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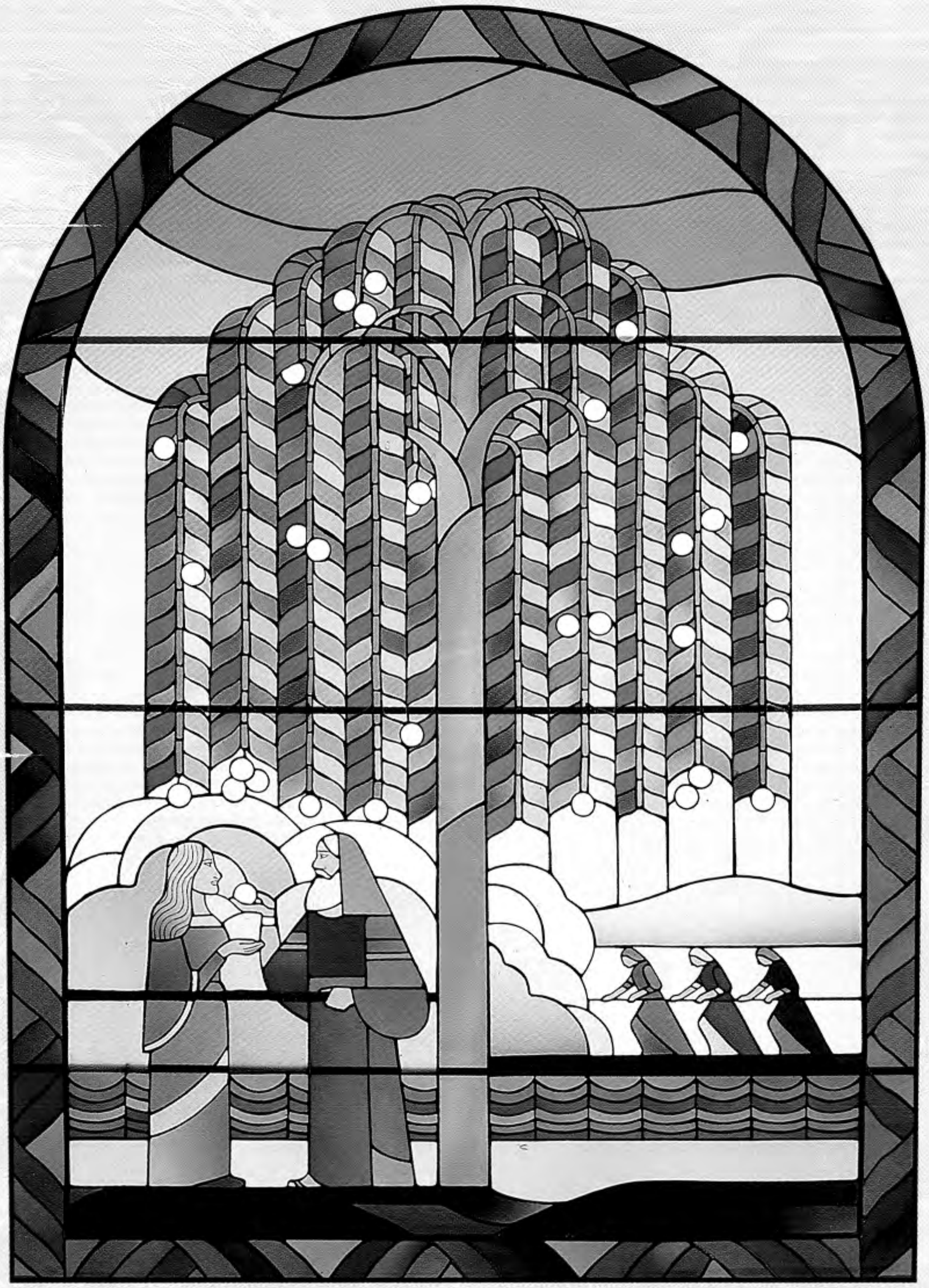

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C O N T

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Front Cover: Robin Luch Griego, *The Tree of Life,* Glass and lead, 59" x 47 1/2", 1982, Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art
Back Cover: Kazuto Uoto, *Tree of Life,* Tempera on plaster on board, 63 1/2" x 53 1/2", 1990, Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art

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 are 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).

Contributions from all fields of learning are invited. *BYU Studies* strives to publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming to high scholarly standards. *BYU Studies* invites personal essays dealing with the life of the mind, reflections on personal and spiritual responses to academic experiences, intellectual choices, values, responsibilities, and methods, as well as quality fiction, short stories, poetry, and drama. Short studies and notes are also welcomed.

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Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life: A Cross-Cultural Perspective in Contemporary Latter-day Saint Art

Richard G. Oman

"The values that drench art with power."[1]

As the Church has expanded geographically, LDS art has changed. The pioneer scenes and Utah landscapes that formed the vast majority of Mormon art for almost a century have become scarcer outside Mormon-colonized western U.S.A.; artists have less interest in subjects with which they have little personal contact. At the same time, the scriptures have become more prominent in LDS art because the standard works are a universal point of departure for Latter-day Saints.

For example, the Book of Mormon invites each reader to respond to Lehi's vision of the tree of life.[2] This vision, a metaphor for the plan of salvation, is about such themes as faith, choice, commitment, religious persecution, apostasy, and great spiritual reward for those who endure to the end. So powerful are the symbols in this vision that it serves as the theme for several recent works of art from the United States and abroad. This article shows how the differences in the artists' cultural background actually enlarge our understanding of this ancient vision. In addition, an analysis of eight of these pieces can provide some insights into the current state of Latter-day Saint art.

Analysis of our art tradition brings us to the question, "What is Mormon art?" What is the Mormon component to the question? Some may equate Mormon art with Utah art. However, since fewer than one out of five Latter-day Saints is currently living in Utah, most contemporary LDS artists are not Utahns. Over two-thirds of all new growth in the Church occurs outside the U.S.A., so in less than twenty years, the majority of Latter-day Saints will not even be

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citizens of the United States. Mormon art could be identified as simply art made by Mormons, but such a definition would be so broad it would render the definition almost useless.

What about aesthetic style as a unifying category of Mormon art? The Church has about nine million members in scores of nations and even more cultures. Many of these nations and cultures have distinctive artistic styles which are usually reflected in the work of their native LDS artists. As the Church continues to expand, the aesthetic frameworks of LDS artists will become even more varied. Amid such aesthetic diversity, where is the unity in what we call Mormon art?

It seems we are left with theme as a useful unifying element in defining Mormon art. In 1990 the Museum of Church History and Art sponsored an art competition open to all LDS artists.[3] There was an incredible variety of aesthetic styles and mediums represented. Yet, the resulting exhibition was cohesive. Shared beliefs, commitments, and religious experiences visually expressed through LDS themes provided unity. Many visitors could identify with the art even when it was in a totally unfamiliar style and medium.

Mormons often talk about creating a "style of our own." Perhaps that "style" is one of intellectual and spiritual unity rather than one of aesthetic, geographical, or cultural unity.

To create a thematic "style of our own," we may have to break ranks with contemporary art critics about what is most significant in defining an art tradition. There is broad historical precedent for this approach. The vast sweep of the history of world art is the history of religious art. Some of the most profound art seeks the face of God. Many art historians and museum curators have obscured this reality by projecting the Western present on the past and on other cultures. Yet one has only to think of Egyptian, Byzantine, Islamic, and Gothic art, Oriental and African sculpture, and the work of individual artists, for example, Rembrandt's etchings, to see the religious imperative in art.

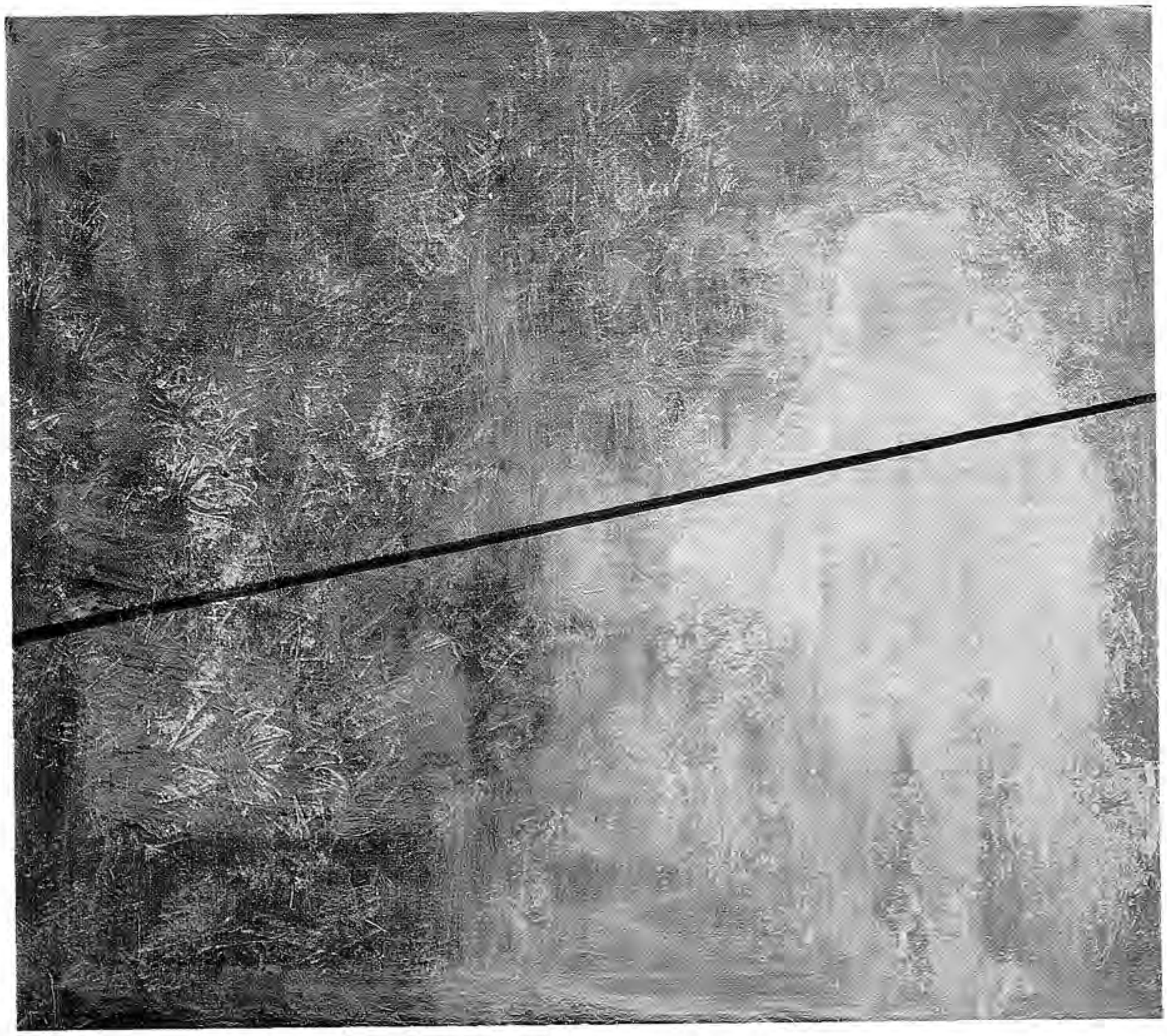
The faith and religious motivations that called much of the world's greatest art into existence have often been either ignored or reduced to footnotes. Too often, the history of world art is seen by scholars as primarily the history of style and technique. This approach has relegated art to the margins (albeit aesthetic margins) of human existence.

Though much of contemporary western civilization has lost that religious imperative in its art, LDS artists need not follow like lemmings. I wonder how many Latter-day Saint artists realize the strength that the gospel gives to the foundation of their artistic tradition. It does

not isolate them. It puts them in touch with intentions that called much of the world's greatest art into existence.

Why do any of these points matter? As the Church expands internationally and cross-culturally, we will have less and less personal access to the hearts and minds of our fellow Latter-day Saints. Great distances and linguistic differences are real barriers. Using writing as one way of overcoming those barriers helps a little, for the written words in the Church are usually generated at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. However, very few messages come back from the Saints in distant places; when a common discipleship loses the immediacy of contact, it is reduced to an abstraction.

The visual arts are one of the easiest ways to communicate across the vast geographical and cultural barriers that separate us from our fellow Latter-day Saints. True, we need to learn something about other cultures to fully understand this visual communication, but doing so is much easier than becoming proficient in dozens of spoken languages and amassing the financial resources to visit fellow Saints personally in their distant homes. I hope that the art illustrated in this article will help bond us together as a people and reinforce our religious commitments, while it also delights the eye.



Johan Helge Benthin, *The Iron Rod.*
(Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

The Iron Rod, Johan Helge Benthin (1936–), Germany/Denmark. Oil on Canvas, 27" x 31", 1989, Donated by the Artist to the Museum of Church History and Art.

The Iron Rod demands more of the viewer than most of the works of art in this issue of *BYU Studies* because the viewer must become involved in the painting's creation. Johan Helge Benthin creates the viewer's opportunity for co-creation in three ways: first, by leaving out key visual elements of the story; second, by the way he lays the paint on the canvas; and third, through simplifying visual details. Benthin involves the viewer in the painting's creation to help the viewer take stock of his own spiritual state.

While the iron rod is the most obvious element in the painting, Benthin does not show anyone grasping it. The missing participants are the viewers themselves. The way Benthin layered the paint, creating the stripe of the iron rod last, emphasizes the viewers' role in the painting's creation. The iron rod looks like it was created with a felt tip pen. Its strong crisp form contrasts with the soft, impressionistic impasto of the rest of the painting. This placement and treatment of the rod pushes it off the surface of the painting and presents the rod to the viewers, inviting them to grasp it. In this way, Benthin asks the viewers to put themselves into the painting and then to question their own personal commitment to living the gospel.

The visual strength of the iron rod almost overwhelms the very soft, expressionistic figure of light, glowing in the background. This figure represents a loving Savior who stands ready to embrace all who complete the journey back to his presence. The Savior's symbolic but abstract depiction leaves the viewers free to project their own feelings about the Lord into the painting. Benthin's use of light takes on a metaphorical value, figuratively passing through the eye into the soul, illuminating our own spiritual relationship with the Lord.

The Iron Rod expresses Benthin's artistic and religious philosophy of art. The following quotes from the artist's own writings illuminate his approach:

> Art for me is a process of identifying feelings.
>
> I want to help the viewer co-create with me by exploring the painting more with his emotions than with his intellect.
>
> I can show the path . . . but the decision to walk the path is ultimately his.
>
> By experiencing art . . . [the viewer] is forced to look at his concept of what he is.

> Helping others to extend their horizons as human beings is what the artist in me demands.
>
> It is in striving to reach out to others and in helping them know more about themselves while I am learning about myself that I find the ultimate justification for all my artistic activities.[4]

Benthin's philosophy of art helps explain why there is such an economy of detail in his paintings and why light and composition play such important roles.

The artist is intensely, yet quietly, religious. He was a convert to the Church and became, as a young man, the first president of the Copenhagen Stake.[5] He has lived in South America, the United States, North Africa, and Italy,[6] and currently lives in the small village of Bad Vilbel, near Frankfurt, Germany.[7]

Benthin is largely self-taught, although he received some training from his father and grandfather, who were professional artists in Denmark. He continued his art studies with Oscar Falcon, Ulla Hako Weinert, and Ottavio Giacomazzi. Benthin works in sculpture, ceramics, lithography, and painting, and has taught art at the Arco Art School. In Europe, where he exhibits widely, he is known in the secular-art world for the religious content of his art; many of his works' themes are drawn from the Bible.[8] This painting is one of fifteen religious works of art by Benthin in the collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.

Joseph Smith and the Tree of Life, Juan M. Escobedo (1946–), Mexico/Nevada. Oil on Board, 27 1/2" x 47 1/2", 1987, Museum of Church History and Art.

The joyful *Joseph Smith and the Tree of Life* likens the journey towards the tree of life to an exuberant Mexican festival parade. The Mexican quality of the painting's message is reinforced by the use of the vibrant and colorful styles of traditional Mexican folk art. A symbolic allegory, the painting has two major themes: the personal odyssey of a new convert, and the role of the prophetic tradition in this dispensation. An image of the tree of life from the Book of Mormon runs through the painting, unifying the two themes.

Artistically, Escobedo expresses himself through primitive regionalistic Mexican folk art that reaches back to his own cultural roots.[9] Folk art differs stylistically from much of the twentieth century fine art tradition in three key ways: its use of color, form, and detail. Like most folk art, Mexican folk art is bright and colorful, making extensive use of primary colors. In modern American culture, where we are engulfed in an artificial, machine-made environment, these bright colors may seem garish. But within a traditional culture where much of the environment is organic and handmade, such color is seen as strong, bold, and self-confident. Escobedo has followed this tradition—the setting's swirling, brilliantly colored forms bring the cosmos, nature, and the history of the Church into the festival parade.

In folk cultures where much is shared, artists frequently work with simplified forms in a kind of visual shorthand. Folk artists avoid atmospheric perspective and emphasize linear decorative elements. They carefully spell out the surface of the picture plane. Folk-art images release ideas in the minds of the viewers which carry the message to the heart.[10] The closest literary parallels to the difference between folk art and twentieth-century fine art are the simplicity of Christ's parables compared to the elaborateness of a Victorian novel.

This painting is full of people. Community plays an important part in folk cultures. People do not struggle or celebrate in isolation—they do these things with others. Thus this painting has a large social dimension with pilgrims, prophets, an angel, a whirling vortex of others around the tree, even a gesture toward the viewer to come and join the procession. All these elements point to the importance of a religious community of Saints to help us work towards our salvation. How different this concept is from the very personal

Juan M. Escobedo, *Joseph Smith and the Tree of Life.* (Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

odyssey we see expressed in the Western fine-art tradition through such works as Johan Benthin's.

