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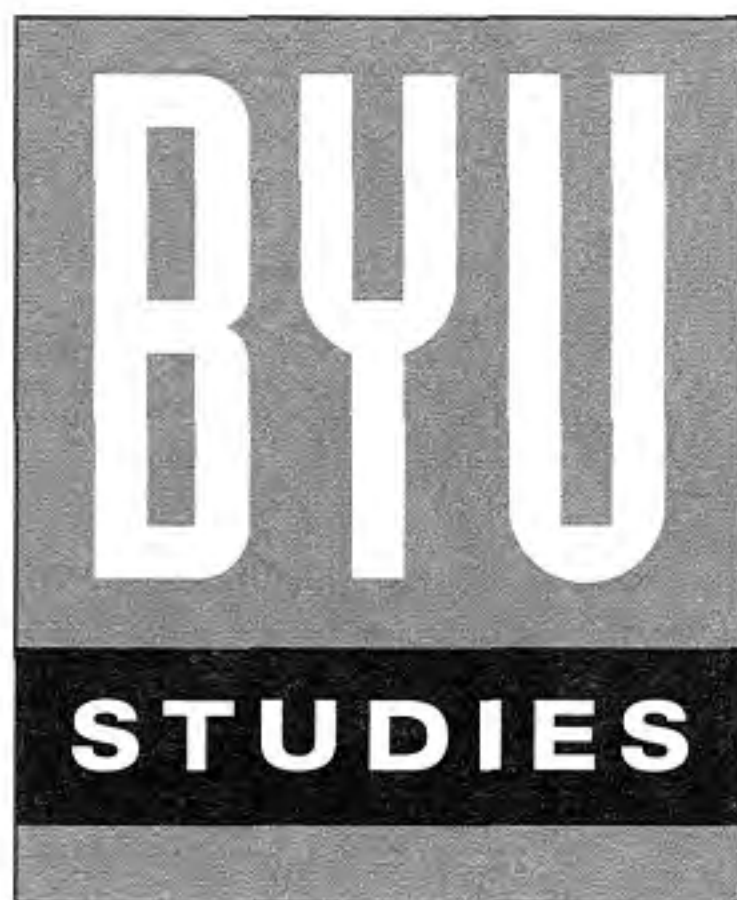
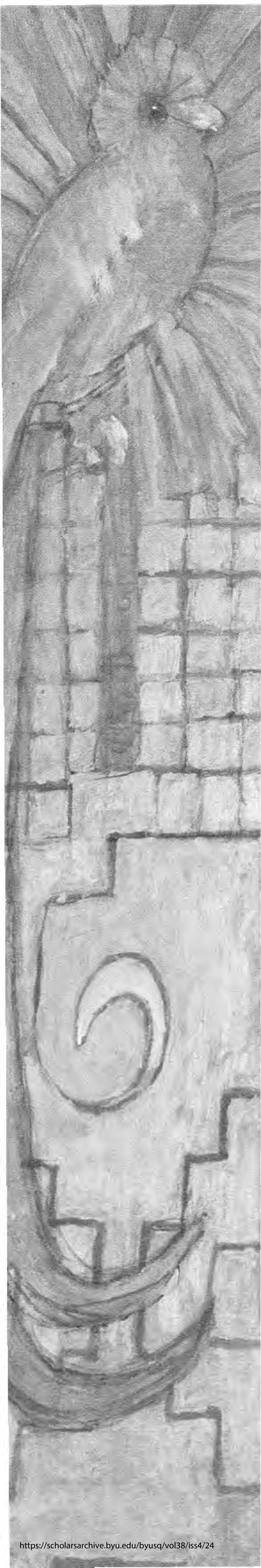
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BYU

STUDIES

**PARLEY P. PRATT'S MISSION TO CHILE
REDISCOVERING ANCIENT CHRISTIANITY
BYU FACULTY SURVEY ON STUDY AND FAITH
THE SCRIPTURAL TERM "BOWELS OF MERCY"
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE ANCIENT MAYA
QUANTIFYING THE DAMAGE OF TOBACCO
OPENING THE MEXICAN MISSION**



A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT
JOURNAL

TO OUR READERS:

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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Volume 38

1999

Number 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- Bowels of Mercy 27
 John Durham Peters
- Classic Maya Religion: Beliefs and Practices of an Ancient
 American People 43
 Stephen D. Houston
- Rediscovering Ancient Christianity 73
 C. Wilfred Griggs
- Tobacco-Related Cancers in Utah Compared to the United States:
 Quantifying the Benefits of the Word of Wisdom 91
 Ray M. Merrill, Gordon B. Lindsay, and Joseph L. Lyon
- Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile 115
 A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover
- By Study and Also by Faith: The Faculty at Brigham Young
 University Responds 157
 Keith J. Wilson

PERSONAL ESSAY

- "Islands of Peace, of the Blessed" 107
 Janet Garrard-Willis

DOCUMENTS

- Shaping the Stones: Lorenzo Snow's Letters to Priesthood Leaders
 of the London Conference, November 1842 6
 Andrew H. Hedges and Jay G. Burrup
- Moses Thatcher and Mormon Beginnings in Mexico 139
 Kenneth W. Godfrey

POETRY

- After the Fall 26
 Gina Clark

<i>Haeremai: A Maori Welcome</i>	42
Norma S. Bowkett	
The Shell in Silk	106
Nancy Baird	
When Children Sang	114
Donnell Hunter	
In a Time of Fall Plowing	156
Dixie Partridge	

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU</i> by Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel	177
Kent P. Jackson	
<i>Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet's Likeness</i> by Ephraim Hatch	185
Robert O. Davis	
<i>Utah's Black Hawk War</i> by John Alton Peterson	189
Ronald O. Barney	
<i>Mormon Midwife, The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions</i> edited by Donna Toland Smart	192
Carol Cornwall Madsen	
<i>The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Being the Autobiography of a Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer</i> edited by S. George Ellsworth	196
Andrew H. Hedges	

BRIEF NOTICES 199

<i>Religion, Mental Health and the Latter-day Saints</i>
<i>Principles of Priesthood Leadership</i>
<i>Sacred Places; New England and Eastern Canada</i>
Henry William Bigler

INDEX 202

Bedfordshire 5th November 1842
 Elders Lewzey & Major
 Dear Brethren
 The intimate
~~and~~ acquaintance and friendship
 which I have formed with you
 while in your society has so
 endeared you to me as ever to
 keep you alive in my remem-
 brance. But setting this aside
 there is another circumstance
 that operates equally forcibly
 to preserve ^{constant} your remembrance
 namely: the great, important
 and sacred responsibility which
 has been laid upon you accord-
 ing to the mind of a will
 of heaven & together with the
 various difficulties, perplexities
 and temptations that you become
 subject to in consequence
 hereof. I could have had but
 little feeling, as I ought to
 have, ~~had I not learned~~
 by ~~actual experience~~

Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Letter written in 1842 by Lorenzo Snow to William Lewzey and William Mayor, local leaders of the Church in London. Elder Snow personally recorded the letter in his notebook.

Shaping the Stones: Lorenzo Snow's Letters to Priesthood Leaders of the London Conference, November 1842

Andrew H. Hedges and Jay G. Burrup

On the afternoon of Sunday, July 23, 1837, in Preston's Vauxhall Chapel, Heber C. Kimball preached the first Latter-day Saint sermon to be delivered in England. Heber presided over England's first baptisms one week later, after which he and his six companions parted company to cover more territory. People flocked to hear the missionaries' message, and by the time Elder Kimball left England nine months later, over fifteen hundred people had been baptized in and around Preston.¹ A more fertile land for missionary work could hardly be imagined.

The growth of the Church in the British Isles continued under the direction of Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles, who baptized over five thousand people between January 1840 and April 1841.² As persecution against the Saints in America increased during the early and mid-1840s, conversions in England, Scotland, and Wales continued, with over forty-seven hundred converts having emigrated to America by 1847.³ By 1850 some thirty thousand Saints lived in the British Isles—almost three times as many as lived in the western United States—and by 1870, almost a quarter of Utah's population had been born in the British Isles.⁴

One could get the impression from such numbers that missionary work in the British Isles was almost effortless, but such was not the case. People in Edinburgh, Scotland, for example, initially proved quite unresponsive to the gospel message, and Orson Pratt, who labored there, spent many weeks preaching "almost to empty walls."⁵ Glasgow and other cities were similarly slow to hear the missionaries' call.⁶ Nor was success achieved without a number of serious difficulties arising among the members of the various branches—problems that occasionally required weeks of prayer and counseling on the part of Church leaders to settle. Ministers and members of other denominations often opposed the missionaries as well, and those who labored in the mission knew what it meant to be frequently persecuted for the gospel's sake. Preaching to the interested, baptizing the repentant, and organizing the converts into functional branches required the missionaries to work through nearly endless perplexities and served to educate them in the ways of man and God as much as they were educating their converts in the first principles of the gospel. Far from effortless,

nineteenth-century missionary work in the British Isles tested and honed the leadership skills of many emerging Church leaders.

One of the most challenging fields of labor was the London area. Finding the city of two million “full of evry thing but righteousness” when they arrived in August 1840, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and George A. Smith had baptized only nineteen people by Christmas.⁷ Spurred on by “some good dreams of late about ketching fish,” Woodruff and Kimball continued to preach even after Smith was forced to leave the city’s fog and smog for health reasons. Their persistence paid off, and by February 14, 1841, the Church in London numbered forty-six members. Several dozen more were scattered in nearby villages, prompting the two Apostles to organize the area’s members—numbering just over one hundred—into the London Conference, which included the London, Bedford, Woolwich, and Ipswich Branches.⁸ The Apostles called “our Beloved Brother Elder Lorenzo Snow” to serve as president of the conference, as well as president of the London Branch.⁹

Lorenzo Snow was twenty-six years old at the time and had been a member of the Church four years.¹⁰ Despite his youth and relatively short tenure in the Church, Snow had already served two missions in the United States and had been in England since October 1840, preaching in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham.¹¹ Having attended the Hebrew school in Kirtland and having served his missions faithfully, Snow was well known to the Apostles as an intelligent, faithful, hard-working elder. Evidence suggests that Brigham Young had slated him for London shortly after his (Snow’s) arrival in England.¹²

Snow viewed his new assignment with humility and apprehension. “I want your prayers, for the powers of darkness are great in this city,” he wrote to George A. Smith three days after his appointment, “and I shall soon be left alone, being assisted only by those who are infants in the kingdom, and at the same time, I can scarcely say that I yet have hardly arived at the state of childhood.”¹³ Despite his fears, the London Conference made rapid progress under his direction. During the first three weeks of his presidency, sixteen people were baptized in London alone, and by April conference that year the London Branch counted seventy-four members.¹⁴ Snow personally baptized eighteen more by May 26, 1841, and by August 21 the young president counted “nearly one hundred” members in London and “more than one hundred and twenty” in the entire conference.¹⁵ On October 27, 1841, Snow reported to Wilford Woodruff that the conference numbered over one hundred forty members—not including the “more than twenty” that had emigrated—and that “for a week to pass over without Baptizing several is becoming an uncommon occurrence in London.”¹⁶

Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Lorenzo Snow, ca. 1850–51. Steel engraving by Frederick Piercy published in England in January 1853, based on an earlier daguerreotype by Marsena Cannon.

know that the Church's remarkable growth in London had been accompanied by no small number of difficulties. These problems came in many forms. For example, Snow found himself besieged by evil spirits for three weeks following his call to be conference president—an occurrence similar to the 1837 experience of Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, and Isaac Russell.²¹ As unnerving as this direct confrontation with the adversary was, he found an even greater challenge trying to integrate new converts into functional positions in the branches of the Church. In fact, this seems to have been Lorenzo's greatest fear all along. When he first assumed leadership of the conference, he wrote Heber C. Kimball in October 1841:

My mind was not so much troubled in regard to the church increasing as it was in regard to managing, hewing, and shaping the stones in such a manner as they would not crowd upon and bruise each other in such a manner as to make an entire smash of the whole building[.] I fear'd lest some stones might gather so much moisture and become so heavy that I could not put them in their proper place; and others in consequence of their lightness (no faith) would be continually shuffling out of Place.²²

Snow's fears were first realized while he was attending the April 1841 conference in Manchester, when the inexperienced elder whom he had

Other branches were enjoying similar success; Bedford, for example, had seen twenty-three baptisms over a three-week period, while the Church in Woolwich had increased from six to sixteen by this time.¹⁷ By the end of the year—a mere ten months after his arrival in London—Snow counted “more than three hundred and twenty” members in the London Conference.¹⁸ This number had swelled to four hundred members, organized into eight branches, by May 15, 1842.¹⁹

When Snow left England for Nauvoo in January 1843, the Church was well established and flourishing in the London area, although scanty surviving records and continual emigration make it impossible to follow its progress precisely.²⁰ From Snow's personal records, however, we

appointed to preside in London during his absence became “so troubled in mind as hardly to have confidence sufficient to preside at the meetings, and even had gone so far as to assert he would leave the Church.” Cutting his stay in Manchester short, Snow returned and found the London Branch “truly in a confused state,” but he was able to restore the peace in relatively little time.²³ Other difficulties followed in the ensuing months, however, and toward the end of the year Snow was forced to excommunicate the branch’s “principle Elder together with about twenty members and subordinate officers” for falsely and maliciously accusing a new member of adultery. Most of these people were rebaptized the following year.²⁴

These and similar experiences, along with strengthening the Church in London, proved an invaluable training ground for Snow himself—a fact of which he was keenly aware. “You and Elder Woodruff said it [the call to serve as conference president] should prove a school of experience,” he wrote Heber C. Kimball eight months into his mission, “which already has been the fact. . . . Ever since I came here something new has been continually coming up among the saints no sooner was one thing over than another would arise.”²⁵ A veteran of two missions, Snow nevertheless came upon situations in London completely beyond his previous experience. Snow recorded, “I saw at once . . . [that] I could not encounter the difficulties, without God should assist me in a very great degree,” and that the situation required him “to take a different course in management than any other I had ever before taken.”²⁶ Three months later, Snow summed up for George A. Smith the lessons he had learned in his new calling:

One thing I have fully learned in my experience while endeavouring to magnify my office as a teacher in Israel, that is, of myself I know nothing nor can I do any thing: I also see clearly that no saint can prosper except he be obedient to the instructions and council of such as are placed to preside in the church. I am confident that so long as I keep his laws, the Lord God will uphold and support me in my office.²⁷

A lifelong scholar, Snow suddenly found himself cast in the role of teacher as he organized the London-area converts into self-sufficient branches and trained and instructed local priesthood leaders. This was no small task, requiring Snow to grapple with issues any Church leader today would be familiar with: integrating people of diverse backgrounds and experiences into unified branches and wards, strengthening individuals and families during times of personal or other types of crises, managing the temporal affairs of the Church, and instructing new converts and aged veterans alike “in theory, in principle, in doctrine, . . . in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God” (D&C 88:78). While Church membership has changed since Snow’s time, the challenges facing Church leaders in this era of rapid growth have not changed in many respects, and managing the

Church in London in the early 1840s demanded no less insight and inspiration on the part of its presiding elder than is required of general and local authorities today.

The three letters reproduced here, which Snow wrote to various priesthood leaders in the London area, give us a glimpse into his counsel and instruction. Not surprisingly, Snow referred to his own experiences in London as well as examples from the scriptures as he instructed the area's leaders in the art of priesthood leadership. In the first, he used his specific experiences with one capable yet aspiring leader to sensitively warn all the brethren against using their Church positions to gratify their own ambitions, especially if caused by any "concerted spirit of self exaltation." His advice provides superb guidance to any presiding authority. In the second letter, Snow observed that a priesthood calling subjects the office holder to more abuse than glory in this world and that most of the honor attending one's calling in the priesthood will not be realized until the hereafter. And in the third, Snow cautioned the brethren against four serious temptations that "have operated successfully," he wrote, "in throwing many from their official standing" in the priesthood. Taken together, the three letters are a powerful personal testimony to the truths taught in Doctrine and Covenants 121:34–46. His observations and counsel are as applicable for Church members in leadership positions throughout the world today as they were for the few presiding English elders he was addressing over a century and a half ago.

All three letters—published here for the first time—were written in November 1842 while Snow was visiting the Bedford Branch. The first is addressed to William Lewzey²⁸ and William Major,²⁹ the "Presiding Elders of London Branches," while the second and third are addressed to all of the officers of both the London and Woolwich Branches. Warm and personal, the letters shed as much light on the character and abilities of Lorenzo Snow as they do on their stated topic, and they constitute a significant addition to the small collection of published personal writings of the fifth President of the Church.³⁰

These letters are recorded in a personal notebook, and the handwriting has been positively identified as Snow's. Snow apparently hand copied the letters into the notebook from the originals before sending them to the Church leaders, although the possibility exists that he composed the letters in the notebook and sent copies to the Church officers.³¹ The notebook measures 16 x 10 cm and is in remarkably good condition, with both covers still attached and the paper showing relatively little foxing. The first letter occupies sixteen pages of this notebook; the second occupies the next seven and a half pages, and the third takes the next six pages. All pages were unnumbered and written in cursive script, and the ink has apparently

faded over time. A great-grandson of Lorenzo Snow donated the notebook to the Church Historian's Office in 1965.

The letters have been transcribed here with as little editing as possible. Snow's capitalization, grammar, and spelling have been retained, although in words where all of the individual letters could not be determined exactly, modern spelling has been supplied without editorial marks. In several places, it is clear that Snow was dividing the letters into paragraphs; these have been retained in this transcription. In other places, the unevenness of the left margin make it difficult to say where he may have intended a paragraph break, in which cases we have supplied such breaks, without editing marks, when the changing content of the letters appears to require it. Broken words such as "an nother" and "can not" have been joined, as have words that he began writing on one line and finished on the next. Strikeouts have been indicated as words with a line drawn through the center, although illegible words and single letters that were struck out have been silently eliminated. Square brackets [] have been used to clarify or explain information in the text, while angle brackets < > have been used to indicate textual insertions made by Snow himself. Superscripts have been lowered to the line of text without editing marks. Snow's punctuation has been retained, although in a few places various marks have been added or eliminated to make the text more readable. Similarly, quotation marks have been added where appropriate.

Letter 1

Bedfordshire 5th November 1842
 Elders Lewzey & Major
 Dear Brethren

The intimate ~~and fre~~ acquaintance and friendship which I have formed with you while in your society has so endeared you to me as ever to keep you allive in my remamberance. But setting this asside their is annother circumstance that opperates equally forcibly to preserve you [your] <con-stat> remamberence, namely: the great, important and sacred responsibility which has been lain upon you according to the mind and will of Heaven together with the various difficulties, perplexities and temptations that you becom<e> subject to in consequence hereof. I could have had but little feeling, as I aught to have, ~~had I not learned by actual experience~~ for persons placed in your situations had I not learned ~~it~~ by actual experience by being placed ~~in~~ myself in similar circumstances.

The nature of the Church is such is such, it gathering fish of all kind, that no Elder however wise can preside over any Branch of it without experienceing more or less unpleasitness. But much difficulty is not unfrequently brought upon ourselves by not exercising proper wisdom and prudence. It is said that many spirits are in the world. I have lately discovered one in the person of a good and faithful Presiding offier [officer], which I wish now to analyze that it may be ~~are~~ seen, known, and avoided.

The person whom I allude to has no external faults; is ambitious in promoteing the cause; is prompt in sending out to preach and fill appointments, every one under his charge; to see that everyone is in his place, and doing his duty; and teaches practa<c>lly what he teaches ~~theoretically~~; labours in the work himself more industriously than they all. But notwithstanding all this, he is perplexed and disturbed in getting forward. One murmurs, annother complains, and a kind of secret opposition [arises] from every quarter. I see no fault of the brother, consequently I gently rebuke, admonish and exhort the saints to [cease] complainings and uphold our brother and support him in his standing. They acknowledg their wrong and resolve to amend, but again break out into a similar state of insurrection. I ask them to point out our brother's faults, but they acknowledge they cannot [and] consequently become wrong themselves and bring on their minds darkness.

One thing after annother taking place, something at last strikes me that perhaps the brother may possibly possess some secret, internal working spirit that he is not aware of, that does not manifest itself openly, but thro' some opperation that is felt, but cannot well be described, brings upon him these perplexities. I accordingly prayed that the Lord would give

me a spirit of discernment in the case. my prayer was answered; I found the brother possessed of a kind of half hidden concealed spirit of self exaltation which was directing him in many of his movements. He would send out a brother to fill an appointment but had a suppressed wish to have the honor of it himself; if the appointment was not attended to he would chasten the delinquent not because the work of the Lord was in any degree frustrated, or that the brother lost a blessing, but because himself was so despised in being disobeyed. ~~When~~ In [a] case where a number were babtized by a brother his heart rejoiced not <so much> because the persons were brought into the covenant, but because it was done under his superintendency. Secretly wishing no person under his charge to obtain much honor unless his own name were brought into ~~conn~~ connection.

A spirit of ~~envi~~ envy could be discerned lurking underneath of an expressed approbation of a brother's success who did not chance to be particular in following at all ~~his~~ times his counsel in every particular. This spirit was concealed; its fruits were not openly manifest, but would be if not checked; it was an inherent working evil, that would eventually destroy his usefulness. I [It] brought upon him unnecessary trouble in conducting the affairs of his charge; it likewise originated a source of continued unpleasantness in his own mind. Anxious to promote the cause of God, but alway in such away that his own hand might be plainly seen in all things. Ambitious to give good instruction but careful to put his whole name in full length at the bottom of them.

Now in this case there was no ~~apparent~~ excuse for disobedience on the part of the complanents because he [had] done them no apparent wrong or outward injury; ~~therefore~~ they aught to have submitted patiently with all long suffering without murmuring, as children to their parent who may sometimes command them unwisely and in a wrong spirit; untill they had actually seen some sensible wrong they had no business to complain. They brought upon their own minds as much darkness in manifesting their feelings and rebelling against his counsel as they would provided he had not possess'd this spirit. As for the brother, he had done nothing by which he could be disapproved; they could be reprov'd openly, he could not be; apparently, in the eyes of the people they were wrong, he right, but in the eyes of the spirit they might almost be said to be right, and he positively in the wrong.

Many persons in the Priesthood who sincerely believe themselves entirely devoid of this spirit of exaltation, would on close examination of their motives which inspire them in their conduct, discover to their surprize that this spirit was urging them forward to perform many of their movements. [It?] may be seen in their overanxiety to make manifest their good works to such persons as they esteem and respect, and when they hapen to

fail in doing so there follows a great depression of spirit, so as almost to dispose them to exclaim with the man in Holy Writ, "all is vanity and vexation,"³² instead of rejoicing in a pure consciousness of having done their duty in accomplishing a good work. This spirit in a Presiding Elder is often felt a long time before its fruits become apparent and forms an endless source of vexation and perplexity. Their whole eye not being single to the glory of God, a ~~part~~ very little portion of it they devote to seeing after themselves or to their own selfish purposes; and just in proportion as they seek their selfish aims they become tangled, and frustrated in all their movements, and their thoughts become tinctured with unpleasantness, and their views how to manage the affairs of their charge no longer appear clear and distinct.

To become as God would wish us, we must accustom our minds to rejoice in seeing others prospered as ourselves; rejoice in seeing the cause of Zion exalted by whatsoever hands ~~the~~ Providence may order; and have our bosoms closed against the entrance of envy when a weaker instrument than ourselves is call'd to greater honor; be content in magnifying a lesser office till call'd to a higher; be satisfied in doing small things and not claim the honor of doing great ones; and never feel too lofty to be to be sometimes cut down, squared, scored and hewed to be fitted into the place we are to occupy in the spiritual building. No Elder is yet so perfect but will sometimes become rusty and must needs be scowered up, and polished; And it will be well to bear in mind that we cannot always select our polisher no more than we can choose the manner in [which] we would be polished. The nature of the Priesthood is such, however, that the person higher in standing than ourselves, generally acts as our polisher when need'd.

But what makes it more grievous sometimes, is, their will or may occur a case where it will be seen that the person who polishes needs more polishing than the person undergoing this operation, but in such instances we have only to submit without complaining, as we deserved what we receive their is no escape.

The wisest men and best counsellors are sometimes found guilty of unwise practices; and he may justly be call'd a fool that expects to run the Celestial Path without deviations at any time. But he that holds himself always in readiness to be put right when show [shown] wrong, is never wrong but always right. Such an Elder will always prosper; will continue to rise in the estimation of the people of God; advancing from one post of honor to another until he shall become a Morning Star upon the throne of Celestial power. Unfortunately, however, it is the case with some [that] they allow a spirit of pride to bear rule over them at times when their deviation are made manifest which cause them to feel a resistance toward the spirit that would show them their weakness.

They neglect that great saying of the Lord to the children of men; "Let men come unto me and I will show them their weakness."³³ Such persons never can become great in the kingdom of God; never can arise very high in the estimation of those of the Celestial glory; Resisting the spirit of correction they resist the spirit of perfection; Resisting the line, the plummet, and the ax they never can become squared, polished and fitted to occupy a lofty standing in the great Temple of the Almighty.

The business ~~of~~ or office of a Presiding Elder is not to seek how he may best gloryfy himself, or get a great name among his brethren or to make manifest some splended or extraiordinary abillities in himself, but on the other hand, despiseing these selfish views, to act over his church ~~is~~ as a father over his family, accounting them all as his children, and seek to make them hapy. He must study the interests of his family, looking after the welfare of the feeblest members, as well as the strongest. He must not be moved to anger when any of his sturdy sons may hapen to act boisterously, or threaten confusion, but must then act in a composed mind, endeavour to bring the rebellious into order without falling out of order himself, strive to save the refractory son by fatherly authority exercised with wisdom love and humillity, yet if he cannot be brought to order remove him from the family that he destroy not the innocent and harmeless.

Let the children have their own way in many things as far as preserving good order in the family will possibly allow; be sure always to give them their own way in matters of no consequence, they will then ~~be more disposed~~ see you do not rule for the sake of ruleing, and will be better disposed to hearken more freely to your counsels in such matters as intimately concern their own good. Also you will be able thereby to enforce your counsels of importance with a good conscience, not being troubled with apprehensions that they entertain thoughts that you wish to enforce obedience simply to enjoy the pleasure of being obeyed.

The fact is if a Presideing Elder will only seek to become as he may be and aught to be, riding [ridding] himself of ~~these~~ selfish principles, and always act for the good of his people, and be humble, and not seek to do too much in a little time, or be too great untill grown, he will never be at a loss how to magnify his office properly, nor will ever lack the power of God to bring about his wise purposes.

May the Lord bless you is my constant prayer

Affectionately

L Snow.

To Elders Wm Lewzey and Wm Major
Presiding Elders of London Branches

to be, riding himself of ~~those~~
 selfish principles, and always act
 for the good of his people, and be
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 nor will ever lack the power
 of God to bring about his wise
 purposes.

May the Lord bless
 you in my constant prayer

Affectionately

L. Snow

To Elders ~~Mr~~ Mr Lewzey
 and Mr Major

Presiding Elders of London
 Branches

Culminating advice given by Lorenzo Snow to Elders Lewzey and Major in 1842 letter. Elder Snow closes the letter with affection and flourishes.

Letter 2

Bedfordshire 18 November [1842]

To the Officers of the church at London and Wolwich,
Dear Brethren,

There are many circumstances which serve to continue in lively exercise within my bosom deep feelings of interest in ~~your~~ behalf of your welfare and prosperity. It has been thro' me principally that the Holy spirit has selected you unto the several offices in the Priesthood ~~which~~ in which you now stand. You have received your respective offices mostly under my immediate administration. When I first formed an acquaintance with you I found you standing idle in the market place, and enjoyed the pleasure of witnessing your first sitting out, to obtain your penny, by laboring the eleventh hour in our master's vineyard.³⁴ I have been witness to your commencing your labors in your greatest weakness, and with fear and trembling makes your first attempts to exercise yourselves in your holy calling. Many of you I have seen arise from your state of weakness, fears, and tremblings, and thro' a laudable ambition and Godly Zeal become active, strong and wise in the administration of the word of truth, by the power of your priesthood. I have often assembled with you in your counsel meetings and shared your wisdom in consultations of the most proper measures to promulgate light, and truth to the best advantage thro' your city: and, a long period have I been privileged with the pleasure of your society and been cheered and elivened by your conservation [conversation]. Therefore, tho' moons shall cease to wax and wane, and suns shall cease to roll, yet you can never cease to occupy a conspicuous place upon the tablet of my memory. Continually I offer up to our heavenly Father my heartfelt desires for you [your] care, ~~and~~ preservation, and success in our master's cause, that you may ever be strengthened so you faint not <nor> become weary in progressing forward upon the Celestial path.

I wish to lay before you at this time some considerations in relation to the nature of your calling, and sphere of duties, which, tho' I may often have spoken to you concerning, I hope will not be esteemed any the less interesting or worthy of your most serious attention. In respect to the honor ~~and~~ dignity and values of your calling I need say but little, as you know perfectly that the least standing you may occupy in the Priesthood is more desireable than the highest post of honor in the kingdoms of the world. Tho' your office may now make you a hiss and by word among the people, but if magnified will, at some future period, exhalt you upon a throne in our Father's Kingdom, more exceedingly grand, and magnificent than any on which sit the greatest Manarch of this word [world]. Tho' your office, for awhile, makes you but a servant, yet hereafter it shall exhalt

you a heavenly king; If it now makes you but a hiss and by word, hereafter it will make you an object of awe, and reverence.

In the world Jesus Christ held the highest office in the Priesthood; but when on earth it gave him no glory, but made him an object among many, of contempt and derision; it made him a servant of the people who saw none of his glory or but little of the power of his office. He administered to them in ~~his~~ weakness altho' their belonged to his office all the powers, and dominions on earth and in heaven. But he did not seek to be clothed upon while on earth with that glory which he had with the father before the world was. When he went into the heavens, however, he then received ~~the~~ authiorit [authority] to exercise the powers of his office, with awful sway. It is recorded in the book of Mormon that after his resurrection he exercised his kingly power in a terrible manner upon the wicked cities of the Nephites, spreading terror and devastation throughout their ~~whole~~ country.³⁵ How very different is he now looked upon in comparison in comparison to what he was when dewling [dwelling] in weakness among men. At his presence nations fear, Monarchs tremble, and mountains flow down.

Brethren, though it doth not now appear what we shall be but we know when he shall apear we shall be like him³⁶ as we possess the same Priesthood; that we shall sit down upon his throne like as he sets upon his Father's throne. We now manifest ourselves to the world in <our> weakness and thereby become a stumbling unto the wicked and are mocked and derided, but hereafter will we present ourselves as their kings and rulers, and they shall pay us respect and reverence.

Elijah when on earth was but a servant to the people oftentimes being compell'd to flee for his life, and make his abode in dens, and caves. There seemed nothing in his appearance to call forth respect from the world, but now, he has power greater than a king to save the world by whom he was despised, by his own personal administration. The hearts of the children he shall turn to the parents, and the parent's to the children to save the earth from destruction.³⁷ The wonderful visions ~~shown~~ seen by John on the isle of Patmos were shown him by one of his brethren of the Priesthood who once dwelt on earth in weakness but afterward [was] exalted.³⁸ Moroni when on earth was but little thought of, and exercised the power of his office in a very limited degree, but now comes down from heaven, strikes men with astonishment at his glory, [and] points out the rich treasure that is destined to sweep into everlasting oblivion the false doctrines of all chrisendom and fill the whole earth with heaven born truths.³⁹ Jhon [John] the babtist tho' holding an office in the Priesthood, had not power to escape a violent death, but on arriveing among the Sanctified held the keys of the Aaronic Priesthood so the world with all their power and wisdom could not wrest them from him nor obtain them till he felt disposed to restore

them personally.⁴⁰ Peter, James and John in their ignorance and weakness, were but little heeded by the people; they were imprisoned whipped and stoned, and the two former were killed; still they maintained their standing in the Priesthood, and held power to close the heavens and leave generation upon generations ~~powerless~~ completely powerless, wandering in spiritual darkness. Nor would the Almighty deign to speak to the nations till there [their] servants in the Priesthood should feel inclined to revisit the world, and restore their authority.

From these examples we see how it is with the Priesthood. The office is received here but the glory power and dominion must be expected hereafter. All things shall be subdued and brought under our subjection, but not all at once, time is required to complete fully the purposes of heaven in our favour. Our kingdom, provided we are faithful, is secured to us, but before we can enter much into possession of its glory honors &c we may expect generally to enter the assembly of the glorified to receive our coronation. But while on earth it would be wise not to set our hearts upon receiving much honor respect or favor from the world, nor much peace, but prepare our ears for salutation, ~~of~~ of “deceiver, false Prophet, ignoramus, phanatect [fanatic]” - &c and brace up our courage to be stoned, imprisoned, whipped, and bruised.

Having attained to the Priesthood and knowing its inestimable worth the greatest object of consideration is to how to conduct ourselves so as to maintain its possession; that we fail not, after the manner of some ~~to~~ who loose their Birthright; these considerations I will make the subject of my next communication.

May the Lord God of our Fathers bless you abundently.

Affectionatly,

L S

Letter 3

November 24. [1842]

To the Officer at L. [London] W. [Woolwich]

Dear Brethren,

The path of the Priesthood is ever beset with temptations more numerous, and more dangerous than that of private members. Satan ~~is~~ has always been found here more busy than on any other course. Christ experienced them in their most fascinating attitude; The prophets likewise were often severely tempted to disgrace their Priesthood, Esaw being tempted sold his birthright and forever lost its blessings.

My brethren whom I now address I wish to caution against certain evils near home, and which ~~he~~ they will be tempted with more or less, and be overthrown some of them unless they are upon their guard. These evils that I am about mentioning have operated successfully in throwing many from their official standing with whom I have been personally acquainted. I can arrange I think principally under the following heads, ~~1st Cultivateing a spirit of dislike~~ 1st Allowing ourselves to cultivate a spirit of uneasiness and disaffectio [disaffection] because that, holding an office no way happens to open whereby to magnify it in such a manner as we can become distinguished and our ambition flattered. 2^d. Indulging <feeling> of hatred and animosity for some injury either real or supposed that we may have received from someone standing in the Priesthood. 3rd Indulging feelings of dissatisfaction when a brother is promoted to a more honorable post than ourselves, Lastly, Dislikeng, disregarding and resisting those appointed over us. We will now take a general view of the character of these evils beginning with the first mentioned.

An individual need not expect to render himself conspicuous in his office the moment on receiving it, some time may elapse before circumstances will allow his entering to any extent upon the discharge of its duties. Perhaps he had not been sufficiently instructed, or had sufficient experience to be sent out to officiate in the Priesthood. It is foolish to allow oneself to be discouraged, and overcome because not call'd to officiate immediately to so great an extent as might be wished; for the Priesthood may be assured that they are by no means call'd to a kingdom of idleness but all will ultimately be furnished with quite as much business as they will know how to perform.

The next evil, that of indulging feelings of animosity, has been the direct occasion of overthrowing many; even the the Apostles did not wholly escape its pollutions, consequently were severely chastened for it (see Cov.).⁴¹ If this sin would not be passed over in the case of the Apostles, we may rest assured that it will be noticed if found in ourselves and receive its due punishment. It sometimes happens that a wrong is done an individual who thereupon stores up feelings of animosity and ~~unwisely~~ looks forward with fondness to ~~the~~ a time when the offending party shall meet with severe punishment; but it so happens that this party repents of his aggressions, receives pardon at [the] hands of the Lord whereby he escapes those troubles into which it was so fondly wished he should be plunged. Now the party that committed the offince stands blameless whereas the one on whom the injury was inflicted ~~stand~~ indulging feelings of hatred, stand on the broad road of apostacy; he has gotten an evil eye toward one whom the Lord has forgiven; watching for iniquity his mind is completely fill'd with gross darkness. Reflecting on a few cases like this will clearly show us the awful

danger of allowing our hearts to give place to feelings of animosity. If we would receive an inheritance in the kingdom of our Father we must become as little children which indulge not hard feelings one against another tho' they sometimes fall out ~~and~~. No officer need expect the spirit and power of his office who remains guilty of this transgression, but will eventually appostatize. May the Lord help us then to avoid this evil.

In regard to the next evil, that of envying such as may hapen to be esteemed, honored, or raised to a higher office than ourselves, I would observe that there are more that feel this passion than what some may imagine. Satan was the first who inculcated it, and so doing proved his destruction, and so it will prove also to every individual who fosters it. It is not a little strang [strange] that persons should indulge a passion wherein they must be perfectly aware nothing can be gained but eveything [everything] lost. This consideration should opperate in us a decided antipathy against its approach, and should it at some unguarded moment introduce itself to ou [our] minds to make it an unwelcome visitor and expell it at once. We need not fear tho' one be exhalted a little before ourselves, it will soon become our lot to stand in equally as much glory, even as much as our hearts can possibly desire. And tho' one run faster than ourselves he cannot be glorified till we arrive, and no doubt that when he may stop ~~to~~ a little to breath he will take this into consideration, and then turn his attention and put forth his exertions towards assisting us whose approaches are more slow and tardy.⁴²

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1. James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 31–53.

2. Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men with a Mission*, 301–2, especially note 37.

3. M. Hamlin Cannon, "Migration of English Mormons to America," *American Historical Review* 52 (April 1947): 441.

4. In 1850 the LDS population in the British Isles was 30,747, while Utah's population stood at 11,380. In 1870, Utah's population stood at 86,786. Of these, 20,772, or 23.93 percent, had been born in the British Isles. See V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter, eds., *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987* (Solihull, England: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 442; Philip Arthur Michael Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 244; and Allan Kent Powell, "Population," *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 431.

5. Orson Pratt to George A. Smith, October 17, 1840, George A. Smith Collection, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

6. Frederick S. Buchanan, "The Ebb and Flow of the Church in Scotland," in Bloxham, Moss, and Porter, *Truth Will Prevail*, 268–70.

7. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–85), 1:506 (September 2, 1840), 1:580 (December 20, 1840).

8. Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:45 (February 14, 1841); Lorenzo Snow to Parley P. Pratt, August 21, 1841, Lorenzo Snow Notebook, 1841–42, microfilm of holograph, LDS Church Archives. Bedford had forty-two members, Ipswich twelve, and Woolwich six; see Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:45 (February 14, 1841). In a letter to Wilford Woodruff, dated October 27, 1841, as well as in an unaddressed note dated December 21, 1841, Snow gives membership of the London Branch as forty-seven. Snow Notebook. The discrepancy is probably because another person was baptized immediately following the organization of the London Conference. See Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:46 (February 14, 1841).

9. Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:46–47 (February 14, 1841).

10. Snow was born April 3, 1814, in Mantua, Portage County, Ohio, and baptized by John F. Boynton in June 1836 in Kirtland, Ohio; see Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 1, 7. Other biographies of Snow include Preston Nibley, *The Presidents of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1941), 172–221; Thomas C. Romney, *The Life of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Sugarhouse, 1955); Francis M. Gibbons, *Lorenzo Snow: Spiritual Giant, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982); Heidi S. Swinton, "Lorenzo Snow," in *The Presidents of the Church*, ed. Leonard J. Arrington (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 145–76; and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Eliza and Her Sisters* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1991), 41–54.

11. Snow's first mission was to Ohio, while his second took him to Missouri, Illinois, and Kentucky. See Snow, *Biography and Family Record*, 15–19, 30–38. Snow arrived in England on October 22, 1840. After spending "some few days" in Liverpool and "about ten" more in Manchester, he moved to Birmingham, where he stayed until he left for London on February 11, 1841. See Lorenzo Snow to E. McConougley, n.d., Snow Notebook; and Lorenzo Snow to Charlotte Granger, February 25, 1841, Snow Notebook.

12. In a letter to George A. Smith dated December 10, 1840, Snow wrote, "Elder Young writes in a letter which I just received from Elder Woodruff 'we do not know but we shall be glad for Elder Snow to come to London if he can be spared there.'" Lorenzo Snow to George A. Smith, December 10, 1840, George A. Smith Collection. Considering that Snow heard of Young's plans for him third hand by early December, Young must have first voiced them shortly after his arrival on October 22.

13. Lorenzo Snow to George A. Smith, February 17, 1841, George A. Smith Collection.

14. Lorenzo Snow to Brigham Young, May 1841, Snow Notebook.

15. Snow, *Biography and Family Record*, 52–53; Lorenzo Snow to Parley P. Pratt, August 21, 1841, Snow Notebook.

16. Lorenzo Snow to Wilford Woodruff, October 27, 1841, Snow Notebook.

17. Snow to Pratt, August 21, 1841; Snow to Woodruff, October 27, 1841, Snow Notebook.

18. Lorenzo Snow, unaddressed letter, December 21, 1841, Snow Notebook.

19. "General Conference," *Times and Seasons* 4 (January 16, 1843): 76–77. Snow reported this number at the General Conference of the British Mission in Manchester, which was held on this date.

20. Relatively little has been written on Snow's missionary work in London, as historians of the English mission have tended to focus their attention on the efforts of Brigham Young and other Apostles. For accounts of Snow's mission, see the biographies mentioned above (note 10); Richard L. Evans, *A Century of "Mormonism" in Great Britain* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1937); and Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men with a Mission*; 226, 264, 302, 308.

21. Lorenzo Snow to Heber C. Kimball, October 22, 1841, Snow Notebook.

22. Snow to Kimball, October 22, 1841, Snow Notebook.

23. Snow, unaddressed letter, December 21, 1841, Snow Notebook.

24. Lorenzo Snow, Journal and Letterbook, 1836–45, n.d., 43–44, LDS Church Archives; Lorenzo Snow to Heber C. Kimball, n.d., Snow Notebook; Lorenzo Snow to Parley P. Pratt, December 6, 1841, Snow Notebook; Parley P. Pratt to Lorenzo Snow, December 9, [1841], Snow Notebook; Lorenzo Snow, unaddressed letter, n.d., Snow Notebook; Joseph Brotherton to Elder Griffiths, December 14, 1841, Snow Notebook.

25. Snow to Kimball, October 22, 1841, Snow Notebook.

26. Snow to Kimball, October 22, 1841, Snow Notebook.

27. Lorenzo Snow to George A. Smith, January 20, 1842, Snow Notebook.

28. Relatively little is known about William Lewzey. His name first appears for certain in the records of the London Conference as Elder Lewzey on June 15, 1842, when he was appointed to hold a street meeting in London. By September 7, 1842, the London Branch was holding its regular officers' council meeting in his home at 15 Goldsmith Row, Hackney, London. When the London Branch split into the East and West London Branches following Lorenzo Snow's return to America, Lewzey was called to preside over the East London Branch, which was the larger of the two. He continued in this calling until January 29, 1844, at least, when it was voted that he receive a recommendation to go to Zion. We have no record of his whereabouts until February 9, 1846, when David Candland recorded having dinner with him in St. Louis. Lewzey was still living in St. Louis in 1850, at which time the census lists him as sixty years old. No record of his emigration to Utah has been found. See "Manuscript History of the London Conference," LDS Church Archives; Documents of David Candland, typescript, February 9, 1846 (n.p., n.d.); and Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedules of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850," St. Louis, Mo., Wards 4–5, prepared by the National Archives and Records Service (Washington, D.C., 1963).

29. William Warner Major was born January 27, 1804, in Bristol, England. He married Sarah Coles in 1832 and joined the Church in 1842. On September 4, 1843, after serving a mission to Reading and Berkshire, he was called to preside over the officers' council meetings being held in the home of William Lewzey. Major left England for America in the winter of 1844, arriving in Nauvoo that summer. He was made a member of the High Council in Winter Quarters and came to Utah with Brigham Young in 1848. In 1853 he left for England on a mission, where he died October 2, 1854, after an extended illness. See "History of the Life of William Warner Major," typescript, LDS Church Archives; "Death of Elder William Warner Major," *Millennial Star* 16 (November 4, 1854): 700; 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 Memorial Association and Deseret News, 1901–36), 3:674.

30. Snow, *Biography and Family Record*, contains lengthy extracts from Snow's journal and several letters, including two he wrote while on his mission in England. Snow's journal of his trek across Iowa is published in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, "The Iowa Journal of Lorenzo Snow," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 3 (1984): 261–73. Lorenzo's record

of his trip to Palestine with George A. Smith in 1873 has been published as *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1977). Aside from these few items, none of his personal writings has been published.

31. Two other letters in the notebook are specifically identified as copies of the originals, while none of the letters transcribed here are so identified. Hence the possibility that they were originally composed in the notebook.

32. Ecclesiastes 1:14; 2:17.

33. Snow is paraphrasing Ether 12:27: "And if men come unto me I will show unto them their weakness."

34. Matthew 20:1–16.

35. See 3 Nephi 8. This destruction actually took place immediately following the Savior's death, *before* his resurrection.

36. Compare 1 John 3:2.

37. See Malachi 4:5–6; 3 Nephi 25:5–6; Doctrine and Covenants 2; and Joseph Smith History 1:38–39.

38. Revelation 19:10.

39. Joseph Smith—History 1:30–34.

40. Joseph Smith—History 1:68–72.

41. Doctrine and Covenants 64:8.

42. Snow either did not discuss the fourth category of evils, that of "dislikeng, disregarding and resisting those appointed over us," in his original letter to the officers of the Church in the London area, or he failed to copy that portion of the letter into his notebook. At any rate, the letter in his notebook ends without a discussion of the fourth evil.

After the Fall

Then it was as it is now—
the sun slipping over the earth's equator,
large animals wanting to sleep.

Looking back, Eve must have seen
flowers fanning like Oriental ladies,
honeycombs, frothy water running over rocks,
fish in their bright lures.

They bickered on the way out.
God said nothing. Not then.
He stood in the cast shadow of twin cherubim.

This afternoon the sun was impossibly bright.
Are we no better, I thought,
each of us blaming the other,
as though we had never heard the story?

I saw around me fruited trees,
the rust hips of blighted roses,
grasses going to seed, and weeds everywhere
whitening like ash,

a landscape not so terrible.
God would have said then
that to learn your face
is to earn innocence again,

and Eve, walking west, would have passed
a patch of flooded crabgrass,
ecstatic birds glimpsing themselves
in the dark water.

—Gina Clark

This poem won third place in the BYU Studies 1998 Poetry Contest.

Bowels of Mercy

John Durham Peters

Although perhaps too earthy for squeamish readers, the idea of the “bowels of mercy” is found frequently in the scriptures, reflecting ancient views about human emotions and offering powerful insights about divine compassion.

I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made. (Ps. 139:14)

The scriptures often come to us like messages in a bottle, blown from distant times and places. They bring with them modes of expression that can sometimes be mysterious for latter-day readers. One of these mannerisms is the frequent use of concrete bodily language in describing spiritual conditions. We read variously of flinty hearts and stiff necks, bent knees and girded loins, blind eyes and ears waxed dull, and perhaps strangest of all, “bowels of mercy.” In the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Septuagint, the Greek New Testament, the King James Bible, and the LDS scriptures, bowels play a central role as a term for deep human feeling, specific moral virtues, and the love of God. Such bowel imagery is ubiquitous, appearing not only in obscure passages, but also in many of the most important discussions of charity, God’s grace, and, especially in the Book of Mormon, of the Atonement. That the bowels, of all things, should be singled out for special spiritual purposes arouses perplexity, if not aversion, in most of us. Yet if properly understood, the notion that the viscera can be the vehicle of virtue is poetically and morally powerful. The metaphor of the bowels reveals something about the workings not only of religious language but also of mercy.

Modes of Expression

God has expressly chosen to speak with human beings after the manner of *our* language. Scriptural language consists of bridges between divine command and human experience. As expressions of his will to prophets over the ages, the scriptures are historically shaped texts designed to stir human understanding and feeling (D&C 1:24; 50:10–12) rather than transparent packets of information. As such, they are also a storehouse of diverse and sometimes antiquated imagery. Modes of expression that are inclusive of bodily parts, both active functions and passive sufferings,

celebrate the corporeality of all mortal creatures together with the divine embodiment of the Creator himself. Rather than treat them as a stumbling block, we should appreciate these modes of expression for the religiously and aesthetically instructive offerings that they are.

Scriptural talk of bowels descends from ancient patterns of thought that place the emotions in particular internal organs.¹ Rage, lust, hunger, joy, compassion, and so on were once considered not as abstract moods or psychological states but as passions associated with specific anatomical parts. For the Hebrews, the *lêb*, or heart, was the vital center of human life, the place where we think as well as feel. For the Greeks, the *phrenes* had a similar role, but whether we should associate them with the lungs, diaphragm, or heart is still debated. Other organs could be assigned emotional roles such as joy to the liver, due to its large size, or discomfort to the kidneys. In such feelings, the true character of a person was thought to be localized. Consider Jeremiah 20:12: “O Lord of hosts, that triest the righteous, and seest the reins and the heart.” The point that the Lord’s gaze can pierce humans to the center of their being is clear enough, but we rarely note that the reins here are the kidneys, *reins* being an obsolete term (compare *renal*, French *rein*).

To have a pure heart is a habitual turn of phrase today, but to speak of pure kidneys sounds quite odd. Yet there is, of course, no compelling anatomical reason why the heart should be the main English term for our emotional center any more than any other inner organ. The heart is vital to our existence, can be felt under certain excited conditions, and sits at the core of our body, but it is not in strict fact an intellectual or emotional center or originator. We are used to thinking of the heart as the seat of the soul, not the liver or bowels, and yet the physical heart is ultimately only a metaphor as well.

Nevertheless, modern everyday language still often reproduces ancient habits of thought. The case of the heart shows that organ talk not only prevailed prior to modern medicine, but is still very much a part of modern English speechways. We speak of breath-taking music, heart-breaking stories, gut-wrenching suffering, stomach-knotting tension, fire in the belly, or a burning in the bosom. I might “spill my guts” to “get something off my chest,” or as the era of Joseph Smith would have it, “unbosom my feelings.” A plucky athlete, we say, has heart, as a courageous soldier has guts, an irascible person has spleen, and a coward is a lily-livered person.²

Similarly, *guts* can also designate the essential parts of something (the guts of a car) as well as the entrails proper. The bowels mark a person’s humanity, as in *Moby Dick*’s references to “men that have no bowels to feel fear” or “no bowels for a laugh.”³ In *Tom Sawyer*, Tom picks a fight with a boy “with a citified air about him that ate into Tom’s vitals.”⁴ With this

phrase, Mark Twain deliciously paints Tom's irritation with a term reminiscent of the taunt to "eat your heart out." In English, then, the innards, especially the bowels, are the felt site of some of our most intense passions.

The ancient terms that the King James's translators rendered into English as "bowels" had a long history in Hebrew and Greek. In the Hebrew Bible, three words (*rechem*, *qereb*, and *me'ah*) are translated as "bowels" in the King James Version (KJV). The most important of these, the plural term *me'im*, has a wide semantic range in biblical Hebrew and can signify the innards generally (not only the intestines), the reproductive organs, and the vital center of emotional life.⁵ Referring to Song of Solomon 5:4, biblical scholar Marvin Pope summarizes this usage: the Hebrew *me'im* "designates primarily the inward parts of the body, the intestines, bowels, guts, and is used of the source of procreative powers male and female, of the seat of the emotions, pity, compassion, distress, and here of erotic emotion."⁶ The Hebrew *qereb* "can represent the inward part(s),"⁷ while *rechem* (more often translated as "compassion") is closely related to the word *racham*, "womb," and thus connotes a deep love grounded in some natural human relationship, especially that of parent and child.⁸

In classical Greek, one term (*splangchna*, a plural term that is cognate to *spleen*) could mean both the intestines and the edible inner parts of a sacrificed animal, such as the heart, lungs, liver, and kidneys, as well as the location of general character traits in human beings, although not specifically the seat of mercy.⁹ In Septuagint and New Testament Greek, *splangchna* took on a more Hebraic color to include tender feelings and mercy.¹⁰ In the epistles of Paul, for instance, *splangchna* is used to describe not only the vital organs but also the entire human personality, the body and spirit together. Paul described his deep love for the far away Philippians: "For God is my record, how greatly I long after you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ" (Philip. 1:8). Similarly, in Philemon, Paul wrote on behalf of a beloved slave, Onesimus, whom Paul called "mine own bowels" (Philem. 1:12)—meaning someone tied up in his inmost affections, or as we might say, a bosom-buddy. (In Latin, *viscera* could mean "best friend," just as in somewhat old-fashioned modern Greek, *tzieri mou* means both "my dear" and "my liver.")

In both Shakespeare and the KJV, whose sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century usages were already shaped by the Hebraisms of earlier English Bible translations, *bowels* was a familiar term for the emotions and the inner parts. Up through eighteenth-century English, *bowel* could refer to any internal organ, even the brain. Only relatively recently has it acquired the restricted sense of the intestines. An *Oxford English Dictionary* definition for *bowels* captures much of the KJV sense of that word: "(Considered as the seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions, hence): Pity,

compassion, feeling, ‘heart.’”¹¹ A humorous example of the failure to recognize the archaic sense of *bowels* is seen in how a 1639 text was classified. The London sermon called “Bowels Opened, or A Discovery of the Neere and Deere Love, Union and Communion betwixt Christ and the Church” was placed in the Yale Medical Library; apparently some hasty cataloguer thought its topic was the relief of constipation!¹²

English has been enriched in many ways by its borrowings from Hebrew and Greek, among other languages. Rather than merely mirroring the original language, translation also enriches the target language.¹³ We often speak of what is lost in translation, forgetting that much can be gained as well, for good and ill. A KJV passage illustrates how translation can enrich: “But whoso hath this world’s good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?” (1 John 3:17). The Greek simply reads “if he close his bowels away from him”; the King James translation adds “of compassion” to “bowels.” The noun *compassion* appears nowhere in New Testament Greek though we think of compassion as the heart (guts) of New Testament teachings.¹⁴

Nineteen of the twenty occurrences of the word *compassion* in the KJV New Testament derive from verbs, and thirteen of these come from *splangchnizomai*—a verb form based on *splangchna*—which means to have compassion (or more literally, something like “to be boweled”). Greek innards become English love and sympathy, an inheritance that shapes LDS scriptural language as well. Indeed, the KJV supplies the basic “idiom” for much of LDS writ,¹⁵ including its usage of *bowels*. How one word could mean the offal of a sacrificed animal, the tender emotions discussed in the Bible, and the compassion enjoined in LDS scripture is a puzzle to which we shall return below.

The Power of Gutsy Imagery

Scriptural bowel language, then, descends from deep-rooted traditions of conceiving internal organs—and not only the intestines—as the distinctive locations of human feeling. Understanding this history removes some of the strangeness of such language. Yet it is an error, I believe, to tame the metaphor too quickly, as do the Revised Standard Version and other modern Bible translations that usually replace this jarring language with soft euphemisms.¹⁶ Much rather, there is something significantly uncanny and vaguely unsettling in the scriptural juxtaposition of the lowest and the highest things—guts and compassion, bowels and mercy. The bowels are at once both gruesome and tender. Both aesthetic and theological lessons are to be learned here.

Some of the most moving scriptural teachings about love and solidarity are couched in imagery that is frankly grotesque. At the Waters of Mormon, Alma tells the new converts that they “should look forward with one eye, having one faith and one baptism, having their hearts knit together in unity” (Mosiah 18:21). Imagining Alma’s words concretely gives us a Cyclops of many people with interwoven cardiac tissues, but the literal meanings (at which we rarely pause) point to a much deeper sense.¹⁷ Small means bring about great meanings. Similarly, Ammon exults that God’s “bowels of mercy are over all the earth” (Alma 26:37). Surely the point is not a blasphemous revision of the rain falling on the just and the unjust alike, but the universality of God’s love for his children. As a child I was similarly struck by the apparent grisliness of the sacrament prayers, where we pray to remember “the body” and “the blood” of Christ rather than just his love or works in general. Perhaps we need the vivid detail to anchor the larger significance more powerfully.

Twisting an old saying, the best way to a person’s spirit may be via the stomach. Sensing another theological lesson here, sometimes we may need to be hit in the guts. Even the resurrected Jesus “groaned within himself”; his bowels were filled with compassion for the multitude at Bountiful when he was struck by the painful contrast between the holy innocence of the Nephite children and “the wickedness of the people of the house of Israel” (3 Ne. 17:14).

The perception of the sublime sometimes rests on sublimation. The loveliest moments in music often stem from dissonance just as the sweetest perfumes often have civet as their basic ingredient. A musky scent at the foundation of things may be a condition of the world’s glory and beauty. “There is no excellent beauty,” said Francis Bacon, “that hath not some strangeness in the proportion.”¹⁸

The bowels are strangely an inner reflection of our outer selves. In a sense, they are a second skin; the gastrointestinal tract is an outside that is inside, a hole that runs all the way through our midst. We earthlings are doubles to ourselves. Our skin and bowels are one continuous surface; both in fact originate in the same embryonic germ layer. Our bodies are the original Möbius strip: two sides, one surface. As the “other” of our skin, the bowels are the poor relation we would like to keep in the closet.

Thus, curiously enough, the power of the bowels as a metaphor in contemporary English lies quite possibly in the disgust they evoke, whether they are understood as guts generally or intestines specifically. Disgust is intimately bound to gusto. Disgust is a *condition* of aesthetic perception; indeed, it is also a *kind* of aesthetic perception.

Few aspects of our embodiment are less attractive than the lower gastrointestinal bowels. There is something repulsive about their product and

function, their sounds, scents, and motions being beyond polite bounds. Even the body leaves them, of all vital organs, the least protected from injury. Surgeons, who might be expected to be immune to the metaphorical connotations of body parts, have commented to me about the messy and slithery quality of the bowels. The bowels' business is to cast off, and they get cast off symbolically as well.

More than any other organ, however, the bowels most ally us to the soil. We have, one might say, a long compost pit within. Our bowels add to the earth and remind us daily that we inhabit tabernacles of clay (Job 4:19). Jesus himself made the elimination process the subject of his teachings, in arguing that it is not what goes into the body, but what comes out of it that defiles (Matt. 15:18; Mark 7:15). Excrement in itself does not desecrate, but the words and thoughts that emanate from the heart. Jesus was not afraid of dealing, frankly but discretely, with human embodiment in its fullness. His doctrine crossed over traditional laws of cleanliness and hygiene; when the good Samaritan's bowels are moved, for example, he is looking at what the priest and Levite, perhaps with ritual horror, might have taken to be a corpse (Luke 10:33).¹⁹ To have compassion is to care for things tainted with disease and death—as all mortals in some ways are. As humans—a term related to *humus* (= ground or earth)—we are earthlings, acquainted with soil.

The bowels are subjects about which we are often embarrassed to talk. And yet the scriptures put the bowels unavoidably in our face. Our resistance to reflection about bowels is itself instructive. The bowels sit at the center of the human body and yet nothing is so furtive as the act of doing our business. But it is an experience “common to man,” one to which we can all relate and one we all had to master at an early age. The bowels may repulse us, but few distresses are as acute as when they malfunction. Bowels are the part of embodied life which we rarely articulate but which is most intimately our own. When they are discussed, they are usually the stuff of bawdy humor, snickering puerility, or scatological writing, not scriptural truth. The bowels may be the most personal and hidden of all organs. The sheer relief of the bowels being moved—the release of inner containment—may serve as a secret metaphor of what it is to go beyond ourselves, to let our insides go, to stop holding back. Perhaps in some ways, compassion, as the Greek suggests, has a similar motion.²⁰

Culturally, Mormons tend to be queasy about explicitness in bodily depiction, even if our theology teaches the necessity of humane and divine embodiment. Anything too concrete on the “fullness of the Godhead bodily” (Col. 2:9) often makes us, perhaps rightly, nervous. Navels, let alone genitals, are already perplexing enough, though our theology allows for the possibility of their eternal continuation.²¹ The issue is more one of representation and taste than doctrine. Much of modern thought and literature

has engaged in what we might see as archaeology of humus, an exploration of the extremities of bodily bliss and degradation. Such exploration can be both bracing and harsh, profane and profound. As considerations of what it means to be mortals—creatures with bowels—modern thought merits the attention of those who have a stomach for such exploration. Yet the modernist fascination for the proximity of the organs of eros and of excretion²² has little resonance in LDS culture, despite the novels, stories, and essays of Levi S. Peterson, for example, which are exquisitely sensitive to the theological and earthy meaning of our nether regions.²³ Peterson stands in the lineage of the Christian grotesque that stretches from the Gospels and Paul's letters through Dostoyevsky and Flannery O'Connor and celebrates compassion for the maculate stuff of which humans are made. "Compared to God's perfection," he argues, "perhaps every living ounce of the human body, the heart and brain as well as the emunctories, is no better than night soil."²⁴

Peterson makes the comparison too stark, however, since God's Son also made his tabernacle of such stuff. Human flesh is not just the opposite of God's glory, but a powerful sign of his grace and even of our kinship with him, an embodied being. The Lord God Omnipotent came down from heaven to "dwell in a tabernacle of clay" (Mosiah 3:5). And why? That by bearing the infirmities of his people, "his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh" (Alma 7:12). In LDS theology, the bowels are not opposed to God's perfection; they are its very vehicle.²⁵

Atonement and the Bowels of Mercy

In LDS scripture, the bowels are not foregrounded; they are left to do their work, crucial as always but behind the scenes, away from ordinary view. In seeing the expanse of the eternities, Enoch had a vision of the entire human family and "looked upon their wickedness, and their misery, and wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook" (Moses 7:41). Enoch's yearning is not abstract or contemplative, but deeply visceral. The motions of his inner organs are in tune, as it were, with the shaking of eternity. Likewise, Abinadi says to the court of King Noah:

And thus God breaketh the bands of death, having gained the victory over death; giving the Son power to make intercession for the children of men—having ascended into heaven, having the bowels of mercy; being filled with compassion towards the children of men; standing betwixt them and justice; having broken the bands of death, taken upon himself their iniquity and their transgressions, having redeemed them, and satisfied the demands of justice. (Mosiah 15:8–9)

It would be hard to find anywhere in scripture a more compact description of Christ's work of intercession, central to which is the acquiring of the

bowels of mercy. For both Enoch and Abinadi, the vision of God's eternal workings is mysteriously connected with the inner organs; great and small, noble and ignoble, divine and human are tied together.

