed here we travelled on 4 miles & came to fair feed—untackled & camped 5 hours & here I was obliged to go two miles for a bucket of good water. At the creek I had the good luck to find a nice memorandum book, having an Almanac, banking table & a blanke space for every day in the year besides a place for gold: —

The hardships of this journey over the prairies cannot be ~~told~~ written. You should hear it from the mouth & then you could not realize the fatigues & deprivations of a journey which would take the life of a common man. In the morning, cold bracing wind, with pure crystal water—in the afternoon sultry air, if any & water impregnated with alkali, or some mineral substance, to quench the thirst. These are the extremes we often suffer. We had a slight sprinkling of rain tonight. The first we have had since we left Ft. Laramie, 19 days.

We have travelled today over a country of delightful scenery. The Colorado mountains in the distance <covered with snow> & the curious formation of bluffs over which we travelled, in the foreground. The soil produces little but wild sage. This is very abundant & answers our purpose for fuel.

In the afternoon, I saw in the horizon 2 or 3 showers & towards evening one came directly over & caught me about a mile from the train, and gave me a complete ducking.

We have encamped at Ft. Brydger, situated on Bear Creek in a beautiful valley surrounded by high hills. The Ft. is a mere trading station, built of logs, forming a hollow square of about 50 feet. Around it were encamped a few Snake Indians. They seem civilized to a certain extent. They were cooking as emigrants do.

17th We have left the fort behind & our next spot of interest is the Mormon city. For 12 miles after starting the country was good for grazing & the water plenty & good. As we came into the valley of Muddy Creek, we came upon the Eutaw Indians with their families. We loaded up & prepared for action—but they seemed friendly & wanted to trade, which we did to some extent. I exchanged an old shirt for a pair of moccasins. I saw a fine looking squaw with rings on her fingers & I offered her a shirt for them & she took me up & when I come home you shall see them. I saw among them an old Indian, I should think 80 years old. Also, a deformed one. The first I ever saw. While one of our party was trying to trade a revolver for a pony, he fired the pistol to show it off & it burst into a hundred atoms.

We encamped to night after a long search for water in the mountains with a small supply of grass for the animals. Just as we were about retiring (throwing ourselves on the ground) we heard Indians at a little distance off & concluded to get our mules & tie them up to the waggons. It was my watch & I heard them occasionally all night & at one time, one of their large wolf-dogs came into the camp, looking more like a wolf, than a dog.—

18th This morning, as we were taking breakfast, about 50 Indians, squaws & children came into the camp. We found them disposed to be friendly & after eating of our breakfast they marched off.

We commenced our ~~tramped~~ over the steep hills & wound our tedious way down some of the sharpest pitches that a road ever went over. From the top of one of the hills, or mountains the view was very picturesque.

For miles, we saw the valley, not clothed with sand & prickly pear, but it was like our own New England soil, waving with luxuriant grass, watered by a

mountain stream which wound itself thro its wilds with now & then a clump of cotton trees. We nooned at the banks of the bear river & here found a hundred Indians who were soon among us, trading. They were Snake Indians. We bought a lot of moccasins—& I bought, or swapped a shirt for the dress of a squaw. But afterwards she wanted to back out; & I had to give her 3 rings to make her stick to her bargain. During our stay, two Indians got to fighting. They were strong & their way of fighting was, to lift each other up & throw him with all vengeance on the ground, & to pull each others hair. When we left they were still fighting. The Bear river, like all streams in the mountains is a swift current, about 3 ft deep & about 60 wide. After leaving here, we began again to ascend the hills, & at the close of the afternoon had just gone thro a high rocky pass, we came upon an encampment of Indians. There were a thousand of them; & they made a fine appearance. Some were preparing skins—some were shooting—others were jumping & hooting—dogs were barking & upon the whole, it was an amusing medley. They did not mind us much, except a few of the papooses who came & looked over the bank, at us.

Locke³⁷ went to jump a stream just here & (Lockelike) came down just in the centre of the stream, when they set up such a <yell> laughter as made the rocks ring.

We left them, & after climbing a tedious hill, encamped in a lovely valley well watered, & <wooded.>

July 19. What a cold morning. The white frost is upon every thing. After breakfast, we started, &, like a tunnel, the road wound up into a narrow ravine, which grew more narrow until the mountains encircled us; & thus we travelled all day in one of the most wonderfully grand passes that I can imagine. Above us towered the high mountains, hundreds of feet, & along our path ran a little fretful stream, which wound itself on in the narrow passage in such a way as obliged us to cross & recross it; a dozen times during the day. At times it would seem as tho the way was wholly stopped. But the little path would glide thro an unseen cleft in the rock, & bring us upon a beautiful sweet mountain spring, refreshing indeed.

During the day, one of our party shot a young elk, & at noon, Capt. Groves made broth of some of it, & it was splendid. Encamped 4 miles from Webbers Creek. It was about the size of Bear's Creek & noted for its trout. Two Mormons came to the camp & spent the night with us, & from them we derived much information.

July 20. We began to descend the river this morning & just as we came out of the south pass we were in sight of a curious rock or rocks resembling an ancient dilapidated castle.

We met some Indians, but had no trouble with them. Indeed, I consider this tribe a very cowardly set. An inferior class of Indians in all respects.

One of the company caught a regular New England trout today, which weighed a pound.

Just after entering another pass like the one we were in yesterday, we stopped to dine, & Locke made us a soup. The pass was more tedious than

yesterday, for we were forced to cross the creek 10 times, & in some places very bad crossings. In one of these, we had the misfortune to wrench one of our wheels, but I think it will stand us yet, for we are getting along quite comfortably. We camp tonight at the foot of a mountain which alone separated us from the Mormon settlement, a distance of 30 miles. We camped with an old mountaineer who told us doleful stories of our route, & gave us useful information.

He had with him a boy 10 or 12 years old, who he was training for a life like his own.

21. This morning we started again to climb the mountains, & crossed the stream 13 times, wading thro mud & water.

I found today some half-ripe gooseberries which were quite a luxury, as it was the first fruit I had tasted since I left the states; except a few strawberries I gathered at Bear River.

The mountains to day were not so rocky, but were covered with a sort of green bushes Two mountains in particular attracted my attention. They were remarkably high & seemed to encircle us. I thought of you Ellen³⁸ & if you could only see it, I should be satisfied. For me to enjoy alone all this truly grand & picturesque scenery is more than my portion. But, after all, the thorns are with the roses, for they have just told me that the wheel has crippled more & the axletree has cracked; & now our last resort is, to pack from Salt Lake. So you see link after link gives way, & mile after mile wears away, but my hope is that the last link will not break until the last mile is passed, & I am in the gold diggings.

22^d After leaving our encampment our [road] became even more rugged & up sharper pitches & for the first time since I left Independence, I found a great many large sized balsams & what attracted my attention more was a large sized white honeysuckle shaped flower as large as a dollar. After passing several beautiful springs, we came to the highest peak of the Rocky Mountains & from this point we saw the valley of the great Salt Lake through a small gap in the mountains. We are now about 7000 feet above a level of the sea. The mountains around us are covered with snow & the valleys are a living green. The contrast is strangely beautiful.

To descend this mountain is almost impossible, it is so very steep. We commenced by locking both of the waggon wheels & tying a rope on to the hind end & all hands hanging on. Even then it went down with all fury. When we got half way down, crash went a wheel; so we unhitched one team, got a young tree & made a pole of it; took off the hind wheels & put them in the place of the front; & took the front wheel. that was left & put behind & with the help of the pole got to camp.

23. Sun. We started on after crossing the Kenyon Creek which by the way we have crossed 19 times today & began the ascent of the mountain for the last time, before entering the Mormon Valley. It was so hard to ascend that we had to stop to rest every few rods. We soon began to descend but it was not so hard as the other descent tho quite difficult enough for the springs are constantly

running across the road; & emigration has worn it out. Just as we were ascending a side hill with a rivulet running 10 or 12 feet below, off went one of our waggons & away went the mules. With a little exertion we caught them & brought them back. But our waggon! O, it ~~it~~ was all in a heap. Every thing mixed together. Grease sugar (a little) flour; all was one mass. We picked up what we could & packed it on to one of the other waggons—harnessed up again—drew up the fragments of the waggon—straightened up the wheel (for another had crushed) & started on determined to get to the Mormon City with our waggons. After going thro the worst mud-hole I ever saw, we came to a pass where the mountains were so high that the sun did not shine in after 4 o'clock. We camped on the banks of the Kenyon, 5 miles from the city.

24th After washing up & putting on clean clothes (quite an event,) we started for the city & arrived within ½ a mile when coming upon a small elevation, there lay the far famed city before us! Extending 6 miles in length & 2½ in breadth; divided into squares each containing 1¼ acres of ground which was cultivated. They were growing different kinds of grain. They were reaping rye & gathering in many vegetables which were ripe.³⁹

I took myself down the first street & came to a house which was made of clay, baked in the sun. This makes a cool house in summer & a warm one in winter & resembles the blue granite. Here I got water in a glass tumbler, from the hands of a lady! (what an incident!)⁴⁰ which was cool & refreshing. While I was looking round the City to see what was to be seen, the waggons broke down entirely.

Early in the morning I had heard cannon roaring & I now learned that this day was the anniversary of their coming into the valley & that they were to have great ceremonies in a tent during the day & at the same time <we> † received an invitation from elder Pratt⁴¹ to go with him, which we readily accepted. So after each one of us had fixed up in his best, we started & walked over a bout a mile & found a kind of shed supported by a great number of posts where were collected about 5000 people & on a platform were the elders, & Prophet Young. In front of the platform was a band of music. Along the middle of the assembly were 24 silver greys, (old pioneers;) next on one side were 24 young ladies, & opposite, 24 young men, each holding a long lamp or a pole representing a lamp. All these 48 were dressed entirely in white. The saints were all around dressed in their best.

The services in the morning consisted of speeches from prophets Brigham & Young & the Elders interspersed with music from the band & songs from the 48 young men & women. Both the prophets & elders speeches were rantings malignant & hostile to our government & administration & the people in the West.⁴² They hold Young to be the greatest man now on earth, & that he knows every thing that is to come. For instance one man has left his wife & children in the states & the prophet tells him he shall soon see them, so that he rests, perfectly contented. They are the most ignorant class of people I ever met with.

At 12 o'clock the bell rang, & the prophet taking the lead—then others according to their rank, came in & formed a procession & marched around the tabernacle while the tables were preparing for the feast. The emigrants had a general invitation to partake, so, when all was ready, they marched in with the others & seated themselves to a well furnished table, having all the luxuries of the season besides pies puddings cakes & extra fixings. After dinner was over we again resumed our seats & listened to Yankee, Irish, & the like, stories which entertained us for the rest of the day.⁴³ I left about 3 & went to the camp to write you a letter which I mail tomorrow. In the evening they had a dance; but I was prevented from going by fatigue; but altogether this has been one of the happiest days of my journey.

25th I woke this morning perfectly well—but McCloud & White are both quite unwell from the effects of yesterdays dinner; but I think it will prove nothing serious. We now begin to sell all that we can possibly spare, at a great sacrifice. I shall sell all my fine things & keep only what I need. My jewelry now sells well & I find the camp in milk, butter, peas, beans &c. I get some money. Nothing in particular happened to day.

26. To day like all the days at this season of the year is fine & we have spent it in selling our things as well as we could. I bought a gun—giving ~~me~~ a pair of pants, a vest, & my old gun to boot.⁴⁴

This valley is surrounded by a high range of mountains, some of whose tops are always covered with snow. The valley is 40 miles long & 25 wide, almost level. On the west, lays Salt Lake, 20 miles from the City. The water is so buoyant that in Autumn it will float a person. No fish can live in it. The people make a tour to it for salt & shovel it up by cartloads. In the centre of it (the lake or plain?) is a mountain on which the people herd their cattle all the year round, the winter being very mild. They seldom have any snow—but have a wet & a dry season. They have an aqueduct in the city from some of the mountain springs, which conducts the water all over the city, so in the dry season they can raise fine crops. Trees are rare—There are no fruit trees. There are a few cotton wood trees. All their wood they draw down from the mountains 10 or 15 miles, which makes fuel scarce. Two miles from the city is a warm sulpher spring which flows from a mountain into a basin about a rod square, which makes a beautiful bathing place. About 2 miles further on are the hot springs. These I will describe bye & bye. To sum it all up, this valley is the most beautiful, I think, in the United States. We are now living on butter, milk, & vegetables. Is'nt it high living? I think it is. We are lounging round camp making sales as often as we can. This evening, I had an invitation to sup in town; which I, of course, accepted. The gentleman came for me, & I fixed up & went with him to his house which was just large enough for one room. I was introduced to his wife & daughter. The latter, pretty & about 18 years old. Both were talkative. Some _ dozen little children completed the circle. After chatting a while we sat down to a good supper of Tea, warm bread, peas, & rhadishes. All was nice, & served up on a large chest, neatly covered with a white table cover. The tea

disposed of, I spent the evening conversing with the young lady, the father having to go & hunt his cows. (What a pity!!)

At 9½ I started for the camp, & losing my way wandered about till eleven, when I came to a stack of rye & concluded to sleep there, when an emigrant happening to come along, I asked him where I was. He said he did not know, but he knew where a flag was flying. This I had noticed & made for, as he directed; but did not find it, & was just making up my mind again to lie down where I was, when I blundered on to our camp. I was a little tired, & finding some milk, I devoured it, & turned in for the night.

July 27. This morning our pack-saddles came in all rigged; & before night we were all ready for a start. I bought a pair of buckskin pants for which I paid not far from 15 dolls. (a modest price) but they were recommended so high that I took them.

28 Rumors came in the morning of the murder of two squaws by ~~the~~ <some> emigrants, who took their horses & sold them at this city. The consequence of this cannot be told. It is certain that two of the emigrants must forfeit their lives for the penalty. The Indian character you all know & innocent blood must be shed.

I had the pleasure today of seeing Walker, or the 'Hawk of the mountains,' as he is called. He is the most powerful chief in the Rocky mountains.⁴⁵ He is known by all the tribes from here to California. They all fear & revere him. He is not more than thirty years old, middle size, mild, but very striking countenance. Naturally good disposition. It is said that with but a handful of men, he will sweep the mountains. It is wonderful how the Indians ride their wild horses. With nothing but a larette in his mouth, they will dash off at full speed, fearing nothing. The Eutaws are a medium size & good features. They use generally bows & arrows.

28th [29th] We are still lying idle here, waiting for the Virginia company. Nothing of note has occurred today. We still live on buttermilk.—

Sunday 30. To day is observed but little among the Mormons. They were early around our tent this morning, to trade, but we taught them we did no trading on Sundays. The forenoon I spent in writing & sleeping; in the afternoon, I went to church. After sitting a long time, one of the elders got up & made a speech & of all speeches I ever heard it was the worst. He was an ignorant infidel, not knowing what he said; condemning the Bible & everything & everybody except themselves & all praise was not enough for these ignoramuses. The music was the same Mormon tunes I had heard so often. They played before & after services.

31st This afternoon, after some trouble, we got our mules, & began packing. I hired an old packer to assist me & for a wonder the mules stood still.

After waiting a long time for the Virginia Company, we started without them and got along very well, until after we passed the warm spring where we found a dozen emigrants bathing. We had passed it only a few rods when a girth broke & Doll commenced prancing; but I caught her in time to save a general fracas & had her to pack again.

She was hardly packed when another laid down & so had to be repacked. We came today to the hot Springs—hot enough to boil eggs. One of the mules got in here; but she was soon out, I assure you. ‘Mouse’ got her pack onside, & we were obliged to ~~un~~<re>pack her. We came to an encampment about 3 o'clock & concluded to wait here for the Virginia Company, who made their appearance about 5 o'clock. Our camp is at the foot of a range of mountains, beside a beautiful spring & a log hut where I have just spoken for some butter & milk. The Indians have become very hostile. The chief refused to smoke with the Mormons & that is the sign of enmity. Many armed indians passed thru the city yesterday & I am afraid we shall have trouble. We shall number 15 well armed men & hope to be able to defend ourselves.

Aug 1st After a tedious tramp we came to Brown’s Ft. a Mormon fort of small note. The road was sandy & difficult to travel & the day hot & sultry.

At noon we camped by a beautiful spring in which I found two parts of a skull. This afternoon we passed several mountain rivulets clear & beautiful; and beside one of these we camped for the night. Giving up our waggons at Mormon city, we were obliged also to give up also our plates & forks as well as all other extras & do as well as we can without.

Aug 2. This morning, the mosquitoes helped us to get up at 4 o'clock & by six we were off & marching thro beautiful scenery & a fertile country, well watered by beautiful streams

It is now quite difficult to find feed because a company before us burned all the grass in their reach. At noon we came to a valley, in which I found six springs. Two were hot salt springs, two were copper, & two deliciously cold.

We had good water, but no wood, where we stopped & nooned. So for our comfort, we had to eat ship-bread & drink cold water, but as I was hungry it went well. A vision appeared to me as I ~~eat~~ ate my supper tonight of a nice white table-cloth, white cups & plates, new baker’s bread, some of Friday White’s butter, with a piece of ice upon it, some currants with white sugar, & to wind off, a nice cup of green tea from C——e’s hand. You see my wishes are few, but too many to be gratified.—

We came today to Bear River, a rapid stream about 60 feet wide. Here the Mormons have a ferry; although it can be forded a little way above. We camped on a bluff hard by.

Epilogue

Edward Jackson arrived in Sacramento on September 15, 1849. William Z. Walker arrived nearly two months later, on November 12, having stopped to prospect at other places on the way. Under date of September 13 at Bear River (California), he recorded, “After working all day . . . we had made just \$4. to be divided among four of us. . . . finally, the ridiculous expression that each could see on his neighbor’s face struck us at the same time and we all burst into a hearty laugh.”

A terse, photocopied newspaper obituary is affixed to the page containing Walker's last journal entry. It reads: "WALKER.—Killed in the battle of Newbern, N.C., March 14, 1862, Lieutenant William Z. Walker, of the Ninth Regiment New Jersey Volunteers, formerly of Haverhill, Mass. [San Francisco and Sacramento, California, papers please copy.]"⁴⁶

Edward Jackson's sister wrote on the last page of his recopied diary:

After [blank] years residence in the mines, he returned to Newton [Massachusetts]; & found his family in good health. Under the paternal roof were gathered all his brothers & sisters with their husbands & wives; to receive the wanderer; in all, 17; his parents, & plenty of nieces & nephews, beside.

He relinquished all idea of returning, & went into business in Thompson Ct.

Brian D. Reeves is the University Archivist, working in the Department of Special Collections and Manuscripts at Brigham Young University.

1. On August 10, 1848, they had celebrated what Parley P. Pratt called "a harvest feast." Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 363–64.

2. See Brigham D. Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City: 1849 and 1850* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 101. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 57–71, gives an insightful account of the scarcity of food in the Salt Lake Valley during the winter of 1848–49 and of the immediate positive impact that the Gold Rush had on the local economy.

3. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards to Elder Orson Hyde and the Authorities of the Church in Pottawattamie County, Iowa, July 20, 1849, reprinted in *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 11 (November 15, 1849): 337.

4. Heber C. Kimball (1801–68) served as first counselor to Brigham Young in the First Presidency of the Church from December 27, 1847, until his death. 1993–1994 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1992), 46.

5. Robert G. Cleland and Juanita Brooks, eds., *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 1:114. See also Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 53–54.

6. Joseph Holbrook, *Diary*, typescript, 1:71, quoted in Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 71.

7. John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–60* (1979; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 308. Unruh devotes a chapter ("The Mormon 'Halfway House,'" 302–37) to relations between Mormons and westbound emigrants, particularly during 1847–57.

8. Unruh, *Plains Across*, 334–35.

9. Shirley Sargent, ed., *Seeking the Elephant, 1849: James Mason Hutchings' Journal of His Overland Trek to California* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1980), 156.

10. Unidentified author, *Journal*, May 12, 1849, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives); Edward Jackson, *Journal*, August 2, 1849, BYU Archives.

11. John F. Cobbey, *Journal*, April–July 1850, BYU Archives. Cobbey did not record how many buffalo were killed in the incident.

12. See, for instance, Merrill J. Mattes, *Platte River Road Narratives: A Descriptive Bibliography of Travel over the Great Central Overland Route to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Montana, and Other Western States and Territories, 1812–1866* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); and John M. Townley, *The Trail West: A Bibliography-Index to Western American Trails, 1841–1869* (Reno, Nev.: Jamison Station, 1988).

13. William Z. Walker, Journal, October 21, 1849, BYU Archives.

14. A few examples follow: “I thought of you Ellen” (July 21); “I left about 3 & went to the camp to write you a letter which I mail tomorrow” (July 24); “mother, I saw some of your favorites (snakes)” (August 10).

15. A parenthetical note recorded on one page of the journal refers to Edward Jackson in the third person (May 16). Written in ink inside the front cover of the volume is “Marian J. Gilbert. West Newton. 1855,” hence the assumption that she was the one who recopied her brother’s journal. The following is written on the same page: “Life of Timothy Jackson; —Notices of William Jackson, son of Timothy; Journal of Edward, son of William.”

16. Walker’s journal, written in ink, begins in Boston on March 19, 1849, and ends in Sacramento on November 12, 1849. The volume is 153 pages in length and measures approximately 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

17. Walker’s party initially thought that they were on the Sublette Cutoff, which “was more direct than the Salt Lake Road, but in consequence of its ‘dry drive’ of more than 50 miles, . . . emigrants during hot weather usually tried to . . . travel all night, and reach the Green River early the following day.” Dale L. Morgan, “The Ferries of the Forty-Niners,” part 3, section 1, *Annals of Wyoming* 32, no. 1 (April 1960): 51.

18. Latter-day Saints operated two ferries on the Green River during the summer of 1849, one on the Salt Lake Road and another on the Sublette Cutoff, thirty miles upstream as the crow flies. On June 12, 1849, nine persons, headed by A. L. Lamoreux, left Salt Lake City for the purpose of ferrying emigrants across the Green River. Others in the company were “Thomas Mane, Joseph Murdock, George Bradley, Daniel Funk, Augustus Dodge, S. H. Marble, Nathaniel M. Dodge, and Zemira Palmer.” They arrived about June 20 at the lower crossing and remained until the first week in August. One forty-niner later recalled having met Ephraim Hanks, another Latter-day Saint, at the ferry. The ferry on the Sublette Cutoff began operating near the end of June. Morgan, “Ferries of the Forty-Niners,” 51–65.

19. Since June 24, William Z. Walker had traveled in a foursome with J. K. Cowan, William Nichols, and Joseph Crackline, after dissension caused the larger company of which they had been a part to divide “into fourths, there being 4 messes of 5 each. . . . we have got in our mess 5 mules & about 100 lbs provisions each.” Walker’s group ended up with four members because the fifth joined another company.

20. According to Ray A. Billington, “Books That Won the West: The Guidebooks of the Forty-Niners and Fifty-Niners,” *The American West* 4, no. 3 (August 1967): 25, there were “thirty or more guidebooks used by the forty-niners on their way to California.” Helen B. Kroll, “The Books That Enlightened the Emigrants,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (June 1944): 103–23, includes a partial bibliography of guides used by westbound emigrants.

21. Fort Bridger (Wyoming) was established by Jim Bridger and Louis Vasquez “on a bluff overlooking Black’s Fork” in 1842. In 1843, Bridger moved from the bluff to the river bottoms, which became the enduring site of the fort. Fred R. Gowans and Eugene E. Campbell, *Fort Bridger: Island in the Wilderness* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 8, 10.

22. The area around Fort Bridger was home to the Shoshone and Bannock nations. Gowans and Campbell, *Fort Bridger*, 38.

23. William Clayton, *The Latter-day Saints' Emigrants' Guide* (1848; reprint, edited by Stanley B. Kimball with biographical introduction by James B. Allen, Gerald, Mo.: Patrice Press, 1983), 78 (page 19 of 1848 edition), listed the altitude as 7,245 feet. According to Stanley B. Kimball (p. 79), the altitude is closer to 7,420 feet.

24. "The Pioneer trail was a difficult, not to say desperate, proposition. It required the crossing of two steep and dangerous heights, and travel in the narrow, crooked canyon bottoms was almost as hard on wagons and animals as the ascent and descent of the two mountains. In East Canyon the road crossed and recrossed the stream 13 times in 8 miles; after surmounting Big Mountain, it lurched back and forth across Mountain Dell Creek 12 times in the space of 5 miles, 'all bad crossing places'; and after struggling over Little Mountain, it snaked across Emigration Canyon Creek 19 times in 5 miles before emerging into Salt Lake Valley." J. Roderic Kornes and Dale L. Morgan, *West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails across Utah*, rev. Will Bagley and Harold Schindler (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994), 251. See also Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 26.

25. The first meeting was held in the new bowery on the Temple Block on July 15, 1849. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1941), 83. Journal History of the Church, July 24, 1849, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, describes the bowery as "a building 100 feet long and 60 wide, built on 104 posts, and covered with boards; but for the services of this day a canopy or awning was extended about 100 feet from each side of the Bowery to accommodate the vast multitude at dinner."

26. The Saints, still bitter over their recent persecutions in Missouri and Illinois, frequently gave vent to their feelings in public discourses, as on this occasion. See Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 69, 96–97, 107–8.

27. Tensions mounted between Utes and white settlers in the following months. On about August 1, a Native American, known as "'Old Bishop' or 'Bishop Whitney,'" was killed in an altercation with three young Mormons in Provo. Other skirmishes ensued. This round of difficulties culminated in February 1850 in a series of battles between Ute warriors on one side and U.S. troops and Mormon militia on the other. The Utes had acquired some of their weapons in trades with westbound forty-niners. One Mormon and as many as forty Utes were killed in the conflict. Conway B. Sonne, *World of Wakara* (San Antonio: Naylor Company, 1962), 85–98.