As a convert to the Church, Escobedo shows the role of the tree of life from a convert's point of view. A Mexican peasant woman represents the convert.[11] In the middle left of the painting are dark clouds that represent the sins of this world. The figure of a woman emerges from the maelstrom covered with a *rebozo,* a traditional scarf the artist remembers seeing peasant women of Mexico wearing when he was a little boy. The *rebozo* seems to have the heaviness of a burden that the desperate woman would leave behind if she could. She appears to be plunging into clear waters emanating from the tree of life, which symbolize the waters of baptism. A branch of the tree of life begins to wrap around her from above, representing the comforting support of her new faith.

The figure that emerges and firmly grasps the iron rod has left her crushing burden behind. Another figure, dressed in a festive costume of bright colors, points down the straight and narrow path. Looking back, she beckons others outside the picture to share the purification that has occurred in her life. Joseph Smith, as the first partaker of the fruit of life in this dispensation, leads her down the path.

In the lower right, a woman is beginning to leave the path. Her heavy burden of sin has returned, but even the plant world reaches out to help her. Golden twined branches of the tree of life keep her from falling off the path. Woven into the branches are the names of all the prophets of this dispensation from Brigham Young, shown in profile, to Ezra Taft Benson. This weaving represents the role of modern prophets in guiding us toward the tree of life. An angel dressed in blue delivers the words of the prophets and points the woman toward Joseph Smith and the iron rod. The cosmos spins above the angel's arm—worlds without end signifying the eternal extension of the Lord's plan of salvation. Surrounding the base of the tree and the large, white fruit are rainbows of figures representing the multitudes of this world that are drawn toward the tree of life.

This painting successfully meshes artistic form, intellectual content, humble faith, and great joy. The exuberance of the forms and colors make a joyous celebration of the gospel. The unaffected and primitive style of this painting reinforces the honesty of Juan Escobedo's personal testimony. Included is a very insightful symbolic expression of how modern prophets and revelation fit into this ancient Book of Mormon allegory. First exhibited in the first Church-

wide international art competition at the Museum of Church History and Art, *Joseph Smith and the Tree of Life* was awarded a purchase prize and became part of the Church collection.

Juan M. Escobedo was born the fifth child in a family of ten children in San Luis Potosi, Mexico. When he was fourteen, his family emigrated to the United States, where his father found employment as a migrant farm worker. In McAllen, Texas, the family met LDS missionaries and joined the Church. In 1968, Escobedo, then a student at BYU, was drafted into the U.S. Army. He is presently working as an art teacher at the Nevada Girls' Training Center in Caliente, Nevada.[12]

Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life, Victor Enrique de la Torre (1929–). Ecuador/Venezuela. Wood, 34" diameter, Museum of Church History and Art.

Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life reflects the meeting of three great cultures: traditional rural with strong ancient Native American roots, the more recent cosmopolitan urban, and the newly adopted faith of Mormonism. It is an honest artistic expression of a faithful Latter-day Saint artist, Victor de la Torre.

The main growth of the Church in Latin America is in large urban areas, where much of the growth has resulted from a massive migration from the rural countryside. Thus many of the Church members in Latin America are a cultural mixture of the rural traditional and the urban modern. Torre is such a man. His use of wood as a medium reflects the long tradition of folk artists sculpting in materials that are readily available and relatively easy to carve with inexpensive tools. Art in folk cultures is also frequently an embellishment of utilitarian objects—in this case a coffee-table top. Artistic skills are usually taught through apprenticeships rather than formal education. Torre first learned wood carving through two such apprenticeships.

The images on this bas-relief reflect Torre's roots in the rural highlands of Ecuador and the large city of Caracas. The canyon with the filthy stream resembles the heavily eroded arroyos that are cut by rushing torrents in the Andean highlands of his native Ecuador. The border of the panel contains some elements based on pre-Columbian pottery, textiles, and metalwork from the Andes. The large and spacious buildings have some pre-Columbian details along the facia. But the most interesting aspect of the buildings is how much they resemble the vast blocks of modern apartment buildings that fill the large cities of Latin America. Here, Torre seems to be referring to the impact of urbanization and wealth on the previously simple folk of Caracas.

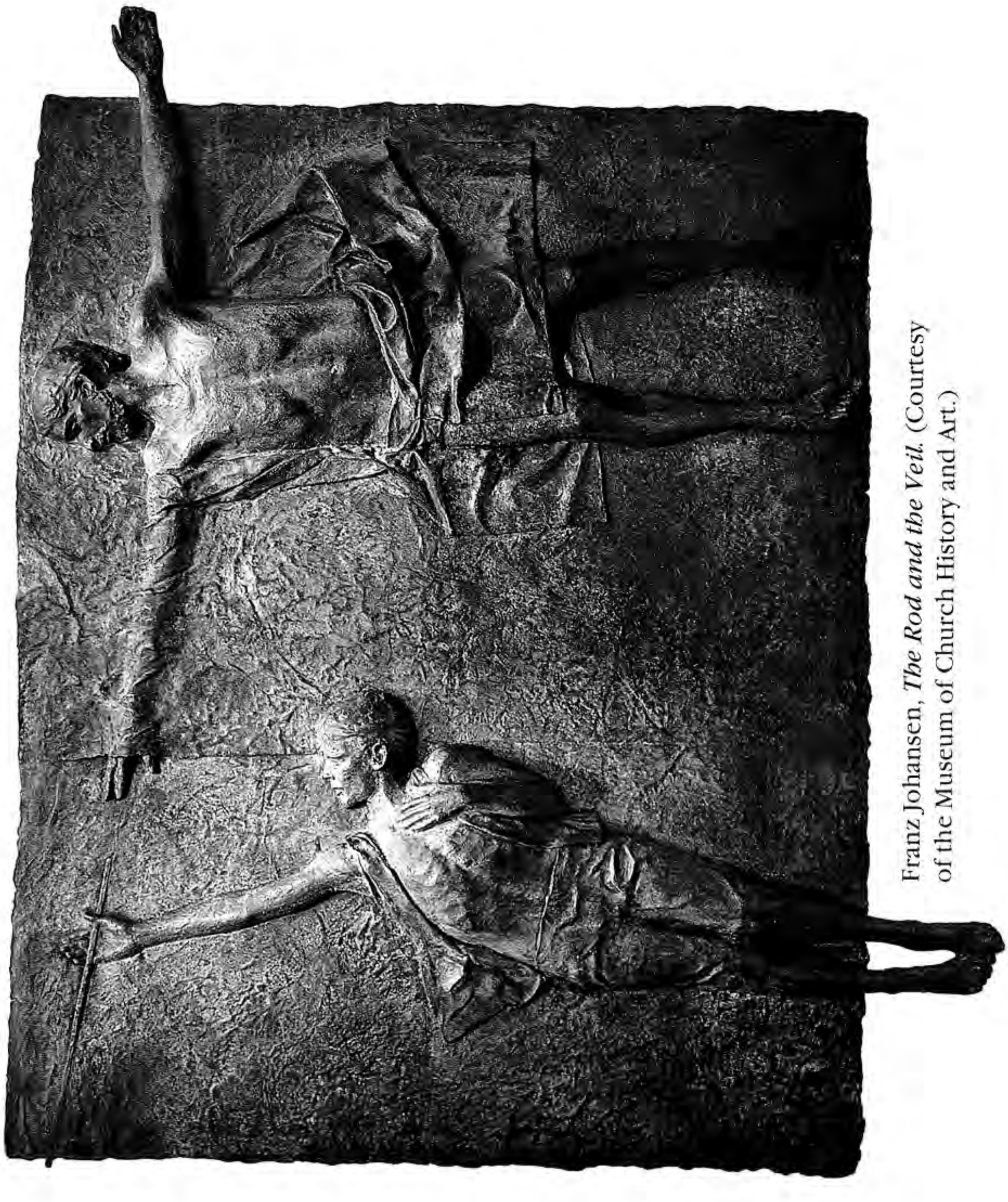
In addition to his folk roots, Torre also has a more sophisticated, urban side. His use of perspective, most noticeable in the depiction of the apartment blocks, shows formal art training. The very skillfully carved, sensual, curvilinear treatment of the clouds of darkness seem almost Oriental. This influence reveals some of his broader university training and represents a real stylistic and technical departure from the more traditional geometric figures that make up much of the border. However, although Torre's university training definitely influences his work, he does not let formal aesthetics overwhelm the

Victor Enrique de la Torre, *Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life.*
(Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

folk tradition in which he was raised. He strongly identifies with this folk-art tradition: "In my lifetime I have created many things because I enjoyed doing works of folk art."[13]

Torre was born in Puellaro, a small rural province in Ecuador. As a young boy, he apprenticed to a carpenter where he learned to make furniture. At age sixteen, he apprenticed to a wood-carver. This wooden bas-relief, originally designed to be the top of a coffee table, reflects the influence of these two early apprenticeships. The family lived with the children's great grandparents because they didn't have a father. As Torre grew older, he had to work very hard to support his brothers and sisters. Eventually, he was able to enter the university in Quito, where he studied sculpting, carving, and painting. In 1969 he became a member of the Church and also launched his art career. After several years of successful exhibitions in Quito, he and his family decided to move to the larger, more affluent and cosmopolitan city of Caracas, Venezuela, where he still lives. There he continues to work full time as an artist and also enjoys playing the guitar and mandolin.[14]

There are some interesting similarities between Torre and Escobedo, another Latin American LDS artist. Both came from very traditional rural backgrounds. Both received art training in universities. Both live far from their original rural homes and both consciously choose to create much of their artwork using folk art elements that come from the traditional rural areas of their ancestral homes. The fact that traditional roots are continuing to nourish these artists says much for the tenacity of traditional folk culture even in the face of urbanization, cosmopolitan modernism, academia, and wealth.



Franz Johansen, *The Rod and the Veil.* (Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

The Rod and the Veil, Franz Johansen (1928–), Utah. Bronze, 85" x 99", 1975, Museum of Church History and Art.[15]

The Rod and the Veil is a sculpture about the coming together of heaven and earth and the yearning of mankind for things of the spirit. Franz Johansen encourages viewers to bring their own interpretations to the sculpture, but, in an interview, he did share some of the spiritual impressions that he had during the creation of this piece.[16]

Johansen received his first inspiration for this piece from the story of the brother of Jared having faith sufficient to see the finger of the Lord and later his full presence. While contemplating the brother of Jared's theophany, Johansen thought about Joseph Smith's heavenly visions. Joseph Smith's youthful experiences then expanded in the mind of the artist to the more generalized yearning of youth seeking spiritual things. The boy in the sculpture stretches to his limit trying to get hold of the iron rod but cannot quite get it firmly in his grasp.

The heavenly personage reaches through the veil to touch the youth. This incomplete physical action represents seeking the spiritual—an artistic technique that dates back to the seventeenth century. The viewer must, by imagination, continue the boy's and the heavenly being's reaching until they touch. This interaction emotionally engages the viewer in the creation of the sculpture and especially in the spiritual yearning of the youth. We identify with the youth, for we, like him, are all children before the Lord. And as with the boy in the sculpture, when we reach out to the Lord with all our might, he reaches out to us.

We can find multiple layers of interpretation in the Heavenly Personage. Johansen wanted this figure to represent the entire heavenly side of the communication. To do this he had to keep the interpretation wide enough to encompass the whole. His ideas included Jehovah, God the Father, Christ, and angels when he created this figure. Even the personage's pose combines interpretive ideas. He not only reaches through the veil, he also stretches out both arms as though on a cross.

While an essay can contain many different aspects of an idea and many different actions, a sculpture with only two figures and minimal visual context is inherently limited in the complexity of the ideas it can communicate. Johansen has superbly used multilayered symbolism and partially completed action in this piece to unleash the

spiritual in the viewer and enlarge the scope of this powerful communication. The layers and tangents of interpretation are his attempt to help the viewer seek and remember the richness and variety of mankind's spiritual quest.

So how should you interpret this piece? This work of art needs to be understood intuitively and impressionistically rather than through a strict linear analysis—the artist invites you to arrive at your own interpretation. Johansen shared all of the interpretations of the previous paragraphs with me, but he wanted the ambiguity to remain so that completing the action in the sculpture requires the viewer to ponder his or her own feelings about reaching out for spiritual things.[17] In addition, the ambiguity, in encouraging the viewer to choose an interpretation, creates an imperative for personal choice, commitment, and action. The viewer cannot be passive.

Johansen served on the art faculty at Brigham Young University for thirty-three years before he took an early retirement to work full time on his own art. He studied art at Brigham Young University, the Academie de Chamauier in Paris, and the California School of Arts and Crafts. The abstract expressionism of his work reflects this academic training. A certified skin diver, Johansen studied the visual forms of underwater marine life at the Maine Institute of the University of Miami. This study's influence is reflected in the floating weightlessness of the figures in many of his works of art.[18] The proficient sculpting of his figure's anatomy, learned through his art study in France, have earned Johansen respect for his mastery of the European classical tradition.

Johansen's major works have been monumental sculptural pieces, most of which have a rather complex iconographic dimension. They include a massive bas-relief of the history of the Church on the facade of the Museum of Church History and Art. He created a large sculpture for the John Wesley Powell Museum in Green River, Utah. One of his most recent pieces is a large bronze bas-relief for the new Joseph Smith Building at BYU. In that piece the artist attempted to show how the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith affect a young family. One of his largest single figures is a twenty-two foot high replica of the Emmy Award that stands in front of the Emmy corporate headquarters in Los Angeles.[19]

Lehi's Dream, Steven L. Neal (1953–), Pendleton, Oregon. Oil on Board, 48" x 96", 1984–87, on loan to the Museum of Church History and Art from the artist.

This painting incorporates a romantic view of nature, dramatic lighting, world history, and the personal experiences of the artist to give visual form to Lehi's dream. Neal starts us at the beginning of the story by drawing our eye into the depth of the scene. He does this with light and dramatic mountains similar to Bierstadt's paintings of Yosemite and the dramatic forms of Sung Dynasty Chinese landscapes.[20] Light is also used to sanctify the tree of life with a brilliant white/yellow light coming down from heaven. This light is contrasted with the dull reddish glow of hell that comes up from below the great and spacious building. The metaphor of light, so often used in the scriptures, is used to direct our vision and show us the glory of the Lord.

Peoples and cultures from around the world are represented by both the great and spacious building and the various people who have reached the tree of life. Elements in the great and spacious building are taken from specific buildings in China, Egypt, pre-Columbian America, India, medieval France, and modern America. Next to the tree of life are two Japanese people in traditional costume. In the background, on the far left, is an aged Japanese woman in a red costume. These are portraits of Neal's favorite missionary companion, and his companion's wife and mother.[21] In the center are a mother and two daughters from Africa. Neal's point is clear: God is no respecter of specific cultures.

In the lower left corner is the sleeping Lehi near a soft cloud that encircles the outer edge of the painting. This part of the scene reminds us that the painting is about an ancient dream, but Neal also brings the story into the present through the lives of his family and friends. In doing so, he is following Nephi's admonition to "liken all scriptures unto us" (1 Ne. 19:23).

The artist is strongly influenced in this painting by two artistic sources: the art of the great nineteenth-century American romanticist Albert Bierstadt[22] and the Oriental art he saw on his mission to Japan.[23] The vast scale of the painting, its minute detail, the use of dramatic lighting, and the use of the landscape as a moral metaphor all point to Bierstadt.[24] The form of the mountains in the background and the graceful shape of the tree of life both point to Oriental influences.

Steven L. Neal, *Lehi's Dream.* (Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

This painting was four years in the making. Neal originally created it as a gift to his young daughter. She was to hang it in her bedroom as an inspiration to live the Gospel. This is one reason for its strong didacticism. The picture was also to serve as a reminder of her parents' love for her. In the center foreground, the artist has painted his daughter, his wife, and himself.[25] However, shortly after the painting was completed, it was shown in the exhibit of the first Church-wide international art competition in 1988, where it was easily the most popular work of art in the exhibition. It has hung in the Museum ever since.

The technical virtuosity and richness of detail contribute to the painting's easy popularity. But the artist is actually a practicing plastic surgeon specializing in head, neck, and facial plastic surgery. Though he is largely self-taught as an artist, his interest in plastic surgery developed because of his long-time involvement with painting.[26]

While Neal's painting has been immensely popular with the public, some critics have found this painting very problematic. Can something this popular be good? In addition, its tight detail, dramatic use of light, overt didacticism, and unabashed romanticism are out of step with late twentieth-century academic art which emphasizes abstractions, restraint, loose technique, and little narrative content.

One argument raised by the critics is that an artist must paint in the style of his own time. This argument implies that all artists are painting in the same style at any given time. The startling array of artistic styles in this article alone should belie that idea. Even within a single geographical area, many artistic styles coexist. For example, in Renaissance Florence, Lorenzo Monaco was painting in a late Gothic style that was very out of step with the developments of the Renaissance.[27] Yet art historians today acknowledge him as a master. During the Italian Renaissance, Florentine sculptors were doing their best to copy the Greek and Roman sculptors who had been dead for many hundreds of years.[28] Some critics would argue that an artist going back to an earlier style is simply creating a pastiche, but they would have to write off some of the greatest artistic masterpieces of Western civilization. Being enchanted enough with the art of the past to want to emulate it is a time-honored tradition in the world of art. Neal's borrowing from the past is not an aberration if our view of art history is long enough.

Oddly, when a modern Western artist borrows artistic ideas from a non-Western source, critics see this as an act of cultural power and creativity. A good example is the contemporary adulation of

Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* which drew heavily on forms from African Senufo masks that Picasso saw at the Musée de l'Hommes in Paris.[29] Yet when a Western artist of our time borrows from his own historical tradition, his act is seen as a sad sign of inferiority. This double standard is logically and historically inconsistent.

Why does this issue matter? Because we are an increasingly culturally diverse Church. We need to bridge the cultural, social, educational, and economic stratification of our world in order to embrace our fellow Saints wherever we find them. We need to open our hearts and minds to broader aesthetic expressions of faithful Latter-day Saints abroad and at home if we are to hear their voices. We need to be careful when we make arguments based on quality versus kitsch that we are not rejecting styles simply because they are different from our own.

Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life, Robert Yellowhair (1937–), Snowflake, Arizona. Oil on Canvas, 30" x 48", 1992, Museum of Church History and Art.

Recognition of the sacred presence in the physical environment and the importance of the family, clan, and tribe are two key elements of Native American culture. Another is the relationship between time and spiritual truth. In Native American cultures, the mythical past, the historical past, and the present can coexist. The conceptual limits of empirical time and space do not dominate their thinking because the goal is not an empirical cataloging of data. Instead, the goal is to understand the spiritual foundations of existence. Spiritual truth is experiential and symbolic, rather than logically dependent. Robert Yellowhair, a Navajo convert to the Church, brings these frameworks to the creation of this painting: "This is what it [Lehi's vision] would look like to the Lamanite people."[30]

Yellowhair's father was a Navajo medicine man from the Zuni clan.[31] He was also a member of the Hopi snake clan and learned many of the traditional spiritual songs of the Apache. Through his knowledge of and participation in the ritual songs and stories of other tribes, his father sought personally to bring peace between hostile tribes. Robert Yellowhair picked up much of his father's pan-Indian attitudes and then added an overarching belief in unity that comes form the Book of Mormon. These ideas are expressed in *Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life.*

Lehi's family collectively symbolizes several different tribes in a great pan-Indian gathering. The dramatic figure offering the fruit is Lehi, who also represents a messenger from God. Lehi is identified as a messenger from God "because he has red-tailed-hawk feathers in his hair." If he had been God himself, "he would have eagle feathers instead." As Lehi holds out the fruit like a glowing, heavenly gift, he wears the clothing of a Hopi priest: "The robe goes over the left shoulder when they pray. The design is still the ancient design. They are dressed all in white and they are the ones that believe that there is a tree of life. The reason that they wear a feather [in their hair] is that the birds have been blessed already. That's why they fly."

Facing Lehi are three figures. On the right is Sam, the peacemaker of the family. Yellowhair shows him holding a peace pipe and wrapped in a blanket. Shoshoni chief Washakie, one of the great Western peace-making chiefs of the nineteenth century, is the model for this figure.[32] The blanket represents the peaceful and mutually

Robert Yellowhair, *Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life.* (Courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art.)

beneficial trading relationship between Native Americans and the settlers. In the middle, Lehi's wife, Sariah, depicted as the Crow Mother of the Zunis. Most tribes claim Mother Earth as their first mother. But the Zuni tribe is different. They claim Crow Mother was their first mother. Yellowhair comes from the Zuni clan of the Navajos, so he claims Crow Mother as part of his own tradition. She is wearing the white wedding robes of Zuni women. She carries a basket because she is responsible for feeding her family. To the left is a figure representing Nephi. He is depicted as Quainapaker, the visionary Comanche chief. He wears a buffalo robe because buffalo are sacred to the tribes from the Great Plains. Attached to his waist is a "canteen representing baptism."

Behind these three figures are two figures representing Laman and Lemuel. They are part of the family, but they are standing in the background because they are not committed to living the gospel. Yellowhair meant these two figures to represent the Apache and Sioux people because they were great warriors. The crooked staff held by one of the figures represents the "cane of life" used by the Pawnee tribe. The artist has placed twelve marks on it to represent the twelve tribes that will come together in the last days. In Navajo tradition, there were messengers sent in the four cardinal directions looking for other people. This story of seeking and gathering is symbolically linked to the marks on this staff.

The visual center of this painting is the tree of life. Explaining why he choose a pinion pine to represent the tree of life, Yellowhair says, "We searched for the tree which is the most to all three persons: the birds, the human being, and the animals that travel on the earth." The tree and the pine cones have been sanctified with white light. Part of the local flora of the Southwest has become the vehicle of the Lord.

Next to the tree of life is a stone box with gold plates in it. On the plates is written "Diyin Baahani" which means "the story of God" in Navajo. Yellowhair comments, "We used to have a [Lamanite] branch in Snowflake and one of the prophets back about more than twenty years ago said that the Lamanites will blossom like a rose. I was going to put a rose bush right there on the other side of the rock where the gold plates are. Then I was going to put all kinds of pots representing the twelve tribes in there. Like starting with the Anasazi and then bring it back up and put it in there. But it wasn't in the vision so I just left it out. But I left space for it."

The sacredness of the land is also an important part of this

painting. The artist said that the first things he put in the painting were the San Francisco peaks that you can see just to the left of the tower. These mountains let us know that this is sacred space where spiritual things can happen. For the Navajo, these peaks mark the western boundary of their land that tradition says was given to them by the "holy people."[33] For the Hopi, these mountains represent the dwelling place of their "holy people," the kachinas.[34]

The great and spacious building is a composite of Native American architecture of the Southwest and the Great Plains. We see elements from Mesa Verde and Pueblo ruins, Navajo hogans, teepees, and the large stone tower on the south rim of the Grand Canyon that is of general Native American design but built for tourists. The river represents not only the filthy river in the vision, but also an ancient Navajo story where a river separated two conflicting groups of the Navajo people.

Yellowhair grew up in the Indian Wells area of the Navajo reservation. The artist is largely self-taught. When he was a young boy, his father took him to the local trading post. To amuse himself while he waited for his father, he began drawing pictures about Navajo life with colored rocks on the side of a rusty barn. When his father returned, Robert had covered the barn as high as he could reach and was standing on the back of his horse to reach higher. He has been drawing and painting the stories of his people ever since.[35]

Many years ago, he moved to the LDS town of Snowflake, Arizona, where he worked for a time as a barber. A Mr. Bushman would come into his barbershop for a haircut and then tell Yellowhair about the Book of Mormon. Sometimes Bushman would come in a couple of times a week. Yellowhair suspects the extra visit was just to tell him more stories from the Book of Mormon. Eventually, the artist and his entire family became members of the Church. Yellowhair now works full time as a professional artist.

Vision of the Tree of Life, Robin Luch Griego (1955–), Salt Lake City. Glass and Lead, 59" x 47 1/2", 1982, Museum of Church History and Art.

Robin Luch Griego has always seen her stained-glass window, *Vision of the Tree of Life,* as a visual feast. For her it captures the dream-like state of the world but also sends a forward-looking and profound message. Her graphic-design background is particularly useful for a stained glass artist because the medium is inherently flat, bold, and structured, all qualities of graphic design.

As a graphic designer, Griego expresses philosophical and spiritual relationships with shapes. Curved, structured forms from Art Deco of the 1930s—forms which Griego loves—govern the sculpture's overall design.[36] In an apt metaphor for a glowing tree of life and light, the actual shape of the tree reflects the elegant bell-shape lampshades from the Tiffany workshops of the year 1900.

In this window, the overarching intellectual and design idea is the tree of life. The tree's bell shape influences the rest of the window. The arched top of the window follows the shape of the tree as do the curves of the dark clouds. The pattern in the border imitates the pattern of the leaves of the tree. Thus through the details in the border, forms from the tree envelop the entire composition.[37] To give the effect of a dreary and confused world of lost people, Griego uses gray colors. But the tree that symbolizes eternal life is done in brilliant greens expressing rejuvenation. Women are prominent in this window: "I am also struggling, so it could be me," the artist has stated.[38]

Technically, this window is not really stained glass. It is art glass.[39] Handblown in France and Germany, the glass in this window has more irregularities and imperfections than does machine-made glass, causing the light to be refracted as it passes through the glass. The refracted light is what makes the glass in medieval cathedrals so dazzling.[40] Robin connects the glass pieces together with leaded foil, as opposed to lead strips.[41] This technique creates a varied, expressive lead line. For example, contrast the heavy lead used as the iron rod with the very fine leading of the leaves on the tree of life.

The artist grew up in a family of professional artists. Her father, mother, and sister are all practicing artists and designers. Griego studied graphic design at Brigham Young University and taught art at the Salt Lake Community Schools and the Salt Lake Art Center. She has been a member of the Utah Designer Craftsmen and exhibited in the Grand Beehive Exhibition at the Salt Lake Art Center. This exhibition later traveled to the Smithsonian's Renwick Gallery. For ten years, she operated her own stained-glass business.[42]

Tree of Life, Kazuto Uoto (1960–), Japan. Tempera on Plaster on Board, 63 1/2" x 53 1/2", 1990, Donated by Kazami Plautz to the Museum of Church History and Art.

Kazuto Uoto created his painting *Tree of Life* within a context of Mormon faith and Japanese culture. He uses Japanese visual metaphors, experiences, and aesthetics as a way of expressing his feelings about Lehi's vision of the tree of life. An understanding of this cultural foundation will help us see the religious ideas behind the composition, simplicity of forms, very minimal visual context, texture, and even the colors used in his painting.

The most structured ritual common in Japanese society is the *cha no yu* or "tea ceremony." Uoto uses this ceremony as a point of cultural departure.[43] Formulated by Rikyu, the greatest of the early Japanese tea masters, the *wabi cha* or "poverty tea" is the most austere, intimate, and influential form of this ceremony, stressing spiritual fulfillment through renunciation of material things. Within it and its setting are embodied the Japanese expressions of humility, simplicity, aesthetics, and contemplation. Every aspect of the ceremony is carefully regulated.

One approaches the very simple, and sometimes rustic, *chashitsu* or "tea hut" along a *roji* or "dewy path" through a small garden. Before entering the hut, participants ritually wash their hands and mouth in a stone basin fed with water from a bamboo pipe. The *chashitsu* is entered through a low doorway that requires one to crouch low as an expression of humility. Shoes are removed outside as a sign of respect. The ritual journey, purification, and humility have parallels with Lehi's vision of commitment, humility, cooperation, and faith.

The room itself is very simple, austere, and almost completely empty. The host ritually prepares the tea as a symbol of humility before his guests. He uses very simple tools made of bamboo and then ladles the tea into a *chawan* or "small tea bowl." In the *wabi cha*, a style of *chawan* called *raku* is used. It is a small, shallow fired bowl with a rough-textured, earthen-colored glaze. The guests frequently drink out of the same bowl sequentially (it is ritually washed between guests). This shared use of the *chawan* emphasizes camaraderie among the participants.

On one side of the room is a small raised alcove called a *tokonoma*. Here is placed a very simple floral arrangement. Fre-

quently it is a small branch from a flowering tree or a branch with fruit on it. Guests are expected to look at this arrangement and contemplate a peaceful oneness with nature.

As we look at Uoto's painting of the tree of life, we see many elements from the *wabi cha.* The background of the painting has a grid structure not unlike the simple screens used for walls in a tea room. The artist went to great lengths, by painting plaster over board, to create a texture and color for the painting like the rough pottery glaze of a *raku chawan.* The simplicity of the painting—no figures, no rod, no building, no stream, no mists, just a tree with glowing fruit—is presented like a floral arrangement in the *tokonoma.* The narrative part of Lehi's vision is expressed by its association with the *wabi cha* ceremony. The viewers must bring the required knowledge with them. Uoto presents the tree of life with its glowing fruit as an object for contemplation, reverence, and inspiration. The artist does not focus on the journey, but tries to inspire us with the symbol of heavenly reward.

Born in Osaka, Uoto still lives in the same house where he was born. A convert to the Church, he served a full-time mission to the Fukuoka Japan Mission. He married Yoko Matsushita, also a returned missionary, in the Tokyo Temple and is currently the elders quorum president in his ward. Uoto studied art in Tokyo but is currently a furniture designer. He does his painting at night while his family sleeps. He has exhibited his art in Tokyo, where he has won several prizes.[44] This painting was created for the second Church-wide international art competition, "Themes from the Scriptures," held at the Museum of Church History and Art during the spring and summer of 1990.

Note: The Griego and Uoto art peices are featured on the front and back covers, respectively, of this issue.

NOTES

[1] Henry H. Glassie, *The Spirit of Folk Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 1989), 20.

[2] 1 Ne. 8 records Lehi's dream, and his son Nephi's version of the same dream is in 1 Ne. 11–14. Interestingly it is Lehi's more symbolic vision, not Nephi's expanded interpretive version, that seems to have caught the interest of the LDS artists.

[3] Over one thousand LDS artists from over forty nations participated.

[4] Johan H. Benthin, "Thoughts on Art and Inspiration," 77–82, included in *Arts and Inspiration,* ed. Steven P. Sondrup (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1980).

[5] Benthin, "Thoughts on Art and Inspiration," 77–82.

[6] *Johan H. Benthin* (Copenhagen: Scan Art, International Scandinavian Art) A copy can be found in LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Museum of Church History and Art).

[7] Johan H. Benthin to the author, October 9, 1989, LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[8] *Art 10/79,* June 13–18, 1979, International Art Show, Basel, Switzerland. Translation of the section on Benthin in the LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[9] Juan M. Escobedo to the author, March 9, 1988, LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[10] For the best discussion on the philosophical and stylistic foundations of international folk art, see Glassie, *The Spirit of Folk Art.*

[11] Escobedo to the author.

[12] Escobedo to the author.

[13] Victor Enrique de la Torre to Glen Leonard, n. d., LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[14] Victor Enrique de la Torre, *Biographia de un Gran Artista Ecuatoriano Escultor, Pintor, Tallador y Padre* (Caracas, Venezuela: 1980). Original typescript in the LDS Artists Files, Museum of Church History and Art.

[15] This piece was originally cast in 1975 by Brigham Young University in a cold bronze fiberglass process. The sculpture owned by the Museum of Church History and Art was cast in bronze in 1987 from a mold taken from the original.

[16] Franz Johansen, interview by the author, November 16, 1992.

[17] Johansen, interview.

[18] Johansen, interview.

[19] Johansen, interview.

[20] Stephen L. Neal, conversation with the author, November 6, 1987. Notes in LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[21] Neal, conversation.

[22] Pendleton Prints, Inc., a brochure by the artist for the sale of prints of his work. The artist donates all proceeds from the sale of his prints to the Church Missionary Fund.

[23] Neal, conversation.

[24] The great Hudson River landscape painter, Thomas Cole, had earlier set the stage for using landscape as moral metaphor with such works as his "Voyage of Life" which now hangs in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

[25] Neal, conversation.

[26] Pendleton Prints brochure.

[27] "Lorenzo Monaco," *Encyclopedia of World Art,* vol. 9 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 338–39.

[28] For example, the much lauded Greek masterpiece, Apollo Belvedere, in the Vatican is actually a Roman copy from Hadrian's time; Becatti Giovanni, *The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), 214.

[29] H. W. Janson, *History of Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986), 381–82.

[30] All of the interpretations and information in the description of Robert Yellowhair's painting are taken from a short, unpublished oral history of Yellowhair conducted by the author on January 13, 1992. The oral history is in the LDS Artists File, Museum of Church History and Art. All quotes from the artist in this article are from this oral history. The author has attempted to pass on as directly as possible the symbolic and cultural interpretations of the artist in order to preserve as much of the artist's feeling as possible. There may be some differences in his analysis of native American history and culture from some of the published sources. But it must be remembered that native Americans do not record their ancient religious beliefs in a form of a catechism or as a great metaphysical document like Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica.* Oral tra-ditions of the same events or the same religious ideas are much more organic and fluid.

[31] All Navajos belong to a specific clan. Clan membership is matrilineal. Therefore when women are brought into the Navajo tribe as refugees or even as the spoils of a raid, a new clan must be created for their children. The artist's father comes from the Zuni clan of the Navajo tribe, which tells us that at some point in the past he had a Zuni grandmother who came to live with the Navajos. Thus the artist's own ancestry was multitribal.

[32] One of the best overall histories of the Shoshoni tribe is Brigham D. Madsen, *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1980).

[33] A good book on Navajo mythology is Paul G. Zolbrod, *Dine Bahane, The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). The classic general introduction to the Navajos is Ruth M. Underhill, *The Navajos* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956).

[34] A good introduction to kachinas is found in Harold S. Colton, *Hopi Kachina Dolls* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

[35] Robert Yellowhair, *Navajo Artist,* a small brochure published by the artist, LDS Artist File, Museum of Church History and Art.

[36] Interviews with Robin Luch Griego by the author, November 16–17, 1992.

[37] Griego, interviews.

[38] Griego, interviews.

[39] For "stained glass," details are added with paint or stain, which is fused to the glass in a kiln. This is the technique used for most medieval glass. Details in "art glass" are created with small pieces of glass of different colors, a technique pioneered by Tiffany's studios. Art glass usually has a bolder design than stained glass. Robin uses art glass in this window except for some very simple details on the faces. A good book on general history and technique is *Stained Glass,* by Lawrence Lee, George Seddon, and Francis Stephans (New York: Crown Publishers, 1976).

[40] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was extensive use of "leaded glass" in L.D.S. buildings. Beginning in the 1950's "leaded glass" went out of fashion in American architecture. Architects in the Church followed this trend by discontinuing the use of "leaded glass" in most chapels and temples. The recent use of "leaded glass" in recent temples such as Las Vegas, Toronto, San

Diego, and Bountiful show a renaissance in "leaded glass" windows in L.D.S. religious architecture. An excellent historical overview of this subject is *A History, Analysis, and Registry of Mormon Architectural Art Glass on Utah*, by Joyce Janetski, Masters thesis, University of Utah, 1981.

[41] With the foil technique, the edges of the glass are wrapped with a thin strip of copper foil. Hot solder is then flowed over the foil to join the pieces of glass. Another way that pieces of glass are joined in Griego's art piece is through the use of extruded lead strips, shaped like miniature "I" beams with channels on each side for inserting the glass pieces.

[42] Griego, interviews.

[43] For a well-written, concise, and authoritative description of the Japanese tea ceremony, see chapter 6 of *All-Japan: The Catalogue of Everything Japanese*, ed. Oliver Statler (New York: Quill, 1984). Another source, perhaps more readily available, but less well written is Sherman Lee, *A History of Far Eastern Art* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1982), 395–97, for a good description of the tea ceremony, architecture, and tea bowls.

[44] Acquisition Record Form, May 20, 1992, on file at the Museum of Church History and Art.