Why should something so earthly as bowels be used to describe Christ's mercy and work? There are several possible reasons.

The Divine Experience of Human Suffering. Several LDS commentators have honed in on what Elder Neal A. Maxwell terms the "stunning" Book of Mormon insight that Jesus suffered "in order that He might know how" to succor his people.²⁶ In a striking articulation of this aspect of the Atonement, Lorin K. Hansen argues, "It is not Jesus' suffering per se that redeems men and women. Suffering has an effect on him, and it is that effect (or change) that makes possible human redemption. The power of redemption comes through his expanded knowledge and sensitivity, which he then expresses through his role as mediator."²⁷ In contrast to traditional explanations of Christ's suffering as a ransom to the devil, a payment to an exacting God, or an avenging of God's wronged honor, Hansen develops what theologians call the moral theory of the Atonement. That is, Christ died to awake a moral transformation of our beings; the Atonement not only reconciled humanity to God but God to humanity.

The Atonement is in this view less a settling of cosmic accounts than part of God's education, so to speak, an experience he needed to conceive empathy with the human family, an immersion in pain not unlike what all in their second estate must experience—a condescension, in other words.²⁸ Hansen cites Hebrews 5:8 and Doctrine and Covenants 93:11–14 that Christ had no fullness at first but learned through suffering. Elder Maxwell similarly explains that "the infinite intensiveness of Christ's suffering" was necessary for him to become a "fully comprehending Atoner."²⁹

Alma 7:12 also makes this very point: "And he will take upon him death, that he may loose the bands of death which bind his people; and he will take upon him their infirmities, that his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh, that he may know according to the flesh how to succor his people according to their infirmities." Alma backpedals a bit in the next verse, as if having realized he might have implied gaps in divine knowledge: "Now the Spirit knoweth all things; nevertheless the Son of God suffereth according to the flesh that he might take upon him the sins of his people, that he might blot out their transgressions according to the power of his deliverance" (Alma 7:13). Bowels cannot, apparently, be "filled with mercy" without a mortal sojourn ("according to the flesh"), a requisite that implies the novelty of mortal life within God's experience (and fits more comfortably in a process theology than traditional notions of static omniscience).

Obviously, there is a huge difference between abstract, theoretical knowledge and knowledge developed and tested in the crucible of experience. To take a homely example, the picture on the box and a completed jigsaw puzzle are all but identical images, but the completed puzzle is almost infinitely richer to those who assembled it. They know its details, textures, colors, and patterns with both affection and frustration, while the cover picture is not invested with their care or acquaintance. To a nonparticipant, communicating the difference between the two images would be nearly impossible. In this way, “the spirit” might, in advance, know precisely what the picture of mortal life looks like but still have to learn the labor of matching pieces by color and shape.

Embodiment holds all kinds of secrets unknowable to the spectator. A spirit who has never lived in embodied mortality may know all things except what it is like not to know all things. In mortality, a spirit can become acquainted with the night, privation, and ignorance. It can encounter lack, absence, desire, and negativity in their fullness (or rather, their partiality). It can learn about waiting, surprise, the uncertainty of all action—everything, in short, that derives from living in time. The bowels stand as part for this whole.

Connecting with Mortality. Much of the bowel language in LDS scripture occurs in passages concerned with what 1 Nephi 11:26 calls “the condescension of God”—the descent of the divine into the human, or the inspiration of the human with divine characteristics.³⁰ The bowels are a unique sign of divine condescension into mortal clay. In 1841, Ludwig Feuerbach wrote that the hidden secret of Christianity is that humans project their mortal desires onto the heavens thus creating the gods; in contrast, the essence of Christianity is that God comes down to become acquainted with mortal matter.³¹ The metaphor of the bowels offers a deep vision of condescension, by which I do not mean haughtiness, but the descent of the divine into the human so that the human may ascend into the divine.

Perhaps the *locus classicus* of such a notion in LDS literature is Joseph Smith’s second letter from Liberty Jail: “Thy mind, O man! if thou wilt lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss, and the broad expanse of eternity—thou must commune with God.”³² It is in the same letter that we read, “Let thy bowels also be full of charity towards all men, and to the household of faith” (D&C 121:45; compare 88:6). This is a manifesto for a kind of knowledge, art, and life that is not afraid of the heights or the depths, a kind of inquiry that is as broad as God’s mercy and as deep as the lowest reaches of mortality. Taking condescension in this way has rich implications for our relation with God, each other, and our vision of our place in the cosmos.

The bowels, then, are the sign of our humanity and of God's succor for it. They are central to the language of the Atonement since they mark God's condescension. But the metaphor of the bowels, as Doctrine and Covenants 121:45 suggests, implies a horizontal dimension of mercy between fellow mortals. When Joseph in Egypt first saw his long-lost younger brother Benjamin, he "made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his chamber, and wept there" (Gen. 43:30). When King Solomon took a sword to divide the disputed baby before the quarreling mothers, the real mother's "bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, O my lord, give [the other woman] the living child, and in no wise slay it" (1 Kgs. 3:26). In both cases, the Hebrew word translated as *bowels* is *rachamim*, meaning something like "tender mercies" or "maternal nurture" (a word also rendered in the plural as *mercies*, *compassions*, or *pity*, and in the singular as *matrix* or *womb* in the KJV).³³ Both Benjamin (soon to be framed as a thief in Joseph's test of whether or not his eleven brothers have learned to care for each other in his absence) and the disputed baby are in mortal danger, on the brink of death. Acts of substitution in each case deflect the sword of justice: Judah steps forward to take Benjamin's punishment, just as the true mother lets her rival take her place as mother. Thus, the bowels in the King James idiom often signify a restoration of a prior relationship, a rescuing from exile, even a willingness to trade places with another in peril.

A Matter of Life and Death. Why the bowels should be the mark of mercy is perhaps illuminated by the ancient practice of animal sacrifice, a point alluded to above. Walter Burkert, a scholar of ancient Greek religion, offers an arresting interpretation of the origins of Greek tragedy. He argues that the participants in the sacrifice feel guilt and horror at the slaughter of a living animal for their own nourishment. A drama of expiation develops (this is the birth of tragedy) that shifts the blame for the animal's death from the killers to the animal itself. The *splangchna* are the first parts of the victim to be eaten.

The slightly uncanny "vitals," the internal organs which come to light only now and may seem to contain the "life," which sometimes cause disgust and sometimes are regarded as rather a delicacy, must be disposed of first of all. No wonder that *susplangchneuein* [to share the flesh or internal organs of a victim at a sacrifice] is the firmest foundation of fellowship. The shudder [of horror at the animal's murder] dies away in a feeling of physical well-being.³⁴

The *splangchna* of the eaters may be moved with contradictory feeling as they become literally filled with the *splangchna* of the animal. With horror and awe, the sufferings of the victim go directly from its bowels to those of the celebrants. Might the participants in the sacrifice recognize the tenderness of their own vitals as they consume those of the victim? Is pity for the

sacrificial victim a metaphor for solidarity with our fellows, to hurt with them where they hurt? Burkert, in any case, offers one way to connect the innards and the quality of mercy: a consuming empathy for the victim.

Scriptural *bowels* often appear where someone's life hangs in the balance: the vitals of a sufferer are at stake, and the observer's or the conqueror's bowels stir in identification. In the Greek New Testament text, bowels respond to a crowd perishing from hunger (Matt. 9:36), a debtor about to be sold into slavery with his wife and children (Matt. 18:27), two blind men pleading for sight (Matt. 20:34), a widow grieving for her son (Luke 7:13), a wayfarer wounded and left for dead (Luke 10:33), and a son returning as if from the dead (Luke 15:20). In the same way, a dog shows its belly to its enemy to admit defeat. Now openly exposed, the most vulnerable spot invites the victor to relent. Our bowels, so open to injury in battle and so easily upset by what goes in them, are our most tender spot. To beg for mercy is to ask the victor quite literally not to hate or hit our guts.

Sharing the Pain of Others. To have mercy (from Latin *miser cordia*—a heart of pity) is to feel in one's own bowels the plight of the other, to share sorrows in a heart not one's own. To have bowels for another is to recognize a shared humanity, a common subjection to suffering and death. Bowels are the site of substitutional suffering. In modern Greek, one of the tenderest things you can say is *splachno mou*, meaning "my dear one"; its implication is that your soul is my soul, that you are my inner parts.

In the bowels, we learn to feel for others. Nothing is so difficult to share as pain. Our nerve endings terminate in our unique pain centers. Although people can share words and comfort with each other, the sorrow is each person's alone. To feel the pain of others is physically impossible but morally imperative. How can humans break out of the shell of private sorrow? Amulek flatly declared that no mortals can shed their own blood to pay for another's sins (Alma 34:11), explaining that only an infinite substitution by an infinite being could reach across the gaps between individuals: "Therefore there can be nothing short of an infinite atonement which will suffice for the sins of the world" (Alma 34:12). The problem of mortal life, for Amulek, is that all are hardened and thus destined to perish (Alma 34:9). "Hardening" suggests many things—to harden in pride, in sin, in will—but all of these suggest the hardening of the self. Hardening might be precisely the quality of individuality that makes every person solely responsible for his or her own sins and immune to the sufferings of others. If we persist in our hardness, according to Amulek, our pain is destined to be absolutely incommunicable. If not, then we have the opportunity to encounter a being, Christ, who can bridge the gap between the zero and the one. Christ died, then, in part, to save us from ourselves. One purpose of the Atonement is to soften us, to make us able to feel viscerally each other's

sorrows. With the bowels of mercy, the sharing of viscera, the walls between people seem to melt.

The epitome of other-bearing pain is pregnancy and childbirth. Bowels in the KJV idiom, as we have seen, are not only delicacies consumed at a sacrifice but the reproductive organs. The bowels suggest both the taking and the giving of life. Having bowels moved with compassion suggests pregnancy, an inward part being filled and moved for another's life. In labor, the mother risks her life for the sake of the child's, putting her own "bowels" in jeopardy. Here again "bowels" suggest a surface both inside and outside, self and other. "The bowels of Christ" might be poetically understood as a womb, the means by which we gain second birth. His sufferings in the garden and on the cross are like labor pains (see John 16:21). Scriptural bowel imagery, then, encompasses male and female, just as the bowels of Christ are filled for all (3 Ne. 17:7). To his sons and daughters, he has earned the right to say *splachna mou*.

LDS theologians often note the impossibility of comprehending what Jesus Christ went through in the Atonement.³⁵ While this protestation could be read as indicating a lack of a uniquely LDS account of the atoning process, I believe it evinces a deeper respect for the impenetrability of Christ's suffering. No human sorrow, pain, sickness, or infirmity is strange to Christ;³⁶ he has gone through them all—bunions, backaches, birth pains. Believers in him need never feel that they suffer alone. But since the greatest human sorrow may be the loneliness of suffering and the isolation we feel in our worst moments, Christ's lone sorrows had to be incomprehensible to us before ours could become comprehensible to him. He had to learn the walled-in quality of pain firsthand to succor us in our own suffering loneliness. Our inability to fathom his sorrow is part of its saving property. If we could easily peer into his pain, we would be in the position of bridging the infinite gap between the pain felt by the self and by the other, something Amulek suggests finite beings cannot do. Gospel accounts of Jesus' disciples sleeping during his lonely agony in Gethsemane (Mark 14:34–40) and the withdrawal of the presence of God the Father during Christ's suffering on the cross (Mark 15:34) are poetically necessary to underscore his loneliness: believers are invited to consider if there is any hurt like his and to recognize that they can do nothing to lift his pain. Christ spills his guts, so to speak, on our behalf, a god in solitary sorrow, and we are inwardly moved in response.

By suffering infinitely, Christ brought about the bowels of mercy in many respects. Consider the climactic verse of Amulek's great discourse: "This being the intent of this last sacrifice, to bring about the bowels of mercy, which overpowereth justice, and bringeth about means unto men [and women] that they may have faith unto repentance" (Alma 34:15).

Lowell Bennion and Eugene England have rightly focused attention on the marvelously suggestive notion of providing “means for faith unto repentance,”³⁷ but perhaps the even more important phrase in this passage is “the bowels of mercy.” Whose bowels these are is wonderfully unclear. These bowels of mercy are “brought about” on many levels—for God the Father surveying the sinful human family, for God the Son pleading for them, and for penitent people, who, recognizing the mercy they have received, are able to break through the self-enclosure of pain and succor others. We are thus all, as Sophocles had Antigone say of her dead brother, *homosplangchnoi*, of the same bowels: “There is no shame in paying respect to those of the same bowels.”³⁸ Perhaps these atoning bowels of mercy belong to the universe itself in that they stave off the sword of justice. As we see that God’s Son has bowels full of a sorrow that exceeds anything humans could ever know, the bowels of mercy are brought about in us. The hardness of each individual’s inner core is pierced and open to compassion. As an infinite sufferer, Christ left himself vulnerable as a receiver of mercy—our mercy, pity, or *misericordia*—so that we might receive his mercy and God’s mercy in turn.

Conclusion

The bowels, in short, are the inward parts of the Atonement, the place at which the inside and the outside, the boundaries between self and other, become blurry. The bowels are the site of a transaction between selves, the site of a great substitution. The pains of the other become one’s own; we enter Zion, the community of genuine love, where, as Alma says, our hearts might be knit together. This is both the social and religious meaning of “bowels of mercy.” In the metaphor, we discover not only something that is vaguely grotesque or suggestively poetic, but also a deep unity that is both aesthetic and theological: God’s power to encompass with love all things—the heights and the depths, corruption and incorruption.

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1. On Indo-European organ symbolism, see Richard Broxton Onians, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); for the ancient Hebrews, see H. W. Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments* (Munich: Kaiser, 1973); and Mark S. Smith, “The Heart and Innards in Israelite Emotional Expressions: Notes from Anthropology and Psychobiology,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998): 427–36.

2. Even here, organ talk is buried at a deeper level; “pluck” originally meant the heart and lungs, and “courageous” derives from the Latin *cor*, “heart.” See Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 69. Much of English organ language, such as “spleen,” derives from Galen’s notion of the four humors.

3. Herman Melville, *Moby Dick* (1851; reprint, New York: Norton, 1967), 155, 416.

4. Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1875; reprint, New York: Collier, 1920), 7.

5. Victor P. Hamilton, “Me’ah,” in R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr. and Bruce K. Waltke, eds., *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Moody, 1980), 1:518; Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, 485–86.

6. Marvin H. Pope, *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible, ed. David Noel Freedman (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1977), 519.

7. Leonard J. Coppes, “Qereb,” in Harris and others, *Theological Wordbook*, 2:813.

8. Leonard J. Coppes, “Racham,” in Harris and others, *Theological Wordbook*, 2:841–43.

9. Paul Stengel, “Splangchna,” *Jahrbuch des kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 9 (1894): 115; Walter Burkert, “Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7, no. 2 (1966): 108; Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (1843; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), s.v. splangchnon; Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. and adapted by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), s.vv. splangchnizomai and splangchnon; Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968), 769; Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1985), 7:548–60.

10. Kittel, *Theological Dictionary*, 7:550–54.

11. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed., s. v., “bowels.” In this connection, it is interesting that Martin Luther—the biblical translator apparently preferred by Joseph Smith in most cases—favors “herz” (with lowercase *h*) or “heart” as the translation for both *me'im* and *splangchna* (for example, Prov. 12:10, Philip. 1:8); see *Biblia Germanica 1545* (Stuttgart: Omnitypie Gesellschaft, 1967; facsimile edition).

12. Pope, *Song of Songs*, plate VI.

13. Walter Benjamin, “The Task of the Translator,” in Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 69–82.

14. The closest equivalents are *agapê* (love), *eleos* (pity), and *charis* (grace).

15. Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

16. Hamilton, “Me’ah,” 1:518.

17. The notion of “dissonant imagery” in LDS scripture I owe to Kris Cassity, who discussed this idea in a BYU Book of Mormon class taught by Reba Keele (spring 1976).

18. “Of Beauty,” in *Francis Bacon*, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 425.

19. For an analysis of the aesthetic and religious import of “abjection” in Christianity and of these passages, see Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 113–32.

20. Compare Brigham Young’s indictment of greed, anticipating Freud’s link of miserliness and anal retention: “Men came into our midst, who shut up the bowels of their compassion, and held their money with an iron fist.” Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 1:75, September 11, 1853.

21. See John A. Widtsoe, *A Rational Theology as Taught by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 5th ed. (1915; reprint, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 69.
22. Freud, for instance, loved to quote Augustine: *Inter urinas et faeces nascimur* (we are born between urine and feces). See Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), 53. See also William Butler Yeats's poem, "Crazy Jane Talks with the Bishop," in *W. B. Yeats: The Poems*, ed. Daniel Albright (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1990), 309–10.
23. "I am not being altogether facetious when I say that I adhere to a theology of the emunctories. God created human beings with intestines, bladders, sweat glands, and nostrils, and he does not despise his handiwork." Levi S. Peterson, Letter to the Editor, *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (winter 1987): 8.
24. Levi S. Peterson, "In Defense of a Mormon Erotica," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (winter 1987): 127.
25. Neal A. Maxwell, "Not My Will, but Thine" (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 31, 51, affirms that "the Atonement included the perfecting of Christ's mercy by His experiencing" pains and ordeals that "perfected His capacity to succor His people and his empathy for them."
26. Neal A. Maxwell, *All These Things Shall Give Thee Experience* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979), 35.
27. Lorin K. Hansen, "The 'Moral' Atonement as a Mormon Interpretation," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 27 (spring 1994): 215. See also Truman G. Madsen, "Smith, Joseph: Teachings of," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1341.
28. See George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1955–61), 3:134. See also Alma 42:15.
29. Maxwell, "Not My Will, but Thine," 50.
30. LDS language even offers a new, nonbiblical usage: "the bowels of the earth." See Doctrine and Covenants 84:101; Moses 7:48; and JST Mark 8:12.
31. Ludwig Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 of *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin: Akademie, 1984).
32. 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), 3:295.
33. Coppes, "Racham," 2:841–43.
34. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," 108–9.
35. See Hansen, "'Moral' Atonement," 196. See, for example, John Taylor, *The Mediation and Atonement* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1884), 150; James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1915), 613.
36. Maxwell, "Not My Will, but Thine," 51.
37. Eugene England, "That They Might Not Suffer: The Gift of Atonement," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 1 (autumn 1966): 148–50; Eugene England, "The Legacy of Lowell L. Bennion," *Sunstone* 19 (September 1996): 41–42.
38. Sophocles, *Antigone*, line 511.

Haeremai: A Maori Welcome

It took days to get there:
two to make reservations,
then 27 hours from Anchorage to New Zealand.
And they were waiting.

When we arrived at the *morae* the ritual began:
three women waved green leafy branches,
crying *Haeremai Haeremai Haeremai*^{*}

We slipped off our shoes
and everyone in that carved building stood
as we walked
up to the front
where our daughter and her family waited.
I mouthed her name: Mandy . . .
Gave her a smile.
She nodded, brown eyes lost in shadows.

I knelt by our grandson.
Did the expected:
traced the chilled forehead,
the Swiss Maori nose,
whispered *Arohanui, Gibby. Haere ra.*[†]
Saw him again, catching his balance on a rickety ladder,
then reaching with an improvised broom
of *ti* tree branches
to sweep away a host of spiders.

—Norma S. Bowkett

^{*}Welcome, come forward, to you and your ancestors.

[†]I love you, Gibby. Farewell.

This poem won an honorable mention in the 1998 BYU Studies Poetry Contest.

Classic Maya Religion: Beliefs and Practices of an Ancient American People

Stephen D. Houston

Though difficult to decipher, Maya religion permeated a complex ancient world with an overriding sense of the sacral nature of all things and reveals much about how those people lived and why they vanished.

In the last five years, dramatic advances in deciphering ancient Maya writing have unveiled the Classic Maya as, above all, a people of faith. The Maya gloried in their closeness to the supernatural. They worshiped many gods, built temples to house images of supernatural beings, developed complex theologies of spirit and matter, and envisioned a world permeated by living essences. Now many of these beliefs and practices lie open to our gaze. Decipherment of Maya hieroglyphic writing allows us to begin to understand the Classic Maya concept of the nature of human existence, their system of morality, and their religious practice and how such practices melded with political or dynastic concerns.

Not all of the Mayan beliefs are easily understood, completely documented, or, from our viewpoint, morally defensible. However, they do testify to a people's quest for the divine in a small but crucial corner of pre-Columbian civilization.

The Classic Maya, an ancient American people, flourished from about A.D. 250 to 850. The study of their beliefs and practices represents a natural point of interest for those of us who participate in lives that are intensely and vividly involved in matters of faith and practice, agency, and worldview. We anchor our lives in the proposition that the secular and the spiritual are not so very distant from each other. We believe that faith and moral conscience should not be restricted to moments of collective worship or other formal observances; rather, they should enrich all activities, regardless of nature or setting. The quest for the divine, the anticipation of its life-giving light—these lie at the heart of what it is to be human.

This intimate communion of spiritual and secular lives is not an unusual state; such a religious life was the common condition of humanity before the modern period.¹ Our new understanding of the writings of the premodern Maya of Central America and Mexico reveals them as people who lived this religious life, and their history is instructive for many



Location of the Maya and their language families (based on Michael D. Coe, *The Maya*, 6th ed. [London: Thames and Hudson, 1999], fig. 6).

reasons. It illustrates how scholars reconstruct something so fleeting and insubstantial as ancient belief. It serves as a reproach to those who would compartmentalize or trivialize the influence of sacred propositions. And it stands as a moving testament to the human spirit and its need for answers to difficult questions: Why are we here? What is expected of us? Why is the world as it is?

We have just begun to unravel the answers to these questions as the Maya understood them. By sheer luck, I was a graduate student at Yale, the ground zero of decipherment in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Maya hieroglyphic writing began to unveil its secrets (fig. 1, plate 1). The ride these last few years has been an intellectual roller coaster—breath-taking, frustrating, taxing in ways I could scarcely have imagined. At times I have felt capable and bright, at others despondently inadequate before the challenge of decipherment. Yet the breakthroughs are so new that much of what I have to tell you could not have been said even five years ago.²

The Maya, Ancient and Modern

The Maya are a group of Native American peoples numbering into the millions, living today throughout southern Mexico and northern Central America. Most citizens of Guatemala, Belize, and the Mexican states of Chiapas, Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Tabasco probably have some Maya blood. If all those who are genetically related are counted, the Maya exist in even larger numbers. Some estimates place their tally as high as five million.³ At the end of this century, the Maya continue to speak close to thirty languages, some with only a few remaining elderly speakers who await the extinction of their language with utter certainty.⁴ (See map.) We know of many more dialects that died out long ago. These languages descend from an ancient tongue known as Common Mayan, which was probably spoken many centuries, if not millennia, before the time of Christ. John Robertson, professor of linguistics at BYU, and I have collaborated closely in attempting to understand the relation of modern Maya speech to ancient writing.⁵

Maya culture remains robust if forever shifting, as it did in the past (culturally, there are no unchanging people, anywhere, at any time—the unchanging society is a myth we occasionally hear with respect to non-Western or preindustrial societies⁶). For the Maya, some of the changes arise from the legacy of terrible violence, both Colonial and modern, that has scourged them, especially during the last twenty years. The wounds from such conflicts, from the destruction of families, of young and old, will heal completely only with the death of memory.⁷

The Classic Maya were the ancestors of some modern Maya. The Classic Maya civilization flourished in the so-called lowlands of the Yucatán

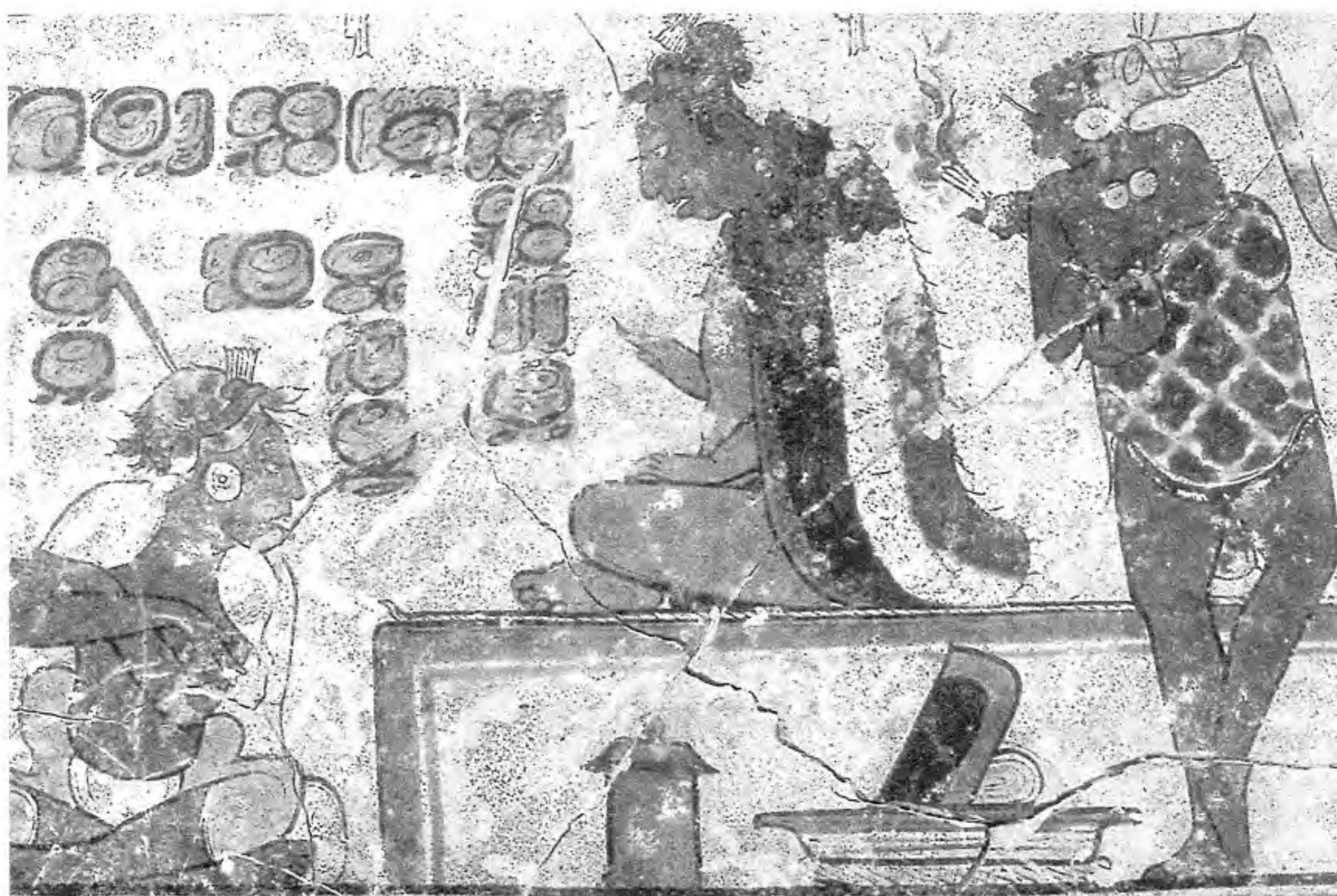


Fig. 1. Roll-out of Late Classic vessel; photograph © Justin Kerr, file no. K1728 (Michael D. Coe and Justin Kerr, *The Art of the Maya Scribe* [New York: Harry Abrams, 1997], plate 28).



Fig. 2. The Usumacinta River near the Maya ruins of Piedras Negras, Guatemala; photograph by Stephen Houston.

peninsula, which is, in fact, an area of highly diverse geography and climate (fig. 2). Tourists visiting the luxurious resorts of Cancún and Cozumel, or the island paradises off the coast of Belize, sun themselves just miles from buried cities, some of which have never been visited by archaeological expeditions. The maids cleaning rooms and serving drinks speak Yucatec Maya. Their ancestors beyond recall built those ruined cities.

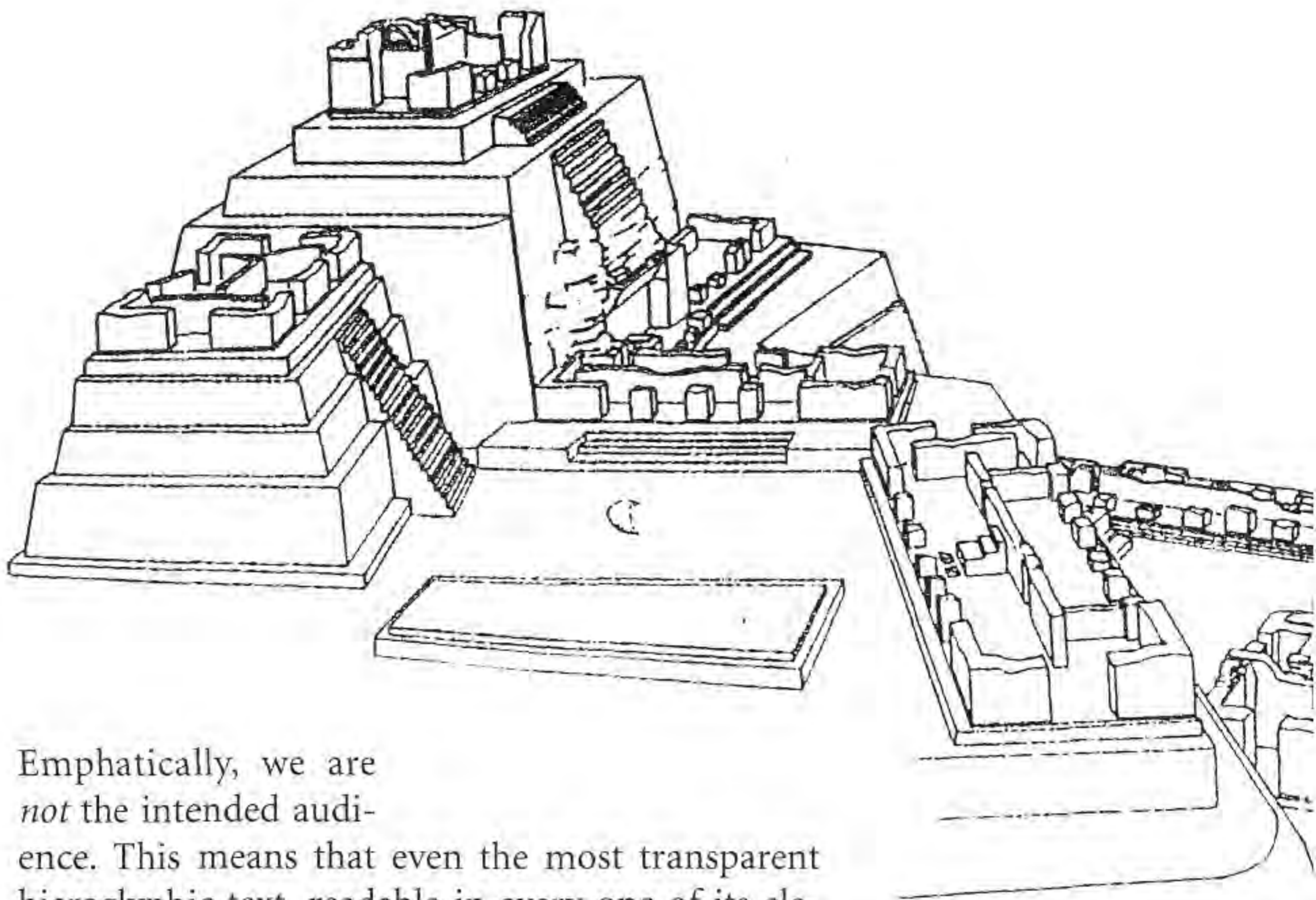
Scholars of the Classic period are often accused of overstatement and emotional excess when they discuss this people. I confess to this weakness and will freely indulge it: Maya cities are immense, staggering confections of buildings atop buildings (fig. 3). Also, they were, metaphorically speaking, great machines for religious living. Where tropical birds flit today, populations in the tens of thousands occupied palaces, small hovels, middling buildings. In high temples, the Classic Maya worshiped gods and burned incense to ancestors (plates 2–4). They raided, grew crops aplenty, held court, formed large-scale alliances, and raised families whose outlines and organization yet remain unclear. They lived earthy, real lives but lived them within a sacred worldview. Brigham Young University and its research institute, the New World Archaeological Foundation, have been international leaders in understanding these ancient and modern lives.⁸

The Problem of Accessing Ancient Thought

The powerful appeal of the ancient Maya is not only in their practical achievements, however. They were also deep thinkers, capable of expressing ideas on large stone monuments known as stelae, as well as on panels, altars, portable objects, sculpted facades, ballcourt markers—anything that could display a hieroglyph or an image. For many, the appeal of the Classic Maya lies precisely in the possibility of engaging ancient minds. It is our task and joy to learn how to read the messages they left.

This task is not, however, a trivial challenge. In the first place, there exists the overriding difficulty of deciphering a hieroglyphic text. We can read a good deal of these inscriptions written during some centuries, especially around A.D. 700–800. About forty years ago, specialists discovered that the glyphs recorded the history of kings, queens, and nobles.⁹ Names such as Pakal the Great (plate 5) or Jaguar Paw have expanded the history of pre-Columbian America and peppered it with celebrated personages. The recent decipherment of grammatical clues has led John Robertson and me, in collaboration with David Stuart at Harvard, to propose that Maya writing contains a kind of archaic, prestige, or liturgical language.¹⁰ A suitable analogy might be medieval Latin, spoken by priests, scholars, and nobility, which was not closely linked to the language of peasants in the fields.

Yet a decipherment of hieroglyphic writing takes us only so far. Remember that we are, in a profound sense, eavesdropping on ancient conversations.



Emphatically, we are *not* the intended audience. This means that even the most transparent hieroglyphic text, readable in every one of its elements, is fundamentally impenetrable in other ways. We do not have the beliefs or experiences to give broader meaning to those statements. Consider some ancient Roman or early medieval texts that are relatively difficult to interpret: we might be able to read Latin, but so much else is missing of what it was like to have been born and to have lived in these cultures.

Archaeologists, iconographers, and epigraphers (the latter two specializing in the interpretation of art and writing, respectively) bridge past and present worlds in a number of ways. Some approaches are naive and unreflective, others self-conscious and burdened with the intellectual agonies of epistemology—of understanding how we know what we know. One general strategy serves the scholar well: hermeneutics, or the discovery of meaning through interpretation. Hermeneutics is not itself free of variety or eclecticism, nor does it guarantee certainty of result. It can be romantic, involving a near-mystical empathy with past thought. Or it can derive from the hermeneutic circle of Hans-Georg Gadamer, for whom meaning derives from the interplay of ancient or foreign ideas and the concepts held openly or unconsciously by the interpreter (hence the “circle” and its to-and-fro motion).¹¹

Both approaches affirm that we can understand the past. They reserve a place and role for evidence and for its patient marshaling in favor of particular arguments. But we are not sponges that merely absorb ancient, imperishable thoughts. Gadamer believes it is a philosophical impossibility ever to fully restore the past. Rather, ancient realities must be engaged through our very beings, from the vantage point of who we are and of how we experience the world.

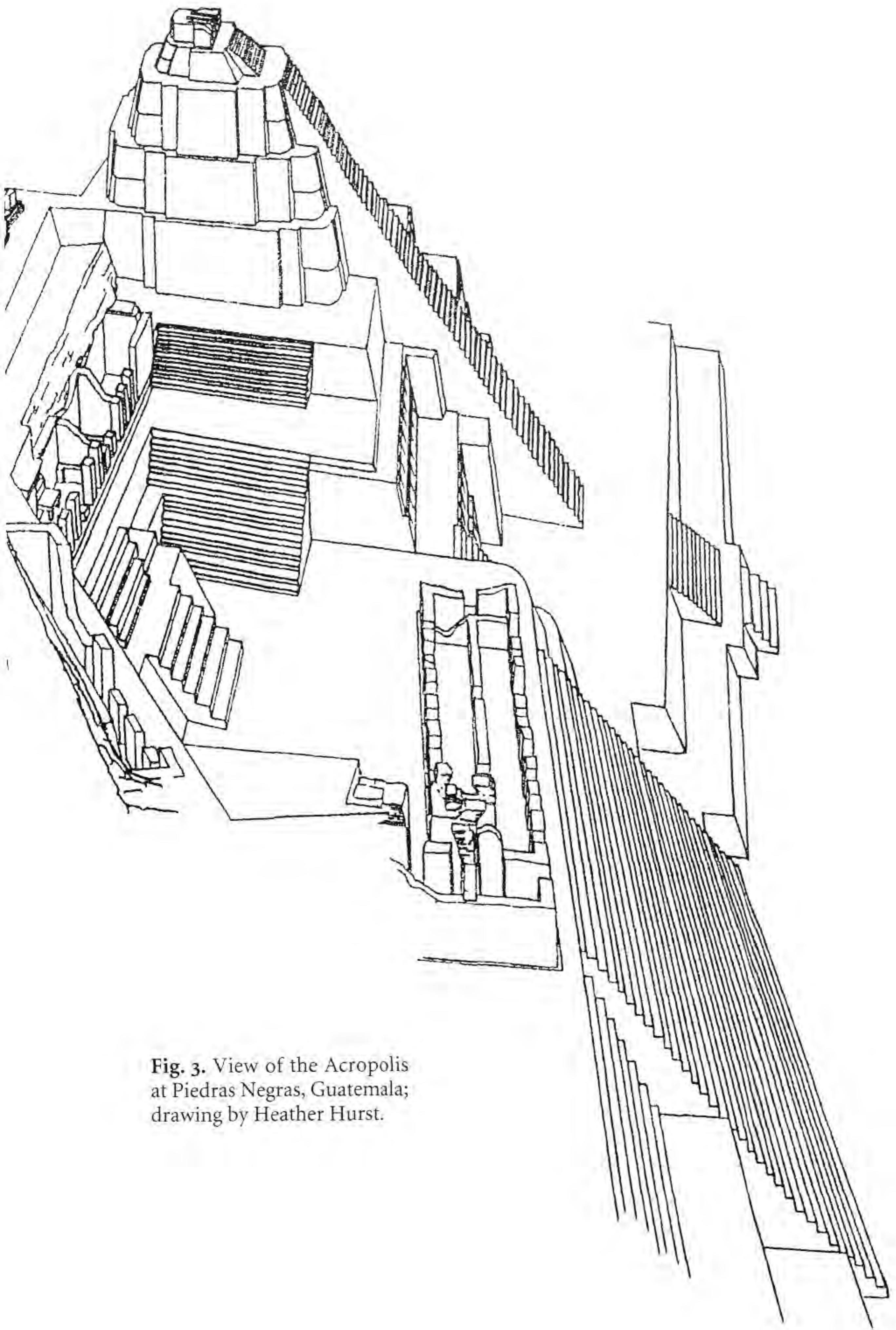


Fig. 3. View of the Acropolis at Piedras Negras, Guatemala; drawing by Heather Hurst.

For this reason, we will, indeed must, put a little of ourselves into reconstructing the grooves and pathways of Classic Maya thought. It is unavoidable that the very terms we use, such as *religion*, reflect our own mindsets, since we can describe foreign realities only with our own language. For the Maya, I suspect *religion*, as we use the word, fails to capture the centrality of belief and practice in the conduct of Classic society. For them, religion was not a matter apart from everyday life but rather one that explained it, undergirded it, enveloped it, and provided an idiom for appropriate behavior. As John Monaghan points out, we, in our time, compartmentalize ritual as a formalized, sacred act, but what does one make of a society in which planting corn or building a house is as much a ritual as the burial of the dead?¹² Terms we take for granted become downright misleading. If we follow Gadamer, precision of interpretation—the reduction of intellectual distance between past and present—will come about only with greater attention to our own premises as “eavesdroppers.”¹³

The permeation of society with sacred and supernatural propositions, the interweaving of the divine with the mundane, compels us to reflect on another, common view of religion (regrettably, one that dominates much archaeological discussion): the view that elites—royalty, nobles, the privileged in general—usually engineer faith and practice so as to confuse, exploit, and terrorize dim-witted, gullible peasants. State religions of this sort involve elites who invest priesthood in their own sons and relatives, perhaps even appropriating commonly held concepts but adapting them for political objectives.¹⁴ Their goal is to make social differences seem natural and preordained.

There are two varieties of this view, one deeply cynical, the other more subtle. The openly cynical argument—I call it the school of suspicion—equates Maya religious practices with propaganda, a deliberate attempt to sway people by manipulating information.¹⁵ All elite statements, on stelae and other sculpted monuments, can be reduced to Madison-Avenue campaigns or impostures that sell, not jeans, but reasons for inequality and subordination, while royalty rubs its hands over ill-gotten bounty.

The more subtle view holds that religion attends to elite needs but in unconscious or incremental ways—such a process gradually comes to pass because of strong forces operating on it.¹⁶ Nonetheless, there still lurks in either interpretation the same goal of making the rich and powerful better off than they were before. Both views, the cynical and the subtle, have answers for everything.

It is difficult to deny that some beliefs and practices do stem from royal preoccupations, but it is unclear whether religion can be reduced to an instrument for purely social needs. Such explanation can, in the worst cases, adopt the tone of precious little stories that drip with cross-cultural

condescension. According to these theories, the content and overall conception of the sacred is unimportant and extraneous to its core social functions.

As scholars, we are professionally enjoined from lobbing personal remarks. In the spirit of this postmodern age, which addresses both human motive and historical situation, let me do so anyway. A survey of scholars promoting these negative views of religion would show, I strongly suspect, a total agnosticism, leading them, for reasons of private disposition, to “discredit revealed religion,” as the great anthropologist (and devout Roman Catholic) Evans-Pritchard suggested almost fifty years ago.¹⁷ Religion has no power for such people, and they must explain its appeal to others in purely pragmatic or instrumental terms.

In this instance, Gadamar might say that these scholars have injected their own mind-set but to a naive and unreflective degree. Their academic readership, which generally esteems the ideas of the agnostic scholars, is not about to question their underlying premises. Yet Gadamer’s hermeneutic circle is, in their hands, unacknowledged but very much present.

The agnostic point of view strongly attracts some archaeologists, whose subjects are long dead. Archaeologists cannot easily exhume religious sentiment or holy passion. Ethnographers, who work with living peoples and who see, in the Maya region, daily acts of devotion, know far better.

Religion for the Classic Maya must be understood, then, in a way that explains why it mattered so much to them. Rather than focus on the supposed consequences of the Maya religion—the mistake of the school of suspicion—we should focus on the subjective feelings of the faithful: Did religion among the Classic Maya reduce feelings of chaos, helplessness, and personal isolation? Did it, in short, give meaning to life and guide relations with other people, regardless of status or class? We can presume that it did, or religious devotion would not have had its tenacious purchase on the Maya.

A method of approaching religious devotion more systematically is to adopt a theological perspective¹⁸ that allows us to look at the Classic Maya according to a formalized body of ideas that tell us about human relationships to divinity and the supernatural. Theology concerns subtle but grand and comprehensive premises that organize belief. There is, as we shall see, evidence that many of these ideas were held by the Maya people collectively but always in local ways that expressed local needs.

Classic Maya Religion

There is no evidence in the Classic Maya belief system of unifying orthodoxy or coherent creeds. The Classic Maya did not, apparently, have ecclesiastical authorities to enforce such matters across the Maya lowlands (however, there may have been cult or oracle centers in caves that attracted pilgrims from long distances, across political boundaries [plate 6]).¹⁹ Yet,

there is a remarkable commonality of underlying concepts. In a deeply insightful essay, anthropologist John Monaghan has itemized major themes that exist to this day among native groups in Mexico, Belize, and Guatemala.²⁰ Monaghan's evidence is largely ethnographic, and his themes exist among other groups as well as the Maya, but some of the themes advanced by Monaghan and others reveal much of interest as they relate to the Classic Maya.

Monism and Its Implications. Chief among the themes is what might be called monism. Monism involves the belief that a single divine principle suffuses the universe.²¹ Imagine a world where something like a stone or a hill may be as alive as a human being or where the carved image of a god may, in fact, *be* that god (plate 7). The world of hard substance that we take for granted, in assumed dualistic separation of the spiritual and the material, between what is alive and animate and what is not, seems invalid for Native Americans in this region.²² Among the Classic Maya, this concept expresses itself abundantly. Images of hills (*wits*) sprout eyes; carved altars have mouths and noses (fig. 4); buildings need to be fed, and doorways speak quite literally as mouths.²³

In this belief system, whatever essence makes an individual or deity distinct can extend to depictions of that being: a portrait would be more than

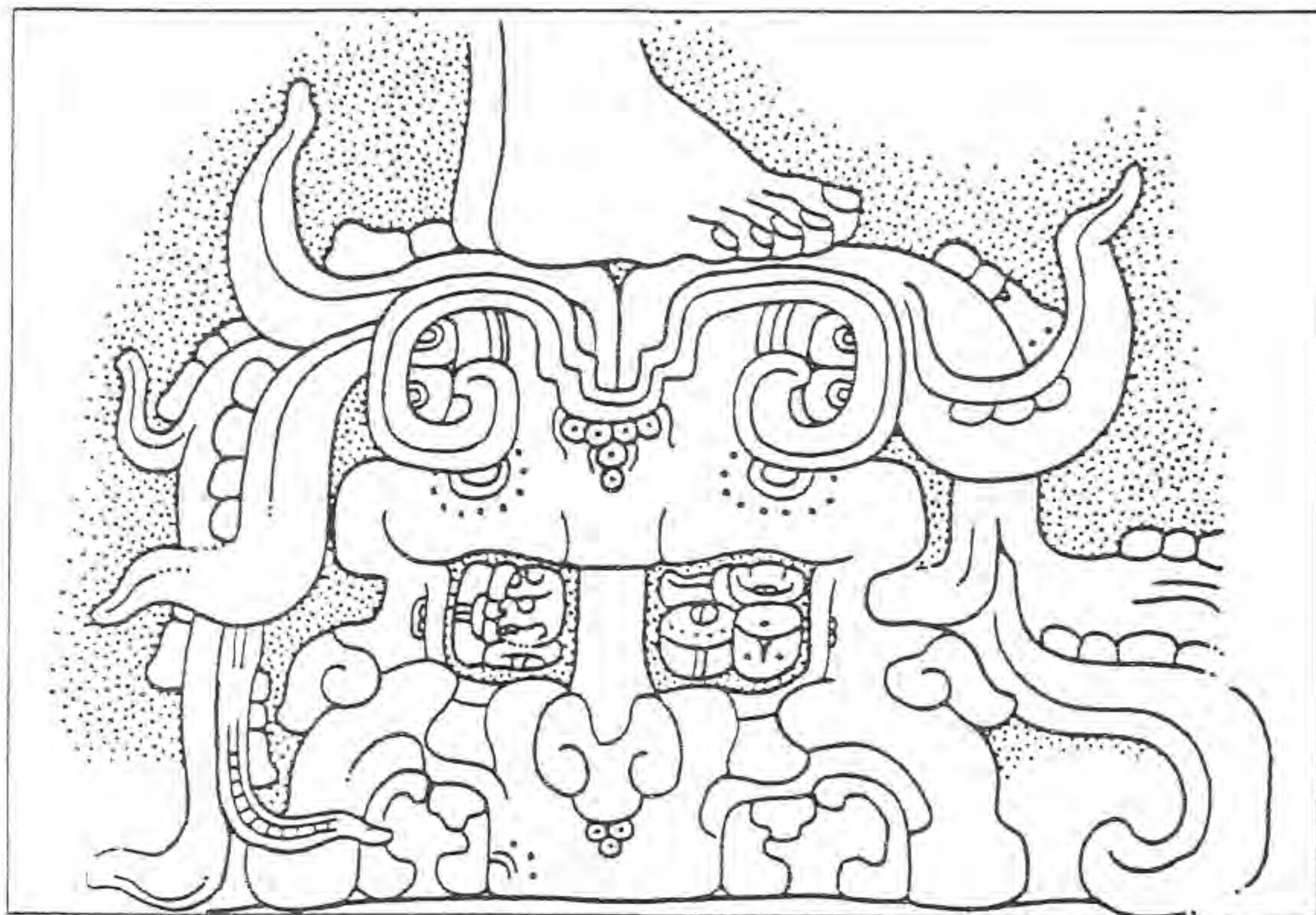


Fig. 4. Hieroglyph for *wits*, "hill"; from drawing by David Stuart (David Stuart, "The Hills Are Alive: Sacred Mountains in the Maya Cosmos," *Symbols* [spring 1997]: fig. 5).

just a representation as we understand it—“the eyes look fine, but the nose, well, it just isn’t right.” In Classic Maya art, the representation, whether of king or captive, is not, as the Greeks might see it, a counterfeit of reality.²⁴ Rather, it forms *part* of that reality and shares in the identity of the thing it pictures. For the Maya, a portrait captures part of the soul-essence of the person being shown. So the sculptures in the great plaza of a Maya city do not stand silently. As parts of the king, they still dance or pose in glorious splendor, awaiting worshipful attendance from vanished subjects (plate 9).

More strangely, to ancient Maya mentalities, the hieroglyphs truly speak (plate 8). As a sculpture shares in the identity of the king, so do the glyphs, which reverberate with phrases off Maya lips. To Maya eyes, the glyphs exist physically. To Maya ears, the glyphs crackle with the audible power of royal rhetoric.²⁵ The result is a distinct perception or experience of the world as a place with multiple manifestations of the divine.

Gods, Holiness, and Local Religion. This sense of general vitality, of animate energy in hieroglyphic texts that both depict speech and *are* speech, takes us only so far. Two concepts prevent us from viewing monistic energy as so much white noise—the life spirit extended every which way, without individual identities or specific instantiations. First, for the Classic Maya this vitality never seems to have existed on its own, floating about like so much cosmic smog: it had to have a material manifestation in specific things, beings, or tangible forces. Second, they clearly conceived of holiness as a pure distillation of that spirit that did not pertain to everyone or everything but only to two kinds of beings—gods and royalty.

Individualized gods were known to the Classic Maya as *k'uh* (fig. 5); the very term for such beings reflects an archaic label from earlier stages of their language. Two kinds of gods existed or, to put this more accurately, two dimensions of gods. There were major gods, often expressing natural forces such as rain or the sun (fig. 6). These beings rejoiced in names like *Chaak*, *K'awiil*, *K'inich Ajaw*, and *Ik' K'uh* and represented primordial forces and creative agencies. In themselves they can be traced to the earliest periods of Maya civilization, well before the time of Christ (fig. 7). Their actions and properties, told as stories often narrated on scenes from Maya ceramics, explain why the world is as it is.



Fig. 5. Hieroglyph for *k'uh*, “god”; from drawing by David Stuart.



Fig. 6. The major god *K'awiil*, as spirit companion; photograph © Justin Kerr, file no. K5164 (Dorie Reents-Budet, *Painting the Maya Universe: Royal Ceramics of the Classic Period* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994], 107).

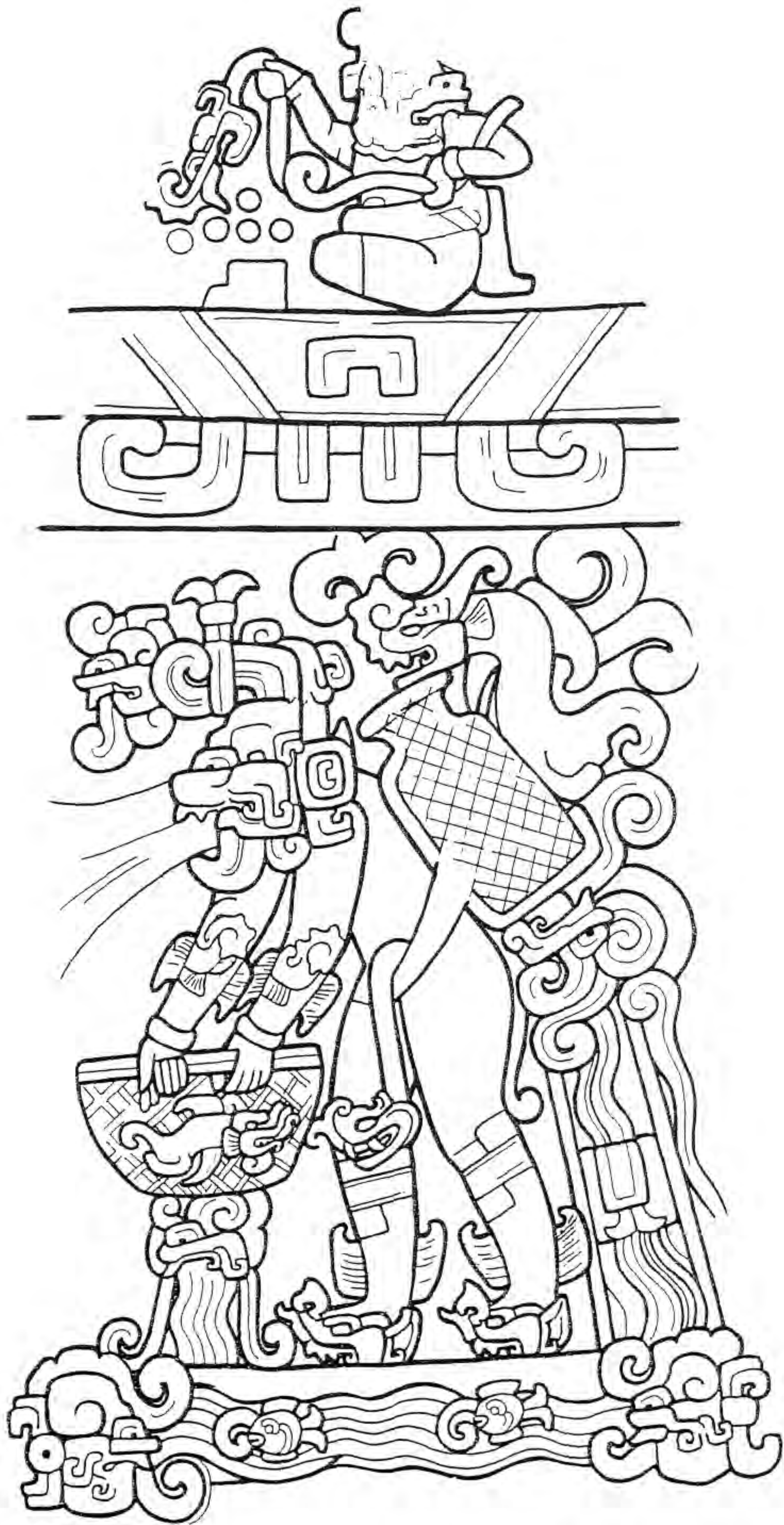


Fig. 7. Late Preclassic depiction of Maya rain god, *Chaak*; Izapa Stela 1; drawing by Ajax Moreno, courtesy New World Archaeological Foundation.

Also, we have recently learned of a plurality of other gods, usually of a localized sort. They remain in shadow and mystery, but do play a role. These local gods lived tangibly among the Maya; their carvings—recall that images were living things to the Maya—occupied temples, where they could be entreated and even bullied. The local, city-based deities seem to have been *aspects* of major gods lodged in particular places to suit local needs. More to the point, these tutelary gods were tended carefully by rulers, who served as intermediaries between their subjects and these almost tribal deities. In a few instances, the relationships between ruler and god seem entirely personal—that is, the gods pertain only to one ruler and are enthroned at the same time he is.

The parallels between Mayan gods and those of some other ancient religions, particularly of ancient Greece, are striking: Zeus could, for example, adopt a near infinity of guises, and cults to certain gods could be introduced and extinguished as a city changed.²⁶ We see a similar pattern in Classic Maya cities like Palenque, Mexico, where cults dedicated to certain gods sprang suddenly into existence, either as local theological innovations or as borrowings from elsewhere. The paradox here is that, in their identities, gods could be multiplied, subdivided, regrouped; they could reside simultaneously now and in the deep past, at this city and yet at another. Indeed, the unresolvable paradoxes and ambiguities are what partly give power and mystery to the system, as in the question of the Trinity for some Christians.²⁷ More than a hint of secrets unfold just beyond, yet irremovably distant from, human grasp. Monism or a general monistic orientation implies a vast arena that outstrips our capacity to see at one time its immensity and its majesty.

The role of the rulers is complex. I've portrayed them as intermediaries and caretakers, finding no evidence that they were regarded as gods themselves. Rather, rulers were labeled *k'uhul*, “godly” or “holy”—sacred as priests might be sacred. When they came to the throne, they were figuratively wrapped (*k'ahl-aj*), much like a sacred bundle might be in Native North America or in community rituals of modern Maya.²⁸ In hieroglyphic texts, kings are described in almost godly detachment: to a very curious extent, they seldom *do* much of anything but instead supervise, oversee, and occasionally dance (an ancient American form of prayer and stylized, ritual movement)—like Maya gods, it is their mere presence that is important, not so much their overt activity.

Rulers could absorb divinity in only one way: through wearing god masks they impersonated deities, an action with some of the same overtones as the sacred Kachina dances of Pueblos in Arizona and New Mexico. Such masks, devised of thin fabric soaked in clay and painted, have been found recently in a palace at the site of Aguateca, Guatemala.²⁹ Imagine the awesome

quality of these solemn impersonations: rulers would ascend into temples and palaces to descend as gods that proclaim, dance, and palpably come to life in fulfillment of the special bond between the people and their gods. It is well to remember that theater in much of the ancient world, especially in Greece, had sacred components.³⁰ The performance not only entertained but also inspired wonder before the presence of the divine, since the performance literally functioned as an act and mystery of creation.

Covenants and Community. We have established, then, that the Classic Maya interacted with gods who were not abstract but tangible beings. However, these gods were not exactly supernatural, at least not in our sense of that word: to the Maya, godly nature combined a material presence with powers beyond human capability, if not beyond human control. It seems that the gods of the Classic Maya were at once revered and confined. They were beings who, at some point in Maya conceptions of history, came from other locations, perhaps remote mountain homes where cults now operate among modern Maya.³¹

After being “lured” and “captured” in this fashion, the gods were housed under the care of particular dynasties. Monaghan discusses one indigenous community where uncooperative gods, whose effigies stand in churches, were hung upside down or placed in the sun until they decided “to play ball.”³² He argues persuasively that gods were not above humans but were directly involved in “a single moral community,” as members of the same civic society.³³

Both humans and gods held responsibility for maintaining order and balance. Chaos, the opposite of order, led to illness, either social or personal. Acts of both gods and humans were not so much concerned with personal salvation or the attainment of some exquisite level of heaven as they were with the here and now.³⁴ These arrangements can be understood in terms of a covenant, a binding agreement or pledge undertaken in the remote past and renewed continually. As part of this covenant, humans received, most strikingly, physical life and physical form. In the Maya region and neighboring zones, humans were thought to be fashioned by gods from corn dough after earlier, botched experiments with mud and sticks. The willowy, beautiful, and succulent maize god was the primordial human (fig. 8, plate 5). This god’s cycle of planting, growth, and consumption as a foodstuff was the story of humans, a hopeful narrative of the human cycle, ideally suited to agriculturalists.