28. "The springs filled a pool twenty feet square and fifteen inches deep with crystal-clear water, and green, black, and yellow pebbles covered the bottom. Water temperature was 105 degrees and a perpetual cloud of vapor hung over the pool. . . . As many as twenty people could bathe at one time." Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 93; Sargent, *Seeking the Elephant*, 154–55.

29. Albert Carrington was born January 8, 1813, in Royalton, Vermont. He was Brigham Young's secretary at the time when he employed Walker's services. One month later, in August 1849, Carrington was hired as "a chief assistant" by Captain Howard Stansbury of the U.S. Corps of Topographical Engineers. Carrington helped to survey the Jordan River and Utah Lake, was "a straw boss of the survey crews," and was one of the record keepers for the expedition. He returned with Stansbury to Washington, D.C., in August 1850, where he spent several months helping the latter to compile his report. Carrington departed Washington on May 9, 1851, and returned to Salt Lake City. He was a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles from 1870 to 1885. He died in Salt Lake City in 1889. Brigham D. Madsen, "Stansbury's Expedition to the Great Salt

Lake, 1849–50,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 2 (spring 1988): 151, 153, 157–58; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 1:126–27.

30. The hot springs was not quite three miles north of the warm springs. One argonaut, James Hutchings, had a thermometer and found the temperature of the hot springs to be 122 degrees. Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 95; Sargent, *Seeking the Elephant*, 155.

31. James Brown (1801–63), a member of the Mormon Battalion, purchased Miles Goodyear’s fort on the Weber River in late 1847. In 1848 he erected another fort, located southeast of Goodyear’s and farther from the river. Brown is credited with being the founder of Ogden, Utah. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 605; Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:283–84.

32. “The more careful travelers and by far the largest number of emigrant trains chose to proceed along the Salt Lake Road north from Salt Lake City past the present towns of Bountiful, Hooper, Plain City, Willard, Brigham City, to Collinston and the crossing of Bear River, to a point just west of Plymouth through Rocky Ford of the Malad River, west past Snowville, and then through Emigration Canyon to a junction with the Fort Hall Road just south of City of Rocks.” Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 110.

33. “Beyond the Malad there was only desert and the emigrants were out of Mormon country.” Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 112.

34. The journal begins in Independence, Missouri, on May 3, 1849, and ends in Sacramento on September 15, 1849. The eighty-eight-page account is housed in a volume that measures approximately six by eight inches.

35. Jackson was mistaken as to his whereabouts. The junction of the Oregon and Mormon trails was just west of Pacific Springs (Wyoming). Fort Hall (Idaho) lay much further west on the Oregon Trail. The author’s confusion may have stemmed from a severe illness that struck him on July 6. He recorded on July 9: “All the company brought their recipes for curing the cholera each one wanting me to try his & I nearly drained the train of Brandy.”

36. Jackson’s mule was “named for his youngest sister Cornelia who was playfully called ‘Mousie.’” Jackson, *Journal*, May 16, 1849. On August 10, he recorded, “I rode ‘Mouse’ for the first time this afternoon & she was as gentle as her namesake, & carried me thro places where I should have had difficulty in walking.” Jackson lost this mule on August 12, but found her again sometime after reaching Sacramento.

37. Jackson recorded on June 14: “On the 7th I parted company with the Dr & his party & joined William Locke & Aaron M_____ from Cambridgeport, . . . I hope to remain with them the rest of my journey.”

38. Jackson is likely referring to his sister Ellen, who was listed as age twenty-five in the U.S. Federal Census of 1850 for Newton, Middlesex, Massachusetts.

39. At the festivities, which Jackson attended later that morning, Brigham Young said, “Why do we not celebrate the 4th of July? . . . We chose this day that we might have a little bread to set on our tables; to-day we can see the bread, cucumbers, and beets, that we could not have seen twenty days ago.” *Journal History*, July 24, 1849, 2.

40. The forty-niners saw very few white women on the trail, and beholding them again in Salt Lake City was a highlight recorded by multiple diarists. See Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 96.

41. Parley P. Pratt (1807–57) was a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles. In 1848 he began building a road through what is now Parleys Canyon to provide an easier descent into the Salt Lake Valley than could be had on the treacherous trail

through East and Emigration Canyons. His Golden Pass Road was ready for public travel in July 1850. The *Deseret News*, which carried Pratt's announcement of the new road on June 29, 1850, noted, "Those only can know the difference, who travel both routes." Pratt earned fifteen hundred dollars in tolls on the road in 1850 but sold his rights to it in 1851 to earn money for a mission to Chile. The Golden Pass Road was seldom used from 1851 until 1862, when the lower part was incorporated into an overland stage route and was also used by Latter-day Saint emigrant companies. Today, U.S. Interstate 80 goes through Parleys Canyon. Kornes and Morgan, *West from Fort Bridger*, 259–65.

42. At least four speakers commented on the injustices that Latter-day Saints had endured in Missouri and Illinois. The Saints were not, however, unpatriotic. At 7:30 A.M. on this date, they hoisted "a large national flag, measuring sixty-five feet in length." Later, Richard Ballantyne presented the Declaration of Independence and Constitution to President Brigham Young, who led the assembly in "three deafening shouts" of "May it live for ever and ever." Brigham Young said in his remarks that "there are no difficulties in the laws or constitutions, but many of the administrators are corrupt." *Journal History*, July 24, 1849, 1–4.

43. Among numerous toasts offered on the occasion, two by Daniel H. Wells were specifically directed to the forty-niners: (1) "The Gold Mines and the Gold Diggers; as the one glitters in the earth, so may the others shine with virtuous principles and goodness of heart." (2) "The emigration to the Gold Mines: When snakes and beasts, storms and winds, and cattle grow perverse, When these annoy, and those destroy, *just charge it to your purse.*" *Journal History*, July 24, 1849, 3.

44. Trading was the most common means of transacting business between the forty-niners and Latter-day Saints. According to Amos Piatt Josselyn, a forty-niner, "We can trade groceries for anything that they have, but they will not sell for money for they have plenty and cannot buy what they want with it." Madsen, *Gold Rush Sojourners*, 46, quoting from Dale L. Morgan, ed., "Letters by Forty-Niners," *Western Humanities Review* 3, no. 2 (April 1949): 103.

45. Walkara (1808–55) was a Ute chief. According to Sonne, *World of Wakara*, 71, quoting from *Journal History*, March 26, 1850, Walkara attended the July 24th festivities in Salt Lake City "as an invited guest," accompanied by two hundred braves. The *Journal History* for July 24, 1849, p. 2, simply stated that "two or three score of Indians also partook of the repast."

46. Brackets included in obituary.

“No Man’s Land”: The Place of Latter-day Saints in the Culture War

Frederick Mark Gedicks

Recent political developments in the United States find Latter-day Saints in an isolated but distinctive position, aligned with neither the religious right nor the progressive left.

The First World War featured the Germans stalemated across from the French and British along a six-hundred-mile front that ran from the Belgian coast all the way to Switzerland. Separated at crucial spots by only a few hundred yards, the armies on each side dug elaborate systems of trenches, reinforced by timber and sandbags to protect against artillery fire and ringed by barbed wire to thwart infantry charges.¹

So effective were those fortifications that for more than two years the opposing lines moved less than ten miles in either direction. Artillery barrages and the newly invented machine gun chewed up the sliver of land separating the armies into “a muddy, . . . impassable desert” devoid of “habitation and vegetation.” The soldiers called this space no man’s land.²

The scarred and forbidding middle ground between two warring armies is an apt metaphor for the position of Latter-day Saints in contemporary cultural conflicts. The use of “warfare” as a metaphor for these conflicts was popularized by James Davison Hunter several years ago in his book *Culture Wars*.³ According to Hunter, current cultural conflicts stem less from denominational differences than from “political and social hostility rooted in different systems of moral understanding.”⁴ On one side are the “orthodox”: cultural traditionalists who are committed to “an external, definable, and transcendent authority,” who represent an “unchangeable measure of value [that] tells us what is good, what is true, how we should live, and who we are.”⁵ On the other side are “progressives”: cultural liberals with a libertarian social agenda defined by “a spirit of rationalism and subjectivism.”⁶ Their first instinct is not to affirm traditional Judeo-Christian beliefs, like the traditionalists, but to reinterpret them “according to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life.”⁷

These cultural attitudes cut across denominational lines.⁸ The orthodox wings of different denominations often have more in common politically with each other than they do with their more liberal brothers and

sisters within the faith.⁹ The result is the drawing of political battle lines on the basis of cultural attitudes rather than denominational beliefs.

As support for his thesis, Hunter cites, among other evidence, the extent to which Latter-day Saints have been drawn into political cooperation with conservative Christians in recent years.¹⁰ Here Hunter echoes Dean Kelley, who nearly twenty years earlier linked Latter-day Saints with fundamentalist and Evangelical Protestants as examples of the dynamic growth of conservative religion.¹¹

Of course, on cultural issues there is little question that Latter-day Saints are closer to the “orthodox” right than the “progressive” left. Latter-day Saint beliefs and practices include a traditional allocation of gender roles within a two-parent family,¹² a moral code that forbids all extra-marital sexual relations,¹³ a law of health that prohibits consumption of coffee, tea, alcohol, tobacco, and illegal drugs,¹⁴ and doctrinal declarations that oppose abortion rights¹⁵ and same-sex marriage.¹⁶ Virtually all of these Latter-day Saint attitudes and practices are shared with other conservative Christians.¹⁷ “A moralism that rejects social and individual permissiveness,” concludes one study, “is where Mormons and Conservative Christians stand on common ground.”¹⁸

Nevertheless, Hunter’s interpretation of the sources of cultural conflict oversimplifies the political relationship of Latter-day Saints to other conservative Christians, especially conservative Protestants. Notwithstanding their similar cultural attitudes, Latter-day Saints and conservative Christians are divided on at least three important issues. First, Latter-day Saints have a historically shaped consciousness of the precariousness of minority religious status, a consciousness that is *not* generally shared by conservative Christians in the United States. Second, their radically different understanding of Christianity makes Latter-day Saints a target of criticism and attacks by more “orthodox” Christians, especially fundamentalist and Evangelical Protestants. Finally, in contrast to the resurgence of conservative Christian activism in the last two decades, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as an institution has remained largely apolitical since the 1960s. The first two of these differences actually place Latter-day Saints as close to the cultural left as to the cultural right, if not closer, while the last places Latter-day Saints outside of the “culture war” paradigm altogether. All of them suggest that Latter-day Saints should not be uncritically grouped with conservative Christians on cultural issues.

Minority Mentality

The history of violent persecution of their religious forebears is an integral part of contemporary Latter-day Saint identity. Virtually every Latter-day Saint knows the basic story of the Mormon expulsion out of

Missouri, the assassination of Joseph Smith, the crossing of the frozen Mississippi when the Saints were expelled from Illinois, the suffering and death along the prairie during the western migration, and the extreme hardships that accompanied the settlement of Salt Lake Valley. These events are regularly taught as part of the Church's Sunday School and youth education curricula. The Church commemorates them each year on Pioneer Day, which celebrates the arrival of the Mormon pioneers in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. Many American Latter-day Saints are descendants of those who suffered and perished for their faith, and the memory of these sacrifices is kept alive in the telling of family stories.¹⁹

For Latter-day Saints, then, the memory of religious persecution is vivid and strong. It is also unique among American Christians. No other Christian denomination in the United States, not even Roman Catholics, can lay claim to such a recent and violent legacy of persecution at the hands or under the eyes of American government authorities.

Perhaps as a result of their history, Latter-day Saints tend to be significantly more liberal than conservative Christians in their attitudes towards minorities. Latter-day Saints are strongly supportive of broad readings and applications of First Amendment rights, exceeding on many issues support by nearly all other Christian denominations, including Roman Catholics, for the protection of civil liberties of unpopular groups.²⁰ Studies also show that Latter-day Saints are significantly more religiously tolerant than conservative Protestants (and, ironically, more tolerant of conservative Protestants than such Protestants are of Latter-day Saints).²¹ Latter-day Saints are also more tolerant on racial issues than the conservative Protestants in these studies,²² despite the fact that the Church did not begin ordaining African Americans to its lay priesthood until 1978 (Official Declaration 2). LDS congregations are defined strictly by geographic boundaries and thus include all people of any race who live within that area.

This relative sensitivity to minority rights is especially evident in the level and intensity with which Latter-day Saints support legislative initiatives that enhance protection of the free exercise rights of members of minority religions.²³ These attitudes are grounded deeply in LDS scripture, particularly in Doctrine and Covenants 134.

Although conservative Christians support the free exercise of religion, they often allow commitments to other values to override their commitment to the free exercise of religion for religious minorities. For example, when the Supreme Court held in *Goldman v. Weinberger* that the free exercise clause did not protect an orthodox Jewish officer who wished to wear his yarmulke on duty in violation of Air Force uniform regulations,²⁴ Latter-day Saints in Congress supported by a two-to-one margin subsequent legislation to overturn the decision.²⁵ Other conservative Christians were more ambivalent about interfering with military discretion, even to

protect the free exercise of religion: conservative Protestants concentrated in the pro-defense South generally opposed the legislation, and “most of the Senate’s prominent evangelical Protestants” voted against it.²⁶

The same pattern emerged with respect to the coalition that lobbied for the passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). RFRA was designed to reestablish the protective compelling interest test under the free exercise clause, the test that the Supreme Court had abandoned in 1990 in *Employment Division v. Smith*.²⁷ The LDS Church was a strong early supporter of RFRA, from the beginning of the lobbying effort to secure its passage through its unsuccessful defense before the Supreme Court in *City of Boerne v. Flores*.²⁸ The Church made clear that the basis for its support was RFRA’s protection of the free exercise rights of unconventional religious minorities. Testifying before Congress in support of RFRA as an official representative of the LDS Church, Elder Dallin H. Oaks linked the Church’s support of RFRA directly to its history of persecution: “I know of no other major religious group in America,” he declared, “that has endured anything comparable to the officially sanctioned persecution that was imposed upon members of my church by Federal, State, and local government officials.”²⁹ Elder Oaks continued:

Although my church is now among the five largest churches in America, we were once an obscure and unpopular group whose members repeatedly fell victim to officially sanctioned persecution because of religious beliefs and practices. We have special reason to call for Congress and the courts to reaffirm the principle that religious freedom must not be infringed unless this is clearly required by a compelling governmental interest.³⁰

Oaks was emphatic that RFRA was needed precisely to protect the rights of unconventional religious minorities:

I wish to point out that most of the court cases involving Government interference with religious liberty involve religious practices that appear out of the ordinary to many. By their nature, elected officials are unlikely to pass ordinances, statutes or laws that interfere with large, mainstream religions whose adherents possess significant political power at the ballot box. But political power or impact must not be the measure of which religious practices can be forbidden by law. The Bill of Rights protects principles, not constituencies. The worshippers who need its protections are the oppressed minorities, not the influential constituent elements of the majority.³¹

The reaction of conservative Christians to RFRA was somewhat different. While RFRA was pending in the early 1990s, it appeared that the Supreme Court was poised to overrule *Roe v. Wade*.³² As a result, many conservative Christians, such as Missouri Synod Lutherans and Roman Catholics, refused to support RFRA for fear that it might create a religion-based statutory right to abortion at the very time that the Supreme Court would have eliminated the constitutional basis for abortion rights. The

Roman Catholics ultimately joined the RFRA coalition but only after the *Casey* decision in 1992 made it clear that an abandonment of *Roe* was not forthcoming.³³ Many conservative Protestants were also late in supporting RFRA. Judging from their comments in the wake of RFRA's invalidation, their belated support of RFRA seems to have been motivated less by a desire to protect religious minorities than by political commitments to weakening the power of the federal judiciary and relaxing establishment clause restrictions on government endorsement of religion.³⁴

Latter-day Saints rank protecting the free-exercise rights of minority religions higher—perhaps much higher—than conservative Christians. The LDS Church did not allow the risk of creating a statutory abortion right or of encouraging judicial activism to weaken its support for RFRA, although the LDS Church is clearly opposed to abortion and most of its leaders and members are politically conservative. Nor did the Church see RFRA as a means of removing constitutional obstacles that prevent government endorsement of religious practices, in spite of the fact that both the leaders and members of the Church are culturally conservative believers.

Latter-day Saints were once violently persecuted by the Protestant majority in the United States and remain a minority in every American state except Utah. It is no coincidence that they are especially sensitive to the protection of minority religious freedom. Despite their general conservatism on cultural issues, Latter-day Saint attitudes on religious and other minorities are significantly different from those of conservative Christians, as close to the cultural left as to the cultural right.

Theological Distinctiveness

Latter-day Saints and conservative Christians are deeply divided over at least three fundamental theological issues: the nature of God, the primacy of the Bible as scripture, and the relationship of faith and works to salvation.³⁵ Briefly stated, Latter-day Saints do not believe in the orthodox triune God, as do conservative Protestants (and, indeed, most other Christians).³⁶ Although Latter-day Saints believe in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (A of F 1), they believe them to be separate beings united in purpose and not in substance.³⁷ Nor do Latter-day Saints believe that the human and the divine are eternally different,³⁸ as do most other Christians.³⁹ Lorenzo Snow, President of the LDS Church at the turn of the century, taught that “as man now is, God once was: as God now is, man may be.”⁴⁰ Latter-day Saints believe that this couplet applies to our Heavenly Father as well as to his Son, Jesus Christ; thus, they maintain that the Father as well as the Son has a tangible, resurrected body⁴¹ and that human beings have the divine potential to become gods themselves.⁴²

Latter-day Saints do not restrict the scriptural canon to the Old and New Testaments, as do virtually all other Christians. In addition to the

Bible, Latter-day Saints include the Book of Mormon and two collections of the revelations and writings of Joseph Smith and some of his successor prophets as scriptural works equal in authority to the words of the Bible.⁴³ Protestants interpret these additions as a rejection of the principle of *sola scriptorum*, which vests “final authority in The Word only as it was manifested in the Old and New Testaments.”⁴⁴ Most Christians also dispute that these additions are revelations from God. Some Christians further maintain that the Latter-day Saint additions contradict the Bible,⁴⁵ and they object to the LDS claim that its leaders are living prophets, who can authoritatively interpret scripture.⁴⁶

In addition, Latter-day Saints differ dramatically from conservative Christians in their understanding of the experience of being “born again.” This experience, in which one accepts Jesus Christ as his or her personal Savior and is thereby “saved,” is central to the religious experience of Evangelical Protestants.⁴⁷ For Latter-day Saints, however, while salvation from death is a free gift to all through the Atonement of Christ, salvation from sin is available only through repentance, forgiveness, and “obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel” (A of F 3). In other words, spiritual rebirth is not sufficient by itself for salvation and exaltation but must be combined with faith and good works.⁴⁸

These disagreements are not merely minor theoretical details. They are the source of intense animosity by conservative Protestant denominations and many of their members toward Latter-day Saints. Sociological data shows that conservative Protestants are substantially less tolerant of Latter-day Saints than they are of any other Christian group. The “social distance” of conservative Protestants from Roman Catholics “is considerably less than that from Mormons, though Catholics constitute the second least desirable group for the Conservatives.”⁴⁹

In fact it was Evangelical Protestants who supplied the strongest political pressure for the antipolygamy laws that nearly destroyed the LDS Church in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Calls by contemporary conservative Protestants for the reestablishment of the United States as a “Christian Nation” have an unsettling resonance to arguments used by the nineteenth-century Supreme Court to justify dismantling the LDS Church, confiscating its property, and curtailing the civil liberties of its members,⁵¹ especially when conservative Protestants continue to be the source of some of the most vicious attacks on the LDS Church and its beliefs and practices.⁵²

These theological disagreements are also the basis for the persistent and frustrating accusation that Latter-day Saints are not Christians. To the extent that this assertion means that Latter-day Saints do not believe in or worship Christ as the only means of overcoming death and sin, it is simply false.⁵³ Some conservative Protestants misinterpret Latter-day Saint beliefs

as rejecting the divinity of Jesus Christ and diminishing the importance of his sacrifice on the cross and thereby classify the LDS Church as a cult.⁵⁴ Latter-day Saints do not contest their theological differences with conservative Protestants, but they resent the way that they are excluded from the Christian mainstream and allocated to the theological fringe with Heaven's Gate and the Branch Davidians. Their cultural conservatism notwithstanding, the theological ground occupied by Latter-day Saints puts them in the conservative Protestant line of fire.

Apolitical Methods

The last difference I will describe between Latter-day Saints and conservative Christians comes from the realm of politics. I will argue that the LDS Church is fundamentally apolitical, although I need to qualify this statement somewhat. First, the LDS Church has long been involved in the state politics of Utah and the surrounding Rocky Mountain states, although somewhat less these days than in the past. My argument about the Church's stance of political neutrality applies mainly to national and international political issues. Second, the contemporary church is far less political than the church of fifty or even twenty-five years ago. My argument focuses on the LDS Church of today.

Even with these qualifications, the apolitical stance of the Church today is sometimes more aspirational than actual and certainly more aspirational than LDS Church leaders sometimes would like. The Church makes a conscious choice to leave local leaders a large amount of discretion in interpreting and applying Church policy; occasionally that discretion is abused. There are doubtless examples of LDS bishops and stake presidents whose actions are inconsistent with the description I will make. I maintain, however, that these stand out as exceptions to a general rule of political neutrality.

With those qualifications understood, one confronts a puzzling curiosity—where *are* the Latter-day Saints in politics? In contrast to literally hundreds of political action groups sponsored by Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, there are no such Latter-day Saint groups. Individual Latter-day Saints are active in groups sponsored by others, especially secular conservative groups like the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation. When it comes to distinctly Latter-day Saint political action, however, there is only the Church itself.

It is common for priests, ministers, and rabbis to preach over the pulpit about certain political issues, especially in an election year. Churches and synagogues frequently distribute voter guides in conjunction with worship services and offer their chapels and buildings for candidate speeches and debates and other political meetings. By contrast, the LDS Church instructs its local leaders not to endorse candidates or causes or to

allow any sort of political activity in LDS meetings or buildings,⁵⁵ staying well away from the allowable lobbying limits permitted of tax-exempt organizations. Since 1960, Church leaders have taken care not to disclose their preferences in presidential and other elections,⁵⁶ a practice that was reiterated in 1988. “We have no candidates for political office,” stated the Church’s First Presidency, “and we do not undertake to tell people how to vote.”⁵⁷ When he testified in favor of RFRA, Elder Oaks pointed out how remarkable it was for a General Authority of the LDS Church to take a public stand in favor of a particular piece of legislation.⁵⁸

The LDS Church encourages its members to be active in politics “and to vote for those who will most nearly carry out their views of government and its role”⁵⁹ but rarely allows any political activity in the Church’s name. It does take public positions on what it calls “moral issues.” One such public position included opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment in the late 1970s;⁶⁰ these days such statements are limited primarily to opposing abortion rights, same-sex marriage, legalized gambling, euthanasia, and the production and distribution of pornography.⁶¹ The Church also takes positions on legislative initiatives, such as RFRA, that affect the ability of the Church or its members to practice the LDS faith. Even when taking a public stand on an issue of morality or the free exercise of religion, however, the Church generally keeps a low profile, often preferring to work through individual Latter-day Saints and non-LDS organizations.

The LDS Church’s narrow and cautious political profile stands in stark contrast to that of the many conservative Christian political action groups. The Christian Coalition, for example, has a detailed and comprehensive political agenda that calls for direct action on a school-prayer amendment to the Constitution, a private school voucher system, balanced budgets, term limits, anti-euthanasia laws, restrictions on the availability of divorce, a nationwide ban on gambling, eliminating various federal departments and agencies, eliminating tax penalties on two-parent families, limiting access to abortion and pornography, privatizing public welfare programs, enacting a parental rights act, rejecting the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and creating federal incentives for victim restitution and prisoner work programs.⁶² Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Council with aspirations for the United States presidency, has argued that conservative Christian beliefs should require support for “expanding [NATO], rebuilding the U.S. defense resources, including a missile defense system, and investigating human rights policies of Chinese companies seeking trade with the United States.”⁶³

Of all these conservative Christian initiatives, the LDS Church has articulated official policies on only two—opposing abortion and euthanasia—and has taken public positions in support of only two others—opposition to pornography and legalized gambling. It has never taken a position

on the advisability of so central a feature of Christian conservatism as a constitutional amendment to return group prayer to public schools.⁶⁴

The LDS Church's low political profile is the result of a clear understanding among both leaders and members that nothing should stand in the way of their fulfilling the primary mission of the Church—namely, to preach and promote the gospel of Jesus Christ. One group of sociologists has described Latter-day Saints as possessing “an ingrained religious pragmatism which is preoccupied with expansion of the Church as a church through vigorous internal and external proselytizing.”⁶⁵ From the standpoint of the Church, political activity risks internal divisions among its members. “The result,” warned President Spencer W. Kimball, “would be to divert the Church from its basic mission of teaching the restored gospel of the Lord to the world.”⁶⁶

The risks of political activity by the Church were evident in its involvement in the Equal Rights Amendment controversy of the late 1970s. The Church formally opposed the ERA, fearing that it would take mothers into the workplace and otherwise undermine the traditional family.⁶⁷ The Church's organizational and fundraising efforts were decisive in defeating ratification in several states, but the Church's active opposition to the ERA split the membership.⁶⁸ As a young law student at that time, I well remember the animated arguments in the congregations I attended about whether Church leaders were correct to have aligned the Church with anti-ERA forces and whether this precluded members from supporting the amendment or, indeed, required them to oppose it. In late 1979, the LDS Church excommunicated Sonia Johnson, reportedly for opposition to Church leaders, which manifested itself in certain feminist and pro-ERA statements and activities. This excommunication further fueled divisive arguments among members and drew intense and generally uncomplimentary media scrutiny, which presumably was detrimental to missionary work.⁶⁹

The LDS Church's fundamental apoliticality is especially evident outside of the United States. The Church has virtually no public political profile in foreign countries, not even in liberal democracies that guarantee religious freedom, such as Japan, Australia, or the countries of the European Union. Moreover, it never allies itself outside of the United States with agents of revolution or reform, not even in countries saddled with dictatorships or totalitarian regimes.⁷⁰ The result in some countries is the embarrassing perception that the Church is aligned with oppressive or reactionary political forces.