Waking

The trees slip away before
I can see. Maybe a wolf

comes back to the Yellowstone
or an ocean calls her lost child

(a shearwater's voice gleaning
a wave) and I can't answer.

Then out of the night my room
returns its familiar windows
and walls, a door I can open.

— Donnell Hunter

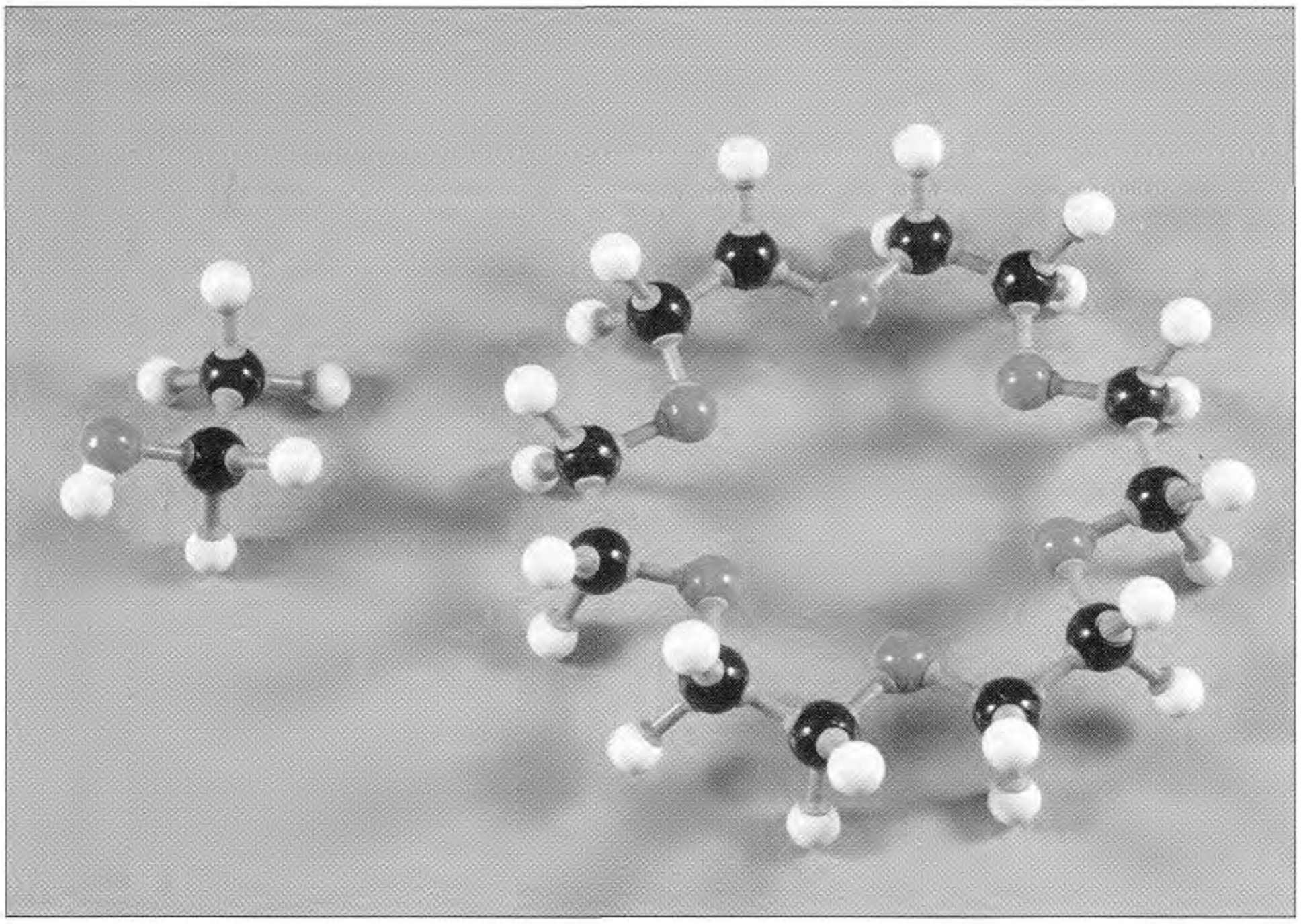


Figure 1. Models of 18-crown-6 (on the right) and ethyl alcohol. The black balls represent carbon atoms, the red balls oxygen atoms, and the white balls hydrogen atoms.

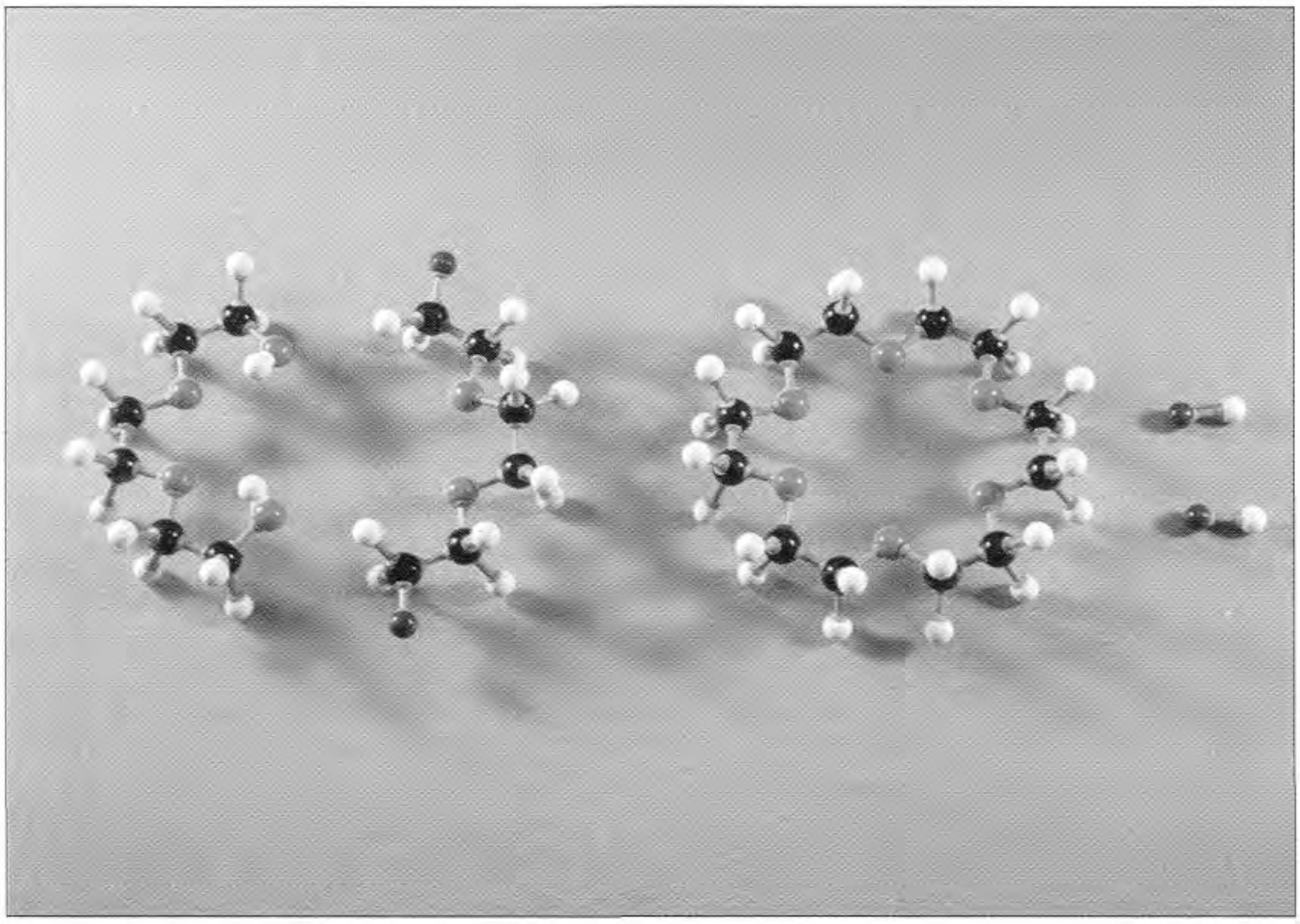


Figure 2. Models of the reaction of triethylene glycol (extreme left) with the dichloride (next to left) to form 18-crown-6 and two hydrochloric acid molecules.

Crown-6 and the Future

Jerald S. Bradshaw

I want to explain why I have CROWN-6 on my license plate. Crown-6 has nothing to do with dental work; it represents the type of chemistry my research associates and I are involved in. The license plate should read 18-crown-6, but the plate will accommodate only eight characters.

A model of 18-crown-6 is shown in figure 1. The black balls in the model are carbon atoms, the red balls are oxygen atoms, and the white balls are hydrogen atoms. Notice that each carbon is bonded (connected) to two hydrogen atoms, an oxygen atom, and another carbon atom. The carbon atoms reveal that 18-crown-6 is an organic chemical compound. Organic chemistry is the chemistry of carbon compounds. People say organic chemistry is really difficult to learn, but all you need to remember is that carbon has four bonds—*every* carbon atom has four bonds. In most cases, carbon bonds to two hydrogen atoms, one oxygen atom, and another carbon atom. Sometimes carbon has two bonds or even three bonds to the same atom but always has four total bonds.

18-crown-6 is a very unusual molecule called a macrocyclic compound (refer to figure 1). It has an oxygen, two carbons, an oxygen, two carbons and so on in a repeating arrangement in the form of a large ring. That's where the term *macrocycle* comes from. *Macro* means large, *cycle* means ring. Notice that the oxygen atoms are pointing towards the center making a hole or cavity in the molecule. 18-Crown-6 is obviously more complicated than the simple compound on the left in figure 1. That two-carbon compound is ethyl, or spirit alcohol. Notice that its back carbon atom has four bonds, three

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Jerald S. Bradshaw is Professor of Chemistry at Brigham Young University, where this essay was originally presented as the Distinguished Faculty Lecture for 1992. Professor Bradshaw writes: "Special thanks to my wife, Karen, for thirty-eight years of love, support, and listening to many of my lectures both here and abroad; to more than one hundred students and research associates for their research efforts through twenty-six years; and to colleagues Reed Izatt, the late James Christensen, Kent Dalley, and John Lamb for years of exciting research."

to hydrogen atoms and one to the front carbon atom. The front carbon has a bond to oxygen, two to hydrogens, and the fourth to the back carbon atom. The oxygen atom is also bonded to a hydrogen atom. This carbon-oxygen-hydrogen group is typical of alcohols.

Charles Pedersen, a chemist at duPont, discovered 18-crown-6 in about 1964.[1] I want to show you how he prepared this compound. An important aspect of organic chemistry is that we can convert one organic compound or a group of organic compounds into a new organic compound. Figure 2 shows Pedersen's reaction for forming 18-crown-6. The two organic compounds on the left are the reactants. The compound on the extreme left has two alcohol groups. Between these alcohol groups, we have carbon-carbon-oxygen-carbon-carbon-oxygen-carbon-carbon. This arrangement is like that in 18-crown-6. Actually, it is half of 18-crown-6. The other reactant also has the carbon-carbon-oxygen arrangement, but on the ends, instead of an alcohol, there are chlorine atoms (the green balls in the model represent chlorine). Pedersen found that when he treated these two compounds together with caustic, the alcohol oxygen atoms attacked the carbon atoms next to the chlorines displacing the chlorine atoms. New bonds form between those two carbons and the former oxygen atoms of the alcohols creating 18-crown-6. Also, the hydrogen atoms of the former alcohols and the displaced chlorine atoms get together to form hydrogen chloride (hydrochloric acid).

It's impossible in chemistry to use models to explain every reaction. There are too many reactions, and we do not have time to prepare the models. Figure 3 is the organic chemist's two-dimensional way of showing the reaction of figure 2 without using models. The point where two lines connect represents a carbon atom containing two hydrogen atoms (CH_2). Remember, every carbon atom has four bonds. The carbon atom at the point must be bonded to two hydrogen atoms to go with bonds to one oxygen (O) and another carbon atom. Triethylene glycol has HO-CH_2-CH_2-O-CH_2-CH_2-O-CH_2-CH_2-OH in a chain. Bis(2-chloroethyl)ethane, the dichloride reactant, has the same structure except the OH groups on the ends are replaced by chlorine atoms (Cl). Now you can see by the dotted arrows that the oxygen atoms of the alcohol groups attack the carbon atoms of the dichloride displacing the chlorine atoms. Two new C-O bonds are formed (between oxygen 1 and carbon 2 and oxygen 10 and carbon 9) as are the two H-Cl molecules.

The scientific name for 18-crown-6 is 1,4,7,10,13,16-hexaoxacyclooctadecane. Now that's a mouthful. Nomenclature in organic chemistry looks difficult, but when you break it down, it is straightforward. *Hexa* is six; there are six oxygen atoms (*oxa*).

numbers tell where they are in the ring. *Octadeca* is eighteen; there are eighteen total ring (*cyclo*) members. The *ane* ending indicates that this compound is in the alkane family. Pedersen realized that the name was very complicated, so he devised a simplified way to name it. He looked at the model and thought it looked like a crown. And so, rather than using the long complicated name, he called it a crown compound. If you count from oxygen number one (see figure 3) all the way around to the last carbon atom, number eighteen, you count eighteen atoms in the ring. There are six oxygen atoms. Thus, he named this compound 18-crown-6.[2]

When Pedersen made 18-crown-6, he also made 15-crown-5 (15 ring members, 5 oxygen atoms), and many, many more crown compounds. If he had only made these compounds, everyone would have thought that it was interesting that the molecules were in the form of a macroring, but he never would have been given the Nobel Prize. Pedersen received the Nobel Prize for what these compounds do. 18-Crown-6 causes an inorganic salt to dissolve in an organic solvent. In the morning, when you prepare Cream of Wheat®, you put a small amount of salt in the water and it dissolves immediately. Everyone knows that sodium chloride (NaCl), common table salt, dissolves in water. But if you placed NaCl in cleaning fluid or turpentine, it would not dissolve. Pedersen discovered that if 18-crown-6 were dissolved in the cleaning fluid, NaCl and other common salts would also dissolve. Thus, 18-crown-6 causes the salt to dissolve in the cleaning fluid. This important property warrants demonstration.

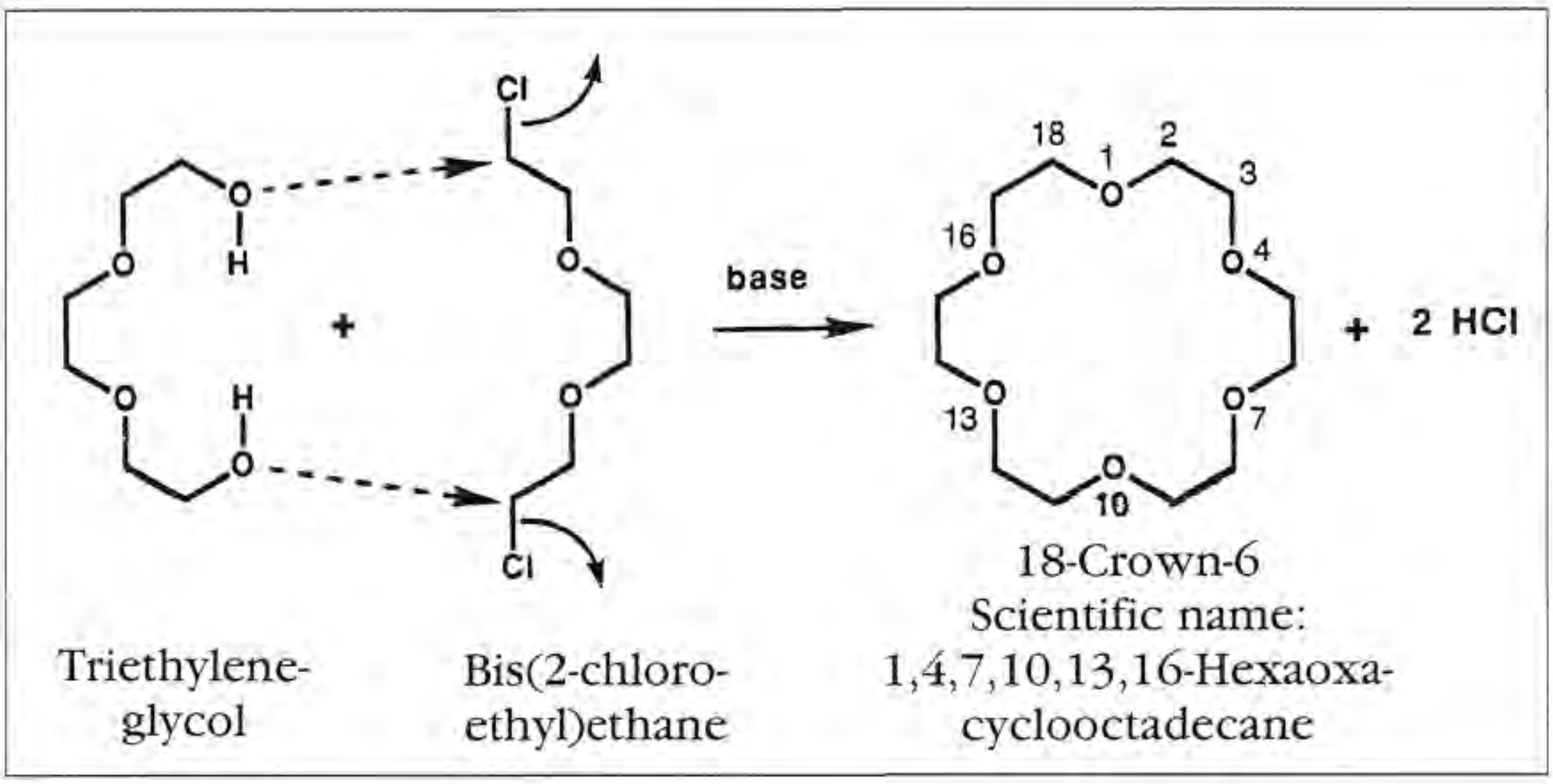
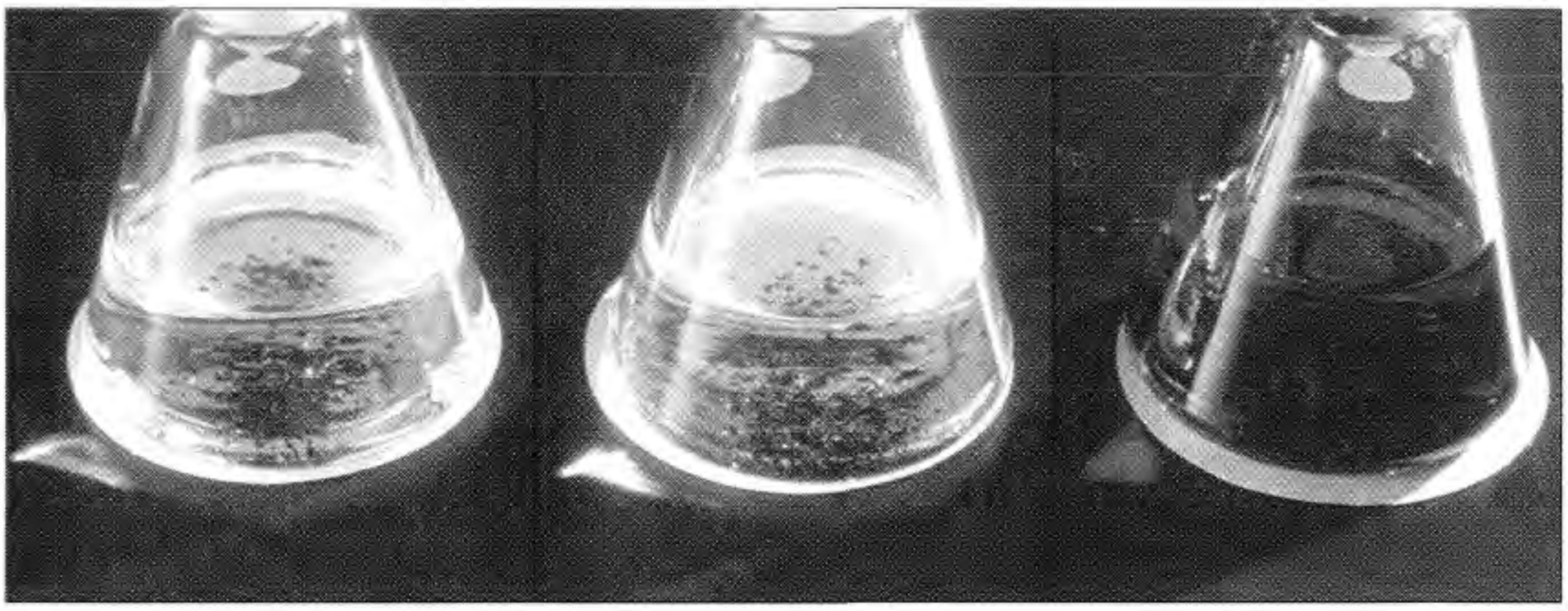