But herein also lay a sinister consequence—Who would eat the men of corn? The earth and, indirectly, the gods consumed bodies laid to rest. To pay their body debt, humans had to feed the gods with other foods; they had to nourish them with incense smoke, praise, blood, and, for the Classic Maya, high-ranking captives. The debt had to be paid eventually and in

full, but it could be deferred through exchanges or sacrificial payments. Karl Taube has identified the sacrificial payment by the Maya word *k'ex*, the first of which is that which allowed the infant to survive and grow to adulthood.³⁵ Birth and moments of illness were dangerous and threatening of established order. It took the clever and ritually adept priest, shaman, or midwife to intervene and postpone the devastating payment required of all human beings.

Postponement could be accomplished through Maya medicine, as practiced in the royal sweat baths that we are now excavating at the Classic city of Piedras Negras, Guatemala. The sweat baths were considered to rectify dangerous imbalances in the human body. Taube makes a good case that other practices of deferral involved some trickery, for the gods could be inattentive and, strange to say, somewhat unintelligent. This *k'ex* represents what anthropologists call reciprocity, namely, parts given in joint exchange. In a way, it placed humans and gods within a web of mutual, explicitly developed expectations. The gods had mighty powers, but so too, in quiet, sly ways, did humans.

I believe the tribute economy of the Classic Maya, in which cotton robes and great bags of chocolate beans flowed to kings from their subjects, followed the same notions of covenantal sacrifice. There are some images that show captives being given to lords, perhaps for eventual dedication to the gods' "table" (plate 10). Morality was respect for one's obligations according to the covenants that interlaced the Classic community of humans and gods. This, fundamentally, is what separated men and beasts. The Classic Maya lived within a moral ecology that rested on order and the dutiful, if negotiated, recycling of the human body.

Before leaving this topic, let me explode the myth of the unremittingly violent Maya. For many years, the Classic Maya were regarded as peaceful and time-worshipping, a view replaced more recently by their characterization as incessantly brutal, much diverted by bloodletting and hideous tortures of war captives.³⁶ There is truth to these accounts, and the general public seems to love this image of benighted savages. Yet, this violent image has also become a caricature that fails in two ways to do justice to the ancient Maya. First, it provides no context for such sacrifices as acts of *k'ex* exchange. Second, it is not at all clear the Classic Maya needed to do much actual bloodletting. If substitutes (*k'er*) are possible and if the representation of something is potentially like the original it depicts, then real blood would be superfluous. Red paint and incense (the "blood of trees") could do in a pinch, as they do in some rituals of modern, ethnographic Maya.³⁷

The End of the Classic Maya Civilization

It is interesting to speculate whether the Maya had crises of belief. It would be odd, even inhuman, if they did not. I see the end of Classic

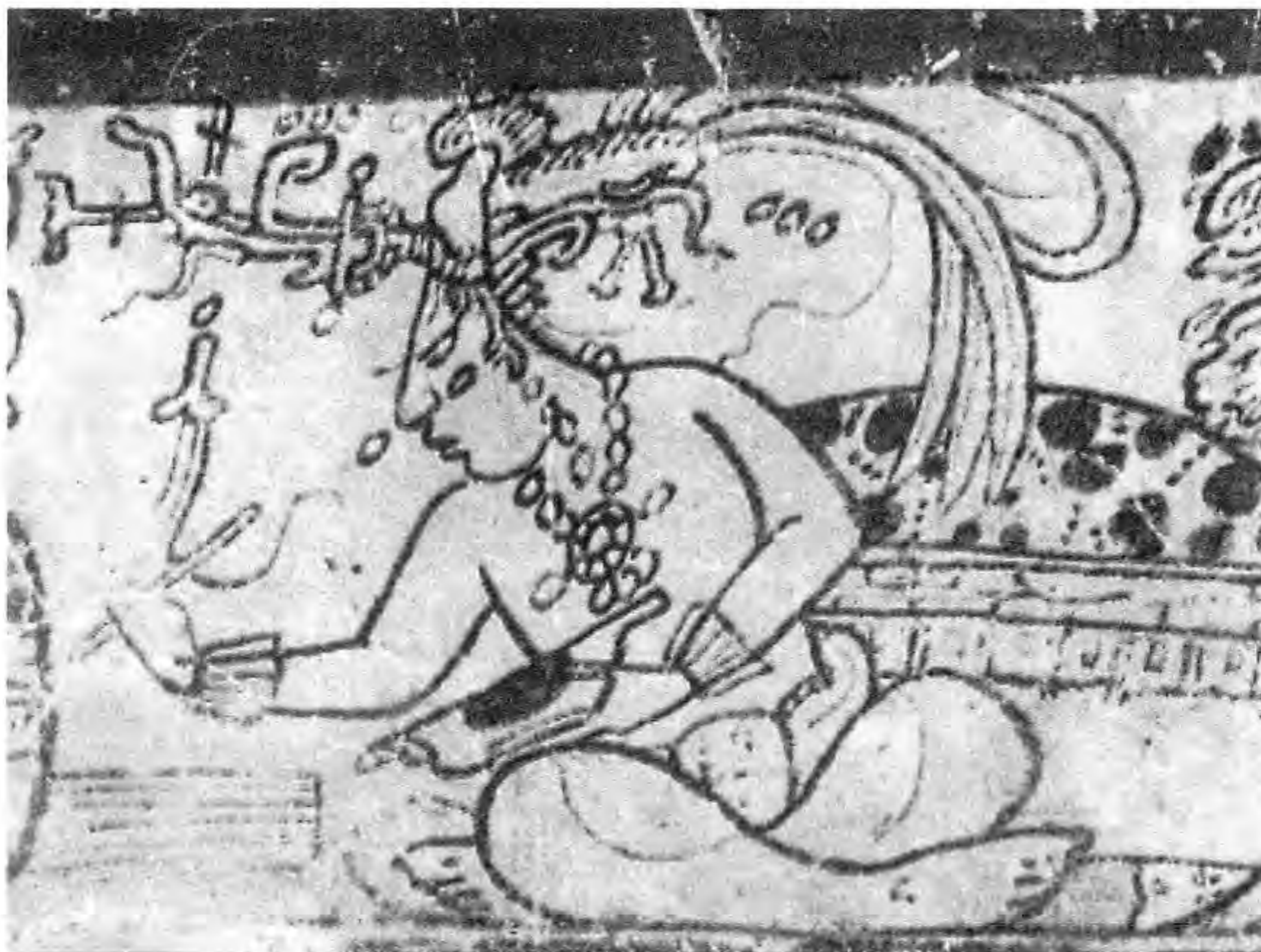


Fig. 8. The maize god; photograph © Justin Kerr, file no. K1185 (Dorie Reents-Budet, *Painting the Maya Universe: Royal Ceramics of the Classic Period* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994], catalog 4).

civilization rather differently from some colleagues. To many, it is a time of drought, political instability, explosive and destructive population growth, and environmental destruction.³⁸ Those things probably happened. Most readers will have heard of the famed Maya “collapse,” when cities crumbled and populations disappeared, never to return. But, if the sacred and the profane were so tightly intertwined among the Maya, if covenantal exchange solidified and bound their society, surely one cannot ignore this singular event as a crisis of faith. Why feed and sustain local gods who do not keep their promises? Why support kings who listen to useless deities?

The mechanistic practices I have described, of feeding gods in exchange for assistance and for life itself, hinge on notions of *quid pro quo*. The failure of some gods to keep promises could lead to relations with new, more helpful gods, but what if all covenants faltered? The modern materialist scholars, focusing only on food and politics, have prevented us from comprehending the absolute moral disaster of the Maya collapse. There are clues that the Maya ritualists tried to remedy whatever plagues were affecting their cities. Some of the latest sculptures display scenes with deities floating in clouds

above rulers. I believe these monuments show rainmaking. The accompanying inscriptions refer explicitly to watering (*y-ati-ih*) by gods. It is tempting, if speculative, to link such rituals with the droughts or water needs that may have contributed to the collapse of the civilization.³⁹

Conclusion

This short paper has not discussed many aspects of the Classic Maya civilization, including the immensely complex Maya notion of multiple souls, some of which roamed at night, or Maya beliefs about death and its aftermath.⁴⁰ Deliberately omitted was any review of shamanism, an ecstatic, individualized communion with the supernatural. This topic is mired in controversy, not least because it is unclear whether any high-ranking priest or divine king could truly be called a shaman, as anthropologists understand this feature of nonstate or prestate religious practice.⁴¹

What is clear is that in the study of the Classic Maya there remains so much to do and so few people to undertake these exciting encounters with the past. Intellectually, the study of a people's faith forces us to engage a foreign theology in ways that modify and transform our own words and thoughts. In essence, the search for what humans do and do not share is both the challenge and the reward of anthropology. It enlarges us; it makes our souls, our beings, bigger than they were. And it allows us to understand, in respectful ways, the religious quest of humanity, regardless of place, time, or setting.

Stephen D. Houston is University Professor of Anthropology at Brigham Young University. An earlier version of this paper was given as a forum assembly address at BYU on January 26, 1999. John Welch provided encouragement and helpful editorial advice. In its initial stages, the paper was also improved by comments from John Clark, John Hawkins, John Monaghan, and John Robertson. Nancy Dayton Houston and Karl Taube contributed useful advice, making this a better essay.

1. Recent work on evolutionary psychology emphasizes the origins of "religion" as part of a profound shift in human cognitive processing from about sixty thousand to thirty thousand years before the present. See Steven Mithen, *The Prehistory of the Mind: The Cognitive Origins of Art, Religion, and Science* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 162, 164–67, 175–76. At root here is a new, suddenly acquired capacity for establishing and manipulating symbols and for developing an ability to perceive metaphorical links between different domains of thought. This "cognitive fluidity" is, for Mithen, the feature that fundamentally separates modern humans from Neanderthals and other archaic members of the genus *Homo*. As a species, we are neurologically disposed to religious experience. Mithen sees "religion" itself as three things: a belief in nonphysical beings that can survive death or transcend the human body; an affirmation of ritual as a means to effect change; and an assertion of reciprocal communication between humans and supernatural agencies. For similar views, see Pascal Boyer, *The Naturalness*

of *Religious Ideas: A Cognitive Theory of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); and Pascal Boyer, "Cognitive Constraints on Cultural Representations: Natural Ontologies and Religious Ideas," in *Mapping the Mind: Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture*, ed. L. A. Hirschfeld and S. A. Gelman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 391–411.

2. My remarks result from a forum, not a devotional. I am not a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, although I have been blessed to teach at Brigham Young University and to benefit from its many freedoms. For this reason, I have refrained from addressing current theories relating the Book of Mormon to ancient America. That enterprise I leave to readers individually, as a matter of faith and personal inquiry. For LDS views, see especially the works of John L. Sorenson, such as "The Book of Mormon as a Mesoamerican Record," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited: The Evidence for Ancient Origins*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1997), 391–521. Fuller arguments appear in John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1985).

3. Kay Warren tabulates a population of at least 3,000,000 speakers in Guatemala alone. Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 8; see also Nora England, "The Role of Language Standardization in Revitalization," in *Mayan Cultural Activism in Guatemala*, ed. Edward Fischer and R. McKenna Brown (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 178–94. Other estimates, courtesy of John Monaghan, include 750,000 Yucatec Maya in Campeche, Quintana Roo, and Yucatán; 120,000 speakers of Huastec, a Mayan outlier in Mexico; 840,000 Maya in the Mexican state of Chiapas; and under 50,000 in Belize (Honduras and El Salvador seem no longer to have any evidence of Maya speech). Such numbers are likely to be unreliable, since tallies of native speakers inherently serve political purposes. Cultural activists, who are increasingly vocal in Guatemala and in foreign academic circles, naturally wish for high numbers: these figures lend support to claims for national attention. Their antagonists, the cultural assimilationists, either ignore high tallies or argue for lower estimates.

4. Itsaj is one such language, now "spoken by less than a hundred older adults in Petén, Guatemala." Charles Andrew Hofling, *Itzá Maya Texts, with a Grammatical Overview* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 1. Activists put this number as high as three thousand, a highly improbable figure. Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics*, 16.

5. Robertson's earlier research on Common Mayan offers a rigorous and indispensable foundation for such comparative studies. See John S. Robertson, *The History of Tense/Aspect/Mood/Voice in the Mayan Verbal Complex* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

6. For a withering critique of views on ahistorical or "fossilized" non-Westerners, see Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

7. Testimonies of this period may be found in Robert Carmack, ed., *Harvest of Violence: The Maya Indians and the Guatemalan Crisis* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). There seems little doubt that the Guatemalan army and its supporters generated much of this violence, although the guerrillas, too, engaged in massacres and brutality. Recent research by David Stoll on the life of Nobel laureate Rigoberta Menchú has questioned the myths of the left as well as the right in their struggle for the Guatemalan soul. See David Stoll, *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1999).

8. A large selection of this research may be consulted in W. K. Howell, D. Ranae, and E. Copeland, *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation* (Provo, Utah: New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University, 1959–95).

9. Michael D. Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

10. Stephen Houston, John Robertson, and David Stuart, "The Language of the Classic Maya," *Current Anthropology*, forthcoming.

11. An excellent review of these ideas may be found in Robert W. Preucel, "The Philosophy of Archaeology," in *Processual and Postprocessual Archaeologies: Multiple Ways of Knowing the Past*, ed. Robert W. Preucel (Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 1991), 17–29. Gadamer's contributions are discussed in William Outhwaite, "Hans-Georg Gadamer," in *The Return of Grand Theory in the Human Sciences*, ed. Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 21–39.

12. John Monaghan, "Theology and History in the Study of Mesoamerican Religions," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians: Supplement 6, Ethnography*, ed. John Monaghan (Austin: University of Texas Press), 62–63.

13. In the last twenty years, some archaeologists have advocated a new kind of interpretive archaeology termed "cognitive processual archaeology." A. Colin Renfrew, "Towards a Cognitive Archaeology," in *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, ed. A. Colin Renfrew and Ezra Zubrow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3–12. Aside from the jargon and disciplinary posturing, it is hard to understand how this approach differs greatly from traditional concerns with concepts and theologies in Mesoamerican studies. Influential scholars who have published on "cognitive archaeology" often acknowledge the power of thought and belief. Yet, they also remark on the "laziness" and "charlatanism" of those who study such matters without also undertaking "tedious and time-consuming [and] strenuous" surveys and excavations. Kent Flannery and Joyce Marcus, "Cognitive Archaeology," in *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory*, ed. Robert Preucel and Ian Hodder (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 361. Presumably, if I understand the logic, hard work of the brain must, for full moral effect, be accompanied by sweat of the body.

14. Joyce Marcus and Kent V. Flannery, *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 14–22.

15. Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 10–12, 437; Elizabeth Brumfiel, "Huitzilopochtli's Conquest: Aztec Ideology in the Archaeological Record," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 8 (April 1998): 3–13.

16. Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review, 1971), 127–86.

17. This essay by E. E. Evans-Pritchard still has the power to delight and instruct; see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Essays in Social Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1962), 35.

18. Monaghan, "Study of Mesoamerican Religions," 50.

19. Andrea J. Stone, *Images from the Underworld: Naj Tunich and the Tradition of Maya Cave Painting* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 7, 12.

20. Monaghan, "Study of Mesoamerican Religions," 62–63.

21. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "Christianity and the Aztecs," *San Jose Studies* 5 (1979): 6–21; Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 36–37. Monism plays a strong role in the thought of, among others, Benedict Spinoza. It is quite wrong to think of Spinoza as commenting on pre-Columbian thought, since he knew nothing about it. Nevertheless, his philosophizing provides an orientation. For Spinoza, there

was only one comprehensive substance, which he called “nature” or “God”—mind and spirit indissoluble from body, possessed of an infinite number of attributes. The greatest knowledge of “God,” in Spinoza’s special sense of the Creator, would come from union with his essence (*scientia intuitiva*), a union, in fact, eternally present but only intermittently understood by meager human perception. Jonathan Bennett, “Spinoza’s Metaphysics,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Spinoza*, ed. Don Garrett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 61–88. (One suspects that Spinoza’s globalizing and universalizing notions reflect his early years as an observant Jew imbued with monotheism.) See also David Loy, *Nonduality: A Study in Comparative Philosophy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 136. John Monaghan points out to me that a term more appropriate than *monism*, with its totalizing properties, might be *monistic*, since Mesoamericans frequently subdivided unities into dualistic or multiplicitous parts. John Monaghan, conversation with author, December 1998.

22. The term *animism* might be applied to such notions, but for the problem of its use in anthropology. *Animism* springs from the work of Edward Tylor (1832–1917), who saw it simply as a belief in souls and spirits. See Brian Morris, *Anthropological Studies of Religion: An Introductory Text* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 100. For Tylor, monotheism was also a form of animism, as, indeed, were all religions. Freud regarded animism less as a common denominator of religious concepts, than as a precursor to religion and science, in that order. Sigmund Freud, *Totem and Taboo: Resemblances between the Psychic Lives of Savages and Neurotics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1938), 144. Such evolutionary baggage makes it best to avoid the term altogether.

23. David Stuart, “The Hills Are Alive: Sacred Mountains in the Maya Cosmos,” *Symbols* (spring 1997): 13–17; David Stuart, “‘The Fire Enters His House’: Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts,” in *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, ed. Stephen D. Houston (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 373–425.

24. Stephen Houston and David Stuart, “The Ancient Maya Self: Personhood and Portraiture in the Classic Period,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33 (1988): 73–101.

25. Stephen Houston and Karl Taube, “An Archaeology of the Senses: Perceptual Psychology in Classic Maya Art, Writing, and Architecture,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, forthcoming.

26. Louise B. Zaidman and Pauline S. Pantel, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, trans. Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 177–78, 212–13.

27. Gilbert Lewis, *Day of Shining Red: An Essay on Understanding Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 30–31.

28. Stephen Houston and David Stuart, “Of Gods, Glyphs, and Kings: Divinity and Rulership among the Classic Maya,” *Antiquity* 70 (June 1996): 289–312; David Stuart, “Kings of Stone: A Consideration of Stelae in Ancient Maya Ritual and Representation,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 29/30 (1996): 148–71; David Stuart, “Accession Rites,” in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Mesoamerican Cultures*, ed. David Carrasco (Oxford: Oxford University Press, in press).

29. Takeshi Inomata and Daniela Triadan, “Estudio de los grupos domésticos en el sitio Clásico de Aguateca, Petén” (paper presented at the XII Simposio de Investigaciones Arqueológicas en Guatemala, Guatemala City, July 1998).

30. W. R. Connor, “City Dionysia and Athenian Democracy,” in *Aspects of Athenian Democracy*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 1990), 7–32.

31. Richard Wilson, *Maya Resurgence in Guatemala: Q’eqchi’ Experiences* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 51–61.

32. John Monaghan, conversation with author, 1995.

33. Monaghan, “Study of Mesoamerican Religions,” 65.

34. Hugo Nutini, *Todos Santos in Rural Tlaxcala: A Syncretic, Expressive, and Symbolic Analysis of the Cult of the Dead* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 52–53.
35. Karl A. Taube, “The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual,” in *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases*, ed. Justin Kerr, 5 vols. (New York: Kerr Associates, 1994), 4:652–85.
36. Linda Schele and Mary Miller, *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art* (Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum, 1986).
37. R. Jon McGee, *Life, Ritual, and Religion among the Lacandon Maya* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 1990).
38. T. Patrick Culbert, “The Collapse of Classic Maya Civilization,” in *The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations*, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 69–101.
39. David A. Hodell, Jason H. Curtis, and Mark Brenner, “Possible Role of Climate in the Collapse of Classic Maya Civilization,” *Nature* 375 (June 1995): 391–94.
40. For decipherments of a term for an aspect of the “soul,” see Stephen Houston and David Stuart, “The Way Glyph: Evidence for ‘Co-essences’ among the Classic Maya,” *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing* 30 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research, 1989); also Nikolai Grube and Werner Nahm, “A Census of Xibalba: A Complete Inventory of Way Characters on Maya Ceramics,” in *The Maya Vase Book: A Corpus of Rollout Photographs of Maya Vases*, ed. Justin Kerr, 5 vols. (New York: Kerr Associates, 1994), 4:686–715.
41. For a Mayanist perspective, see David Freidel, Linda Schele, and Joy Parker, *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman’s Path* (New York: William Morrow, 1993). More subtle, historical views may be found in Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey, eds., *Shamanism, History, and the State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).



PLATE 1. Maya deity painting a codex (a manuscript book), depicted on a Classic-era plate. Photograph © Justin Kerr, file no. K5824 (Michael D. Coe and Justin Kerr, *The Art of the Maya Scribe* [New York: Harry Abrams, 1997], 88).



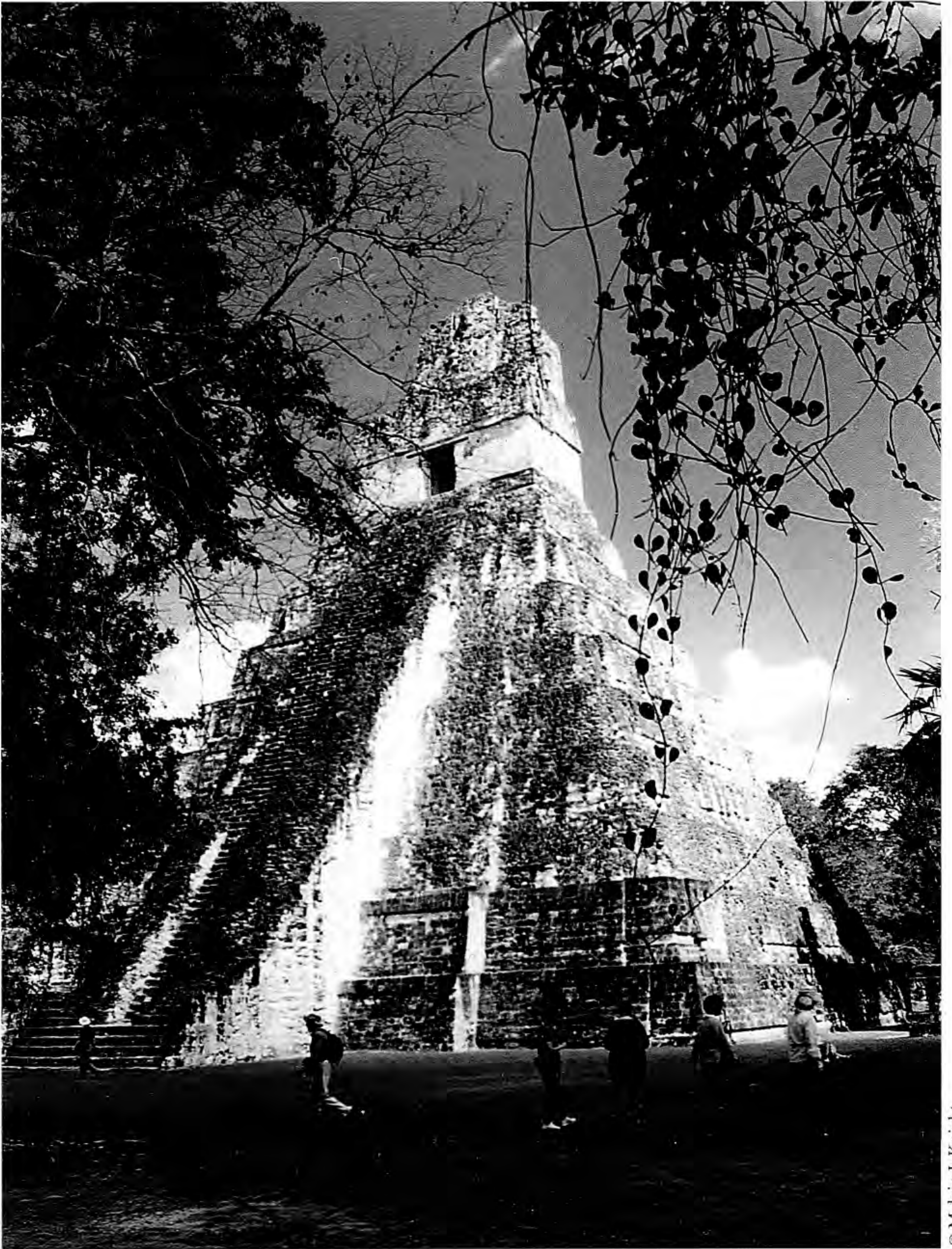
Illustration by Rob Wood of Wood Ronsaville Harlin, Inc.

PLATE 2. Reconstruction of the city center of Tikal as it would look around A.D. 700. Note the center's immense size.

PLATE 3. The Pyramid of the Magician at Uxmal. Trees now cover most of the original urban area, which was home to thousands of Maya.



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PLATE 4. Temple 1 at Tikal. In high temples such as this, the Classic Maya worshiped their gods and burned incense to their ancestors.



© Merle Green Robertson

PLATE 5. In this image on his tomb cover, Pakal the Great represents a new-born maize god sprouting from the underworld.



PLATE 6. Cueva de Tigre, Guatemala. Photograph by Stephen Houston.

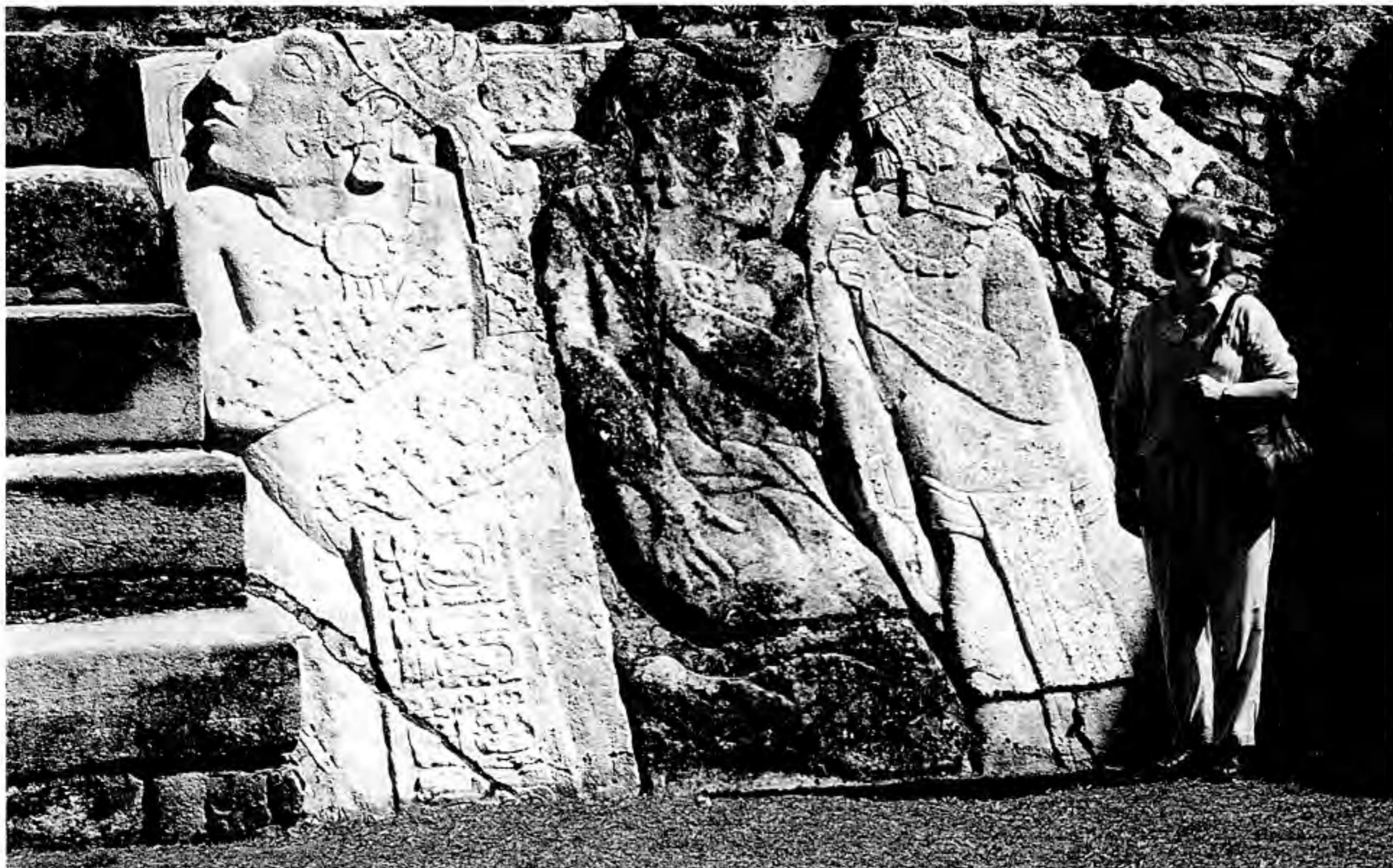
PLATE 7. Wooden sculpture of a dwarf, probably used as a support for a circular mirror. For the Maya, this portrait is more than just an image—it forms part of the man's reality and shares his identity.





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PLATE 8. Portrait of a Maya queen.



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PLATE 9. Bas relief sculptures in a courtyard at Palenque. In the Maya worldview, the soul-essence of each of these individuals has migrated to these portraits. The Maya did not distinguish as we do between the animate and the inanimate—between people and their representations.



Photograph by Daniel Bates, courtesy David A. Palmer and S.E.H.A.

PLATE 10. Maya nobles and their captives from a neighboring city, as painted in a mural at Bonampak, Chiapas, around A.D. 800. The captives likely became slaves or were used in a sacrificial *k'ex* exchange, where their bodies substituted for those of their victors as payment to the gods. Copy of A. Tejada version of Bonampak mural in INAH Regional Museum, Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas, Mexico.

Rediscovering Ancient Christianity

C. Wilfred Griggs

This Distinguished Faculty Lecture at BYU argues that diverse strands in early Christianity were excised by emerging orthodox leaders and that only a new paradigm based in revelation can recapture the original gospel of Jesus Christ.

The title of this article might seem paradoxical or inexplicable to people other than Latter-day Saints. Many Christians do not recognize a difference between the ancient and modern forms of their religion. They would not expect to find much in the identity of their faith that differs from ancient to modern times. We who accept the prophetic mission of Joseph Smith, however, believe that some aspects of ancient Christianity were lost and had to be restored in a later time. When materials purporting to be Christian in authorship or content are recovered from the past, one is faced with the difficulty of determining whether they formed an authentic part of early Christianity or were deviations from it. The resulting judgments concerning the value of such discoveries may be quite different to traditional Christians and members of the restored Church.

Before evaluating the impact that recent discoveries have had on modern Christianity, one must understand how the traditional model of Christianity came about. For many who have thought that the early Church Fathers were the protectors of the faith against outside influences and external persecutions, it may come as a surprise to learn that the earliest manifestations of Christianity were in fact much broader in doctrine and richer in ordinance activity than was the case in later centuries, when the Fathers had trimmed away all that was unacceptable to them. Only within the last century and a half has much of the material from the early period of Christian history become available, permitting us to see what existed before the Fathers made their censorious decisions.¹

The post-apostolic period of Christianity was comprised of many attempts to define the parameters of the faith, primarily focusing on the questions of who had the authority to speak on behalf of the church and what writings were to be accepted as normative for the religion. Nevertheless, one notes that the boundaries prescribing the limits of orthodoxy and heresy were not so well established by the end of the second century as Irenaeus, bishop of Lyon, writing around 185, would have his readers believe.²

Irenaeus makes sharp distinctions between orthodoxy and heresy in his writings, but many who were later designated heretics actually enjoyed fellowship and prestige in so-called orthodox circles during their lifetime. Two brief examples of the many which could be given will illustrate how rich in doctrine and practice the Christian religion was in the second and third centuries. Many characteristics of Christianity were then widely accepted by church *members* but were later rejected by the church *leaders* in the continuing process of defining theological orthodoxy and ecclesiastical authority.

The Valentinian Crisis in the Second Century

Valentinus was born in Egypt early in the second century and was educated in Alexandria. He preached the Christian faith throughout the length of the Nile valley by the middle of the century.³ He then journeyed to Rome and enjoyed considerable popularity among church members there⁴ and was very nearly appointed bishop in Rome due to his “intellectual force and eloquence.” Tertullian states that because another was appointed in his place, Valentinus “broke with the church of the true faith.”⁵ Epiphanius agreed that Valentinus separated himself from the church, but only toward the end of his life, at Cyprus, where he went from Rome to live.⁶

By all accounts, it is obvious that Valentinus was not considered heretical during his life in Egypt or his early years in Rome. Even the later Church Fathers who attack him express grudging admiration for his intellect, his doctrinal understanding, and his forceful personality.⁷ Lack of information makes it impossible to state precisely what made Valentinus become so unpopular among church authorities and authors after he arrived in the West, although Hippolytus may provide the key when he states that Valentinus claimed to have received his doctrine through revelatory experience.⁸ A certain Marcus, a disciple of Valentinus, is also described by Hippolytus as one “imitating his teacher” by his claims to have had visions.⁹ Records of visions or revelations of the kind often associated with Valentinus and his followers have been recovered in recent decades, and they purport to give secret and sacred insights on such subjects as the origin and nature of the universe, premortal existence, the creation of the earth, and the eternal destinies of mankind.

This literature is part of a large body of writings designated as *apocalyptic*, which means *revelatory*. The unpopularity in the Western church of a growing body of esoteric apocalypses in non-Catholic Christianity during the first two centuries may well account for the spawning of heresiologists in the latter half of the second century and later. The primary targets of these heresy-hunters were the so-called Gnostics, who claimed to receive their doctrine through revelation from heaven rather than by reasoning through the scriptures. The word *gnostic* means *one who knows*, usually

used to refer to spiritual knowing, but “Gnostic,” “Valentinian,” and so forth are terms that the heresiologists applied in an uncomplimentary way to those against whom they wrote. One notes in passing that Tertullian says that, though he calls the followers of Valentinus “Valentinians,” those so designated disavow that name.¹⁰ They simply considered themselves to be Christians. Similarly, we know of no ancient group that called *itself* Gnostic.

Far from being a local sect with limited appeal, Valentinian adherents appear to have permeated Christianity. The Marcosians, who followed in the traditions of Valentinianism and were named after Marcus, were thriving near the Rhone during the time of Irenaeus,¹¹ and other aspects of Valentinian Christianity appear to have survived for centuries in Gaul. One modern commentator notes that disciples of Valentinus began schools in the West even more so than in the eastern parts of the Roman world, all of which indicates the wide acceptance this type of Christianity enjoyed among the lay members, if not always with the leaders.¹²

In addition to the revelatory claims of Valentinus and his followers, certain doctrines associated with them were declared anathema in the developing orthodoxy of the early Church Fathers. Professor W. H. C. Frend describes some of the beliefs of Gnostics of this time in general but quotes specifically from texts thought to be Valentinian:

Upon initiation the Gnostic received an entirely new relation to spiritual authority. Each sect had its own baptismal ceremony, its passwords, its sacred meal, its “ceremonies of the Bride Chamber,” even its final instructions to the dying. . . . “The Lord has [done] everything in a mystery,” they said, “a baptism and an anointing and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber” (*Gospel of Philip* 68). The sacraments dispensed by orthodox clergy were limited in value . . . ; “anointing is superior to baptism,” they claimed. Theirs were rites fit for the spiritual elite. These rites, moreover, must be kept guarded from the uninitiated. . . . As the *Apocalypse of the Great Seth* asserted, “These revelations are not to be disclosed to anyone in the flesh and are only to be communicated to the brethren who belong to the generation of life.”¹³

Irenaeus and Epiphanius both comment on the marriage beliefs of the Valentinians, claiming that some of them prepare a bridal chamber, celebrate a mystery with invocations on those being initiated, and declare that what they are performing is a spiritual marriage based on the pattern of the marriages in heaven.¹⁴ Clement also states that for Valentinians the sacred marriages among the Gods are a pattern for earthly marriages.¹⁵ Tertullian says that Valentinus not only espoused monogamous marriage but also considered that those who were unmarried would not achieve as great a salvation as those who were.¹⁶

The feature of Valentinian Christianity that most invoked the wrath of the Fathers of the emerging Catholic Church was the claim that their

doctrines were embodied within a tradition of secret rituals given only to those deemed worthy of them. Tertullian observes that although the Valentinians were “a very numerous society among the heretics,” not every adherent received all the revelations or rituals: “Not even to their own disciples do they commit a secret before they have made sure of them.”¹⁷ A study of any system based on secret and esoteric teachings is subject to the caveat that what was divulged to the early Church Fathers by apostates or excommunicants from Valentinianism was liable to be distorted. One has to be cautious in placing confidence in the observations of the critics and enemies of the so-called Valentinian heresy.

The death of the Apostles by the end of the first century resulted in the passing of the Church, so the Valentinians should not be understood as the continuation of the ancient Church.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it is worth examining all those who claimed to perpetuate the teachings and practices of the Apostles. The expanding body of evidence concerning early Christianity makes it increasingly unnecessary to depend solely upon the opinions of those who later defined orthodoxy concerning the nature of the apostolic and early post-apostolic church.

Origen: Teacher, Scholar, and (300 Years Later) Heretic

The second example to illustrate the breadth and scope of Christian beliefs as late as the third century is provided by one often considered to be the foremost Christian scholar and theologian in the early church. Origen was born about 185 at Alexandria, Egypt, and from his youth exhibited a zeal that often outstripped his judgment.¹⁹ During the persecution of the Christians by the Emperor Septimius Severus in 202—if Eusebius can be trusted in the matter—Origen avoided fulfilling his desire to follow his father, Leonides, into martyrdom only because his mother kept him inside by hiding his clothes.²⁰ Despite his youth, Origen’s precociousness, probably coupled with the lack of other qualified teachers following Clement’s departure during the persecution, caused him to succeed as head of the Christian catechetical school at age seventeen.²¹ Not long afterward, the usually allegorical Origen took Matthew 19:12 literally in the statement that some men had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom, and he emasculated himself. Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, was shocked by the act but approved of the young man’s zeal and urged him to continue in the task of instructing students in the faith.²²

Origen was both a popular teacher and a prolific author, with Eusebius estimating the number of his literary productions at six thousand.²³ He was invited to lecture in many locations, including Greece, Arabia, and Palestine, and his popularity abroad caused the envious Demetrius to repudiate him for teaching without being ordained to the priesthood.

Demetrius at that time was trying to consolidate his power by gaining control over the Christian school as well as over the other bishops in Egypt, and when the Palestinian bishops ordained Origen to the presbyterate during a visit of Origen to Caesarea, Demetrius complained that the ordination was inappropriate.²⁴ Because the Alexandrian bishop up to that time served without being consecrated,²⁵ an ordained and nearly consecrated Origen (the Palestinian bishops were on the verge of ordaining him a bishop²⁶), who was more popular in Egypt than Demetrius and who enjoyed a growing international reputation besides, could have been a significant threat to Demetrius, his episcopally unconsecrated presbyter-bishop in Alexandria.²⁷ Christians, heretics, and non-Christians attended Origen's lectures, and the non-Christians mentioned him in their writings, dedicated books to him, and even submitted literary works to him to seek his evaluation and approval.²⁸

Evaluating Origen's teachings or beliefs is more difficult than one might expect, despite the great number of his published works, since many of his writings have perished during the controversies surrounding his name in the following centuries. He gave a rather negative assessment regarding the earthly church organization in his day, believing that it had become corrupted through prosperity, and he stated that only a few of those who professed godliness would attain to the election of God and blessedness.²⁹ Origen maintained that there are two congregations present for worship, one of men and another of the angels.³⁰ The church is compared to parts of the temple, the earthly church corresponding to the Holy Place, and the heavenly church to the Holy of Holies.³¹ The priesthood was spiritualized, for in the heavenly church every true Christian is a priest.³² Origen accused men of conspiring to be bishops, deacons, and priests simply out of ambitious desire to hold offices.³³ Origen further argued that anyone can celebrate solemn liturgical functions before the people, but not many lead holy lives and know much about Christian doctrine.³⁴ Thus, he argued, only a pattern or form of the true church had been left to the priests.³⁵ The true church of God had been taken to heaven. Origen also claimed that only traces of prophets and miracles remained in the Christian church,³⁶ and he asserted that the spiritual gospel was then to be found in the heavenly church, not the earthly one.³⁷ It is small wonder that he had so much difficulty in getting along with such an increasingly autocratic bishop as Demetrius.

While commentators do not agree on whether Origen was more at home with Platonism, Gnosticism, or Christian orthodoxy, some believe that recently found texts make him appear to be more in harmony with the Valentinian version of Christianity than was previously thought.³⁸ Origen wrote of mysteries that he did not even entrust to paper, including the

secrets of the eternal gospel, doctrines of angels and demons, and the history of the soul after death.³⁹ These subjects happen to be foci of recently found texts that claim to contain or refer to secret doctrines or mysteries and that have often been considered Valentinian in content.

Origen left Alexandria permanently in 231–32 and traveled to Caesarea, making his home there by 240. He continued to work on his scriptural commentaries, especially on the Gospel of John, a favorite text of early writers when commenting on the mysteries of the gospel.⁴⁰ He was imprisoned and tortured during the Decian persecution but survived for some years, dying in about 255 in broken health.⁴¹ Many of his doctrines, such as the pre-earthly existence of souls and the expectation of a future restoration of truth, were fought over in the so-called Origenist controversies during the next three centuries, and it is a tribute to the popularity of the Christian doctrines which he knew and taught that he was not anathematized, or excommunicated, until 543, nearly three hundred years after he died.⁴²

Eusebius of Caesarea and the Shaping of Church History

As the early Church Fathers endeavored to define the faith theologically in the centuries following such controversial figures as Valentinus and Origen, internal disputes and power struggles resulted in the loss of many writings, doctrines, and traditions of rituals or ordinances. Fragments of some of these older traditions are still preserved in patristic literature, however, and they are as tantalizing as they are frustrating, for they remind the reader what a wealth of materials once existed. Only a brief sampling of these numerous traditions found in a well-known fourth-century author will be given to illustrate this point.

The oldest extant history of early Christianity was written by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea from 314 to his death in ca. 340. A survivor of severe persecutions against Christianity by Roman authorities, a defender of Origen and his doctrines, and a biographer of the Emperor Constantine, Eusebius was a painstaking researcher who, for all of his perceived weaknesses and errors, presented a remarkable picture of the growth of the faith in many localities. He occasionally quotes earlier writings that reflect such matters as apostasy in the post-apostolic church, a tradition of secret and sacred mysteries transmitted only sparingly in the Church, and he also writes on the current status of apostolic writings in a famous passage relating to the closing of the canon. Quoting Hegesippus, a second century historian, Eusebius gives a concise description of Christianity at the end of the first century:

In describing the situation at that time Hegesippus goes on to say that until then the Church had remained a virgin, pure and uncorrupted, since those who were trying to corrupt the wholesome standard of the saving message, if such there were, lurked somewhere under cover of darkness. But when the

sacred band of the apostles had in various ways reached the end of their life, and the generation of those privileged to listen with their own ears to the divine wisdom had passed on, then godless error began to take shape, through the deceit of false teachers, who now that none of the apostles was left threw off the mask and attempted to counter the preaching of the truth by preaching the knowledge falsely so called.⁴³

Elsewhere he quotes Clement of Alexandria concerning the mysteries:

James the Righteous, John, and Peter were entrusted by the Lord after his resurrection with the higher knowledge. They imparted it to the other apostles, and the other apostles to the Seventy, one of whom was Barnabas.⁴⁴

Although the final selection of writings to be included in the New Testament would not appear until 367, Eusebius describes many of the writings in his day as being in one of three categories: recognized books, disputed books, and spurious books.⁴⁵ While the list reflects Eusebius's adherence to the developing ecclesiastical and theological orthodoxy of Catholicism, one notes with interest that the Revelation of John is included in both the recognized and spurious categories. Apocalyptic had indeed fallen on hard times.

Even in later patristic sources, surprising traces of ancient Christianity are often found. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century, preserves some beliefs of Clement of Alexandria in the second century that were utterly rejected in the orthodoxy of Christianity established during the fourth and fifth centuries. Summarizing the now-lost *Hypotyposes* (*Outlines*) of Clement, Photius has this to say:

The *Hypotyposes* give clear discussions concerning some of the passages of the Old and New Testaments, in which he really makes an explanation and interpretation in a summary fashion. In some of his discussions he appears to speak correctly, but in others he is carried away entirely into impieties and legendary stories. For he thinks that matter is eternal, and that forms (or ideas) are brought forth from some scriptural words, and he reduces the son to a created being. He further relates strange accounts regarding the transmigration of souls and concerning many worlds existing before Adam. And as to Eve coming from Adam, not as the ecclesiastical doctrine wishes it to be taught, he gives a disgraceful and unholy account.⁴⁶

It would be more fun to read Clement and see what he really says in these passages than to get such a vitriolic summary by an unsympathetic critic of some potentially interesting ideas.

The Rediscovery of the Past

And so Christianity was defined in the centuries following the passing of the Apostles, with the early Church Fathers arbitrating what theology would be accepted as orthodox and choosing texts to match. Proscriptions

were imposed against doctrines and texts that had been rejected in many of the numerous councils held from the fourth century onwards, with the result that many writings and artifacts relating to early Christianity were destroyed or buried, seemingly lost forever. One particularly notes the loss of apocalypticism, doctrines such as those relating to the eternity of the soul and innumerable worlds comprised of eternal matter, and a tradition of sacred mysteries or ordinances, especially those relating to heavenly marriage and a successful passage through the afterlife. The rather limited or defective paradigm of Christianity, to use language made popular by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, had thus been determined by the Fathers, and until the nineteenth century there was little nontraditional literary evidence known with which an alternate model could be established.

The number of ancient Christian documents discovered during the past two centuries would require more than this article merely to list, let alone discuss and consider in any detail. The range of subjects in these writings is so diverse that it is impossible to speak of them as coming from a single source or having the same value. The very briefest selection of examples will have to stand for a large and expanding body of literature. Among those writings that deserve little serious consideration as authentic apostolic writings are the so-called infancy gospels. Attempts to describe the youth of Jesus often succeed in portraying him more as a divine delinquent than as one who “increased in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and man” (Luke 2:52). In the infancy story attributed to Thomas, for example, the child Jesus cursed another boy with sudden death because the boy accidentally ran into him.⁴⁷ On another occasion Jesus helped his carpenter father, Joseph, by miraculously stretching a board which was originally too short for its intended use.⁴⁸

Other texts may not be so easily dismissed, however. In 1875, a work entitled the *Didache*, or the teachings of the Twelve Apostles, was discovered in Constantinople and is a late first- or early second-century manual of church instruction. Beginning with the distinction between the Two Ways, the way of life and the way of death, the *Didache* presents a concise summary of how a Christian should live, followed by a summary of thoughts and deeds to be avoided. Readers are warned to avoid those who “merchandize Christ” rather than worship and serve him.⁴⁹ The order of worship on the Lord’s Day (Sunday) and a short concluding apocalyptic section concerning the last days are also part of this apostolic proclamation to the Gentiles.⁵⁰

Fragments of a previously unknown Gospel were found in 1933 and published in 1935 by two British scholars.⁵¹ Enough of the text remains to show that it has elements in common with each of the four New Testament Gospels but is obviously not dependent on any of them.

(1)? [And Jesus said] unto the lawyers, [?Punish] every wrongdoer and transgressor, and not me; . . . (2) And turning to the rulers of the people he spake this saying, Ye search the scriptures, in which ye think that ye have life; these are they which bear witness of me. (3) Think not that I came to accuse you to my Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. (4) And when they said, We know well that God spake unto Moses, but as for thee, we know not whence thou art, Jesus answered and said unto them, Now is your unbelief accused . . .

. . . (5)? [they gave counsel to] the multitude to [? carry the] stones together and stone him. (6) And the rulers sought to lay their hands on him that they might take him and [? hand him over] to the multitude; and they could not take him, because the hour of his betrayal was not yet come. (7) But he himself, even the Lord, going out through the midst of them, departed from them. (8) And behold, there cometh unto him a leper and saith, Master Jesus, journeying with lepers and eating with them in the inn I myself also became a leper. If therefore thou wilt, I am made clean. (9) The Lord then said unto him, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him. (10) [And the Lord said unto him], Go [and shew thyself] unto the [priests].⁵²

Other sayings of Jesus⁵³ written on papyrus were also found near Oxyrhynchos in 1897, and those sayings are closely related to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas found near Nag Hammadi in ca. 1945. It was not known until the Gospel of Thomas was discovered that the Oxyrhynchos sayings are to be placed within the post-Resurrection ministry of Jesus. In fact, a large body of literature that claims to report the forty-day ministry after the resurrection of Christ has been found within the last two hundred years.⁵⁴ The post-Resurrection ministry, rarely commented on by ecclesiastical authorities, was obviously a popular topic in the early literature of Christianity.⁵⁵

There are also numerous accounts of apostolic missions and activities that must still be studied and evaluated to determine their historical accuracy. Embedded in one of these, the Acts of Thomas, is an early writing entitled "The Hymn of the Pearl," which has been described as one of the earliest Christian writings.⁵⁶ The hymn recounts the eternal journey of a child of heavenly parents who comes to the earth from his premortal existence, leaving behind a glorious garment and robe that he will again be given if he succeeds in saving his pearl, or his soul. The hymn also tells of a heavenly council at which all agree to the plan of salvation and of heavenly messengers who awaken the child from the sleep of sin and forgetfulness in his mortal state. After he rescues his soul from the evil serpent, the child makes his way back to the gate of his Father's kingdom, where he is greeted with an embrace and is welcomed into the realm of the Gods to be one of them through the eternities.

Any complete and accurate assessment of early Christianity must take this large and growing collection of recently discovered written materials

into consideration. Even with only the sources transmitted through the Fathers and available to modern readers, however, at least one notable attempt was made to produce an alternate model of Christian history. In 1934, Walter Bauer published a work entitled *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, and it became a controversial work in Europe for decades before it was translated into English in 1971. As the English title, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, suggests, Bauer attempts a reassessment of how Christians defined themselves in the first two centuries. He argues not only that what was designated by the early Church Fathers to be heretical had often existed as early as what they defined as orthodoxy, but also that the so-called heresies may have even constituted the earliest orthodoxy in Christianity. By restricting his consideration of sources almost entirely to canonical and patristic writings, Bauer also limits the discussion of such issues as authority and doctrine to those defined and transmitted by the Church Fathers. The two major weaknesses of Bauer's work are his oversimplification of earliest Christianity into the two well-defined and opposing camps of orthodoxy and heresy as defined much later and his omission of the nontraditional and recently discovered documents that were available to him by the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Most modern scholars have not tried to construct a new paradigm of Christianity as Bauer did, though a more recent scholar suggests the possibility to do so now exists. W. H. C. Frend reminds his readers that "the beginnings of an alternative approach to the study of Christianity, less beholden to orthodox interpretations, may be traced back to the Renaissance."⁵⁷ He later adds, "There was a limit, however, to what historians could learn about the early church so long as they were confined to existing literary sources. It was the discovery of quantities of material remains and their study that has made an historical and sociological approach to the study possible."⁵⁸ In a similar way, one of the foremost modern commentators on the New Testament, Professor Werner Georg Kümmel, writes that everything before the nineteenth century "can only be referred to as the prehistory of New Testament (or Christian historical) scholarship."⁵⁹ For Kümmel and others, the beginning of the scientific study of the New Testament, and thus the establishment of the modern paradigm of Christian history, can be dated to 1835, the publication date of David Friedrich Strauss's *Leben Jesu*.⁶⁰

But the so-called scientific paradigm of Christianity that was established in the nineteenth century and continues to the present time is still based upon and limited to the materials that were preserved and transmitted within the theological religion of the Church Fathers. The use of this paradigm continues despite the discovery of numerous materials relating

to early Christianity, both documentary and archaeological, which began to occur toward the middle of the nineteenth century and has also continued to the present time. The documentary evidence, some of which was discussed above, is impressive both in its quantity and diversity. Among the best-known writings are isolated sayings of Jesus; gospels and gospel fragments with synoptic, Johannine, and previously unknown characteristics; apostolic acts and apocalypses; and new sources of some of the early Christian leaders in the post-apostolic era. Since there has been no attempt to place these writings into the structure of orthodox Christianity, and since they cannot be completely ignored, one may wonder what scholars do with them. The following examples will show various efforts to answer this question.

The Jesus Seminar, a Slight Variation on an Authoritarian Theme

A large group of well-known scholars from many universities, calling themselves the Jesus Seminar, published *The Five Gospels* in 1993, a declared attempt to determine what Jesus actually said. The editor states that “foremost among the reasons for a fresh translation is the discovery of the Gospel of Thomas. The scholars responsible for the Scholars Version determined that Thomas had to be included in any primary collection of gospels.”⁶¹ The Gospel of Thomas is one of fifty-three writings discovered in ca. 1945 in upper Egypt, as mentioned above. Many of those writings purport to be Christian, and some of them contain sayings of Jesus with his disciples. The collection, known as the Nag Hammadi Library, is labeled Gnostic, primarily because of the arcane and often strange doctrines in many of the tractates. Most of the writings are also apocalyptic, further rendering them suspect and unacceptable to so-called orthodox Christianity. This library is part of a larger number of similar writings that have come to light during the past two centuries.

Apart from including the Gospel of Thomas in a new evaluation of Jesus in earliest Christianity, there is no apparent awareness or acknowledgment by the two hundred or more scholars in the group that numerous other gospels or sayings-of-Jesus sources had been discovered or were worthy of their consideration. Even the inclusion of the Gospel of Thomas does not represent much of a paradigm revolution, for only three of the 114 sayings of Jesus in that work are said by the Jesus Seminar to have been spoken by him. Nevertheless, the editor claims that “*The Five Gospels* represents a dramatic exit from windowless studies and the beginning of a new venture for gospel scholarship. Leading scholars—Fellows of the Jesus Seminar—have decided to update and then make the legacy of two hundred years of research and debate a matter of public record.”⁶² The reader is thus promised a new paradigm, or at least a paradigm shift in early Christian

history. If this paradigm change is not based on new information or recent discoveries of texts and materials relating to earliest Christianity apart from one writing, namely, the Gospel of Thomas, one might well ask what justifies its claim to be so new. The editor gives a clear answer:

The Scholars Version is free of ecclesiastical and religious control, unlike other major translations into English, including the King James Version and its descendants (Protestant), the Douay-Rheims Version and its progeny (Catholic), and the New International Version (Evangelical). Since SV is not bound by the dictates of church councils, its contents and organization vary from traditional bibles. *The Five Gospels* contains the Gospel of Thomas in addition to the four canonical gospels. Because scholars believe the Gospel of Mark was written first they have placed it first among the five. The Scholars Version is authorized by scholars.⁶³

The declared basis for the paradigm of the Jesus Seminar is thus emancipation from the theological and ecclesiastical control of Christian churches, but, contrary to Kuhn's declaration that rejection of an old paradigm must be accompanied by replacement with a new one,⁶⁴ the scholars really do not provide readers with a new model of Christianity. The work of the Jesus Seminar shows that there is no new model proposed beyond criticism and rejection of the old. The result of their work is the rejection of 82 percent of the words of Jesus in the gospels as actually being spoken by him.⁶⁵ The criteria used to arrive at such a decision are all theological and literary, rather than historical or archaeological, despite the claim of the editor that the Jesus Seminar has "disengaged the Jesus of history from the Christ of the church's faith."⁶⁶ By working almost exclusively with the theological and literary heritage passed on through the centuries, there is little likelihood of producing anything other than a slight modification of the old Christian structure. If this work represents the best effort of modern scholars, one is especially grateful that the words of the hymn are "We thank thee, O God, for a prophet," and not "We thank thee, O God, for theologians."

Trying to Bring Revelation and the Mysteries Back into Early Christianity through Apocalypticism

Others have noticed and commented on the modern tendency to attack the existing model of Christianity without offering a replacement. In an address delivered to divinity students at Cambridge University in 1959, C. S. Lewis commented on the tendency of biblical scholars to whittle away at the texts in the paradigm of early Christianity. He concluded his address with the concern that such a process might well result in the rejection of Christian history and its accompanying faith.⁶⁷ It was not a replacement of the old model with a new one that Lewis was attacking, but simply an increasing skepticism regarding the old.

A clarion call to take the new discoveries into the consideration of ancient Christian history was made in 1970 by Professor Klaus Koch of the University of Hamburg. Working within what he calls “a relatively small area,”⁶⁸ that of apocalyptic (revelation) literature, Koch argues that no paradigm of Christian history can be satisfactory or complete without such consideration. He comments on the type of scholarship that would later produce such works as *The Five Gospels*, saying that “the historical and critical investigation of the biblical writings is viewed at the present time with growing dissatisfaction. . . . At the end of the nineteenth century theological liberalism felt historical exegesis to be glorious liberation from hide-bound dogmatism.”⁶⁹ Koch argues that theology must rest on “reliable historical foundations,”⁷⁰ even if establishing those foundations results in a radical change in the model of Christian history.

Professor Koch states in two sentences what was reviewed more lengthily above, that the Church Fathers

already viewed the apocalyptic books with considerable reserve and hence excluded the apocalypses of Peter and Paul from the canon, as well as Christian apocalypses which were attributed to Old Testament figures.

Many early Christian apocalypses have as a result disappeared forever, or have only recently been rediscovered.⁷¹

In view of the discoveries of many apocalyptic texts during the past two centuries, one naturally wonders why so little attention has been paid to them. Koch observes that “the great chorus of New Testament scholars view apocalyptic of every kind with mistrust and discomfort, even when it appears in Christian guise, within the canon, in the book of Revelation.”⁷² With such an indictment, it is easy to see how unlikely it is that biblical or Christian scholars would produce a new paradigm of Christian history, regardless of the new information or sources made available to them. Koch further states that even though some people, such as Ulrich Wilckens and Gerhard Ebeling, defend the role of apocalyptic in early Christianity, most continue to relegate apocalypticism to a marginal role in the mainstream church.⁷³

In the larger category of so-called apocryphal New Testament writings discovered during the last 150 years or so, Wilhelm Schneemelcher shows that the same attitude prevails as with the subcategory of apocalyptic writings discussed by Klaus Koch. After reviewing the process of defining the theology and limiting the scriptural canon of Christianity as outlined above, Schneemelcher focuses on the writings which were not included in the canon. He notes the very diverse nature of the contents of these documents⁷⁴ and explains how the term *apocrypha* was given a pejorative connotation by the Church Fathers as they applied it to virtually all writings that they rejected.⁷⁵ The term originally meant *hidden* or *secret* and was

earlier applied to writings considered too sacred for general circulation. The Fathers cast doubt on both the authority and sacredness of these writings, however, as well as upon the mystery tradition such documents represented, giving the sense of untrustworthiness and doubtful authenticity to the term, which persists to the present time. The problem of what to do with the so-called apocryphal writings was settled historically by the Church Fathers who rejected them in their defining of Christianity, but the discovery of such great numbers of these writings in recent decades has raised the issue again for modern scholars. It is difficult to imagine any other discipline having such an influx of new materials and sources without having to modify or change fundamental paradigms as has been the case with early Christian history. In fairness to Christian scholars, however, it seems evident from their writings that they have no obvious alternative to propose to the model received through the centuries.

The Restoration of All Things

In his celebrated work on scientific revolutions, Thomas Kuhn states that paradigm shifts most often come about through men and women who are either very young or who are not trained in the field in which the changes occur.⁷⁶ Being trained in the ministry of Christianity would not likely lead to a change in the historical model of the religion. Modern scholarly authority is no better for changing the model than was patristic authority in defining it centuries ago. It would take a prophet or an apostle to produce a model of Christianity that could add to the scriptural canon, produce apocalyptic writings, teach doctrines not clearly transmitted through the Fathers, and introduce a pattern of sacred teachings and ordinances necessary to ensure a successful journey back to God in the next life.