What matters most to the LDS Church is not the elimination of political oppression (although it obviously opposes it) but the ability of its missionaries to proselytize and its members to practice the essential elements of the LDS faith and implement the Church's programs as divinely

directed. Acquiescing to the prevailing political order ensures its ability to carry out this mission with the minimum of government interference, though at the cost of eliminating itself and sometimes its members as a source of social and political reform.⁷¹ It is a cost that the Church has long been willing to pay.

For example, prior to the fall of the Iron Curtain, the LDS Church had for many years been interested in gaining institutional recognition and missionary access to the Soviet Union and its client states in Eastern Europe. It had a particular interest in East Germany; proselytizing in the first half of this century had yielded a large number of German converts, many of whom did not emigrate to the United States.⁷² When the Soviets partitioned Germany after World War II, thousands of Latter-day Saints were caught behind the Iron Curtain without regular supervision and support of the institutional church.⁷³

The strategy undertaken by the Church to gain admission of its missionaries and recognition of the Church in East Germany was a repeated emphasis on the fact that the Church and its members were “good citizens” who represented no threat to the Communist regime.⁷⁴ The Church used its apolitical orientation to full advantage, emphasizing that it had no interest in supporting counterrevolution or political reform in East Germany but desired only to proselytize and provide funds and other institutional support so that existing Latter-day Saints in East Germany would have the full range of LDS programs and services available to them.⁷⁵ In the mid-1970s, the Church succeeded in obtaining exit visas for East German Latter-day Saints to attend Church conferences in West Germany and the United States⁷⁶ by promising that none of them would defect to the West. The East German Saints were instructed that the future activities of the Church in East Germany depended on their returning at the conclusion of the conference. All did.⁷⁷

The Church eventually built an extraordinary relationship with the East German government, receiving permission to send American missionaries and to build a number of buildings,⁷⁸ including a temple, thereby enabling the East German Saints to participate in the most sacred aspect of Latter-day Saint worship.⁷⁹ In 1988 the Church received government permission not only to send American missionaries into East Germany but to call East Germans on missions for up to two years outside of East Germany—to Argentina, Canada, Chile, Great Britain, and the United States.⁸⁰

The LDS Church has for decades consistently followed this accommodationist policy all over the world. It enjoyed as much growth under rightist dictatorships in South America as it has under the liberal democratic regimes that succeeded them. President Hinckley, during his tour of Africa

in March 1998, issued to the president of Ghana, who came to power in a military coup, the familiar assurance that Latter-day Saints are “good citizens” who obey the law (A of F 12) and represent no threat to the government of their country.⁸¹ In contrast to conservative Christians, who oppose most-favored-nation trading status for China as a lever against its persecution of Christians,⁸² the Latter-day Saints are sending English teachers and folk dancers to China at their own expense, to show the Chinese government that they have nothing to fear from us.

Both inside and outside of the United States, the LDS Church strongly encourages obedience to the existing political order, condemning extremism at both ends of the political spectrum. “Let no man break the laws of the land,” states the LDS Doctrine and Covenants, “for he that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land.”⁸³ And just in case anyone misunderstands that apoliticism, the scripture continues, “Wherefore, be subject to the powers that be, until he reigns whose right it is to reign, and subdues all enemies under his feet” (D&C 58:22). To be sure, Latter-day Saints are not religiously obligated to uphold evil or unjust laws; LDS scripture elsewhere suggests that Latter-day Saints are not required to sustain governments that do not respect basic human rights.⁸⁴ Still, this situation is viewed as an exception releasing individual members from the general rule of obedience to and respect for all laws.⁸⁵ Revolutionaries and activists are rare among the Latter-day Saints, and the Church itself rarely deviates from its course of political accommodation in service to its mission of preaching the gospel.

This is not to say that the LDS Church is uninterested in changing society but only that it is generally uninterested in devoting its resources to effecting such change through political activism. For the LDS Church, political change, if it is to come about at all, will occur indirectly, as the result of the world’s gradual embrace of the fullness of the gospel, and the Church is for the most part content to effect that embrace within existing political and governmental structures.

Conclusions

Latter-day Saints occupy a no man’s land in the culture war. They have little in common with the cultural left beyond a sensitivity to the plight of minorities and are frequently lumped with conservative Christians as targets of criticism by the left. Nevertheless, the conservative Christians that dominate the cultural right are not as sensitive to the situation of religious minorities in general, and they are intolerant of Latter-day Saints in particular. Additionally, conservative Christians are far more invested than Latter-day Saints in using the power of government to alter social and cultural norms so that these norms are more supportive of their religious beliefs.

What difference should all this make? I draw two conclusions. First, the cultural right should not take Latter-day Saint support for granted in the culture war. Latter-day Saints have a fundamentally different normative conception of church-state relations than do conservative Christians. They are generally uninterested in reestablishing a “Christian Nation” through political activism, especially when the activists most interested in that project do not consider Latter-day Saints to be Christians.⁸⁶ The sensitivity of Latter-day Saints to the plight of religious and other minorities in the United States also makes them unlikely allies for many items of the conservative Christian agenda and potential allies on these issues with the cultural left.

Second, Latter-day Saints themselves should be wary of uncritically adopting the agenda of the cultural right, even though they share some cultural attitudes with conservative Christians. While life for Latter-day Saints would certainly be easier if society had cultural norms that affirmed our culturally conservative beliefs instead of undermining them, the cultural norms advanced by conservative Christians are not necessarily an improvement on the secular status quo for Latter-day Saints. Secular background assumptions may well be easier for Latter-day Saints to cope with than the dangers that would attend government endorsement of conservative Christian religion, particularly in the public schools. It is far from clear that Latter-day Saint interests are better served by a public morality defined by a majoritarian religious movement little concerned about minority rights, instead of a secular morality which disdains religion as anachronistic and irrelevant but which nevertheless is committed to protecting the rights of religious minorities.

In the end, the discomfiting reality for Latter-day Saints is that they are caught out in the open of the culture war, not welcomed in the trenches of either side. From the standpoint of the left, the sensitivity to minorities that we share with them is simply not enough to overcome the broad range of issues on which our views are unquestionably conservative. That same sensitivity to minorities, along with theological difference and political neutrality, prevents us from becoming allies of the cultural right.

Latter-day Saints occupy the cultural no man’s land between left and right. That place is uncomfortable, inhospitable, and dangerous. Nevertheless, it is where we are, and ironically, it is where we seem to be thriving.

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1. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., sv. "The Technology of War."
2. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, sv. "The Technology of War."
3. See James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991).
4. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 42.
5. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 44, 46.
6. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 44, 46.
7. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 44–45.
8. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 42, 43.
9. Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 47.
10. Hunter notes that Latter-day Saints were among the founding associations forming the conservative Religious Network for Equality for Women in 1976. He groups Latter-day Saints with Evangelical Protestants, charismatic Catholics, and orthodox Jews in their attitudes on abortion and suggests that conservative Catholics, Evangelical Protestants, and Latter-day Saints are equally concerned about the secularization of America. He also observes that conservative Catholics, Evangelical Protestants, and Latter-day Saints "generally view the survival of the bourgeois family as essential, not just because it was believed to be established in nature and ordained by God, but because it is believed to foster social harmony." Hunter, *Culture Wars*, 100, 129–30, 145, 181.
11. Dean M. Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches Are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
12. Church leaders have taught the following concerning two-parent families and gender roles:

Children are entitled to birth within the bonds of matrimony, and to be reared by a father and a mother who honor marital vows with complete fidelity. . . . By divine design, fathers are to preside over their families in love and righteousness and are responsible to provide the necessities of life and protection for their families. Mothers are primarily responsible for the nurture of their children. (The First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," *Ensign* 25 [November 1995]: 102 [hereafter cited as "The Family"]).

See also Darwin L. Thomas, "Family Life," Martha Nibley Beck, "Women, Roles of," and Victor L. Brown Jr., "Men, Roles of," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:490, 4:1575–77, 2:888–90.

13. See, for example, "The Family"; Terrance D. Olsen, "Sexuality," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1306–7.
14. See Doctrine and Covenants 89; Joseph Lynn Lyon, "Word of Wisdom," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1584–85; Gordon B. Hinckley, "Be Ye Clean," *Ensign* 26 (May 1996): 48.

15. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints teaches that abortion is a sinful practice and instructs its members to consider undergoing an abortion only in cases in which the mother's life or health is seriously threatened, the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest, or the fetus is unlikely to survive birth. See Mary K. Beard, "Abortion," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:7. See also "The Family," which states, "We affirm the sanctity of life and of its importance in God's eternal plan."

16. See Victor L. Brown Jr., "Homosexuality," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:655–56; "The Family," which states, "Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God. . . . Gender is an essential characteristic of individual premortal, mortal, and eternal identity and purpose. . . . [T]he sacred powers of procreation are to be employed only between a man and a woman, lawfully wedded as husband and wife."

17. See Merlin B. Brinkerhoff, Jeffery C. Jacob, and Marlene M. Mackie, "Mormonism and the Moral Majority Make Strange Bedfellows? An Exploratory Critique," *Review of Religious Research* 28 (March 1987): 236, 238, 239; Armand L. Mauss, "Assimilation and Ambivalence: The Mormon Reaction to Americanization," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 22 (Spring 1998): 41, 42; Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, *American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 212, 214.

18. Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, "Mormonism and the Moral Majority," 246. See also Albert J. Menendez, *Evangelicals at the Ballot Box* (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1996), 224. Menendez observes that Latter-day Saints and Southern Baptists constitute the two most politically conservative religious voting blocs in Congress.

19. See Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson, *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 1997), 13, which states, "For many Latter-day Saints, [the expulsions from New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois] are not yet ancient history. The murders, the rapes and the burnings are still a deeply felt part of our family heritage. Many still cherish the memory of each nineteenth-century outrage committed against their forebears"; *The Religious Freedom Restoration Act: Hearing before the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate, One Hundred Second Congress, Second Session on S. 2969: A Bill to Protect the Free Exercise of Religion*, 102nd Cong. 35 (1993): 30, 40 (statement of Dallin H. Oaks, Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). In his testimony, Elder Oaks noted that some of his ancestors immigrated to America "as refugees from religious persecution in their native lands," that most of them "suffered with the Mormons in their earliest persecutions," and that his third great-grandmother, who was among those expelled from Missouri and Illinois, "died on the plains of Iowa, a martyr to her faith." He also noted that his grandfather's oldest sister was sentenced to three and a half months in the territorial penitentiary for refusing to testify against her husband in a polygamy prosecution (35–36).

20. See Roof and McKinney, *American Mainline Religion*, 191–95. Although Latter-day Saints are generally more supportive than Roman Catholics of civil liberties for unpopular minorities, they are slightly less supportive than Catholics of civil liberties for homosexuals (192–93).

21. Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, "Mormonism and the Moral Majority," 240, 242. These authors note, however, that "while Mormons appear to be more tolerant of Conservative Christians than the conservatives are of them, the absolute social distance scores are still high, indicating only a degree of acceptance on the part of Mormons for the Conservative Christians" (242).

22. Roof and McKinney, *American Mainline Religion*, 197–200; Mauss, "Assimilation and Ambivalence," 39–41. See also LDS Church Home Page, "Myth-Conceptions,"

http://www.lds.org/en/4_Global_Media_Guide/Myth-Conceptions.html, May 20, 1999, which states, “We repudiate efforts to deny to any person his or her inalienable dignity and rights on the abhorrent and tragic theory of the superiority of one race or color over another.” Mauss reports that levels of racial tolerance seem to be somewhat less among LDS converts than among those raised in the Church. Mauss, “Assimilation and Ambivalence,” 41. See also Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, “Mormonism and the Moral Majority,” 238. The results of their study showed that the statement “It is a sin to discriminate against people because of their ethnicity” failed to differentiate Latter-day Saints from conservative Protestants and other religious groups.

23. See also Gary C. Bryner, “Political Teachings,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1103–4; Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 655–57.

24. 475 U.S. 503 (1986).

25. Menendez, *Evangelicals at the Ballot Box*, 235.

26. Menendez, *Evangelicals at the Ballot Box*, 235.

27. 494 U.S. 872 (1990).

28. 117 S.Ct. 2157 (1997).

29. *The Religious Freedom Restoration Act*, statement of Dallin H. Oaks, 30.

30. *The Religious Freedom Restoration Act*, statement of Dallin H. Oaks, 32.

31. *The Religious Freedom Restoration Act*, statement of Dallin H. Oaks, 31.

32. 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

33. See *Planned Parenthood of S. E. Penn. v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833 (1992).

34. For various articles dealing with arguments for and against RFRA and the political forces behind these arguments, see Phillip E. Johnson, “Afterword,” *Nexus: A Journal of Opinion* 2 (fall 1997): 170, 173; Jay Alan Sekulow and John Tuskey, “*City of Boerne v. Flores*: The Justices Know Best,” *Nexus: A Journal of Opinion* 2 (fall 1997): 53; “Supreme Court Strikes Religious Freedom Restoration Act: Amending the Constitution Is the Only Way to Restore America’s Religious Liberty Protections,” <http://www.cc.org/publications/ccnews/ccnews97.html#rfra>, May 20, 1999; “Christian Coalition Applauds Protection for Religious Freedom in Federal Workplace: Calls for Religious Freedom Everywhere Else, Too,” <http://www.cc.org/publications/ccnews/ccnews97.html#fedwork>, May 20, 1999.

35. The depth of these differences may be more apparent than real; conservative Protestants and Latter-day Saints who have attempted genuine conversation about these issues are often surprised by the amount of theological agreement. For example, see Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?*

36. See, for example, Commission on Theology and Church Relations of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, “A Brief Statement of the Doctrinal Portion of the Missouri Synod: Of God,” <http://www.lcms.org/belief.asp>, May 13, 1999; “The Baptist Faith and Message—a Statement Adopted by the Southern Baptist Convention,” <http://www.utm.edu/martinarea/fbc/bfm/2.html>, May 17, 1999.

37. LDS Home Page, “Core Beliefs and Doctrines—Godhead,” http://www.lds.org/en/4_Global_Media_Guide/Core_Beliefs_and_Doctrines.html, May 13, 1999. Stanley Hauerwas suggested to me that many conservative Protestants are actually so focused on Jesus Christ to the exclusion of the Father and the Holy Ghost that they may be closer on this issue to Latter-day Saints than they are to Roman Catholics and main-line Protestants.

38. See Stephen E. Robinson, “God the Father,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:548–49.

39. See, for example, Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 97, which states, “Evangelicals are determined to preserve the distinction between the Creator and the creation.”

40. Lorenzo Snow quoted in Robinson, “God the Father,” 2:549. Joseph Smith also taught this doctrine. See “The King Follett Discourse,” in Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 342, 345–46. Although this teaching has not, strictly speaking, been canonized, it is “so widely accepted by Latter-day Saints that this technical point has become moot.” Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 85.

41. See Doctrine and Covenants 130:22; Robinson, “God the Father,” 2:548.

42. See Robinson, “God the Father,” 2:549; “The Family”; Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 82, which states, “The soil from which the LDS doctrine of deification grows is the belief that humans are of the divine species and that the scriptural language of divine paternity is not merely figurative.”

43. See W. D. Davies and Truman G. Madsen, “Scripture,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1277; Robert L. Millet and Noel B. Reynolds, eds., *Latter-day Christianity: Ten Basic Issues* (Provo, Utah: FARMS and Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998), 13–23; Article of Faith 8; Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 76.

44. Jan Shipps, “‘Is Mormonism Christian?’ Reflections on a Complicated Question,” *BYU Studies* 33, no. 3 (1993), 447.

45. Stephen Robinson maintains that any such contradictions are not with the biblical text but with the nontextual creeds through which other Christians read the text. Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 59–60.

46. Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 76.

47. See Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, “Mormonism and the Moral Majority,” 238; Shipps, “‘Is Mormonism Christian?’” 454.

48. See Ed. J. Pinegar, “Born of God,” and Alma P. Burton, “Salvation,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:218–19; 3:1256–57. See also Dallin H. Oaks, “Born of God,” *Ensign* 28 (May 1998): 56–57; Millet and Reynolds, *Latter-day Christianity*, 35–39.

49. Brinkerhoff, Jacobs, and Mackie, “Mormonism and the Moral Majority,” 240 (data citations omitted from quotation).

50. See, for example, James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 401–2; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 177–80; John T. Noonan Jr., “The End of Free Exercise?” *DePaul Law Review* 42 (1992): 580.

51. These similarities are illustrated by a comparison of *Late Corp. of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States*, 136 U.S. 1, 48, 49 (1889) and *Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333, 341, 345 (1889) with the statements from three recent communications: “Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church Communicator,” <http://38.241.170.2/communicator/junejuly/ralph.htm>, April 6, 1998; James Dobson, “Family News from Dr. James Dobson,” *Focus on the Family Newsletter*, June 1996, 3–4; Summit Ministries, “The Role of the Bible and Christianity in America,” May 20, 1999, http://www.christiananswers.net/summit/amer_her.html#AMER_HER_L4. In *Late Corp. v. United States*, the court ruled that plural marriage is “a crime against the laws, and abhorrent to the sentiments and feelings of the civilized world,” a “barbarous practice . . . contrary to the spirit of Christianity and of the civilization which Christianity has produced in the Western World,” and in *Davis v. Beason* that by threatening monogamous marriage—“the union for life of one man and one woman in the holy estate of matrimony”—“bigamy and polygamy are crimes by the laws of all civilized and Christian countries.” These

arguments are similar to contemporary conservative Christian calls for a “Christian Nation.” See, for example, *Coral Ridge Presbyterian Communicator*, which states, “Churches today are obligated to seek to overturn the sinful nature of our land and the world and discover the truth of what our Founding Fathers started—a Christian Nation.” See also Dobson, who quotes John Jay: “It is the duty . . . of our Christian nation to select and prefer Christians for their rulers.” Dobson also quotes Justice David Brewer: “This is a religious people. This is historically true. From the discovery of this continent to the present hour, there is a single voice making this affirmation. . . . We find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. . . . These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation.” Compare also the following statement made by Summit Ministries: “When one examines history . . . one cannot avoid the conclusion that America was founded on Christian principles and the assumption that her citizenry would adhere to those same principles.”

52. See generally Mauss, “Assimilation and Ambivalence,” 60–61.

53. See Robert L. Millet, “Jesus Christ,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:724–26. See also Dallin H. Oaks, “Have You Been Saved?” *Ensign* 28 (May 1998): 55.

54. See Shipps, “Is Mormonism Christian?” 455–56, 461–62.

55. See “Political Neutrality and Non-Use of Church Buildings,” First Presidency Letter, June 9, 1988, reprinted in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1733.

56. See David B. Magleby, “Contemporary American Politics,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1107.

57. “Political Neutrality and Non-Use of Church Buildings,” 4:1733.

58. Dallin H. Oaks has said:

As a general rule, our church does not take positions on specific legislative initiatives pending in Congress or State legislatures. Our action in this matter is an exception to this rule. It underscores the importance we attach to this congressional initiative to restore to the free exercise of religion what a divided Supreme Court took away in *Employment Division v. Smith*. (*The Religious Freedom Restoration Act*, statement of Dallin H. Oaks, 30)

59. “Political Neutrality and Non-Use of Church Buildings,” 4:1734.

60. See Robert Gottlieb and Peter Wiley, *America’s Saints: The Rise of Mormon Power* (New York: Putnam, 1984), 200–10; Magleby, “Contemporary American Politics,” 3:1108.

61. See Spencer W. Kimball, “A Report and a Challenge,” *Ensign* 6 (November 1976): 6; First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to General Authorities; Regional Representatives; Stake, Mission, and District Presidents; Temple Presidents; Bishops; and Branch Presidents, February 1, 1994; Patty Henetz, “LDS Cash Carries Gay-Marriage Fight: Mormon Church Has Spent \$1.1 Million on Ballot Battles in Hawaii and Alaska,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 26, 1998, A1; “Church Opposes Government Sponsored Gambling,” *Ensign* 16 (November 1986): 104; “LDS Council Opposes Oregon Measure,” *Deseret News*, October 8, 1994, A8; “First Presidency Calls for Fight against Pornography, Obscenity,” *Improvement Era* 69 (April 1966): 264.

62. Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox, “Conclusion: The Christian Right in Campaign ’96,” in *God at the Grass Roots, 1996: The Christian Right in the American Elections*, ed. Mark J. Rozell and Clyde Wilcox (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), 255, 260; Ralph Reed, *Active Faith* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 192.

63. Jessica Lee, “Religious-Right Leader Sets Foreign Policy Goals,” *USA Today*, April 14, 1998, 6A.

64. Robert E. Riggs, "Government-Sponsored Prayer in the Classroom," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18 (fall 1985): 43–44, 52.
65. Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, "Mormonism and the Moral Majority," 243.
66. Spencer W. Kimball, (Edward L. Kimball, ed., *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982], 407), quoted in Riggs, "Government Sponsored Prayer in the Classroom," 52.
67. See Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 203–4; Magleby, "Contemporary American Politics," 3:1108.
68. Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 659; Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 28, 204–6.
69. Gottlieb and Wiley, *America's Saints*, 27–28, 206–9.
70. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith*, 683–96.
71. See Brinkerhoff, Jacob, and Mackie, "Moralism and the Moral Majority," 244.
72. See Thomas S. Monson, *Faith Rewarded: A Personal Account of Prophetic Promises to the East German Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 132; Thomas S. Monson, *The Church in a Changing World* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1989), 4; Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis, comps. and trans., *Behind the Iron Curtain* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996), ix–xiv.
73. See Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 12; Monson, *Church in a Changing World*, 5.
74. See, for example, Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 60, 133.
75. See Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 53, 84, 113, 126; Monson, *Church in a Changing World*, 11–14.
76. Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 19–20, 49, 83.
77. See Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 26–27.
78. See Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 63, 134–35, 139.
79. Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 70, 72–73, 88; Monson, *Church in a Changing World*, 9–10.
80. See Monson, *Faith Rewarded*, 158–59; Monson, *Church in a Changing World*, 12–14.
81. Steve Fidel, "Pres. Hinckley Announces Plans for First W. Africa Temple," *Deseret News*, February 16, 1998, A1.
82. See, for example, "Christian Coalition Opposes MFN for China," <http://www.cc.org/publications/ccnews/ccnews97.html#mfnc>, May 21, 1997; "Christian Coalition to Include MFN Vote in Its 1997 Congressional Scorecard: Family Group Opposes Renewal of MFN for China," <http://www.cc.org/publications/ccnews/ccnews97.html#mfnscore>, June 23, 1997.
83. Doctrine and Covenants 58:21. See also Articles of Faith 12, which states, "We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law."
84. See Doctrine and Covenants 134:5, which states, "We believe that all men are bound to sustain and uphold the respective governments in which they reside, *while protected in their inherent and inalienable rights by the laws of such governments*; and that sedition and rebellion are unbecoming every citizen *thus protected*, and should be punished accordingly" (italics added).
85. See, for example, Doctrine and Covenants 134:1, which states, "We believe that governments were instituted of God for the benefit of man; and that he holds men accountable for their acts in relation to them, both in making laws and administering them, for the good and safety of society."
86. See W. Cole Durham Jr., "Church and State," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:281–82.

Sizing Up the Divide: Reviews and Replies

CRAIG L. BLOMBERG and STEPHEN E. ROBINSON. *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1997. 228 pp. Paperback, \$11.99.

I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARIES

Matthew R. Connelly and BYU Studies Staff

In August 1997, Stephen E. Robinson and Craig L. Blomberg published through InterVarsity Press a book that broke important ground in LDS and Evangelical circles. The award-winning book—*How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*—is a bold attempt to conduct an ongoing, civil dialogue between Mormons and Evangelicals.

As the title suggests, *HWD* asks a significant question. At issue is the degree of difference and similarity between Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals. By addressing these in an insightful, scholarly, and informative manner, the book intends to elicit individual responses to the question the title poses. It does not attempt to impose authoritative answers to the question. That burden is left to the individual readers who, based on the material in the book and careful thinking, must decide for themselves the breadth of the divide.

The appearance of *HWD* is distinctive because it presents, for the first time in LDS circles since the B. H. Roberts–C. Van der Donckt debate of 1902,¹ a well-informed and respectful public dialogue between two scholars who seek to define, explain, and openly discuss their respective beliefs on their own terms, without surrendering to reckless polemics. In this book, the question of who is ultimately right or wrong is temporarily set aside.

Because *HWD* attempts to navigate the sensitive, unfamiliar waters of real religious understanding, it is expected the book will be subject to intense scrutiny for some time to come. Several LDS and Evangelical scholars have already taken occasion to express what they think about the book. Their reactions, as found in these earliest published reviews, range from high praise or sharp criticism to the more often trod middle path.

The primary purpose of this introductory summation is to review the main reviews and isolate the issues that seem of primary importance to reviewers. Because the number of published LDS reviews is small and because Evangelical responses to the book have been voluminous, legitimate questions may arise as to what degree the reviews discussed in this essay are representative of either faith's viewpoint.² Nevertheless, through

this survey, readers can at least be alerted to the issues that are most significant to some of the more informed members of each community.

By extracting the issues as the reviewers see them, this essay will provide authors Robinson and Blomberg with a framework from which to operate as they respond to the reviewers' conclusions. Readers will, of course, want to refer to the full text of any reviews to resolve any contextual questions. It is not possible in this brief essay to be completely neutral or to nuance each point properly.