Figure 3. Chemist's notation for Pedersen's Nobel Prize reaction to form 18-crown-6. The angles are carbon atoms containing two hydrogen atoms (CH_2), H is hydrogen, O is oxygen, and Cl is chlorine.

At the top of figure 4 are three flasks containing liquids. The one on the right has water with purple salt, potassium permanganate ($KMnO_4$), dissolved in it. We could have used NaCl, but it would make a colorless solution and we could not easily see that it dissolved. The first and second flasks contain chloroform (a cleaning fluid) which does not dissolve $KMnO_4$. You can see the purple crystals in the bottom of the flask. Some 18-crown-6, which is a white solid, is added to the top left flask. Notice in the second flask in the middle of figure 4 that some light purple swirls appear as the $KMnO_4$ dissolves. The color is more noticeable in the flask on the right which has stood for a few minutes. As the 18-crown-6 dissolves and comes into contact with the purple salt, it causes the salt to dissolve and give a light purple color. If more 18-crown-6 were added, more purple salt would dissolve. The flasks at the bottom of figure 4 summarize what we have seen. Purple $KMnO_4$ dissolves instantly in water (flask on the right). The purple salt does not dissolve in chloroform (flask in the middle) unless 18-crown-6 is added to the chloroform (flask on the left). Isn't this beautiful? Who said organic chemistry was dull? This important property is why Charles Pedersen was awarded a share in the Nobel Prize in 1987.[3]

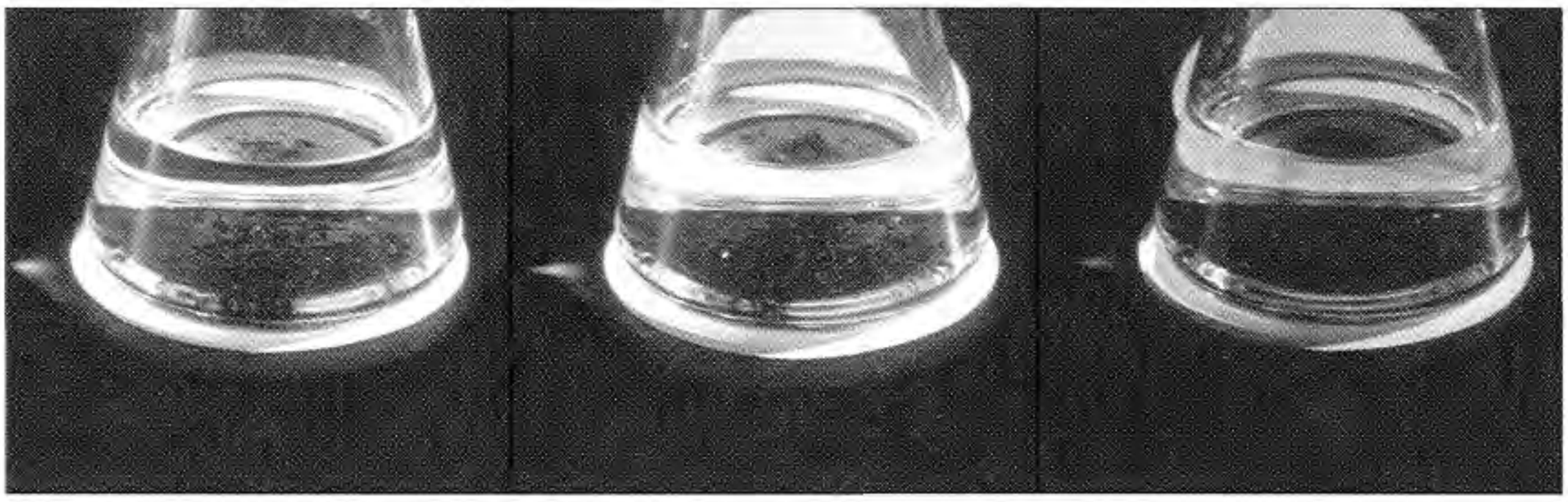
Pedersen published his first paper in 1967,[4] and many chemists everywhere were extremely interested in these new chemical compounds. Two of the interested people were Reed M. Izatt, my colleague in the Chemistry Department, and the late James J. Christensen, who was in the Chemical Engineering Department. Reed and Jim had a special technique to study the interaction of organic molecules with salts.[5] When they saw Pedersen's paper, they realized that their technique could help explain why $KMnO_4$ dissolved in an organic solvent containing 18-crown-6. Reed and Jim were among the first to visit Charles Pedersen at duPont. There he graciously gave them some 18-crown-6 for their studies. They learned early that 18-crown-6 interacted very strongly with potassium salts, not at all with lithium salts, and only weakly with cesium salts. As they thought about these results and looked at models of 18-crown-6 and models of potassium, lithium, and cesium ions, they realized that potassium ions fit exactly in the cavity of 18-crown-6, but lithium is too small and cesium too big to fit in the cavity.

This discovery is shown in figure 5 which has space-filling models of 18-crown-6 and cesium (Cs^+) (top dark ball), potassium (K^+), and lithium (Li^+) ions. Space-filling models show the effective space for each atom. The red oxygen atoms are pointing into the



Chloroform
Potassium permanganate
not dissolved

Water
Potassium permanganate
dissolved



After addition of 18-C-6

No time **Short time** **4 minutes**

$CHCl_3$
Some 18-C-6

$CHCl_3$
No 18-C-6

Water

Figure 4. Pictures of an experiment to show that 18-crown-6 (18-C-6) causes an inorganic salt ($KMnO_4$) to dissolve in chloroform ($CHCl_3$).

center of the cavity as before. You can see K^+ is about the right size to fit in the cavity, Li^+ is too small (it would fall right through) and Cs^+ is too large. On the bottom of figure 5, we see the 18-crown-6-K^+ molecule with the K^+ snugly inside the cavity and touching each oxygen atom. Notice that K^+ is now surrounded on the outside of the macrocycle by carbon and hydrogen atoms which are the major constituents of an organic compound. Thus, the cation (positively charged ion) of the salt becomes encased in the organic compound and becomes soluble in an organic solvent. This is how 18-crown-6 causes $KMnO_4$ to be soluble in chloroform.

Professors Izatt and Christensen published a paper in 1968 in *Science*[6] which caught the attention of organic and inorganic chemists everywhere. They showed that 18-crown-6, a synthetic organic molecule, recognized another molecule. There are many naturally occurring molecules that recognize other molecules, but 18-crown-6 was one of the first synthetic molecules to do this. In this case, it recognizes potassium because potassium fits in the cavity, but it won't recognize lithium because lithium falls through the crown.

I had arrived at BYU shortly before their discovery. Reed, Jim, and I sent a proposal to the National Science Foundation (NSF) to study the properties of these and similar crown macrocycles in greater detail. We received a grant from NSF, and we have had continuous funds from one of the federal or state granting agencies for over twenty years. Crown compounds could not be purchased at that time because they were so new. In our joint studies, I and my research students have prepared the needed crown compounds, and Reed and Jim and their students have studied their interactions with a variety of inorganic and organic salts. It's been a very fruitful association for all three of us. I want to show you some of the crown compounds that we have made in my laboratory.

The first series of compounds that we synthesized were crown macrocycles where sulfur atoms (S) have been substituted for oxygen atoms. In figure 6, you see Pedersen's 18-crown-6 on the left and our sulfur-containing 18-crown-6 in the middle. This specific compound has two sulfur and four oxygen atoms in the macroring, a structure which represents dozens of compounds, as I will show later. The names listed under the sulfur-containing 18-crown-6 compound are graduate students who prepared these compounds. Joseph Hui was the first student to work on crown compounds in our laboratory. He received his Ph.D. in 1974. Although Barry Haymore worked with Professor Izatt, he made a number of sulfur-containing

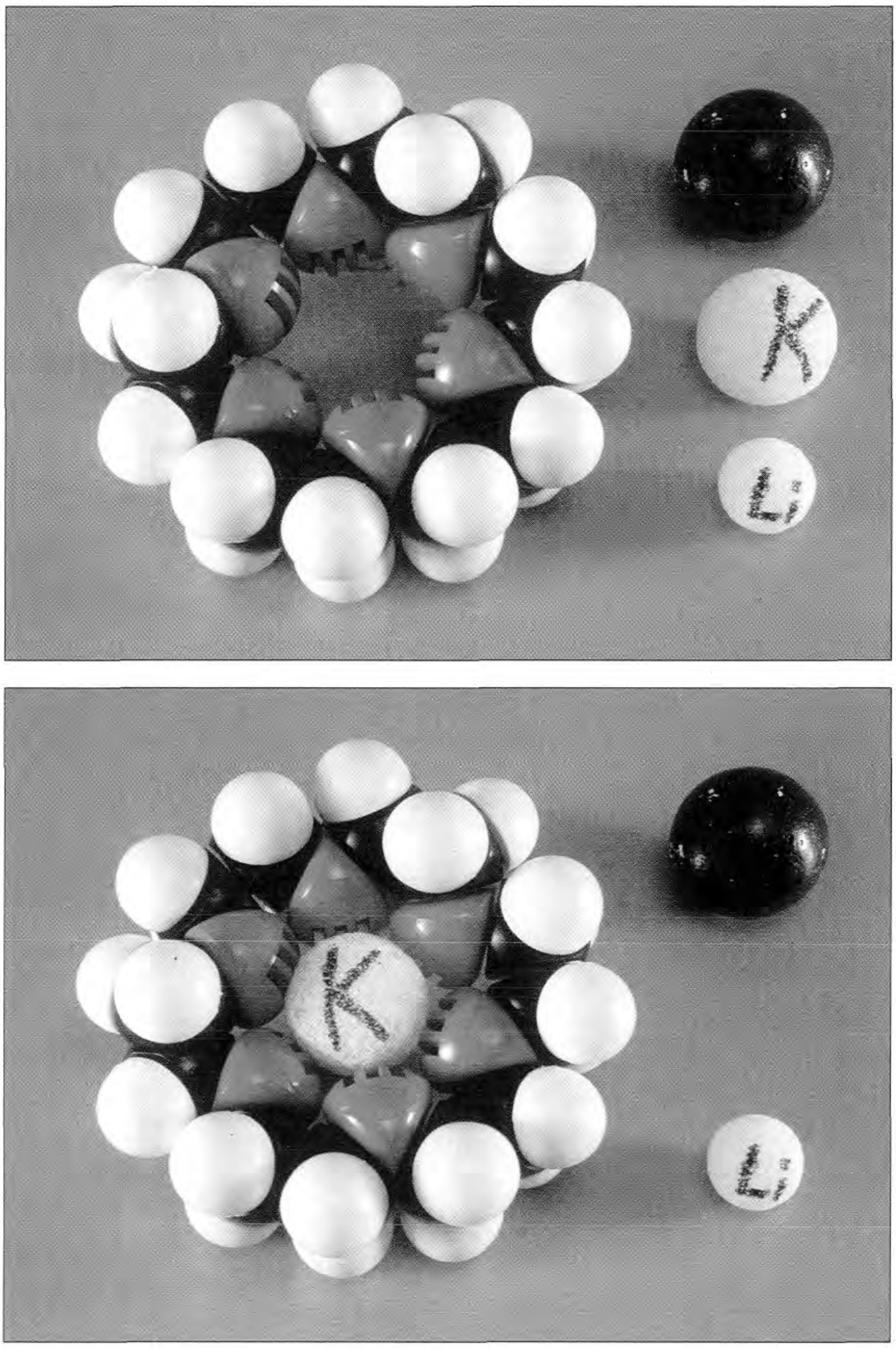


Figure 5. A space-filling model of 18-crown-6 and cesium (top right), potassium (K), and lithium (Li) ions (top figure). K fits snugly inside the 18-crown-6 cavity (bottom figure).

crown compounds. There were many undergraduate chemistry students that worked in our laboratory. Their names, too, appear on many of our scientific papers.

The diester-crown compounds (figure 6, on the right) were next prepared and studied under a new NSF grant. Two carbon atoms have double bonds each to an oxygen atom. The carbons still have four bonds, but only three groups are attached to those two carbon atoms. There are more graduate students who prepared these diester compounds than the sulfur-containing crowns. Many more compounds were prepared because of variations of ring size, number and positions of the carbon-oxygen bonds, and the possibility of having sulfur atoms substituted for oxygen atoms.

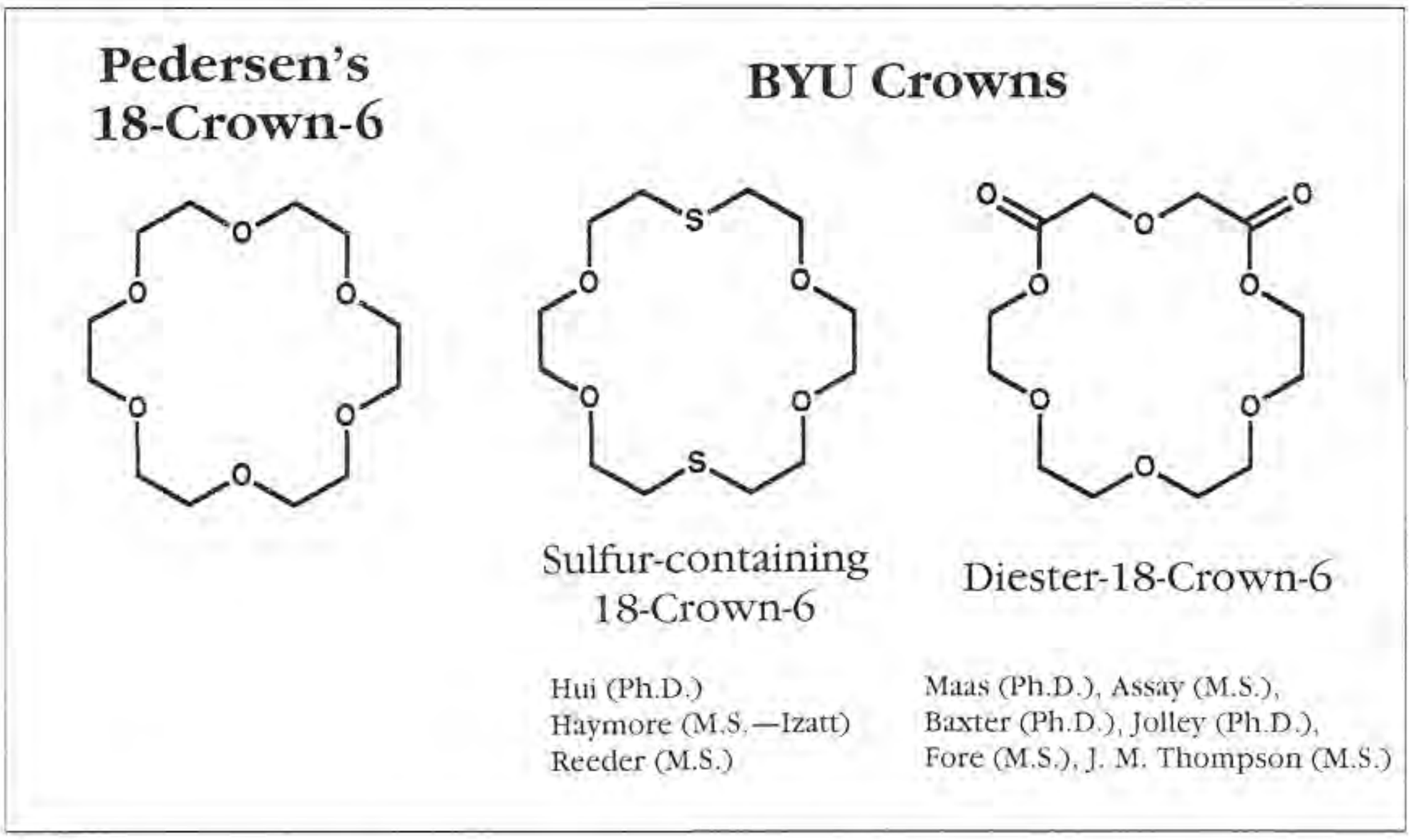


Figure 6. Structures representing the sulfur-containing and diester-crown compounds prepared at BYU as compared to Pedersen's 18-crown-6. Graduate research assistants are listed.