At the same time that biblical scholars began to develop and apply a scientific structure and analysis to the received model of Christianity, a young and untrained boy became the instrument through whom God gave the key elements of such an alternate paradigm of Christianity. Through the numerous revelations that he received, Joseph Smith gained a firsthand knowledge of the fundamental role of apocalyptic in Christianity. Through the additional scriptural writings that came to the Prophet, he learned that the scriptural canon was again opened. As Joseph was given heavenly authority and its associated ordinance activity, he knew that there was much to be received and learned beyond baptism as one prepares to return to God. As the temple and all that it represents was revealed to Joseph Smith, he understood the relationship of this realm to the divine cosmos and also the real meaning and value of the mysteries of God mentioned in the Bible. The concept of restoration adds a dimension to the Christian paradigm that implies a defect in the received or traditional model, caused

by a loss from the ancient one. Joseph was taught that apostasy caused the loss and created the need for a later restoration.

In all of the elements of the correct paradigm given to Joseph Smith, there is room for further study and understanding of its details in the New Testament dispensation. Not all revelations from the past were given to Joseph Smith, not all prophetic or Christian records were restored through him, and not all details relating to the manner or time of the apostasy were spelled out by the Prophet. Within the markers and signposts of such matters as given to Joseph Smith, one can examine the huge and growing mass of materials claiming to represent ancient Christianity that began to reappear out of the past during the last two hundred years. Certainly one should try to understand these materials in the context of the revealed model of Christianity given to the Prophet. Ongoing study of these writings and artifacts within this alternate paradigm should especially be taken seriously at BYU, and our concerted efforts should lead to many opportunities to see new discoveries of old sources in a proper context. That is not to say that the paradigm of ancient Christianity is now fully understood, for it surely is not, nor that all new discoveries are remnants or elements of the ancient apostolic church, for they are not. It is to say that great challenges and opportunities are available to all students of ancient Christianity, and there is a great responsibility to meet and study these discoveries within the prophetic guidelines revealed since 1820.

The BYU Egypt Excavation Project and Early Christianity

It is a privilege to be associated with many colleagues who are responding to these opportunities, and I wish to acknowledge in particular the work done by many in the BYU Egypt Excavation Project. For twenty years, BYU has had the opportunity to sponsor a major excavation project in the Egyptian Fayum, focusing on a large (three hundred acres) necropolis dating from the third century B.C. through the fifth century A.D. The project is made possible by the assistance of members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. These include our inspectors, the area directors, and members of the Supreme Council of Egyptian Antiquities. To them we extend our deepest and heartfelt gratitude for permitting and facilitating BYU to undertake this project. As archeologists, geologists, chemists, textile experts, pathologists, radiologists, dentists, molecular biologists, and students have participated in the recovery and analysis of ancient artifacts, we have encountered numerous evidences of early Christianity in that region.⁷⁷ Many of those evidences, such as symbols and designs in multiple layers of clothing found on each burial, relate well to complex ritual and symbolic meanings in clothing found in early Christian sources, as well as to the model of Christianity revealed to Joseph Smith. Other artifacts, such

as trephined skulls and similar evidences of violent death dating to the third and fourth centuries, substantiate the persecutions of Christians during that time, which were recorded in contemporary historical sources. The work of all of the team members demonstrates how many different people in a university are necessary for and capable of making a project meaningful and successful. The BYU Egyptian Excavation Project is significant and interesting, but it is only a small part of the great work which must be done to understand better and fill out more completely the paradigm of ancient Christianity revealed to the Prophet Joseph Smith.

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1. A general overview of many difficulties encountered in reconstructing early Christian history is Hugh W. Nibley, "The Way of the Church," *Improvement Era* 58 (1955). The articles were republished as a long essay in *Mormonism and Early Christianity* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1987), 4:209–322.

2. W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 195.

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9. Hippolytus, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 6.37.

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13. Frend, *Rise of Christianity*, 200.

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15. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis (Miscellanies)*, 3.29.

16. Tertullian, *Adversus Valentinianos*, 30.

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21. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.3.3.
22. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.8.1–3.
23. Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 63.7.
24. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.8.5; compare 6.23.4. See also Rufinus, *Translation of Eusebius of Caesarea, Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.8.4.
25. Jerome, *Epistle*, 146.2.
26. Rufinus, *Translation of Eusebius*, 6.8.4.
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28. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.19.1.
29. Origen, *In Jeremiam Homilia (Homily on Jeremiah)*, 4.3.
30. Origen, *In Lucam Homilia (Homily on Luke)*, 23.
31. Origen, *In Leviticum Homilia (Homily on Leviticus)*, 9.9.
32. Origen, *In Leviticum Homilia*, 4.6; 6.5; 9.1.8; 13.5. In *In Numeros Homilia (Homily on Numbers)*, 2.1, priests of the earthly church are said to be *in professione religionis*.
33. Origen, *In Evangelium Matthaeum Commentarii (Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew)*, 12.
34. Origen, *In Leviticum Homilia*, 6.6.
35. Origen, *In Numeros Homilia*, 9.1.
36. Origen, *Contra Celsum (Against Celsus)*, 2.8.
37. Origen, *De Principiis (On First Principles)*, 4.25; Origen, *Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis (Commentaries on the Gospel of John)*, 1.9.10; Origen, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Romanos (Commentary of the Epistle to the Romans)*, 1.4; 2.5; Origen, *In Leviticum Homilia*, 13.2.
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39. Origen, *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Romanos*, 2.4.
40. See C. Wilfred Griggs, “A Prolegomenon to the Study of John,” an article on early commentators on the Gospel of John, in the *Festschrift for Richard L. Anderson*, forthcoming.
41. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 6.39.5; 7.1.
42. See also A. Harnack, *History of Dogma* (New York: Dover, 1961), 4:346, for a list of the doctrines that were formally rejected at the council held at Constantinople in 543.
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44. Williamson, *Eusebius, History of the Church*, 2.1, quoting Clement, *Hypotyposeis (Outlines)*, 8.
45. Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 3.25.
46. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, Codex 109.
47. *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, 4.1–2.
48. *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, 13.1–2.
49. *Didache dōdeka Apostolōn (Teachings of the Twelve Apostles)*, 12.
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55. For one such reference in Eusebius, see *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 3.25. For a Latter-day Saint view of writings about Jesus' forty-day ministry, see John Gee, "Jesus Christ: Forty-Day Ministry and Other Post-Resurrection Appearances of Jesus Christ," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:734–36.

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Tobacco-Related Cancers in Utah Compared to the United States: Quantifying the Benefits of the Word of Wisdom

Ray M. Merrill, Gordon B. Lindsay, and Joseph L. Lyon

And again, tobacco is not for the body, neither for the belly, and is not good for man, but is an herb for bruises and all sick cattle, to be used with judgment and skill. (D&C 89:8)

In recent decades, tobacco smoking has been linked to chronic diseases such as heart disease, stroke, and cancer.¹ The first studies to suggest a possible link between tobacco smoking and lung cancer appeared in the 1950s.² Epidemiologic studies have since provided further evidence of the causal association between tobacco smoking and at least eight cancer sites.³ In addition to lung cancer,⁴ increased mortality risk due to tobacco smoking occurs for cancers of the larynx,⁵ oral cavity (including pharynx),⁶ esophagus,⁷ bladder,⁸ kidney,⁹ and pancreas¹⁰ in both men and women and cervical cancer¹¹ in women. Note that the primary tumors of the kidney are renal cell and renal pelvis cancers, accounting for 82 percent and 18 percent of the tumors, respectively.¹² Although cigarette smoking is causally linked to these tumors, the association with renal pelvis cancers is much stronger.¹³

In the past hundred years in the United States, annual per capita cigarette consumption went from near zero at the turn of the century to peak at about 4,300 per year in 1964—the year of the first Surgeon General’s report and subsequent media coverage of the potentially harmful effects of tobacco.¹⁴ Social influences followed to produce declines in the demand for tobacco (for example, the nonsmokers’ rights movement, increased federal excise tax, and health warning labels).¹⁵ As a result, the percentage of current tobacco smokers 18 years of age and older decreased between 1965 and 1995 from 51 to 26 percent for white men, 60 to 29 percent for black men, 34 to 24 percent for white women, and 32 to 23 percent for black women.¹⁶

Tobacco smoking in Utah has remained the lowest in the country. Utah is currently the only state to achieve the national health objective for the year 2000 of tobacco smoking prevalence among adults of 15 percent or lower.¹⁷ Table 1 presents the percentage of cigarette-smoking prevalence among Utah and United States adult populations, 18 years of age and older, for select years 1965–97.¹⁸ This observation may be attributed to the widespread influence of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS)

in Utah, which since 1833 has strongly discouraged the use of tobacco among its members (D&C 89). A previous case-control study in Utah showed that for the period 1967–75, significantly fewer LDS men and women smoked cigarettes than non-LDS men and women.¹⁹ The percentage of Utah's population affiliated with the LDS religion has remained near 70 percent since the 1950s (specifically, 68 percent in 1950, 68 percent in 1960, 71 percent in 1970, 69 percent in 1980, and 70 percent in 1990).²⁰

TABLE 1. Percentage of Tobacco-Smoking Prevalence among Utah and US Adult Populations, 18 Years of Age and Older, Selected Years 1965–1997*

Year	Utah	United States	Year	Utah	United States
1965	NA	42.4	1988	14.7	28.1
1966	NA	42.6	1989	16.4	NA
1970	NA	37.4	1990	16.7	25.5
1974	NA	37.1	1991	14.3	25.6
1978	NA	34.1	1992	15.6	26.5
1979	NA	33.5	1993	14.4	25.0
1980	NA	33.2	1994	15.7	25.5
1983	NA	32.1	1995	13.2	24.7
1985	15.6	30.1	1996	15.9	NA
1986	18.2	NA	1997	13.8	NA
1987	15.0	28.8			

*Data sources: National Health Interview Surveys: United States, 1965–94 (Hyattsville, Md.: National Center for Health Statistics); Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, "Cigarette Smoking among Adults—United States, 1994," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 45 (1996): 588–90; National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion, Behavioral Surveillance Branch, Behavior Risk Factor Surveillance System 1996–97 Survey Data, CD-ROM; personal correspondence with the Bureau of Health Promotion and Risk Reduction, Utah Department of Health, February 1999.

The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the influence tobacco smoking has had on cancer incidence in Utah and the United States. Utah provides an ideal comparison with the rest of the United States because of its historically low rates of tobacco use. We explore the tobacco-related cancer burden in Utah and show what it would have been had Utah experienced similar tobacco rates as the United States. Because the lower tobacco use in Utah is largely attributed to the influence of the LDS faith, in a sense this article quantifies the benefit of the Church's health code, known as the Word of Wisdom.

Methods

Cancer data are obtained from the Surveillance, Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER) Program of the National Cancer Institute, which provides

the primary source of national estimates of cancer. The SEER Program includes tumor registries from five states (Connecticut, Iowa, New Mexico, Utah, and Hawaii), four metropolitan areas (Atlanta, Georgia; Detroit, Michigan; Seattle, Washington; and San Francisco, California), and represents about 10 percent of the United States population.²¹ Because the Utah tumor registry is included in the SEER Program, our analysis will compare Utah with SEER, Utah removed (hereafter referred to as SEER^{-u}).

Cancer incidence data were available from 1973 through 1995. Mortality data, which were also considered, were obtained from death certificates among people in each state and the District of Columbia, as recorded by the National Centers for Health Statistics. Available mortality data cover the years 1971 to 1995. Incidence and mortality rates were computed by combining these data with United States Bureau of the Census population estimates. The rates are age-adjusted to the 1970 United States standard population. Trends in cancer are conventionally assessed using age-adjusted rates because these rates remove the confounding effects of a changing age structure of the population over time.²²

Cancer sites previously shown as related to tobacco and considered in this analysis include lung and bronchus, larynx, oral cavity and pharynx, esophagus, urinary bladder, kidney and renal pelvis, pancreas, and cervix. We consider only whites because they represent over 94 percent of the population in Utah. In contrast, 81 percent of the remaining population in the SEER Program are classified as white. All carcinoma *in situ* are excluded such that the analysis is solely based on invasive-staged cancers.

Incidence Rates

Trends in age-adjusted tobacco- and nontobacco-related cancer incidence rates for white men and women are presented in figures 1 and 2. Large differences exist in the incidence rates between Utah and SEER^{-u} for tobacco-related cancer sites. For both men and women, the trends in rates for the tobacco-related sites remain flatter and much lower in Utah than in SEER^{-u}. In contrast, the trends and magnitude in nontobacco-related sites are similar for men. For women, the trends are similar between Utah and SEER^{-u} but the magnitude is lower in Utah for nontobacco-related sites.

For the years 1991 through 1995, we also present the age-specific tobacco- and nontobacco-related cancer incidence rates for white men and women in Utah and SEER^{-u} (figs. 3 and 4). There is a pronounced difference in incidence rates between Utah and SEER^{-u} for the tobacco-related cancers, particularly in men ages 70 and older and in women ages 65 to 84. For men, the incidence rates are similar between Utah and SEER^{-u} for nontobacco-related sites except at ages 80–84, where they are lower in Utah. For women, the incidence rates tend to be lower, particularly at later ages, in

FIG. 1. Tobacco- and Nontobacco-Related Cancer Incidence in White Men by Year of Diagnosis, Comparing Utah and SEER^u

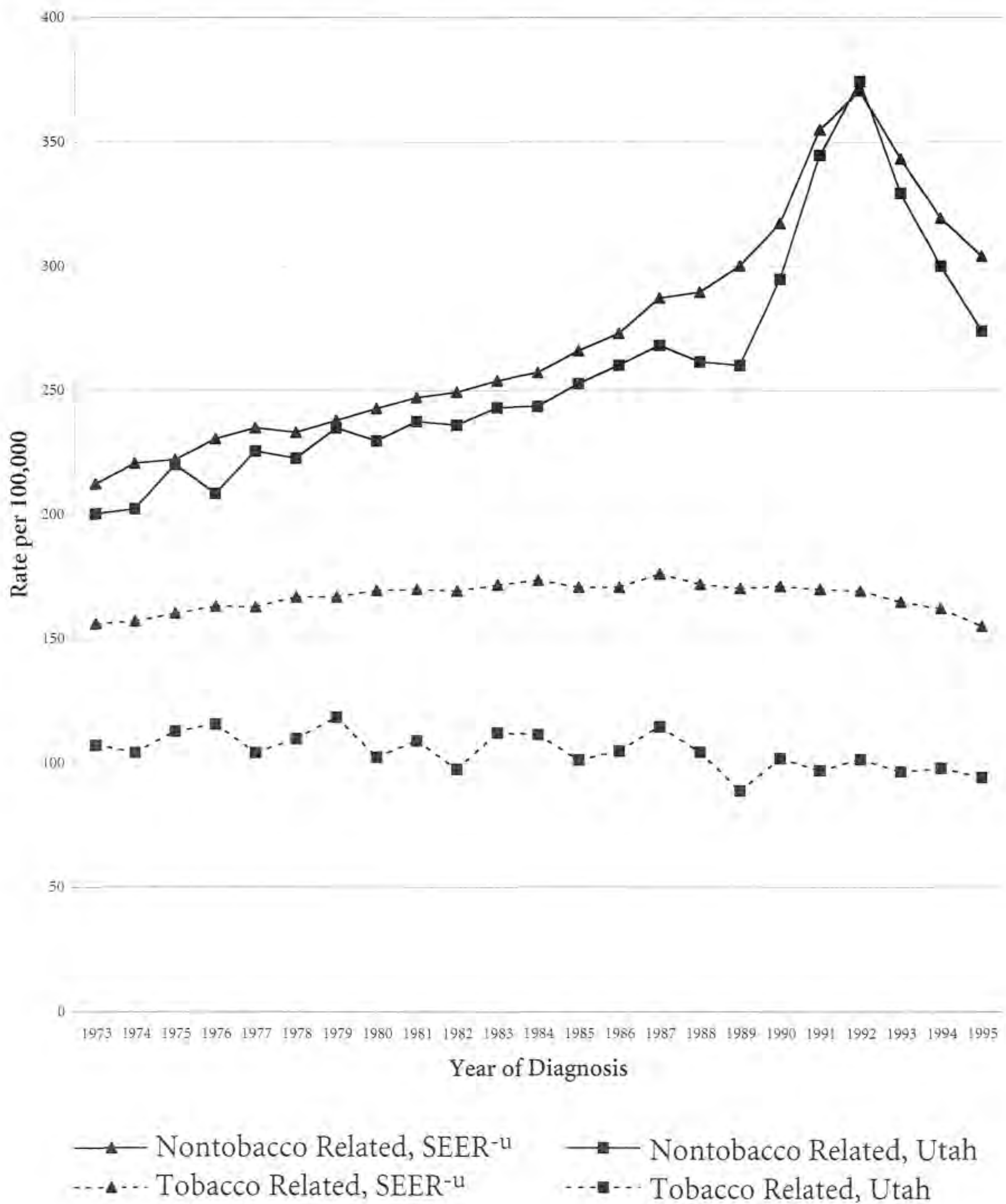


FIG. 2. Tobacco- and Nontobacco-Related Cancer Incidence in White Women by Year of Diagnosis, Comparing Utah and SEER^u

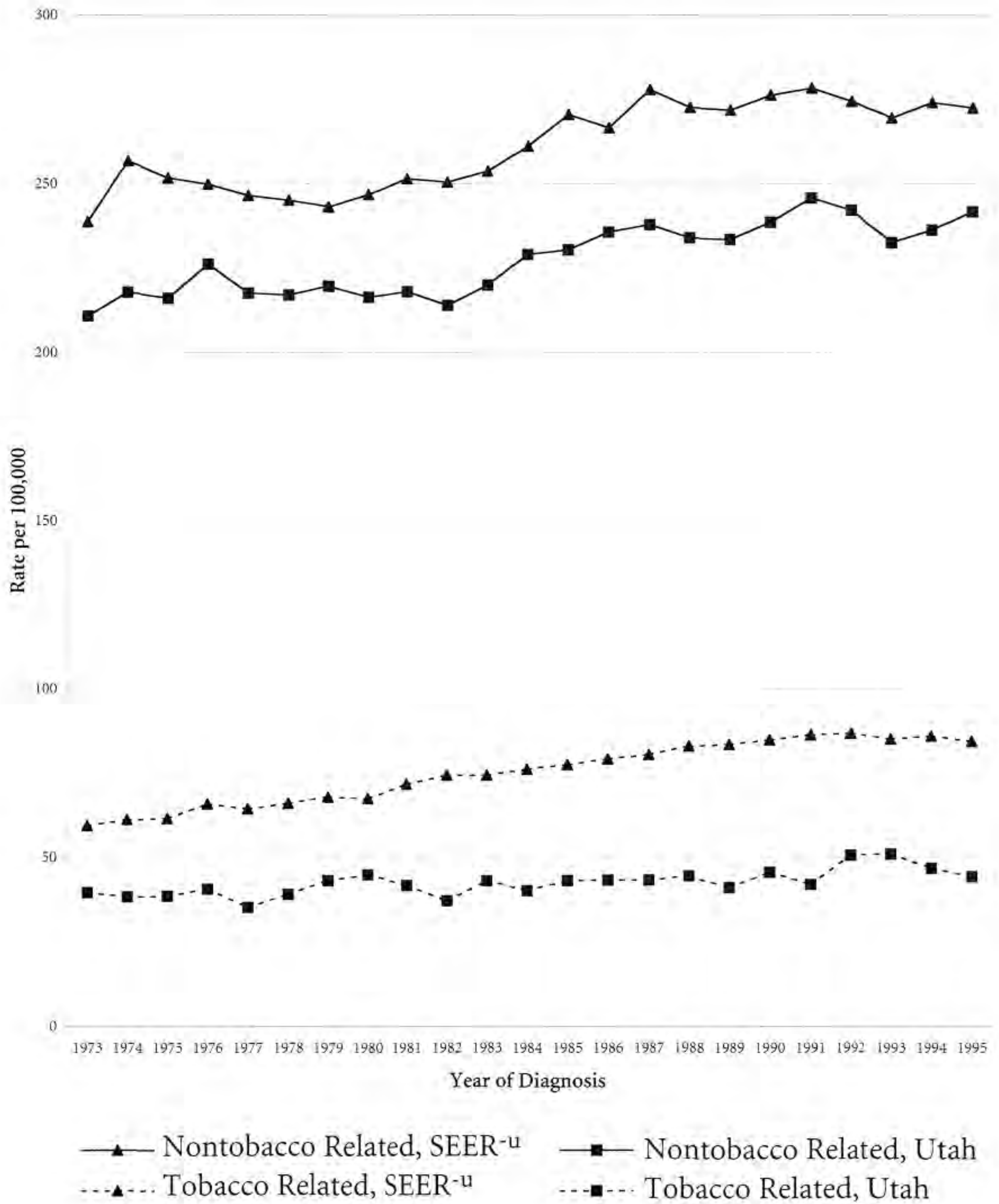


FIG. 3. Tobacco- and Nontobacco-Related Age-Specific Cancer Incidence in Utah and SEER^u, 1991–1995, for White Men

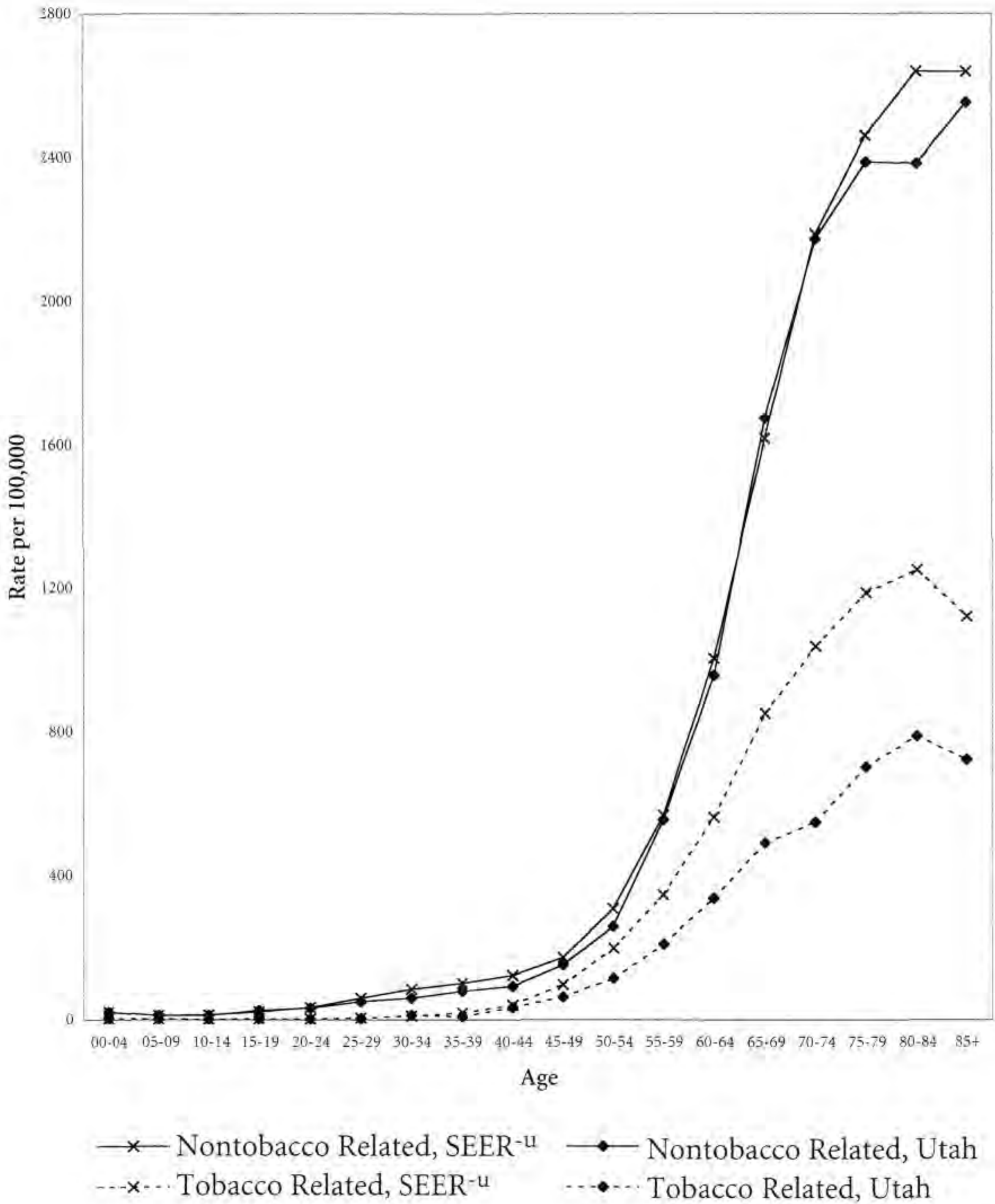
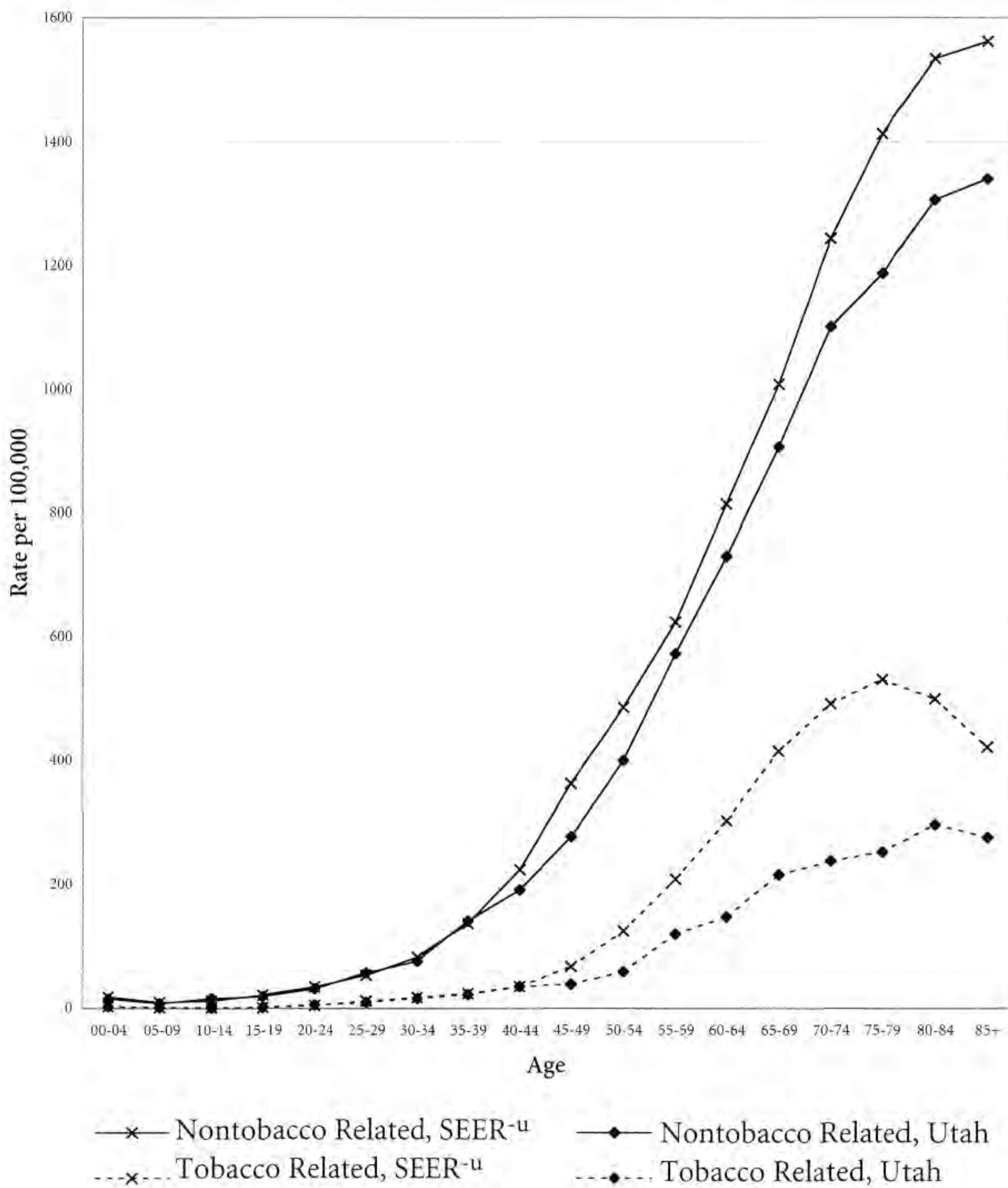


FIG. 4. Tobacco- and Nontobacco-Related Age-Specific Cancer Incidence in Utah and SEER^u, 1991–1995, for White Women



Utah versus SEER^u for nontobacco-related sites. The incidence rates for men approach twice those of women by age 50 for the tobacco-related cancers and by age 65 for the nontobacco-related cancers.

The percent of tobacco-related cancer cases among all cancer cases for whites by gender and age are presented for Utah and SEER^u, 1991–95, in table 2. The percent of all cancer cases represented by a tobacco-related cancer remain lower for men and women in Utah compared to SEER^u in each age group. The percent of all cancer cases represented by a tobacco-related cancer is greatest in the age group 50–59 for men and 60–69 for women.

TABLE 2. Percent of Tobacco-Related Cancer Cases to All Cancer Cases for Whites by Gender and Age, Utah Compared to SEER^u, 1991–1995

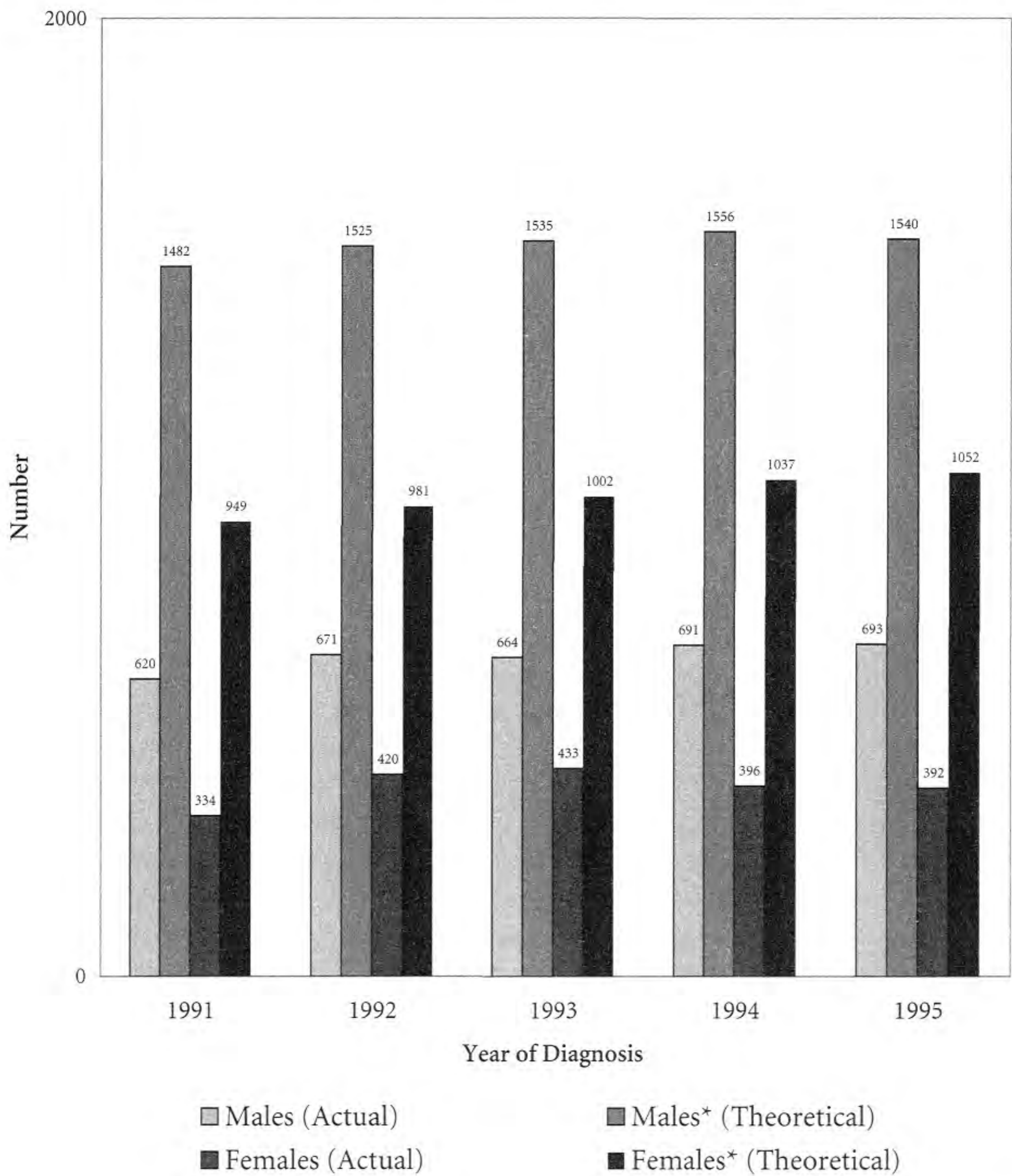
Age Groups	Men		Women	
	Utah	SEER ^u	Utah	SEER ^u
0–39	8.6	10.4	13.0	14.5
40–49	27.8	31.1	13.8	14.7
50–59	28.4	38.4	15.3	22.8
60–69	24.0	35.1	18.1	28.2
70–79	21.3	32.2	17.6	27.8
80+	23.7	31.3	17.8	22.9
All ages combined	22.7	32.3	16.4	24.0

Burden

The burden of disease implies the number of cases or deaths in a defined population at a given point in time and has important implications to health and related services, as well as to society in general.²³ Figure 5 presents the number of tobacco-related cancers diagnosed in Utah from 1991 to 1995 for white males and females. The bars labeled as Males* and Females* represent the estimated number of tobacco-related cancers diagnosed in Utah during 1991 to 1995 for white males and females assuming Utah experienced the same tobacco-related cancer incidence rates as in SEER^u. The burden of tobacco-related cancers is noticeably higher in males than females. However, for both males and females, the number of tobacco-related cancer cases is between one-third and one-half of what it would have been had tobacco use and subsequent tobacco-related cancer rates in Utah been similar to that in SEER^u.

Table 3 presents the number of tobacco-related cancers in Utah for 1991–95 for white males and females by cancer site. In addition, the number of tobacco-related cancers is shown by cancer site under the assumption that Utah experienced the same tobacco-related cancer rates as SEER^u. Overall, 4,294 fewer cases in males and 3,047 fewer cases in females resulted among whites in Utah compared to SEER^u because of the relatively

FIG. 5. Tobacco-Related Invasive Cancer in Utah for White Males and Females by Calendar Year of Diagnosis



*Assuming Utah experienced the same tobacco-related cancer rates as SEER^U between 1991–1995.

low use of tobacco. Further, a large number of deaths will be avoided among these tobacco-related cancers.

TABLE 3. Number of Invasive Tobacco-Related Cancer Cases for Whites in Utah*

Gender	Utah (Actual)	Utah [†] (Theoretical)	Fewer Cancers
Cancer Site	(1)	(2)	(2) – (1)
Male			
Oral Cavity and Pharynx	432	726	294
Esophagus	120	280	160
Pancreas	249	471	222
Larynx	129	339	210
Lung and Bronchus	1,323	3,689	2,366
Urinary Bladder	782	1,524	742
Kidney and Renal Pelvis	313	613	300
All Tobacco-Related Sites	3,339	7,642	4,294
Female			
Oral Cavity and Pharynx	189	353	164
Esophagus	28	107	79
Pancreas	258	507	249
Larynx	34	83	49
Lung and Bronchus	699	2,645	1,946
Cervix	337	411	74
Urinary Bladder	233	533	300
Kidney and Renal Pelvis	197	383	186
All Tobacco-Related Sites	1,975	5,022	3,047

*Based on 1991–95 SEER data.

[†]Assuming Utah experienced the same tobacco-related cancer incidence rates as SEER-^u.

Mortality

Thus far we have compared tobacco- and nontobacco-related cancer incidence rates for whites between Utah and SEER-^u. We assumed the cancer incidence data from SEER-^u were representative of the United States. Because data were not available to compare SEER cancer incidence data with that of the United States, we cannot directly evaluate this assumption. However, a comparison was made of tobacco- and nontobacco-related cancer mortality rates between SEER and the United States (data not shown), which found the rates to be very similar.

The lower tobacco-related cancer incidence in Utah was directly evident in the mortality rates. A ranking of the age-adjusted mortality rates of all the states and the District of Columbia for each of the considered tobacco-related cancer sites by time (1971–75 to 1991–95) and gender showed consistently low rates in Utah. Utah's average ranking across time periods, with 1 being low and 51 being high, was between 1 and 5 for each

tobacco-related cancer site and gender combination. Cervical cancer had the poorest average because of a drop in the mortality ranking in the most recent time period (Utah ranked 2, 1, 3, 3, and 16, respectively). Because this ranking is the only one of all the cancer-mortality rankings to drop below 3 in men and 6 in women for the time period 1991–95, changes in risk factors other than tobacco smoking are likely responsible (for example, sexual behaviors).

Discussion

The increase in tobacco smoking in the United States between the early and mid part of this century is likely due to the public's lack of knowledge of the link between tobacco and many chronic diseases such as cancer. A similar increase did not occur in Utah, where the population is predominately affiliated with the LDS religion,²⁴ a religion that strongly discourages tobacco use among its members (see D&C 89). The generally declining use of tobacco in the last four decades in the United States indicates that a large portion of the population is responding to preventive efforts. Yet, much of the population continues to consume tobacco, in part because of nicotine addiction, in part because of peer pressure, and in part because of lack of information.²⁵

If the declining use of tobacco continues in the United States, tobacco-related cancer incidence and mortality rates should eventually approach those observed in Utah. The latency or incubation period for some types of tobacco-related cancers may be decades long (for example, lung cancer). The contemporary tobacco-related cancer incidence rate in Utah is largely the result of smoking during the 1950s through the 1970s. The earliest systematic measurement of behavioral risk factors was conducted in Utah in 1980. It showed an adult smoking prevalence of 18 percent.²⁶ Because LDS church membership has remained near 70 percent since the 1950s,²⁷ smoking prevalence in the decades prior to 1980 were probably not significantly higher than 18 percent.

The difference between Utah and SEER^U for the tobacco-related cancers indicates the large amount of cancer burden avoided in Utah as well as the potential reduction in the United States cancer burden if national tobacco-smoking trends continue to decline to levels experienced in Utah. Because nontobacco-related cancer incidence and mortality rates were similar between Utah and SEER^U in men, we have greater confidence that the eight cancers considered are, in fact, strongly influenced by tobacco and that the remaining cancers are not. Different trends in nontobacco-related cancers between Utah and SEER^U in women are largely due to cancers of the breast, colon, and rectum.²⁸

For any given tobacco-related cancer, differences in other risk factors between Utah and SEER^U may contribute to the large differences in observed

cancer incidence and mortality. The results indicate that recent changes (since the mid-1980s) in risk factors other than tobacco may explain why Utah women are now experiencing higher levels of cancers of the cervix. Further study of the reasons for these recent developments is needed.

Several related studies have evaluated the health benefits experienced by practicing LDS Church members in Utah.²⁹ Many of these studies attempt to control for the potential confounding effect of region by comparing active and nonactive members of the church, with the belief that church activity is a surrogate for abstaining from tobacco and other potential risk factors of disease. The overwhelming evidence from these studies supports our findings that lower levels of tobacco use can substantially reduce the burden of tobacco-related cancers, as well as other diseases.

The data did not allow us to control for other risk factors for certain diseases, such as alcohol in the case of cancer of the esophagus. Tobacco smoking and alcohol may have a synergistic effect on promoting tumors, such as tumors of the oral cavity and pharynx. Some of the observed differences in the tobacco-related cancers between Utah and SEER^U may also be due to alcohol, as the LDS Church also discourages alcohol use among its members. In 1980 the prevalence of alcohol was 37 percent in Utah compared to 67 percent in the United States. However, per capita alcohol consumption in this country has remained fairly constant for whites in the last decade,³⁰ and the relative impact of alcohol compared to tobacco on cancer is small.³¹

Conclusion

In the LDS religion, adherence to the Word of Wisdom was based on faith for over a century before scientific evidence began to support its precepts in the area of tobacco. It was not until the 1950s that epidemiologic studies provided sufficient evidence to implicate tobacco as a risk factor for several chronic diseases. Although tobacco-smoking prevalence has since declined in the United States, it remains significantly above the historically low levels experienced in Utah. Consequently, substantial differences in the burden of tobacco-related cancers exist and will continue to exist for several years to come.

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The Shell in Silk

My father, whitening,
 leached of rage and spear of justice,
 now leans to my mother.
 In his terribly,
 exquisitely earned wisdom
 even he does not see why he
 sheathes his sword,
 circles to her light.

Like an alabaster moth,
 young and delicately flawed,
 she floats by his side,
 straining his sorrow,
 curving her wings to hear him say
 she is beautiful.

In their house above the black cliffs
 he rubs her beautiful legs.
 Bougainvillea filters the light, the room
 in an aubergine wash.
 Outside the screens, above the wet grasses,
 spirit and rain are sheeting the mango trees.

She is everything he could never desire
 or hope for,
 a gift in an unopened silk envelope
 left on the pillow,
 a secret carved in the grain
 of the perfectly turned koa bowl
 gleaming in the rose and yellow light
 of the quiet room.

—Nancy Baird

“Islands of Peace, of the Blessed”

Janet Garrard-Willis

If only it were all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being. And who is willing to destroy a piece of his own heart?

—A. Solzhenitsyn

I have a penchant for saving people. Or, I suppose I should say, for trying. Christ never asked, “Am I my brother’s keeper?” so I figure I have no business asking either. No business, that is, unless I want to be cast out, marked for life, wandering lost in a land without promise.

The first person I remember trying to save wore squeaky oxfords and at first seemed like my savior. Having just entered the sixth grade, I needed saving. Puberty came at me armed with an arsenal of acne, sleeplessness, and the awareness that hand-me-down clothes weren’t going to earn me favor in the world of middle school. My female classmates wore makeup and plugged quarters into the school bathroom vending machines. The boys talked about their sexual forays while I searched for a dictionary. They snapped my bra and told me I had “nice eyes.” Worse, each hour we had to shuffle from class to class, never anywhere long enough to feel comfortable.

Mr. Browden* and his squeaky shoes provided the closest resemblance to comfort I could find; he ran the library. So each day after gulping down my sandwich and half-pint carton of milk, I took my books to the room at the center of the school, settled onto a tabletop, and read. Mr. Browden hovered nearby with a rubber stamp pad, ready to answer questions and smile at my stack of reading.

Mom raised my sisters and me more on libraries than on flannel board. Every summer after swimming lessons, we wrung out our chlorinated swimsuits and wrapped them in our towels like wet jelly rolls, strapped the sturdy soles of saltwater sandals to our feet, and ran a half block north to Peninsula Library. The children’s section sprawled across the entire second floor, and we spent hours badgering the librarians before checking out our load and trudging up the hill back home.

*Some names in this essay have been changed.

By the time I passed the level-three swimming lessons, I'd memorized *Jellybeans for Breakfast*. Two years later, by the time I passed the last swimming test (jumping into the deep end of the pool fully clothed and disrobing without panic or death), I'd found and finished the Nancy Drew aisle. I lay on my bed's gingham dust cover and dreamt about how adolescence would turn me into the willowy strawberry blond with piercingly intelligent, yet beautiful, green eyes who solved cases, saved lives, and sank into the adoring (though somewhat undescribed) arms of my boyfriend, Ned.

So it seemed natural to spend recess in the library when I graduated to middle school. I knew libraries: Dewey Decimal seemed a far less frightening fellow than John Goss, who said he wanted to kiss me and stole my books on the bus. But except for me, nobody seemed to like Mr. Browden. The teachers avoided him, whispering about his mysterious transfer out of the mathematics department. Some of the eighth grade girls in my P.E. class, the ones who brazenly marched between the lockers, whispered that he looked down their blouses while they read. The boys made loud jokes that Mr. Browden was queer, although I had no clue what that implied.

Saving Mr. Browden should have been easy. It was so clear! He felt lonely. He loved his books, and he wanted students to transcend their Esprit bags and aerosol cans long enough to commune with literature. But he lacked social skills, and he felt afraid to reach out to those who mocked him. Mr. Browden needed someone to love him.

I was twelve years old. I'd read the Bible, and I knew love changes people. Mr. Browden just needed to be needed, like Paul or Jonah or the harlot in Jericho.

I wore a skirt of stiff blue cotton that my mother's eighteen-inch waist fit in college. White top with a colored sailboat. Black Mary Janes and bobbed hair, curled under and flipped. Hand-me-down training bra from my sister Chris, pink bow at the center. Math book because nothing insults people more than pity. Hadn't he been a math teacher once? I would show my affection and need just by asking him to help me with my pre-algebra. Perfect.

Mr. Browden knew his math, especially calculations: kneel down next to student; put your hand on her shoulder; turn page in textbook; wait four minutes; ask a question with watery blue eyes; form an acute angle with your arm and the student's opposite shoulder; draw a perpendicular dissection with your other arm and stiff blue cotton. Close the angles.

I don't do math now, although I still try to figure out the formulas for salvation. When, after a year of my silence, Mr. Browden left the school for jail, I pitied him. Him, and his daughter, who was less silent than I. To my young mind, it seemed like our failure; he was lost and, having been found out, taken further from being found.

Leslie Norris writes, "I have not found them, islands of peace, of the blessed." But he and I "would search for them, would keep them floating with [our] breaths."¹ Water surrounds islands, of course. And I learned swimming well during those summer sessions as a child. I could undress in the deep end of the pool, sputter across to dry tile, and kick along the racing lane with a Styrofoam kickboard held rigidly before me. The teachers threw shiny black rings of rubber into the deep end, and I fought the pressure in my lungs and ears to reach and retrieve them. We dove through hula hoops and did flips off the board. I learned dolphin diving and swam a mile-long lake with salamanders gliding sleek-headed beside me in the water.

At seventeen I became a volunteer lifeguard. The mechanics of life guarding are simpler than math. You have strong arms and good lungs; a long, hooked metal pole; oars; and a boat. And you know how to deal with the drowners who, rather than being pulled to shore, drag their potential saviors underneath the cool curtain of lakes and pools. You get a certificate to prove you can do it.

No one teaches you, however, that storms negate training. I resented that, standing on a dock that jounced violently beneath my feet as I shouted to a canoe of girls at Church camp for the first time. First day of my volunteer position, and I shouted across the waves for them to hold on, forget the oars they've long since lost but continue to cry for, and pray for the wind to stop. The kids had been in the lake only a half hour when the breeze lost its temper; everyone scrambled out of the water but these three girls, too panicked to move. I knelt on the slat boards of the dock to steady long, willowy legs, and I held on. I kept shouting.

The lake had no islands for the canoe to drift towards. Voices reached me from across the lake, and I could tell the girls were sobbing. They had nothing to bail with but their empty hands, and the boat was filling with water. They couldn't swim well enough to come back without the boat, and slipping into the water for a moment slammed me against the dock, knocked my breath away, and filled my mouth with slime and splinter. Another girl found a telephone and phoned fifteen miles down the road for the priesthood, which I lack. Two men arrived dressed in white shirts, ties, and piety. They strode out onto my dock with thick-soled J.C. Penney shoes like Peter after a visit to the mall and blessed the water. The waves died down; the men brought the girls in. I ran barefoot down the muddy trail toward my cabin, cursing the boards of the dock and the water and my unsteady legs and a metal hook that could reach only twelve feet.

College came a year later, taking me away from the rain forests and ocean of western Washington. I came to Utah, to the desert bisected by the usually lolling Colorado that both nourishes and tears the junipers from rock during spring flooding. But I lived in Provo, camped on high ground, where it rarely rains.

Todd was from Colorado. He had blue eyes and a voice that left me drowning. On our fourth date, he backed me against a brick wall, slid his hands down my body, held me, and said he wanted to give me a good experience. I sat on the couch swathed in a thick blanket for hours after that, crying.

I'd gone out with him after meeting him at a party. He'd played the guitar and sung with teeth white as milk, but when Lara took the guitar away, his hands lay folded and small against outdated jeans. When he phoned two days later, I'd wondered if he'd had to hold the guitar to get brave enough to call me. He took me to a pizza joint near my house, and as we shuffled through the snow on the way home, he told me about his broken family and how he had nowhere to go for Christmas.

For the fifth date, Todd and I went to the supermarket. Term paper due in the morning, no food in the house, and a towheaded boy smiling shyly as I dragged him through the feminine hygiene aisle. I hadn't wanted to see him again, but he kept calling, kept lilting his voice upwards at the end of each sentence and turning each conversation into a question. He had said he wanted peace on earth, with me as a part of his personal saving grace. At Smiths we ran into people from his apartment complex, and he quickly and loudly introduced me, frantically grabbing my hand and wrapping his arm around my highwaisted jeans like a frightened child reaching for a life vest. He sang on the way to the car, both he and John Lennon advising me that "all you need is love," but I knew I could not save him.

I'm a Mormon. I have been since I turned eight years old, the Mormon estimate of an age of accountability. My parents devoted two Monday nights to explaining baptism to me: remission of sins, taking the name of Jesus Christ, confirmation of the Holy Ghost, accountability for further actions. The Sunday before my baptism, Ma brushed my hair hard, pulling two tight ponytails like red banners at the sides of my head. I went into Bishop Wolfly's office alone, sat in his brown chair with my feet dangling, and answered his questions. Eight years old is not as young as most people think; I knew what I was doing, and I was scared. I knew I couldn't blame my sister when I smeared butter all over the kitchen tile and drew pictures in it, knew I couldn't turn the corners down in my library books, knew I would be Jesus' child with his name to prove it. The bishop told me not to worry, to come back if I ever wanted to for any reason. I stood trembling, and he hugged me close, smoothing the ponytails. His hands felt like Momma's.

They hadn't mixed the hot and cold water well. My heavy polyester dress billowed up toward my knees, and I pushed it down into the water and walked toward my father. I could see my best friend, Vicki, dangling her feet over the edge of the baptismal font, her mother yanking her back. I looked across to my father, who rose like an island from the water. I smiled and slid bare feet across the yellow tile. He held me for a moment, asked,

“Are you all right?” I nodded. He raised one hand to the holy square, proclaimed his authority, and in the name of God drew me into the water. The tile slipped; my feet flew up. I felt my hair float above me, my breath gone from the force of the cold. Then, like Lazarus from the tomb and Christ from the grave, I rose out of the water into my father’s arms. Ma dried me with a towel, and I walked to the chapel to wait for the other children to finish dressing so that we could sing, pray, and return home.

When John the Baptist baptized Jesus, the Holy Ghost descended out of heaven like a dove. Does the entry into water always mean—at least for those of us who accept the vision—rebirth and the resting of wings above us? Christ needed no redemption, yet the wings still hovered. Does that mean he needed their guard for that which would be done to him? God knew nails would pierce Christ’s flesh; he knew also, I suppose, what would happen to me. He didn’t stop either action. But he sent the dove to Jesus, and to me through a circle of warm hands pressed to my temple, his hand through the hands of others. I have not figured out the mechanics of salvation. I do not know whether the devil put some evil design into Mr. Browden’s mind or whether he was just lonely and ill. Either way, it was not the devil who touched me. Christ consecrated my baptismal font and gave power for its grace, but it was still my father who lifted me from the waters.

I’m twenty-three now, old enough to know that redemption entails the responsibility of repentance, the responsibility of acknowledging the human acts that serve as liaison between us and the intangible. And I wonder what role forgiveness plays in that process, so carefully laid out in steps before me in the Sunday School manual. “Perhaps forgiveness,” writes contemporary New York playwright Tony Kushner, “is the place where love and justice finally meet.”² In the water of storm or flood and whatever metaphor we apply to what we do and what others do to us, perhaps forgiveness stands as an island, the unification of me with my loving father after he thrust me under justice’s cold surface; he didn’t damn me or save me. I forgive that; I have neither damned nor saved Mr. Browden or Todd or the unknown man who bloodied and threatened me less than a year ago.

Todd had a roommate—Scott, a philosophical boy with long, black, perpetually mussed hair that fell across his wide eyes when he laughed. We studied in BYU’s honors reading room late on Fridays, me perched on the windowsill and him beneath me in a chair. He would lean back in the chair, tug on his homemade beads, and silently laugh at his reading. I watched from above him, my coat wrapped tight to keep out the chill seeping in from the window. I tugged my own beads like a rosary, cried for him, and one night when he held and gently kissed me, I ceased trying to save him.

We went on an Honors Program retreat together, to Arches National Park in southern Utah. The BYU vans shuttled us down, at one point

releasing our luggage into a merry parade of bouncing duffels on the highway. An atavistic fire warmed our separate figures, and at night we climbed underneath an arch and scraped our hands raw.

The next morning it rained. Rain in western Washington is nothing like rain in southern Utah. In Washington everything is held down, but the heavy desert rains stir up layers of fine red dust into mud, fill the gullies, roar and threaten junipers and JanSport. We'd come to help out the Forest Service, and when the rain started, two rangers gathered us and explained that the water would wash away hundreds of tiny trees replanted in a formerly plowed field. To save the trees, we needed to pile earth around their bases, pat the cones solid, and line them with rocks. About thirty of us started to work, our bandannas and clothes growing sodden as well as soggy. I slipped in the mud and bathed in red. My hands slid over the piles of earth and patted, patted, coaxed, talked to the trees, and prayed root blessings. After building thirty or so little tree fortresses, I just wanted to lie in the muck and sleep or crawl into the vans and desert the desert in favor of a shower and hot chocolate. I wondered if the dirt islands could stand up to the rain or would just crumble the moment we left. My friends must have felt the same; we filtered away, then flooded in a run toward the visitors' center. I sprinted, my shoes splashing more red onto Amy and Jeff and Kimmy as I raced to escape the downpour.

I could not find Scott in the center, in the van, or by the drinking fountain. So I walked back to the field, where I found him, a blue nylon hood pulled over his hair, his glasses streaming rain. No one else remained among the sad mounds of earth that stood up from the collecting water pool. Most of the islands hadn't been made properly; we'd been cold and wet, and altruistic ideals frequently fail in the face of a downpour. Scott shuffled his boots in slow circles, walked around a mound, never looking up. From one island to the next he walked, building up the islands and fingering the trees gently. Up and down he shuffled, and I watched him. I stood silent on the borders, wondering if he could keep the islands from crumbling away, wondering if his care—or anyone's—could keep the seemingly arbitrary storm from erasing our handiwork. And I wondered how all powerful God really is, holding me above but not entirely out of the waters of justice and consequence of my own and others' actions. When Enoch and God looked at the residue of the people, God cried over their wickedness. The scriptures don't tell me whether he could have stopped their actions, but his tears tell me that to hold me, to raise Enoch or Lazarus, God's power doesn't keep him from pain. To lift me, he too must stand in the water.

So I think about Scott holding me, my bishop holding me, my father's arms raised to the square, and the wings hovering to meet the baptized

Jesus, and I think we are all each other's islands. We are not yet wholly redeemed, but we throw out the life rings even when we cannot swim ourselves, lift our children from the water of the womb and of the font, touching and trying to keep each other dry. We forgive, joining love and justice on the ground where both savior and saved cling against the rain.

I walked out to the center of the field; Scott looked at me and smiled as I began to work. We didn't curse the downpour or judge it as an omen. Just round and round—pat, build, caress, move on—our feet solid and rising, our hands gentle, and our heads bowed in love beneath the sky.

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1. From Leslie Norris's poem "Island of Peace."
2. *Perestroika*, act 5, scene 3.

When Children Sang

When children sang that night in Poza Rica,
 the crickets hushed. Bristling roosters forgot
 how to answer their rivals down the street
 called Salvador. Two thieves repented at the
 crosswalk, giving up all their plans to rob
 the jeweler. Pilgrims abandoned their march.
 They snuffed out candles, stopped to listen. Each
 child became my child—her white dress a robe,
 his red tie a blossom of *sangría*.

“I am a child of God,” one sang, each note
 a prophet’s staff parting the sea around us,
 and when the other children’s voices found us,
 far from home, no matter how dark the night,
 we felt at home that night in Poza Rica.

—Donnell Hunter

This poem won second place in the BYU Studies 1998 Poetry Contest.

Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile

A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover

The sacrament meeting in Santiago, Chile, was similar to most meetings held in July 1998 in LDS chapels throughout the world with one notable exception—not only the chapel was filled, but also the cultural hall, and people were standing around the edges of the seats. The ward obviously needed to be divided; however, five wards, equal in size, were already meeting in that same building. The Church simply could not build chapels fast enough to house its rapidly growing membership in Chile, one of the fastest growing LDS populations in the world. In fact, in 1999 one in every thirty-two Chileans is a member of the Church.¹

The tremendous growth of the Church in this long, narrow country on the Pacific coast of South America would have undoubtedly pleased Parley P. Pratt, an Apostle and the first president of the Pacific Mission, of which Chile was a part. On November 8, 1851, Elder Pratt, his wife Phoebe, and Rufus C. Allen disembarked from a ship in Valparaíso, Chile—the first Mormon missionaries to set foot in South America. However, their sojourn in Chile was short-lived. Discouraged and without a single convert, they left four months later and returned to the United States. One hundred years would pass before the Church would again attempt an active missionary program in Chile.

There were few LDS missionaries of the nineteenth century who combined the doctrinal knowledge, proselyting ability, and charisma of Parley P. Pratt. Comparing the methods he was able to employ to proselyte and to convert hundreds during his missions in the United States and Great Britain with the proselyting means available to him in Chile, Elder Pratt concluded that the time for the gospel to be introduced to Chile and the rest of South America had simply not yet arrived.

Elder Pratt's conclusion was probably correct. The constitutional protection afforded the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Chile determined the fate of this first LDS mission in South America. Elder Pratt's time in Chile became less a proselyting mission than a language-training and fact-gathering assignment. His description of the restrictions placed on proselyting in South American countries where the Catholic Church was given legal protection convinced the leadership of the Church to suspend missionary efforts in this region of the world until 1923, when

another Apostle, Melvin J. Ballard, was sent to open the South American Mission in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Parley Pratt's experience in Chile suggests how political restrictions on religious practice influenced the evolution and spread of the Church.²

Preparation for the Mission

From the time of the organization of the Church in 1830, its leaders have accepted a heavenly mandate to take the gospel to the entire world, without exception. Early Apostles traveled throughout the earth to fulfill that calling. They found that certain regions had political systems and constitutions which protected state churches by forbidding assembly and proselyting by other religions. As a result of these restrictions, LDS Church leaders focused missionary efforts in the United States, Great Britain, and other European countries where religious freedom was guaranteed. The political prohibition against religious freedom in the Catholic countries of Europe and South America caused the Church to wait until the twentieth century to expand into these regions, some as late as 1974.³

Interest in sending missionaries to Latin America was manifest in 1841 when Joseph Ball was called to go to South America.⁴ No known record of Ball's completion of this mission exists. In 1849, President Brigham Young talked to Parley P. Pratt, the second-ranking member of the Quorum of the Twelve, about a mission to the Pacific Islands and coastal areas of South America and suggested that Elder Pratt go to Chile.⁵ Though he did not leave immediately, Elder Pratt began preparing for the mission. He worked during the winter of 1849 and 1850 to establish his families as best he could, and he began to study the Spanish language. During this time, he also led a scouting expedition into southern Utah and acted as a member of the territorial legislature.⁶

Elder Pratt was set apart by Brigham Young on February 23, 1851, to "open the door and proclaim the Gospel in the Pacific Islands, in Lower California and in South America."⁷ Parley Pratt intended to fill his mission assignment in a Spanish-speaking South American country. Other missionaries were sent to the islands. Elder Pratt, two of his wives, Phoebe and Elizabeth,⁸ and Rufus Chester Allen left for California on March 16, 1851, in the company of Elders Charles C. Rich, Amasa Lyman, and a group of emigrants in 150 wagons. During the long, tedious journey, Elder Pratt wrote that he was engaged in "studying the Spanish language with all diligence." He evidently expected to learn the language in a few short months.⁹

After arriving in Los Angeles on June 16, 1851, Elder Pratt and his group continued on to San Francisco, their embarkation point for South America. Upon arrival, Rufus Allen worked in the gold mines to earn money (\$100 per month) for the voyage, while Elder Pratt labored with the Saints in that

area. He was able to baptize several converts during his time in San Francisco, and he raised approximately \$1,400 for the trip—mostly from donations by members and friends. He also borrowed \$500 from a recent convert, money which he sent to Salt Lake City presumably to help care for his family.¹⁰

When he first received his call, Elder Pratt's intent was to go to Chile; however, in California he made it clear that they had not yet decided on all the details of the mission. At the end of August, he wrote to Brigham Young:

If the Presidency wishes to make any communication on that [Church emigration to Southern California] or any other subject letters addressed to me at San Francisco, Cal. will be forwarded to me in Chili, or elsewhere. . . . I expect to leave this country for South America, soon; unless I should be able to go to New York, via. the Isthmus, to get some books printed; which does not now seem to open very favorably.¹¹

He was excited about the adventure on which he was embarking: "I glory in my calling. I would not exchange it for any other circumstance or calling, on this earth," he told Brigham Young at this time.¹² Five months later, after his experience in Chile, his opinion may have changed.