The Book's Authors and Unique Format

This type of book could be effective only if written by qualified parties. Robinson holds a doctorate degree in religious studies from Duke University, and Blomberg a doctorate from the University of Aberdeen (Scotland) in New Testament. Robinson is a professor of ancient scripture at Brigham Young University, and Blomberg is a professor of New Testament at the Denver Seminary, affiliated with the Conservative Baptist Association of America. Although formal education does not guarantee accurate information, both authors have distinguished themselves within their respective communities as reliable scholars.

The authors believe that the time for an honest, straightforward, and civil discussion of each side's beliefs is long overdue. In their view, a discussion of this kind will establish a clear departure point for ongoing dialogue and a firm foundation upon which future discussants might build. In Robinson's words, a major purpose of this book is to "explain and to educate—at last to hear and to tell the truth about each other" (21). According to Blomberg, the conversation is intended for "recognizing [our] areas of agreement and clarifying the nature of [our] disagreements" (32).

The book's unique format helps to establish an effective avenue for future dialogue. After an introduction authored separately by Robinson and Blomberg, four chapters treat what the authors believe to be primary issues of Christian theology. They are scripture, God and deification, Christ and the Trinity, and salvation. For balance, the authors alternate who leads off each chapter, and each writes in light of what the other has written so that neither has an unfair advantage.

Each chapter includes a section in which the author expresses (1) representative views of his own faith community, (2) his views on common misconceptions usually held by members of the other faith, and (3) the author's misgivings about the other faith's position. Finally, a jointly-authored conclusion assesses the differences and similarities between them on the topic contained in that chapter.

Background Assumptions

Certain background assumptions surfaced during the process of examining the reviews. Awareness of these will alert readers to the general

paradigms within which the reviewers function. Defining these assumptions will likely raise new questions that will help readers to grasp the full scope and implications of the book.

One fundamental concern is whether one can, in fact, speak authoritatively for a particular religion. One Evangelical reviewer encouraged readers to dismiss completely the joint conclusions in the book because Robinson claims to speak for himself and not officially for the LDS Church.³ The assumption, of course, is that only certain people can argue the LDS position in a way that would be considered valid to Evangelicals. But who would that be? The Prophet? The Twelve? No one says, but the question is important.⁴ To invalidate Robinson's contributions simply because he does not speak in an official capacity creates an equally difficult problem for Evangelicals. If they argue that Robinson is not to be taken seriously, then what of Blomberg? He, too, claims to speak for himself and not officially for any one (27). Should Latter-day Saints dismiss Blomberg's contributions because he does not speak officially for Evangelicals? Doing so would jeopardize *any* attempt at interfaith dialogue.

A second general problem lies in the question the book's title asks—one that the authors and reviewers believe can be and has been answered to some degree. One wonders further, however, about criteria by which this question can actually be answered. Even assuming that it is possible to determine the location of a theological divide, how can its breadth be measured? Neither the authors nor reviewers provide a measuring device; ultimately, they leave that responsibility to individual readers. This may contribute not only to the irresistible attraction of the book but also to its ultimate discomfiture.

Finally, throughout the reviews, most Evangelicals and even some Latter-day Saints apparently assume that Robinson must bear the primary burden of proof in this dialogue. Such an assumption is unwarranted. No arbiter imposes the burden of proof on either Robinson or Blomberg. In fact, the authors themselves usually refuse to place this burden on one another. While they present misgivings about each other's faith, neither Robinson nor Blomberg attempts to exact a response with the idea that if a point goes unsatisfactorily answered, the other side has suffered defeat. To assume that either author ultimately has the burden of proof goes contrary to the spirit of the book.

Scripture

Since Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals place substantial emphasis on scripture, the reviewers' agreement in favor of this topic's prominence is strong.⁵ The problem arises with the question of what constitutes scripture.

For Latter-day Saints the concept of scripture is more complicated than for Evangelicals. Evangelicals hold a narrow view of scripture, confining their definition of scripture to the Bible and to a lesser extent certain Christian creeds. Latter-day Saints define scripture to include not only the four standard works in the official canon but also a host of inspired statements made by modern prophets. In addition, the LDS view of scripture can extend to insights originating within the sacred confines of personal revelation. While the latter two sources are uncanonized and therefore not binding on the Church as a whole, most Latter-day Saints consider them extremely valuable, primarily because they provide a more personal and contemporary body of divine direction. For Latter-day Saints, these benefits far exceed any difficulty inherent in the idea of an open canon.⁶

Critiquing the authors' views of LDS and Evangelical definitions of scripture was a central task for most reviewers of *HWD*. They find several issues to be of principal significance, and they hope for further clarification from the authors.

As expected, Evangelicals are quite outspoken on what constitutes scripture. The issue of an open canon occupies a prominent place in their reviews. Of chief concern are Robinson's arguments that the Bible itself does not propound the idea of a closed canon and does not purport for itself to contain all necessary revelation from God. On the one side, according to Evangelical reviewers, Robinson's arguments in favor of an open canon still do not adequately address Evangelical arguments in protest against the LDS approach.⁷ On the other side, Evangelicals neglect to deal with the degree to which the Bible itself contains information that is helpful but not essential for salvation. With this in mind, why should Evangelicals require Latter-day Saints to demonstrate that their additional scripture is *necessary* for salvation? Would Evangelical soteriology be materially altered by the loss of a chapter or two from Second Chronicles? Probably not. Similarly, even if the LDS scriptures added nothing to Christian soteriology, what they do contain could still (on the model of much of the Bible) be the word of God.

Troublesome to Evangelicals is Robinson's attempt to explain the function of modern prophetic statements. Reviewers are unsure of the credence Latter-day Saints give such statements, seemingly accepting some as scripture while rejecting others in what appears to an outsider to be a haphazard, utilitarian manner.⁸ The problem is the lack of a well-defined criterion that governs such decisions. Discussions in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* about the LDS view of scripture may prove helpful in this regard.⁹

Scriptural inerrancy is another issue that dominates the reviews. Evangelicals and Latter-day Saints alike express concern and even surprise at

some of Robinson's comments on the subject. Of particular note is Robinson's insistence that Latter-day Saints could accept the Evangelical Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy (57). Some reviewers are concerned that such a position misrepresents what many Latter-day Saints believe or should believe.¹⁰ Of consequence is Robinson's statement that "there isn't a verse of the Bible that [he] does not personally accept and believe" (21). This one sentence provides reviewers with several rounds of ammunition.¹¹ A major repercussion is the question it raises about LDS concerns regarding scriptural literalism and also about the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible.¹²

The last scriptural issue on which Evangelical reviewers focus is the question of historical evidence.¹³ In their view, Robinson is either attempting to conceal incriminating information or fails to realize the significance of historical evidence.

LDS reviewers have a few concerns of their own concerning the Evangelical concept of scripture. The first pertains to the function of the creeds. Blomberg argues that the creeds serve to summarize biblical propositions. Robinson, alternatively, is convinced that most Evangelicals see the creeds not merely as summaries, but as inspired interpreters of the Bible. In Robinson's view, if the creeds operate in the latter manner, Blomberg needs to reconsider the legitimacy of LDS scriptures in addition to the Bible since one of their functions is also to interpret or clarify the Bible (72).

A frequent refrain in Robinson's arguments is that Greek philosophy influenced the creeds to the point that they cannot function as inspired biblical interpreters. Some reviewers concluded that this argument is misguided,¹⁴ but it raises issues that need further attention. First, whether or not the creeds were influenced by philosophy, strictly speaking they are still extracanonical and therefore should be as objectionable to Evangelicals as any other nonbiblical scripture.¹⁵ Second, since there are many creeds, some with significant differences, how is it possible to know which creed is right?

A final scriptural issue that warrants attention is Blomberg's belief that the Bible is somehow binding for the salvation of all people, regardless of whether they are aware of its saving message. Blomberg addresses this "vexing problem" by pointing to three orthodox Christian theories that explain, in one way or another, how it is that God can hold people accountable for truth they never directly received nor recognized (171–72). One LDS reviewer expressed displeasure with this notion, arguing that it denotes a cruel God who gives his children an unchangeable nature and then punishes them for it.¹⁶

Godhood and Deification

According to the authors and reviewers, the most divisive issue between Evangelicals and Latter-day Saints is each faith's understanding of God's nature.¹⁷ Though some reviewers praise the authors for their careful approach to this sensitive topic,¹⁸ several important items remain to be clarified.

Evangelical reviewers are puzzled by the LDS view of deity. Of foremost concern is whether Latter-day Saints believe in a finite or an infinite God. Though Robinson insists that Latter-day Saints worship an infinite God (78), many Evangelicals remain unconvinced. They cite two primary reasons for this.

First, they claim that Robinson's statement seems to run counter to doctrines contained or implied in Joseph Smith's King Follett Discourse and Lorenzo Snow's famous couplet.¹⁹ To Evangelicals, these sources clearly imply a time in which God was not God. If this is true, God must have had a beginning as God and, hence, cannot be infinite. Evangelicals have difficulty understanding how one can accept the King Follett and the couplet as normative (85) and yet still believe in an infinite God.²⁰ Second, they assert that numerous LDS scholars have explicitly stated or implied that LDS theology denotes a finite God.²¹ While Evangelicals would like to believe Robinson, they point to the work of other LDS scholars to show different points of view within the LDS community on this critical issue.²²

Also worrisome to Evangelicals is Robinson's evidence in favor of an infinite God. Evangelical reviewers argue that just because Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals use the same "omni" adjectives to describe God, this does not necessarily mean Latter-day Saints worship the same infinite God.²³ Similar terminology need not connote similar belief. To Evangelicals, terminology must be defined on the basis of usage, and where usage differs, this difference must be recognized.

On the other side of the coin, one LDS reviewer finds equally serious problems with Blomberg's arguments on the nature of God. Blomberg insists that Christ was both fully God, the Creator, and fully human, the creature; yet he does not believe that humans can take on certain "incommunicable" attributes (96). To that reviewer, Blomberg's argument violates a basic law of logic, the law of noncontradiction, which asserts that a thing cannot both have and not have the property in question. In this case, the properties in question are the attributes of humanity and the attributes of divinity. It is not logical to argue that Christ had both while at the same time to deny that what is truly human can ever be truly divine.²⁴

Christ and the Trinity

Although this third chapter, as with the final exchange regarding salvation, has received far less attention from the reviewers than the first two chapters, these subjects are still of utmost significance. To Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals, the nature of the Godhead is a vital issue. A major theme for most reviewers is the degree to which Christ is subordinate to the Father and to what extent, if any, Christ was subordinate at the time of the Atonement.

Robinson explains that Latter-day Saints believe “the Son is subordinate to the Father, and the Holy Spirit is subordinate to both the Father and the Son” (131). In this view, Christ’s subordinate state is permanent and was therefore in effect at the time of the Atonement. Evangelicals, however, do not concur. Blomberg points out what he believes is a major flaw with the LDS doctrine, namely, “if Christ was ever less than fully God (even when he assumed a human nature), then he is by definition not the kind of infinite deity necessary to atone for our sins and to pay the infinite price required for our purification” (118).²⁵

To some Evangelicals, Robinson’s arguments on Christ’s nature are illogical. They cite, for example, the problem that arises when Robinson interprets scriptures in a particular order. During his discussion of the “oneness” of the Godhead, Robinson cites John 14:11 to support his position (130); he interprets it, however, in the context of John 17:21–22, something Evangelicals object to because these verses come later in the narrative. In their view, one should interpret John 17:21–22 in light of John 10:30 and John 14:11, “since they occur *prior* in the narrative.”²⁶

Similarly, one LDS reviewer expressed difficulty with Blomberg’s view of the Godhead and with his critique of the Mormon view. He argues that Blomberg’s explanation of the Trinity is insufficient because it does not clearly indicate the degree of closeness between the Father and the Son. It appears that Blomberg “prefers a view which, he believes, retains something like Hebrew monotheism as much as possible while also keeping the distinction between the Father and the Son.”²⁷ However, while Blomberg is “emphatic that Latter-day Saints have separated the Father and the Son too much to meet this requirement, by giving each of them a glorified body,” Blomberg fails to realize that his own position requires a radical separation.²⁸ By claiming that the Son has a body while the Father does not, Blomberg essentially asserts that “the Son thus has a nature and capacities that the Father not only lacks, but can never have. How is this supposed to maintain an identity between Father and Son compatible with Hebrew monotheism?”²⁹

LDS reviewers are frustrated that Blomberg insists the LDS view of Christ's subordination to the Father is erroneous. Especially bothersome is his statement that "historic Christianity has always insisted on balancing Christ's *functional* subordination with his ontological equality" (117). According to one reviewer, "this type of talk is vague. I'm not sure what Blomberg means by 'historic Christianity,' but if it includes the earliest Christians who wrote the New Testament, then his insistence on 'ontological equality' seems to me misdirected. I cannot find that word or even the concept anywhere in my Bible."³⁰ In general, Latter-day Saints find it ironic that anyone who believes in the "incomprehensible" Trinity should complain that someone else's view of the Godhead is illogical.

Salvation

LDS and Evangelical reviewers have mixed reactions concerning the treatment of salvation in *HWD*. Some view this topic as the area in which the two faiths have the most in common.³¹ Others, however, see the authors' arguments as possibly misleading.

A divisive issue among reviewers is their differing perceptions of how well the authors have explained the scriptural concept of grace. Their reactions are most likely prompted by Blomberg's assessment that Robinson "comes tantalizingly close to historic Christian affirmations of salvation by grace alone, but then just stops short of them" (179). Not surprisingly, this pleases some Evangelicals who see it as a positive sign that LDS thinking may be shifting away from a works-enhanced view of grace.³² Satisfaction with Robinson's position on grace is not limited to Evangelicals. At least one LDS reviewer expressed pleasure that Robinson's understanding of grace is directly in line with LDS scriptures.³³

Other reviewers, however, are reluctant to accept Robinson's interpretation of grace. One Evangelical worries that excitement over Robinson's seemingly compatible view of grace will obscure the fact that other LDS doctrines may still be divergent.³⁴ Another thinks that Robinson is misguided in his attempt to equate LDS teachings on salvation with the Arminian position.³⁵

One LDS reviewer argues that the way Robinson interprets grace is more along Protestant than Mormon lines. He worries that the idea behind Robinson's well-known bicycle parable "is more Protestant than Mormon."³⁶ He finds that the bicycle parable, though effective in some ways, is about "amounts" of grace and works rather than the conditional salvation taught by modern revelation.³⁷

At the same time, Blomberg is not immune from criticism for his views on salvation. One LDS reviewer found problems with his (and Robinson's) understanding of the relationship between faith and works.

The two authors seem to insist that works follow automatically from faith or grace (187), “as if works are a mere afterthought that play no role in our salvation.”³⁸ According to that reviewer, however, the scriptures render such a separation of faith and works a “false dichotomy—like a body without a spirit.”³⁹

Also of concern to that reviewer is Blomberg’s worry that Latter-day Saints emphasize keeping the commandments more than they do relying upon grace (178–80). To him this indicates that Blomberg misunderstands the grace that the Apostle John teaches in the scriptures.⁴⁰ This grace “focuses on the unconditional divine love that we accept by reciprocating love. However, *conditions to ‘abide in’ the relationship require keeping the commandments.*”⁴¹ In other words, the LDS emphasis on works comes directly from the teachings of John.⁴²

Different interpretations of grace, of course, may serve only to highlight the fact that grace may not mean exactly the same thing in the writings of John as it does in the letters of Paul or in the Epistle of James. In the face of biblical ambiguity, Latter-day Saints welcome the clarity found in the Book of Mormon’s description of the plan of salvation.

Overall Assessment

The numerous reviews of *How Wide the Divide?* provide strong evidence that the book is achieving its main purpose. Several Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals now appear anxious to engage in meaningful dialogue. The reviewers have identified several issues that call for further attention. BYU Studies is honored that Robinson and Blomberg have agreed to respond below to some of these issues and to further the healthy dialogue they have initiated. Before they continue, we echo the reviewers’ conclusions. As Paul Owen and Carl Mosser see it,

Stephen Robinson and Craig Blomberg have done the members of their respective religions a service in writing this book. Both should be commended for their efforts to present their views with clarity, to deal with the issues honestly, and to display a charitable attitude in the process. *How Wide the Divide?* is one of the most important books ever to be written on Mormonism. Anyone with an interest in Mormonism who has not yet read this book dare not wait any longer. *Things have changed.* Latter-day Saints no longer have an excuse for expressing their views with imprecise language, bad terminology, or pejorative anti-Evangelical rhetoric. Evangelicals no longer have an excuse for not trying to understand *contemporary* Latter-day Saint theology on its own terms, for sloppy scholarship, or for employing pejorative anti-Mormon rhetoric. Craig Blomberg and Stephen Robinson have changed the tone of discussion to a level appropriate for those who call themselves Christians. We can all hope and pray that others will follow the path these two have pioneered.⁴³

Virtually all reviews have commended the “good spirit,”⁴⁴ the “civility,”⁴⁵ and the “irenic and charitable attitude of the authors.”⁴⁶ As Blake Ostler concludes,

amazingly, they carry on a conversation worthy of being called “Christian” regarding the concerns and agreements they have with one another. They have jointly authored an important book that is a model of informed discussion about issues affecting Mormons and evangelicals.⁴⁷

Thus, although we still may be waiting and looking for the answer to the question just how wide is the divide? we may well be on the right track toward reaching an answer.

II. REPLY BY STEPHEN E. ROBINSON

From my perspective, Evangelical reaction to *HWD* has been self-contradictory at best and perhaps even schizophrenic at worst. On the one hand, certain reviewers have been positively vicious in their denunciation of the book and its authors; on the other hand, *HWD* received an annual Best Book award from the mainstream Evangelical weekly *Christianity Today* (April 27, 1998). While the book has been damned as a Mormon plot designed to proselytize Evangelicals, it was co-authored by a respected Evangelical scholar, was published by a leading Evangelical press, and spends as much effort explaining Evangelical beliefs to its Latter-day Saint readers as vice versa. Some Evangelical reviewers have praised the book as a landmark in LDS-Evangelical relations and understanding, but others have resorted to unrestrained *ad hominem* argument, characterizing me, among other things, as a calculating liar and Blomberg as a slobbering idiot.

How does one account for these surprising extremes in Evangelical evaluations of the same work? The answer is actually very simple. Those Evangelicals who are genuinely interested in understanding Latter-day Saints generally find *HWD* helpful. Those Evangelicals who believe the book should have been written as a proselytizing weapon to be used against Latter-day Saints generally hate it. I have found that positive and negative reviews have fallen rather neatly into the categories of either scholars and academics or professional “anticultists” and their retinue.

The latter’s negative reviews are not surprising. After all, demonizing the enemy is a common strategy in warfare. Thus, militant anti-Mormons generally evaluate the book only on how well it accomplishes their propaganda goals, and since Blomberg has failed to demonize Latter-day Saints, the book and its Evangelical co-author can only be seen by these militants in negative terms. For so-called anticultists, the proper focus of any such book should be, not intellectual truth and understanding, but strategy and tactics in proselytizing.

Among Evangelical intellectuals, academics, and scholars, however, *HWD* has been much better received, hence the Best Book award based on a large poll of Evangelical thinkers. This, I believe, is because such individuals better understand that a dialogue is not a contest and they also tend to be more focused on gaining correct understanding than they are on “winning” (though this emphatically does *not* mean that they have agreed with my position or beliefs). I have discovered (to my surprise, I must admit) that most Evangelical thinkers, like Gamaliel of old, are willing to hear both sides, and that most are actually pleased at Blomberg’s opportunity in *HWD* to present a sympathetic treatment of Evangelical beliefs to a large number of LDS readers. This, then, is the polarity that explains the “wide divide” in Evangelical opinions toward this book.

Perhaps I should mention that I began this project with considerable mistrust, looking for the hidden dagger in every move of my co-author and his publisher. In the course of time, however, I learned that both Blomberg and all those I worked with at InterVarsity Press were truly Christian men and women of great integrity, and it pains me to see them maligned by extremists in their own camp for representing Mormons as they are at the beginning of the twenty-first century. I want to note that after all is said and done, neither of us converted each other. In fact, the book ends with a number of points on which Blomberg and I (and Evangelicals and Latter-day Saints) are still definitely at odds. I am still a devout Latter-day Saint, and Blomberg is still a devout Evangelical. And yet we do understand each other better, we like each other more, and we have in some small measure reduced the amount of religious intolerance and hatred in the world. Neither of us believes in a God who would be displeased with these results.

Of course, the great unfairness in judging *HWD* by its proselytizing potential is that neither Blomberg nor I took any thought for proselytizing in composing the book. Thus, instead of evaluating the book according to the purposes for which we wrote it, the negative reviewers on both sides of the divide have rather charged us with writing the wrong book! Yet as we two scholars came to know each other, it became clear that Latter-day Saints and Evangelicals do not usually understand each other. It often follows that they do not like each other either. Therefore, the purpose of the book was to increase understanding rather than to win proselytes on either side. For that endeavor, we have been criticized, particularly Blomberg, whose intellectual sandals, in my opinion, his critics are not worthy to loose.

Most of what I would say to the reviewers in this forum has already been said at greater length in the book itself. I find in this fact evidence that the reviewers either have not read *HWD*, did not understand it, or have simply dismissed its arguments without considering them. Moreover, the design of *HWD* did not imagine that we would attempt to respond to every

issue raised. Many of those have been addressed elsewhere, for instance questions regarding various details of Book of Mormon historicity. There are, however, a couple of negative themes in the reviews that I would like to respond to briefly.

The flimsiest, in my judgment, is the claim that my views as expressed in *HWD* are not representative of “real” Mormonism. Some Evangelical reviewers have accused me of intentional deception on this point, while others have merely dismissed me as an aberration out of harmony with the LDS mainstream. Professional anticultists in particular are forced to deny my LDS orthodoxy since my beliefs are so incompatible with the caricature they have created and presented to their fellow Evangelicals over the years. If my testimony is allowed to stand, they will find themselves in the same boat with the silversmiths at Ephesus—with lost income to match their lost credibility.

The christology and soteriology that I laid out in *HWD*, which my critics label as either deceptions or aberrations, are found at greater length in two books I wrote previously for LDS audiences, *Believing Christ*⁴⁸ and *Following Christ*.⁴⁹ Each of these books received both the Best Book and Best Doctrinal Book awards from the Independent LDS Booksellers (in 1995 and 1996, respectively). In addition, I received the Deseret Book Award for Exceptional Contribution to LDS Literature for writing *Believing Christ*. Together, these two books have sold almost a third of a million copies in an English speaking, LDS market of about 5 million persons. The remarkable success of these books as well as the almost total lack of negative criticism from within the LDS community render Evangelical charges of misrepresentation without merit. While it is true that only President Hinckley can officially declare the doctrines of the Church, it is at least clear from the above that my beliefs are commonly found in the LDS Church and that they are considered within the bounds of LDS orthodoxy.

Though I am, like Paul, embarrassed at the need to commend myself in defense of my credibility, I seem forced by some reviewers to do so. I am an active Latter-day Saint, I am a former bishop in the LDS Church, I am one of a handful of Latter-day Saints to hold a doctorate in religious studies (Duke, 1978), and I have learned the religious terminology of Protestants by teaching religion at both Methodist and Presbyterian colleges. I have been at BYU in the Department of Ancient Scripture for thirteen years, six and one-half of those years serving as department chair. I have served the LDS Church both officially and unofficially in discussions with other denominations and continue to do so today. For example, Southern Baptists who are familiar with the SBC video “The Mormon Puzzle” will have seen me answering doctrinal questions on Mormonism for that documentary—at the request of LDS leaders. The charges that my beliefs

are not “real” Mormonism constitute the last desperate *ad hominem* of anticultists terrified of finally losing their monopoly on interpreting Mormonism to Evangelicals. For years they have, like ventriloquists, scripted and delivered both sides of the discussion, and they don’t like the muzzle finally being taken off the other side.

One area in which both LDS and Evangelical reviewers have had trouble involves the difference between “scripture” and “canon.” For Evangelicals these terms are almost synonymous, but this is not true for Latter-day Saints, who believe that “scripture” (with a lower case *s*) can be whatever an individual personally receives as inspired by the Holy Ghost. But “scripture” in this latter sense is always personal and individual, and there is no guarantee that the inspiration an individual receives related to non-canonical sources will always be correct. However, “the canon of scripture” or “the standard works” is what the Church—led by its prophet—has *collectively* received as inspired by the Holy Ghost. My patriarchal blessing might be “scripture” for me, but it is not, therefore, a valid source of doctrine for the whole LDS Church. President Hinckley is certainly aware of his authority to canonize anyone’s sermon, statement, opinion, or blessing, wherever and however expressed, but so far he has declined to do so, though previous prophets have canonized sections 137, 138 and Official Declaration 2 in the Doctrine and Covenants. No new doctrine is “the doctrine of the Church” until it has been so canonized by addition to the standard works. All the rest is homily, interpretation, or application that may be very good and profitable, but it does not enjoy the same status as the standard works. Latter-day Saints tend to blur this important distinction when they think individually rather than collectively, if they confuse policy decisions and their application with doctrinal declarations, or if they forget that even General Authorities sometimes disagree among themselves in their interpretations of the standard works. Militant anti-Mormons, on the other hand, also blur the distinction because most of their ammunition comes from noncanonical LDS sources.

Another point of controversy over my part of *HWD* is that I insist that the LDS God is “infinite.” I believe this, and I will continue to insist on it simply because that is what the standard works say and because they never say the opposite. Section 20 of the Doctrine and Covenants (the extremely important “Articles and Covenants of the Church”) states, “By these things we know that there is a God in heaven, who is infinite and eternal, from everlasting to everlasting the same unchangeable God, the framer of heaven and earth, and all things which are in them” (v. 17). Verse 28 goes on to say, “Which Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one God, infinite and eternal, without end. Amen.” To me, that seems pretty straightforward. God and his attributes are also described in the Book of Mormon as infinite

(see 2 Nephi 1:10; 9:7; 25:16; Mosiah 5:3; 28:4; Alma 34:10–14; Helaman 12:1; Moroni 8:3).