To show the great variety of diester-crowns, I want to answer a question that people have been asking me for over twenty-five years. Here's the question: "Jerald, if you're not teaching this summer, why are you down at BYU every day?" Research is not finished unless or until it is published. We write many manuscripts every year that are published in various scientific journals. The first page of our paper on Garren Maas's work on the diester-crown macrocycles[7] is shown in figure 7. The structures of the compounds reported in this paper are also shown in the figure. You can see 12-membered to

Synthesis of a New Series of Macrocyclic Polyether–Diester Ligands[1]

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Received May 27, 1977

A new series of macrocyclic polyether–diester ligands (**1**–**11**) have been prepared by treating various oligoethylene glycols and sulfur-containing oligoethylene glycols with diglycolyl and thiodiglycolyl dichlorides. The compounds prepared were: 1,4,7,10,13-pentaoxacyclopentadecane-2,6-dione (**1**), 1,4,7,10,13,16-hexaoxacyclooctadecane-2,6-dione (**2**), 1,4,7,10,16-pentaoxa-13-thiacyclooctadecane-2,6-dione (**3**), 1,4,7,13-tetraoxa-10,16-dithiacyclooctadecane-2,6-dione (**4**), 1,4,7,10,13,16,19-heptaoxacycloheneicosane-2,6-dione (**5**), their 4-thia analogues **7**, **8**, **9**, **10**, and **11**, respectively, and 1,7,10-trioxa-4-thiacyclododecane-2,6-dione (**6**). We have also prepared the potassium thiocyanate complex of **2** (**12**).

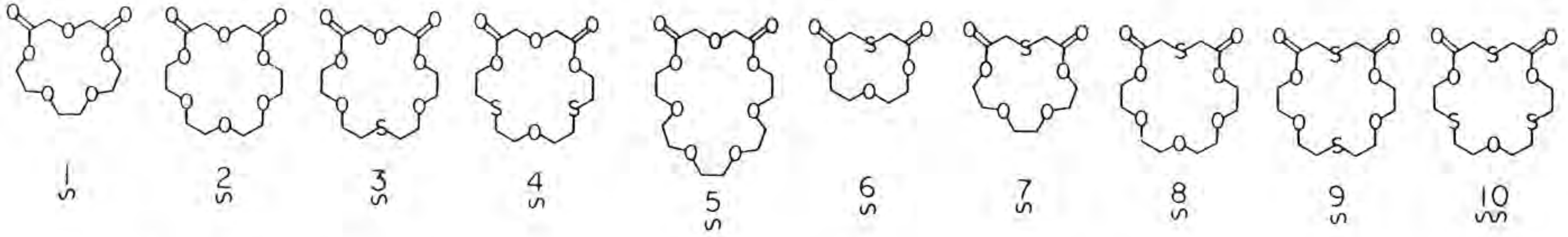

Figure 7. First page of our initial paper on the diester-crown compounds. See Garren E. Maas and others, *Journal of Organic Chemistry 42* (November 1977): 3937–41.

21-membered rings with sulfur atoms in various positions. Thus, each structure in figure 6 represents dozens, even hundreds of crown compounds. We always make a variety of compounds in an effort to find the right macrocycle to interact with a specific cation.

Figure 8 shows two series of crown compounds which contain small 6-membered subcyclic rings. The small ring in the macrocycle on the right is a pyridine ring. More student names are listed because of an even greater variety of macrocycles that were prepared. Dr. Yohji Nakatsuji, a postdoctoral fellow, started our group synthesizing these more complicated macrocycles.[8] Others on the list who have doctoral or professorial titles were postdoctoral fellows or visiting faculty. This work could not have been done without all of these great researchers. For example, Ty Redd is a faculty member at Southern Utah University. He has prepared some of these compounds with a second nitrogen atom in the small 6-membered ring. Dr. Peter Huszthy is making compounds with different groups coming out of the macrocycles at different angles (the structure on the right in figure 8). Tingmin Wang is currently studying the interactions of these crowns with various types of inorganic and organic salts.

The next crowns prepared in our laboratory had nitrogen atoms (N) substituted for oxygen atoms (figure 9). A nitrogen atom always has three bonds. The nitrogens in the structure in the middle of figure 9 are bonded to two carbons in the ring and to an ethyl carbon atom (C_2H_5). Dr. Krzysztof Krakowiak has made hundreds of these compounds, and he has devised brilliant new methods for their syntheses.[9] The last compound in figure 9 has two crown rings tied together through the nitrogen atoms. These materials have a "butterfly" shape. Dr. Haoyun An, who has recently finished his Ph.D., has made many of these latter compounds.[10] Figure 10 is the first page of a paper showing Dr. Krakowiak's method to synthesize some of the nitrogen-containing crown compounds.[11] (Daria, his wife, also works with us.) Notice the different kinds of compounds with varying ring sizes and numbers of nitrogen atoms.

We have prepared three-dimensional crown compounds. Figure 11 shows the cryptands and suitcase-shaped compounds we have prepared. The cryptands are football-shaped molecules which have a cavity that is completely encased inside the compound. Metal ions interact very strongly with the cryptands. Dr. Krakowiak has discovered new simple methods to prepare these materials.[12] Dr. An has recently prepared the suitcase-shaped molecules shown in figure 11.[13]

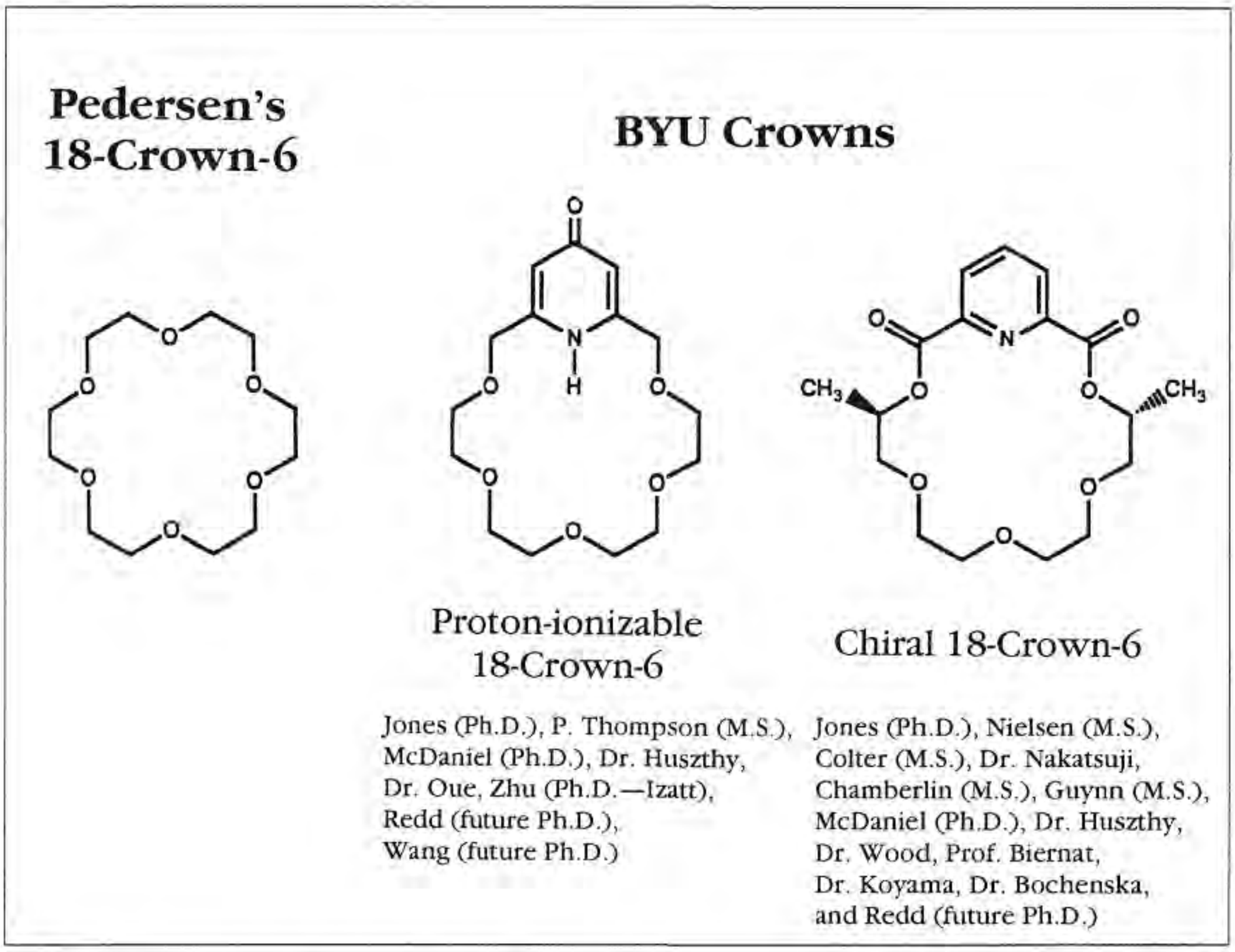

Figure 8. Structures representing crown compounds containing additional small rings (the small ring on the right is a pyridine) and chiral positions.

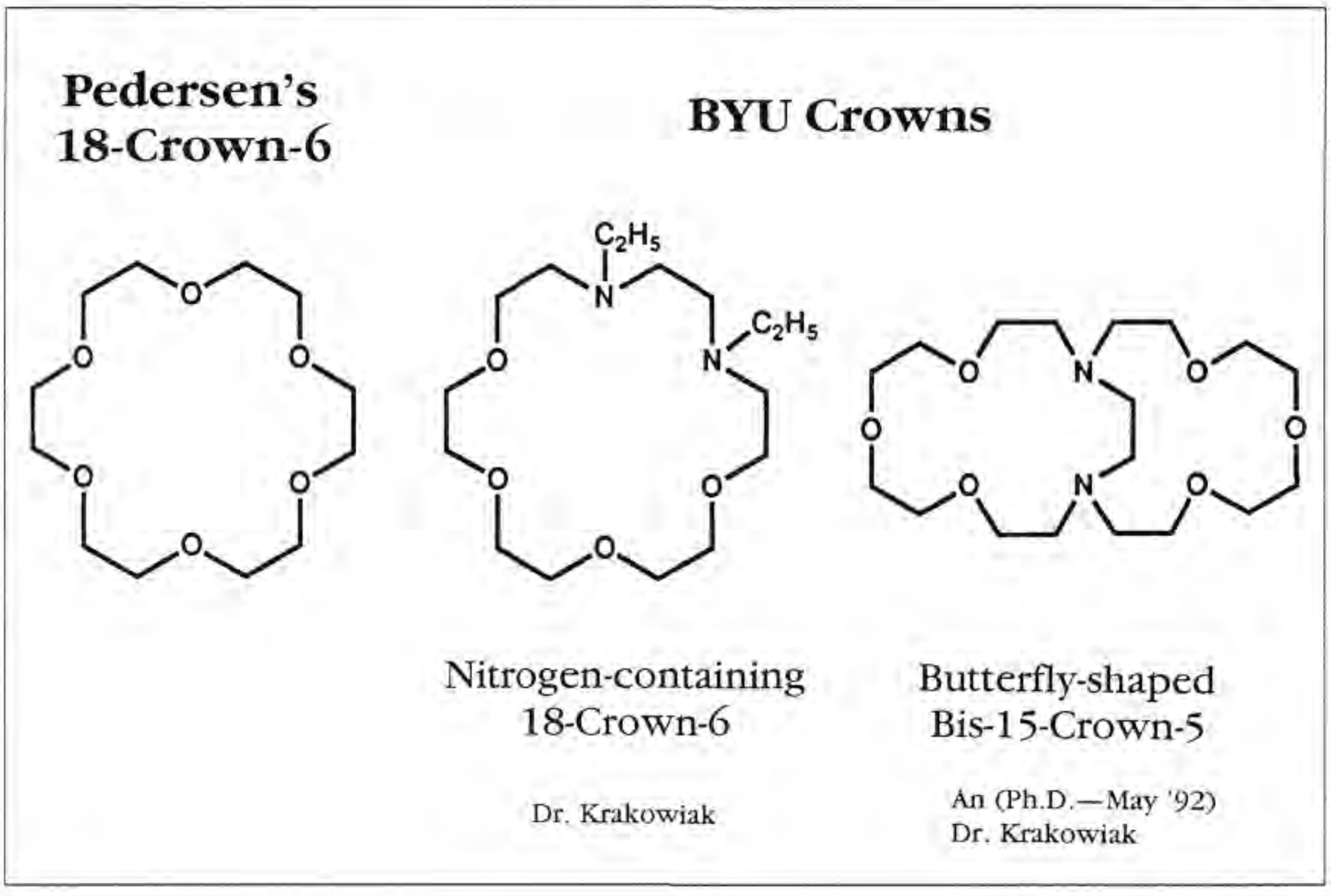

Figure 9. Structures representing nitrogen-containing and butterfly-shaped crown compounds prepared at BYU. The butterfly-shaped crowns are two crown compounds connected together at two nitrogen atoms.

A New Building Block Method To Synthesize Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Per-*N*-alkyl-Substituted Polyaza-Crown Compounds

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Received February 7, 1989

A new approach for the synthesis of a variety of per-N-alkylated polyaza-crown compounds is described. *N*-[2-(2-Chloroethoxy)ethyl]acetamide (**25**) and its benzamide analogue **26** are the key building blocks for the synthesis of the new polyaza-crowns. These chloroamides were reacted with primary amines or secondary diamines, followed by reduction of the resulting diamides, to produce polyamine intermediates containing two terminal *N*-ethyl or *N*-benzyl secondary amine functional groups. These secondary diamines were further reacted with dihalides in the presence of metal carbonates to form the polyaza-crowns. The overall yields for crown formation were generally very good. All of the new polyaza-crowns were prepared without the need for special nitrogen protecting reagents. Thus, the crowns were formed in a minimum number of steps. Twenty-three new polyaza-crowns containing from three to six nitrogen atoms in the macroring and from 16 to 36 ring members are reported.

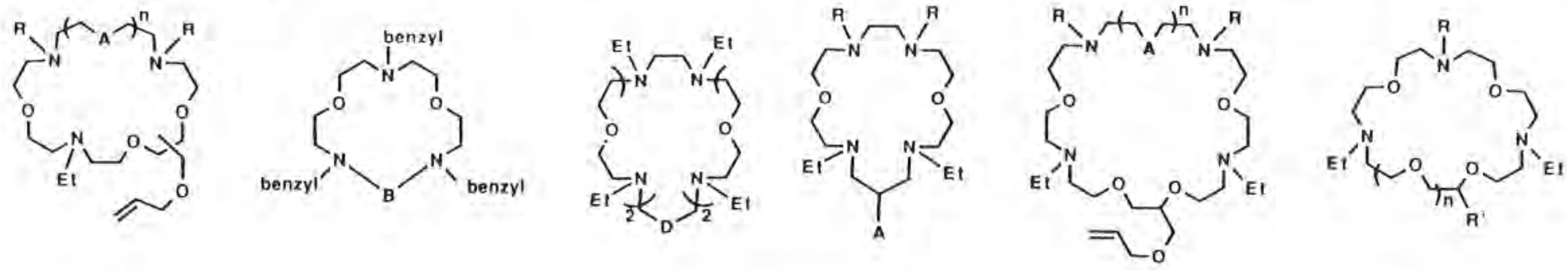


Figure 10. First page of a paper describing a new synthesis of nitrogen-containing crown compounds. See Krzysztof E. Krakowiak and others, *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 54 (August 1989): 4061–67.