Choosing a Country to Start the Work in Latin America

The reasons Elder Pratt chose to go to Chile are probably related to several factors: Alternative countries in Latin America presented serious problems. Mexico was geographically the closest Spanish-speaking nation. The United States, however, had just three years before won a war against Mexico, with the latter losing over one-third of its territory. As Americans, the missionaries would not have been very welcome at that time. The Mormon Battalion's participation in the war was also known in Mexico. Wounds would have to heal before an American missionary would have success in Mexico.

Central America was the next alternative. However, after Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808, Spain's control of Central America weakened, and the region fragmented into many political divisions. As a result, the political situation in Central America was precarious. Elder Pratt had met many Americans from the eastern United States who had come to California through the Isthmus of Panama. The accounts of these trips were replete with descriptions of hardships in Central America.¹³

The other two South American nations on the Pacific coast were Colombia and Peru. Colombia had no adequate port facilities on the Pacific, leaving Peru as the final alternative to Chile. Peru offered a logical choice, in part, because of its large Indian population. After returning from Chile, Elder Pratt stated that he would have had better success had he gone to Peru: "Peru is tranquil. . . . The government of Peru is much influenced

by England and the United States. Its constitution guarantees liberty of the press, of speech, and of worship.”¹⁴

However, Peru was not selected for missionary work. One reason may have been related to an important motivation for many of Parley Pratt’s missionary activities—a desire to preach the gospel to the descendants of the Book of Mormon people. His first mission was to the Indians in the western United States. He believed, as did a number of early Church leaders, that the Book of Mormon group under the direction of Lehi had landed on the coast of Chile;¹⁵ thus going to Chile would put him at the very heart of the Book of Mormon population. LaMond Tullis has suggested:

Since first becoming a Mormon, Pratt had focused his attention on the Indians. He had already walked 3,000 miles on the church’s first mission to them; a few thousand miles more were of little consequence if that would help to “hasten the day when evil and error should be no more.” It did not disconcert him that in South America, after a massive nineteenth-century European immigration, not everyone was a native American. Lehi had landed there, he said, and that was enough. “Red Men of the forest—Peruvians, Mexicans, Guatemalans, descendants of every tribe and tongue of this mysterious race!” he had written in the church’s *Millennial Star*. “Your history, your Gospel, your destiny is revealed. It will soon be made known to you and to all nations—to every kindred, tongue and people.”¹⁶

Elder Pratt’s contacts with Chileans in California may have also influenced him. The California Gold Rush affected many nations of the Americas, particularly Chile, which was the first foreign country to learn of the gold discovery. A large number of Chileans immediately went to California.¹⁷ During the year 1849, a total of 303 vessels left Valparaíso, Chile, for California. Not only did Chile provide miners, but during the gold rush, Chile was California’s main supply source for foodstuffs.¹⁸

The Chilean influence was very noticeable in California. Many locations bear names such as Chilean Bat, Chilean Gulch, and Chilean Camp. Elder Pratt may have come in contact with Chileans and found opportunity to practice his rudimentary Spanish. He mentioned that a number of foreigners were among those he baptized in California but did not specify any particular group.¹⁹

The Missionaries

Parley P. Pratt’s companions on this mission were his wife Phoebe and Rufus Chester Allen. Phoebe Soper, the eighth wife of Parley P. Pratt, was born on July 8, 1823, in Hempstead Harbor, New York. She married Parley on February 8, 1846, at the age of twenty-three and eventually bore three children, of which only one lived to adulthood. Phoebe was twenty-eight when she accompanied her husband to Chile and was pregnant with

Courtesy LDS Church Archives



Parley P. Pratt, ca. 1853. First president of the Pacific Mission, which included Chile, Elder Pratt and his companions arrived in Chile in November 1851 but remained there only five months.

eats but little, vommits continually, and is getting verry poor in flesh.”²² Phoebe must have entered on this mission with a certain amount of trepidation and a great deal of faith as she faced poor health and the impending birth of a child in a strange land with no female companions and little knowledge of Spanish.

Rufus C. Allen also accompanied Parley P. Pratt as a missionary. Several missionaries traveled with the Pratts to California, but only Allen continued on to Chile. Allen was born in Delaware River, New York, on October 22, 1827, and was baptized into the Church in Caldwell County, Missouri, in 1837. During the exodus west, he joined the Mormon Battalion and upon his discharge settled in the Salt Lake Valley. He accompanied Elder Pratt on his 1850 scouting expedition to Southern Utah and then joined him on the mission to Chile. After returning from Chile, he helped organize settlements in Southern Utah, served a mission to Native Americans there, and, for much of the last three decades of his life, labored as a temple worker in St. George, where he died in 1915. His three wives bore four children.²³

her second child. Parley contemplated leaving her behind in California because of the pregnancy but eventually decided to take her.²⁰

Phoebe had suffered with poor health for some time. In a letter written prior to leaving Salt Lake City, Phoebe notes, “As my health is not good I am advised to go. Whether I shall at present go further than there [California] or not, I cannot tell, but my health is a great consideration to me. . . . I hope it will be beneficial to me.”²¹ While in California, the Pratts made the decision that Phoebe, in the last months of pregnancy, should go on to Chile, facing a two-month journey in a sailing vessel to a strange land. Elder Pratt records from on board ship about how difficult the journey was for her: “Phebe,

The Voyage and First Home in Valparaíso

On September 5, 1851, the Pratts and Rufus Allen embarked for Chile on the sailing vessel *Henry Kelsey*, the only passengers on the small cargo ship.²⁴ The passage, including food, cost sixty dollars each. The voyage was not pleasant. The ship had no passenger accommodations, so they readily felt the heat and cold. They were seasick much of the trip, which limited their study and reading. They also suffered from the bad food served them on the ship. After a month at sea, Parley wrote:

We have a miser for a captain, who thinks more of a sixpence than he does of our lives or even of his own. He will not suffer the steward to cook potatoes, bread, pies, puddings or any other wholesome food, but keeps us on hard, mouldy bread, full of bugs and worms, and on salt beef and pork—the pork being rotten. He has flour, potatoes and good pork, but will not allow it to be used. . . . You will readily perceive that we are truly in unpleasant circumstances.²⁵

With Phoebe in her ninth month of pregnancy and very ill, they landed in Valparaíso on November 8, glad to set foot on solid ground.²⁶

After arriving in Chile, they stayed at the French Hotel for a few days and appreciated the change in environment from the ship. Elder Pratt specifically mentioned the “great variety of good eating” at the hotel, in contrast to their experience on the ship.²⁷ The Sunday after their arrival, they attended a Catholic mass, which was unlike any meeting they had ever seen. When they inquired if this was the usual church service, they were informed “that this kind of worship prevailed throughout Spanish America . . . and that it is called by the dignified name of Christianity, and that it is very ancient.”²⁸

The next week they rented a house on Victoria Street and purchased furniture. Elder Pratt was pleased with the house in particular because it offered peace and quiet and a garden with a variety of beautiful flowers and fruit trees. The neighbors were polite and kind. The area had a large number of young adults and children who soon became their friends. The missionaries devoted their time to studying the language with the help of their neighbors, who visited and talked to them often. Elder Pratt felt the missionaries’ language skills improved rapidly:

Truly Providence has opened our way, had ordered our footsteps, and cast our lot in pleasant places where we were strangers in a strange land, and among a people of a strange tongue. Truly he has opened our way to learn that tongue, and we can learn it if we are diligent.²⁹

Then a tragic event occurred. Three weeks after their arrival, Phoebe gave birth to a son, Omner, who lived only five weeks. When she started into labor, no doctor was available, so she was assisted by two Chilean midwives who had limited medical experience. The labor was difficult, and

when the birth did not occur, the two women lifted Phoebe by the armpits and shook her until the baby came. This harsh treatment was obviously hard on Phoebe and possibly weakened the baby so much so that it passed away on January 7 from consumption.³⁰ The child was buried in a Protestant cemetery on a hill above Valparaíso. Pratt described the sad event:

On the 30th of Nov [1851], Omner was born. He was a beautiful child. He lived one month and eight days, or, 38 days, during which he pined away, and finally died, Jan. 7, '52.

During all the s[c]enes of his birth, life, death, and burial no female friend was near except his mother, except strangers who knew not our language. Not even a hired servant, for they in this country are worse than useless.— It cost 10 dols to bury him. His mother is in her usual health, or, rather better than, in years past.³¹

One can only imagine how difficult the experience was for Phoebe and how lonely she must have felt. How painful it must have been to leave Chile two months later knowing she would never return to the grave of her second child.³²

Economic Conditions

Valparaíso, Chile, was a bustling, vibrant commercial center for the entire west coast of South America. It was the main port of call for ships from Europe and the eastern United States voyaging to and from California via Cape Horn. The California Gold Rush had a dramatic effect on the city—Valparaíso became the supply source for most of the foodstuffs reaching the gold fields. Within a six-day period in 1849, three ships arrived in Valparaíso with about \$60,000 dollars worth of gold. A total of \$2,500 was spent per day in the city by passengers on their way to California. One can imagine the disruptive economic effect on a town of 30,000.³³

So large was the movement of gold into Chile that it significantly changed not only the economy of Valparaíso, but also the economy of the entire country. Farmers throughout Chile opened more land to grow additional food for the California market. Wheat production doubled, and other products such as barley, corn, beans, potatoes, and fruit were in high demand.³⁴ Unfortunately, the boom also caused serious inflation to hit not only the Chilean coastal cities, but the entire country as well. The cost of food doubled because merchants could get four and five times the price in California. Elder Pratt found the cost of living higher in Chile than he had ever experienced elsewhere: "Rents are high here, provisions and fuel dear."³⁵

The high cost of living in Valparaíso was not the only economic problem facing the missionaries. In North America and Great Britain, missionaries could employ the method of traveling "without purse or scrip,"

dependent on friendly people or members of the Church to take care of their physical needs. If such aid was not forthcoming, they would simply stop for a while and obtain employment, usually in some agricultural pursuit. But in Chile things were different. Work opportunities were not available, especially for Americans who could not speak Spanish well. The return of miners from California meant Elders Pratt and Allen had to compete for work, losing out to Chileans. They even had to resort to unusual activities: "There has been no employment for neither of us. We have picked up gold and silver coin in the street, but even that is becoming scarce, and is now poor picking."³⁶

Their precarious condition in Valparaíso, which showed no hope for improvement, persuaded the missionaries to move to a less expensive area. On January 24, 1852, they traveled by oxcart to Quillota, a small settlement of less than 10,000 people, twenty miles northeast of Valparaíso. Quillota had developed as a rest stop on the route between Santiago and Valparaíso.³⁷

They rented rooms in a house from a widow with two daughters, fifteen and seventeen years old. The family was very sociable and helped the three North Americans with their Spanish. The missionaries liked the small village: "The people in this town seem to be a neat, plain, loving and sociable people. . . . The houses are mostly neat and comely."³⁸

In Quillota they were able to live much more economically, as Parley noted in a letter to his wife Agatha:

I am verry well, and as fat as you ever saw me in England. I live mostly on ripe figs, which with other causes will, I hope remove that bilious castiveness which has troubled me for so many years. . . . We are not far enough inland to live verry cheep but 75 cts. or one dollar a day supports 3 of us, including house rent, fuel and all expenses.³⁹

As pleasant as the situation was, the missionaries stayed in the village only five weeks before returning to Valparaíso to set sail for San Francisco on March 2, 1852. The political and religious situation in Chile had convinced Parley Pratt that traditional Mormon missionary work was not possible in Chile.

Church and State in Nineteenth-Century Chile

An important aspect of colonial Spanish rule in the Americas was the prominent role of the Roman Catholic Church in all aspects of government and society. The close relationship between church and state melded lines of authority and control. One of the results was that the Catholic Church was supported financially by the state and that its religious domination was guaranteed by restrictions on all other religions. When independence came

to Spanish Latin America and the political break was made with Spain, a similar break with the Church did not occur. In almost all of the constitutions of the new countries, the Catholic Church was guaranteed protection and dominance. Though its role fluctuated in each country, it was not until conservative governments were replaced by republics influenced by liberal and positivist ideas that the legal protection and support of the Catholic Church was abolished.⁴⁰

Chile was not different from the rest of Latin America. The first three constitutions of Chile held as a fundamental precept the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church as the state church. As such it was supported by the state treasury and was afforded a high level of protection, including denying to other faiths the freedom of worship. With the adoption of the Chilean Constitution of 1925, freedom of worship was finally guaranteed.⁴¹

George Byam, an Englishman who lived in Chile between 1847–50, commented on the power of the Catholic Church:

But the intolerance of the Chilian clergy is not worse than in any other of the Spanish-founded republics: there is a churchyard at Valparaíso where an Englishman can be buried without any molestation; however, at Santiago, it used to be a service of danger to attend a funeral. In no place would the clergy allow the body of a Protestant to be interred in one of their churchyards.⁴²

Non-Catholic religions were restricted from worshipping, even on private property. Furthermore, the government and supporters of the Catholic Church attempted to prohibit the printing, selling, and circulation of any religious pamphlet or book, including the Bible.⁴³ One man who ran afoul of this prohibition was William Wheelwright, an entrepreneur living in Valparaíso. In 1835 he hoped to build a railroad from Valparaíso to the capital city, Santiago, with a stop in Quillota. In an attempt to curry favor with the local people, he printed a large number of Bibles in Spanish and distributed them throughout Quillota. The act backfired. The citizens of Quillota became so angry that they collected the Bibles and held a public burning in the central plaza.⁴⁴

By the time the LDS missionaries arrived in Chile, many restrictions, though not gone, had eased. The growing number of non-Catholics in the country made the enforcement of the laws very difficult. As in all of Latin America, Protestant congregations were organized, with only occasional problems, in cities with immigrant populations. The Church of England had a congregation in Valparaíso at the time Parley Pratt was there.⁴⁵ A Protestant Union Church was established by the Reverend David Trumbull in Valparaíso in 1847, and eventually the congregation erected their own building—the first Protestant meetinghouse built on the west coast of South America. However, they did not actively proselyte. The Reverend Trumbull restricted his ministry to the religious needs of Protestants

already residing in Valparaíso. Trumbull told Elder Pratt that he had had no problem bringing in Spanish-language Bibles and tracts and that he had been able to place some in bookstores.⁴⁶

Accustomed to working in countries with religious freedom, where he could enter into public debate, print tracts and books, and hold public meetings, Elder Pratt was frustrated with proselyting in a country with a strong state religion. Unable to do the type of missionary work commonly employed by Mormon missionaries, he was left with little he could accomplish in Chile. Most of his proselyting activities appear to have been limited to occasional talks with neighbors.

Elder Pratt was concerned that the priests made money charging for the administration of sacred ordinances, and he called this practice an abomination.⁴⁷ But he was also curious about Roman Catholic worship. He was impressed with the large size of the churches. He noted that there were both rich and poor in attendance. He commented on the lack of music and preaching, and he felt there was little interaction between the priest and the participants. He believed that the focus of worship was on the images and paintings and not on the mass itself, since the mass was in Latin and was not very audible in the large churches. Not understanding the liturgy himself, he responded to a church scene with some scorn:

All seemed full of zeal and of devotion. All bowed down on their knees in silent, solemn attitudes. All their faces seemed disfigured with a painful and awe-st[r]icken solemnity. All made certain signs and motions, while they said nothing audible, and the impression of a strange observer would be that the image, to which every eye was turned with long and supplicating gaze and imploring look, had no ears to hear, but was deeply versed in the science of physiognomy, and also acquainted with the deaf and dumb alphabet.⁴⁸

Since Elder Pratt was not significantly involved in open proselyting, he appears to have had only a few negative proselyting experiences. One occurred in Quillota: “The first person to whom I explained our mode of baptism, actually laughed till she laughed herself into a fit of hysterics, could not stop, went out doors, had her laugh out and came back and apologized.”⁴⁹

Parley Pratt’s *Proclamación*

Elder Pratt’s feelings about the Catholic Church become obvious in a pamphlet he wrote in Valparaíso entitled *¡Proclamación! Extraordinaria, para los Americanos Españoles*.⁵⁰ This proclamation was sixteen pages long, written in two columns, the left column being the Spanish translation of the English text in the right column. Elder Pratt begins with a brief description of the restoration of the gospel and the Book of Mormon. He dwells at length on the government John the Revelator called “*Mystery, Babylon the*

Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth,” which he identifies as “the city of ROME, and the MYSTERY of her religion; or, of the religion of which she is the HEAD”:

Who has had power to enforce the same by law, and by military power?

Rome!

Who, then, has deceived all nations as predicted in the Revelation?

Rome!

NO OTHER.—Because no other has had power over all. . . .

If we enquire in any part of the world; which is the Great, the Universal Church of all Nations? It will be answered readily: thus: “LA CATOLICA ROMANO [*sic*].”

He also demonstrates his frustration over the prohibition of proselytizing in Latin America:

Should Peter, James or John, arise from the dead, and commence in Cuba, Mexico, Central America, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Buenos Ayres or Brazil, to preach or practice the Baptism, (or the *immersion*) of repentance, for remission of sins: or should they assemble the church, thus immersed, for public worship, to heal the sick, cast out devils, speak, sing, pray, or prophecy, they would be found transgressors of the laws and constitutions of said countries: unless there are some exceptions, by late alterations, or revolutions in some of them.

After presenting the details of the restoration of the gospel, Elder Pratt appeals to Spanish Americans as descendants of the peoples of the Book of Mormon:

Spanish Americans! a vast majority of you are the descendants of the ancient race of the Mexican, Peruviana, Chilena and other nations of original Americans.

The origin of that entire race is now revealed by Angels, and by the discovery and translation of their *ancient records*, (the book of Mormon.)

He concludes with a call for religious freedom and for a decrease in power of the Catholic Church: “Give entire freedom to that divine and holy principle called human intellect, liberty of *conscience*, of *thought*, of *speech*, and of the *press*.” He suggests they take the clergy off the public payroll, establish a public school system with the money that is normally given to government-sponsored religion, encourage the reading of the scriptures, stop the practice of payment for sacred ordinances, and refrain from the worship of saints and idols.⁵¹

The obstacles presented by the political situation in Chile were compounded by the missionaries’ struggle with the language. Page eight of the proclamation, as well as the title, contain what are probably examples of Elder Pratt’s difficulty with Spanish. The first eight pages of the pamphlet

were likely translated by someone other than Elder Pratt, perhaps a native Spanish-speaker. While the translation is not particularly well done, it is far superior to the translation that follows, which is probably Elder Pratt's.⁵² In the second paragraph of page nine, the quality of the Spanish translation drops dramatically to the level of a beginning student. For example, the Spanish translation reads, "Sobre del dia 22 de Octubre, A.D. 1827, un Angele restaurar el Evangelio llenamente á los hombre." It should read "En el día 22 de octubre, D.C. 1827, un ángel restauró al hombre la plenitud del evangelio."⁵³ This poor translation might have made it difficult for a native Spanish speaker to take the information seriously, making the work even more frustrating for the missionaries.

Politics and Revolution

When the missionaries arrived in Chile, the republic of approximately two million people was a mere thirty-three years old. From the time of its independence from Spain in 1818 until 1830, Chile, like so many other South American republics, suffered as political factions in the country struggled for power. In Chile, the conflicts were between conservative groups who wanted independence from Spain but little social or political change. Ultimately, a coalition of these conservative groups, including the Catholic Church, came together and ruled Chile for over twenty years.⁵⁴

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a liberal movement of businessmen, students, and intellectuals emerged and participated in the elections of 1850 without success. That failure led to frustration that erupted into fighting in April 1851. At the time the Pratts and Brother Allen were making the voyage from San Francisco to Chile, liberal rebel leader General José Maria de la Cruz y Prieto was leading a contingent of 8,500 soldiers north from Concepción. On December 8, when the missionaries were already in Valparaíso, the rebels and the loyalists fought a battle at Barros Negros, south of Santiago, and Cruz y Prieto was defeated. At the same time, another rebel group took over La Serena, about one hundred miles north of Valparaíso, and sacked the city.⁵⁵

Because of the civil war, Parley Pratt's arrival in Valparaíso was most untimely. Although the intense fighting was occurring elsewhere, waves of unrest and suspicion washed over this coastal city. He described the conflict as being violent and costing over five thousand lives, and he was not pleased that the fighting and loss of life did little to change the political situation in Chile. He noted that an amnesty was reached "without alteration of the government. But the people are sanguine in their hopes, and they think to accomplish their liberties in a few years: they are by no means crushed in Spirit by the present failure."⁵⁶

Elder Pratt's major concern was the lack of religious freedom. He believed that the governmental protection provided to the Catholic Church

essentially eliminated the possibility of doing missionary work in South America. In his extensive report to Brigham Young written shortly after leaving Chile, he focused on the problems of freedom and liberty, summarizing the constitutional restrictions on freedom in Chile, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, and Colombia. He described revolutionary activities then occurring that he hoped would change the political environment in the future.

He described the control held by the Catholic Church over the political activities in all of the region and focused his attention on Peru, where he felt the greatest chance for missionary success existed. He described British influence in Peru regarding the freedom of the press, speech, and religion. The right of Protestants to assemble had just been granted that year, but those freedoms were still under attack by the Catholic Church and their continuance was not assured. He had hopes for change: "Should Peru sustain her liberties, a field is opened in the heart of Spanish America, and in the largest, best informed, and most influential city and nation of South America, for the Bible, the Book of Mormon, the fulness of the Gospel to be introduced."⁵⁷

Parley Pratt's concerns over the political restrictions on religion in Latin America were expressed in a talk he gave one year after returning from Chile. In a passionate discussion about the principles of freedom found in the American Constitution, he suggested that those same freedoms would be extended to the world. He looked forward to the day when those countries would "no longer be shackled, either by ignorance, by religious or political bondage . . . but when all will positively have the knowledge of the truth, and freely enjoy it with their neighbors." He then described his experience in Chile and suggested that Chileans were afforded some liberty but not in the realm of religion: "They have this awful clause specifying a certain religion, that shall be the religion of the State, to the prohibition of all other religions, or public exercise of other religions." He suggested that the situation would change, not by violent revolution, but by time: "The people are not able to throw off those fetters of bondage, and that heavy yoke. Circumstances are against them. But Providence opens the way whereby they may liberate themselves."⁵⁸ Elder Pratt believed the Church needed to be ready, specifically in language preparation, to return to South America when those changes occurred.

The Decision to Return to the United States

The inability to communicate and proselyte weighed heavily on Parley Pratt. At the beginning of the mission, he had been optimistic and eager. Because of the distances, the missionaries received no letters from home until just before leaving Chile. In a letter to his wife Agatha, written from Quillota, he expressed these feelings: "My dear girl: —if you could know

how I long to see you. . . . It is now eight months since I have heard one word. I almost dread to hear, lest some sickness, or want, or death has crushed some of you. But, on the other hand I realize in whose service I am.”⁵⁹

By the end of February, Elder Pratt had reached a low point and had decided to return to Utah. When he went to Valparaíso to secure passage to California, he checked the post office for letters from home and found none. “I returned to my home lodgings in sorrow,” he wrote to his wife Belinda. He spent the following day reading newspapers from both South and North America and became upset that nothing was mentioned about the Church. “I went to bed the next night, and again I could neither sleep nor rest. I tried to pray but the words would hardly come I was so worn out.” His spirits improved the next day when he found that two letters from Utah had arrived; they were “like life from the dead.”⁶⁰

In addition to the sense of isolation, Elder Pratt struggled with the frustration he felt in having to return home without having established the Church in South America. He felt limited in his efforts because of financial difficulties and struggles with Spanish. He studied the language intensively and occasionally had some success,⁶¹ but in the end he realized the difficulty in learning a foreign language: “I study the Language all day, and think of it, and even talk it loud in my sleep. . . . But it is no small work to become familiar with the entire grammar, words and style of a foreign tongue.” On his voyage home, he confided in his journal, “As to a foreign language, if we get it in two years more we will do well.”⁶² His decision not to go to Peru after leaving Chile was based on “an empty purse and imperfect tongue, which has only barely commenced to stammer in that language.” He was returning to the United States where he could study Spanish “more fully,” better direct the Pacific Mission, and provide for his family, for whom, he wrote on his journey home, “I must do something as soon as possible if God will open the way.” He planned to return to Utah, translate the Book of Mormon and other literature into Spanish, and prepare two or three others to return with him to South America.⁶³

He expressed to Brigham Young his concerns over the outcome of his mission: “I hope I shall not be accounted a slothful servant, for I assure you I do all in my power, with all diligence, and with all the prayer of faith I possess. And my earnest desire is to be counted worthy to labor for the restoration of Israel till it be accomplished.”⁶⁴ It was not an entirely satisfied Parley Parker Pratt who returned to Salt Lake City.

The Journey Home

When Elder Pratt went to Valparaíso to make arrangements for the voyage home, he found numerous vessels advertising for passengers to San Francisco. These notices in Spanish, English, and French indicated that a

number of ships carrying both cargo and passengers had excellent accommodations for passengers, but it was the following notice, in English, that caught Elder Pratt's eye: "For SAN FRANCISCO to sail on saturday the 28th of the present month, the fine fast sailing american brig DRACUT; for passage only apply to *Lopez and Sartory*." He decided on the *Dracut*. The ship did not sail on the twenty-eighth as promised but instead sailed on the third of March.⁶⁵ But a few more days did not matter when weighed against a journey that would last over two months.⁶⁶

While their earlier voyage from San Francisco to Chile was merely unpleasant, the return trip was horrendous. Travelers at sea on the west coast of South America had to contend with the queasy motions of the Humboldt current. The missionaries spent over two months on these rolling seas in what today might be regarded an oversized rowboat. Unable to catch the wind, they slowed to a standstill for days at a time. As the *Dracut* made slow progress northward, the provisions dwindled rapidly. After fifty-five days, Elder Pratt vividly described the situation:

We live on a little poor, hard bread, probably baked some two or three years ago, and some beans, and very poor damaged salt beef and pork. We have no flour, potatoes, sugar, molasses, rice or other comforts, although we pay a good price for cabin passage.

. . . We are hungry, and weary, and lonesome, and disconsolate. But, after praying much for a fair wind and speed, we find our prayers are not answered, and we have given it up, and have asked our Heavenly Father to give us patience and reconciliation to His will.⁶⁷

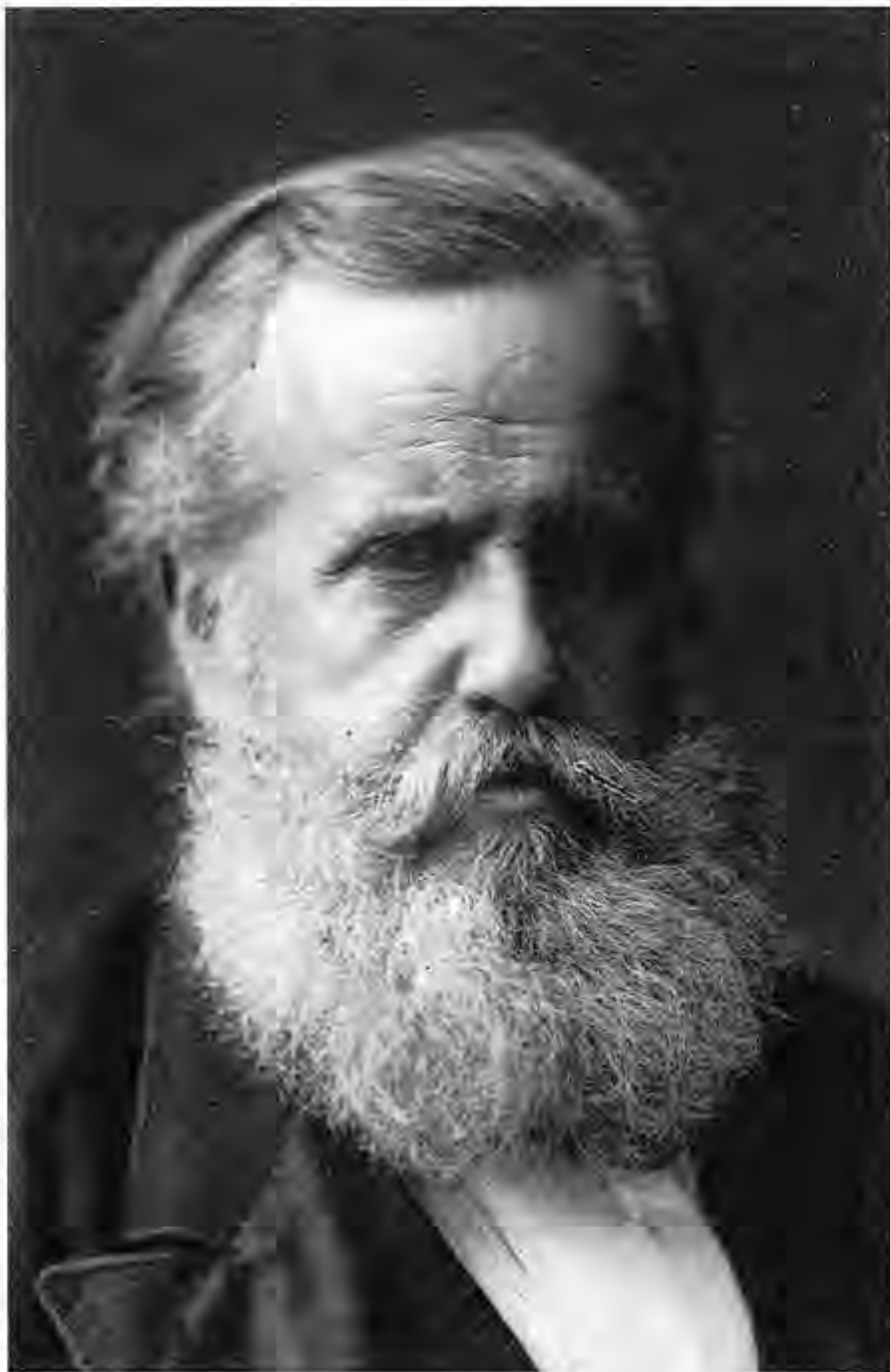
He also states that they were "spurned and hated because of our testimony."⁶⁸ Pratt family stories say that the sailors threatened to resort to cannibalism and that Phoebe Pratt was their target and was saved only by fast talking and prayer.⁶⁹

The missionaries landed in San Francisco on May 21, 1852, in very poor condition. They were still far from Utah, but Elder Pratt managed to raise adequate funds: "Through the kindness of my brethren and friends, near twelve hundred dollars in money, mules and a wagon was contributed to assist me in my mission and for my journey home, being given at various times after my arrival from Chili."⁷⁰ It was not until September 14 that the missionaries, in company with sixteen others, were able to depart California, arriving in Utah on October 18, 1852.

Aftermath

Elder Pratt believed that when the time was right he would return and continue the work in South America, most likely in Peru. The constitutional ban on non-Catholic assembly and proselyting made it practically

Courtesy Library of Congress



Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II, 1825–1891. During an 1876 visit to the United States, Dom Pedro briefly stopped in Salt Lake City, where he toured the Tabernacle and attended a Mormon service.

impossible for any new religion to gain a foothold in Chile. So when the money ran out, the decision to return home was not a difficult one.

While in California, even before returning to Utah, Elder Pratt started a class to teach Spanish to several young men, expecting them to go to Latin America as missionaries.⁷¹ His journal indicates that he continued to study Spanish during the months after his return to Utah. He returned to California the following year and continued to study Spanish but at that time made no mention in his journal of returning to Latin America.⁷² His plans to establish the Church in South America were abruptly ended with his tragic assassination on May 13, 1857, while he was serving as a missionary in the southern states. In that senseless act

of violence, the Church lost one of its greatest missionaries.⁷³

After the death of Parley Pratt, Church leaders turned their attention away from Latin America to other parts of the world, and contacts with Latin American countries were limited. In 1876 the emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II, stopped in Salt Lake City on his way to San Francisco. He had stated that “if he could not see a harem in Constantinople . . . he w[ould] visit that of Brigham Young.”⁷⁴ Dom Pedro wanted to travel as a private citizen and did not want any “pomp and ceremony” accompanying his visit, disappointing some officials. He toured the Tabernacle and attended a Mormon service. He also made an obvious effort to support the Catholic Church in the city. Dom Pedro did not meet with Brigham Young and rumors flew. Many of the themes Parley Pratt had talked about, including the lack of religious freedom in South America, were discussed at this time in the Salt Lake papers, possibly reinforcing among Church leaders the view of South America Parley Pratt had described over twenty years earlier.⁷⁵

Missionaries did go into Mexico in 1875, but the primary interest of the Church was to find an area where Mormon colonists could settle. Mormon colonies made up of North Americans were established there in 1885, and the Church has maintained a presence in Mexico since that time, even though members have struggled through some very difficult times of revolution and persecution.

Not until 1923, however, was interest in South American missions renewed. Two events were responsible. Church members who had emigrated from Germany to Argentina wrote to the First Presidency requesting missionaries. The First Presidency also received a report from Church historian Andrew Jenson on his trip to Latin America, where he had visited, among other countries, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. In his report, Jenson discussed the issues of religious freedom and the possibility of proselyting in Latin America.

After hearing Jenson's recommendations and receiving the requests of the German members, Church leaders sent missionaries to the European immigrants in the city of Buenos Aires, Argentina.⁷⁶ Melvin J. Ballard, accompanied by two members of the First Quorum of the Seventy, Rey L. Pratt and Rulon S. Wells, arrived in Buenos Aires on December 6, 1925, permanently establishing the presence of the Church in South America.⁷⁷ In 1956, over one hundred years after Parley P. Pratt first entered Chile as a missionary, missionaries sent from Argentina again entered Chile. Since that time, the growth of the Church in Chile has been phenomenal. In 1998 the membership included over 430,000 members. Chile is the only major country of the world with close to 3 percent of the country's population members of the Church.

Parley Pratt's experience impressed upon early Church leaders the importance of knowing the history and current events of nations. They became particularly aware of constitutional changes in Catholic countries where church and state were one. Missionaries were generally not sent into new areas without the leaders examining the political situation to ensure that time would not be wasted. Church publications followed world political and constitutional history. After returning from Argentina, Elder Melvin J. Ballard stated in an article discussing revolutions in South America, "No people on the face of the globe watch the trend of world events with deeper interest than do the Latter-day Saints."⁷⁸

Conclusion

Mormon missionaries who experience limited baptismal success may be heartened by the Chilean experience of Parley P. Pratt, one of the Church's greatest missionaries. Elder Ballard had a similar experience during the six months he spent in Buenos Aires, when he failed to learn

Spanish and had very limited baptismal success.⁷⁹ But these experiences are important in the overall evolution of missionary work throughout the world. They provide a history of work and sacrifice upon which later missionaries profit. Elder Pratt's belief that once the political and social system in a country changed, the gospel could take firm root turned out to be true. But not even Parley Parker Pratt could have envisioned a growth of Mormonism in Chile so rapid that the Church would be unable to build chapels fast enough to accommodate its new members.

A. Delbert Palmer served as the first mission president of the Chilean Mission and in 1999 was awarded Brigham Young University's Presidential Citation for Outstanding Service. Mark L. Grover is Senior Librarian and Latin American Bibliographer, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

1. 1999–2000 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1999), 299.

2. For more information about the mission in Chile, see F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University, 1987); F. LaMond Tullis, "California and Chile in 1851 as Experienced by the Mormon Apostle Parley P. Pratt," *Southern California Quarterly* 67 (fall 1985): 291–301; Rodolfo Acevedo A., *Los Mormones en Chile: 30 años de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Días* (Santiago, Chile: By the author, 1990); and A. Delbert Palmer, "Establishing the L.D.S. Church in Chile" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979). Andrew Jenson, "West Indies Mission," in *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1941), 938–39; and 1997–1998 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996), 345.

3. In 1841 and 1853, missionaries did go to Jamaica, which at that time was part of the British Empire. See "The Gospel in the United States, &c," *Millennial Star* 15 (April 2, 1853): 216–17; and Jenson, "West Indies Mission," in *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 938–39.

4. 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), 4:413.

5. Journal History of the Church, May 27, 1849, 2, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), microfilm copy in Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives). In its First General Epistle from Salt Lake City, the First Presidency stated, "Elder Parley P. Pratt has been assigned a mission to the Western Islands, whither he is expecting to go before another winter." "First General Epistle of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, from the Great Salt Lake Valley, to the Saints Scattered throughout the Earth," *Millennial Star* 11 (July 15, 1849): 232. This epistle, issued in April 1849, was followed by a second in October of the same year: "For wise purposes Elder P. P. Pratt's mission to the Western Islands will be deferred until spring." "Second General Epistle of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, from the Great Salt Lake Valley, to the Saints Scattered throughout the Earth," *Millennial Star* 12 (April 15, 1850): 118.

6. Parley P. Pratt Jr., ed., *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt*, 4th ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 341–42.



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Santiago Chile Temple. This first temple in Spanish-speaking South America was dedicated in September 1983.

7. Journal History of the Church, February 23, 1851, 1.

8. Elizabeth Pratt did not continue on to Chile but remained in San Francisco due to poor health. Reva Stanley, *The Archer of Paradise: A Biography of Parley P. Pratt* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1937), 244, 256. Reva Stanley is a pseudonym. The author's name is Reva Lucile Holdaway Scott.

9. Parley P. Pratt to Brigham Young and Council, April 13, 1851, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives; Parley P. Pratt to Brigham Young, August 28, 1851, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 357. Whenever possible we have examined the original letters or photocopies of them in the LDS Church Archives or the BYU Archives. Some of the letters were published in Pratt, *Autobiography*. However, the letters in the *Autobiography* have been edited and some parts changed or left out. We have followed the spelling and capitalization of the original letters whenever used rather than the edited and published version. We indicate the publication information of printed versions.

10. A list of donors is found in Parley P. Pratt, Journal, February 25, 1851, in Papers, 1837–1867, BYU Archives. The loan is mentioned in Pratt to Young, August 28, 1851, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 356. The sentence on the loan is left out of the published autobiography.

11. Pratt to Young, August 28, 1851. Ironically, while Pratt was determining exactly where to go, President Brigham Young may have had second thoughts about the South American venture. On October 23, 1851, the First Presidency addressed a letter to Pratt in which they stated, “Should you receive it seasonably to [secure] the benefit will first say, you are at liberty to remain on the Coast, or in California, at present; and send missionaries, where you will, unless the Spirit shall press you to go.” Since it required months for mail to travel between San Francisco and Salt Lake City, the letter arrived in San Francisco long after Elder Pratt had sailed—perhaps even after he had left Chile in March of the following year. Undoubtedly it was awaiting him upon his return. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards to Parley P. Pratt, October 23, 1851, Outgoing Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives.

12. Pratt to Young, August 28, 1851, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 356.

13. See for example, John M. Letts, *California Illustrated, Including a Description of the Panama and Nicaragua Routes* (New York: R. T. Young, 1853).

14. Parley P. Pratt to Brigham Young, March 13, 1852, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Church Archives, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 367–68.

15. The statement that Lehi landed in Chile was recorded by Frederick G. Williams, attributed by some to Joseph Smith, and believed by a number of early Church leaders. Frederick G. Williams III, “Did Lehi Land in Chile? An Assessment of the Frederick G. Williams Statement” (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1988), 1. For documentation of Elder Pratt's belief that Lehi landed in Chile, see Parley P. Pratt, *Key to the Science of Theology* (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855), 22–23, and Parley P. Pratt, “Proclamation! to the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific” (1851), quoted in Williams, “Did Lehi Land in Chile?” 2. See also John L. Sorenson, *An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 1–2, who argues against the tradition of a Chilean landing for Lehi.

16. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 6–7.

17. Chilean historian Mario Barros states, “From this moment [August 19, 1848] the ‘gold fever’ took hold of all classes of Chileans without exception. Three months after the notice, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* reported the departure of 65 sailing vessels for the north . . . in 90 days. . . . In 1856 when the delirium ended the Chilean consul in

San Francisco reported that over 70,000 Chileans had arrived in California." Mario Barros, *Historia Diplomática de Chile (1541–1938)* (Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Ariel, 1970), 192–94; translation by the authors.

18. Jay Monaghan, *Chile, Peru, and the California Gold Rush of 1849* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 201–2. See also George Edward Faugsted, *The Chilenos in the California Gold Rush* (San Francisco: R and E Research, 1963).

19. When telling Brigham Young about the baptisms that were occurring, Elder Pratt stated that among those being baptized were "strangers from different countries." Pratt to Young, August 28, 1851, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 356.

20. Parley P. Pratt to Agatha Pratt, August 27, 1851, typescript, Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, *Reminiscences and Letters, 1847–1907*, LDS Church Archives.

21. Pheobe Pratt to Family, reprinted in "His Eighth Wife," in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 17:221–22.

22. Parley P. Pratt to My Ever Dear Friends, September 15, 1851, Parley Parker Pratt Collection [ca. 1835–1896] (hereafter cited as Pratt Collection), LDS Church Archives; reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 358–60. The published letter, however, left out this quote.

23. "Sketch of the Life of Rufus Chester Allen," [1905], typescript, LDS Church Archives. Pratt mentioned in a letter written on November 21, 1851, to the *Millennial Star* that he expected another missionary, Philo B. Wood, to go to Chile. Wood did not go. "The Gospel in South America. Letter from Elder P. P. Pratt," *Millennial Star* 14 (February 15, 1852): 54.

24. "Noticias del arribo del 'Henry Kelsey' en diarios locales," typescript, Rodolfo Antonio Acevedo Acevedo [Collected information regarding Parley P. Pratt's mission to South America 1851–1852], LDS Archives (hereafter cited as Acevedo Collection). This information comes from a group of newspaper articles collected by Rodolfo Acevedo A. and sent to the LDS Church Archives. The missionaries could have traveled on a Chilean passenger ship *Ann McKim*, which carried seventy-seven passengers and arrived in Chile on the same day, but they probably chose the *Henry Kelsey* because the passenger fare was less expensive.

25. Parley P. Pratt to Dear Family, September, 15, 1851, in Pratt *Autobiography*, 360.

26. We examined two newspapers for the period November 1, 1851, to March 10, 1852, *El Mercurio*, published daily in Valparaíso, and *El Araucano*, published daily in Santiago. The arrival of the *Henry Kelsey* with three passengers, "nuestros hermanos misioneros" (our missionary brothers), was noted, but the paper did not publish the passenger lists of this ship, as it did with other vessels, and it did not connect its mention of missionaries with the LDS Church.

27. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 360.

28. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 360. Elder Pratt inferred that this form of worship "must have been instituted soon after the Church of Jesus Christ became extinct in the Roman world, and, by some unaccountable blunder, borrowed its name from those institutions, which it does not even resemble in the least in any one feature save the name." Parley P. Pratt to Dear Friends, November 9, 1851, in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 360–61.

29. Pratt was so enamored with his surroundings that he wrote a delightful poem called "November in Chili" and sent it with his November 16, 1851 letter. Parley P. Pratt to Friends, November 16, 1851, in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 361–62.

30. Stanley, *The Archer of Paradise*, 257.

31. Parley P. Pratt to Dear Friends, January 31, 1852, Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

32. Recently through the efforts of the Chilean historian Rodolfo Acevedo A., a plaque honoring Omner Pratt was placed in the cemetery where the burial occurred. See Rodolfo Acevedo A., "Cemetery Plaque Honors Historic 1851 Visit to Chile," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, November 24, 1990, 3–4. Phoebe Pratt returned to Utah, where she gave birth to another child, Phoebe—her only child to live to maturity. Phoebe Pratt (Sr.) became a schoolteacher in Spanish Fork, Utah, and passed away in Provo on September 17, 1887. Susan Easton Black, *The Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989), 35:589–90.

33. Monaghan, *Chile, Peru*, 199.

34. Monaghan, *Chile, Peru*, 174, 187.

35. Pratt to Friends, November 16, 1851, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 361.

36. Parley P. Pratt to Belinda Pratt, February 25, 1852, Pratt Collection, LDS Church Archives.

37. Recaredo S. Tornero, *Chile Ilustrado: Guía Descriptivo del Territorio de Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, 1996), 213–14.

38. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 364.

39. Parley P. Pratt to Agatha Pratt, February 9, 1852, typescript, Ann Agatha Walker Pratt, *Reminiscences and Letters, 1847–1907*.

40. See Fidel Araneda Bravo, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Paulinas, 1986).

41. Salvatore Bizzarro, *Historical Dictionary of Chile*, 2d ed. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1987), 110.

42. George Byam, *Wanderings in Some of the Western Republics of America* (West Strand, London: John W. Parker, 1850), 153, 155.

43. Francisco Valensuela Frías, *Manual de historia de Chile* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1969), 366–67.

44. Monaghan, *Chile, Peru*, 214.

45. J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 207.

46. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852; reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 365.

47. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852.

48. Pratt to Friends, November 9, 1851, in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 360–61.

49. Parley P. Pratt to Family, January 31, 1852, as quoted in Stanley, *The Archer of Paradise*, 261.

50. Parley P. Pratt, *¡Proclamación! Extraordinaria, para los Americanos Españoles*, Proclamation Extraordinary! to the Spanish Americans (San Francisco: Monson, Haswell, 1852). Since he was not able to have the proclamation printed in Chile, he immediately had it published in San Francisco upon his return. His translation for the name of the Church was Yglesía de Jesu Christo de los Posterios dias Santos. The present and more correct translation is La Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Días. For a discussion of the pamphlet, see David J. Whitaker, "Parley P. Pratt and the Pacific Mission: Mormon Publishing in 'That Very Questionable Part of the Civilized World,'" in Davis Bitton, ed., *Mormon Scripture and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1998), 51–84.

51. Parley P. Pratt, *¡Proclamación! Extraordinaria*, 3–5, 7, 11, 13; italics in original.

52. In a collection of Pratt's letters and writing in the BYU and LDS Church Archives, there are two drafts of the proclamation under the title of "Facts for Serious Consideration for Spanish Americans." There is also what appears to be a copy of the Spanish translation written in handwriting that is not Pratt's. An example of Pratt's

difficulty with Spanish can be seen in a letter he wrote to his wife Agatha. The level of his Spanish is about where it would be expected after just a few months of study. See Pratt to Agatha Pratt, February 9, 1852.

53. "On the 22d day of October, A.D. 1827, an Angel restored the fulness of the Gospel to man." Pratt, *iProclamación! Extraordinaria*, 9.

54. Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–1994* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 54–60.

55. Collier and Sater, *History of Chile*, 54–60. Three days after Pratt arrived, the local paper published an article on the civil war and its effect on Valparaíso. There was concern the fighting would reach their town. "La prensa y la guerra civil," *El Diario* [Valparaíso, Chile], November 11, 1851, Acevedo Collection, LDS Church Archives.

56. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852. This letter was published in his *Autobiography* but with some editorial changes, including the omission of the final sentence of this quote. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 367.

57. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852. In this letter, Pratt gives as his reasons for leaving Chile his difficulty with Spanish and a lack of funds, rather than the political restrictions of the country.

58. Parley P. Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 1:139, 141, 142, July 4, 1853.

59. Pratt to Agatha Pratt, February 9, 1852.

60. Pratt to Belinda Pratt, February 25, 1852.

61. For information on Elder Pratt's early success with the language, see Parley P. Pratt, Journal, January 19, 1852, LDS Church Archives.

62. Parley P. Pratt, Journal, April 18, 1852.

63. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 368–69.

64. Pratt to Young, March 13, 1852, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 369.

65. Elder Pratt's journal, written retrospectively, says the *Dracut* left on March 2. Parley P. Pratt, Journal, February 25, 1852, LDS Church Archives.

66. *El Mercurio* [Valparaíso, Chile], February 28, 1852; "Movimiento Marítimo," *El Diario* [Valparaíso, Chile], March 4, 1852. Photocopies of these articles are located in the Acevedo Collection.

67. Parley P. Pratt to Dear Brother, March 27, 1852, in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 370.

68. Parley P. Pratt to Dear Brother, March 27, 1852, in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 402.

69. According to the family story, Phoebe was saved by a vision of the whereabouts of additional food that was stored on board. Stanley, *The Archer of Paradise*, 268.

70. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 372.

71. Pratt, *Autobiography*, 373.

72. Parley P. Pratt, Journal [May–August, 1852], LDS Church Archives, reprinted in Pratt, *Autobiography*, 373–75.

73. Parley Pratt had a premonition prior to his mission to the Southern States that his life might be taken. "I feel as if I shall never come back," he told his wife Agatha. "Reminiscences of Mrs. A. Agatha Pratt," typescript, 2, in Ann Agatha Pratt, *Reminiscences and Letters*.

74. James J. O'Kelly, "Dom Pedro in Utah," *New York Herald*, April 23, 1876, 5.

75. Robert Evans, "The Emperor and the Saints: Dom Pedro II's Visit to Utah in 1876" (honor's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1993); David L. Wood, "Emperor Dom Pedro's Visit to Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (summer 1969): 337–52.

76. Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 547–76; Andrew Jenson, "South American Mission," in *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 810.

77. For a history of this mission, see Frederick Salem Williams and Frederick G. Williams, *From Acorn to Oak Tree: A Personal History of the Establishment and First Quarter Century Development of the South American Missions* (Fullerton, Calif.: Et Cetera Et Cetera Graphics, 1987), 17–33.

78. Melvin J. Ballard, “Significance of South American Revolutions,” *Improvement Era* 34 (April 1931): 317.

79. Elder Ballard’s work in Argentina bore fruit more quickly than Elder Pratt’s in Chile for a number of reasons: Elder Ballard was allowed to hand out pamphlets and to proselyte; there were German members living in Argentina who were stalwart missionaries; and he was succeeded by both German- and Spanish-speaking missionaries. After what might have been considered a slow and discouraging beginning, the Church became firmly established in Argentina. See Williams and Williams, *From Acorn to Oak Tree*, 26–29.

Moses Thatcher and Mormon Beginnings in Mexico

Kenneth W. Godfrey

Moses Thatcher, Apostle and first president of the Mexican Mission, carried on an informative correspondence with his family during his mission and, after his release, continued to write to his successors, offering encouragement and advice.

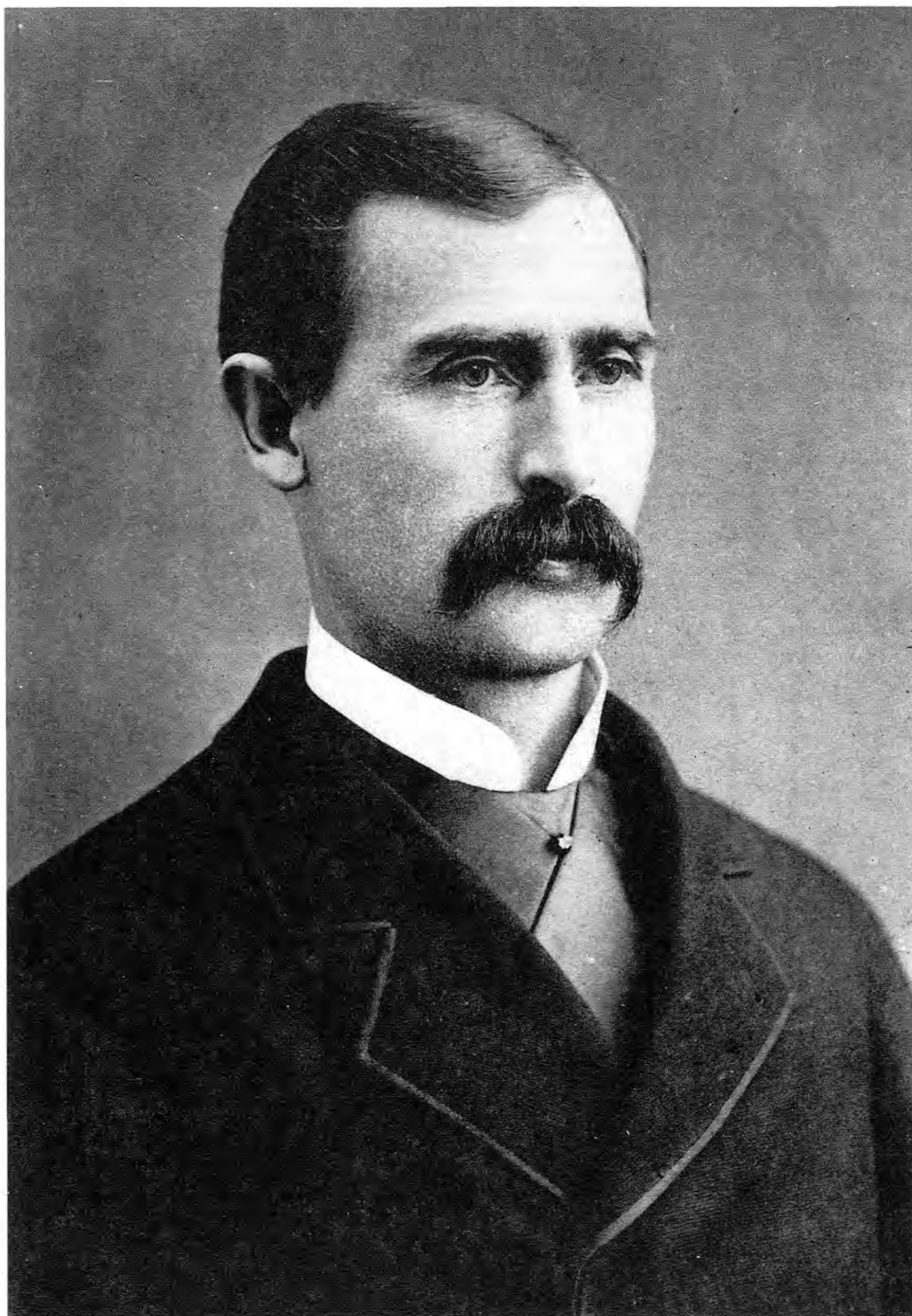
While serving as the first president of the Mexican Mission from 1879 to 1881, Moses Thatcher, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, wrote a number of letters home to his family in Logan, Utah. After his release, he also wrote several letters to Anthony W. Ivins, his successor in the Mexican Mission. Elder Thatcher's missives contain interesting and important information regarding the beginnings of the Church in Mexico. Salient portions of these personal epistles pertaining to missionary work are quoted in this documentary article, interspersed with historical narrative.

The Beginnings of the Church in Mexico City

Early in the 1870s, Brigham Young considered sending missionaries to Mexico.¹ Only a few years later, Mormons were proselytizing in northern Mexico. However, news of the Latter-day Saint movement sparked comments as far south as Mexico City when two Book of Mormon pamphlets fell into the hands of influential people, including Dr. Plotino Rhodakanaty, who soon sought baptism.² One year later, in the fall of 1879, President John Taylor dispatched the newly ordained Apostle, Moses Thatcher, with James Z. Stewart and Milton Trejo to Mexico City. The trio of missionaries arrived in Mexico City on November 15, 1879, and "put up at the Hotel Iturbide." Shortly thereafter, they organized that city's first branch.³

Hungry for news from home, disappointed in the progress of the work, and believing President Taylor had been misinformed regarding Church conditions in Mexico, Elder Thatcher, as early as December 1879, sent lengthy missives to family members in Utah expressing his disappointments. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Presiding Bishop William B. Preston, he also expressed some of his views regarding conditions in Mexico:

Whatever may have been the condition of the Indian races occupying Mexico at the time of the conquest; we know that the thralldom of their bondage



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Moses Thatcher, 1842–1909. Photograph by Charles R. Savage, date unknown.

has, under the Catholic rule, been fearful since. . . . Without entering into the details of the many influences, oppressive powers and wicked machinations which have produced the many changes every where apparent, during the past 360 years, I will speak of things as we, in the line of our duty now find them.⁴

He went on to express his distaste at what he considered to be idolatry and excesses associated with the locals' Christmas-related festivals. He then turned his attention to the Church's beginnings in Mexico City: "I have baptized twelve persons, all men. Some women will join when we find a suitable place in which to baptize them."⁵

Two weeks later, Elder Thatcher again wrote to Bishop Preston, reporting that he had been introduced to the U.S. Minister in Mexico City and had witnessed the presentation of the Italian Minister to President Díaz. Also, he registered his disappointment in the results of some other denominations' "mode of securing converts in Mexico":

They spend money freely in the purchase of Church buildings: in establishing schools and seminaries for the benefit of the children of their converts; in hiring local native preachers and otherwise using cash "where it will do the most good."

Now, to our deep regret, after we had baptised 12 persons we learned that they, and many others, who wanted to be baptised if the things worked well, expected us to do likewise. In short they wanted help, in a financial substantial way. And, when we were asked if it would not be a good plan to rent a large house, so the Saints could all live together? And why could not the Church, now being well off, and established help the poor Saints here? That five cents a piece from 150,000 Saints at home would make \$7,500.^{00/100s?} We began to comprehend the situation. We began to fear with good reason, that there was still in the world lovers of the "loaves and fishes," as well as lovers of the better, and higher things of the Kingdom. . . .

There is no denying the too apparent fact, that our corrections have thined our meetings, and made us realize that our labors are cast among a fallen people. . . . Among so many there must be those that are honest; and we believe that the Lord will raise up such, as will be willing and qualified to preach to the Indians, of whom there are over four millions in Mexico, and we all know that they in the right time of the Lord will receive a knowledge of the truth, and we believe it will be done through the agency of preaching by those who are sent. . . .

I have eaten but one meal since I left Ogden, that I have not paid for and that was at the house of Mr. Wells at Chicago. We can have no reasonable hope of a change in this direction at least for the present. We shall feel most happy when we succeed in thoroughly convincing those who have joined, that they must not under any circumstances expect financial aid from us. As it is we pay for every thing we get.⁶

Elder Thatcher, only months into his apostolic ministry, to his credit believed the Church in Mexico should be established on the firm soil of true faith. Realizing that the expenditure of only a few dollars would probably

result in numerous baptisms, he opted to withhold financial aid, hoping to find instead sincere truth seekers. He was willing to sacrifice spectacular numerical success on the altar of steady, sound, more secure patterns of conversion.

Apparently, Elder Thatcher failed to see the irony in pointing out to Bishop Preston that the Mexican people were not inclined to feed and support him and his companions, while he complained that many potential converts only wanted the Church's money. Even as he lamented the fact that many Mexicans were drawn to the Church in hopes of improving their economic condition, it was not apparent to him that his asking for food and lodging might have seemed to them the same as their expectation of financial gain from affiliation with the Church.

Moses Thatcher returned to Utah in 1880 to participate in general conference. Before he left Mexico, he and Elders Stewart and Trejo met in a rooftop room of their hotel, and each in turn offered a prayer. Elder Thatcher dedicated the land of Mexico for the colonization of the Lord's people and especially for the remnants of Israel.⁷ He subsequently left Mexico City on February 4, 1880, bound for Salt Lake City.⁸

In October, Elder Thatcher assisted in the organization of the Quorum of the First Presidency and attended general conference. He arrived back in Mexico on December 5, 1880. Only a few days after returning to Mexico, he received a brief letter from his mother, Alena (called Alley and pronounced Ollie) Kitchen Thatcher. On the second day of March, he composed a rather lengthy reply in which he told her of his attachment to his home and commented on early Christian history:

They [people during the great Apostasy] might continue to teach the commandments of men for doctrines. They might continue to sprinkle, as the Catholics do, adults, and call it baptism—a “burial” with Christ Jesus in “likeness” of his burial and resurrection. It would indeed be difficult to see any “likeness.” But that don't matter as it is one of the ordinances which has been changed by man. Catholic history shows this plainly: for the Catholic church for more than 200 years after Christ, baptized by immersion. As for sprinkling “infants” and calling it baptism that they might thus openly deny the efficacy of the attoning blood of the Savior (he himself declaring that “of such was the Kingdom of heaven”) they never thought of that, untill about 300 years later. Then they introduced the practice of sprinkling horses, cattle, asses and even church “bells” and called them baptisms. Then they “forbid to marry” so that all the world might know who the man of “sin” was of whom Paul had said he shall “forbid to marry” “abstain from meats &c.”