On the other hand, I can find no description of God in the standard works as “finite.” If some LDS writers want to adopt the philosophical argument that an embodied God can’t be infinite (the incarnation of Christ notwithstanding), they are certainly free to do so. But they cannot do so without contradicting the canonical scriptures of the Church, which define LDS doctrine on this point. And if some whiz kids want to attempt explaining their philosophical objections to me, I shall be amused at the prospect of finite theologians telling an infinite God what he can or cannot be or do. The doctrine of the Church as stated in its standard works is that God is infinite.

III. REPLY BY CRAIG L. BLOMBERG

I am grateful for this opportunity to respond to Matthew Connelly and BYU Studies’ fine summary of various published reviews of *HWD*. Considering that it was produced from an LDS viewpoint, I find its summaries and assessments to be about as even handed and representative as one could expect. Only occasionally does it seem to depart from an objective evaluation by engaging in a little of its own apologetic.⁵⁰

An even more comprehensive survey of responses to *HWD* would include published reactions in recent books, as well as a number of more popular-level Evangelical journals. For example, in the last two years Evangelicals have produced books such as *Is the Mormon My Brother? Discerning the Differences between Mormonism and Christianity* (which criticizes at numerous points both my material and Stephen Robinson’s),⁵¹ *The Counterfeit Gospel of Mormonism: The Great Divide between Mormonism and Christianity* (which criticizes only Robinson’s material),⁵² and *Mormonism Unmasked: Confronting the Contradictions between Mormon Beliefs and True Christianity* (which does not explicitly refer to *HWD* but which is based in part on an unpublished paper delivered in 1997 to the Evangelical Theological Society that did explicitly review and critique both authors).⁵³ In addition, Hank Hanegraaff takes us to task in the introduction to his revision of Walter Martin’s *Kingdom of the Cults*.⁵⁴ As for journals, James White sharply criticizes *HWD* in *The Christian Research Journal*,⁵⁵ as does L. L. Veinot in *The Midwest Christian Outreach Journal*.⁵⁶ Stephen F. Cannon concludes that the divide is still wide in *The Quarterly Journal*,⁵⁷ while Bill McKeever and Eric Johnson feel similarly in an on-line review.⁵⁸ On the other hand, much more positive assessments appear in reviews found in *First Things*,⁵⁹ *Truth Quest Journal*,⁶⁰ and in several articles in *The Watchman Expositor*.⁶¹ I’m sure there must be additional LDS responses as well, but I am personally unaware of any published versions.⁶²

Of course, in addition to all of the published material, I have received countless responses in person, over the telephone, and through letters and email. A substantial majority of these responses, from both Evangelicals and Latter-day Saints, has been extremely positive and encouraging, but there has also been a minority of sharply critical responses from both camps. Because it may not be entirely clear, it is important to stress that the reviews by Evangelicals Mouw and Owen and Mosser are highly affirming of *HWD*, and even the more mixed review by Pement generally approves of the dialogue but simply feels that it was premature to put it into printed form. Sivulka appreciates my contribution but questions Robinson on scripture. Clearly, the book creates a polarized response; few remain neutral about it! Fortunately, however, the publisher, my own seminary community, and the Baptist church in which I am an elder have all remained uniformly supportive of me in this endeavor.

Before dealing with the various responses to *HWD*, I would like to defend myself against what I believe is an unwarranted criticism, one that is not mentioned by the reviewers summarized above but needs attention nonetheless. Clearly, there were specific statements that I made in the book which I realize in retrospect could have been better clarified. To take just one oft-cited example, I refer to my remarks in the book on the three sources of much Evangelical knowledge about Latter-day Saints: polemical anticult literature, doorstep conversations with missionaries, and information from ex-Latter-day Saints who left the Church with some bitterness (22). From this seemingly harmless information, my critics have accused me of saying that most ex-Mormons are bitter, most anticult literature is polemical, and most anticult literature is written by bitter ex-Mormons. Of course, none of these statements logically follows from my comments, nor do they accurately reflect my intent. I am aware of many well-informed nonpolemical outreach ministries to Latter-day Saints (and also of many that are not).

Rather than attempting to respond to the reviewers point-by-point as summarized above, an impossible task in the compass of a short response of this nature, let me identify what I believe are three dominant, recurring issues among the reviewers who are more critical of *HWD*. First, many Evangelicals doubt whether Robinson is representative of current LDS thinking. This is not quite the same point as the matter of Robinson not speaking in an official capacity. Evangelical reviewers recognize that he is an academic and not a Church authority, but the real issue is whether his way of phrasing many of his positions, which seems to put him at times quite close to Evangelicals, does in fact reflect the majority perspective (or even a significant minority view) within both the more official leadership of the Church and the broader grassroots membership. I'm convinced,

from a variety of sources and conversations that, *contra* the speculation of some, Robinson very much remains in the good graces of LDS leadership and represents the views of at least a significant segment of Church authorities. Particularly significant in this regard are the published commendations of Robinson's writings by Elder Dallin H. Oaks, one of the current Twelve Apostles of the Church.⁶³ I am much less in a position to evaluate how comparable Robinson's views are to the average "person in the pew." As I indicated at several points in *HWD*, several of Robinson's own reflections seem at times to distance him from more conventional ways of phrasing LDS doctrine (53–54, 104–5, 179–82),⁶⁴ but since I wrote the book, virtually every Mormon of the dozens I have met or who has contacted me has generally approved of Robinson's approaches. The LDS reviews by Ostler and England do demonstrate scholarly dissent from Robinson at several points yet do not make him out to be aberrant overall.

A second major theme is that several critical reviewers suspect that Robinson is deliberately withholding information that would cast the LDS perspective in a quite different light. This is particularly true, they argue, when Robinson does not discuss instances where Latter-day Saints are divided on issues of doctrinal significance. Such criticisms, however, are unjustified. Clearly, the two of us, along with our publisher, agreed to limit our dialogue to four central and typically divisive doctrinal questions, so obviously both of us had to leave out issues and remarks on related topics that we might have made in a more wide-ranging study. Few informed Latter-day Saints would deny that differences on doctrinal issues exist among themselves, least of all Robinson. The foregoing summary itself, for example, points to the diversity of LDS discussion on such questions as Is God "finite" or "infinite" (or was he *ever* finite)? Does Robinson wittingly or unwittingly reflect more of a Protestant than an orthodox LDS understanding of grace? (and) Is Robinson's nuanced approval of the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy a faithful reflection of his tradition's understanding of the doctrine of scripture or not?

Expanding on just one of these areas of divergence, Francis Beckwith observes:

In *How Wide the Divide* Stephen Robinson claims that 'Evangelicals often accuse Latter-day Saints of believing in a limited, finite or changeable God, but there is absolutely nothing in the LDS Scriptures or LDS beliefs to justify such a charge. I've never heard any such proposition stated in my church—*never!*' In light of what has been covered [a reference to competing LDS views similar to those cited above], it is difficult to understand how a man of Professor Robinson's acumen can make such a claim.⁶⁵

Beckwith goes on to note David Paulsen's doctoral dissertation "in which he presents the LDS view of God as a form of finite theism by citing numerous

LDS authorities and then proceeds to give a philosophically sophisticated defense of Mormon finite theism.”⁶⁶ Like Beckwith (and Ostler in his review), I am unable to resolve these conflicting claims.

The third major area of criticism is directed toward my contribution to *HWD*. Some reviewers fear that I have too compromised the distinctives of Evangelicalism or, while adequately articulating our views, have not engaged in a vigorous enough rebuttal of Robinson. Still others question the value of such a dialogue apart from explicitly evangelistic motives. And many have pointed to our joint conclusions, particularly the lists of agreements and disagreements at the end of the book (195–96), as making the divide between our respective communities seem much narrower than it actually is. Again, I remain unconvinced of the accuracy of any of these charges, while nevertheless conceding, as is the case with any published work, that after the fact one can see ways in which various points could have been expressed more clearly or forcefully.

Particularly troubling to me, however, is the way in which few, if any, reviewers from either the Evangelical or LDS communities acknowledged or interacted with several somewhat less common or more creative points which I tried to raise in my part of *HWD*. For example, the historical argument that so many of the distinctives of the Book of Mormon fit perfectly into the world of pioneer America in the early 1800s but make very little sense in some ancient Middle Eastern or Central American context (48–49) seems to have been largely ignored. Or, more generally, the argument that historians, like textual critics, prefer the “harder reading” and recognize that complex and ambiguous developments tend to spawn the desire to simplify and remove ambiguities seems to have been mostly overlooked (51–52). There is no question that in every one of the doctrinal areas which the book discusses, classic orthodox Christianity arrives at various impasses, paradoxes, or other puzzling conundra that the Old and New Testaments do not directly address or totally resolve. Thus it is entirely natural that later offshoots of the Christian tradition should wish to avoid or resolve the enigmas surrounding the doctrine of the Trinity, the divine and human natures of Christ, the fate of the unevangelized, and so forth, whereas it seems to me incomprehensible and virtually impossible that a religion should have at one stage in its history solved all of those problems as neatly and tidily as Mormonism does with all trace of those resolutions then vanishing for nearly two millennia (108, 126).

At the end of the chapter on salvation, I thought that one of my more important contributions was the application of Pascal’s wager to the debate between the two communities. This famous philosophical argument asks each conversation partner in an interreligious dialogue to reflect on what is at stake if one person’s views are wrong and his or her opponents’ views are

correct. I concluded that far more is at stake for the faithful Mormon if his or her views should turn out to be false than for the Evangelical; that perspective alone seems to me to some extent to commend Evangelical faith (183–86). But again, these more distinctive contributions seem largely to have been passed over by reviewers in favor of criticizing me for not perpetuating more conventional arguments.

Perhaps even more frustrating than the reviewers' failure to comment on the key distinctives of my contribution to *HWD* are the numerous more informal reactions I have received that speculate about what I intentionally did not say in the book. The most obvious and important of these is the issue of whether I believe a Mormon who accepts all of the LDS authoritative teachings can in fact legitimately merit the title Christian, besides perhaps in some very broad and relatively meaningless sense by which every Protestant, Catholic, or Orthodox church member, however nominal or sectarian, would also be included. Stephen Robinson, of course, believes that the answer to this question is "yes," and he has devoted an entire book to the topic, which itself has spawned numerous reviews.⁶⁷ I still remain to be persuaded of this claim. Thus, it became very clear early in our conversations with one another and with our prospective publishers that little progress would be made if our book deliberately debated that topic. I therefore explicitly make the disclaimer in *HWD* that "this book does not intend to address the question of whether Evangelicals and Mormons are both, in certain instances, bona fide Christians, however well worthwhile that issue might be to discuss" (199 n. 6). I realize in retrospect that it was ill-advised to relegate this comment to what I thought would be formatted as a footnote but which turned out to be an endnote that has probably been very little read. Nevertheless, reviewers who commit themselves to respond to a work in a public medium have an obligation to read the entirety of the volumes they review and not to distort or misrepresent in their responses the authors' claims and intentions. While many people who have interacted with me, formally or informally, have picked up on this point, an astonishing number of the book's severest critics from both sides have either ignored or refused to believe my statement and insisted that I am indeed trying to claim that at least some Mormons are bona fide Christians.⁶⁸ The seminary with which I am affiliated even had to write a letter to Elder Oaks appealing to him to help stop this rumor apparently being promoted by LDS missionaries, since a nationally known Baptist denominational leader had reported to our school that this was exactly what was happening!

The most egregious published misrepresentation of my views of which I am aware appears, ironically, in a newsletter from an organization entitled "Truth-in-Love Ministries." In their June 1997 issue, an unsigned review declares that I go so far as to say that I am "thrilled to discover

Evangelical Mormonism' in Robinson's dialogue."⁶⁹ In fact, my wording in the book reads, "I would be overjoyed if I learned that there might be an 'Evangelical Mormonism,' just as increasing numbers of Roman Catholics or Seventh-day Adventists are abandoning their legacies of works-centered religion" (182). I then go on to note other questions that I would need to raise that make it clear from the context that I do not believe such an "Evangelical Mormonism" yet exists. The article in which I am misrepresented is also quite a polemical attack, thus demonstrating that, at least in this instance, the organization speaks neither in truth nor in love! It is worth adding that I am not the first to raise the possibility of an orthodox Christian element existing among Latter-day Saints. In 1991, Richard Mouw, president of Fuller Seminary, wrote a sidebar in *Christianity Today* entitled "Evangelical Mormonism?"⁷⁰ In his article, Mouw discerns a trend among at least a handful of leading Mormon scholars and writers who appear to be moving noticeably closer to historic Christian orthodoxy.

All of this leads me to a more general concern. Despite our American tradition of democracy and the historic Protestant emphasis on the "priesthood of all believers," it seems that North American evangelicalism has no forum for objectively debating highly charged and sensitive issues without potentially incurring the wrath of self-appointed watchdog individuals and communities. While I am delighted how frequently Deseret bookstores have stocked and promoted our work, I am disappointed at how many Evangelical Christian bookstores have refused to do likewise. Booksellers obviously cannot read every book they might consider stocking, so they rely heavily on secondhand recommendations. Unfortunately, the blurb which appeared in *Christian Retailing* very soon after the book was published concluded with the comment "Be careful when recommending this book. It may confuse seekers and prove disconcerting to new believers."⁷¹ These cautions may be true of much Christian literature, and they may explain why the average Christian bookstore stocks proportionately little of academic substance (and why in turn even within Evangelical and LDS congregations there is widespread biblical illiteracy). I am afraid that many booksellers were scared off by our volume early on, without ever having the opportunity to read and evaluate it for themselves. In fact, if I have learned some lessons from my critics, they include how few of them read the work in its entirety and how many refused to evaluate our jointly authored comments (clearly the most controversial part of the volume) in light of the remarks we each made in our separately authored sections. In addition, numerous persons who have not even read the book at all nevertheless continue to pass on inaccurate and prejudicial information about it from sources to whom they have given more trust than they merit.

Notwithstanding, I am sure all these tendencies are not unique to Evangelicals. Given the caution that Robinson exercised throughout the editing process of our book and given Deseret's ultimate unwillingness, despite initial interest, to publish the book, it is obvious that there is a potential process of formal or informal censure that goes on among Latter-day Saints as well. Further evidence of this is provided by England's and Ostler's reviews, which lament the sometimes inappropriately harsh intra-LDS debate. We could wish that these states of affairs were not as they are, but there seems to be little that individual scholars can do at the moment to reverse the trends.

So what, then, is the next step? The summary above begins by stating that our book "is a bold attempt to conduct an ongoing, civil dialogue between Mormons and Evangelicals." This may have been Robinson's unexpressed intention; I do not know. Mine was the more modest one of conducting only *one* civil dialogue between *one* prominent Mormon and *one* Evangelical New Testament scholar. Nevertheless, I would be delighted if others followed in our footsteps and improved on the areas in which we have been deficient. It seems to me, however, that the potential fallout is too great for most scholars in both communities to attempt anything much beyond what we have done thus far. What does seem workable among people of good will in both faiths is some kind of wide-ranging conference (or series of conferences) involving a broad cross-section of Evangelical biblical scholars and theologians (representing numerous institutions and denominational traditions) and several representative LDS scholars. These two groups could give papers, engage in panel discussions, or generate other kinds of conversations in which each community attempts to reflect the diversity of acceptable perspectives within their movements and then compare and contrast the results. In this way, no individual would have to bear the brunt of the inevitable criticisms by their constituency's watchdogs, and whatever common conclusions emerged would clearly reflect more than the personal positions of individual scholars. Whether anyone in either of the two communities has the will to attempt to organize and convene such gatherings remains to be seen. I would be happy to help and to participate, but I am no administrator. Plus I am a bit too shell-shocked for the time being!

Nevertheless, even this three-part exchange of views in *BYU Studies* is an important and strategic follow-up to *HWD*, and I reiterate my thanks for being asked to participate. The tone and rhetoric of past eras of Evangelical-LDS exchanges need not continue. Ours is an age of unprecedented inter-religious dialogue on many fronts, even if our two communities are among the last to join in, at least with one another. Let us hope that a new century

and millennium will bring new overtures toward truly fulfilling Paul's command to speak "the truth in love" (Eph. 4:15), not least to each other.⁷²

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1. B. H. Roberts, *The Mormon Doctrine of Deity: The Roberts–Van der Donckt Discussion* (1903; reprint, with a foreword by David L. Paulsen, Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998).

2. Several reviews of *HWD* by such authors as Paul Owen, Carl Mosser, Blake T. Ostler, William Hamblin, Daniel Peterson, Roger Cook, and David L. Paulsen are slated for publication in a forthcoming special issue of *FARMS Review of Books*. We have worked with prepublication versions of these reviews.

3. Evangelicals Francis Beckwith and Howard Hoffmann hold that Robinson's arguments are not authoritative and should therefore be "taken with a grain of salt." Francis J. Beckwith and W. Howard Hoffmann, review of *HWD* in *Christianity Today*, November 17, 1997, 59.

4. If readers are dubious about the way Robinson represents LDS ideas, they may consult various authors in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: MacMillan, 1992) and *Latter-day Christianity* (Provo, Utah: FARMS and Religious Education, 1998) for two other recent scholarly attempts to state orthodox LDS doctrines for a non-LDS audience.

5. Evangelicals Owen and Mosser emphasize, "The issue of the different canons, and the nature of the works in those canons, is the wellspring from which many of the other differences flow." Accordingly, the idea of scripture should be discussed as fully as possible since "the question of what God has and has not revealed is a question of utmost seriousness." Owen and Mosser, review of *HWD*, forthcoming in *FARMS Review of Books*.

6. For additional perspectives on the LDS doctrine of an open canon, see John W. Welch and David J. Whittaker, *Mormonism's Open Canon: Some Historical Perspectives on Its Religious Limits and Potentials* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997).

7. Owen and Mosser believe Robinson's argument against a closed canon is unsubstantiated because it avoids the "real" questions, which are, "What body of information is necessary for salvation?" and "Does the Bible contain this information?" They claim that only by approaching the issue in this way can Robinson make a strong case to Evangelicals for the possibility of an open canon. In addition, they state that if Robinson wants "to show the inferiority of the Evangelical view it would behoove [him] to demonstrate what information . . . is lacking in the Bible, and how uniquely Latter-day Saint canonical sources supply this indispensable data." Owen and Mosser are also concerned that Robinson fails to respond convincingly to Blomberg's arguments for the "plausibility of a closed canon based on traditional criteria." Owen and Mosser, *FARMS* review.

8. Beckwith and Hoffmann argue that Robinson's emphasis on the words of living prophets to the exclusion of those from dead prophets provides him with a convenient "escape clause" that allows him to avoid directly addressing the discrepancies found in the words of the modern prophets. According to Beckwith and Hoffmann, Robinson's own epistemology might force him to deny even some of Joseph Smith's prophetic pronouncements. Beckwith and Hoffmann, review of *HWD*, 57–59.

Latter-day Saint Blake Ostler finds similar problems in Robinson's scriptural arguments. He asserts that Robinson contradicts himself by insisting that the only doctrines binding upon Mormons are those found in canonized scripture. According to Ostler, such a position is:

hard to square with his [Robinson's] view that the ultimate authority in the Latter-day Saint community resides in living prophets, for he has no principled basis for rejecting the sermons of dead prophets in the *Journal of Discourses* as opposed to sermons of the living prophet, which he accepts as the ultimate guarantee of accurate interpretation of scripture. (Blake T. Ostler, review of *HWD*, forthcoming in *FARMS Review of Books*)

9. See "Scripture," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1277–84.

10. Evangelical Eric Pement argues that "it is . . . difficult to resist the impression that Dr. Robinson is merely *using* the Chicago Statement to gain the confidence of Evangelicals, and that he himself is either ignorant of its contents or somehow believes that errors and false statements in the autographs do not affect inerrancy." Eric Pement, "Is Mormonism Christian?" review of *HWD* in *Cornerstone* 26, no. 112 (1998): 44.

Ostler criticizes both Robinson and Blomberg for affirming the doctrine of inerrancy as set forth by the Chicago Statement: "In my opinion, numerous insuperable problems dictate the rejection of inerrancy in general and inerrancy as promulgated in the Chicago Statement in particular." According to Ostler, the doctrine of inerrancy is, among other things, incoherent and untenable, and he is particularly "stunned that Robinson apparently accepted the Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy as consistent with his Latter-day Saint beliefs, especially after he went to such great lengths to explain that he as a Mormon believes that scripture 'is in [the Mormons'] view recorded by men who can and do make mistakes.'" Ostler, *FARMS* review. For text critical concerns, see the *FARMS* review by William Hamblin and Daniel Peterson.

Evangelical Robert Sivulka argues that Robinson and Blomberg "may *not* in fact share the same understanding of inerrancy." According to Sivulka, while Blomberg believes that the Bible manuscripts are inerrant "as they were *originally* given via their writers," Robinson believes that they are inerrant only when they are translated correctly. Sivulka points out two possible problems with Robinson's view. First, "If, as Robinson notes, 'it is possible to mistranslate or to misinterpret the Hebrew and Greek (or Nephite) texts' (57), then surely it is possible to mistranslate . . . or to misinterpret the living prophet." What this means is that, "contrary to Robinson, epistemologically there is never any 'guarantee of doctrinal correctness' (57) for the church, nor any assurance that 'the written word will be interpreted and applied correctly to new contexts' (58), not even if God himself were to state the same thing in a more contemporary way." Second, Sivulka argues that it is possible for the person who interprets the translation, the living prophet, to communicate the revelation fallibly. Sivulka asserts that the question of whether this could occur is one that "Robinson never directly answers, and it is this question that raises ambiguity in his presentation (particularly pp. 56–58). Robinson could really be agreeing or disagreeing with Blomberg and other Evangelicals that the prophets and apostles were infallible in communicating that revelation." Sivulka would like to see Robinson clarify his position on this issue. In his view, if Robinson agrees that prophets can possibly communicate revelation fallibly, then it is impossible for him to claim that he and Blomberg share the same understanding of inerrancy. Sivulka also criticizes Blomberg, who "seems oblivious to this distinction between his [own] understanding of an inerrant original text and Robinson's possible

understanding of an inerrant direct revelation with a resulting possible fallible text.” Robert M. Sivulka, “Similar yet Different,” review of *HWD* in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 31, no. 3 (1998): 196–98.

11. Latter-day Saint Eugene England says, “It was surprising to read Robinson’s rather complete capitulation to what seems like scriptural literalism. . . . It was especially surprising after his accurate summary of the rather liberal Mormon understanding, through modern revelation, that God speaks to his ‘servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language’ (D&C 1:24).” Eugene England, review of *HWD*, in this issue, 196.

Pement makes this point: “Though Dr. Robinson says he believes ‘every book, every chapter, every verse’ of the Bible, neither he nor Dr. Blomberg inform us that, according to the JST, ‘the Songs of Solomon are not inspired writings.’ Since Mormons believe the JST is ‘inspired,’ does Robinson reject the Song of Solomon?” Pement, “Is Mormonism Christian?” 44.

12. Owen and Mosser are perplexed by the JST issue. They argue that “according to Robinson’s own criteria, logically the JST should be a part of the Latter-day Saint standard works. That is, unless Robinson wants to advocate a position recognizing a division between authoritative scripture and unauthoritative scripture, in which case the term *scripture* becomes meaningless.” Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

13. Owen and Mosser are discouraged about this: “LDS and Evangelical readers alike will be disappointed that Robinson fails to give objective *reasons* for believing these additional works should be added to the canon, that he does not defend them against Blomberg’s criticisms, and (especially) disappointed that he fails to offer any *evidence* in favor of their historical veracity.” Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

14. Evangelical Richard Mouw says:

Anyone who is tempted by this ‘de-Hellenizing’ rhetoric . . . should read John Courtney Murray’s *The Problem of God*. There the great Jesuit thinker convincingly demonstrates that the classical creedal formulations about ‘being’ and ‘substance’ were not impositions of alien philosophical categories but the result of a necessary search for words that would capture the sense of Scripture to guard against dangerous misreadings of the biblical texts. (Richard J. Mouw, “Can a Real Mormon Believe in Jesus?” review of *HWD* in *Books and Culture* 3, no. 5 [1997]: 11, 15)

Ostler feels that “philosophical precision is not the problem Robinson makes it out to be. . . . The problem comes when devotion to prior philosophical paradigms or religious dogmas blocks acceptance of new revelation or leads to the commitment to two incompatible traditions of religious beliefs.” This “prior devotion” may have been what Robinson intended by his comments. If so, it was lost on Ostler. Ostler, FARMS review.

15. The very existence of the creeds, regardless of their use, complicates Blomberg’s arguments against LDS scriptures. For example, Blomberg argues that the Book of Mormon is superfluous; if it agrees with the Bible, then it is not necessary; if it disagrees with the Bible, then it is not scriptural and should be rejected. This same argument, however, can be applied to the creeds. For a discussion of other problems raised by the traditional creeds, see the FARMS review by Roger Cook.

16. England, review, 198.

17. To emphasize the significance of this issue, Owen and Mosser paraphrase the authors’ conclusion: “The doctrine of God is where the divide between Evangelicals and Latter-day Saints is greatest. And it is from our differences concerning God that

most (if not all) of our other theological differences arise.” Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

18. Owen and Mosser believe Robinson’s “discussion of deification was cogently presented and insightful. He notices that the ontological distinction between Creator and creatures is perhaps ‘the heart of the of the disagreements between us, for Latter-day Saints maintain that God’s work is to *remove* the distinctions and barriers between us and to make us what God is.” Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

Ostler says, “I believe that Robinson has elucidated a profound and insightful view of deity and grace. . . . I want to emphasize that Robinson has done an outstanding job in describing how humans become ‘gods’ that is consistent both with Mormon scriptures and the Bible.” Ostler, FARMS review.