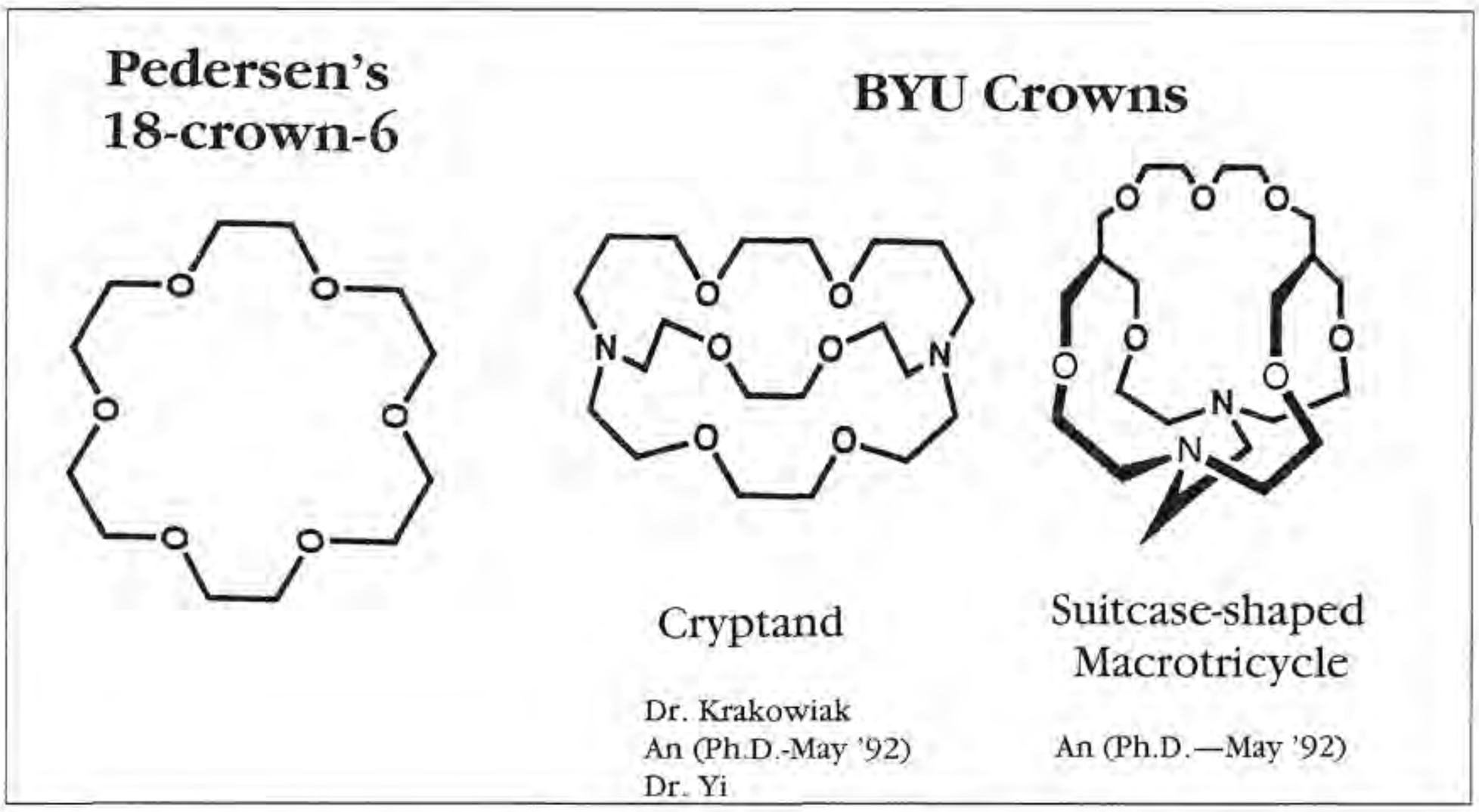


Figure 11. Structures representing the more complicated macrocycles prepared at BYU. The cryptand is shaped like an American football, while the macrotricycle is like a small overnight case.

What has been written so far is background for a most important new application of the crown compounds. The future of the crown-6 molecules is shown in figure 12. We have covalently attached a dinitrogen-containing 18-crown-6 compound to silica gel. Silica gel is similar to very fine sand. The crown compound is attached by very stable bonds between carbon, oxygen, and silicone (Si) atoms. Dr. Bryon Tarbot has attached many of these crown compounds to silica

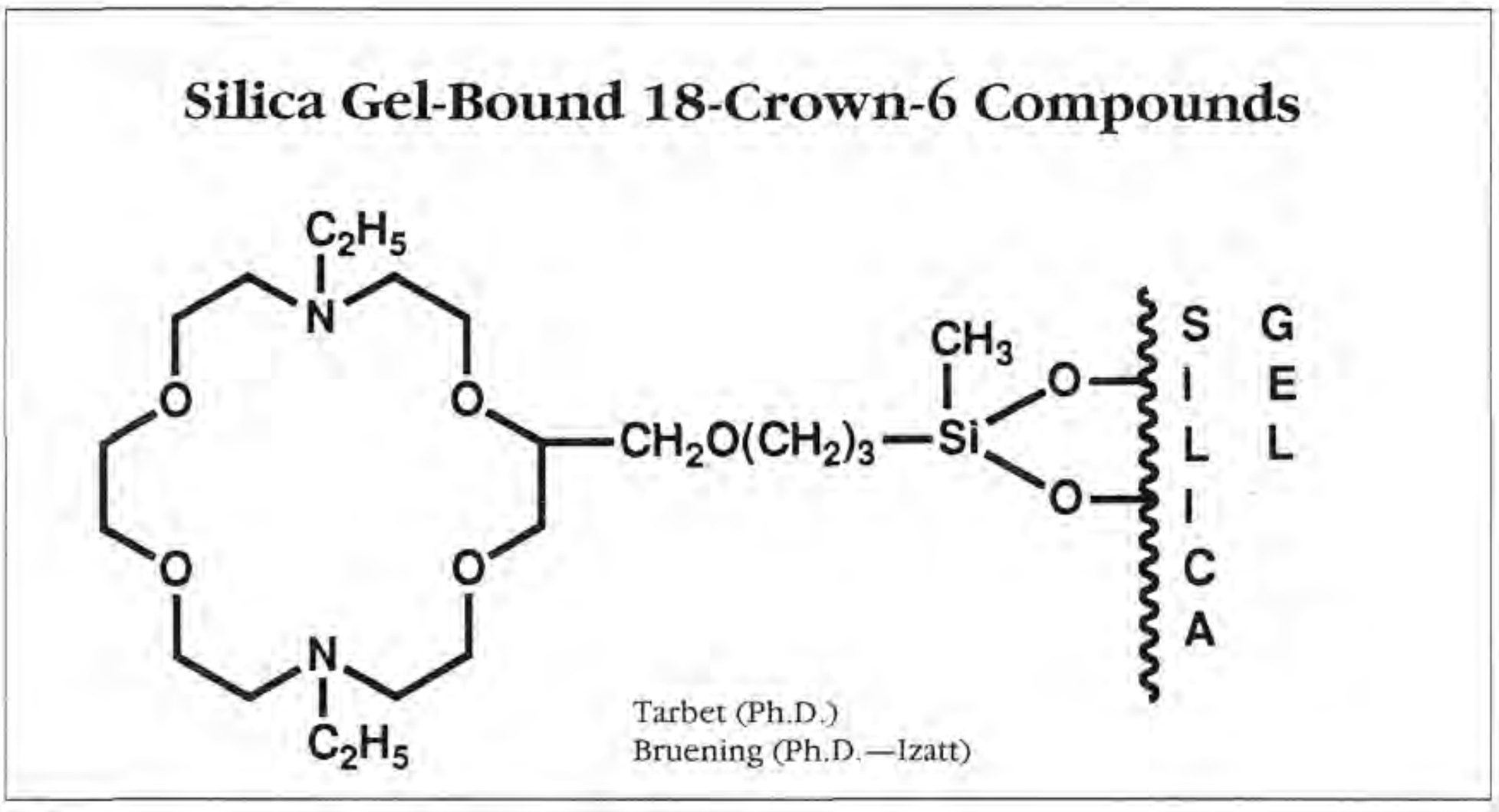


Figure 12. The structure of a dinitrogen-containing 18-crown-6 attached to the surface of silica gel. This material is very stable and can be used many times to remove metal salts from water.

gel. Dr. Ron Bruening, who works with Dr. Izatt, and his associates have studied the interactions of the silica gel–bound crown compounds with a variety of inorganic salts. They have found that the silica gel material shown in figure 12 interacts with lead, mercury, silver, and copper salts. The interaction is so strong that these salts can be removed from water. Thus, toxic lead can now easily be removed from drinking water. This process of removing metal salts from water is so important that we have received many patents.

Figure 13 shows the front page of a patent for "The Process of Separating a Selected Ion from a Plurality of Other Ions." This patent belongs to BYU, which has licensed this technology to IBC Advanced Technologies, Inc., where these processes are being developed for commercial use.

Figure 14 shows the separation of a copper salt from water. Dinitrogen-containing 18-crown-6 attached to silica gel, shown in figure 12, is in the column in A. Also shown in A is a liter of solution that contains a small amount of copper nitrate in water. Picture B in figure 14 shows the copper solution starting through the column. Notice the silica gel turns blue as the copper salt is absorbed. When copper interacts with a nitrogen-containing material, it forms a blue color. No copper is coming through the bottom of the column because all of the copper interacts with the dinitrogen-containing crown. Picture C in figure 14 was taken after all of the copper solution had passed through the column. The copper salts were completely retained on the dinitrogen-containing crown material. There has been much said about the problem of lead in drinking water. This silica gel material would completely remove lead or mercury salts from water. This could be an important future use of silica gel–bound crown chemistry. Sodium chloride, on the other hand, would not be removed by the column because this salt does not interact with the nitrogen-containing crown.

Removing the copper salts from solution is only part of the process. We may want to recover the copper, or at least we want to get it off the column so that we can use the expensive silica gel–bound crown material again. To remove the copper salt, we pass acid through the column. Acid interacts more strongly with the dinitrogen-containing 18-crown-6 than does copper. Picture D in figure 14 shows the acid solution going through the column. You can see how far the acid solution has passed because the gel is again white where the copper has been removed. Picture E shows the recovered solution which is a much darker color than at the beginning because

United States Patent [19]

Bradshaw et al.

[11] **Patent Number: 4,943,375**

[45] **Date of Patent: Jul. 24, 1990**

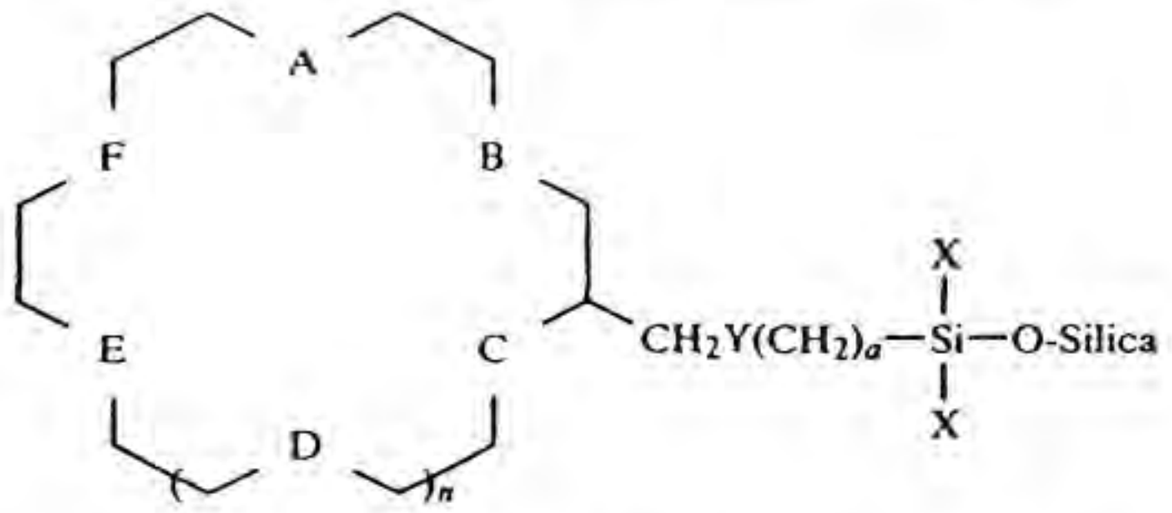
[54] **THE PROCESS OF SEPARATING A SELECTED ION FROM A PLURALITY OF OTHER IONS IN A MULTIPLE ION SOLUTION BY CONTACTING THE SOLUTION WITH A MACROCYCLIC LIGAND BONDED TO SILICA WHICH SELECTIVELY COMPLEXES WITH THE DESIRED ION**

[75] Inventors: **Jerald S. Bradshaw; Reed M. Izatt; Ronald L. Bruening,** all of Provo; **James J. Christensen, deceased,** late of Provo, all of Utah, by Virginia Christensen, successor in title

[73] Assignee: **Brigham Young University,** Provo, Utah

[57] ABSTRACT

The invention has composition of matter and process aspects. The composition of matter aspect relates to the compounds selected from the class consisting of:



1. A–F = any combination of O or OCH_2 or S or SCH_2 or N—R or $N(R)CH_2$ (R = H or any alkyl or benzyl); n = −1 to 4; X = any alkyl or Cl or alkoxy or O-Silica; Y = O or CH_2; a = 1–16. (Generic)

Figure 13. First page of U.S. Patent #4,943,375 describing the process of removing ions from water through the use of our crown macrocycles attached to silica gel. This patent belongs to BYU.

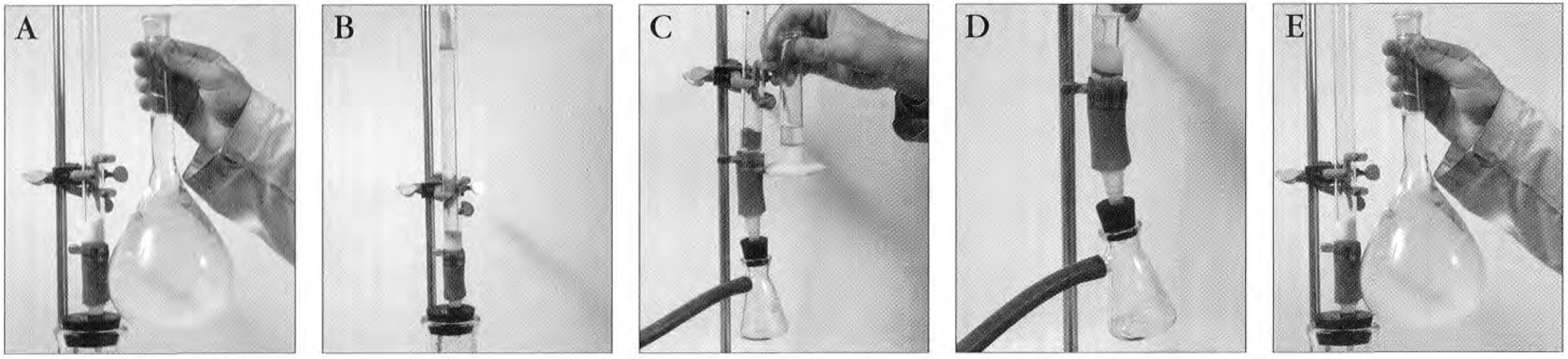


Figure 14. The separation of copper (Cu) from water and its recovery. (A) Copper-nitrate solution about to be poured through a silica-gel column of dinitrogen-containing crown. (B) Partially blue column showing the progress of the copper solution. (C) Blue column and clear solution indicating the copper salts were completely absorbed by the column. (D) Partially white column showing where acid has removed the copper. (E) The recovered solution, darker because the copper is more concentrated than it was in A.

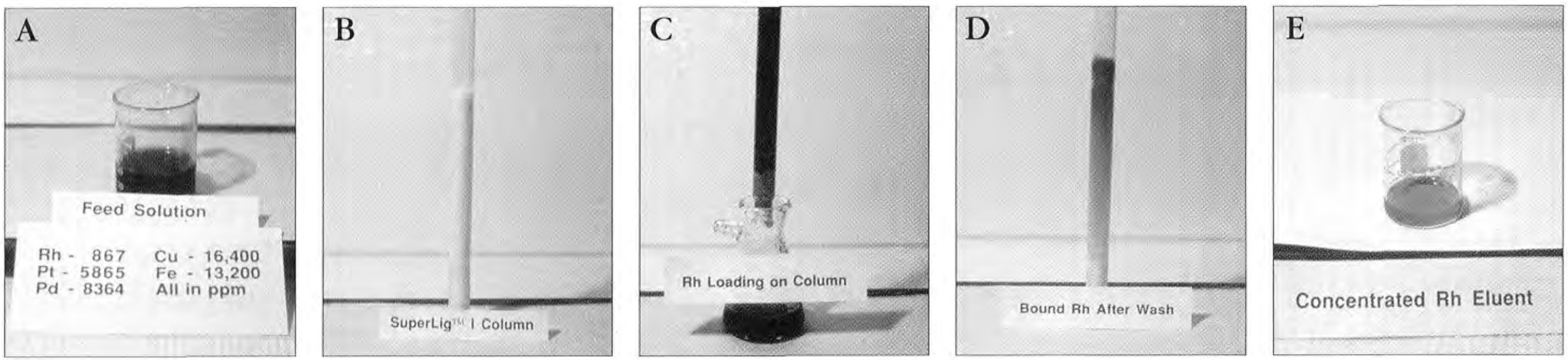


Figure 16. The removal and recovery of rhodium (Rh) from a mixture of 857 parts per million (ppm) of Rh, 5865 ppm platinum (Pt), 8364 ppm palladium (Pd), 16,400 ppm copper (Cu), and 13,200 ppm iron (Fe) in water.

it is more concentrated. Lastly in the total process, distilled water and a buffer solution are passed through the column to remove the acid. The column is then ready to be used again. This process is very expensive, but if one can use a column three or four hundred times, the cost is greatly reduced. The process can be used to remove the toxic and dangerous heavy metals such as mercury and lead from water in the same manner as shown in figure 14. We also believe this process could be used to remove radioactive plutonium and uranium from radioactive waste. Those materials would be concentrated and could be used again without the need for storage. This application has not been done in the laboratory, but it should be possible.

Figure 15 (next page) is an artist's concept of this process. The large irregular circles at the edges are silica gel particles with the dinitrogen-containing 18-crown-6 (small circles) sticking out. Remember the crown interacts strongly with mercury (Hg) salts. Sodium (Na) and mercury nitrates in water are passed through the column. The 18-crown-6 reaches out and grabs the mercury (second diagram in figure 15). The dinitrogen-containing crown does not interact with the sodium, so the sodium salt comes through. One can see the mercury going into the cavity, where it stays. Thus, mercury and sodium have been separated. To remove the mercury, acid is passed through the column. In the last diagram of figure 15, we see the acid reacting with the crown and thereby pushing the mercury out.