Turning to his own mission affairs, he said:

We are here, in Mexico, not for money for we neither divine for money nor preach for hire; but we are here to do God's will. If I did not personally know that he requires his Servants to preach the gospel of Salvation to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people on earth I should not be here now. If I

did not know that he has revealed himself and will do so many more times in our age, I would not be here now. If I did not know the words of Jesus Christ to be true, when he declared that a man must be born again to even see the kingdom of God and that he must be born of the “water” and of the “spirit” before he could enter it, I would not be here trying to induce People to enter the “strait gate” and “narrow way.”⁹

The Church’s beginnings in Mexico were filled with hard labor and many disappointments. Thatcher found it difficult to penetrate the hearts of people he believed to be steeped in superstition and saturated with false doctrine. Overcoming his own deep discouragement, his great faith in spite of all obstacles helped him encourage the missionaries with whom he labored and those who came after, to whom he often wrote.

Thatcher also told his mother that the Protestant sects of the day in Mexico, who denounced the Roman Catholic Church as the “mother of Harlots,” themselves failed to see that if the “mother of Harlots” was near, then the “daughters” could not be far away. He felt that both Protestants and Catholics were united in “persecuting and reviling the Latter Day Saints.”¹⁰

First Mission Conference in Mexico

In the spring of 1881, while Church members in Utah awaited general conference, Thatcher, his missionaries, and a few Mexican Saints prepared for a special conference of their own. Traveling to Ozumba, they procured food, bedding, and two horses and proceeded to ascend Mount Popocatepetl.

The nine members of the party,¹¹ after a nine-hour climb, reached the upper edge of the timberline about sixteen miles from Ozumba. There they camped for the night, sleeping close to their campfire. As darkness descended, they held a “short and interesting meeting that was opened with prayer by Elder Thatcher.” A native elder, Silviano Arteaga, “spoke of the hope which [would] gladden the heart, rendering the deliverance from his race and people from bondage, superstition and ignorance if they would receive the truth, broad and freely offered without money or price by the servants of God.” Elder Thatcher expressed his feeling that “the present deplorable condition of blindness, misery and bondage of the Mexican people . . . was the result of disobedience, the killing of prophets and rejecting of god and His commandments by their progenitors fifteen centuries ago.”

The night was intensely cold, the wind howled, as did mountain lions, and the missionaries slept only fitfully. The next morning, following a light breakfast, the small, faithful band sustained the General Authorities of the Church and Moses Thatcher as the president of the Mexican Mission. Then three members of the group, including Thatcher and a guide named Páez, scaled the mountain to a height of 15,500 feet above the sea. On a ledge,

sheltered from the piercing wind, they read passages from the Book of Mormon regarding the Lamanites and promises made to them. Following the reading, they knelt in prayer:

Elder Thatcher besought the God of Abraham to whom the promise was made to remember the descendants of Joseph and fulfill the predictions according to the Book of Mormon regarding the remnants of his seed of the land. He pleaded with God to remove the scales of darkness from their eyes to open their ears and soften their hearts that they might see, hear, and understand. He prayed that the mountains might be sacred to the Lord, a mighty monument of honor and glory to himself and that his servants might from hence with increased faith and power to do good and the great rocks towering above us might be considered an altar upon which we come to pour out to him the devotions of our heart and the supplication of our hearts that the whole land wherever the Lamanites dwell might be dedicated and preserved unto the Lord in peace until they might hear the voice of the true shepherd and cease to follow strangers that they might receive the truth with glad hearts and help to build up the center city of Zion.¹²

Moses Thatcher's Release from the Mission

Returning from Mount Popocatepetl and the impressive though small mission conference held there, Thatcher, on April 13, 1881, again wrote a letter to his mother expressing some of his concerns:

Two Protestants, one a minister, were killed a few days since, about 60 miles from here, with clubs and knives in the hands of a Catholic mob. The newspapers will make a stir about it a few days then it will drop out of notice and be forgotten; life is of too little value in this country to bother long about the murder of a few "heretics." We shall avoid as far as we can, exposure and trust in the Lord for the rest.¹³

Continuing his correspondence, Thatcher wrote a long missive to his older sister Harriet, wife of William B. Preston. In his letter, Thatcher scolded her for working so hard and not enjoying life more. He also reflected upon lessons he had learned:

That God expects us as his Saints—male and female—to overcome our passions and to bring our minds thoroughly under the control of his eternal laws I know. But it is not, therefore, necessary that I must lacerate my tender feet upon the Sharp thorns of the prickly pear which I may find lying in my path, if I can step over it, or walk around it. How often can we, with a little care, pluck the roses and enjoy their sweet fragrance (of life) without piercing our finger with the thorns which we find concealed beneath the leaves that are fresh and beautiful. . . .

As, Latter day Saints there are many trials that are peculiar to us, and they are severe to every honest, upright just man, as well as to the loving faithful wife who nobly meets to conquer and overcome them with her husband. . . .

Cherish hatred towards none, love all whom it is possible to love. . . .
 Regard each others feelings with tender consideration, and remember that
 the bending tree yields not to the uprooting storm. Who bends easiest
 to the storms of life stands ready quickest to kiss the cheerful light which
 succeeds them.¹⁴

While serving in Mexico, Thatcher seemed able to cope with difficult challenges while at the same time rejoicing in the small successes that came his way. He found that he had the capacity to love the Mexican people even though he did not agree with much of what they did.

On July 21, 1881, James Stewart, the first of the original missionaries to be released, left for home. Seven days later, Thatcher, who had ongoing health problems,¹⁵ wrote again to his mother, unaware that President John Taylor had already sent a letter releasing him from his presidency:

You speak of a desire to have me return home; in reply to which I can only repeat your own surmises—that is, I must leave that matter wholly in the hands of the Lords servants unto whom I look for instructions. I shall be glad to return whenever they may deem such a movement right and proper. I did not call myself to this mission, and I certainly do not expect to release myself from it. . . .

I am now trying to gradually taper off my writing by doing less of it each day. There has been no real necessity for me to write as much as I have done, but I have done it mainly to keep myself employed and by that means avoid being lonely. Having for so many years been actively engaged among the people to whom I talked¹⁶ a great deal both in public and private, it was in coming on this mission just like reversing ones entire nature. Hence I have heretofore found vent, in a measure, for my thoughts in written expressions. But now after an absence, the second time of nearly nine months, I begin to feel that there is wisdom and pleasure in Silence. . . .

This mission, my dear mother, has thus far proven, because of the indifference, insincerity and down right dishonesty of the masses, a very trying one to me. So much so that at times I have had to muster all the faith ~~of~~ which I was capable of exercising, and pray earnestly to the Lord to remember His promises to the remnants of Israel, that I might not become wholly discouraged. And I now feel that whether my efforts have, or may hereafter result in good to them or not, I am satisfied that the experiences will prove beneficial to me personally.¹⁷

While Thatcher believed that many of the people among whom he labored were descendants of Lehi's colony and a people of destiny, he struggled as they, for the most part, continued to reject his message. Doubting their sincerity and baffled by their beliefs, he found himself exerting great faith that soon the Lord would remember his promises to them. Poor health and discouragement dogged the new Apostle on this, his most difficult mission. Moses Thatcher's letters provide a relatively rare glimpse into a Church leader's deepest feelings, and leave the door ajar just enough that we are made aware of his humanity.

It is evident that he had experienced a difficult mission and had not attained the success that he thought might occur. Like many missionaries who do not experience great numerical success, Elder Thatcher justified his Mexican sojourn by the personal growth resulting from his efforts. It is highly likely that his inability to speak the language fluently was also a factor in his discouragement. Yet his conviction, his testimony, and his sense of duty compelled him to continue his labors. The LDS Church, in its initial efforts to expand, experienced difficult challenges in cultures that were dominated by a state-protected Catholic Church.

However, President Thatcher may have accomplished more than he realized. The people he baptized were converted to the Church and its doctrines. Their own faith equaled that of their mission president. They were willing to sacrifice all on the altar of their faith. Furthermore, the foundation was laid for the conversions of tens of thousands of Mexico's finest citizens. The land dedicated more than once by Thatcher, like a giant oak in embryo, was even then beginning to sprout a mighty church in its fertile soil.

Continued Correspondence with Mexican Mission Leaders

Released, much to his relief, as the mission president in August 1881, Thatcher returned home. However, President Taylor appointed him as the apostolic contact for the new mission president, August Wilcken. Thus Thatcher maintained his interest in the mission and from time to time wrote to the missionaries sent there, answering their questions and giving them advice. Anthony W. Ivins and Nielson R. Pratt, within a few months after Thatcher's return home, were called as Mexican missionaries.

Thatcher wrote a number of letters to Anthony Ivins, giving counsel and encouragement. Ivins preserved the letters, and they are now in the Utah Historical Society Archives in Salt Lake City. Ivins, upon Wilcken's release, became the new mission president. Thatcher's initial epistle to Ivins, written November 2, 1882, is important for several reasons. In it, he informed a lonely, often discouraged Ivins that he had published Ivins's "interesting communication for the Press" and it "has proven interesting reading," for the Saints were interested in the "manners, and customs, and particularly the peculiarities of the Mexican people." "When enclined," Thatcher admonished, "give an account of Celebrations Feast observances, sittings of the Congress, political movements, scenes in police courts and c." He counseled Ivins further to compose an article on the National Museum as well as one on the life of a "Sir Tolis," [*sic*] to whom he had just been introduced. Ivins eventually became a fine writer, and the encouragement he received from Thatcher had a profound impact on his literary development. Moreover, the Apostle's letter provided encouragement for the

new mission president inasmuch as it reminded him that Latter-day Saints were very much concerned about the Mexican people and the progress of the mission.¹⁸

As the spring of 1883 approached, Thatcher composed another letter, which he sent to the new leader:

Your welcome and interesting letter of the 7th inst reached me yesterday and I write not in answer fully now, but only to say that I will submit your suggestions regarding more missionaries for Mexico, to the Council early next week and will acquaint you promptly with their decision.

You did perfectly right in giving me your views on the subject, and I rejoice with you in the spread of the Gospel in that land among the remnants of Israel. . . .

I thank you also for the information conveyed in your postscript. And while it caused regret, it did not particularly surprise me. I wrote to Bro Wilcken about a week ago, giving him my ideas regarding his release to return home. . . . You did not inform me as to whether or not you had received my letter written from St David Arizona,¹⁹ or if you had received a remittance of \$500.00^s. Will write you again soon. My regards to Bros Wilcken & Pratt. Perhaps the former will have left you ere this reaches Mex: Keep me fully posted please.²⁰

Thatcher did not disclose just what in President Ivins's letter caused him regret, but it may have been Wilcken's desire to return home before his official release. However, this letter must have encouraged Elder Ivins as he was informed that his request for additional missionaries would be considered by the General Authorities. He needed help, and the prospect of having more elders sent to Mexico must have filled him with great anticipation.

Only a week after the conclusion of general conference, Thatcher again wrote to Ivins. In this letter, he gave him the good news that his request for more missionaries had been granted and that Thatcher was making their travel arrangements:

Elder Heleman Pratt²¹ and your brother in law Franklin Snow²² were called at the Conference to go on a mission to Mexico. . . . President Taylor felt a little undecided about letting Bro Pratt go owing to his financial condition having a large family depending upon him for their daily support. It has been decided finally, I believe, to let him go, President AM Cannon, with some assistance which I can render assuming the duty of seeing that his family shall be cared for. I am sure you will be greatly pleased on receiving this news; for the brethren named will prove a comfort & aid to you in the work which the Lord will, I feel sure, prosper and bless. . . .

. . . I was greatly pleased to hear of the good progress made by Bro. Nielson Pratt²³ in acquiring the language. Give him my love. . . .

To the local Saints, I send greeting and say may God bless & prosper them in doing right.²⁴

News that Elder Thatcher, in spite of the hardships, continued to champion the cause of the Mexican Mission among the leaders of the Church must have been a comfort to Ivins. Knowing that Thatcher, who had walked in his shoes and who understood conditions in Mexico, was his chief advocate surely alleviated many of his concerns. These letters reveal that Elder Thatcher continued to influence affairs in the mission by serving as the liaison between the mission president and the General Authorities. At the beginning of the above letter to Ivins, Thatcher wrote, “While attending the recent general Conference I had a number of Conversations with Elder Erastus Snow about the Mexican Mission”—in private Thatcher was pushing Ivins’s cause as well. Elder Snow, who was Ivins’s father-in-law and a senior member of the Twelve, was in a position to see that President Ivins’s needs might be met. Ivins must also have been pleased to learn that all the Apostles were “greatly pleased with its [his letter to Thatcher] contents and the spirit in which it was written.”²⁵

On the last day of May, Thatcher wrote another letter to Ivins breaking the bad news that Elders Pratt and Snow would not arrive until fall, and by way of encouragement in the face of loneliness and rejection, he wrote:

When we can realize that we are engaged in God’s, not mans work, and that He is pleased with our efforts we have a sourse from which to draw comfort that the world knows not of.

You will not be forgotten either by the Lord or His people while on your mission in Mexico laboring for the salvation of those with whom promises have been made and recorded in the Book of Mormon. How all the predictions contained in that book concerning the remnants of Jacob are to be fulfilled I have no idea, but the words of God through His inspired Servants never fail, and in this special work of preaching to the Lamanites there is a broad field and happy is the Elder who does his work well in that direction for they though degraded and demoralized are the children of promise.²⁶

As a voice from the dust having a familiar spirit, Ivins’s letter conveyed to Thatcher feelings that mirrored his own as he had labored in Mexico. Having experienced homesickness, discouragement, and loneliness, Elder Thatcher sympathized with the new mission president. Bearing witness that Ivins was engaged in God’s work, he assured him that he had not been forgotten, and he bore powerful testimony that, although he had no idea how God’s plans for the Mexican people would come to fruition, Deity’s words never fail. This communication is important, too, in that it reveals that even the most dedicated missionaries—even future Apostles such as Ivins—are sometimes despondent while serving missions.

Ivins had also written to Thatcher informing him that the missionaries were trying to gain influence with the Mexican people by teaching them English. Answering a letter he had received from Ivins on May 20, 1883, Thatcher penned a June reply:

Your welcome letter of May 20th reached me yesterday and was read with pleasure. Regarding the time you devote to the classes studying English under your instruction, I cannot see how you could, at least for the present, devote it to better advantage or more in the real interest of the mission in which you are now engaged. The object in view in prosecuting missionary labor in Mexico is not only to preach the Gospel and extend the warning voice as far and wide as possible in a given time, but also to make and retain as many influential friends there as we can.

It is not possible to instruct Young men, as you are doing, in the use of language without gaining a greater or less influence for good over their minds, and the Spirit of God will prompt you how to use wisely that influence when gained.

By teaching you can reach a class that otherwise might be unwilling to listen to an Elder at all; and thus, many may hear your testimony who, while they may not wholly receive and profit by it, will nevertheless use an influence in its favor because of the personal regard entertained for their instructor.

I only regret that we have no more Elders engaged in the same manner in that land. I can understand perfectly what you say regarding the difficulty of holding meetings on other than Sundays, and inasmuch as your classes in no way interfere with your more direct ministerial duties on the Sabbath, I unhesitatingly express the view that you should continue teaching as heretofore.

The idea expressed by you in relation to Elder Pratt is a good one. He will improve much more rapidly in the use of the Spanish language with bro Lino, at Ozumba, than he possibly could in the City of Mexico where he doubtless hears English spoken daily. And what is equally important he will be able to direct, under your instructions, the efforts not only of Bro Lino himself but those also of other Native brethren there. The location is a healthy one, and I found no place in Mexico where a more peaceful and heavenly Spirit brooded. Elders Stewart, Young Lino and myself once felt while praying among the pines of the little hill Southwest from the town of Ozumba, that the Lord was near, heard, and would answer our requests in behalf of the people of that place who might be honest and would try to Serve Him.²⁷



Courtesy LDS Church Archives

Anthony W. Ivins, 1852–1934. Photographer and date unknown.

In his letter, Thatcher mentioned several objectives propelling Mormon missionary activity in Mexico, thus providing Ivins with a framework from which he could judge the success of his mission. The missionaries should continue to teach English, Thatcher asserted, so that influential friendships could be cemented. He encouraged Ivins to continue directing some missionaries to labor among the common folk who spoke only Spanish—besides helping the missionaries become more proficient in speaking the language, this practice significantly increased their effectiveness as missionaries as they labored with native companions. Thatcher believed that a special spirit hovered over Ozumba and that continued proselyting there would prove profitable. His letter validated the inspiration Ivins received as mission president.

In September 1883, Elder Thatcher returned home from an extended visit to the Wind River Indian Reservation to find two letters from Ivins. He responded on September 21, 1883. In this important letter, Thatcher explained why he welcomed the passage of a Mexican law prohibiting the holding of outdoor religious meetings in that land. The law, Thatcher asserted, was passed “in the interest of the oppressed” and to curtail obligatory public religious observances.²⁸

The letter also refers to the difficulties that Elder Nielson Pratt was having with Mexican authorities for being the first to have violated this law. In doing so, it seems that Pratt had disregarded the counsel of Ivins, his Church leader. Thatcher wrote:

I am sorry, you are sorry, our young brother Pratt and the few of his friends who have heard of it are sorry and yet that does not cover the recollection nor mitigate the pain & humiliation to which he and brother Lino were subjected at the hands of wicked men and enemies of the truth; but a reason for even deeper regret than all this is found in the fact that President Taylor and this Council have deemed the matter of such importance that they have, so bro: Wilcken informs me, [word crossed out] decided to release brother Pratt from the mission to return home as soon as it is safely Convenient. This action of the brethren was predicated upon the reading of your letter written to Bro Wilcken and which contained a similar report to that made by you to me. As yet I have submitted neither of your letters to the brethren. . . . Conference is near at hand and I will then have an interview with President Taylor in hopes that he may modify his views and permit brother Pratt to remain [t]here a while longer, for I agree with your idea that the unfortunate transaction will prove a lasting lesson to him, so that in the future he will understand that there is little safety outside of the Counsel of his presiding brethren.²⁹

Believing, as did Ivins, that Pratt had learned a valuable lesson, Elder Thatcher was willing to advocate that Pratt be allowed to remain serving in Mexico. Realizing the impact that an early release, especially under cloudy circumstances, could have on a missionary, he sought the right moment to importune President Taylor and convey to him his own feelings as well as

those of Ivins. Both men seem more concerned with saving a soul than with strictly adhering to an absolute standard of justice. Still, Thatcher acknowledged that President Taylor was the Lord's mouthpiece, and he believed that after he had talked with the prophet, the decision made would be the right one.

Having met with the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the Church's October general conference, Thatcher again wrote to Ivins informing him that the decision whether to allow Brother Pratt to remain in the mission field was in Ivins's hands. All matters pertaining to the Mexican Mission were to be sent to Thatcher who had the liberty of determining which "if any, shall be submitted to" local leaders. He then turned his attention to other matters:

This however I may say: we expect to commence the translation of the Book of Mormon into the Spanish language about the 6th prox: and it is now understood that Elders James Z Stewart, M J Trejo, A W Wilcken and a German recently baptized in the East by the name of Snyder. He was formerly a Catholic Priest and it is said understands thoroughly the English French, German and Spanish languages.³⁰

Away on an assignment to visit and instruct the Bear Lake Saints, Thatcher returned home only to learn of the death of Elder Charles C. Rich back in Bear Lake County. Upon being asked to be a speaker at Rich's funeral, Moses returned to Idaho. Finally arriving home again, he found time to write to Ivins and answer questions posed in three letters that had arrived in his absence. Disappointed and feeling forgotten, Ivins had written letters that moved Thatcher to tears. His November 28, 1883, reply is filled with encouragement and love:

Your letter of Oct 16th in which you speak of your deep disappointment occasioned by the non arrival of an expected letter from me, was written in a spirit of such profound sadness that its perusal touched me deeply and I was unable to restrain fast gathering tears that silently flowed unbidden. I comprehended fully your feelings for I too had, in that far off land, watched and waited for letters that never came. Once in the deep humility of bitter disappointment, for deferred hope made my heart sick, I pened among other lines the following:

A herald of truth among strangers I roam
When absent in memory held sacred at home
By others if slighted, neglected, forgot,
By brother and sister remembered or not.
In sunshine or shower, in darkness or light
I must battle alone with unwavering might.
The body may faint but my spirit is free
For innocent children, are praying for me.

Thus, my dear brother, you see that you and I have thought alike, under like circumstances; and I candidly make the confession to you of that which some might deem weak sentimentality, hoping that it may find a responsive chord in your heart.

With regard to mission affairs Thatcher wrote:

You speak of [?]. I wonder if he is the person by that name who was baptized when we were there? If so he is rather tall dark hair rather pale and intellectually bright. If the same treat him kindly but watch his movements as we had excellent reasons for believing that he took valuable property from our room belonging to Terra. . . .

I must close now, simply adding that we are busily engaged in the translation into the Spanish language of the Book of Mormon. Elder Stewart and Tejo [*sic*] being at present all that are engaged upon it, but are making excellent progress. Please tell bro. Nielson Pratt that I will answer his brief letter soon and that I forwarded the one addressed to the Presidency promptly to Bro: Taylor³¹—Give my love to him, bros. Helaman and Snow and accept the same yourself.³²

In his final letter to Ivins written February 8, 1884, Thatcher again commiserated with his friend regarding his long absence from home and loved ones. Thatcher, too, briefly reviewed the last five years of his own life and wondered if he was being spread too thin. Still, he took some consolation in that when he was home he could crowd more joy and real happiness into a single quiet, peaceful evening than most people could in a whole year. He also made reference to the introduction of bills against the Mormon people in the United States Congress.

With respect to the Mexican mission, he composed the following:

I hope at least to attend the April Conference, at which time I shall talk with Bro E Snow³³ about your affairs and that of the Mexican mission, and as soon as I learn the result and what President Taylors feelings are regarding you I shall hasten to let you know.

Since my first mission to Mexico over five years ago, my life has been a most singular one, and as you know, a most busy if not an eventful one. Three trips to Old Mexico—Three to New York Two to Washington D.C. and one among the Indians of the North. I sometimes fear that the brethren are spreading me over more ground than I can cover. I am willing, however, to do the best I can.³⁴

Six weeks after Thatcher's last letter, March 28, 1884, Ivins was released as president of the Mexican Mission. While laboring in Mexico, he had personally baptized fifty-seven people into the Church. Ivins later became an Apostle and for many years served in the First Presidency.

Thatcher continued his apostolic work until 1896 when he was dropped from the Quorum of the Twelve for refusing to sign the "Political Manifesto." For the next thirteen years, he pursued his business interests and frequently suffered from health problems. After a long illness, he passed away August 21, 1909, in Logan, Utah.

Conclusion

Moses Thatcher's correspondence with his family and with Anthony W. Ivins is a significant cache of historical data for several reasons. From his letters, we learn that Mormon beginnings in Mexico were difficult and challenging. Because it seems that some of the initial investigators and converts into the Church in Mexico sought financial compensation for becoming members, it is a credit to Thatcher and to the Church that he stood firm, not yielding to pressure, and sought disciples whose faith rested on the restored gospel of Christ and not on a love of "loaves and fishes," to use Thatcher's own metaphor. It takes exceptional courage for a mission president, even one who is an Apostle, to slacken his pace, shorten his stride, and reject prospective converts who desire to affiliate with the Church for the wrong reasons. That Thatcher did so, in the long run, built a foundation for Mexican Saints on the solid rock of true conversion.

Thatcher's letters also provide insight into his personality and faith. We are moved by his affection for his home and family. He longed to be with them to share their lives, and more than once declared that only his belief that his call came from God's prophet kept him away from them. His absences deepened the joy he felt on those rare occasions when he was home. His attachments to his family approached in depth his commitment to the gospel.

Though comparatively young, Thatcher made wise decisions. It is apparent in the delicate case of Nielson Pratt that he used his influence with John Taylor so that the matter was resolved in Pratt's favor. Having waited for Ivins's letter to arrive, Thatcher heeded his counsel, found that it corresponded to his own feelings, and then had the courage to express his views. This resulted in a change in President Taylor's decision, and Pratt was allowed to complete an honorable mission.

The letters Moses Thatcher and Anthony W. Ivins wrote to each other have a certain poignancy. Both men shared a deep trust for one another and developed an abiding friendship. They felt free to disclose their despairs, discouragement, and disappointments. Loneliness and a longing for home is a conspicuous aspect of their correspondence. Thatcher's confidence in Ivins and his good judgment must have significantly impacted the young leader. Politically, theologically, and temperamentally they were strong companions.

Undergirding all these efforts, Thatcher's vision regarding the destiny of the Mexican people never blurred. Not always understanding just how God's prophecies regarding the Lamanites would come to pass, Thatcher's prayers, speeches, and letters reflected his faith that some day tens of thousands of Mexicans would respond to the sound of the gospel trumpet. The

success of the Church in Mexico today more than fulfills Thatcher's hopes and dreams for those people.

Thatcher's letters provide important insights into the man and his term as mission president. Because of his later difficulties with his fellow Apostles, Thatcher's contributions to the Church have often gone unnoticed. Now, over a century later, the seeds he planted in the earliest years of the Mexican Mission have borne rich harvests of extraordinary fruit.

Kenneth W. Godfrey taught in the Church Educational System for thirty-seven years and is now retired.

1. F. LaMond Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico: The Dynamics of Faith and Culture* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), 14. About this time, President Young also sent emissaries to identify possible places for Mormon settlement, which began in Colonia Juárez in 1885. Shirley Taylor Robinson, "Mexico, Pioneer Settlements," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:895–96.

2. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 34–36. Rhodakanaty was baptized November 20, 1879, and was soon called to preside over a local congregation. He left the Church within two years after failing to convince Thatcher of the necessity of establishing a Mexican United Order. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 39.

3. Manuscript History of the Mexican Mission, November 15 and 23, 1879, microfilm, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

4. Moses Thatcher to William P. Preston, transcript in the author's possession.

5. Moses Thatcher to William B. Preston, December 12, 1879, quoted in the *Logan Leader*, January 16, 1880, 1.

6. Moses Thatcher to William B. Preston, December 22, 1879, B. G. Oleson Endowment Collection, Special Collections, Merrill Library, Utah State University (hereafter cited as Oleson Collection).

7. Manuscript History of the Mexican Mission, January 25, 1880, LDS Church Archives.

8. Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 37.

9. Moses Thatcher to Alley Kitchen Thatcher, March 2, 1881, Oleson Collection.

10. Thatcher to Thatcher, March 2, 1881, Oleson Collection.

11. The group included Elders Feramorz L. Young and James Z. Stewart, as well as Church members Silviano Arteaga, Fernando Lara, Ventura Páez, and Lino Zárate. Marciano Pérez, Lino's brother-in-law, and Florentino Páez, Ventura's nephew, also took part in the climb. During the mountain top meeting, Zárate was ordained an Elder. See Manuscript History of the Mexican Mission, April 6, 1881, LDS Church Archives.

12. Minutes of Mexican Mission Conference, April 1881, transcript in possession of the author.

13. Moses Thatcher to Alley Thatcher, April 13, 1881, Oleson Collection.

14. Moses Thatcher to Harriet A. Preston, June 25, 1881, Oleson Collection.

15. While serving on a mission to Great Britain, Thatcher began having pains in his left side as well as in his stomach. Writing seemed to exacerbate his discomfort. His struggle with ill health followed him throughout his life. Some doctors think he may have had gall or kidney stones while others blame ulcers for his problems.

16. Thatcher was one of the Church's finest public speakers. Occasionally Mormon audiences applauded his discourses, something not ordinarily done.

17. Moses Thatcher to Alley Thatcher, July 28, 1881, Oleson Collection.

18. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, November 2, 1882, Utah State Historical Society Archives, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Historical Society Archives).

19. St. David, a small community in southern Arizona, was founded and settled by Latter-day Saints. Thatcher had recently visited there.

20. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, March 31, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

21. Helaman Pratt, in the autumn of 1875, had filled a mission to northern Mexico together with Anthony W. Ivins.

22. Franklin Snow, born September 21, 1854, in Salt Lake City, was the son of Erastus Snow and Artimesia Beman. He fathered eleven children and served as first counselor in the Ensign Stake presidency. A businessman, he organized the Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company. He died December 12, 1916.

23. Nielson Pratt had accompanied Ivins to Mexico.

24. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, April 13, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

25. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, April 13, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

26. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, May 31, 1883, 2–3, Historical Society Archives.

27. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, June 14, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

28. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, September 21, 1883, 2, Historical Society Archives.

29. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, September 21, 1883, 3–4, Historical Society Archives.

30. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, October 19, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

31. It would appear that Pratt sent the Church President a letter of apology.

32. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, November 28, 1883, Historical Society Archives.

33. Erastus Snow, a senior Apostle, was responsible for missionary work in Mexico.

34. Moses Thatcher to Anthony W. Ivins, February 8, 1884, 3–4, Historical Society Archives.

In a Time of Fall Plowing

Reading words about pasture
and stones I am back
at the farmhouse with my mother
who's saying she wishes to see my father
in dreams and I have dreamed him jovial
those nights since his death in October
the month of his birth the cattle
are still bunching where the poplar
used to be and winter again
starts down from the mountaintops

—Dixie Partridge

By Study and Also by Faith: The Faculty at Brigham Young University Responds

Keith J. Wilson

This article presents significant statistical information about BYU faculty attitudes toward faith and scholarship gathered in a 1998 survey conducted at selected religious universities by researchers at Baylor University.

In 1968 a monumental book entitled *The Academic Revolution* appeared, culminating a ten-year sociological study of more than 150 colleges and universities in the United States. The authors, Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, documented the transformation of higher education in America from the church-related colonial college to the modern secular university.

Jencks and Riesman identified a few universities, among which was Brigham Young University, that did not conform to the trend. Referring to BYU as one of a few “holdouts against the onrush” of change, they summarized the chances of BYU embracing this academic metamorphosis with this assessment: “All in all, Brigham Young is probably as unlikely to be secularized as any Protestant college in America.”¹

This prediction has now aged over thirty years. The pressures on BYU to accept outside norms have persisted if not intensified. Now, in light of a 1998 survey of BYU faculty, it is possible to measure the accuracy of the 1968 assessment and to gauge BYU’s continuing commitment to higher education in a strong religious atmosphere. This article will examine the recent survey and how it confirms the accuracy of the Jencks and Riesman prediction.

Historical Background

Shortly after the Puritans founded Massachusetts Bay Colony, they laid the foundations for the first American college. They named their school Harvard and fashioned it after the English system with a church at the center of campus. After receiving a formal charter in 1636, they dedicated their educational program to training ministers and informing students that “the maine [*sic*] end of [their] life and studies [was] *to know God*.”² Over half of Harvard’s graduates in its first hundred years pledged themselves to the ministry. Eight of the first nine universities founded in America followed

this lead, and with few exceptions the church-controlled college dominated higher education in the United States well into the nineteenth century.³

During that century, a different system of higher education arose, largely in Germany. Based upon the epistemology that science and rationality are the reservoirs of truth, this new university model challenged the assumptions of colonial colleges. The freedom to learn and the freedom to teach were heralded as the twin virtues of the university system. Governance rested collectively with the professors, and religious connections were noticeably absent.

Following the Civil War, an ideological battle for the control of higher education commenced in the United States. Within a few years, the new university movement controlled the vanguard of American higher education, especially at state-sponsored institutions. A key aspect of this shift occurred as universities became the authoritative body for credentialing future professors and public-school teachers, enabling the university system to impose its philosophies on most educational institutions.⁴ This dramatic educational shift is what historians have called the “academic revolution.”

History of the BYU Survey

About 1990, a large research initiative commenced under the sponsorship of the national Lily Endowment Inc. Named “Religion and Education in American Public Life,” this project sought to assess the current role of religion in American higher education and predict what further changes the academic revolution might bring. Two researchers from Baylor University, Michael Beaty and Larry Lyon, received Lily support to conduct a case study at their Baptist university. They developed a questionnaire that probed sensitive issues surrounding religiously supported higher education. Their survey, first headed “Faith and Learning,” was distributed initially at Baylor during 1994 and subsequently at two leading Catholic universities, Notre Dame and Boston College.

After visiting Brigham Young University in 1996, Beaty and Lyon extended to me an invitation to have BYU participate in the study. The opportunity of comparing BYU with other facilities was appealing, even though some obstacles remained. The first of these challenges was to prepare an appropriate survey instrument for use at BYU that preserved the comparability of data gathered at the other institutions. We decided to keep as much of the original survey language, examples, and questions as possible, even though the phraseology might reflect a slightly different meaning in an LDS religious setting than elsewhere. Small adjustments were made in some questions to ensure proper comprehension, and to field-test these modifications, a few sample surveys were administered across campus.

Early in 1998 the BYU administration approved the survey. It was sent during February through campus mail to all 1,520 people on Mail Service's full-time faculty list. A cover memorandum from the academic vice president's office encouraged participation. In all, 876 surveys were returned, garnering a response rate of 58 percent. The BYU surveys were sent to Baylor, where they were read, tabulated, and codified and the results for key questions compared to those of Baylor, Notre Dame, and Boston College.

Survey Overview

The survey consists of three sections. Twenty-nine questions comprise the first section, which probes the faculty's support of the BYU mission statement and asks about the extent to which BYU should emphasize certain teaching, research, or other educational goals and methods of achieving those goals. The second section consists of twenty-five questions examining the intersection of religion and academic life. The third section gathers basic information about the demographics of each participant. (See the appendix to this article.) Admittedly, the survey has its shortcomings and limitations, especially because its questions were not crafted in the first instance with BYU circumstances and vocabulary in mind. Still, it offers at the present time the best comparative evidence currently available on the educational attitudes of the BYU faculty as a whole.

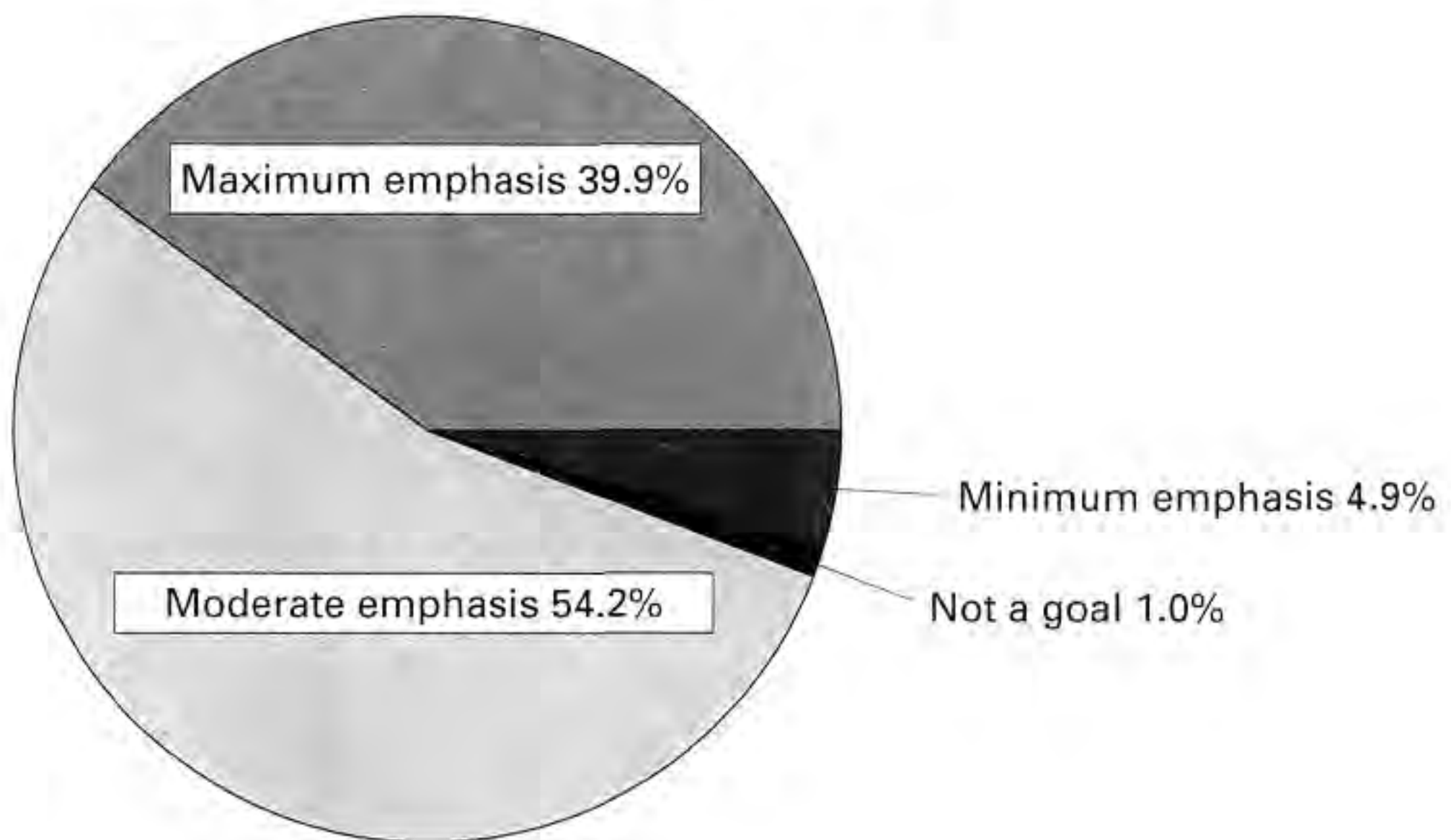
While the survey results yield information about faculty positions on many subjects, the most salient data pertains to the two fundamental modes of learning that are distinctive to church-related universities. Those two are captured well in the LDS scriptural mandate to "seek learning even by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118). This dichotomy presents an ideal framework for understanding these twin virtues at BYU: faith (titled "spirituality" in this survey) and study (or "education"). The following discussion focuses on these two educational virtues, their importance individually, their balance collectively, and whether or not one has preeminence at BYU.

The Intellectual Dimension

A frequent criticism leveled against most church-related universities follows the drumbeat of chiding them for weak intellectual values and poor scholarship. How strong is BYU's commitment to the intellectual dimension of higher education? Almost every question involves the intellectual component of learning to some extent. Certain questions, in particular numbers 2, 9, 21–23, and 33, focus on this value. The answers to these questions show that BYU is strongly committed to high intellectual pursuits, although not at the expense of faith.

Question 2 reads, “To what extent should BYU emphasize advancing knowledge through research?” Combining the 40 percent “maximum emphasis” with 54 percent “moderate emphasis,” 94 percent of the faculty agree that research is important at BYU (see fig. 1). While Boston College (59 plus 40 percent) and Notre Dame (76 plus 22 percent) are higher, BYU’s numbers here are similar to Baylor’s (37 and 58 percent).

FIG. 1. To what extent should BYU emphasize advancing knowledge through research?



Question 9 reads, “To meet its academic and faith-related goals, BYU should hire faculty who have achieved a high degree of academic prominence, and whose religious commitments are deeply significant to them.” Of the BYU respondents, 96.3 percent marked either strongly agree (74.6 percent) or agree (21.7 percent) for this question. This high affirmative response necessarily endorses the intellect as essential, and as discussed below, it also produces significant evidence of the desire to balance the twin values of faith and reason.

Question 21 asks if the university should “require religion courses in the scholarly study of the scriptures.” Here 88 percent marked either “strongly agree” (41 percent) or “agree” (47 percent). BYU’s professors support this requirement to a considerable degree; interestingly, their total affirmative response is very close to that of Notre Dame (48 plus 41 percent) and Boston College (48 plus 40 percent) and considerably above Baylor (22 plus 52 percent), whose somewhat comparable question asks if their universities should “require courses in the scholarly study of the Bible.” The operative word in this question relative to intellectual priorities is “scholarly,” which may be understood in several ways.

Questions 22 and 23 inquire about helping students “develop a well-thought-out philosophy of life” and “a well-thought-out *Christian* philosophy of life” respectively. While all four universities are 96–97 percent in agreement with question 22, the percentage drops to 75, 73, and 49 percent with respect to question 23 at the other universities, but stands at an even stronger 98 percent at BYU. In other words, the need for careful thinking becomes stronger when the faith dimension is added.

In addition, question 33 asks if BYU faculty “should use the resources of their academic disciplines to illuminate religious issues.” To this, 83 percent either agree (56 percent) or strongly agree (27 percent) with this question, the highest scores of the four universities. And the nearly unanimous sentiment of 876 BYU respondents (99 percent) affirm to some degree that it is “possible for BYU to achieve academic excellence and maintain a Christian identity” (question 39), with 80 percent strongly agreeing. Such responses speak clearly to the issue of academic emphasis at BYU. A virtual consensus emerged that the BYU faculty sees the intellectual processes as valued and necessary.

In recent years, a number of respected Christian scholars have wondered if the intellectual dimension has been overlooked in religious circles and at their universities. Such notable works as *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship* by George M. Marsden⁵ and *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* by Mark A. Noll⁶ treat this aspect of declining intellectual priorities.⁷ Even though many of the predictions in these books are cautious, bordering on pessimistic, the results of the BYU faculty survey present a professoriate that prides itself on intellectual pursuits.

The Faith Dimension

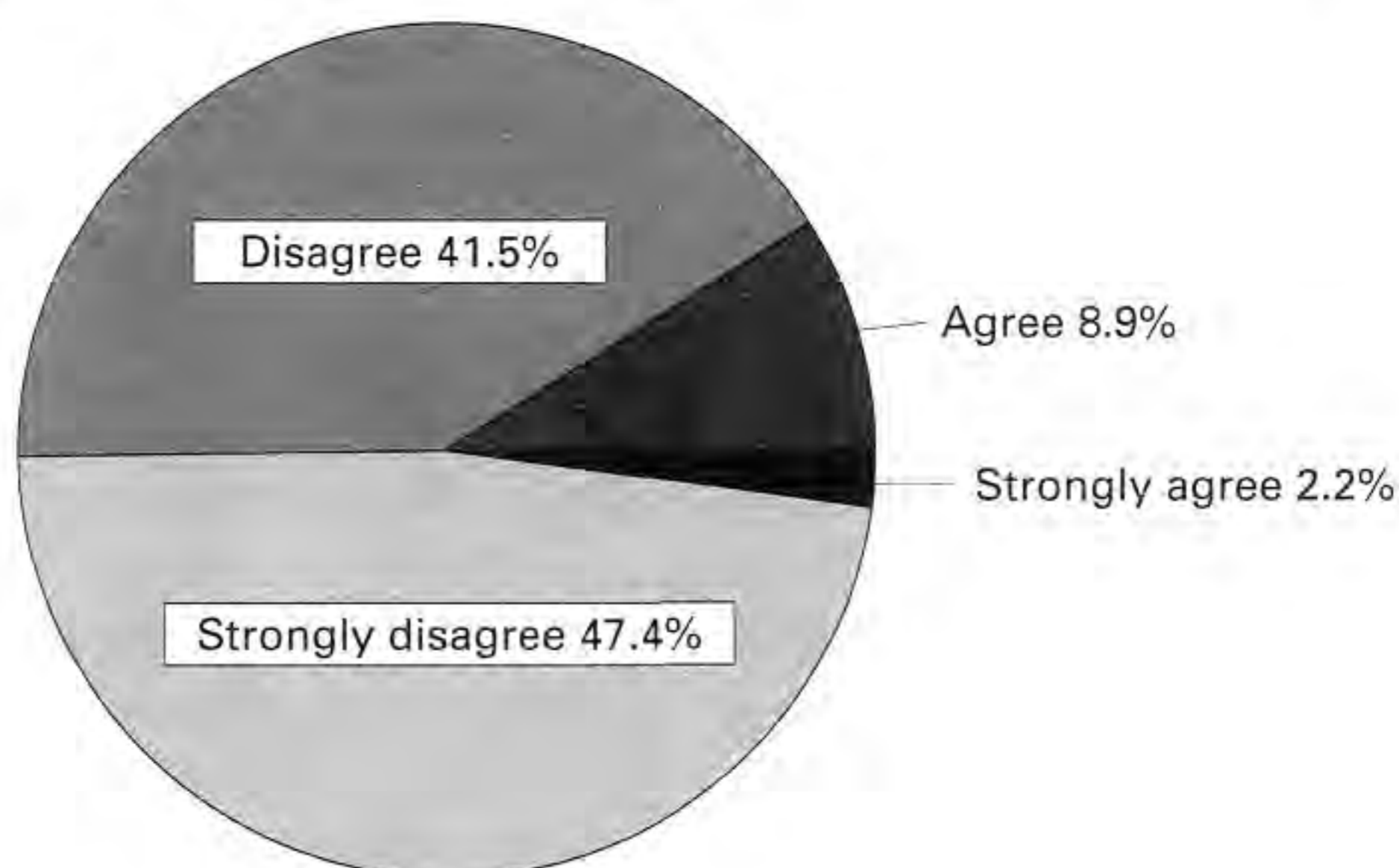
As previously mentioned, faith as a system of learning has been either eliminated or greatly attenuated through the academic revolution in higher education. This revolution marginalizes the role of faith within the university system as an unwarranted limitation on the freedom to learn and the freedom to teach. Yet the LDS view fosters learning through faith. Brigham Young’s statement to BYU founder Karl G. Maeser “You ought not to teach even the alphabet or the multiplication tables without the Spirit of God” publicly echoes within the walls of BYU.⁸ But what are the BYU faculty’s private beliefs regarding the role of faith in a university environment?

Although it is difficult to separate the deeply interwoven dimensions of faith and reason in the survey, questions 10, 11, 23, 31, 34, and 41–43 are posed in such a way as to specifically highlight the faith component.

Question 11 reads, “To meet its academic and faith-related goals, BYU should hire faculty who have achieved the highest levels of academic prominence, regardless of religious beliefs or commitments.” The faculty

responded emphatically with 89 percent either disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with this statement (see fig. 2). While this query is framed only in the context of hiring seasoned faculty, it shows broad support for faith as a necessary element in the BYU learning environment. The BYU faculty is even willing, by an overwhelming margin, to function short-handed for a time until an appropriate faculty member could be hired (question 10). By contrast, the faculties at the other universities are widely split on the issue in question 11 and are considerably opposed to the idea of functioning shorthanded.

FIG. 2. To meet its academic and faith-related goals, BYU should hire faculty who have achieved the highest levels of academic prominence, regardless of religious beliefs or commitments.



Another question concerning faith as a philosophical foundation is number 31, the second element of which states, “BYU’s distinctive task is to provide an atmosphere congenial to authentic spirituality—that is to encourage spirituality and education.” Here a remarkable 88.5 percent indicate that they agree with this premise. While this statement does not read “provide learning by faith,” it does deal with an overriding “atmosphere” of faith or spirituality in which to learn. Certainly, the response to this question evidences the value of faith at BYU.

Closely following is question 34, which tests the proposition that “BYU faculty should use the truths within the Gospel to illuminate issues in the disciplines other than religion.” This statement places pivotal emphasis on using spiritual truths to open up intellectual issues. Each respondent had to choose whether or not faith is an important learning tool. A solid 93 percent either agree (54 percent) or strongly agree (39 percent) with this idea.

The results of this question reinforce the case for high faith priorities at BYU. Whereas even more BYU faculty members see value in faith contributing to their disciplines than vice versa (see question 33, discussed above), this trend is reversed at the other universities.

Two parallel statements, questions 42 and 43, shed additional light on the faith issue. They are phrased as “My Christian beliefs are relevant to the content of my discipline” and “My Christian beliefs are relevant to the way I teach my discipline.” The “agree” and “strongly agree” responses total 89 and 95 percent respectively, considerably above the responses elsewhere. The slight difference (6 percent) between the results for these two questions is understandable, given the lower relevance of faith in some disciplines.

Further evidence for a faith-inclusive mind-set at BYU comes in the very first question of the survey. Question 1 restates seminal phrases from BYU’s mission statement and asks the participants if they endorse the declaration. Virtually all (99 percent) responded “yes.” To be sure, most mission statements tend to include a little bit of everything for everyone, and 91, 92, and 97 percent of the other faculties support their mission statements as well. Beyond this, however, BYU’s statement unabashedly proclaims the necessity of faith in the university processes. Unequivocal phrases such as “to assist individuals in their quest for perfection and eternal life” and “to develop students of faith”⁹ place faith and spirituality at BYU in an exceptionally conspicuous position.

The Tandem of Faith and Reason at BYU

The history of higher education in America documents the harmony that characterized the educational foundations of the first colleges and universities. Seventeenth-century schools accepted completely the notion of the “unity of truth.” This philosophy, which is a mixture of medieval scholasticism and Christian humanism, places God at the center of a circle of the arts. For two centuries, this philosophy prevailed with only slight modifications from the influences of the Enlightenment and Scottish common-sense realism. As late as 1874, the noted Harvard chemistry professor Josiah Cooke wrote, “All truth is one,” meaning that ultimately “all truths . . . could be related to one another in a single system.”¹⁰ But his voice was soon muffled by the educational revolution, which excoriated the idea that religion had anything to do with reason.

Not all colleges or universities accepted this academic metamorphosis. Two of these dissenting clusters chose different paths or responses. The first group, which comprised a small but ardent minority, opted to retain a colonial mind-set and pursue learning only through faith and religious lenses. These schools, which continue to the present, are generally referred

to as “Bible” or “Evangelical” colleges. They pride themselves in their position that true learning occurs through God’s word to man.¹¹

The second and larger group took a less reactionary stance and asserted that learning occurs through both reason and revelation. Where possible, these proponents sought to combine the two modes of learning in a symbiotic relationship. The colleges and universities that chose this path were numerous at the onset of the academic revolution, yet they have dwindled considerably in recent years. Perhaps the underlying factor for their decline is couched in a recent comment by Elder Boyd K. Packer. Speaking of reason and revelation, he declared, “They mix like oil and water mix—only with constant shaking or stirring.”¹²

From its inception, Brigham Young University has built its educational foundations on both faith and reason.¹³ A glance at BYU’s annals reveals an institution and a faculty that have experienced some of the “stirrings and shakings” of this mixing process. What then is the current climate among BYU’s faculty as to the integration of both faith and reason? Questions 9, 10, 16, 21, 31, 32, 39, 40, and 46 from this survey were designed to key in on this relationship.

As discussed above, questions 9 and 10 (regarding faculty hiring) show the paramount importance at BYU of combining, in each faculty member, both academic prominence and deep religious feelings. Similarly, questions 16 and 21, on helping students develop in virtue and philosophy of life, strongly support the convergence of critical thinking, morals, scriptures, and scholarship.

Question 31, part 5, explicitly dealing with the integration of spirituality and education, moves to the heart of the integration issue by describing the “distinctive task” of BYU with the words “to identify and develop the relationships that exist between the Gospel and secular knowledge, as expressed in various academic disciplines.” Of the faculty, 85.4 percent selected this assertion as an accurate description. The responses at the other participating universities range from 51 to 61 percent acceptance of essentially the same proposition.

Question 32 continues probing this issue from the opposite direction, proposing that spirituality and education are “separate tasks and ought not to be integrated.” The combined responses of “disagree” (41.6 percent) and “strongly disagree” (52.7 percent) total an even stronger 94.3 percent.

Question 39 probes this mixture with the further assertion “It is possible for BYU to achieve academic excellence and maintain a Christian identity.” Asked about the balance of reason and faith as a theoretical possibility, the faculty sound in virtual unison, as 99 percent agree with this statement (with 80 percent strongly agreeing, quite a few more than at the

other universities). The BYU response does not decline when this assertion is rephrased in question 40 in terms of “an LDS identity.” In contrast, the response declines at the other universities when question 40 is rephrased in terms of a specific form of Christian identity.

Question 46 is positioned as a sequel to question 39. It is one thing to believe in a value but another thing to practice it. Question 46 asks whether or not BYU professors currently “discuss gospel-related questions raised by class material.” If not, the possible choices include “willing to experiment” or “not willing.” The faculty show their consistency with 93 percent saying “yes,” affirming that they already do this, and another 6 percent expressing a willingness to try (see fig. 3). Interestingly, questions 39 and 46 both yield the same nearly unanimous figure of 99 percent.

FIG. 3. The extent BYU professors are willing to discuss gospel-related questions raised by class material.



The academic revolution effectually forced all colleges and universities into choosing one of three educational epistemologies. The first is the heart of the revolution, demanding that all learning follow a rational, unrestricted scientific model. The second option spurns the university model outright and clings tenaciously to the faith-only approach. The third option promulgates the idea that learning can come through the venues of both faith and reason. BYU professors demonstrate emphatically in this survey that they not only acknowledge faith and reason as sound ideas, but also that they currently employ both of these learning modes in their university work. Their responses leave little doubt about their joint commitment to both faith and reason at BYU.

Preference of Faith over Reason at BYU

At the heart of the academic revolution ultimately stands the question of whether faith or reason will take precedence in the face of a conflict between the two. Initially, Darwinism epitomized and galvanized the rift between science and religion, but the gap between natural theology—the idea that nature and science work hand in hand to confirm the existence of God—and logical positivism or strict empiricism soon ran much deeper.

Academics who were not willing to abandon the benefits of both faith and reason were forced by the rapid advances of modern science to develop ways of dealing with irreconcilable differences in their learning communities. The most common solution is what Beaty and Lyon have called “the two spheres” model.¹⁴ This explanation proposes that the university enterprises be divided into two spheres, the material and the spiritual. In the material sphere, scientific methodology governs the academic disciplines, while in the spiritual sphere faith and religion govern the moral development and atmosphere of the college. Thus if a schism develops on campus, it is resolved by determining whether or not it involves the spiritual or the material side of learning.

Other options for resolving conceptual collisions are possible. For example, if impasses persist, an institution might follow, on the one hand, a preestablished preference for reason; or on the other hand, one might be predisposed to opt for faith. Any choice poses complications. If the institution favors reason too frequently, it is in danger of complete secularization. If it favors faith too readily, it will position itself on the periphery of the educational landscape.

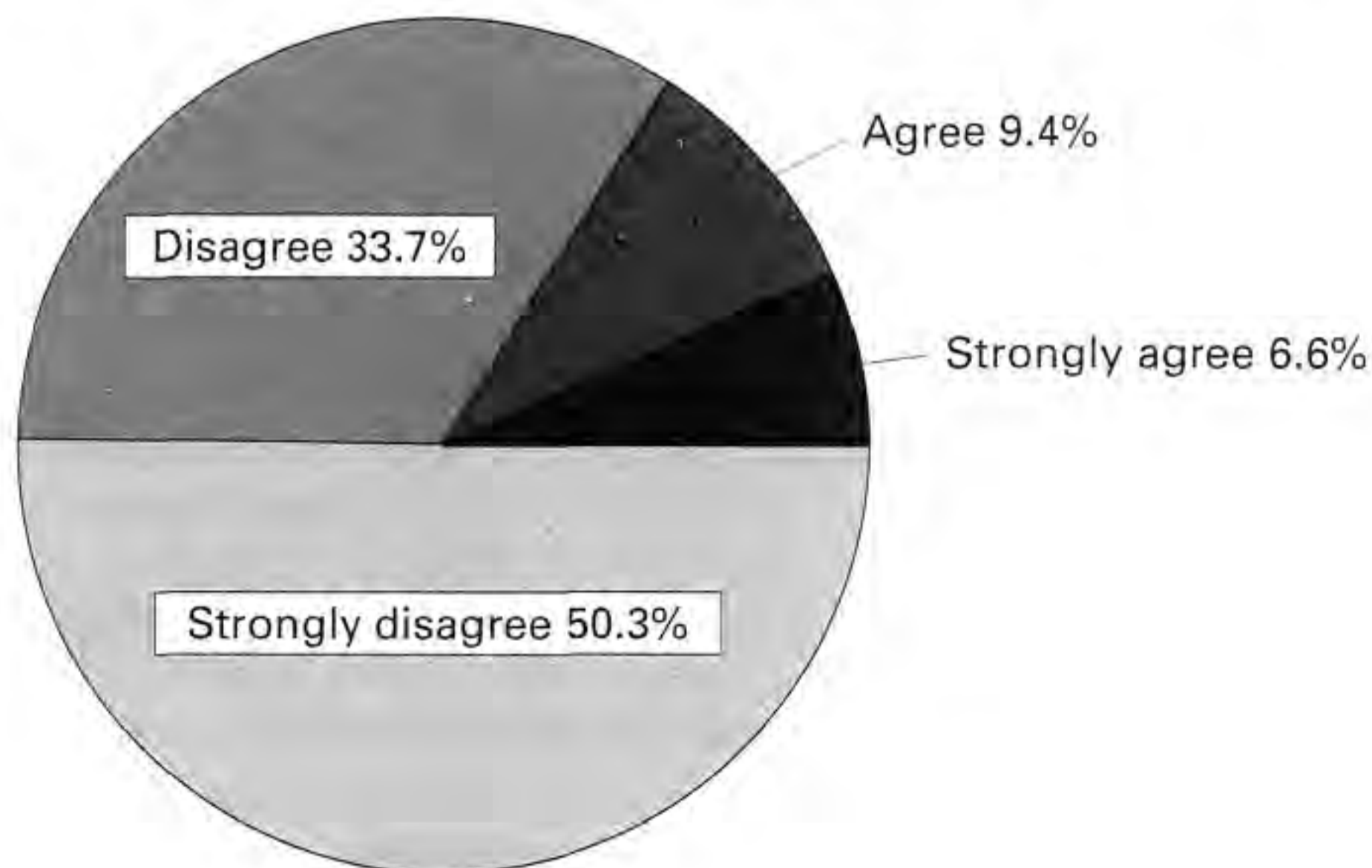
While the faculty survey does not reveal much about BYU’s approach to inevitable clashes between faith and reason, questions 12, 15, 38, 54, and 55 show a deliberate preference for spirituality over intellectuality. In particular, when faced with irreconcilables, the secular model typically emphasizes intellectual freedom, hoping that greater experimentation and individual preference will diminish the brunt of the clash. The majority of the faculty at BYU, however, do not see greater freedom as much of an answer but instead favor values and views that come with the support of credible spiritual credentials.

Thus, in response to question 12, which asserts that “BYU should guarantee its faculty the freedom to explore any idea or theory and to publish the results of those inquiries, even if the ideas question some orthodox LDS beliefs and practices,” about two-thirds (68 percent) of the BYU faculty disagree, but nearly a third agree (32 percent), with higher-ranking faculty supporting this proposition at a rate that is 5 percent higher than that of the other faculty. This result, preferencing faith, is decidedly out of step with the preferences expressed in the survey at the other universities.

Question 15, regarding unrestrained academic freedom in the classroom, meets with similarly divided results. Still, more than half (58 percent) prefer faith over freedom; the other 42 percent, however, agree with the statement that “BYU should allow the faculty to read and discuss anything in the classroom they believe pertains to what they are teaching even if the material questions some orthodox LDS beliefs and practices.” This is the most closely contested question in the survey. The need for freedom in classroom discussions is felt the strongest in the humanities and law, followed by the social sciences, and then the physical sciences. Although the faculty is distributed on this question quite evenly by rank and sex, 9 percent more men feel “strongly” about their agreement or their disagreement than do the women. In an interesting way, the tension disclosed by this question can be taken as evidence that both forms of learning are highly valued at BYU, even though faith is given the nod when push comes to shove.

Another question, number 38, tackles the issue head on: “If conflicts develop between academic freedom and orthodox LDS doctrines, BYU should in most cases preserve academic freedom even if it reduces LDS support, financially and otherwise, for the University.” This proposition places faith and reason on a collision course with each other. It then calls for academic freedom to be spared. BYU’s professors reverse this decision. 84 percent disagree, of whom 50 percent strongly disagree (see fig. 4).

FIG. 4. If conflicts develop between academic freedom and orthodox LDS doctrines, BYU should, in most cases, preserve academic freedom even if it reduces LDS support, financially and otherwise, for the University.