19. See K. Codell Carter, “Godhood,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:553–55, and Donald Q. Cannon, “King Follett Discourse,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:291–92.

20. Owen and Mosser say that because Robinson allows for the doctrines in the King Follett Discourse and Lorenzo Snow’s couplet he “leaves the non-LDS reader wondering why these two statements should be taken as exceptions to [his] often-stated reminder that ‘Scripture is normative; sermons are not’(74).” They would also like Robinson to clarify what he meant in the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* when he wrote, “The Father became the Father at some time before ‘the beginning,’ as humans know it” (2:549). They want to know exactly what he meant in this context since, “strictly speaking, he writes of a beginning to God’s role as a Father, not of a beginning to God’s existence as God.” In addition, Owen and Mosser are unsure of what Robinson is implying by his statement that “God the Son was undoubtedly once a man, and that did not compromise his divinity.” They say, “In Latter-day Saint theology Jesus was already a God before his incarnation. Is Robinson implying that the Father likewise experienced mortality as a God-man, rather than *merely* a man like the rest of us?” Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

21. Owen and Mosser cite several LDS scholars who appear to hold this view: David L. Paulsen in *The Comparative Coherency of Mormon (Finitistic) and Classical Theism* (Ph.D. diss. University of Michigan, 1975; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1975); Blake T. Ostler in “The Mormon Concept of God” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17, no. 2 (summer 1984): 65–93; Blake T. Ostler in a review of Francis J. Beckwith and Stephen E. Parrish, *The Mormon Concept of God: A Philosophical Analysis* in *FARMS Review of Books* 8, no. 2 (1996): 99–146; David L. Paulsen and Blake T. Ostler in a review of Beckwith and Parrish’s *The Mormon Concept of God* in *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 35, no. 2 (1994): 118–20; James E. Faulconer in a review of Beckwith and Parrish’s *The Mormon Concept of God* in *BYU Studies* 32 (fall 1992): 185–95; and Sterling McMurrin in *The Theological Foundations of the Mormon Religion* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 1965), 26–27. See David L. Paulsen, “The Doctrine of Divine Embodiment: Restoration, Judeo-Christian, and Philosophical Perspectives,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1996): 82–89, and his FARMS review for further expositions of Paulsen’s views on scripture, God’s nature, and salvation.

Owen and Mosser write:

Robinson may not believe in a finite deity, and it may be that he does find the concept repugnant (as do most Evangelicals). Perhaps he believes that a finite deity is an improper object of worship. He may even agree with us that these other Latter-day Saints are mistaken about the virtue of a finite deity. But it is simply inaccurate for him to say that Evangelicals are erroneous in their perception of Latter-day Saints as advocates of a unique form of finite theism. (Owen and Mosser, FARMS review)

22. England is also concerned that Robinson's argument for an infinite God is misdirected and plays to Evangelical critics at the expense of valid prophetic statements. England, review, 197.

23. Owen and Mosser state, "We do not deny that Latter-day Saints describe God with the various *omni* terms. . . . But we feel that in Latter-day Saint terminology the meaning is so far removed from standard usage that it serves only to miscommunicate." They argue that Robinson's failure to make a distinction between Evangelical and LDS usage and Blomberg's failure to insist on it is "a weakness of both their presentations." In their view, LDS usage of omnipresent "would probably be more accurately described as 'omni-influential,'" which is different from the Evangelical view that describes God as "one having personal presence everywhere." Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

Ostler also sees problems with Robinson's usage of the "omni" terminology:

It is important to keep straight that when Latter-day Saints use such terms . . . they mean something different than the same terms in classical theology. . . . Robinson acknowledges this with respect to terms such as *finite*, *changing*, and *limited*, but seems to insist that the "omni" attributes are somehow univocal for both Mormons and evangelicals. This position can only lead to confusion and further charges that Latter-day Saints are somehow not being up-front. (Ostler, FARMS review)

24. Ostler argues that "Blomberg's acceptance of the so-called 'incommunicable' attributes of God leads to an incoherent view of the fully human and fully divine Jesus Christ." According to Ostler, this is so because it violates the law of noncontradiction. He surmises that Blomberg holds this view because of his belief in the two nature theory of Christ as promulgated in the Chalcedonian Creed of 451 A.D., yet Ostler finds several problems with this theory. One is that

the two nature theory is ultimately incoherent because the *entire person* of Christ is essentially uncreated (ontologically necessary) as God whereas humans are necessarily created (ontologically contingent)—at least on Blomberg's view. Blomberg's Christology thus implicitly violates the law of noncontradiction. Nothing can be both created and uncreated in the same respects. (Ostler, FARMS review)

25. Owen and Mosser support Blomberg's argument, claiming that it is especially difficult for Robinson to hold this position when the Bible (Phil. 2:5–8) and the Book of Mormon (Alma 34:10–14) imply or state that Christ remained "fully God during his experience of mortality" and that it was the infinite Jesus who wrought the Atonement. Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

26. Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

27. Ostler, FARMS review.

28. Ostler, FARMS review.

29. Ostler, FARMS review.

30. Ostler, FARMS review.

31. Owen and Mosser, for example, find "the divide between Blomberg and Robinson to be the narrowest" on the topic of salvation. Owen and Mosser, FARMS review.

32. Owen and Mosser expect that

Evangelicals will find that in many ways Robinson's presentation alleviates some fears and concerns they have had about the LDS doctrine of salvation. . . . Whether or not what Robinson describes has always been Latter-day

Saint theology, or even if he represents what *most* Latter-day Saints currently believe, we leave for others to determine. We are encouraged by what we read if Robinson's views are in fact representational of the direction in which Latter-day Saint theology is headed. (Owen and Mosser, FARMS review)

33. Ostler states: "I enthusiastically endorse Robinson's statement of grace and salvation as a view not merely compatible with Mormon scriptures, but required by them." By agreeing with Robinson's view of grace and salvation, Ostler argues that it is difficult for Blomberg to imply (as he does on p. 182) that Robinson is a "closet evangelical and that Latter-day Saints are really committed to salvation by works." Ostler, FARMS review.

34. Mouw says:

Should I be pleased to see Robinson making that confession? Perhaps. I can honestly say that I would *like* to be pleased. I certainly find nothing wrong with the way he says it here; if someone whom I was evangelizing said those same words with obvious sincerity, I would be hopeful that I had witnessed a genuine conversion. Why, then, am I reluctant to rejoice when a Mormon says them? Because I still worry about the larger set of beliefs and practices in which this confession is nested. (Mouw, "Can a Real Mormon Believe in Jesus?" 14)

35. Eric Pement argues that the LDS and Arminian positions cannot be compared for four reasons: (1) LDS theology teaches that almost everyone will be saved and therefore the need for faith is eliminated, (2) LDS teach that God cannot forgive certain sins, (3) LDS and Arminian definitions of justification are different, and (4) the LDS understanding of eternal life is different from that of biblical theology. Pement, "Is Mormonism Christian?" 47.

36. England, review, 193.

37. England asserts that "the crucial difference is, as I see it, that between an absolute God *giving* us relief from his absolute demands of justice because we have no merit and a loving Father *helping* us to become Christlike because we can't do it alone." He continues, "Salvation is not a quid-pro-quo reward (or punishment) by God but a state of being (or lack thereof) and of spiritual growth toward Godhood achieved through whatever combination of grace and choice and effort best works for each of us." England, review, 193, 194.

38. Ostler, FARMS review.

39. To support his assertion, Ostler cites James 2:17, James 2:22, and James 2:26.

40. Ostler concludes this from the following evidence:

John teaches that "we love [God] because he first loved us" (1 John 4:19). God's unconditional love precedes our response; he has already accepted us. We accept God's unconditional offer of love, of saving grace, by reciprocating love. If we accept God, we love him, and if we love him, we "keep his commandments" (John 14:21–23; 2 John 2:6). If we keep God's commandments, then we "abide in [his] love" (John 15:10–11; 1 John 3:22–24). We "know" God (interpersonally) if we keep his commandments (1 John 2:3). To "know" the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he sent, is life eternal (John 17:3). If we keep the commandments, then "the love of God [is] perfected" in us and "we [know] that we are in him" (1 John 2:5). The love of God transforms us into "sons of God," and when he appears "we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2) because this hope purifies us as He is pure (1 John 3:3). (Ostler, FARMS review)

41. Ostler, FARMS review.

42. In Ostler's words, "neither Robinson nor the Latter-day Saints invented this emphasis on keeping the commandments as a condition to abiding in God's love. It is a part of the Johannine expression of grace." Ostler, FARMS review.

43. Owen and Mosser, FARMS review. A joint review by Evangelical Bill Calderwood and LDS Mark Evans strongly agrees, in *Spirit Catalyst* (March 1999): 9.

44. England, review, 192.

45. Mouw, "Can a Real Mormon Believe in Jesus?" 14.

46. Pement, "Is Mormonism Christian?" 47.

47. Ostler, FARMS review.

48. Stephen E. Robinson, *Believing Christ: The Parable of the Bicycle and Other Good News* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992).

49. Stephen E. Robinson, *Following Christ: The Parable of the Diver and More Good News* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995).

50. For example, arguing for the LDS view of an open canon or asserting that my arguments against the Book of Mormon could also apply to the creeds (note 15 and accompanying text above).

51. James R. White, *Is the Mormon My Brother? Discerning the Differences between Mormonism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Bethany, 1997).

52. Francis J. Beckwith and others, *The Counterfeit Gospel of Mormonism: The Great Divide between Mormonism and Christianity* (Eugene, Ore.: Harvest House, 1998).

53. R. Philip Roberts, *Mormonism Unmasked: Confronting the Contradictions between Mormon Beliefs and True Christianity* (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1998).

54. Walter Martin, *The Kingdom of the Cults*, ed. Hank Hanegraaff (Minneapolis: Bethany House, 1997), 13–14. Hanegraaff selectively cites our work to make it appear that I no longer believe in evangelism, despite my explicit and italicized disclaimers to the contrary (191, 27 of *HWD*).

55. James White, "Review of How Wide the Divide," *Christian Research Journal* 20 (November–December 1997): 48–51.

56. L. L. Veinot, "Why the Divide," *Midwest Christian Outreach Journal* (July–August 1997): 6–9.

57. Stephen F. Cannon, "Still Wide the Divide: A Critical Analysis of a Mormon and an Evangelical in Dialogue," *Quarterly Journal* 17, no. 4 (1997): 1, 12–18.

58. Bill McKeever and Eric Johnson, "How Wide Is the Divide?" (September 1997), <http://www.mrm.org/articles/divide.html>.

59. Alan Goff, brief notice of *HWD* in *First Things*, no 77 (November 1997): 61–62.

60. Ronald Enroth, "Other Evangelical Views of How Wide the Divide?" *Truth Quest Journal* 1, no. 3 (1997): 7.

61. Jason Barker, "Christians and Interreligious Dialogue," *Watchman Expositor* 15, no. 4 (1998): 4–8; Jason Barker, "The Key to Effective Religious Dialogue," *Watchman Expositor* 15, no. 4 (1998): 9–12; Jason Barker, "New Religious Movements: Religious Dialogue," *Watchman Expositor* 15, no. 4 (1998): 13–14, 19–21.

62. I did, however, receive eight tapes from KSL radio, Salt Lake City, of various shows and forums reflecting a diversity of LDS response to the book between June and October 1997.

63. Dallin H. Oaks, "Another Testament of Jesus Christ," *Ensign* 24 (March 1994): 66.

64. Compare the similar experiences and reflections of Carl Mosser, "Why Evangelicals Need to Take the New Mormon Scholarship Seriously" (Orlando: ETS, November 1998), 9–12.

65. Beckwith and others, *Counterfeit Gospel*, 76, referring to Robinson in *HWD*, 92.
66. Beckwith and others, *Counterfeit Gospel*, 76.
67. Stephen E. Robinson, *Are Mormons Christians?* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991).
68. See Ostler, FARMS review.
69. "Truth-in-Love Letter" [Milwaukie, Ore.: Truth-in-Love Ministries] (June 1997): 1–2. After my colleague Gordon Lewis wrote and pointed out this information to them, they did publish a retraction in their September 1997 newsletter, p. 4, apologizing for the error but giving no explanation for how it originally came about and continuing to polemicize against and misrepresent the book's function.
70. Richard Mouw, "Evangelical Mormonism?" *Christianity Today* 35 (November 1991): 30.
71. David Daniels, "How Wide the Divide?" *Christian Retailing* 43 (May 5, 1997): 62.
72. Since this article was first submitted, I have received the very positive double-review of *HWD* by evangelical Bill Catherwood and LDS L. Mark Evans in *Spirit Catalyst* (March 1999): 9.

Book Reviews

CRAIG L. BLOMBERG and STEPHEN E. ROBINSON. *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1997. 228 pp. Paperback, \$11.99.

Review essay by Eugene England, Writer in Residence, Utah Valley State College.

THE GOOD NEWS—AND THE BAD

The good news is that Mormons and Evangelicals aren't as far apart in their theology as some had supposed. The bad news is that Mormons and Evangelicals aren't as far apart in their theology as some had supposed.

How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation is a unique book and an excellent model for future religious dialogue between Mormons and other faiths and among Mormons themselves. It takes on one of the most notorious divides in Christianity, one fraught with stereotypes, acrimony, misinformation, and, in a word, much un-Christian behavior. The book provides clarity, insight, and, I hope, some healing of wounds. The authors are well-trained biblical scholars and experienced, able writers. In this book, they reveal themselves as devout believers in their respective Christian faiths and as thoughtful, gracious men.

The structure of *HWD*, carefully planned and worked through, is key to the book's success, since it requires genuine listening to each other's positions. The four chapters, each on a crucial, historically divisive issue, begin with a statement by one or the other author on the subject and a review of the usual uninformed "misconceptions" by others of their views. Each author then includes a quite critical section of "misgivings" about what they understand the other group believes and ends with "A More Positive Conclusion" that points toward a "Joint Conclusion" written together after the other has gone through the same process for their half of the chapter. Finally, the authors write a "Conclusion" to the entire book that pleads for mutual avoidance of labels like "cult" and "great and abominable" church, for greater understanding based on correct information from reliable sources, and for a new era of "interreligious conversation and cooperation in social and political action . . . [as] allies in the service of God." The authors list twelve "points of agreement," such as "There is no other name and no other way by which any individual may be saved other than through Jesus Christ" (195) and eleven "important issues [that] continue to divide us," like "Do people have a chance to respond to the gospel after death or not?" (196). The book ends with an invitation for further dialogue "characterized by speaking the truth to one another in love" (196).

All of this is very good news. I found myself authoritatively informed by both authors on some of the intricacies of traditional Christian thought and Evangelical belief, especially in the areas of biblical inerrancy and salvation by grace. The authors' careful dialogue reinvigorated my thinking about Mormon concepts of God, the Atonement, and the plan of salvation. I was delighted at the good spirit manifest in the exchanges, even during sharp disagreement about fundamentals. The authors were careful and attentive to each other and willing to rethink, restate, and even change their minds. They clearly respect and admire each other and are not threatened by continuing differences or failure to convert one another. I found myself yearning for similarly respectful, civil discourse *among Mormons* when they express or debate opposing views of Mormon history or theology.

The bad news is that some Evangelicals' intolerance for Mormons has taken extreme forms, including the claim that Mormons are not Christians and are therefore unworthy to associate in Christian causes, receive awards from Christian associations, or teach at Christian colleges. The persecution has even extended to the making or showing of viciously false and inflammatory films. Though such consequences are renounced by Blomberg, they may be partly a result of basic theological positions that Robinson seems more willing to compromise than Blomberg and that may be taking over popular Mormon thought and reducing tolerance for each other *within* the Church.

Robinson has already written thoroughly and persuasively on the matter of salvation by grace in works comparable in focus to those of Lowell Bennion and Elder Jeffrey R. Holland. His *Believing Christ*,¹ which contains his famous "parable of the bicycle," and *Following Christ*² have become popular antidotes to the common Mormon notion that people are saved solely by works and must "perfect themselves" to enter Christ's kingdom and inherit celestial glory. Perhaps this is the heresy that most offends Evangelicals and makes them think that Mormons aren't Christian.

In *Believing Christ*, Robinson uses ancient and modern scripture, lively argument, and touching personal experiences like the bicycle story to show that the crucial *beginning* of the journey of salvation (receiving Christ and being released from the bondage of sin—that is, becoming "justified") is made possible through *grace*, not merit or works. It is a free gift, something like that of the father in the bicycle parable who stalls his importunate daughter with "You save all your pennies, and pretty soon you'll have enough for a bike." Then, when she later comes to him with all she has, sixty-one cents, he makes up the rest.

This is very good news, and I know that for many Mormons it evokes the gratitude and brings the change of heart that Paul felt when he first realized, with awe, the unique, unconditional quality of God's love, "While

we were yet sinners, Christ died for us” (Rom. 5:8). A person I know was pushed near the edge of despair when her son suffered a terrible accident that required years of patient tending. Struggling with questions like “Why my son?” and “How can I possibly do it?” this parent found the answers in Robinson’s book and was able to lay her burden on the Lord and find immense relief. Grace does in fact have the power to save, and Latter-day Saints too often cut themselves off from that power or delay its effects by overreacting to the traditional Protestant emphasis on “*grace alone*,” trying instead to do it all by themselves.

The bad news, however, is that reading Robinson’s discussion of grace and Atonement in *HWD*, especially his sympathetic responses to Blomberg’s Evangelical formulations, confirmed my feeling that the grace in the bicycle parable is more Protestant than Mormon. Protestant grace, as I understand it, is God freely doing something absolutely crucial *for* and *to* us in order to *save* some of us from hell. Mormon grace, on the other hand, involves God freely doing something absolutely crucial to *help* all of us *become* new, saved beings. Protestant grace begins in God’s omnipotence and absolute sovereignty and thus logically (as Calvin showed) is pre-destinated, irresistible, permanent, and results in an either-or reward—salvation or damnation. Mormon grace begins in God’s loving response to our intrinsic moral agency and thus emphasizes our choice, “growing in grace,” and trying to change ourselves through repentance and righteousness into “new creatures,” all of which results in a huge variety of “degrees” of individual salvation. The crucial difference, as I see it, is that between an absolute God *giving* us relief from his absolute demands of justice because we have no merit and a loving Father *helping* us to become Christlike because we can’t do it alone.

Recently an Evangelical pollster asked, “Can a good person earn their way to heaven?”³ The good news is that 76 percent of Mormons agreed they could. That’s also the bad news, because, as Elder Bruce C. Hafen has written, “Individuals lack the capacity to develop a Christlike nature by their own effort.”⁴ But Mormons aren’t the only inconsistent ones. An even higher number of Catholics, 82 percent, agreed they could “earn” their way to heaven, though, as Monsignor Francis Mannion, rector of the Cathedral of the Madeleine in Salt Lake City, points out, the question, as phrased, directly denies the central Catholic doctrine that no one can get to heaven without God’s grace.⁵ Even 22 percent of Assembly of God members and 38 percent of Baptists—though these are among the most “Evangelical,” “saved by grace” Christians—agreed they could “earn” their way to heaven.

Why the confusion on something so basic? I think it’s because the way the question is usually put, “Are we saved by grace or by works?” misdirects the discussion, even to some extent for Robinson and Blomberg. It

is also because the same scriptures, as Joseph Smith discovered as a boy seeking truth and as Robinson and Blomberg amply demonstrate, can be interpreted quite oppositely. This, however, is precisely why prophetic interpretation of the Bible and new modern revelations are needed, advantages that Blomberg will not accept and that Robinson, at least in this book, seems too willing to neglect.

Modern revelation opens up a whole new way of seeing salvation that escapes the trap of the traditional Protestant-Catholic argument proceeding from that misleading question about *amounts* of grace and works. It teaches that salvation is not a quid-pro-quo reward (or punishment) by God but a state of being (or lack thereof) and of spiritual growth toward Godhood achieved through whatever combination of grace and choice and effort best works for each of us.

The Catholic emphasis on salvation through obedience to church law, including submission to prescribed ordinances administered by proper church authority, could very easily lead to hypocrisy. A sinner could go through the motions without inner conviction or change; he could even, in the fifteenth century, *buy* “indulgences,” or means to salvation. Luther, offended by such practices, read Paul on salvation by grace and wrote “alone” in the margin of his Bible, adding his own (unscriptural) emphasis and thus moving most Protestants to the opposite extreme, which holds that actions and authority don’t matter, only a personal commitment to Christ that is rewarded with total salvation.

But such apparent opposites *both* offend common sense, and they lead to the confusion revealed in the poll cited above. Actions and outward ordinances can be what Mormon, condemning infant baptism, called “dead works” (Moroni 8:23). But there is something equally wrong with the notion that what we do and are doesn’t really or ultimately matter, that God will “give” salvation to certain people for “believing,” whatever their lives look like. The problem with both positions is that they imply that salvation is a *thing*, an *amount*, a reward that can be somehow “given” by God.

Modern revelation teaches that salvation is a *condition*, a soul’s state of being (Mosiah 3:12,19), in fact a variety of conditions. Mosiah 2:38–39 makes it clear that hell itself is a state of internal being rather than an external place. Such states of soul are not simply given or created by God; they are achieved or lost through a combination of our response to God’s enabling opportunities, to his potentially transforming love in the Atonement. Salvation requires *becoming* “new creatures in Christ” through our sincere participation in the saving ordinances and obedience to moral law, including service to others.

It seems to me unfortunate that Robinson’s parable is about *amounts*—a little bit of works (sixty-one cents) and total belief (a child’s heart) plus

Christ's infinite grace bring a bicycle—rather than being about what it is that makes it *possible* for a person to *become* justified through an inner change and then become continually more Christlike. Of course, Robinson knows that all analogies have their limits and that a bicycle is not very much like salvation. He is very clear, both in *Following Christ* and in some of his most effective responses to Blomberg (145–47), that a process of sanctification through obedience and service must follow the initial justification by faith in Christ or the faith is not really faith. But I still worry that Robinson's formulations about salvation and judgment, as well as other crucial concepts, seem more Evangelical than Mormon.

Obviously, I cannot cover here the theological import of the full constellation of concepts that are found in LDS or Evangelical doctrinal formulations, but as a general matter, theological issues tend to divide themselves over one great rift. The technical terms are “rationalism,” which posits a reasonable God and universe that consistently obey sensible and ultimately ascertainable laws, and “voluntarism” (from the Latin for “will”), which posits a sovereign God who creates and directs a universe solely by his own will, which can be irrational and capricious, indeed is essentially unintelligible to humans. Joseph Smith's theology seems to me to be quintessentially in line with the rationalistic. It even suggests that the laws by which our God became a god and by which we can follow him in gaining salvation are eternal and unchangeable even by him—and that they work in rational and understandable ways to produce good in the world and change in us. Evangelical theology is aggressively voluntaristic, insisting on a God totally different from us and indifferent to our reasoning, one to whose inscrutable, sovereign will we must simply submit, even in such crucial matters as why we were created, how some of us are to be saved, and why some are to be punished eternally—and I'm afraid Robinson inclines in that direction.

For instance, Robinson accepts, apparently without reservation, the Evangelical formulation of a “substitutionary” atonement—that is, that Christ fully and literally takes our place in suffering for the sins we have committed and thus meets the demands of God's will that there be such suffering. A rationalistic understanding of the Atonement, consistent I believe with insights from modern revelation, sees it not as some strange, impersonal, even metaphysical, contract involving an absolute, judgmental God and vicariously sacrificed Christ, which allows us to avoid a just damnation. Rather, it is as an infinite expression to each of us personally of God and Christ's unconditional love—expressed in Christ's loving life and teachings, his taking upon himself our sins and weaknesses, so completely in the Garden that he bled at every pore, and his willing death on the cross. Because the God who taught us the law is willing to do this for us who

break the law, the Atonement is reasonably able to “appease the demands of justice” and save us from sin and its *natural* punishments, *if* we let it move us to accept the gift and use the power it provides to repent.

The Atonement is not, as many Evangelicals believe, a mysterious “substitute” for our repentance and righteousness but rather a perfectly sensible enabler. It is, as the Book of Mormon teaches, the “means” given us that we might “have faith unto repentance” (Alma 34:17). Under this view, the Atonement is not a legalistic requirement on God to meet his own mysterious demands and thus free us from punishment *after* we have faith and repent; it is God’s effort to move us sinners, through our response to his unconditional love extended *before* we repent, in order to change what we are. We can thus avoid the inherent “demands of justice” Alma speaks of, both the moral majesty of God’s righteous nature and our own inner tendency to judge ourselves for going against that nature, and participate in God’s “plan of mercy” (Alma 42:15). Traditional “substitutionary” concepts tend to keep us focused on justice and our own undeserving, which, in my experience, often merely *increases* guilt and immobility in the face of sin, while the concepts in modern revelations that emphasize the rational ability of grace to move us to repentance are in fact powerful indeed to that end. It would be bad news indeed, in an effort to become more accepted as “Christians,” to lose those energizing and redemptive concepts.

It would also be bad news if we lost our enlightened, rationalistic understandings of the nature of God and man and of the nature and authority of scripture, given through modern revelation. Thus, it was surprising to read Robinson’s rather complete capitulation to what seems like scriptural literalism (“There isn’t a single verse of the Bible that I do not personally accept and believe,” 59). It was especially surprising after his accurate summary of the rather liberal Mormon understanding, through modern revelation, that God speaks to his “servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language” (D&C 1:24) and his admission that this means that all scripture is “recorded by men who can and do make mistakes” (57). Though Robinson is very good at critiquing Evangelicals for using mainly nonauthoritative Mormon sources to construct false notions of Mormon beliefs, he seems to want to define the resources for Mormon theology much too narrowly.

What is at stake is nothing short of our concept of God’s nature in relation to our own. The worst news, it seems to me, is that Robinson appears willing to give up the unique, rationalistic, concepts of God revealed in the Doctrine and Covenants and developed clearly and fully in the King Follett Discourse. Blomberg rightly points out that the Evangelical concept of an absolute, sovereign God is crucial to the concept of a substitutionary atonement sufficient to save. Both concepts stand or fall together, and

Robinson lets both stand. He effectively faults Evangelicals for claiming biblical sufficiency and inerrancy and at the same time basing much of their thought and language on the postbiblical councils, which, according to him, are “wedded to Greek philosophical categories and assumptions” (88, 92). Yet Robinson seems to accept quite uncritically the unbiblical concept of God that arose in those councils, that is, as a static, “omnipotent,” “omniscient,” and “omnipresent” being, entirely different in nature from humans. As Robinson puts it, directly addressing perhaps the major difference between Mormons and other Christians, “Many Evangelicals are convinced, wrongly, that Latter-day Saints believe in a finite, limited or changeable god, even though that notion is repugnant to us” (88).

“Repugnant” to Mormons? What about President Brigham Young: “The God that I serve is progressing eternally [in knowledge and power], and so are his children.”⁶ Or twentieth-century Apostle John A. Widtsoe: “If the great law of progression is accepted, God must have been engaged, and must now be engaged in progressive development.”⁷

Yes, I know these are what Blomberg and even Robinson would call “noncanonical” sources, and *literal* interpretations of certain scriptures do support an all-powerful, absolute, and static God. But that shows precisely how dangerously limiting scriptural literalism is. The three “omni”s directly contradict what modern revelation and common sense tell us about God, and there is no need to be bound to literal interpretation of their scriptural use. For instance, the scriptures say God is “all-powerful” and “infinite,” but they also say “God is love” and “God is a consuming fire.” All these are worshipful metaphors and should not be taken as literal, definitive theology. Modern scripture makes clear that God *cannot* create intelligence and elements (D&C 93:29–33) and that he cannot break eternal law (D&C 130:20). And modern prophets, from Brigham Young to Joseph Fielding Smith, have recognized that the absolutistic scriptural language concerning one God, who has “all” power and knowledge sufficient to save us, can well apply to our limited sphere of existence, in which God is indeed “unchangeable”; at the same time, other language about many Gods in eternal progression of knowledge and power is equally true and orthodox when applied to spheres beyond our own.⁸ The problem is not so much that Robinson is “wrong” as that he claims only half the story is orthodox.

The “voluntaristic” Evangelical understanding seems to be that God is an absolute and infinite being, perfect and self-sufficient in every way, existing “before” and therefore unconditioned by time and space and material and law. This would seem to imply that God “decides” for some unaccountable reason (he certainly doesn’t *need* anything, being “absolute” by definition) to create beings to love him, makes them out of nothing—and thus wholly determines what they will be. Then God puts billions of

them in a world where the huge majority endure mainly pain and sorrow, comes among them as Christ and rewards those who believe on him with eternal bliss and punishes those who *don't* (including the huge majority who have never heard of him!) with eternal torment. No wonder that many in our century have decided that such a God is at best irrational and at worst a cruel creator. If he was already perfect, why did he “need” to create this world at all, and if he's all-powerful, why couldn't he just make an Adam and Eve that would have done things right in the first place or (since they were made out of nothing) destroy them and start over—or at least just send sinners back into nothingness rather than eternal torment (or make Christian teaching available to more than 10 percent of his children or prevent the Holocaust, and so forth)?

I can't help preferring the rationalistic, Mormon concept that sees God as an exalted *person*, existing in time and space and with a real environment of matter and energy and law which can be organized and created within but cannot be called into being or destroyed or absolutely controlled—a being whose work and glory it is to help other beings develop in the ways he has developed so they can enjoy his glory, too. This God sacrifices his son in an atonement of infinite love, powerful enough to resurrect us all to immortality and to move those of us who *will* to repent and improve until we become like him, with the same joy and creative and loving powers. Others he simply lets experience fully the results of what they have become or can still become, in infinite variety, rather than consigning them absolutely and irrevocably to pain or bliss.

We encounter here, of course, the crucial issues of judgment and punishment. In the rationalistic view, there are certainly natural and unavoidable consequences for all violations of natural, universal law, and God's justice will always hold us to strict account for our choices and shortcomings—but his Atonement appeases all need to suffer additional punishment if we will repent, and thus, I believe, all God's punishment is never vindictive. Modern revelation strongly suggests that “eternal” punishment does not mean “endless” (D&C 19:12), though certainly some will choose to become incapable of repentance and suffer the pain that entails. God is indeed the long-suffering, compassionate, reasonable, unconditionally loving Savior who takes no “pleasure at all that the wicked should die” but hopes they will “return from [their] way, and live” (Ezek. 18:23).

The voluntaristic view, on the other hand, is quite willing to accept, perhaps even approve of, God's irrational punishment on his creatures. Thus, despite the intelligence and graciousness of Blomberg, I grew increasingly depressed by the dreary, even mean-spirited implications of Evangelical theology: (“[Though] it is not fair to imagine the . . . Adolf Hitlers of this world experiencing the same punishment as the friendly,

hardworking non-Christian homeowner down the street; . . . they will spend an unpleasant eternity apart from God and all his people" [174]). I was even more depressed to find Robinson using "lake of fire" language (151) that is usually associated with vindictive punishment.

"Gospel," of course, means literally "*good news*," but (*mea culpa*) I just can't find much good news in such ideas about God's punishment. According to Blomberg (and Robinson seems to some extent to agree), God has controlled the writing, preservation, and canonization of the Bible so miraculously that it can be called essentially inerrant, sufficient, and binding for our salvation—and yet that same all-powerful, meticulous God has been unable to make the Bible and its saving message available to more than a small fraction of his children. Blomberg recognizes this "vexing" problem but can do no better than the old Catholic answer (rewards given according to "divine awareness of how they would have responded had they heard the gospel" [171]). But this only compounds the cruel irrationality by reminding us that humans have a nature that God *gave* them but will not change and, worse, punishes them for it.

That all seems to me quite *bad news*. It certainly fails the marvelous test Joseph Smith suggested for the revelation in the King Follett Discourse of the very rationalistic doctrines of God's finitude and man's potential deification: "This is good doctrine. It tastes good. . . . [W]hen I tell you of these words of eternal life that are given to me by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the revelations of Jesus Christ, you are bound to receive them as sweet. You taste them and I know you believe them."⁹ But by all means, people should read the book and decide for themselves whether Robinson and Blomberg's doctrinal formulations taste good. It may, after all, in the end be mostly a matter of personal temperament whether individuals tend toward "rationalism" or toward "voluntarism." Some are genuinely attracted to the securities of an absolute, sovereign, justice-oriented God and some to the adventuresomeness of an open, progressive universe and an infinitely loving God working with us eternal moral agents. I remember how shocked I was when I first read the great Evangelical divine Jonathan Edwards tell how he, after previously being "full of objections" to what seemed "a horrible doctrine," became converted to "God's sovereignty, in choosing whom He would to eternal life, and rejecting whom He pleased; leaving them eternally to perish, and be everlastingly tormented in hell." After his conversion, Edwards's "reason apprehended the justice and reasonableness of it" and "the doctrine . . . appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright, and sweet."¹⁰ I was appalled; that doctrine did not, and does not, taste sweet to me at all. But I could see, and accept, that good, intelligent people could feel that way and that I might have something to learn from them.

The bad news for me is that those (both Evangelicals and Mormons) with the voluntaristic temperament seem so unwilling to tolerate and learn from those with the rationalistic and, that partly through that influence, American and now Mormon *cultures* seem to be increasingly intolerant of other people, both politically and theologically. There seems to be a tendency for those who believe in an absolute, sovereign, all-determining, and punishing God to have absolute assurance that he has given them (perhaps through an “inerrant” Bible) absolute Truth, which they are justified in using any means, including the law and even illegal force, to impose on others. A few years ago, I confronted some evangelical “Ex-Mormons for Jesus” who, in an effort to embarrass the Church, had dishonestly obtained and then circulated a private letter. They claimed they had a perfect right to do *anything* to destroy Mormonism, which God had told them was evil.

The good news is that *HWD* is designed to bring greater tolerance between Evangelicals and Mormons by showing that much of what we believe, once we get past false stereotypes and different definitions, is the same. The bad news is that the unspoken premise of the book seems to be that we *have* to believe more alike in order to be more tolerant. Even if Blomberg and Robinson were totally wrong and Evangelicals and Mormons really did have completely different beliefs, we still shouldn't be treating each other the way we do.

The worst news is the spirit of “no compromise” underneath even Blomberg's urbane, well-informed politeness. He and other Evangelicals approve of Robinson's “bicycle parable” for being *closer* to the “truth” (*their* truth) about grace but would have him remove even the sixty-one cents the daughter contributes! Blomberg says that Evangelicals “hope and pray that influential modern LDS authors like Prof. Robinson are indeed shifting the balance back toward grace” (177), and they are already starting, in print, to call such people part of “Evangelical Mormonism”—apparently the only Mormons acceptable to them as Christians (182).

Robinson and others may indeed be shifting the balance of popular Mormon theology. This is not necessarily bad news. Perhaps it is just a historical shift in temperament or response to our terrible, anxiety-producing century or even a useful “correction” to a popular Mormon overemphasis on salvation by works or God's finitude. But if, as past experience with Evangelicals suggests, “Evangelical Mormons,” rather than following the example of this book, become more intolerant of those who differ with them—that would be very bad news indeed.

I don't expect that to happen. I trust that Mormons will cling to doctrines of modern revelation that encourage *both* grateful acceptance of grace and a serious, continuing, personal effort to grow in grace. Those doctrines reveal a compassionate God who does not ask us to see all we are

and do (including being damned!) for *his* glory, a God whose work and glory, always, is to enable *our* immortality and eternal life. In the Book of Moses, Enoch, given a vision of heaven and earth, sees God weeping over human wickedness. He is astonished because, having a traditional (voluntaristic) concept of God as absolute and all-powerful, he assumes that God should be able to simply prevent—or at least change—what might make him weep. God explains that his children have “agency,” cannot be coerced, and thus “the whole heavens shall weep over them . . . seeing these shall suffer” (Moses 7:32–37). Enoch sees into God’s heart, changes his concept of him—and is moved to new compassion himself: he “wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook” (Moses 7:41). This is the good news—for both Mormons and Evangelicals.

The real test of whether genuine efforts for mutual understanding, like *HWD*, are successful is if those efforts help people to embrace the *fullness* of the gospel, beyond their own partial emphases—if they help Mormons to better appreciate the good news of grace emphasized by Evangelicals and if they help Evangelicals to better appreciate the good news of God’s genuinely related, intelligibly merciful nature and his “means”—providing divine atonement that helps us change our nature, as taught in modern revelation. Finally, what will most determine the success of these efforts is the degree to which both faiths treat one another with respect and compassion, whether they agree more or not.

1. Stephen E. Robinson, *Believing Christ: The Parable of the Bicycle and Other Good News* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1992).

2. Stephen E. Robinson, *Following Christ: The Parable of the Diver and More Good News* (Salt Lake City: Deseret, 1995).

3. Cited in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1998, C1.

4. Cited in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1998, C1. See Bruce C. Hafen, *The Broken Heart* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 155–73.

5. Cited in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1998, C1.

6. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 11:286, January 13, 1867.

7. John A. Widtsoe, *A Rational Theology* (Salt Lake City: General Priesthood Committee of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1915), 30–31.

8. For the evidence, see Eugene England, “Perfection and Progression: Two Complementary Ways to Talk about God,” *BYU Studies* 29, no. 3 (1989): 31–47.

9. Stan Larson, “The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text,” *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (1978): 204.

10. Jonathan Edwards, “Personal Narrative,” in *Harper American Literature*, ed. Donald McQuade and others (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 326.

ELWIN C. ROBISON. *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997. xv; 216 pp. Illustrations, index, \$21.95.

Reviewed by Paul L. Anderson, Head of Design, Brigham Young University Museum of Art.

Architectural historians and preservationists are fond of saying that a building can be regarded as a historical document; a skilled and sensitive observer can read much about its history, builders, and surrounding community through its design, structure, craftsmanship, and details. In this groundbreaking book, Robison is that skilled and sensitive observer, combining thorough documentary research with a detailed and perceptive analysis of the first important Latter-day Saint building. He thereby illuminates the personalities, culture, and religious foundations of early Mormonism.

Robison is uniquely qualified to write a historical analysis of the Kirtland Temple. A professor in the School of Architecture and Environmental Design at Kent State University in Ohio, he has degrees in both engineering and architectural history. His unusual ability to analyze both the style and structure of architectural monuments has been reflected in numerous scholarly publications as well as in practical consultation on the conservation of historic buildings. A member of the LDS Church, Robison was commissioned by the Restoration Trails Foundation of the RLDS Church to study the structural condition of the Kirtland Temple in the late 1980s. In the course of his detailed study of its current problems, he examined literally every structural member in the building. Through this highly technical process, he gained insight into the complex history of the building and its builders.

The book is handsome and concise, with just 147 pages, including nearly a hundred illustrations plus fifty pages of appendices. The presentation is mostly chronological, with generous portions of stylistic and structural analysis along the way. The illustrations are as important as the text, bringing all of the relevant drawings and many helpful photographs together in one volume for the first time. The appendices include a documentary chronology, citing the major historical sources, a list of workers on the temple, a detailed record of the dedication services compiled from two different accounts, a collection of fascinating historical descriptions of the building, and a glossary of architectural terms.

While providing a coherent narrative of the temple's history, Robison also offers original insights into perplexing issues about its design. Other writers have puzzled over the differences in proportions between the drawings for the Independence Temple and the facade of the nearly identical Kirtland Temple. Robison shows how the inexperienced draftsman's

omission of some structural features on the drawings can account for these differences (9–15). He further reveals how novice builders working without detailed design drawings produced irregularities in the spacing of columns and windows (34–40). Robison contributes an important original discussion of Canadian precedents for the rubblestone and plaster exterior walls. He suggests that this type of construction, seldom seen in Ohio or the Eastern states, was the contribution of Canadian builder Artemus Millett, who became superintendent of construction at the time when attempts to build with brick had failed (33).

While others have suggested that decorative wood carvings in the major rooms of the temple probably came from published builders' manuals, Robison identifies the manuals and editions most likely used and then explains the differences in style between lower and upper meeting rooms by suggesting that their builders were using two different manuals published nearly thirty years apart (60–68). He also offers a thorough explanation of the use and technical aspects of the curtains that could divide the rooms into smaller areas (85–95). Mostly in the footnotes, Robison tactfully corrects some questionable conclusions of earlier writers and debunks some persistent myths, such as the doubtful attribution of uniquely Mormon symbolism to rather typical American decorative elements in the carved woodwork. These and other insights constitute the most convincing and complete examination of the temple's architecture that has ever been published.

Robison's style of writing is clear, analytical, and straightforward. He is careful to explain and illustrate the more technical aspects of his analysis in a way that any careful reader can follow. If there is something missing in the book, it may be some expression of the author's own aesthetic and emotional reactions to the temple. In my experience, the temple's exterior has a surprisingly impressive sense of monumentality and purity of form that is not captured in photographs. In much the same way, the arrangements and details of the principal rooms combine to create an impression of exquisite craftsmanship, an aura of wonderful natural light, and a feeling of harmony that are quite moving and completely appropriate for their sacred purposes. I conclude from the devotion and enthusiasm the author has obviously brought to this project that he must have similar feelings, which I would have enjoyed knowing.

In any case, Robison respectfully presents the builders' accounts of their feelings and religious experiences in connection with the temple, but without taking the tone of apologist. As a result, the book should appeal equally to all branches of Mormonism and to non-LDS audiences interested in history and architecture. His presentation of such extensive research and perceptive analysis, together with his inclusion of so many supportive documents and illustrations, should make this the standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

NORMAN R. BOWEN, ed. *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872–73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal*. Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1995. xxix; 184 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$24.95.

Reviewed by Carol Cornwall Madsen, Professor of History and Research Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University.

Elizabeth Wood Kane's recently discovered St. George journal is a companion piece to her previously edited journal, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona*, published in 1973. The St. George journal records the events of her stay in St. George during the winter of 1872–73. Unknown to the editors of *Twelve Mormon Homes*, the St. George journal was among the Thomas L. Kane family papers donated by Kent Kane, Elizabeth Kane's grandson, to the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University. *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie* is the fourteenth volume in the series *Utah, the Mormons, and the West* published by the Tanner Trust Fund. Norman R. Bowen, who also edited *Lowell Thomas, the Stranger Everyone Knows*, was a former journalism teacher at Brigham Young University and the University of Utah, a city editor of the *Deseret News*, and a correspondent for several national publications. He completed most of the editing for Kane's journal before his unexpected death in 1992. A short sketch of the life of Elizabeth Kane, written by Bowen's daughter Mary Karen Bowen Solomon, precedes the text of the journal.

Elizabeth Wood, a native of Liverpool, England, was born in 1836. Soon after her family emigrated to New York, Elizabeth, age sixteen, married her cousin Thomas Leiper Kane. Of the Kane's four children, the younger two, Evan and William, accompanied their parents on their journey to Utah in 1872. Thomas Kane's admiration of Brigham Young and association with the Mormons distressed the religious Elizabeth, who did not consider Mormons to be Christians, primarily because of their embrace of polygamy. Thomas Kane's assistance to the Mormons during their exodus from Nauvoo and his intervention when Johnston's army descended on Utah in 1857 were trials for Elizabeth. The couple's long separations, including the time Kane served in the Civil War, however, led not only to her studies of literature, medicine, history, and even Mormonism, but also to her lifelong journal writing.

Thomas Kane's persistent ill health, exacerbated by a severe war wound, led Brigham Young to invite the Kanes to accompany him on his annual winter pilgrimage to the mild climate of Southern Utah in 1872. Elizabeth took with her not only her two young sons and a fervent dislike of polygamy

but also an uncommonly perceptive eye and a curious mind. The resulting record of their winter stay—written from letters, notes, and diary entries—is an extraordinary account of Mormon village life as well as an inadvertent revelation of the reluctant visitor herself.

Though the text is well annotated, one editorial deficiency is the absence of an introduction explaining the historical and social background of 1872 St. George, which would have provided a useful context for Elizabeth's observations. Another small oversight is the uncorrected reference Elizabeth makes to Lucy Bigelow Young's mother as Mrs. Benbow, rather than Mrs. Bigelow. Otherwise, the editor has carefully identified the numerous persons, events, and places mentioned in the journal.

Elizabeth's journal reveals an educated, sensitive, intelligent, and articulate woman. While her journal is more anecdotal than chronological, it covers a wide range of subjects and displays an enviable power of observation and description. Her numerous historical and literary allusions attest to the extent of her self-education. Strands of sardonic humor occasionally weave their way into her colorful commentary, especially about polygamists, but on the whole she is respectful of her subjects and sometimes admiring.

The journal begins on December 25, 1872, with the entry, "I wonder how we shall get through the days here" (1). Two months and 175 pages later, Elizabeth confesses, "I cannot forget what rest and peace of soul I have enjoyed among them [the Mormons]" (175). The intervening pages record not only the education of an inquisitive mind but also the transformation of a querulous guest. When the Kanes arrived, they found a small community of about eleven hundred people—only a few more than the 130 pioneer families who arrived a decade earlier and stayed despite the searing summers, constant river floodings, failed crops, brackish water, alkaline soil, and disconcerting isolation. Larry M. Logue's *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* asks the question, "Why did people who took pride in their rational choices endure living in this place?" (12). Elizabeth's journal begins to answer that question.

There was no hiding the region's hostility to settlement. Abandoned fields, crumbling foundations, and scrawny animals were evidence enough of the desert's destructive and unyielding soil. Santa Clara settlers, Elizabeth noted, were better off than their St. George neighbors. She facetiously added that if she were "a faithful niece of my Uncle Sam," she would laugh at their industry until their labor proved productive and then "drive the accursed Mormons out, to make new combs of honey in still remoter deserts for us to eat in turn" (89–90). But she did not laugh. The determination she found among the settlers to conquer nature's deficits was too formidable a human force to be ridiculed or exploited.

If the land was forbidding, then the landscape was enchanting, and Elizabeth Kane had the words to portray its uniqueness. A hike to one of the low volcanic ridges that edged the community yielded a panorama she frequently described. “Ranges of mountains that had been entirely hidden from us down in St. George by the red cliffs that wall in the valley,” she wrote,

rose before us, tier on tier. Behind the “Sugar Loaf” bluffs we saw the Pine Valley Mountains robed in new-fallen dazzling snow. But its purity was partly overshadowed by a great snow-cloud that rested on the summits of that mountain group alone. Its shadows darkened the slopes, while the bright mountain peaks here and there pierced through its soft masses, and rose into the sunny atmosphere above, as if they would fain float off and become clouds themselves. (15–16)

No two views from her numerous hikes to the tops of the ridges and plateaus evoked the same response, and literary clichés seldom found place in her vividly drawn descriptions.

The Native Americans whom she encountered on the streets of St. George also claimed many pages of her journal. She and her boys were fascinated by their appearance, their speech, their customs, and their culture. They listened intently to the stories related by Mormon Indian scouts and missionaries. She recounts in detail the trial of one accused Indian and was delighted to see justice served in his acquittal granted by an all-white court.

Balls, dinners, and parties, while frequent, seemed less absorbing to this faithful Presbyterian than the weekly LDS services that she regularly mentioned. “I mean to remember,” she explained, “that it was right and not wrong to worship with the Mormons as with Christians” (176). The message in the sermons, the sincerity (and sometimes irreverence) of the speaker, and especially the joyful singing of the congregation (without an organ) prompted her to write, “It is such a comfort to be with people who are in earnest!” (176). Moreover, she did not discredit the accounts of spiritual manifestations and eagerly listened to and recorded stories of conversion, the beginnings of the Church, and the exodus from Nauvoo. She also quietly observed the charitable activities of the Relief Society, concluding that “much of it was picking up the dropped stitches of the Bishops” (32–33).

Flowing like a steady counterpoint to Elizabeth’s perceptive, often eloquent observations that make up this episodic journal are her disdain of polygamy and wonder at those who practiced it. In a community where one-third of all husbands had plural wives,¹ meaning that at least two-thirds of the wives were polygamous, Elizabeth could not avoid feeling immersed in the practice. Convinced that a “communion of mind and heart” could not exist in plural marriages, she believed her happiness to be “a stronger missionary sermon” for monogamy than her words (21). In

time, however, the independence and self-reliance displayed by the plural wives and their efficiency in household management gained her admiration. She also relished the love stories she elicited from two plural wives, though she rationalized that only a studied indifference to their husband's shared affection enabled the women to endure the practice. By the time she left, however, despite her rueful comments about the multiple "Mrs. Youngs" or "Mrs. Snows," she admitted she had adjusted to seeing several wives adjoining a single man.

Elizabeth found that this desert community with its faith-tried settlers evoked comparison with ancient Palestine and its early inhabitants, who transformed that desert land into a fruitful oasis. She noted that she often felt she was living in an old Syrian world among "pastoral folk" fulfilling Isaiah's promise of making a fertile land of the desert plains. But even as she wrote of the remarkable transformation of a resistant land to the coaxing cultivation of a determined people, she simultaneously recorded the transformation she was undergoing. The Elizabeth Kane who left St. George in February 1873 was not the same woman who had arrived there just two months earlier. Both Elizabeth's outright admission that were she to write the journal again, the entries "would be written in a kindlier spirit" (168) and her acknowledgment that she could finally think kindly of Brigham Young demonstrate how the St. George experience had clearly mellowed the opinions of this sensitive, strong-minded woman. From the humble folk eking out a living to the more favored wives of Church leaders, Elizabeth came to recognize that "they can all teach me something" (155). If historian Larry Logue saw St. George as a "sermon in the desert," Elizabeth Kane's book is a sermon *from* the desert.

1. Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 49.

R. LANIER BRITSCH. *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1851–1996*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998. xvi; 631 pp. \$29.95.

Reviewed by J. Michael Allen, Lecturer in History, University of Auckland, New Zealand.

For those interested in the international growth of the LDS Church, the publication of this long-awaited book was welcome news. R. Lanier Britsch, professor of history at Brigham Young University and former director of that university's David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, is well qualified to chart the course of the Church's history in Asia. This volume, originally part of the Church sesquicentennial project,¹ adds a great deal to our understanding of LDS history in that region.

Properly eschewing the notion that "Asia" can be treated as a unit, Britsch adopts a combination chronological-regional approach to his subject. Following a brief introduction that situates the LDS Church in Asia in a broad historical context, the book is divided into a series of regional chapters. Where more than one chapter covers a particular country or region, each chapter in that section deals with a different time period. Within chapters, the subject treatment is largely topical, covering such concerns as missionary work, the acquisition of property, the growth of missions and stakes, visits and direction from General Authorities, translation and publications, and so on. The concluding chapter is a short reflection on the author's own involvement in Asia and especially on President Gordon B. Hinckley's special concern for the Church and its members throughout Asia and his importance in the history of the Church there.

Some readers may wonder about the author's tendency to focus primarily on the lives and activities of Church leaders, rather than on the vast majority of members who never hold a highly visible administrative office. It is true, of course, that most local leaders started out as "average members," and one must acknowledge that most members of the Church are simply not mentioned in historical sources except in membership records, which generally give no enlivening information. There is a great concern in this book with statistics: numbers of members, numbers of wards and branches, numbers of converts per missionary. But there is little detailed information available about the people whose lives and struggles give texture and meaning to those statistics.

On the other hand, I found it remarkable how many times a few certain people were called again and again into Church service as leaders in Asia—and accepted the callings. This applies both to Asian members and to Westerners called to serve as mission presidents or in other capacities. A core of committed, faithful members can truly be called pioneers of the Church in Asia.