Although these results may appear to say that BYU professors are willing to sacrifice freedom for faith, in actuality most of them do not feel that their freedom has been compromised. At the same time that half of the faculty feels that the emphasis at BYU has shifted away from academic freedom and toward faith (question 54), 88 percent of the women and 89 percent of the men say that they “have more freedom at BYU to teach” as they deem appropriate than they think they would have elsewhere, with no single college below 78 percent and no group by length of service, rank, or degree below 84 percent (question 55).¹⁵

The comprehensive analysis of these questions reveals a sensitive balance between faith and reason. One third feel that even publishing non-orthodox religious ideas is appropriate, and yet, when irreconcilable differences demand a decision between faith and reason, most are unwilling to push the line any further. These numbers reflect a university faculty who has internalized what their former president, the late Rex E. Lee, articulated:

It is almost inevitable that there will be some instances in which the rational method will lead us to some conclusion—not many, but some—which is at odds with what we know to be true because it has been revealed from God. . . . In those few instances in which we find disparity between the conclusions reached by our rational and extrarational processes, the extrarational must prevail. We must recognize that in those few instances the seeming inconsistency is attributable to the fallible nature of our rational capacity. The answer is not to stop the rational struggle with the problem, but rather to recognize the fallible nature of the rational process.¹⁶

Thus in the most difficult intersections of faith and reason at BYU, the large majority opt to favor their religious foundations. There are other options. BYU’s professors could favor their professional preparation. Over 84 percent of the respondents hold a doctorate (question 60). They also could prefer a two-separate-spheres approach. Instead they opt solidly to see both faith and intellect in tandem.

Conclusion

Thirty years ago, two renowned sociologists summarized the modern history of higher education in America with the words “academic revolution.” In part what they were saying was that higher education had revolutionized its epistemology. What once had been essentially a faith-based paradigm had been exchanged for an intellectually based system of scientific or logical positivism. In their summation, those researchers predicted that BYU (for reasons other than strict sectarianism) was as unlikely to become secularized as any institution they had reviewed. They also complimented BYU for its aura of professional competence and mature students.¹⁷

The 1998 survey of BYU's faculty substantiates those predictions through a variety of indicators. First, the faculty speaks as a group of intellectuals who fully accept the concept that "the glory of God is intelligence." With high-ranging scores, 79–97 percent, the faculty espouses the importance of bona fide intellectualism. Second, this emphasis on intellectualism does not preclude a tandem value of faith. The professoriate respond to faith-based issues with percentages of 85–99 percent agreement. Together, these responses resonate deeply with the LDS scripture "seek learning by study and also by faith." This survey also examines the intersection of reason and faith, disclosing near unanimity. Not only does BYU's faculty uphold the twin ideals of reason and faith, but they are willing to sacrifice to achieve their integration.

Not fully answered, however, is history's most vexing problem for integrated learning, namely, what happens when faith and reason collide? In a rare display of schools that possess both a professional professoriate and a foundation of faith, the majority of BYU's faculty subordinates reason to revelation, echoing the counsel of the Book of Mormon that "to be learned is good if they hearken unto the counsels of God" (2 Nephi 9:29).¹⁸

In a 1992 address at Brigham Young University, President Gordon B. Hinckley declared unequivocally:

This institution is unique. It is remarkable. It is a continuing experiment on a great premise that a large and complex university can be first class academically while nurturing an environment of faith in God and the practice of Christian principles. *You are testing whether academic excellence and belief in the Divine can walk hand in hand.* And the wonderful thing is that you are succeeding in showing that this is possible.¹⁹

This survey of BYU's faculty substantiates this prophetic declaration and provides the most specific evidence to date that the experiment of integrating faith and reason is indeed succeeding at BYU.

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1. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, *The Academic Revolution* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), 332.

2. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 247, 432–34.

3. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 7, 23.

4. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University* (New York: Knopf, 1962); Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*; and George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

5. George M. Marsden, *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

6. Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1994).
7. See George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, eds., *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Merrimon Cuninggim, *Uneasy Partners: The College and the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994); and Douglas Sloan, *Faith and Knowledge* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).
8. Reinhard Maeser, *Karl G. Maeser: A Biography by His Son* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1928), 79.
9. Brigham Young University, *Brigham Young University Bulletin Undergraduate Catalog, 1999–2000*, vol. 96 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1999), xii.
10. Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 17.
11. David Riesman, "The Evangelical Colleges: Untouched by the Academic Revolution," *Change* 13 (January-February 1981): 13–20, 328–33.
12. Boyd K. Packer, "I Say unto You, Be One," in *Educating Zion*, ed. John W. Welch and Don E. Norton (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996), 181.
13. For an extended discussion of the mutuality of faith and reason, see John W. Welch, "The Power of Evidence in the Nurturing of Faith," in *Nurturing Faith through the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 149–86.
14. Michael Beaty and Larry Lyon, "Baptist Higher Education," *The Baylor Line* 59 (winter 1997): 46.
15. For a discussion of the comments or blank responses on the survey to questions 53 and 55, see Keith J. Wilson, "Academic Freedom at BYU: The Faculty Responds," *Religious Studies Center Newsletter* 14 (September 1999): 5–6.
16. Rex E. Lee, "By Study and Also by Faith," in *Educating Zion*, 140–41.
17. Jencks and Riesman, *The Academic Revolution*, 331–32.
18. For further discussion, see Robert L. Millet, ed. "To Be Learned Is Good If . . ." (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), especially chapters 1 and 12–14.
19. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Trust and Accountability," in *Educating Zion*, 206, italics added.

Appendix

Spirituality and Education: A Survey of Brigham Young University Faculty

Compiled by Keith J. Wilson. (Values expressed in valid percentages.)

1. Do you endorse this [BYU's mission] statement?

Yes: 99.1% No: .9%

To what extent should BYU emphasize the following goals

1=*maximum possible emphasis* 2=*moderate emphasis*
3=*minimum emphasis* 4=*should not be a goal*

2. Advancing knowledge through research

maximum: 39.9% moderate: 54.2% minimum: 4.9% not a goal: 1%

3. Extending knowledge through undergraduate teaching

maximum: 87.1% moderate: 11% minimum: .7% not a goal: 1.3%

4. Extending knowledge through graduate teaching

maximum: 33.1% moderate: 56.7% minimum: 9.2% not a goal: 1%

5. Training students for productive careers

maximum: 51.5% moderate: 39.1% minimum: 7.8% not a goal: 1.6%

6. Encouraging the students' moral development

maximum: 86.2% moderate: 12.2% minimum: .2% not a goal: 1.4%

7. Developing the students' sense of civic responsibility

maximum: 48.8% moderate: 44.6% minimum: 5.8% not a goal: .8%

8. Other (answers varied)

(9–29) *To meet its academic and faith-related goals, BYU should:*

9. Hire faculty who have achieved a high degree of academic prominence, and whose religious commitments are deeply significant to them.

strongly agree: 74.6% agree: 21.7% disagree: 3.2% strongly disagree: .5%

10. Search for and hire faculty who share the institute's religious commitments and have achieved academic prominence, even if it means that the department may have to function short-handed until such a candidate is found.

strongly agree: 38.1% agree: 43.8% disagree: 14.9% strongly disagree: 3.2%

11. Hire faculty who have achieved the highest levels of academic prominence, regardless of religious beliefs or commitments.

strongly agree: 2.2% agree: 8.9% disagree: 41.5% strongly disagree: 47.4%

12. Guarantee its faculty the freedom to explore any idea or theory and to publish the results of those inquiries, even if the ideas question some orthodox LDS beliefs and practices.

strongly agree: 11.6% agree: 20.5% disagree: 40.4% strongly disagree: 27.5%

13. Admit students without preference based on their religious beliefs or commitments.

strongly agree: 3.3% agree: 11.2% disagree: 47.9% strongly disagree: 37.6%

14. Actively strive for a diverse ethnicity in students.

strongly agree: 24.2% agree: 52.3% disagree: 19.1% strongly disagree: 4.4%

15. Allow the faculty to read and discuss anything in the classroom they believe pertains to what they are teaching even if the material questions some orthodox LDS beliefs and practices.
strongly agree: 11.4% agree: 30.8% disagree: 33.9% strongly disagree: 23.9%
16. Require specific academic courses designed to help students think more critically about their moral commitments.
strongly agree: 23.7% agree: 49.3% disagree: 22.4% strongly disagree: 4.6%
17. Require specific academic courses designed to help students to think more critically about their moral commitments *and to help them live more virtuous lives*.
strongly agree: 40.3% agree: 37.6% disagree: 18.1% strongly disagree: 4%
18. Require specific academic courses designed to help students think critically about their civic responsibilities.
strongly agree: 17.5% agree: 55.8% disagree: 23.2% strongly disagree: 3.5%
19. Require specific academic courses designed to help students think critically about their civic responsibilities *and to help them be good citizens*.
strongly agree: 28% agree: 45.2% disagree: 23.5% strongly disagree: 3.3%
20. Require courses that provide technical, work-related skills relevant to a successful career.
strongly agree: 29.4% agree: 47.1% disagree: 19.9% strongly disagree: 3.6%
21. Require religion courses in the scholarly study of the scriptures.
strongly agree: 41.4% agree: 46.6% disagree: 10.6% strongly disagree: 1.4%
22. Provide an academic environment that encourages students to develop a well-thought-out philosophy of life.
strongly agree: 51.6% agree: 45.6% disagree: 2.1% strongly disagree: .7%
23. Provide an academic environment that encourages students to develop a well-thought-out *Christian* philosophy of life.
strongly agree: 59.3% agree: 38.8% disagree: 1.2% strongly disagree: .7%
24. Encourage *students* to attend university devotionals.
strongly agree: 37.8% agree: 59.4% disagree: 2.6% strongly disagree: .2%
25. Encourage *faculty* to attend university devotionals.
strongly agree: 34.1% agree: 59.4% disagree: 5.8% strongly disagree: .7%
26. Require *students* to attend university devotionals.
strongly agree: 1.1% agree: 7% disagree: 67.2% strongly disagree: 24.7%
27. Require *faculty* to attend university devotionals.
strongly agree: 1% agree: 6.1% disagree: 64.2% strongly disagree: 28.7%
28. Require *students* to attend *ward and stake meetings*.
strongly agree: 14.2% agree: 31.6% disagree: 38% strongly disagree: 16.2%
29. Require *faculty* to attend *ward and stake meetings*.
strongly agree: 20.3% agree: 35% disagree: 28.8% strongly disagree: 15.9%
30. At BYU, spirituality and education issues:
(Choose the *one* response that best fits your view.)
- Need more discussion 38.4%
 - Are discussed sufficiently 54%
 - Are the focus of too much discussion 7.6%

31. BYU's distinctive task is: (Check *all* those with which you agree.)
- To offer the best possible education in caring environment 82.4%
 - To provide an atmosphere congenial to authentic spirituality—that is to encourage spirituality and education 88.5%
 - To prepare students for service within the LDS Church 66.6%
 - To consider Christian perspectives more than others in the core curriculum 32.5%
 - To integrate spirituality and education—that is, to identify and develop the relationships that exist between the Gospel and secular knowledge, as expressed in various academic disciplines 85.4%
32. Since BYU strives to be a Christian university, the encouragement of both spirituality and education are important tasks; but these are separate tasks and ought not to be integrated.
strongly agree: 1.7% agree: 4% disagree: 41.6% strongly disagree: 52.7%
33. To help integrate spirituality and education, BYU faculty should use the resources of their academic disciplines to illuminate religious issues (e.g., an anthropologist discusses cultural relativism in a World Religions class, or a psychologist discusses Freud's account of wish fulfillment in a religion class).
strongly agree: 26.5% agree: 56.1% disagree: 13.9% strongly disagree: 3.5%
34. To help integrate spirituality and education, BYU faculty should use the truths within the Gospel to illuminate issues in the disciplines other than religion (e.g., a faculty member discusses Joseph Smith's concept of time with a physicist, or a philosopher critiques Rawl's theory of justice in light of Christian love).
strongly agree: 38.6% agree: 54.1% disagree: 6.4% strongly disagree: .9%
35. Some faculty have had little experience in relating spirituality to education. If BYU were to offer a seminar on spirituality and education issues, would you be willing to participate? (Choose the one response that best fits your view.)
- would like to participate 35.8%
 - would be willing to participate 46.2%
 - would not be willing to participate 15.8%
36. To help integrate spirituality and education, some courses in BYU's core curriculum, beyond those in religion, should include discussions of Christian perspectives: (Check all those with which you agree.)
- on God (in philosophy, for example) 65.3%
 - on the nature of the universe (in physics, for example) 61.5%
 - on society (in sociology, for example) 63%
 - on human beings (in biology and psychology, for example) 62.9%
 - as opportunities arise in the various disciplines, but not systematically, in most disciplines 74.5%
37. If I wished to do so, I could create a syllabus for a course I currently teach that includes a clear, academically legitimate, Christian perspective on the subject.
strongly agree: 29% agree: 42.5% disagree: 21% strongly disagree: 7.5%
38. If conflicts develop between academic freedom and orthodox LDS doctrines, BYU should, in most cases, preserve academic freedom even if it reduces LDS support, financially and otherwise, for the University.
strongly agree: 6.6% agree: 9.4% disagree: 33.7% strongly disagree: 50.3%
39. It is possible for BYU to achieve academic excellence and maintain a Christian identity.
strongly agree: 79.6% agree: 19% disagree: .9% strongly disagree: .5%

40. It is possible for BYU to achieve academic excellence and maintain an LDS identity.
strongly agree: 79.1% agree: 19.6% disagree: 1% strongly disagree: .3%

41. Some church-related universities require faculty to subscribe to doctrinal affirmations or creeds. Do you think BYU's LDS identity requires adherence to certain orthodox theological or doctrinal affirmations (such as the existence of God and Christ as our Lord and Savior) by: (Choose one.)

- all faculty 49.1%
- majority of faculty 42.3%
- significant number of the faculty 3.4%
- no particular percentage of BYU faculty 5.2%

42. My Christian beliefs are relevant to the content of my discipline.

strongly agree: 57.4% agree: 31.6% disagree: 9.1% strongly disagree: 1.9%

43. My Christian beliefs are relevant to the way I teach my discipline.

strongly agree: 63.5% agree: 31.9% disagree: 4% strongly disagree: .6%

The following are sometimes mentioned as appropriate practices at other Christian universities. Please mark those that you currently practice as a teacher with "CP;" those that you would be willing to experiment with "EX;" and those you would not be willing to adopt with "NW."

44. Treat my students with respect

CP 99.8% EX .2% NW 0%

45. Discuss, when appropriate, personal beliefs with students outside of class

CP 95.2% EX 4.2% NW .6%

46. Discuss gospel-related questions raised by class material

CP 92.5% EX 6.4% NW 1.1%

47. Share personal religious experiences in class

CP 75.1% EX 17% NW 7.9%

48. Lead my class in public prayer

CP 38.3% EX 44.1% NW 17.6%

49. Bear testimony in my class

CP 58.4% EX 29.1% NW 12.5%

50. Other (answers varied)

51. Based on your understandings of BYU's procedures and policies for interviewing and hiring new faculty: (Choose the *one* response that best fits your view.)

- too much emphasis is placed on the candidate's religious views 17.4%
- about the right emphasis is placed on the candidate's religious views 72.2%
- not enough emphasis is placed on the candidate's religious views 10.4%

52. During the last decade, the role of religion at BYU has: (Choose *one*.)

- become more prominent 58.1%
- become less prominent 35.4%
- remained about the same 6.5%

53. The current approach to academic freedom and religious devotion (institutional values) at BYU is:

- about right 74.6%
- leans too much in favor of academic freedom 4.7%
- leans too much in favor of religious devotion 20.7%

54. During the last decade has the emphasis shifted concerning the concepts of academic freedom and commitment to faith?
- No, it has not changed 38.1%
 - Yes, it has shifted towards greater academic freedom 8.1%
 - Yes, it has shifted towards greater commitment to faith 53.8%
55. Do you have more freedom at BYU to teach your subject matter in the way you feel is appropriate than you would at other universities, or do you have less freedom here than you would have elsewhere?
- more freedom 88%
 - less freedom 12%
56. I have been a faculty member at BYU for:
- less than 5 years 21.9%
 - 5–10 years 20.8%
 - 11–20 years 23.7%
 - More than 20 years 33.6%
57. My College or School is:
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| Biology & Agriculture 6.2% | Engineering 7.5% |
| Library 4.8% | Fine Arts & Communications 5% |
| Humanities 12.8% | Nursing 2.5% |
| Physical & Mathematical Sciences 11.9% | Law 2.3% |
| Religious Education 5.5% | Health & Human Performance 6.1% |
| Management 7.4% | Education 6.4% |
| Student Life 2.1% | Family & Social Sciences 14.4% |
58. My rank is:
- | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| full professor 44.4% | associate professor 29.8% | |
| assistant professor 20.7% | instructor 5.1% | |
59. I received a degree from BYU.
- | | | |
|-----------|----------|--|
| Yes 71.9% | No 28.1% | |
|-----------|----------|--|
60. The highest degree I have earned is:
- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| bachelor's 1.3% | master's 14.4% | doctorate 84.3% |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
61. My religious affiliation is
- | | | |
|-----------|------------|--|
| LDS 98.5% | Other 1.5% | |
|-----------|------------|--|
62. I am:
- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--|
| Female 17.6% | Male 82.4% | |
|--------------|------------|--|

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Book Reviews

BRYAN WATERMAN and BRIAN KAGEL. *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1998. xii; 453 pp. Illustrations, index. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Kent P. Jackson, Professor of Ancient Scripture, Brigham Young University.

In recent years, the BYU community has wrestled with the question of the University's purpose and mission perhaps more than at any other time. Among the motivating factors for this recent introspection are the increasing profile of the Church and the University in the world, the growing diversity of BYU students and faculty, changes in society that draw Latter-day Saints ever farther from the mainstream of Western academic culture, and the ever-decreasing percentage of LDS students who can attend BYU. To this list can be added the extensive self-study that was undertaken in conjunction with the University's once-a-decade accreditation review in 1996 and—perhaps as much as anything else—a series of widely publicized dismissals of controversial faculty members.

The story of BYU's recent history and its response to these issues is a fascinating one that deserves to be told. Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel, authors of *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU*, have stepped forward to tell that story. Unfortunately, their version is very different from the one that would be told by most informed observers.

The Lord's University is a discussion of the efforts of BYU, its board of trustees, its faculty, and its administrators to ensure that the University remains in harmony with the mission and beliefs of the Church. The one-sided tone of this new volume is revealed in Signature Books' cover announcement: "If church-sponsored schools exist to instill orthodoxy, then Brigham Young University gets high marks. However, in achieving this goal, BYU has increasingly limited speech, the press, the right to assemble, and due process. . . . From public pronouncements and intimate conversations, hearings and rallies, closed-door meetings, debates, and P. R. posturing, the authors offer an impressive chronicle of two decades (1980s–90s) of turmoil at the nation's largest religious university."

The first half of the book establishes some historical "contexts" with treatments of Latter-day Saint education in general, women and feminism at BYU, the student newspaper, and the honor code. The second half deals with matters of academic freedom and the cases of individual faculty members who were dismissed from the University (Cecilia Konchar Farr, Gail Turley Houston, and David Knowlton¹) or chose to leave it (Brian Evenson²). The stories of those individuals are the real focus of the book.

In some ways, *The Lord's University* is an impressive volume. It discusses issues that are as interesting and important as they are controversial, and no other book covers the same topics. At almost five hundred pages in a fairly small font, the book is obviously the fruit of a great deal of research conducted over a long period of time. Eight of the ten chapters have more than a hundred notes, and most have many more than that. The authors, former editors of the off-campus *Student Review* (Waterman) and the on-campus *Daily Universe* (Kagel), write well. Crafted in a lively, journalistic style, their book is easy to digest and holds the reader's attention.

But *The Lord's University* is hardly the "first-rate," "excellent" study that the endorsements on the cover proclaim.³ As a work of history, it falls short, suffering from major flaws that result from the bias of the authors, the sources they use, and the way they use them.

That the authors have a bias is not in itself a problem; most writers have a point of view and want to bring others to it. The problem comes when the reader is not made sufficiently aware of an author's bias or when an author's end goal directs the one-sided selection of the evidence while giving the reader an illusion of objectivity. A careful reader of *The Lord's University* (including the notes) cannot accuse the authors of the first of these transgressions, but they are clearly guilty of the second.⁴

Waterman and Kagel are hardly dispassionate observers. In the preface, they write about their cooperation during their student editor days to promote mutual objectives:

Early on we realized that our rival editorial positions provided us each with advantages the other did not have: Kagel had a good working relationship with BYU public communications officials; Waterman enjoyed the confidence of faculty members who might have been a little leery of an editor from the official *Universe*. . . . Waterman would occasionally have information to offer Kagel for immediate release; Kagel sometimes had news he was not allowed to print, which he would sometimes share with Waterman. (vii)

As a student—or "student activist," as he identifies himself (227)—Waterman was a participant in some of the matters discussed in the book.⁵ Some of the references to him are to his letters to the editor of the *Daily Universe*. In those letters, as cited or quoted in the book, he says that "there were many times during his mission when he had used *Sunstone* and similar publications to answer church critics" (185), states that "the Spirit attending the session [of a *Sunstone* Symposium] was more intense by far than any Sacrament meeting or fireside I have attended in years" (198, n. 47), asserts that as the result of the termination of a faculty member his BYU diploma "has taken a severe beating" (227), and admonishes that we spend "less time attacking others' beliefs" (185). This admonition seems odd coming from the coauthor of a long book that seeks to discredit the

point of view of various BYU administrators, board of trustees members, and most of the faculty and students. Waterman is identified as one of “the primary architects of the student protests” over the firing of controversial faculty members (252, n. 114; vii). A picture of him leading a protest is included in the book (fig. 17).

With respect to the sources used in *The Lord's University*, significant problems should be clear to careful readers. The notes make it apparent that the authors relied heavily on newspaper articles that seem to have been carefully selected to suit the objectives of their book.⁶ The problem with news-media sources about sensitive BYU matters is that the information available to the media is almost always one-sided. The University rarely talks about the cases of faculty who are denied promotion or tenure. Thus most (and in some cases all) of the information available to the press comes from those who have been disappointed by University decisions or from their supporters, who obviously have a perspective which differs from that of the institution. In many cases, those supporters have sought out the press to promote their perspective,⁷ while the University either remains silent or is compelled to react with reticence to what has been stated by those critical of its decisions. This situation may make for interesting news stories, but it obscures reality and certainly does not serve the needs of writing good history.

The authors give lip service to the fact that their sources were uneven: “Because so many of these cases played out in the media—with only limited communication between faculty and administrators—we tried to focus attention on the ways in which the stories unfolded to the public” (ix). But they choose not to acknowledge that these limitations seriously weaken their work: “Our objective was to tell the stories as the documentation suggests they happened” (ix).

In their preface, the authors express their thanks “to several key players in our story—Cecilia Konchar Farr, David Knowlton, Gail Turley Houston, Brian Evenson, and Scott Abbott, . . . for letting us subject them to rounds of interviews and inquiries regarding their cases” (xii). Yet in the book's hundreds of endnotes, there are very few references that acknowledge such a personal communication as the source of specific information.⁸ Readers of *The Lord's University* are thus rendered unable to cross-examine the authors and their sources regarding undocumented (and thus unchallengeable) assertions.

Even more problematic, however, is the fact that the authors wrote the book apparently without even attempting to interview key players from the University's “side”—especially President Merrill J. Bateman and vice presidents Alan L. Wilkins and James D. Gordon III.⁹ This is a stunning weakness in a book that seeks to deal with recent history, especially given

how important these three administrators were in the cases discussed and how frequently the book mentions them and their activities.¹⁰

Thus the sources used by the authors combine to create a work sorely lacking in balance. In *The Lord's University*, it is not difficult to tell who the “good guys” and the “bad guys” are. The protagonists are depicted as being victims of restrictions on their academic freedom—and usually as victims of heavy-handed tactics, if not conspiracies, on the part of the University. Well-known BYU administrators are presented in a negative light for their roles in difficult decisions: Bateman, Wilkins, and Gordon, earlier BYU officers Rex E. Lee and Bruce Hafen, and others such as Todd Britsch, Randall Jones, and Richard Cracroft. That the authors and their supporters view the work of these well-respected citizens of BYU as in some way sinister shows how out of touch they are with the world they attempt to describe in their book.¹¹

The “good guys” in the book are the selected faculty protagonists, who were joined in more recent years by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), both its local chapter and its national organization. The AAUP, described by Gordon as having “a history of antipathy toward religious institutions” (406–7), is depicted in the book as the defender of academic freedom against the heavy hand of BYU administrators. Faculty members who disagreed with University decisions invited the national AAUP to investigate BYU, leading eventually to the University’s censure (445–46). As BYU was preparing for its once-a-decade accreditation review, local AAUP members wrote to the accreditation agency to lodge their grievances (379), continuing what seems to me a pattern of trying to change policy by seeking to embarrass the University with outside institutions or in the public press (see 334, 338).¹²

Waterman and Kagel express much of their agenda in *The Lord's University* through the words of those whom they choose to quote or through what they set forward as the perceptions of others. One ongoing thread is the suggestion that BYU cannot retain the kind of sensitivity it has to the interests of the Church (my interpretation of their arguments about academic freedom) and be a real university. The authors identify what they call “the fear of some observers that BYU was becoming more like a Bob Jones University than a Notre Dame” (194–95),¹³ and they suggest that “free inquiry” and “academic freedom”—now implicitly curtailed—can be achieved only if the University goes in new directions (4). They take for granted a “national bias against BYU” (15) that is neither documented nor provable. They maintain that “BYU more than ever remains determined to deviate from contemporary academic models” (13) without demonstrating why it would be desirable to follow those models. And they argue that the University does this “at the expense of . . . national reputation” (13).

Waterman and Kagel claim that recent media coverage of BYU “rested on an underlying presumption linking the school’s peculiar religious identity and notoriety for conservative politics with limited inquiry and, hence, inferior academics” (2). But if BYU is known for “limited inquiry” and “inferior academics,” why are only the authors and their friends on the faculty aware of it? Many BYU professors are among the best at their disciplines in the world. Hundreds of BYU faculty members from a variety of fields travel to conferences, engage in cooperative research with colleagues from other institutions, and interact on the highest levels within their disciplines around the world. Because they achieve scholarly excellence and are respected, Brigham Young University is respected also. The fact of the matter is that a bad reputation for BYU serves the interests of the in-house critics as a means of putting pressure on the University to change. The experience of good scholars all across the campus shows the assertions of Waterman and Kagel to be nothing more than useful myths for those who disagree with the mission of BYU.

The point of contention between *The Lord's University* and Brigham Young University is academic freedom, the idea that professors should be free to research and teach where their evidence leads them, without fear of coercion or constraint from external sources. Academic freedom seeks to assure the integrity of research by protecting it from social, political, or institutional influences that have a vested interest in its results. While it is likely that all BYU faculty members believe in academic freedom, for Waterman, Kagel, and their faculty friends it appears to be the virtue that outranks all others, and thus any infringement of it strikes at the heart of what higher education is all about. According to the AAUP, the quest for truth and knowledge requires “complete and unlimited freedom to pursue inquiry and publish its results,”¹⁴ and the professor’s highest responsibility is “to the public itself, and to the judgment of his own profession.”¹⁵

But BYU, like other institutions, believes that it too has rights that must be protected. The University’s 1992 Academic Freedom document, viewed unfavorably in *The Lord's University* (187–202), spells out the rights of the institution alongside those of faculty members. The bottom line is that BYU belongs to the Church and represents the Church’s interests. Behavior or public pronouncements that seriously counter those interests are not acceptable from persons in the University’s employ. Waterman and Kagel write as though this were an issue unique to BYU. Yet all institutions have their limits—even those that would be held up as models by Waterman and Kagel. Professors who publicly advocate racism or specific religious beliefs, who deny the Holocaust, or who promote similar unpopular points of view find their institutions to be less congenial to academic freedom than they had supposed.

The major leitmotiv of *The Lord's University* is that the interjection of the interests of the Church into scholarship at BYU results in limitations on the faculty's freedom. In harmony with the book's overall tone are such statements as "academic freedom merely survives at BYU without fundamental support by the institution" (177);¹⁶ "the university was going through an 'academic holocaust' in which students were the primary victims" (204);¹⁷ BYU "needs to show the world it is not afraid of information and knowledge" (227);¹⁸ "the future for academic freedom at BYU is very weak indeed" (338);¹⁹ there is "a 'distressingly poor' climate for academic freedom" at BYU (415);²⁰ and, ultimately, "BYU is an Auschwitz of the mind" (180).²¹

Still, the authors do concede that many at BYU believe they have freedom to research, write, and teach as they desire, and they quote President Rex E. Lee stating that BYU "actually enjoys a greater measure of academic freedom" than other institutions. "When it comes to matters that really count . . . our range of uninhibited academic freedom is both broader and richer than at any other institution in the world" (191). The authors and their protagonists clearly disagree, but theirs is by far the minority position. In a recent survey, an impressive 88 percent of BYU faculty respondents, many of whom have taught at other institutions, stated that they have *more* academic freedom at BYU than their colleagues have elsewhere.²²

Waterman and Kagel echo the idea that recent academic freedom controversies will cause good faculty to go elsewhere (13, 183, 194–95) and will "hamper BYU's recruiting efforts" (232), and they cite examples of those who have chosen to leave the University and who invoke academic freedom as the reason (192–93, 233, 272–73). But given the small numbers, those voluntary departures should be viewed as anecdotal; the predicted flood never took place. In fact, according to a survey conducted by UCLA, "85 percent of BYU's full-time professors rated their job as satisfactory or very satisfactory—a number well above national satisfaction averages of 64 percent at public institutions and 72 percent at other private schools" (244). Moreover, "BYU faculty members rated their job security at 83 percent, also higher than those at public and private institutions (70 percent and 71 percent, respectively)" (244). One who chose to leave BYU asked, "Who would want to come here in this kind of environment?" (232).²³ Well, apparently a lot of people would. Impressive young Ph.D.'s are seeking positions at BYU in record numbers, as also are many others who now are on faculties elsewhere. Rex Lee was right: "We firmly reject the notion that we must choose between being either a high-class university or a seminary" (191). The vast majority of BYU faculty are convinced that its religious and academic missions are not opposite poles but complementary objectives that can be accomplished together in the unique circumstances that are found at BYU.

Critics and friends of BYU are welcome to agree or disagree with the policies and decisions of administrators and review committees. Waterman and Kagel clearly share with their friends on the faculty a different view of BYU than that of current officers, board members, and most faculty and students. But beyond that there is a tone in the book that suggests that these decisions have been made in bad faith. My own experience of nineteen years as a BYU professor has led me to conclude, even when decisions were made with which I disagree, that the fallible persons who have been entrusted to make difficult choices have always done so with genuine integrity and with the best interests of the University, its students, and its individual faculty members at heart.

The picture painted in *The Lord's University* will not be one that is recognized by many members of the BYU community.

-
1. David P. Wright and Steven Epperson are also included to a lesser degree.
 2. D. Michael Quinn and Martha Sonntag Bradley are also included to a lesser degree.
 3. Martha Nussbaum, University of Chicago, and O. Kendall White Jr., Washington and Lee University, respectively.
 4. My own point of view on the matters discussed in this review was formed in part by my participation in departmental, college, and university rank and status review committees. I was on the university committee from 1991 to 1995, during which time some of the decisions were made that the authors discuss in the book.
 5. Waterman's name appears nineteen times in the index.
 6. Of the media sources in the section on recent controversies (chapters 5–10), *Salt Lake Tribune* articles are cited about three times as frequently as *Deseret News* articles. While some might want to accuse the *Deseret News* of being overly apologetic with respect to BYU, my own observation of the coverage of BYU in recent years has led me to conclude that the *Tribune* has often been too willing to serve as the publicist for critics of the University and to accept at face value the accounts of those who have grievances against it.
 7. I assume that the student demonstrators sought press coverage for the June 1993 protests over the termination of Cecilia Konchar Farr and David Knowlton. Photographs of Waterman leading a protest appeared in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, the *Deseret News*, and the *Daily Universe*.
 8. Note 1 in chapter 6 states, unspecifically, "This chapter draws heavily on our interviews with many of the principals involved in the following drama." But see my following note.
 9. Waterman and Kagel state that although they had much "personal access" to certain faculty members, they were "denied" access to the accounts of BYU administrators (x). Perhaps this means that they were not allowed to see confidential records. In response to my question in a letter to James Gordon, Gordon stated, "During our time in the university administration, the authors have made no effort to contact Academic Vice President Alan Wilkins or me. During one meeting with President Bateman, Bryan Waterman asked some questions (see 413, n. 79). However, that meeting was not an interview for the book, but rather was just to get acquainted. Academic freedom and faculty issues are specifically my areas of responsibility. I have done numerous interviews

with the press on these matters, but these authors have never contacted me while I have been in the administration.” James D. Gordon III to Kent P. Jackson, May 19, 1999, in possession of the author.

10. President Bateman is discussed or mentioned on over fifty pages in the book, while Wilkins and Gordon are discussed or mentioned on about thirty pages each.

11. See Dean H. Reese Hansen’s comments on p. 232.

12. The local AAUP’s statement, “We have no punitive goal in mind” (390), rings hollow to me.

13. Scott Abbott developed this discussion earlier—with the same kind of overstatement and caricature—in his “One Lord, One Faith, Two Universities: Tensions between ‘Religion’ and ‘Thought’ at BYU,” *Sunstone* 16 (September 1992): 15–23.

14. American Association of University Professors, *Report of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure* (AAUP, December 1915), quoted in Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 2:867.

15. Hofstadter and Smith, *American Higher Education*, 2:866.

16. D. Michael Quinn, as quoted in Waterman and Kagel.

17. Joanna Brooks, as cited in Waterman and Kagel.

18. Letter to the editor of the *Deseret News*, as quoted in Waterman and Kagel.

19. Brian Evenson, as quoted in Waterman and Kagel.

20. Statement from the national AAUP, as cited in Waterman and Kagel.

21. D. Michael Quinn, as quoted in Waterman and Kagel.

22. Keith J. Wilson, “Academic Freedom at BYU: The Faculty Responds,” *Religious Studies Center Newsletter*, September 1999, 5–6.

23. Tomi-Ann Roberts, as quoted in Waterman and Kagel.

EPHRAIM HATCH. *Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet's Likeness*. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1998. viii; 112 pp. Illustrations, index. \$18.95.

Reviewed by Robert O. Davis, Senior Curator, Museum of Church History and Art.

After years of research and consideration of numerous images, Ephraim Hatch has produced a clearly written and well-illustrated book that attempts to answer the question What did Joseph Smith Jr. look like? Of the many portraits of the Prophet, only a few were created from life, and most images of Joseph derive from these early likenesses. Hatch traces the sources of the early images and establishes methods for determining which portraits may be closer to the Prophet's actual appearance.

According to Hatch, three images are key to establishing a likeness of the Prophet: (1) the famous front-view likeness painted from life in oil (artist and date of portrait unknown) now owned by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, (2) the profile military portrait by Sutcliffe Maudsley, and (3) the mask made from the Prophet's face after his death. The mask, with its fascinating though sketchy history, was made within a day of the martyrdom, and Hatch carefully compares most images to it, maintaining that it is "the most reliable source of information" about Joseph's appearance (25). However, the death mask does not reveal the face in full width, and consequently some artists who have relied upon it may have rendered Joseph's jaw area too narrow.

Hatch also gives considerable attention to the frontal portraits of Joseph. Originally he superimposed projected portrait images upon photographs of the death mask, but because this procedure blended the features and was not successful, he decided to place the mask and the portraits side by side, relating and sizing them by measuring the distance from the eyebrow to the base of the nose. He argues that this methodology is valid because "the bones in this part of the face do not change dimension after death" (28). He also provides front and side photographs of the death mask taken at different angles. By this method, the positioning of the features throughout selected examples can be analyzed. However, these photographs unintentionally reveal how proportions change depending on the angle of view. This may seem a minor point, but it affects some of Hatch's conclusions. Another problematic consequence of using this measurement standard is that all else becomes dependent upon it.

Another methodological difficulty is that only one straight-on photographic view of the mask is used for comparison throughout the book, but the precise angle from which a given artist views and renders a frontal countenance cannot be ascertained and may shift for artistic reasons. Also,

camera lenses work differently than the artist's eye, mind, and hand. Short-focus lenses exaggerate facial features while longer lenses reduce and flatten them. Professional portrait photographers and artists attempt to minimize distortions by moving back from the subject or by using long-focus lenses.

These factors are particularly critical when evaluating the oil portrait owned by the RLDS Church. Hatch devalues the painting's significance because its proportions, using his method, do not compare favorably with the death mask, which appears to have been photographed with a short-focus lens. Hatch concludes that Joseph's features are too small in the RLDS oil, but his method has resulted in comparative photographs that render the mask larger than the face in the painting. This discrepancy is reduced by using a standard based upon eye spacing, which also does not change at death, or by equalizing the sizes of the images of Joseph's head. Another more productive approach, instead of measurement analysis, could be to visually compare the mask with the artworks and ask, Do they look alike?

The most significant images of Joseph must be those done from life by the best artists available to him. Joseph's journals record that he sat for two men, one a "Brother Rogers."¹ The other was probably Sutcliffe Maudsley, who created the detailed portrait of the Prophet as Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion. A later, signed and dated version of this portrait was used on a published map of Nauvoo. This and succeeding works by Maudsley are faithful to the death mask outline. Hatch fairly evaluates Maudsley's work when he writes, "The excellent alignment of these portraits with the death mask . . . is additional proof of Sutcliffe Maudsley's meticulous accuracy in profile drawing, even though some facial features and details within the profile outline may not be located properly" (40). Hatch also effectively sorts out the works by Maudsley and copies of his work made by others.

Maudsley was trained as a pattern duplicator, but he was apparently the best person available to create this portrait. The Prophet's son Joseph Smith III called Maudsley's pictures "caricatures" (3). Members of the Smith family who were in close contact with the Prophet considered the RLDS portrait to be the definitive image. Maudsley's portraits are accurate in outline but hardly have a lifelike character. They do not show Joseph's "ever-mild countenance, affable, beaming with intelligence and benevolence" (7). Hatch also considers Maudsley portraits of other members of the Smith family, all similar in approach. Compared with daguerreotypes and other paintings of their subjects, the Maudsley profiles appear stiff and expressionless. The companion work to Joseph's military profile is the profile view of Emma, which is carefully labored over but not faithful to her appearance when compared to an 1845 photograph of her—the accumulation of detail in the painting does not add up to an integrated portrait.

However, the other known portrait for which the Prophet sat, the RLDS frontal oil portrait of Joseph also has its companion painting of Emma. Hatch compares this portrait with a late photograph of her, and the results of his method line up. A photograph from life is certainly better than a death mask to compare with a painted likeness by a professional artist. The photograph and the portrait of Emma are recognizably the same person even though the photograph long postdates the painting. If Emma's oil is judged to be accurate because it compares favorably to Emma's photograph, then one would expect Joseph's oil to have the same level of accuracy even though there are no known photographs of him. The two portraits were painted at the same time as a pair, and it is unrealistic to suppose that one is accurate while the other is not. Hatch concedes that "perhaps it is more true to the spirit of the Prophet than to the criteria by which I have analyzed it" (77).

There is no hard evidence that Joseph Smith was ever photographed. Hatch demonstrates that all existing photographs of him are daguerreotypes of the RLDS painting or retouched images from this source. He then evaluates prints and paintings based on Maudsley profiles, including the 1845 group portrait, *Joseph Smith with His Friends*, by William Major, and the excellent profile painting attributed to Dan Weggeland. Other images were based on the RLDS frontal portrait of the Prophet, and among the finest of these is an 1885 print issued by the Chicago Lithograph Company.

Impressive likenesses of Joseph Smith were commissioned after 1900. In sculpting his life-size statue of the Prophet located on Temple Square, Mahonri Young employed information provided by both the death mask and Maudsley's work. Hatch considers Young's work to be one of the best statues of the Prophet, again because it is faithful to the contour of the death mask. Another portrait resulted from a 1959 Church commission to Alvin Gittens, a top portrait artist who explained, "Rather than be influenced by other paintings, I would go to whatever original sources I could find describing the Prophet, then form my own concept" (89). This attitude and his great talent produced an insightful painting that is not a dogmatic adoption of the death mask.

Hatch also considers images of Joseph by present-day artists and maintains that a sketch by Bill Whitaker is "outstanding" (105); he even uses it for the book's dust jacket. This image is based on the RLDS portrait but is "corrected" from the death mask. Whitaker is an excellent artist, but his study falls short as do virtually all posthumous portraits because they do not have the benefit of a live subject from which to capture subtleties of expression.

Hatch concludes his study by reiterating his position that the death mask is "the best source of information" and that "the mask, along with

Maudsley's profiles, Smith family physical traits, and written descriptions . . . provide the most reliable information available about the Prophet's physical appearance" (107). This is correct, but it is unfortunate that Hatch dismisses the RLDS painting—the largest and arguably the best portrait of the Prophet done from life—because of a questionable method of measurement.

But the issue is broader than faces that do or do not measure up to the cold plaster of a death mask—the issue is life. Skilled, sensitive artists working with a live subject can probe and interpret to the core of the human soul. On the whole, Hatch has done a fine job of considering the historical information, tracing the pedigrees of the images, and placing all of the artwork and likenesses of Joseph in perspective. For this, his study is commendable and worth our consideration, but as he writes in his last paragraph, "We may never know the Prophet's true likeness until we meet him face to face" (109).

1. "Brother Rogers" is believed by some scholars to have painted the frontal portrait now owned by the RLDS Church.

JOHN ALTON PETERSON. *Utah's Black Hawk War*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998. xi; 432 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. Hardbound, \$59.95; paperback, \$19.95.

Reviewed by Ronald O. Barney, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In 1977, Utah State University professor S. George Ellsworth asked ten dozen scholars, members of the Mormon History Association, to list their choices for the top ten books written in the field of Utah and Mormon studies. The criterion he used in that survey was excellence in both scholarship and literary quality. Standard titles such as *Great Basin Kingdom* and *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* topped the list, followed by others such as *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* and *Homeward to Zion*. A similar survey taken a few years from now may find John Peterson's *Utah's Black Hawk War* on many scholars' ten-best-books list. Every student of Utah and Mormon history must hereafter consider Peterson's account of the clash of Mormon and Native American cultures in nineteenth-century Utah.

Peterson, who now teaches at the Salt Lake City, University Institute of Religion (on the campus of the University of Utah), tells his readers that the relationship between the LDS Church and Native Americans is of singular importance in Latter-day Saint history. For not only is there a past but also an anticipated future to this story. According to Latter-day Saint doctrine, the "remnant of Israel" described in the Book of Mormon includes many present-day Native Americans. The faithful return of this remnant is fundamental to the timetable of eschatological events foreshadowing the second coming of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the interaction between the Saints and the Native Americans is of great consequence.

When Latter-day Saint settlers first spread into Utah's mountain valleys in the late 1840s, they squatted secondarily on territory claimed by Mexico but primarily upon traditional lands of Utah's indigenous tribes. Peterson splendidly describes the various tribal groups—Northern Utes, Paiutes, Gosiutes, Piedades, Pahvants, Shoshone, peripheral tribal entities, and amalgamations of the same—to put a human face on those whom the Saints eventually displaced. Their leaders are identified and characterized, including Antonga (Black Hawk) and his extended family. Peterson guides his readers through the impact of white settlement in the 1850s on Native American lands in Utah's most desirable and potentially productive valleys. The usurpation, which resulted in the elimination of food sources for the Native Americans, provoked the Walker and Tintic Wars in the 1850s, which led to Black Hawk's aggression in Utah's most extensive Indian war. The hostilities lasted from 1865 to 1872.

From the settlers' standpoint, Peterson portrays the dilemma of Brigham Young's leadership as chief strategist of the settlers' defense and the sometimes reluctant followership of his field lieutenants Orson Hyde and Warren Snow. While President Young sat in Salt Lake City advocating kindness, generosity, and benign coexistence with the Native Americans, Hyde's and Snow's central Utah constituents were losing both their cattle and about seventy of their neighbors' lives. Peterson argues that Mormons generally treated Native Americans better than did their American contemporaries, but he also speculates that the settlers' thirst for revenge, without Young's command for restraint, would likely have resulted in a violent retaliation that would have both shortened the conflict and eliminated for good the Native American presence among the whites. Peterson also shows the varying roles of federally placed gentile Indian agents, military officers, and other territorial appointees and the culpability of some who siphoned resources intended for Utah's Native Americans, consequently contributing to an escalation of hostilities.

The clash of cultures during the conflict was centered in several dominant personalities from each of the three components of the war: the Indians—Black Hawk, Mountain, and Tamaritz; the Mormons—Brigham Young, Orson Hyde and Warren Snow; and the Gentiles, primarily Patrick E. Connor (military leader and founder of Utah's Liberal Party). Each, Peterson asserts, had power at one time or another to temper the battle. Their decisions played a heavy part in the duration and intensity of the war.

Utilizing extensive primary and secondary sources, including neglected Utah territorial records, Bureau of Indian Affairs materials, and the vast collections of the LDS Church archives, Peterson brings together for the first time a definitive study of nineteenth-century Mormon–Native American violence. The author has tried to give balance to the history, showing the Mormon and non-Mormon postures and the heretofore unrepresented Native American viewpoint.

Peterson correctly asserts that the significance of Black Hawk's war on Utah's settlements and the intermountain region has been lost on both Utah Mormon historians as well as national chroniclers. At approximately the same time the U.S. government's military weight fell heavily on the Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho of Colorado at Sand Creek (1864), seven years of hostilities in central Utah brought little federal interest or response until the final scene in 1872. Brigham Young still held the *de facto* seat of power, and his disdain for anything federal meant reports of Indian depredations in Utah's central valleys were mostly kept from Connor and his resident military force. When Connor did hear about atrocities, he was happy to let the Mormons stew in their own juices. The bulk of documentation produced in the course of the conflict, therefore, was kept local. Consequently,

modern scholars of White–Native American relations in the nineteenth century, preoccupied with eastern sources, have neglected an investigation of this war, important to both Utah's and America's past. Peterson's remarkably well-written interpretation rectifies this neglect.

As good as Peterson's book is, it is not without controversies or problems. The revisionistic theme of his interpretation may cause some readers to conclude he has overemphasized Native American perspectives. Also, some may question his appraisal of Brigham Young's role in the war. President Young is shown as an enigmatic leader who was, at once, the principal "planner of the military operations" against the Native Americans, with singular liability for the escalation and continuation of the war, and at the same time was the prime advocate for white benevolence toward the Native Americans. Documentary support by Peterson for the former position is scant, while he shows preponderant evidence for the latter.

The volume also suffers from some small technical errors. For example, the misidentification of the Monroe, Utah, bishop Moses Gifford as George Halliday is a slight distraction. Also an effective assemblage of photographs enhances the text, but like many current historical publications, the book fails to provide adequate citations for those photographs. Photographs qualify as documents and consequently the photographer, if known, and the collection as well as the repository in which the photograph is found should be cited for the reader.

Another flaw, which can probably be blamed on the press, is incomplete indexing. For example, only one entry for the important Ute leader Grosepeen is cited in the index, yet discussions of him appear in multiple places. Also attributable to the press is the erroneous statement in one scholar's endorsement on the book's cover which states that, prior to Peterson's book, the study of the events portrayed therein had been "rigidly suppressed." This is nonsense. Peterson's outstanding treatment of the Black Hawk War has no peer because no one has previously had the tenacity to track and manage the multidimensional facets of this important encounter in Utah's past. Hereafter, John Peterson's story of Mormon–Native American relations will be the primary point of departure for future work on this still-relevant topic.

DONNA TOLAND SMART, ed. *Mormon Midwife: The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997. xiv; 402 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes, index. Hardbound, \$29.95; paperback, \$19.95.

Reviewed by Carol Cornwall Madsen, Professor of History and Research Historian, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, Brigham Young University.

Mormon Midwife: The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions, the second volume in the Life Writings of Frontier Women series, is a fitting memorial for one of early Mormonism's remarkable women. This volume is also a monument to its editor, Donna Toland Smart, and the seven-year task of bringing Patty Sessions's life to light through her own words. Under the general editorship of Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, each volume in the Life Writings series is assigned its own editor. Donna Smart has meticulously transformed Patty Sessions's worn and faded diaries, whose pages are covered to the margins with almost illegible handwriting, into an organized, readable text, amply footnoted.

The first of the seven diaries begins as Patty Sessions leaves Nauvoo with the February exodus in 1846, and the last ends abruptly in May 1888, four years before her death. There are some gaps. The sixth diary covers the years 1862 to 1866, followed by only a few entries for 1880. The last diary (1884–88) includes a retrospective chronology and financial record and increasingly briefer and more repetitious entries, reflecting her waning years. A brief account book, a listing of all of her children's families, and the minutes from a straw-braiding school she conducted in 1868 and 1869 make up the three appendices that follow the diaries.

An informative preface describes the diaries, explains the steps taken for accuracy, and indicates the editorial methods utilized to make the diaries as explicit as possible. Of particular value to the reader is the editor's introduction, which provides the familial and historical matrix in which the diaries were written as well as an overview of Patty Sessions's long life. It also includes the editor's appraisal of the contribution of this woman's life, not only to her family and the Mormon community, but also to the history of Mormonism and particularly that of LDS women.

As a midwife, Patty entered the lives of people at their most vulnerable points and sensed, perhaps more than many leaders, the pulse of the community. This might well explain her compulsion to note the names of everyone whose life touched hers. As a result, a major contribution of this volume to Mormon history is the identification of the hundreds of names that pepper nearly every sentence of this Mormon midwife's daily history. That meant giving identity to the multitude of babies she delivered, as well as their parents, along with their relationship either to Patty or to her friends.

This herculean editorial task also included identifying friends, family members, and anyone else Patty encountered as she worked her way through the multiple activities that made up her daily life.

Since she was an early convert to Mormonism, an activist from their inception in its several female institutions—both formal and informal—a pioneer as well as officer and leader in the medical and agricultural enterprises in Utah, a strong supporter of education, and a consistent contributor to the temple and emigration funds, it is apparent that this woman dealt on a first-name basis with the major Mormon community. And that's just the problem: Patty used mostly first names or initials, adding only the maiden rather than the married names of women who (like herself) were plural wives. The reader is staggered by Donna Smart's scholarship and research in ferreting out all these people.

Patty Sessions was also an astute business woman and careful accountant. As assiduously as she recorded the names of people, she also noted her financial transactions, which included money earned, spent, donated, lent, and saved. She had absorbed the intense commitment to industry learned in childhood and made her adult labors productive and profitable. From her industry and frugality, she was able to give extensively to various Church programs, to the poor, and to her family. On several occasions, she gave substantial sums of money to Brigham Young to use "unless or until I have need of it." She never did.

The diaries reveal Patty Sessions's life as both a private and public figure. Her private life is saga enough, from her birth in Maine in 1795, her marriage to David Sessions, and the loss of five of her eight children, to her conversion to Mormonism in 1834, the move to Far West via Kirtland in 1837, the traumatic expulsion from Missouri and resettling in Nauvoo, and her marriage to Joseph Smith. All of these events take place before the diaries begin, scabbled together from a series on her life published in the *Woman's Exponent* and other published sources along with excerpts from her son Perregrine's diary.

Then, on the day she leaves Nauvoo, the diaries commence, and a terse recital of events informs the reader of her difficult parting with her married daughter, Sylvia, and son David, left behind in Nauvoo; the impeding mud of Iowa; the respite in Winter Quarters with all the births and frequent deaths of the babes and mothers she attends; the spiritual outpourings in that temporary outpost; her departure in the second emigrant company of 1847 with her husband and son Perrigrine; the hardships and humors of the trail; the scrounging to start life anew in the desert; the blessing meetings that continue with her sister Saints and sister wives; the tearful reunion with Sylvia and David after a seven-year separation; the death of her husband, David, and her subsequent marriage to John Parry; the complications

of plural marriage for herself, her sons, and daughter; the self-reliant building of her own home, orchards, and buildings, first in Salt Lake City and again in Bountiful; and the births, illnesses, and deaths throughout. All are stated with matter-of-fact objectivity.

Only occasionally does emotion color her bare-boned narrative. “When I think that Sylvia and David and Josephine (Sylvia’s child) is not coming,” she wrote when informed of their decision to remain in Nauvoo, “tears fall from my eyes as fast as the drops of rain from the skies for I can now give vent to my feelings by weeping Oh Lord Comfort my poor wounded heart” (52).

Sometimes her laconic style can bring a smile to the modern reader. Returning to her tent from a hard ride through the thick Iowa mud after hours spent delivering a baby, she found “Mr. Sessions a bed without his supper no one to get it for him” (37).

A breathless quality often emerges from her laundry-list recital of her activities, ranging from the mundane chores to the spiritual services of her day. A week in August 1855 began with her attending a patient on Monday. She then recounts the days that followed:

Tuesd 14 went in the morning as I have to wash and siringe her out many times a day I then came home took sister Nancy Hickenbottom through a course of medicine after noon went and aprised sister Higbee and Tate things to put into the church then went staid all night with Harriet **wend 15** came home Nancy went away I went to the benevolent society then staid all night with Harriet came home got bread went again staid all night made risen baked bread **Frid 17** ironed churned took care of her and children came home staid all night then **Sat 18** morning went anointed sister Higbee laid hands on her felt quite sick myself then went to see Harriet staid till 9 A M then came home sick was sick all day could not go to the counsel of health Mr. Parry came administered to me I got better he wanted me to go down said the babe was very sick he went back came after me at 3 A M **sund 19** again said it was dying I went he wished me to anoint and lay hands on it I did again it stoped crying but it breathed very hard at 3 P M he wished me lay hands on it again said he was to sick himself I did it went to sleep slept the most of the time untill 5 AM **Monday 20** it breathed its last we buried in the evening I came home staid all night Mr. Pary staid with me. (219)

If her pioneer midwifery practice were not sufficient public service, Patty showed what “building the kingdom” entailed on a personal level. She contributed money to Church projects, served in the women’s organizations, built and endowed a school, supported home industries, joined the Retrenchment Society, and transmitted her medical knowledge through the Council of Health and informal training. Her knowledge, skills, time, and energy were devoted to the kingdom and to those who were building it with her.

As matriarch and counselor to her large progeny, faith healer, and temple ordinance worker for her sex, Patty Sessions finished her days. The

reader is left quite overwhelmed with this woman's capacity for work. Until the infirmities of age crept in, she built and maintained her homes, planted, harvested, dried, preserved, and sold her considerable annual fruit crop of peaches, plums, and apples with comparatively little help. And she sewed! Dresses, caps, quilts, and finally rugs. She wove them from rags and taught others that skill. Most of the entries in the final diary are brief, unadorned statements of her life-long sewing tasks:

Tuesday 8 commenced a rug **wenesday 9** worked on it **Thursday 10** worked on it I have **Friday 11** I have finished my rug and knit a good deal & done many other things have rode out almost every day besides. (392)

Written in November 1887, these entries reveal a ninety-three-year-old woman still at work! The last entry, written a year later, reads, "I have knit & the most of the time three pair of stockins this week it is now friday the 4th" (394).

One of the illustrations in the book shows an elderly Patty sitting before a simple fireplace, a cap on her head and lace collar about her neck, probably both of her own making, and the ubiquitous knitting needles in her strong-boned, well-worn hands. Perhaps if anything could symbolize the life of this remarkable woman, besides her own written testament, it would be that image of her strong, productive, caring hands.

This is not a book for casual reading, but persistence is well rewarded. Seven years is a long time to spend on a project, but readers will be grateful to the conscientious editor who has so carefully, effectively, and lovingly brought Patty Bartlett Sessions to life. The book is a valued contribution to the Life Writings of Frontier Women.

S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH, ed. *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Being the Autobiography of a Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 1998. xxviii; 420 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$29.95.

Reviewed by Andrew H. Hedges, Assistant Professor of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University.

Louisa Barnes Pratt's *History*, published here as volume three in Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's series, *Life Writings of Frontier Women*, could have asked for no more qualified editor than S. George Ellsworth. Along with being a founding editor of the *Western Historical Quarterly* and editor of *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, Ellsworth has written and edited several books and articles on pioneer women, the history of southern Utah, and the history of the LDS Church in the South Pacific.¹ These topics are central to Louisa's narrative, which comprises a valuable resource for students of the Saints' trek west, Mormon missionary work, early Mormon settlement in California, and life in nineteenth-century southern Utah.

For all its bearing on these important subfields of Church history, however, the greatest contribution Louisa's *History* makes is in the field of LDS women's history. Married, but often separated from her husband, and involved with everything from the Nauvoo exodus to teaching the gospel in French Polynesia, Louisa offers her reader a woman's view of life in the Church unparalleled by other memoirs or biographies. As such, *History* will be an essential read for a long time to come for anyone interested in LDS women's history.

Louisa begins her life story by recounting events she remembered growing up Anglican in Massachusetts, Lower Canada, and New York. These included the War of 1812, in which her father fought for the British, as the family—although Americans in sentiment—were living in Canada at the time. She next recalls events surrounding her marriage to Addison Pratt and their early life together, their introduction to the Church, and their subsequent move to Nauvoo.

Louisa describes at length Addison's mission call to the South Pacific, Joseph's martyrdom, the exodus from Nauvoo, and life in Winter Quarters, as well as her subsequent settlement in the Salt Lake Valley and her rather awkward reunion with Addison after five years' separation. Their time together is brief; Addison is called to accompany a wagon train to California and from there is asked to return to the islands. Louisa and Addison are spared several more years of separation when Church authorities permit Louisa and her four daughters to join Addison on Tubuai, although one could conclude from her lively account of the journey from Utah through gold-rush California and across the Pacific that her lot would have been easier had she stayed in Utah.

A detailed account of her life on Tubuai and in San Bernardino—where the family settled after the mission—follows as does a description of her return to Utah, sans Addison, at the approach of Johnston’s army. Louisa finishes her account by detailing life in Beaver, Utah, where she lived until her death September 8, 1880.

For all of her involvement in some of Church history’s most epic events, Louisa’s narrative is remarkably personal. In most cases, she limits her account of important events to what she saw and experienced rather than undertaking to explain for her reader all that was happening around her. Relationships with friends and family members and their personal challenges and triumphs as well as her own receive far more attention than do the activities of mobs in Illinois or French policy in Polynesia. Loneliness, depression, joy, death, birth, and separation from loved ones—Louisa comes across them all and spares her reader nothing in their retelling.

Even more importantly, Louisa is quite free with her own thoughts and ideas about her experiences; however, exceptions to this rule were not uncommon. Good manners and a sense of propriety required her to speak only in vague terms of offenses she received from various people. For example, she mentions nothing more about her failing relationship with her husband than “[m]y domestic sorrows I forbear to mention. I carry them in my own bosom, and bear my injuries in silence” (222). For the most part, though, Louisa gives voice to her introspection and meditations and drops ideas about everything from how much adults might reasonably expect from children (11) to how to be a gracious benefactor (122). The result is a book rich in human interest and personal reflection, and I felt after reading it that I not only knew about Louisa’s life but that I actually knew Louisa and what her experiences meant to her.

Ellsworth’s editing, for the most part, adds to the value of the book. He breaks Louisa’s narrative into four parts and twenty-four chapters, with numerous subheadings in each chapter. Helpful descriptions of the book’s key characters are provided near the beginning of the text, the index is thorough, and the original journals and memoir are described in detail. On a less positive note, I found the introduction to be somewhat limited in scope and occasionally redundant. As noteworthy and deserving of comment as Louisa’s varied experiences are, Ellsworth focuses the introduction almost exclusively on her relationship with Addison; he tells the story twice in the introduction and alludes to parts of it again in his brief introductions to later chapters (195–96, 212–14).

Another helpful addition would have been an indication under “Editorial Procedures” (xxii) that chapters 9, 10, 13, and 14 were taken from Louisa’s journals rather than from her memoirs and that the reader could expect to find in these chapters several clarifying statements, in brackets,

contained in the memoirs but not in the journals. Instead, the use of this procedure is discussed at the end of the book under “Sources” (382), and until I stumbled across that discussion, I was at a loss to know where the statements in brackets in these chapters were coming from.

Finally, I would have appreciated more background information in the notes. Some, I know, feel that extensive notes detract from reproductions of original sources and that the fewer notes an editor employs, the better off the reader is. Given Louisa’s cursory treatment of the historical context in which her life took place, however, I think notes that detailed the history of the French in Polynesia, for example, or reminded the reader about what took place at the Battle of Plattsburgh and its significance in the War of 1812 would have done more good than harm.

These are relatively minor problems, however, and detract very little from this award-winning resource² for historians and laymen alike interested in Mormon history. It is the last book Ellsworth completed before his death in 1997, and it is a fitting end to his distinguished career.

1. S. George Ellsworth, ed., *The Journals of Addison Pratt: Being a Narrative of Yankee Whaling in the Eighteen Twenties, a Mormon Mission to the Society Islands, and of Early California and Utah in the Eighteen Forties and Fifties* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990); S. George Ellsworth, *Samuel Claridge: Pioneering the Outposts of Zion* (Logan, Utah: S. George Ellsworth, 1987); S. George Ellsworth and Kathleen C. Perrin, *Seasons of Faith and Courage: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in French Polynesia, a Sesquicentennial History, 1843–1993* (Sandy, Utah: Yves R. Perrin, 1994); S. George Ellsworth, *Mormon Settlement on the Muddy* (Ogden, Utah: Weber State College Press, 1987); S. George Ellsworth, ed., *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974).

2. Recipient of the Mormon History Association’s *Steven F. Christensen Best Documentary/Bibliography* book published in 1998.

In some copies of the last issue of *BYU Studies*, the last line on page 215 was inadvertently repeated on the top of page 216. In other copies, this line, which reads “life path independent from Mormonism and its leadership in the aftermath,” was lost. Our press apologizes for this printing error, which appeared in Richard Howard’s review of *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*, by Valeen Tippetts Avery.

Brief Notices

Religion, Mental Health and the Latter-day Saints, edited by Daniel K. Judd. Vol. 14, Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series (BYU Religious Studies Center and Bookcraft, 1999)

The role of religion in psychology and mental health has been a subject of much debate. Some studies assert that high religiosity can lead to good mental health, and others assert that it may be a cause of emotional disturbance. Daniel Judd has analyzed fifty-eight studies and found an overwhelming relationship between an individual religiosity and mental health. In *Religion, Mental Health and the Latter-day Saints*, Judd selects twelve of those studies that evaluate Latter-day Saints, their religiosity, and their mental health. All but two of the studies have been previously published.

The articles in this impressive collection provide a careful review of the literature, and the authors employ sound research methods and data analysis. Not only were Latter-day Saints studied, but also individuals from other religions as well as those without religious affiliation or inclination. Importantly, sample populations were often drawn from geographical areas outside Utah.

Significantly, these studies revealed a number of interesting results: depression is not more prevalent for Latter-day Saint women (33–46); “LDS women who work [outside the home] are able to reconcile their church’s emphasis on remaining at home and their employment” (71), and they do not exhibit more guilt feelings, depression, or self-esteem problems (71–92); and neither geography nor concentration of Latter-day Saint youth were directly related to delinquency but peer influences were, and “youth for whom religion was an important internal aspect of their lives resisted peer pressures . . .

and avoided delinquency to a greater extent” (159, 129–68).

The weakest study examined six homosexual Mormons and their feelings about themselves, others, and God (179–214). Although the findings were interesting, the sample was too small, and further studies with broader sampling are needed for more reliable results.

Other investigations examined topics such as LDS implications for religious lifestyles; family size; marriage, divorce and remarriage; changing views of young Mormons toward African Americans; suicide; and alcohol and drug abuse. In the final chapter, Richard Williams and James Faulconer suggest that we focus on agency choices rather than cause and effect (deterministic) analysis (281–302), concluding that religiosity becomes a more meaningful expression of individual identity than the total of our past environments.

Bringing these studies together makes an important contribution to the study of the influence of religion on the mental health of its practitioners. The volume will appeal to LDS scholars in the behavioral sciences, religious leaders, and LDS people who have struggled with one or more of the issues studied. I agree with Judd, who concludes that “the research evidence clearly indicates that Latter-day Saints who live their religion report better mental health than those who are less committed to the faith” (xiii).

—Marvin E. Wiggins

Principles of Priesthood Leadership, by Stephen D. Nadauld (Bookcraft, 1999)

The explosive growth of the LDS Church in recent years poses the major challenge to Church leaders at all levels to

nurture capable, caring leaders in this dynamic environment who will be able to carry out the Church's worldwide mission. Stephen Nadauld, as a BYU management professor and a former General Authority, is well equipped to help Church leaders learn how to deal successfully with their myriad responsibilities. In this volume, he has prepared a "primer" on priesthood leadership, focusing his attention on "a few simple principles which can be mastered by men and women of any level of education or background" (vii). He is appealing to a broad audience of Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthood leaders at all levels and to sisters serving as leaders in Church auxiliaries. The language and examples he uses are easy to read and understand.

The scope of the topic of leadership in the modern Church is vast, particularly when leadership in all Church auxiliaries is included. However, the author demonstrates a commendable mental discipline in limiting his range to a small number of concepts or principles that will be most helpful. He feels that leaders can be successful by concentrating their attention on a few foundational principles, as opposed to management techniques, and "by doing a few *right* things" (117, italics in original). Three core principles are discussed in separate chapters: teaching the plan of redemption, ministering, and vision and focus. The author also includes chapters specializing in Aaronic Priesthood leadership and the leadership process.

Nadauld's focused approach should be edifying and clarifying to Church leaders who may easily feel overwhelmed by the complexity that they often face in their callings. He has succeeded in providing a simple, useful conceptual framework for leaders from all backgrounds and experience to help them concentrate their attention on basic principles and dedicate their energies to those things that matter most.

For those that seek to learn more about Church leadership, there are two

other recent books that merit attention: *Counseling with Our Councils*, by Elder M. Russell Ballard (Deseret Book, 1997); and *Lead, Guide, and Walk Beside*, by Ardeeth Greene Kapp (Deseret Book, 1998).

—Terry Dahlin

Sacred Places; New England and Eastern Canada: A Comprehensive Guide to Early LDS Historical Sites, by A. Gary Anderson, Donald Q. Cannon, Larry E. Dahl, and Larry C. Porter. Vol. 1, Sacred Places, edited by LaMar C. Berrett (Bookcraft, 1999)

This handy travel book begins a six-volume series of guide books to early Latter-day Saint historic sites. Under the general editorship of BYU professor emeritus of Church history and doctrine LaMar C. Berrett, the intent of the Sacred Places series is to provide a tool for those who wish to visit the sites where the seminal events of the Restoration took place. "Sacred Places endeavors to bring the history and geography of the early period of the Church to life" and to "function as a resource for academic historians and amateur Church history enthusiasts alike" (vii).

Volume one covers historic sites in all six New England states and eastern Canada including Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic provinces. Three of the authors are professors of Church history and doctrine at BYU, and all have researched and written extensively on nineteenth-century Mormon history.

Each chapter includes a general road map of the state or province under consideration and a discussion of specific places and persons relevant to Mormon history in that region. Another valuable feature is the occasional reference to an American history site that provides vacationers information on other places to visit while on their Mormon history tours (for example, Revolutionary War sites in and around Boston). The reader will also

find especially valuable more than a dozen additional detailed maps of specific towns, townships, or farm sites and more than eighty photographs that include both contemporary and historic views of sites as well as selected portraits of Saints who made the sites important. Also included is a bibliography of sources cited and a valuable index of personal names and places.

The five subsequent volumes of the Sacred Places series will include separate volumes devoted to New York and Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and Nebraska, and finally Wyoming and Utah. These volumes are scheduled to appear every six to twelve months during the next three years.

—Larry W. Draper

Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815–1900, by M. Guy Bishop (Utah State University Press, 1998)

The life of Henry William Bigler demonstrates how extraordinary an average life can be. M. Guy Bishop's *Henry William Bigler: Soldier, Gold Miner, Missionary, Chronicler, 1815–1900*, aims to provide a "microcosmic view of nineteenth-century Mormon society through the eyes of a lower-echelon member" (xi). Although Bigler is already known to historians of the West as the man who recorded the exact day gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, this biography finds his life noteworthy for the "commitment, faith, and self-sacrifice that characterized a host of lesser-known Mormons whose individual experiences many have been lost in historical obscurity" (xii).

The book follows Bigler from his conversion to Mormonism in 1837 through his death in St. George in 1900. Chapters are arranged chronologically and usually focus on a single theme. For example, entire chapters are devoted to Bigler's

march with the Mormon Battalion (1846–47), his mission to the Sandwich Islands (1850–54), his farming in Farmington, Utah (1859–76), and his temple work in St. George beginning in 1877. The final chapter, "Chronicler," discusses the significance of Bigler as a recorder of daily pioneer life. Bigler's four daybooks and nine journals leave behind a rich, detailed record.

This book's strength is its ability to navigate around possible tension. Without overglamorizing the subject, *Henry William Bigler* adds to the growing body of scholarly literature on the "common" pioneer. The author writes with deep admiration for Bigler's saintliness without engaging in excessive cheerleading that might turn away some non-LDS readers. The narrative consistently relates Bigler's life to the larger culture without losing track of the uniqueness of Bigler's own story. Readers leave the text appreciating Bigler's very real sacrifices, while, at the same time, recognizing that the Mormon commonwealth was built on similar sacrifices by thousands of others.

—Jed L. Woodworth

Index

Volume 38

Authors

- Allen, J. Michael, review of *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1851–1996*, by R. Lanier Britsch, 38:3:208–11.
- Anderson, Paul L., review of *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple*, by Elwin C. Robison, 38:3:202–3.
- Ashurst-McGee, Mark, “The Josiah Stowell Jr.-John S. Fullmer Correspondence,” 38:3:108–17.
- Ashworth, Kathryn R., “Being There,” 38:2:148.
- , “Getting There,” 38:2:116.
- , “Staying There,” 38:2:202.
- Baird, Nancy, “The Shell in Silk,” 38:4:106.
- Ball, Terry B., and Jack D. Brotherson, “Environmental Lessons from Our Pioneer Heritage,” 38:3:63–82.
- Barney, Ronald O., “Letters of a Missionary Apostle to His Wife: Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell Young, 1839–1841,” 38:2:156–201.
- , review of *Utah’s Black Hawk War*, by John Alton Peterson, 38:4:189–91.
- Baugh, Alexander L., “Joseph Young’s Affidavit of the Massacre at Haun’s Mill,” 38:1:188–202.
- , “Parting the Veil: The Visions of Joseph Smith,” 38:1:22–69.
- Bennett, Richard E., review of *Adventures of a Church Historian*, by Leonard J. Arrington, 38:2:203–6.
- Blomberg, Craig L. *See* Connelly, Matthew R.
- Bowkett, Norma S., “*Haeremai*: A Maori Welcome,” 38:4:42.
- Brotherson, Jack D. *See* Ball, Terry B.
- Bryson, Phillip J., “In Defense of Capitalism: Church Leaders on Property, Wealth, and the Economic Order,” 38:3:89–107.
- Bushman-Carlton, Marilyn, “Green Rain,” 38:3:45.
- Clark, Gina, “After the Fall,” 38:4:26.
- Connelly, Matthew R., Craig L. Blomberg, and Stephen E. Robinson, “Sizing Up the Divide: Reviews and Replies,” 38:3:163–90.
- Dant, Doris R., “A Touch of Refinement: Pioneer Graining,” 38:1:125–36.
- , “Minerva Teichert’s Manti Temple Murals,” 38:3:6–44.
- Davis, Norma S., review of *A Sculptor’s Testimony in Bronze and Stone: The Sacred Sculpture of Avard T. Fairbanks*, by Eugene F. Fairbanks, 38:2:215–16.
- Davis, Robert O., review of *Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet’s Likeness*, by Ephraim Hatch, 38:4:185–88.
- Eliason, Eric A., “Toward the Folkloristic Study of Latter-day Saint Conversion Narratives,” 38:1:137–50.
- England, Eugene, “Mission to Paradise,” 38:1:170–85.
- , review of *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*, by Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson, 38:3:191–201.
- Freeman, Robert C., review of *Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission*, by Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert, 38:1:217–18.
- Foster, Craig L., review of *Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1, comp. and ed. Dan Vogel, 38:1:211–12.

- Garrard-Willis, Janet, "Islands of Peace, of the Blessed," 38:4:107–13.
- Geary, Edward A., "Confessions of a Chameleon, 1983–1991," 38:1:14–17.
- Gedicks, Frederick Mark, "'No Man's Land': The Place of Latter-day Saints in the Culture War," 38:3:145–62.
- Godfrey, Kenneth W., "Moses Thatcher and Mormon Beginnings in Mexico," 38:4:139–55.
- Griggs, C. Wilfred, "Rediscovering Ancient Christianity," 38:4:73–90.
- Grover, Mark L., review of *"In His Own Language:" Mormon Spanish Speaking Congregations in the United States*, by Jessie L. Embry, 38:2:211–14.
- , See Palmer, A. Delbert.
- Gunter, Susan E., "August 10, 1995," 38:1:186–87.
- Hartley, William G., review of *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848*, by Richard E. Bennett, 38:2:207–10.
- Hedges, Andrew H., and Jay G. Burrup, "Shaping the Stones: Lorenzo Snow's Letters to Priesthood Leaders of the London Conference, November 1842," 38:4:6–25.
- Hedges, Andrew H., review of *The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Being the Autobiography of a Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer*, ed. S. George Ellsworth, 38:4:196–98.
- Houston, Stephen D., "Classic Maya Religion: Beliefs and Practices of an Ancient American People," 38:4:43–72.
- Howard, Richard P., review of *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*, by Valeen Tippetts Avery, 38:3:215–17.
- Hunter, Donnell, "When Children Sang," 38:4:114.
- , "The Wolves," 38:2:48–49.
- Jackson, Kent P., review of *The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU*, by Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel, 38:4:177–84.
- Jordan, Benjamin R., "'Many Great and Notable Cities Were Sunk': Liquefaction in the Book of Mormon," 38:3:119–22.
- Keller, Roger R., review of *Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch, 38:1:207–10.
- Kelson, Aaron R., "'A Plea for the Horse': George Q. Cannon's Concern for Animal Welfare in Nineteenth-Century America," 38:3:46–61.
- Larson, Clinton F., "The Founding Vision of *BYU Studies*, 1959–1967," 38:1:9–10.
- Leonard, Glen M., review of *The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother*, ed. Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor, 38:1:213–16.
- Lindsay, Gordon B. See Merrill, Ray M.
- Lyon, Joseph L. See Merrill, Ray M.
- Madden, Patrick, "Luis Silva," 38:3:83–87.
- Madsen, Carol Cornwall, review of *A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872–73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal*, ed. Norman R. Bowen, 38:3:204–7.
- , review of *Mormon Midwife, The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*, ed. Donna Toland Smart, 38:4:192–95.
- Maxwell, Robert L., review of *Understanding the Book of Revelation*, by Jay A. Parry and Donald W. Parry, and *The Book of Revelation: Plain, Pure, and Simple*, by Mick Smith, 38:3:212–14.
- Mehr, Kahlile, review of *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, by Gary Browning, 38:1:203–6.
- Merrill, Ray M., Gordon B. Lindsay, and Joseph L. Lyon, "Tobacco-Related Cancers in Utah Compared to the United States: Quantifying the Benefits of the Word of Wisdom," 38:4:91–105.
- Palmer, A. Delbert, and Mark L. Grover, "Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile," 38:4:115–38.
- Partridge, Dixie, "From a River Road," 38:1:124.
- , "From This Ground," 38:3:118.
- , "In a Time of Fall Plowing," 38:4:156.
- , "Past and Present Tenses," 38:3:88.
- Peters, John Durham, "Bowels of Mercy," 38:4:27–41.

- Reeves, Brian D., "Two Massachusetts Forty-Niner Perspectives on the Mormon Landscape, July–August 1849," 38:3:123–44.
- Reynolds, Noel B., "The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon in the Twentieth Century," 38:2:6–47.
- Richards, James, "Adam's Song," 38:3:62.
- Robinson, Stephen E. *See* Connelly, Matthew R.
- Rust, Richard Dilworth, "'I Love All Men Who Dive': Herman Melville and Joseph Smith," 38:1:151–69.
- Slife, Brent D., "Values of Christian Families: Do They Come from Unrecognized Idols?" 38:2:117–47.
- Tate, Charles D., Jr., "BYU Studies from 1967 to 1983," 38:1:11–13.
- Welch, John W., "Moving On," 38:1:225–29.
- , "Off on the Right Foot," 38:1:18–20.
- , "The Good Samaritan: A Type and Shadow of the Plan of Salvation," 38:2:50–115.
- Wilson, Keith J., "By Study and Also by Faith: The Faculty at Brigham Young University Responds," 38:4:157–75.
- Woodworth, Jed L., "Refusing to Die: Financial Crisis at Brigham Young Academy, 1877–1897," 38:1:70–123.
- Yunus, Muhammad, "Microlending: Toward a Poverty-Free World," 38:2:149–55.

Articles and Essays

- "Bowels of Mercy," by John Durham Peters, 38:4:27–41.
- "By Study and Also by Faith: The Faculty at Brigham Young University Responds," by Keith J. Wilson, 38:4:157–75.
- "BYU Studies from 1967 to 1983," by Charles D. Tate Jr., 38:1:11–13.
- "Classic Maya Religion: Beliefs and Practices of an Ancient American People," by Stephen D. Houston, 38:4:43–72.
- "The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon in the Twentieth Century," by Noel B. Reynolds, 38:2:6–47.
- "Confessions of a Chameleon, 1983–1991," by Edward A. Geary, 38:1:14–17.
- "Environmental Lessons from Our Pioneer Heritage," by Terry B. Ball and Jack D. Brotherson, 38:3:63–82.
- "The Founding Vision of *BYU Studies*, 1959–1967," by Clinton F. Larson, 38:1:9–10.
- "The Good Samaritan: A Type and Shadow of the Plan of Salvation," by John W. Welch, 38:2:50–115.
- "Hoping to Establish a Presence: Parley P. Pratt's 1851 Mission to Chile," by A. Delbert Palmer and Mark L. Grover, 38:4:115–38.
- "'I Love All Men Who Dive': Herman Melville and Joseph Smith," by Richard Dilworth Rust, 38:1:151–69.
- "In Defense of Capitalism: Church Leaders on Property, Wealth, and the Economic Order," by Phillip J. Bryson, 38:3:89–107.
- "'Islands of Peace, of the Blessed,'" by Janet Garrard-Willis, 38:4:107–13.
- "Joseph Young's Affidavit of the Massacre at Haun's Mill," by Alexander L. Baugh, 38:1:188–202.
- "The Josiah Stowell Jr.-John S. Fullmer Correspondence," by Mark Ashurst-McGee, 38:3:108–17.
- "Letters of a Missionary Apostle to His Wife: Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell Young, 1839–1841," by Ronald O. Barney, 38:2:156–201.
- "Luis Silva," by Patrick Madden, 38:3:83–87.
- "'Many Great and Notable Cities Were Sunk': Liquefaction in the Book of Mormon," by Benjamin R. Jordan, 38:3:119–22.
- "Microlending: Toward a Poverty-Free World," by Muhammad Yunus, 38:2:149–55.
- "Minerva Teichert's Manti Temple Murals," by Doris R. Dant, 38:3:6–44.
- "Mission to Paradise," by Eugene England, 38:1:170–85.

- "Moses Thatcher and Mormon Beginnings in Mexico," by Kenneth W. Godfrey, 38:4:139–55.
- "'No Man's Land': The Place of Latter-day Saints in the Culture War," by Frederick Mark Gedicks, 38:3:145–62.
- "Off on the Right Foot," by John W. Welch, 38:1:18–20.
- "Parting the Veil: The Visions of Joseph Smith," by Alexander L. Baugh, 38:1:22–69.
- "'A Plea for the Horse': George Q. Cannon's Concern for Animal Welfare in Nineteenth-Century America," by Aaron R. Kelson, 38:3:46–61.
- "Rediscovering Ancient Christianity," by C. Wilfred Griggs, 38:4:73–90.
- "Refusing to Die: Financial Crisis at Brigham Young Academy, 1877–1897," by Jed L. Woodworth, 38:1:70–123.
- "Shaping the Stones: Lorenzo Snow's Letters to Priesthood Leaders of the London Conference, November 1842," by Andrew H. Hedges and Jay G. Burrup, 38:4:6–25.
- "Sizing Up the Divide: Reviews and Replies," by Matthew R. Connelly, Craig L. Blomberg, and Stephen E. Robinson, 38:3:163–90.
- "Tobacco-Related Cancers in Utah Compared to the United States: Quantifying the Benefits of the Word of Wisdom," by Ray M. Merrill, Gordon B. Lindsay, and Joseph L. Lyon, 38:4:91–105.
- "A Touch of Refinement: Pioneer Graining," by Doris R. Dant, 38:1:125–36.
- "Toward the Folkloristic Study of Latter-day Saint Conversion Narratives," by Eric A. Eliason, 38:1:137–50.
- "Two Massachusetts Forty-Niner Perspectives on the Mormon Landscape, July–August 1849," by Brian D. Reeves, 38:3:123–44.
- "Values of Christian Families: Do They Come from Unrecognized Idols?" by Brent D. Slife, 38:2:117–47.

Book Reviews

- Adventures of a Church Historian*, by Leonard J. Arrington, reviewed by Richard E. Bennett, 38:2:203–6.
- The Book of Revelation: Plain, Pure, and Simple*, by Mick Smith, reviewed by Robert L. Maxwell, 38:3:212–14.
- Early Mormon Documents*, vol. 1, comp. and ed. Dan Vogel, reviewed by Craig L. Foster, 38:1:211–12.
- The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple*, by Elwin C. Robison, reviewed by Paul L. Anderson, 38:3:202–3.
- From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet*, by Valeen Tippetts Avery, reviewed by Richard P. Howard, 38:3:215–17.
- From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1851–1996*, by R. Lanier Britsch, reviewed by J. Michael Allen, 38:3:208–11.
- A Gentile Account of Life in Utah's Dixie, 1872–73: Elizabeth Kane's St. George Journal*, ed. Norman R. Bowen, reviewed by Carol Cornwall Madsen, 38:3:204–7.
- The History of Louisa Barnes Pratt: Being the Autobiography of a Mormon Missionary Widow and Pioneer*, ed. S. George Ellsworth, reviewed by Andrew H. Hedges, 38:4:196–98.
- How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation*, by Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson, reviewed by Eugene England, 38:3:191–201.
- "In His Own Language:" *Mormon Spanish Speaking Congregations in the United States*, by Jessie L. Embry, reviewed by Mark L. Grover, 38:2:211–14.
- Isaiah in the Book of Mormon*, ed. Donald W. Parry and John W. Welch, reviewed by Roger R. Keller, 38:1:207–10.
- Joseph Smith Portraits: A Search for the Prophet's Likeness*, by Ephraim Hatch, reviewed by Robert O. Davis, 38:4:185–88.
- The Lord's University: Freedom and Authority at BYU*, by Bryan Waterman and Brian Kagel, reviewed by Kent P. Jackson, 38:4:177–84.
- Minerva! The Story of an Artist with a Mission*, by Elaine Cannon and Shirley A. Teichert, reviewed by Robert C. Freeman, 38:1:217–18.

- Mormon Midwife, The 1846–1888 Diaries of Patty Bartlett Sessions*, ed. Donna Toland Smart, reviewed by Carol Cornwall Madsen, 38:4:192–95.
- The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother*, ed. Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor, reviewed by Glen M. Leonard, 38:1:213–16.
- Russia and the Restored Gospel*, by Gary Browning, reviewed by Kahlile Mehr, 38:1:203–6.
- A Sculptor's Testimony in Bronze and Stone: The Sacred Sculpture of Avard T. Fairbanks*, by Eugene F. Fairbanks, reviewed by Norma S. Davis, 38:2:215–16.
- Understanding the Book of Revelation*, by Jay A. Parry and Donald W. Parry, reviewed by Robert L. Maxwell, 38:3:212–14.
- Utah's Black Hawk War*, by John Alton Peterson, reviewed by Ronald O. Barney, 38:4:189–91.
- We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848*, by Richard E. Bennett, reviewed by William G. Hartley, 38:2:207–10.

Poetry

- “Adam’s Song,” by James Richards, 38:3:62.
- “After the Fall,” by Gina Clark, 38:4:26.
- “August 10, 1995,” by Susan E. Gunter, 38:1:186–7.
- “Being There,” by Kathryn R. Ashworth, 38:2:148.
- “From a River Road,” by Dixie Partridge, 38:1:124.
- “From This Ground,” by Dixie Partridge, 38:3:118.
- “Getting There,” by Kathryn R. Ashworth, 38:2:116.
- “Green Rain,” by Marilyn Bushman-Carlton, 38:3:45.
- “*Haeremai*: A Maori Welcome,” by Norma S. Bowkett, 38:4:42.
- “In a Time of Fall Plowing,” by Dixie Partridge, 38:4:156.
- “Past and Present Tenses,” by Dixie Partridge, 38:3:88.
- “The Shell in Silk,” by Nancy Baird, 38:4:106.
- “Staying There,” by Kathryn R. Ashworth, 38:2:202.
- “When Children Sang,” by Donnell Hunter, 38:4:114.
- “The Wolves,” by Donnell Hunter, 38:2:48–49.

Subject Index

Front cover is abbreviated *fc*, and *back cover* is abbreviated *bc*. Page numbers for illustrations are italicized.

A

- Abraham, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:18
- Adam
 - depicted in stained-glass windows, 2:56–61, 65–67
 - physical description of, 1:39
 - symbolized in Good Samaritan, 2:55, 73–74
 - in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:29, 38, 39
- Adam-ondi-Ahman, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:38, 39
- Agency, and capitalism, 3:96–98
- Alexander, Thomas G., on environmental issues, 3:69, 77
- Allegory
 - Good Samaritan as, 2:51–105
 - scripture passages as, 2:97–98
- Allen, Rufus C., 4:115, 116, 118, 119, 122
- Ambrose, on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 108
- American Gothic*, by Grant Wood, 2:124
- Angell, George T., on animal welfare, 3:49, 55
- Angell, Mary Ann. *See* Young, Mary Ann Angell
- Animal welfare
 - Brigham Young on, 3:54
 - George Q. Cannon on, 3:47–48, 50
 - George T. Angell on, 3:49
 - James Granger on, 3:56
 - Jeremy Bentham on, 3:56
 - Joseph Smith on, 3:53–54
 - Lorenzo Snow on, 3:54
 - Rene Descartes on, 3:55–56
 - scriptures about, 3:53
- Animals, cruelty to. *See also* Animal welfare
 - drawing of, 3:48
 - extinction, as a result of, 3:50, 59 n. 12
- Apocryphal writings, new discoveries of, 4:85–86
- Apostasy
 - symptoms of, in interpretations of Good Samaritan, 2:99–100
 - in teachings of Origen, 4:77
 - in writings of Eusebius, 4:78–79
- Archaeology, of Book of Mormon, 2:33–34
- Argonauts. *See* Forty-niners
- Arteaga, Silvano, 4:143
- Asia, Latter-day Saints in, 3:208–11

- Atonement, and bowels of mercy, 4:21–27
 - Augustine, on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 108
- ### B
- Bauer, Gary, 3:152
 - Bell, Kristi, 1:147
 - Benson, Ezra Taft
 - on agency, 3:101–2
 - emphasizes Book of Mormon, 2:30–31
 - on free enterprise, 3:98
 - on private property, 3:92–93
 - on unemployment, 3:102
 - on wealth, 3:95
 - Bentham, Jeremy, on animal welfare, 3:56
 - Blair, George Washington Thatcher, 2:159
 - Blair, Greta Fairzina Barker, 2:159
 - Blomberg, Craig L., 3:163–90
 - Bloom, Harold, on LDS belief in revelation, 1:146
 - Book of Mormon
 - computerized access to, 2:32–33
 - earthquakes in, 3:120–21
 - emphasis on, by Ezra Taft Benson, 2:30–31
 - emphasis on, in late twentieth century, 2:30–33
 - in Melville's writings, 1:153–4
 - portrayed in literature, art, and music, 2:29–30
 - publications about, 2:14–18
 - quoted in general conference, 2:9–11
 - scholarly studies of, 2:33–37
 - Sidney B. Sperry as advocate of, 2:25, 26
 - studies of Hugh Nibley on, 2:25–26, 35–37
 - sunken cities in, 3:119–21
 - translation methods of, 1:31, 32
 - translations of, 2:14
 - use of, during early years of Church, 2:8–9
 - use of, in Church Educational System, 2:19–29
 - use of, in missionary work, 2:11–14
 - use of, in Sunday School, 2:18–19, 31–32
 - use of, in twentieth century, 2:7–47
 - writings of Fawn Brodie about, 2:35, 36
 - Booth, Ann, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:178–80
 - Bowels
 - aversion to, 4:19–20
 - and compassion, 4:18, 20
 - and mercy, 4:24–25

Bowels *cont.*

- in scriptures, 4:18, 19, 20
- symbolism of, 4:17, 18, 19, 20, 24, 27

Bowels of mercy

- and Atonement, 4:21–27
- and Christ's suffering, 4:26
- and empathy, 4:22–24, 25–26
- and second birth, 4:26
- and suffering, 4:25, 26
- and Zion, 4:27

Bowen, W. Jones, 3:78

Bridgeman, Peter, 3:110

Brigham Young Academy

- and Abraham Owen Smoot. *See* Smoot, Abraham Owen
- and antipolygamy raids, 1:88–90
- attendance at, 1:76–79
- burning of, 1:70, 82
- Church assistance of, 1:79–82, 90–93, 96, 103
- creation of, 1:73–74
- financial struggles of, 1:70–106
- housed at ZCMI, 1:85–88
- officials of, 1:74
- photographs of, 1:70, 100
- rebuilding of, 1:85–88, 94–96
- temporary quarters of, 1:83–88, 84, 86
- and Tithing Block, 1:90–96

Brigham Young University

- Book of Mormon taught at, 2:19–28
- Egypt Excavation Project, 4:87–88
- Folklore Archive, 1:146–47
- impressions of, 2:149
- 1998 survey at, 4:158–75

British Isles, growth of the Church in (1837–70), 4:7, 8, 9

Brodie, Fawn, writings of, 2:35, 36

Brueghel, Peter, *The Peasant Wedding*, 2:122

Burgess, Harrison, witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:38

BYU Studies, history of, 1:9–20

C

Cancer, tobacco-related, 4:91–105

Cannon, George Q.

- on animal welfare, 3:47–48, 50
- on bounty laws, 3:51–52
- and Brigham Young Academy, 1:85, 92, 102, 105
- on ecological balance, 3:52
- gentle nature of, 3:47, 57
- Humane Day and, 3:49
- on humane societies, 3:49
- on Millennium, 3:57–58
- photograph of, 1:104, 3:46
- on sport hunting, 3:50–51

Capitalism

- Church support of, 3:89, 102
- definition of, 3:89
- Marxian thought and, 3:96
- strengths of, 3:101
- and United Order, 3:96

Chile

- church and state in, 4:122–24
- Parley P. Pratt's mission to, 4:115–38
- politics and revolution in, 4:126–27

Christensen, Joe J.

- on money, 3:93
- on resources, 3:103

Christianity, early

- modern scholarship on, 4:81–86
- and Restoration, 4:86–87
- writings of, 4:74–81

Chrysostom, on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 99, 108

Church Educational System, use of Book of Mormon in, 2:19–29

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, The

- apolitical methods of, 3:145–62
- General conference, 2:9–11
- minority mentality of, 3:146–49
- religious tolerance of, 3:147
- Spanish-speaking congregations, 1:211–14

City of Boerne v. Flores, 3:148

Clark, Hiram, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:178, 182, 183, 185

Clawson, Ruder, polygamist charges against, 1:88

Clayton, William, on resources in Salt Lake Valley, 3:65

Clement

- on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 73, 75, 81, 82, 99, 100, 107
- teachings of, 4:79

Clothing, as symbol in Good Samaritan, 2:76

Cluff, Benjamin, Jr.

- Brigham Young Academy administration of, 1:99–103, 105–6
- photograph of, 1:98

Cobbey, John F., 3:124

Coltrin, Zebedee

- photograph of, 1:36
- witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:35–36, 39

Columbus, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:23

Communism. *See* Socialism

Compassion

- and bowels of mercy, 4:18, 20
- and condescension of God, 4:22–24
- in Good Samaritan, 2:80–81

- Condescension of God, 4:22–24
 Conversion stories
 contexts of, 1:142
 examples of, 1:139–141, 3:83–87
 as folklore, 1:141–47
 functions of, 1:144
 future of, 1:146
 histories of, 1:142
 meanings of, 1:145–46
 performance qualities of, 1:144–45
 structures of, 1:142
 submission of, to BYU Folklore Archive, 1:147
 Cottam, Walter P., on environmental issues, 3:67, 76, 78
 Cowdery, Oliver, and visions of Joseph Smith, 1:28, 33–34, 38–39, 40, 41
 Cracroft, Richard, 1:142
 Credit
 role of, in lives of poor, 2:152
 social power of, 2:153
 Creeds, Christian, 3:166, 167
 Crusaders, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:23
 Culture, LDS, conflicts with, 3:145–62
 Cumorah, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:33–34
D
 Death, symbolized in Good Samaritan, 2:77
 Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, 4:76–77
 Devil, influence of, symbolized in Good Samaritan, 2:75–76
Didache, 4:80
 Dom Pedro II, 4:130
 Domínguez, Francisco, 3:63–64
 Dorson, Richard, 1:138
 Dreams, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:164, 172
E
 Early Christian Fathers. *See* Fathers, early Christian
 Early Christian writings
 modern scholarship on, 4:82–86
 new discoveries of, 4:79–82
 Earthquakes, in Book of Mormon, 3:119–21
 East Germany, missionary work in, 3:154
 Economics
 and credit, 2:153
 and greed, 2:153–54
 influence of, 2:150
 and poverty, 2:153
 Edmunds Act of 1882, 1:88
 Education, secular trends in higher, 4:157–58
 Egypt, BYU excavation project in, 4:87–88
 Elias, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:41
 Eliason, Dan, 1:141
 Eliason, LeAnn (Shafer), 1:141, 145
 Eligius, on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 82, 109
 Elijah, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:41
 Empathy, 4:22–24, 25–26
Employment Division v. Smith, 3:148
 England, Brigham Young's missionary service in, 2:158, 163–89
 Environment, of early Utah, 3:63–82
 Equal Rights Amendment, 3:152, 153
 Esau, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:21–22
 Escalante, Silvestre, 3:63–64
 Eusebius, as historian, 4:78–79
 Eve
 physical description of, 1:39
 in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:39
 Exodus, Mormon, 2:207–10
F
 Faculty survey, at BYU (1998), 4:158–75
 Fairbanks, Avard T., 1:215–16
 Faith and reason, at BYU, 4:161–68
 Family
 God-centered, characteristics of, 2:140–45
 values of, 2:117–147
Family, 1935, by Henry Moore, 2:130
Family of Charles IV, The, by Francisco de Goya y Lucientes, 2:120
 FARMS, history of, 2:37
 Fathers, early Christian
 on Good Samaritan, 2:55–72, 73–85, 99–100, 104
 prescribe limits of orthodoxy, 4:73–86
 Fife, Alta, 1:137
 Fife, Austin, 1:137
 First Vision, 1:25
 Flores, Dan L., 3:69
 Folklore
 archive at BYU, 1:146–47
 conversion stories as, 1:137–47
 and oral narratives, 1:138, 142–43
 study of, in religious context, 1:137–39
 Forty-niners, 3:123–44
 Free market, 3:89–90
 Frémont, John C., on Bear River Valley, 3:64
 Fullmer, John S.
 correspondence of, 3:108–17
 history of, 3:110
 mission of, 3:110–11
 photograph of, 3:111
 photographs of murals of, 3:33–44
 Furniture graining. *See* Graining

G

- General conference, quotes from Book of Mormon given in, 2:9–11
- Geography, of Book of Mormon, 2:33–34
- Ghana, Gordon B. Hinckley in, 3:154–55
- Gilbert, Marian Jackson, 3:124
- Gnostics, 4:74–75
- God the Father
 physical description of, 1:36
 in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:25, 35–37
- God, nature of
 Evangelical view of, 3:168
 Latter-day Saint view of, 3:168, 175–76
- Goffman, Erving, 1:145
- Gold plates, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:33
- Goldman v. Weinberger*, 3:147
- Good Samaritan, parable of
 as allegory, 2:51–115
 as history, 2:88–90
 early Christian views of, 2:51–88, 99–100
 illustrations of, 2: *fc*, 50, 56–72, 83
 stained-glass windows depicting,
 2:54–55, 56–72
- Good Samaritan, as symbol of Jesus Christ,
 2:53, 55, 73, 79–87, 100–101
- Good Samaritan*, by Wilson Jay Ong, 2:*fc*
- Goya, Francisco de, *The Family of Charles IV*,
 2:120
- Graining
 artists of, 1:126–27
 and Brigham Young, 1:126
 photographs of, 1:130–36
 process of, 1:127, 129
- Grameen Bank
 development of, 2:152
 money lending of, 2:152
- Granger, James, on animal welfare, 3:56
- Grant, Heber J.
 on honesty, 3:97
 on money, 3:93
 on private property, 3:92
- Great Basin, early settlers of, 3:59–60
- H
- Hadlock, Reuben, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:167, 171, 173, 174, 185, 187
- Hand, Wayland, 1:137
- Hardin, Garrett, on environmental issues,
 3:79
- Harris, Martin
 in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:31
 witnesses Joseph Smith's visions,
 1:29–30, 31
- Hatch, Nathan, 1:146

Haun's Mill Massacre

- eyewitness account of, 1:188–202
 those slain at, 1:193–94
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel, on Herman Melville, 1:156
- Heaven, hedonistic view of, 2:121
- Hedonism, 2:118–23
- Henri, Robert, 3:7, 27
- Hinckley, Gordon B., visits Ghana, 3:154–55
- Holbrook, Joseph, 3:123
- Hunter, Howard W.
 on free enterprise, 3:98
 on socialism, 3:98
- Hunter, James Davison, 3:145, 146
- Hunting, 3:50–51
- Hutchings, James M., 3:124
- Hyde, Orson
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:186, 187
 on environmental issues, 3:69, 72, 79
 and mission to England, 2:157, 158
- Hymn of the Pearl, as early Christian writing, 4:81

I

- Infancy gospels, 4:80
- Institute program, use of Book of Mormon
 in, 2:28–29
- Irenaeus
 on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 75, 79, 84, 100,
 106–7
 on orthodoxy, 4:73–74
- Isaiah, in Book of Mormon, 1:207–10
- Isidore, on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 74, 76, 80,
 81, 108–9
- Ivins, Anthony
 called as missionary in Mexico, 4:146
 called as mission president, 4:146
 letters from Moses Thatcher to,
 4:146–52
 photograph of, 4:149

J

- Jackson, Edward, 3:124, 131–39, 140
- Jerusalem, as symbol of paradise in Good Samaritan, 2:74–75
- Jesus Christ
 appearance of, in Kirtland Temple, 1:38
 compassion of, 4:22–24, 25–26
 Good Samaritan as symbol of, 2:53, 55,
 73, 79–87, 100–101
 parables of, 2:52
 physical description of, 1:36
 pure love of, 2:80–81
 Second Coming of, 2:85
 in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:25, 35–39

- Jesus Seminar, 4:83–84
- John the Baptist, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:28
- Johnson, Sonia, 3:153
- Jones, Samuel S., and Brigham Young Academy, 1:84
- Joseph, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:18–19
- K**
- Kane, Elizabeth, journal of, 3:204–7
- Kimball, Heber C.
in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166–88
and the British Mission, 4:7–10
on environmental issues, 3:68
and mission to England, 2:157, 158
prophecy of, about early Saints, 3:123
witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:40–41
- Kimball, Spencer W.
on business, 3:97
on Church political activity, 3:153
on honesty, 3:97
on money, 3:95
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 1:144
- Kirtland Temple
architecture of, 3:202–3
dedication of, 1:38, 40–41
photograph of auditorium of, 1:40
in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:46
- Knight, Joseph, Sr.
painting of, 1:31
on visions of Joseph Smith, 1:30–31
- L**
- Lambert, Neal, 1:142
- Last Supper, The*, by Gary Smith, 2:137
- Latin America, early missionary work in, 4:116–18, 130–31
- Lee, Harold B.
on exaltation of poor, 3:95
on United Order, 3:91
- Lewis Building
burning of, 1:82
photographs of, 1:70, 80
- Lewzey, William, 4:11, 13, 16
- Liquefaction, 3:119–22
- Luther, Martin, on Good Samaritan, 2:87–88
- M**
- Maeser, Karl G.
commitment of, to Brigham Young Academy, 1:83, 92
photograph of, 1:78
and solicitation for Brigham Young Academy, 1:77, 78, 79, 89–90, 92–93
- Major, William, 4:11, 13, 16
- Manti Temple
murals, 3:7–44
photograph of, 3:6
- Manti Temple*, by C. C. A. Christensen, 3:fc
- Marriage, early Christian writings on, 4:75
- Marsh, Thomas B., as President of Twelve, 2:157
- Materialism, in families, 2:122–23
- Maya, Classic
art of, 4:65, 68, 70, 71, 72
buildings of, 4:48–49, 66, 67, 72
cave used by, 4:69
civilization of, 4:43, 45, 47, 50, 51, 57–60
hieroglyphic writings of, 4:45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59
language of, 4:44, 45, 47
monism of, 4:52–53
religion of, 4:43–60
- Maya, Modern, 4:45, 47
- McKay, David O.
on communism, 3:100
on private property, 3:92
- Melville, Herman
emotional state of, 1:158
and Joseph Smith, 1:151–69
and Mormons, 1:153–4
photograph of, 1:153
and search for truth, 1:160–7
writings of, 1:154–67
- Mercy, and bowels, 4:24–25, 27
- Mexican Mission Conference (1881), 4:143–44
- Millennium, conditions during, 3:57–58
- Missionary work
of Brigham Young, 2:156–201
in East Germany, 3:154
in Latin America, 4:116–18, 130–31
of Parley P. Pratt in Chile, 4:115–38
use of Book of Mormon in, 2:11–14
- Moby-Dick*
background of, 1:154
ideas in, 1:154, 157, 160, 161, 163
illustration from, 1:162
- Modernism, 2:117–26
- Money and wealth, prophets on, 3:93–95
- Monism, of Classic Maya, 4:52–53
- Moore, Henry, *Family*, 1935, 2:130
- Moralism, 2:123–26
- Mormonism
and divisive issues, 3:149
and Protestantism, 3:145–62, 191–201
- Moroni
physical description of, 1:26
in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:26, 31, 32–33

Moses

- depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:19–21
- depicted in stained-glass windows, 2:58, 59, 60, 61, 68
- law of, symbolized in Good Samaritan, 2:77, 79
- in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:41

Mountain Meadows, environmental erosion at, 3:74–76

Murdock, John, witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:36

Murphy, Merian, 2:159

N

Nadauld, Stephen D., on free enterprise, 3:96

Narratives, conversion. *See* Conversion stories

Nelson, Amy, 1:146

Nephites, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:27–28, 33, 43–44

Nibley, Hugh

- on Book of Mormon controversy of 1940s, 2:25–26

- Book of Mormon studies of, 2:35–37

- on Good Samaritan, 2:54

- on money and wealth, 3:93

- on private property, 3:90

Nuttal, John, and Brigham Young Academy, 1:91

O

Oaks, Dallin H., on support of RFRA, 3:148, 152

Oil, as symbol in Good Samaritan, 2:82

Ong, Wilson Jay, *Good Samaritan*, 2:fc

Organized labor, 3:100–104

Origen

- on Good Samaritan, 2:55, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 99, 107–8

- life of, 4:76–78

- teachings of, 4:77–78

P

Packer, Boyd K., reinforces seminary program, 2:26, 29

Page, John E.

- in Brigham Young's letters, 2:165, 171, 172, 175, 177, 180, 182

- called to Twelve, 2:157, 158

Parable

- Good Samaritan as, 2:52–53

- Jesus Christ's use of, 2:52, 95–96

Patten, David W., in Brigham Young's letters, 2:157, 178, 180

Paul, physical description of, 1:24

Peasant Wedding, The, by Peter Brueghel the Elder, 2:122

Perry, L. Tom, on recording conversion stories, 1:144

Peter

- physical description of, 1:41

- in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:27–28, 41

Photius, 4:79

Pilgrims, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:21

Pioneer Day, 3:123, 129, 136, 147

Pioneers

- and desire for gentility, 1:125–26

- and furniture graining, 1:125–36

Plan of salvation, Good Samaritan as allegory of, 2:51–105

Plural marriage

- raids against, 1:88–90

- and visions of Joseph Smith, 1:41

Politics, and Church, 3:145–62

Postmodernism, 2:126–40

Poverty, 2:154–55

Pratt, Mary Ann, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166, 168, 169, 186

Pratt, Nielson, 4:146, 147, 149, 150–53

Pratt, Orson

- in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166, 168, 171, 173, 174, 175

- and mission to England, 2:158, 4:7

Pratt, Parley P.

- in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166, 167, 171, 172, 173, 177, 180, 185

- conversion of, 1:143

- mission of, to Chile, 4:115–38

- mission of, to England, 2:157, 158

- photograph of, 4:119

- proclamation of, in Chile, 4:124–26

Pratt, Phoebe, 4:115, 118–19, 120–21, 129

Preston, Harriet Thatcher, letter from Moses Thatcher to, 4:144–45

Preston, William B., letters from Moses Thatcher to, 4:139, 141

Priesthood callings, Lorenzo Snow on, 4:14–22

Priesthood, restoration of, 1:28

Private property rights, prophets on, 3:91–93

Property, private, rights of. *See* Private property rights

Prophets, Old Testament, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:27, 39

Protestantism, and Mormonism, compared, 3:191–201

Protestants, and Latter-day Saints, 3:145–62

Purple, William D., 3:109, 110

R

- Relationalism, 2:131–36, 140–45
 Relativism, 2:127–31, 143–45
 Religion and scholarship, at BYU, 4:158–75
 Religious Freedom Restoration Act,
 3:148–49, 152
 Restoration, in relation to ancient Christianity, 4:73, 78, 86–87
 Resurrection, in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:46
 Revelation
 modern scholarship on early Christian, 4:85–86
 rejected by early Christian leaders, 4:74–75
 Revelation, Book of, 3:212–14
 Richards, Willard
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:173, 178, 182, 188
 and mission to England, 2:158
 Rigdon, Sidney
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166, 187
 witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:34, 45
 Robinson, Stephen E., 3:163–90
Roe v. Wade, 3:148, 149
 Rollins, Mary Elizabeth
 photograph of, 1:37
 witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:37–38
 Russia, missionary work in, 1:203–6

S

- Sacrament, restoration of, 1:28
 Salt Lake City
 drawing of street in, by John Hudson, 3:128
 forty-niners in, 3:123–44
 Salvation
 Evangelical view of, 3:170–71, 179–80
 Latter-day Saint view of, 3:170–71
 Samoa, missionary work in, 1:171–85
 Sandberg, Ivar, 1:139–41, 143, 145
 Santiago Chile Temple, photograph of, 4:133
 Satan
 as angel of light, 1:29
 in visions of Joseph Smith, 1:29, 33, 42
 Scriptures
 computerized access to, 2:32–33
 Evangelical view of, 3:165–67, 175
 Latter-day Saint view of, 3:165–67, 175
 metaphorical language in, 4:15–27
 Second Coming of Christ, symbolized in Good Samaritan, 2:85
 Seer
 definition of, 1:23
 Joseph Smith as, 1:22–48
Seer, The, by John Taylor, 1:49
 Seer stone, 1:29–30, 32

- Seminary program
 reinforced by Boyd K. Packer and A. Theodore Tuttle, 2:26, 29
 use of Book of Mormon in, 2:29
 Shoshone, in forty-niners' journals, 3:126–27, 130
 Smith, David Hyrum, 3:215–17
 Smith, Don Carlos, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:180
 Smith, Gary, *The Last Supper*, 2:137
 Smith, George A.
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:163, 165, 167, 171, 173
 and British Mission, 4:8
 called to Twelve, 2:157, 158
 Smith, Hyrum, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:168
 Smith, Joseph
 on animal welfare, 3:53–54
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:166, 177–78
 calls Orson Hyde to Palestine, 2:158
 characterized by Josiah Stowell Jr., 3:113
 on eternal life, 1:166–7
 and Herman Melville, 1:151–69
 hired by Josiah Stowell Sr., 3:110
 history of, 1:213–16
 in LDS folklore, 1:142, 143
 on mind of man, 1:161
 photograph of, 1:23
 poem about, by John Taylor, 1:48–49
 portrait of, 1:152
 revelation of, on natural resources, 3:67–68
 as seer, 1:23, 48–49
 on socialism, 3:99
 on unions, 3:101
 on United Order, 3:90–91
 visions of, 1:22–69
 on wealth, 3:93–94
 Smith, Joseph F.
 on animal welfare, 3:54
 and Brigham Young Academy, 1:102
 and environmental issues, 3:77, 79
 photograph of, 1:104
 Smoot, Abraham Owen
 and Benjamin Cluff Jr., 1:97–99
 appearance of Brigham Young to, 1:95, 117 n. 164
 Church and community positions of, 1:73
 commitment of, to Brigham Young Academy, 1:74, 87–88
 contributions of, to Brigham Young Academy, 1:75–76, 83, 122–23 n. 213
 photograph of, 1:72
 and solicitation for Brigham Young Academy, 1:92–93

- Smoot, Reed, and environmental issues, 3:78
- Snow, Lorenzo
 on animal welfare, 3:54
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:183–84, 186
 and British Mission, 4:6–25
 on business, 3:97
 on human potential, 3:149
 letters from (1842), 4:10–25
 personal notebook of, 4:11
 as president of London Conference, 4:8–11
 on wealth, 3:94
- Social consciousness, 2:153–54
- Socialism, prophets on, 3:98–100. *See also*
 United Order
- Spanish-speaking congregations, 1:211–14
- Sperry, Sidney B., as advocate of Book of
 Mormon, 2:25, 26
- Stevens, Frank
 helps with Manti Temple murals, 3:10,
 11–14, 15
 on painting with Minerva Teichert, 3:13,
 26, 27, 28
 photograph of, 3:12
- Stevens, Nancy Taylor, photograph of, 3:14
- Stewart, James Z., 4:139, 142, 145, 149, 151, 152
- Stowell, Josiah, Jr.
 correspondence of, 3:108–17
 defends Joseph Smith, 3:113
 history of, 3:110
- Stowell, Josiah, Sr.
 gives testimony of Joseph Smith, 3:114
 hires Joseph Smith, 3:110
- Stowell, Miriam, 3:110
- Suffering, hedonistic view of, 2:121
- Sunday School, use of Book of Mormon in,
 2:18–19, 31–32
- Survey, conducted at BYU (1998), 4:158–75
- Surveys, of university faculties, 4:158
- T**
- Talmage, James E., and Brigham Young
 Academy, 1:89
- Tanner, Nathan, witnesses Joseph Smith's
 visions, 1:44
- Taylor, John
 and antipolygamy raids, 1:88
 appearance of Brigham Young to, 1:81
 and Brigham Young Academy, 1:79–82,
 85, 87, 89–90
 in Brigham Young's letters, 2:165, 171,
 172, 175, 177, 180, 182
 called to Twelve, 2:157, 158
 and Mexican Mission, 4:139, 142, 145,
 149, 151, 152
 photograph of, 1:78
 on private property, 3:92
 on socialism, 3:99
 and Tithing Block, 1:90–92
 on Utah's environment, 3:71
- Teichert, Herman
 helps with Manti Temple murals, 3:9,
 10–11, 14–15, 16
 photograph of, 3:15
- Teichert, Minerva
 biography of, 1:217–18
 Manti Temple murals of, 3:7–44
 painting style of, 3:26–27
 photograph of, 3:8
 on prayer, 3:8
 on temple ordinances, 3:8
- Temples, visions of plans for, 1:46–47
- Temporality, 2:132–40
- Thatcher, Alena Kitchen, letters from
 Moses Thatcher to, 4:142–43, 144, 145
- Thatcher, Moses
 death of, 4:152
 dropped from Quorum of Twelve, 4:152
 and first branch in Mexico City, 4:139
 letters to Anthony Ivins from, 4:146–52
 letters to family from, 4:139, 141, 142–43,
 144–45
 and Mexican Mission, 4:139–55
 photograph of, 4:140
 release from mission of, 4:146
- Thomas, Gospel of, 4:80, 81
- Tithing Block, 1:90–92, 93–94, 94–96
- Toelken, Barre, 1:138
- Trejo, Milton, 4:139, 142, 151, 152
- Trinity
 Evangelical view of, 3:169–70
 Latter-day Saint view of, 3:169–70
- Truth
 Joseph Smith's knowledge of, 1:160–61,
 164–67
 Melville's search for, 1:160–67
- Turley, Theodore, in Brigham Young's let-
 ters, 2:163, 165, 185
- Tuttle, A. Theodore, reinforces seminary
 program, 2:26, 29
- U**
- United Order
 and capitalism, 3:96
 prophets on, 3:91, 100
- United States, cancer rates in, 4:91–102
- Universities, secularism in, 4:157–58
- Urim and Thummim, 1:29–32
- Utah
 cancer rates in, 4:91–105
 early environment of, 3:63–82
 farming practices in, 3:70–73

Utah *cont.*

- imported plant foods of, 3:71, 72, 73
- native plant foods of, 3:71
- photographs of erosion in, 3:75
- ranching practices in, 3:73–76

V

Valentinus

- judged as heretic, 4:74–76
- teachings of, 4:75–76

Vision, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:178–80

Visions, of Joseph Smith

- of Church organization, 1:44
- of future, 1:45–46
- Heavenly Father in, 1:25, 35–37
- heavenly messengers in, 1:25–29, 35–42
- Jesus Christ in, 1:25, 35–39
- list of, 1:57–63
- received during Zion's Camp, 1:43–44
- of Satan, 1:29, 33, 42
- of temple plans, 1:46–47
- through Urim and Thummim, 1:29–32
- of Zion, 1:42–43

Volcanic eruptions, 3:120–21

W

Walker, William Z., 3:124, 125–31

Ward, Amy, 1:143

Wealth. *See* Money and wealth

Wells, Daniel, on environmental issues, 3:64

Wesley, John, in Brigham Young's letters, 2:179

Whitmer, David, and visions of Joseph Smith, 1:26, 30, 32

Whitney, Newel K., and visions of Joseph Smith, 1:45

Widston, John A., on communism, 3:100

Wilcken, August, 4:146, 147, 150, 151

Williams, Fredrick G., witnesses Joseph Smith's visions, 1:40, 46

Williams, Zina Young, and Brigham Young Academy, 1:81, 85

Wilson, William A., 1:138, 139

Wine, as symbol in Good Samaritan, 2:82

Wood, Grant, *American Gothic*, 2:124

Woodruff, Wilford

- and Brigham Young Academy, 1:93, 96, 99, 105
- in Brigham Young's letters, 2:163, 165, 171, 175, 176, 180, 185, 186
- and British Mission, 4:8, 9
- called to Twelve, 2:157, 158
- and environmental issues, 3:71
- photograph of, 1:104
- on wealth, 3:94

Word of Wisdom

- and cancer rates, 4:91–92, 101–2
- and cultural issues, 3:146

Y

Young, Brigham

- on animal welfare, 3:54
- appearances of, 1:81–82, 95
- birth of, 2:159
- called to England, 2:158
- conversion of, 1:143
- and creation of Brigham Young Academy, 1:73–75, 76, 90
- directs settlement in Utah, 3:65, 72
- in forty-niner's journal, 3:136
- marries Mary Ann Angell, 2:159
- as missionary in New York, 2:158, 164–67
- missionary letters of, 2:156–201
- on money and wealth, 3:94
- photograph of, 2:161
- on private property, 3:91, 94
- on United Order, 3:91

Young, Joseph

- and Haun's Mill Massacre, 1:188–202
- photograph of, 1:190
- photograph of affidavit of, 1:188

Young, Mary Ann Angell

- Brigham Young's letters to, 2:156–201
- marries Brigham Young, 2:159
- photograph of, 2:160

Yunus, Muhammad

- on economics, 2:150–155
- on microlending, 2:152–54
- on poverty, 2:153–55
- on shaping young minds, 2:149

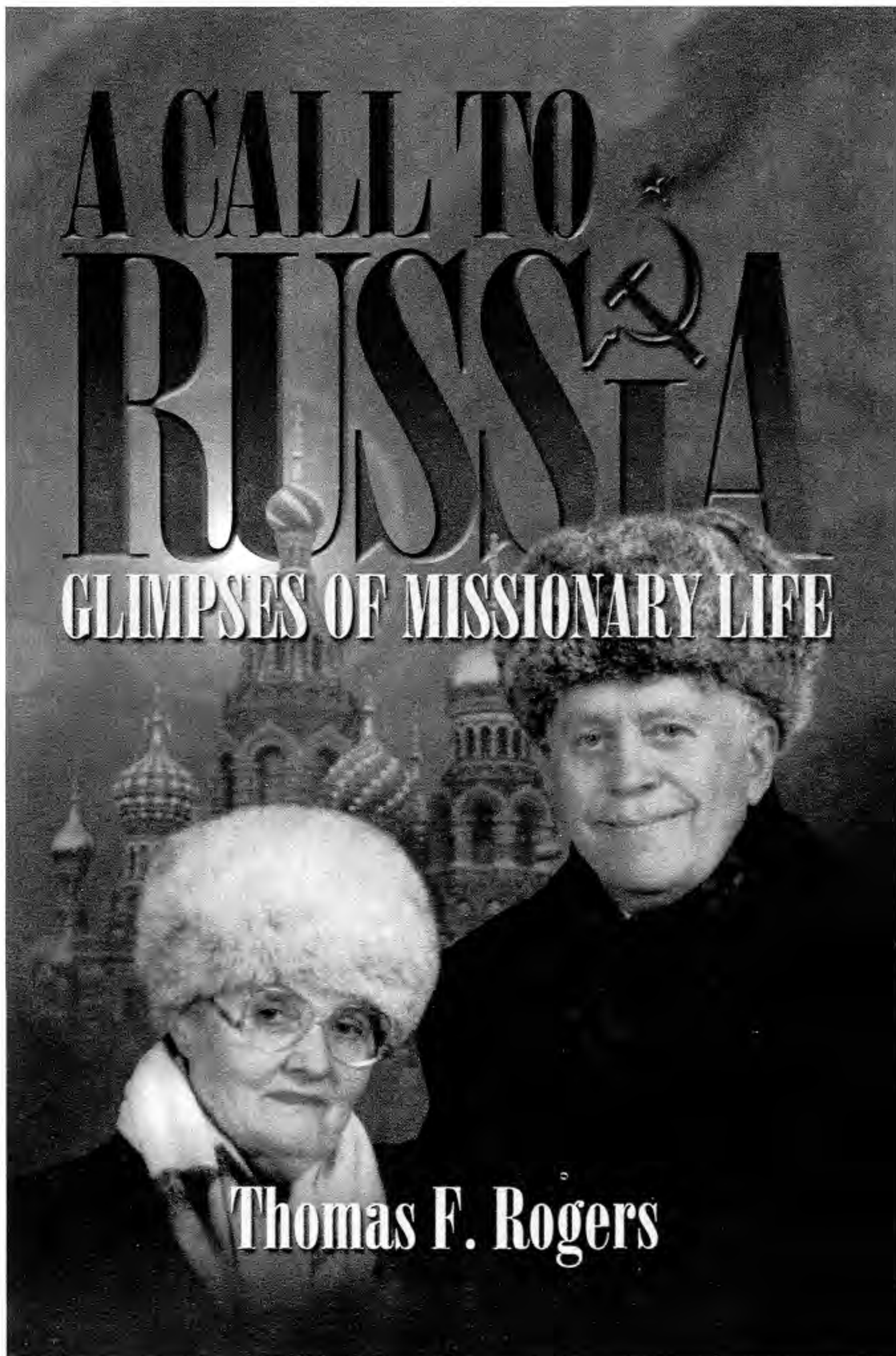
Z

Zarate, Lino, 4:149, 150, 154

ZCMI

- early photograph of, 1:86
- as temporary home of Brigham Young Academy, 1:86–87, 89

Zion, depicted in Manti Temple murals, 3:25–26



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