After reading this book, no one can question the importance of local missionaries and local leadership, especially in places where foreign proselyting missionaries are prohibited or severely curtailed. Much of the period charted by Britsch is a time when foundations were being built. To chronicle more of the lives of individual members would require countless hours of interviewing across more than a dozen countries, in even more languages, and at an astronomical cost. Someday this may be done, country by country, but one does well to be grateful for the context Britsch has provided for that future project.

There are a few infelicities in the book. For instance, the author refers to the People's Republic of China as "Communist China" rather than by its proper name and uses the term "populous" several times when the intended word is "populace." These slips should have been caught by a careful editor, but such errors are few, particularly given the size of the book. Several statements could use some clarification or further explanation. For example, certain Korean ideas about God are said to "correlate well" with Mormon beliefs (181). The reader might ask what they are. Britsch states that "America, of course, is the home of religious pluralism" (508). Perhaps this is true if one refers to religious pluralism as enshrined in written constitutions, but *de jure* religious pluralism is not the same thing as *de facto* religious pluralism, and it can be argued that America is not the original home of the latter. Other parts of the world had considerable mixing of religions and a remarkable degree of religious pluralism during times when the West was dominated by a very intolerant Christianity.

Despite these criticisms, which a reviewer feels obligated to mention, the scale is weighted heavily on the positive side. No other book attempts to cover so many aspects of the Church's growth in Asia. Britsch greatly expands the scope of coverage found in Spencer J. Palmer's *The Church Encounters Asia* (1970). Both the story of the Church in Asia and the local and regional contexts that provide the backdrop for that story are now vastly different from the contexts of the 1970s. This book, therefore, fills a definite need.

Britsch places the Church's first introduction into each country or region in its broad cultural context by discussing religious, cultural, social, political, or historical backgrounds. This discussion is of necessity brief, but it is helpful nevertheless. There are times when Britsch's contextual introductions capture, in a few words, exactly what the reader needs to know about the situation. For example, in the chapter on the earliest missionary efforts in Japan during the first two decades of the twentieth century, he helps the reader understand how alien that country seemed to missionaries from Utah. In some ways, Japan was more alien than "less-developed" parts of Asia, simply because, at first glance, the country did not appear so strange.

By the time LDS missionaries arrived, Japan had already been hard at the work of modernizing (and to a large extent Westernizing) under a vigorous leadership with lofty national goals in mind. What made Japan so disorienting, therefore, was the fact that it was modern but at the same time completely different—an experience in many ways more difficult to handle than going to a place that had none of the trappings of home. Britsch goes on to offer plausible explanations for the apparent failure (in terms of numbers of converts) of the early Japanese mission.

Although the author concentrates on growth and is eager to emphasize the positive and the prophetic, he does not avoid discussing problems the Church has encountered along the way—problems including not only bureaucratic roadblocks and cultural differences within Asian countries but also miscalculations and outright insensitivity on the part of Church members. He is willing to acknowledge where expectations have not been met, where activity or retention has been low, where experiments have failed, where progress has been inconsistent, and where progress has, in fact, been reversed. A good example of this is his deft treatment of the fiasco that occurred in 1972 when a missionary in Thailand climbed atop a statue of the Buddha and had his picture taken by a fellow missionary, surely one of the most egregious examples of insensitivity in LDS mission history. The picture made its way into the newspapers, and the resulting firestorm of criticism damaged the Church's reputation in that country so badly that the effects are still felt over a quarter of a century later. Britsch neither excuses the missionaries nor attempts to minimize the damage, but uses this incident as an occasion to deliver a low-key but well-placed call for “greater maturity, more cultural knowledge, and increased sensitivity everywhere in the Church” (386).

Britsch includes a very effective discussion of Church welfare in the chapter on the Philippines—a topic that may be unfamiliar to many readers. He highlights the words of Elder Marion D. Hanks, who, when reflecting on his time as Executive Administrator over Southeast Asia, said, “I felt and feel that we need to establish ourselves, not theologically according to their definition, but, at least in terms of behavior, we need to be able to identify with what we so earnestly pronounce ourselves to be, and that's Christian” (389). One senses Britsch's own sympathy with this sentiment in his emphatic treatment of welfare and service issues. The section on Thailand and Cambodia (389–97) contain the most moving stories in the book. The focus on individual people demonstrates how the sometimes quiet efforts of the Church and its members can make an incalculable difference for good in the lives of people for whom the circumstances of birth, education, geography, war, or luck have not provided the opportunities for self-betterment that others have had.

Any reader interested in Church growth will gain much from this book. The Church has faced considerable difficulties in Asia: the expulsion of nearly all foreign LDS missionaries from Singapore in 1970, the Buddhist statue controversy in Thailand, the inability to send foreign missionaries to Malaysia at all, the impossibility of long-term entrance of missionaries into Indonesia, the struggle for survival of small, isolated LDS groups in India, and other numerous problems of greater or lesser magnitude. The coming of age of the Church in Asia is an endlessly fascinating, still-unfolding story. R. Lanier Britsch is a most able chronicler of that story to date.

1. BYU Studies points out, with apologies, that *From the East*, rather than the erroneous reference to *Mormonism in Hawaii*, should have appeared in *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 206 n. 6. —Ed.

JAY A. PARRY and DONALD W. PARRY. *Understanding the Book of Revelation*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998. viii; 358 pp. Appendixes, bibliography, indexes. \$19.95.

MICK SMITH, *The Book of Revelation: Plain, Pure, and Simple*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998. xiv; 306 pp. Bibliography, index. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Robert L. Maxwell, Special Collections and Ancient Languages Cataloger, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

A need exists for good, LDS-oriented commentaries on the scriptures, especially biblical texts, and these two volumes begin to meet that need. Revelation is a glorious book but is frequently obscure and difficult for many to understand. These commentaries should encourage greater interest in the book of Revelation among Church members and lead them to ponder this important text in ways they may not have previously considered.

The authors of *Understanding the Book of Revelation* are brothers Jay and Donald Parry. Jay has published widely and chaired a general Church curriculum writing committee; Donald teaches Hebrew at BYU and is deeply involved in the international Dead Sea Scrolls project. Mick Smith, author of *The Book of Revelation: Plain, Pure, and Simple*, is currently director of the University of Nebraska at Lincoln Institute of Religion.

Being commentaries, both books are similarly structured. Each chapter in the Parrys' useful book corresponds to a chapter in Revelation and is divided into sections. Each section begins with a general commentary on the text discussed, is followed by the text itself, and concludes with a verse-by-verse commentary on the text. The printed text of Revelation is for the most part the Joseph Smith Translation (JST), with occasional interpolations by the Parrys. Brackets or ellipses indicate changes from the King James Version (KJV), each of which is explained in a footnote.

Smith's organization is slightly different. He begins each section with the KJV text, offers a verse-by-verse commentary, and concludes with what he calls an "applicability" section and a summary. This structure makes a bit more sense than the Parrys', whose general commentary is sometimes difficult to follow because it precedes the scriptural text.

Since LDS commentaries on Revelation are limited, the two books inevitably quote the same sources. Chief among these are *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, Bruce R. McConkie's *Doctrinal New Testament Commentary*, and Richard Draper's *Opening the Seven Seals*. The Parrys are better than Smith at ferreting out these sources, however, and where Smith cites a single passage from an authority to clarify a verse, the Parrys may

cite the same passage plus several more. Of course, more is not always better, but often the additional passages give added insight. For example, when Smith cites McConkie's *DNTC* 3:528–29 for an explanation of “And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven” (Rev. 14:6, Smith 154–55), he leaves the reader with the impression that Elder McConkie believed the “angel” referred uniquely to Moroni; the Parrys, reading further, however, note that Elder McConkie suggested later in his commentary (3:528–29) that the angel was symbolic of other angels as well (Parrys, 184).

This duplication of LDS sources is not surprising. More surprising, considering the host of non-LDS sources, is the extensive duplication of these sources as well. Both books rely extensively on Robert Mounce's *Book of Revelation*¹ and Marvin Vincent's *Word Studies in the New Testament*, both published by the Evangelical publishing house of Eerdmans.² The Parrys' use of non-LDS criticism is somewhat more extensive than Smith's, although neither book demonstrates broad knowledge of these sources. This is, of course, not expected given an LDS audience, but a greater awareness of non-LDS biblical scholarship might be useful in an LDS commentary on the Bible, if only as a counterpoint against which to show LDS doctrine and in order to raise the awareness of LDS readers of the probable beliefs of their non-LDS acquaintances. For example, in the Anchor Bible,³ J. Massyngberde Ford posits that Revelation was written not by the Apostle John, but by John the Baptist, his disciples, and others. The Parrys raise the authorship issue in their book's first sentence: “The book of Revelation was written by John the beloved apostle” (1), but nowhere do they hint that this is not obvious outside the LDS world (nor are they explicit that LDS revelation is quite clear on the point [1 Ne. 14:24–27]). This is odd since they cite Ford occasionally and are thus probably aware of the Anchor Bible stand. Smith ignores the question altogether.

A commentary on any text must serve two functions: first, it should establish what the text says; second, it should explain what it means. Both books are well aware of these two functions and offer generous explanations of textual meaning. But they stop short of establishing what the text actually says. Both go to great lengths to note JST changes, but they ignore the basic meaning of the text itself by writing as if John had written his text in English. This can cause problems, as in the Parry's frequent precise counts of English words in the text, which usually do not accurately reflect the numbers in John's Greek text. For instance, they note that the word “as” appears fifty-six times in Revelation (21)—the figure is actually eighty-three—but John uses several Greek words (*hos*, *homoios*, *hosoi/hoson*, *hosper*, *hote*, *hosakis*, *hotan*, *hoios*), all sometimes translated “as” in the KJV; further, the KJV translators also rendered some of these words in other ways, including “like.” Thus, the number fifty-six (or for that matter,

eighty-three) does not correctly inform readers of John's usage and oversimplifies a complex situation. For similar reasons, the list of names and titles of deity found in Revelation, with corresponding frequencies, is also problematic (315). This sort of word counting, if it is to be at all meaningful, should be based on the original text. Smith makes occasional attempts to delve into the original language, but since he does not appear to be familiar with Greek, he cites the Greek dictionary in *Strong's Concordance*, often in error. For example, he cites *Strong's* to explain the term *lychnos*, but the word in the text of 1:12 is *lychnia*, not *lychnos* (7); there is no Greek word *uiov*—the correct transliteration is *huion* (120). Rather than going even as far as Smith in attempting to work with the original language, the Parrys tend to “shop around” in various English translations until they hit upon one they like. For example, on Revelation 4:11: “Many versions read ‘by thy will’ in place of [the KJV] ‘for thy pleasure’; the Jerusalem Bible, for example, reads, ‘It was only by your will that everything was made and exists.’” (64). Would it not be simpler (and more convincing) to say that the original of 4:11 (*dia tou thelema sou*) means “by or through thy will”? A somewhat different problem occurs when the Parrys point out at 8:13 that some (English) versions read “eagle” rather than “angel” (112) but fail to note that this stems from a variant in the earliest Greek manuscripts. The authors of both books excuse themselves in their prefaces, saying that they do not intend the work to be scholarly, but awareness of the original text is necessary, even in an LDS commentary. The lack of such an awareness reveals a need for a commentary on Revelation by a faithful LDS scholar fully conversant with John's language (Greek), who will use LDS revelatory sources to interpret the scriptures, as the Parrys and Smith do admirably.

Despite these technical shortcomings, these two books successfully achieve their purpose, which is to draw our attention to important LDS interpretation of various passages in Revelation and to invite us to think through the text for personal insights. By so doing, these books fill an important niche, particularly as the Church revisits the New Testament every four years as a part of the Sunday School curriculum.

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1. Robert H. Mounce, *Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1977).
 2. Marvin R. Vincent, *Word Studies in the New Testament* (1887; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1976).
 3. J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, vol. 38 in *The Anchor Bible* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 3.

VALEEN TIPPETTS AVERY. *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998. xii; 357 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Hardbound, \$49.95; paperback, \$19.95.

Reviewed by Richard P. Howard, historian emeritus, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS Church).

Valeen Avery's work on Emma Hale Smith¹ coincided with her doctoral dissertation on the life of David Hyrum Smith, the youngest child of Joseph and Emma.² These two works form a solid foundation for her book *From Mission to Madness*, which also benefits from Avery's judicious use of the RLDS Archives' recently cataloged papers of David Hyrum Smith and his only son, Elbert A. Smith.

Avery's title points to David Smith's journey through nearly ten years of mission work mixed with severe and often lengthy bouts of "brain fever" (208), followed by three years of frightening upheaval as family, friends, and other benefactors tried unsuccessfully to care for him and his family, ending with his forced committal to the hospital for the insane at Elgin, Illinois, in 1877. But this "ending" was only the beginning of a dreary, twenty-seven-year denouement marked by fading hopes for improvement—which was not sufficient even for his return to family life—and pervasive shadows of confusion, loneliness, despair, paranoia, and mercifully, death in 1904.

Avery's book is a skillful, detailed weaving of a rich and varied body of sources into the themes and the difficult course of events that mark David's life and times. Her introduction sketches the background of early Mormonism (1830–44) before David's birth, which occurred five months after the assassination of his father in 1844. This engaging summary could benefit from a better sketch of the geography and a clearer chronology of the Ohio-Missouri transitions marking the three phases of Mormon settlement in western Missouri: initial settlement in Jackson County, 1831–33; forced exile in Clay County, 1834–36; and the final Missouri settlements farther north in Caldwell and Daviess Counties, 1836–38, which ended with Missouri mobs forcing the Saints into Illinois in the winter of 1838–39. This chronology might have been more precisely interwoven with the Church's Kirtland, Ohio, history (1831–38) for a clearer picture of how early Mormon development in Missouri makes Nauvoo more understandable.

The author uses nearly half of this introduction to chart Joseph Smith's role in starting polygamy in Nauvoo and to record Emma Smith's turmoil at Joseph's departure from monogamous marriage. This scenario sets the stage for David's intense struggle with the polygamy issue during his mission work in Utah in 1869 and 1872.

Avery links David and his mother symbiotically by depicting Emma's heroic efforts to manage her household and family of five children, steer a life path independent from Mormonism and its leadership in the aftermath

life path independent from Mormonism and its leadership in the aftermath of her husband's sudden death, and scratch out a living in what was once a bustling town of some 12,000³ (Avery claims 20,000 [29]) but what had become a ghost town of several hundred. In the process, Emma married Lewis C. Bidamon in December 1847, when David was three years old. David had never known his father, but he would come to know and respect his stepfather, even though they were to have their moments of estrangement and tension, such as "Major Bidamon" often had with all his stepchildren.

Even with the scant primary sources covering David's early life, Avery sketches something of his personality traits and behavioral patterns. The images Avery depicts of David as he grew to manhood in Nauvoo are those of artist, poet, lover of nature, dreamer, and young man deeply touched and refined by his mother's influence. He read good books, many of which came into the family library through the generosity of John Bernhisel, a Utah Mormon who traveled regularly between Salt Lake and Washington, D.C. Bernhisel had been a close family friend before Joseph's and Hyrum's deaths, and he extended his friendship and support to Emma and her family. He was perplexed at Emma's negative feelings toward Salt Lake Mormon leaders—especially Brigham Young—and longed for her to bring her family west. But for David, the die was cast early. He would come to manhood with a staunch loyalty to Emma and the family, which also meant a deep inclination to disbelieve the Utah Church. Avery poignantly describes this strong loyalty Emma's family exhibited. Joseph III rejected several appeals to from Utah-based Smith cousins and uncles to come west and unite with the religion of the founding prophet. After years of disinterest in Mormonism, Emma was baptized into the RLDS Church at the time young Joseph was ordained its president—a decision Avery sees as having influenced David positively towards the RLDS orbit. In August 1861, David himself was baptized, one of the first in the RLDS movement. Avery rightly notes the impact on David of his brother Frederick's death in April 1862, which deepened David's commitment to the direction the Nauvoo Smiths were taking in embracing the RLDS faith.

Avery recounts David's remarkable transition from dreamer-artist-poet to preacher in the field and writer for the RLDS magazine, *True Latter Day Saints' Herald*. In 1863, Joseph III, president of the RLDS Church, began sending missionaries to Utah. In 1869 he finally teamed David with their brother Alexander on a mission to Utah and sent David again in 1872. Joseph hoped that the founding prophet's sons would command respect and wide response to the RLDS message. These months in Utah, however, and especially the months spent there on his second mission in 1872, confronted David with the plural marriage issue in ways that forced him to come to conclusions about his father that were radically different from

anything he had ever suspected could be true. The foundation of his previous stance on this matter was swept away by evidences of his father's active role in the inception of plural marriage. Avery wisely avoids oversimplifying this issue as the cause of David's mental and emotional breakdown, but she correctly identifies it as an important element in his sustained illness after 1872.

Regarding David's attempt to take on the responsibilities of having a wife and family of his own, Avery's evidence points to a man who, despite recurring skirmishes with darkness of soul and mind, realized during his first trip to Utah that he wanted to marry Clara Charlotte Hartshorn. After several months of battling illness, David married Clara in May 1870, and they moved into the Mansion House in Nauvoo. Their only son, Elbert Aoriul, was born there the following March. Avery's sources indicate that David was a man torn by feelings of uselessness and helplessness as Clara and their new baby were being cared for by Emma and others while he could find no steady employment to support them. He was restless, yearning to reenter the mission field—anxious to engage in the only pursuit that gave his life some respite from the deep gloom that marked his days in Illinois.

Val Avery is more than a gifted storyteller, scholar, and researcher. Her deep awareness of the Smith family's generations of anguished silence over David's sad life and demise are revealed in the pages of this volume. She knows the hazards of psychohistory and refuses to fall prey to them. She refuses to speculate on the specific medical or psychological causes of David's malady, choosing rather to portray him in deeply human terms. She places him in the patient, compassionate, and bewildered Smith family support system, stretched beyond its limits by the relentless force of insurmountable odds.

To read these pages is to be drawn into the poignant struggles of all—family members, physicians, hospital workers, neighbors, and friends—who battle to form networks of care for those who suffer any of the myriad forms of mental illness. Avery does not answer every question behind the tragedy of David Hyrum Smith's fractured life, but she brings him and the issues of his existence alive to our minds and hearts in ways that enrich and refine our sense of what it means to be human, caring for those who, like ourselves, sometimes lose their way.

1. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984).

2. Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Insanity and the Sweet Singer: A Biography of David Hyrum Smith, 1844–1904" (Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1984).

3. Susan Easton Black, "How Large Was the Population of Nauvoo?" *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 91.

Brief Notices

New Testament Apostles Testify of Christ: A Guide for Acts through Revelation, by D. Kelly Ogden and Andrew C. Skinner (Deseret Book, 1998)

“You can often tell a book by its cover” is a modified adage we librarians have followed for decades. But it is apparently also true for artists, one of whom saw me with Ogden and Skinner’s book in hand. Her comment was, “That must be a fine book if it uses Caravaggio’s inspired painting *Supper at Emmaus* as the cover art.” Indeed, the scene, which depicts the Savior breaking bread with one of the Apostles, likewise beckons us to partake of the Bread of Life offered by the Apostles of the meridian of time.

Having taught an occasional New Testament class for the past twenty-five years, I have been acutely aware of student interest not only in the doctrines taught by Jesus Christ and the early Apostles but also in the cultural, historical, and linguistic milieu of the Gospels and Epistles. Unfortunately, the sources for this information have been so diversified and obscure that to use them in an undergraduate or Gospel Doctrine course would have required not only substantial additional time but also a scholarly discernment beyond that of most instructors. In *New Testament Apostles Testify of Christ*, Ogden and Skinner very nicely fill the need for a concise and readable commentary. The volume gathers appropriate photographs, maps, charts, diagrams, and commentary while describing the history and geography of the New Testament world.

The authors are well prepared to enlighten Latter-day Saints with this timely handbook. Both are professors of ancient scripture at BYU, and both have experienced long-term residence and teaching in the Holy Land, as well as extensive

travel and study in the lands of the early Apostles—Turkey, Greece, and Italy. Their insights and information about early leaders and the ancient Saints are often very poignant and meaningful. Throughout the volume, the doctrines of the Restoration are discussed in context. Special minichapters are set aside for more lengthy discussions—baptism for the dead, the use of consecrated olive oil in priesthood blessings, gnosticism, and dealing with trials, suffering, and afflictions. Just as significantly, a voice of harmony between the New Testament and the Book of Mormon strengthens both these discussions and the chapter-by-chapter and verse-by-verse commentaries.

Other unexpected but delightful complements to the main commentary include a section describing over twenty cities mentioned in the New Testament. For example, a brief history and geographical setting are given for the city of Corinth, along with a description of major archaeological remains. Finally, several excellent appendices compare the seven churches of Revelation, provide a commentary on Armageddon, and explain very lucidly the ten doctrines of salvation, including justification and the Second Comforter.

This book gathers together the best gospel understanding from both secular and LDS scholarship, including the work of Sidney B. Sperry, Richard L. Anderson, and Bruce R. McConkie. The secular sources are well known and well respected by many LDS scholars and include the Muratorian Canon, early church fathers, Josephus, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, classical writers such as Strabo and Pliny the Elder, Ginzberg’s *The Legends of the Jews*, the Talmud, the Anchor Bible Dictionary, and writings by many eminent non-LDS scholars.

This volume is a milestone publication. It will be a valuable addition to the library of any gospel teacher or student who wishes for a deeper understanding of the ancient Apostles, their teachings, and the world in which they lived.

—Gary P. Gillum

An Epistle from the New Testament Apostles, arranged by John W. Welch (Bookcraft, 1999)

The Epistles in the New Testament contain some of the most important doctrinal teachings and most moving personal testimonies anywhere in scripture. Indeed, many of the doctrines of the Restoration have been taught using the words of Peter, Paul, and John. As *An Epistle from the New Testament Apostles* points out, the thirteen Articles of Faith are surprisingly rich in references to the Epistles of Paul.

In this volume, John Welch has created a unique and ingenious presentation of the New Testament Epistles with the hope that Latter-day Saints will be able to better understand these letters. The complete text of each of the twenty-one Epistles is divided into its literary and thematic units and then rearranged by themes to read like one grand epistle—a letter from the New Testament Apostles. The complete text of the King James Version of the Epistles is presented and marked in a way that readily shows the original biblical text together with the changes made by the Joseph Smith Translation. Included in slashes are alternate readings from ancient New Testament texts as well as alternative translations for Greek words that greatly enhance the reader's comprehension of the text.

Welch has organized his material around ten major themes with numerous subtopics. Thus a reader can pursue all of the material in the Epistles by such themes as atonement, faith and obedi-

ence, and Christian living. Of particular interest is the section containing biographical information and personal statements. Here the reader can find a rich collection of all of the personal expressions of Paul, Peter, and John to the ancient Saints. These declarations of testimony, concern, and affection for the Saints echo through the years and strike a responsive chord in Latter-day Saints.

For those who have had trouble understanding these Epistles in the past, this volume provides the easiest way ever to gain access to their contents. For those who are already conversant with the Epistles, reading them arranged by themes provides many new insights as the writings of the ancient Apostles are examined side by side.

—David R. Seely

The Testimony of John the Beloved: The 27th Annual Sidney B. Sperry Symposium, Brigham Young University, 1998 (Deseret Book, 1998)

The Gospel, the Epistles, and the Revelation of John the Beloved have given the Saints a unique perspective of Jesus Christ and his teachings. The preface of *The Testimony of John the Beloved* reminds us that this Apostle's writings contain "some of the most profound events, specific prophecies, and significant doctrines recorded in all of ancient scripture." This collection of twenty-one addresses from the 1998 Sidney B. Sperry symposium discusses many of these doctrinal teachings and John's testimony of the divinity of Jesus Christ.

The diverse backgrounds of the participants of the symposium have resulted in gathering many inspired and inspiring insights and truths about this Gospel writer and his teachings. Topics discussed include John's Revelation and the restoration of the Gospel, the themes of discipleship in John, women in the writings

of John, the new commandment of love, the lands of the Gospel of John, Jewish holy days, Revelation as a message of comfort and hope, and the celestial Jerusalem.

Throughout the collection there is solid evidence of scholarly research, sewn together with writing styles that are accessible to most readers of the scriptures. For Saints who wish to know more about the Apostle whom Jesus loved, their time would be profitably spent reading these offerings and testimonies. They will come away not only with the background of John's writings but also with renewed spiritual understanding of both the Savior and John.

—Gary P. Gillum

information, safety precautions, and other tips that make for an enriched hiking experience.

This is a book for peak baggers and recreational hikers alike. Most of these mountains can be climbed in a day. In fact, some summits can be reached by car. None of them require technical climbing skills or special equipment. For that reason, *High in Utah* is a great resource for active families. Selecting a suitable yet challenging hike can be a great source of family fun. *High in Utah* reminds us that mountains have symbolic significance and that we are drawn to high places.

—Gregory Witt

High in Utah: A Hiking Guide to the Tallest Peak in Each of the State's Twenty-nine Counties, by Michael R. Weibel and Dan Miller (University of Utah Press, 1999)

By at least one standard, Utah is the highest state in the United States. While other states may boast higher peaks, Utah has a unique elevation claim of its own: the average elevation of the tallest peaks in each of Utah's twenty-nine counties is roughly 11,222 feet—the highest of any state. This book identifies each of these peaks, provides straightforward directions on how to reach the summits, and enables hikers to enjoy discovering the high-altitude outdoors.

Each hike features three easy-to-read maps: a state locator, an area map showing road access, and a topographical trail map. Accompanying the maps is valuable descriptive information on each hike, placing particular emphasis on directions to the trailhead. Hikers using the maps and the detailed instructions would have a hard time getting lost. *High in Utah* also evaluates each hike according to distance, difficulty, and elevation gain, and it includes historical background, wildlife

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