Figure 16 (facing page) shows another colorful separation that is important to each of us. Rhodium is an important (and expensive) metal that is used in the catalytic converter in our automobile exhaust systems. The rhodium helps to convert any unburned gasoline in the exhaust into carbon dioxide. It is important to recover these expensive metals. The black mess in picture A of figure 16 is an acid solution of rhodium (Rh), platinum (Pt), palladium (Pd), copper (Cu), lead (Pb), and iron (Fe) salts. This is a typical solution prepared from spent catalyst. These materials are present in parts per million (ppm) amounts. If there were 867 people at my lecture, they would constitute 867 parts of the million people that live in Salt Lake County—a very small number. Picture B shows a column with a special material attached to silica gel that interacts only with the rhodium. All other metal salts pass through this column. This is called a SuperLig®. Picture C shows the column after all the black mess has passed through it. It is still black because of the small amount of solution still on the column. In Picture D we see the column after the excess metal ions were removed by passing some acid through the column. Notice

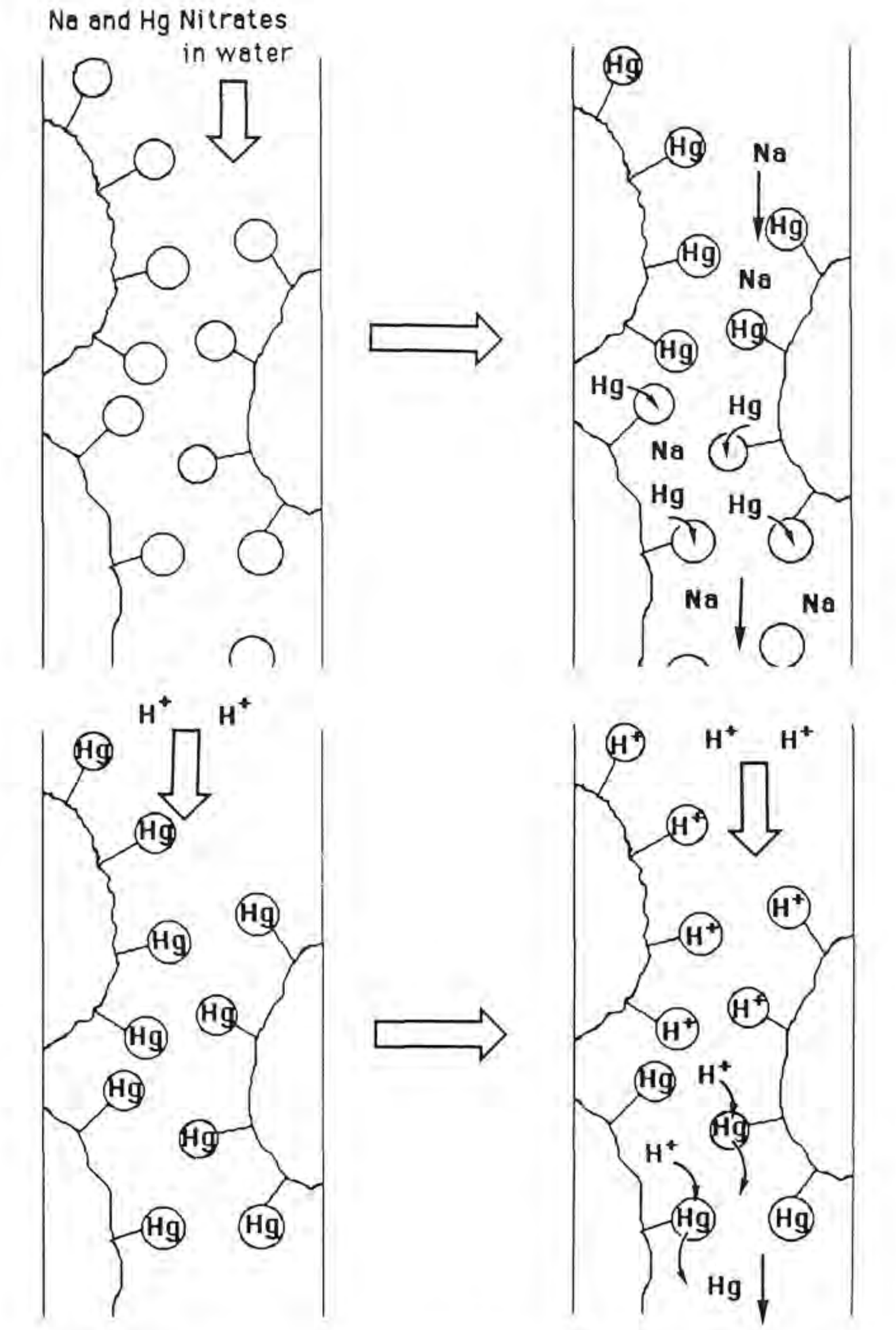


Figure 15. An artist's concept of the separation and removal of mercury ions (Hg) from sodium (Na). The large irregular shapes at the edges represent silica gel containing the dinitrogen-crown (small circles). A mixture of Hg and Na nitrates in water is added, and the Hg is trapped by the crown (upper two figures). Then acid (H^+), which interacts more strongly with the crown than does Hg, pushes the Hg out of the column (lower two figures). The silica gel can then be neutralized (H^+ removed) and used again.

the beautiful red color of Rh on the column. The rhodium is 99.9% pure; all the Rh in the original sample is on the column. All of the platinum, palladium, copper, lead, and iron salts passed through this column. Rh is removed from the column with a solution that interacts more strongly with it than does the material attached to the silica gel. We see the pure Rh solution in picture E. This process works. The rhodium recovery procedure is in the pilot plant stage in precious metal refineries all over the world.

The 18-crown-6 compounds are interesting new chemicals. Their ability to interact with inorganic salts make them important new materials to inexpensively remove toxic heavy metals from water. Radioactive elements could also be removed from radioactive waste, an application which would help solve that world-wide problem. Valuable precious metals that are important in our society can be recovered and purified. We have a great knowledge in our laboratory of the interactions of various materials with the crown compounds. All we need to do is couple this knowledge with good research to make materials that will further help mankind.

NOTES

In addition to those acknowledged on p. 37, Dr. Bradshaw thanks the following people who have helped make research at BYU enjoyable: a great group of undergraduate, graduate, and postdoctoral research associates whose names are given in the relevant figures; outside funding agencies including N.S.F., D.O.E., Naval Research, and the Utah Centers of Excellence Program; the chemistry department chairmen over twenty-five years, most recently J. B. Ott and E. M. Woolley; great support people in the Chemistry Department including Martin Ethington, Gary Reynolds, Kelly Jensen and his staff, Ivan Cook and his staff, Richard Meibos and Guy Curtis and their staff, all department secretaries (past and present), Jerry Mason, Janet Curtis, Bruno Szalkowski, and Que Adams and his staff.

[1] Charles J. Pedersen, "The Discovery of Crown Ethers," *Journal of Inclusion Phenomena and Molecular Recognition in Chemistry* 12 (January–April 1992): 7–10.

[2] Pederson, "Discovery," 10.

[3] Herman E. Schroeder, "The Productive Scientific Career of Charles Pedersen (October 3, 1904–October 26, 1989)," *Journal of Inclusion Phenomena and Molecular Recognition in Chemistry* 12 (January–April 1992): 18–20; see also Reed M. Izatt and Jerald S. Bradshaw, "Charles J. Pedersen (1904–1989), Nobel Laureate in Chemistry (1987)," *Journal of Inclusion Phenomena and Molecular Recognition in Chemistry* 12 (January–April 1992): 1–6.

[4] Charles J. Pedersen, "Cyclic Polyethers and Their Complexes with Metal Salts," *Journal of the American Chemical Society* 89 (December 1967): 7017–36.

[5] Reed M. Izatt and others, "A Calorimetric Study of the Interaction in Aqueous Solution of Several Uni- and Bivalent Metal Ions with the Cyclic Polyether Dicyclohexyl-18-crown-6 at 10, 25, and 40°," *Journal of American Chemical Society* 93 (April 1971): 1619–23.

[6] Reed M. Izatt and others, "Binding of Alkali Metal Ions by Cyclic Polyethers: Significance in Ion Transport Processes," *Science* 164 (April 1969): 443–44.

[7] Garren E. Maas and others, "The Synthesis of a New Series of Macrocyclic Polyether-Diester Ligands," *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 42 (November 1977): 3937–41.

[8] Jerald S. Bradshaw and others, "Proton-Ionizable Compounds 2. Synthesis, Complexation Properties and Structural Studies of Macrocyclic Polyether-Diester Ligands Containing a 4-Hydroxypyridine Subcyclic Unit," *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 50 (November 1985): 4865–72.

[9] Krzysztof E. Krakowiak and others, "Synthesis of Aza-crown Ethers," *Chemical Reviews* 89 (June 1989): 929–72; and Jerald S. Bradshaw and others, *Aza-crown Macrocycles* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1993).

[10] Haoyun An and others, "Synthesis and Complexation Properties of Suitcase-shaped Macrotricyclic and Butterfly-shaped Macrobicyclic Polyether Ligands," *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 57 (August 1992): 4998–5005.

[11] Krzysztof E. Krakowiak and others, "A New Building Block Method to Synthesize Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Per-N-alkyl-Substituted Polyaza-crown Compounds," *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 54 (August 1989): 4061–67.

[12] Krzysztof E. Krakowiak and others, "Preparation and Cation Complexing Properties of Some Macropolycyclic Ligands," *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 57 (May 1992): 3166–73.

[13] An, "Synthesis," 4998–5005.

Temple Worship and a Possible Reference to a Prayer Circle in Psalm 24

Donald W. Parry

Several scholars have identified Psalm 24 as a temple liturgical hymn.[1] Sigmund Mowinckel, for example, believes that Psalm 24 contains *leges sacrae,* or "laws of the sanctuary," those "special rules and special demands as to the qualifications of those to be admitted" into the temple.[2] Speaking specifically of Psalm 24, Hans-Joachim Kraus states that we "must reckon with the presence in the Psalms of concepts connected with the sanctuary of the Ark."[3] Additionally, scholars have considered how God's presence in the temple is demonstrated in Psalm 24. Leopold Sabourin has discussed Psalm 24 and "God's theophany in the sanctuary,"[4] and Kraus avers that "the liturgy of Psalm 24 celebrates Yahweh Sebaoth, the God of Israel, who is entering the sanctuary. . . . He is accompanied and surrounded by the 'righteous' (vv. 3–5), by the 'true Israel' (v. 6)."[5]

Internal evidence clearly connects the psalm to the rites of the ancient Jerusalem temple. For instance, the hymn contains a number of technical terms and expressions which are associated with the Israelite temple and temple worship, such as *mountain of Yahweh, holy place, ascend, rise up, innocent, pure heart, lift up, seeking God's face, gates, entrances, king, glory,* and *eternity.* The psalm also functions as a type of self-administered temple recommend interview in the form of a description of the ideal temple visitor (v. 4), and the creation scene plays a prominent role in the opening verses 1–2.

Although scholars have noted several temple connections in Psalm 24, they have overlooked a possible reference to a prayer circle. English translators have rendered Psalm 24:6 as follows:

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This is the generation of them that seek him,
that seek thy face, O Jacob (King James Version).

Such is the generation of those who seek him,
who seek your face, O God of Jacob (New International Version).

Such are the people who seek him,
who seek your presence, God of Jacob (Jerusalem Bible).

The One of Eternity seek,
O you who search for the Presence of Jacob (Anchor Bible).

This is the generation of them that seek him,
of them that seek the face of the God of Jacob (Douay Version).

Such is the fortune of those who seek him,
who seek the face of the God of Jacob (New English Bible).

Such is the people that seek him,
that seeks your presence, God of Jacob (New Jerusalem Bible).

Such is the company of those who seek him,
who seek the face of the God of Jacob (New Revised Standard Version).

Based on further study of the Hebrew text, I propose the following translation of verse 6:

> This is the circle of them that inquire of him,
> that seek the face of the God of Jacob.

I offer the following translation of Psalm 24 to place verse 6 in the full context of this temple hymn:

> 1 A Psalm of David
> The earth and its fullness belongs to Yahweh,
> the world and they that dwell in it.
> 2 Because he has established it upon the seas,
> and upon the rivers he founded it.
> 3 Who will ascend into the mountain[6] of Yahweh?
> And who will rise up in his holy place?
> 4 He whose palms[7] are innocent,
> and whose heart is pure,
> who has not lifted his soul[8] to falsehood,
> and has not sworn what is false.
> 5 He will lift up[9] a blessing from Yahweh.
> And righteousness from the God of his salvation.
> 6 This is the circle of them that inquire of him,
> that seek the face of the God of Jacob. Selah.
> 7 Lift up[10] your heads, O gates,
> and be lifted up, O entrances of eternity,
> so that the king of Glory will come in.

8 Who is this[11] king of glory?
Yahweh, strong and mighty.[12]
Yahweh, mighty of battle.
9 Lift up your heads, O gates,
and be lifted up, O entrances of eternity,
so that the king of Glory will come in.
10 Who is this, the king of Glory?
Yahweh of Armies,
he is the king of glory. Selah.

My translation of verse 6 is based particularly on the following observations.

When the text of the Hebrew Bible was originally written, only consonants were used, no vowels.[13] Indeed, a statement attributed to Natronai II ben Hilai (Gaon of Sura, A.D. 853–58) states that the vowels were introduced by the sages "as an aid for reading."[14] Approximately two centuries later, Hai Gaon (d. A.D. 1037) wrote that "a scroll of the law [the Pentateuch or five books of Moses] provided with punctuation cannot be employed for public reading . . . and the reason is that Moses wrote the law for Israel without any [vowel] point[s]."[15]

Because the vowels were introduced by the Masoretes of Tiberius (9th century A.D.), they may or may not reflect the intent of the original biblical authors, as has long been recognized. The addition of the vowels is sometimes interpretative.[16] By way of comparison, the Dead Sea Scroll versions of the Old Testament (2d century B.C. to 1st century A.D.) are an earlier form of the text, and do not have vowels. Thus it is customary for a translator to study the Hebrew Bible both with and without the vowels—with the vowels to view the opinion of the Masoretes and without the vowels to explore other possible understandings of the text.

In Psalm 24:6, the Hebrew word *dôr* can be rendered "generation," as many English translators do, accepting the vowel pointing of the Masoretes. Simply by changing the Hebrew vowel from a *ḥôlam* to a *sharûk* (an acceptable practice when translating the Hebrew Bible), the word *dôr* (generation) now reads *dur* (circle). Such a rendition is supported by Hebrew lexical materials.[17] And in the light of the temple setting of this psalm, the term *circle* fits that context well and may have reference to a religious prayer circle.[18]

At the same time, I prefer the English verb *inquire,*[19] rather than *seek* (as in the King James Version). The word *inquire* more accurately reflects the prayer setting of the hymn. The same word is frequently used in the Hebrew scriptures with regard to an individual or group praying to God (Gen. 25:22; Ex. 18:15; 1 Sam. 9:9; 1 Kgs. 22:8; 2 Kgs. 8:8; 1 Chr. 15:13; Jer. 21:2).

In several renditions of verse 6, the pronoun *thy* or *your* precedes *face,* making the reading *thy face* or *your face.* This reading is probably corrupt, for the pronoun *thy* or *your* does not agree with the third person singular pronoun (*him,* as in "inquire of him") in the same verse.

The Syriac Old Testament and the Septuagint supply the word *God* (Hebrew, *Élôhîm*) in the verse between the words *Jacob* and *face*. For one reason or another, the Hebrew Bible has omitted this term from the verse. Without this emendation, the text makes little sense, for the entire context revolves around the goal of the worshipper to seek the face of God.[20] As noted in the translations listed above, most translators have accepted this alternate reading and have supplied the term *God* in their translations.

In conclusion, the larger context of Psalm 24 works nicely with my proposed understanding of verse 6. Verses 1–2 make direct reference to the creation of the earth; then follow two synonymous clauses placed in an interrogative format that are directed to the temple worshipper. In essence, the two questions ask, "Who is worthy to visit the Lord's temple?" The individual found worthy to enter the temple (i.e., "he whose palms are innocent, whose heart is pure, who has not lifted his soul to falsehood, and has not sworn what is false," v. 4) will receive a blessing from God. What does the blessing consist of? The blessing is implicit in verse 6. After being found worthy to enter the temple, a circle of worshippers participates in the rites and ceremonies, including prayer, where the temple visitor "inquires" after the Lord and "seeks his face." The blessing, then, is that those individuals worthy to enter the temple will have the privilege of appearing before God in his temple.[21]

NOTES

[1] See for example, Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1979), 177–78; Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms,* trans. Keity Crim (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1986), 73–78; Walter Brueggemann, *The Message of the Psalms* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1984), 42; Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms,* Part 1 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1987), 117–19; Klaus Koch, "Tempeleinlassliturgien und Dekaloge," in *Studien zur Theologie der alttestamentlichen Überlieferungen (Festschrift G. von Rad)*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Klaus Koch (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), 45–60; Leopold Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning* (New York: Alba House,

1974), 407–9; J. W. Rogerson and J. W. McKay, *Psalms 1–50* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 1:107–11.

[2] Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 177.

[3] Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 74.

[4] Sabourin, *The Psalms: Their Origin and Meaning*, 408.

[5] Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg, 1988), 316.

[6] The KJV translates the Hebrew *har* as "hill." It should be understood as "mountain," which symbolizes the temple (see Ps. 15:1; Isa. 2:3).

[7] The Hebrew term *capaim* has reference to the "palms." KJV's incorrect usage of "hands" does not adequately allow for the significance of palms in ancient Israelite temple ritual. The Hebrew word *yad* refers to the hand and fingers; figuratively it indicates power or work (as in "the hand of the Lord"); the *capaim*, however, are the palms, the cupped part of the hand, used to depict innocence and to clap for joy. These two words are interchangeable in the expression *upraised hands*, a gesture which accompanied prayers in the temple of Solomon.

[8] The text of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* reads "my soul." I emend the text according to the Cairo Geniza manuscripts and numerous variant textual readings to "his soul." The third person singular *his* is consistent with the context of the psalm.

[9] "Lift up" is literal Hebrew. The signification of this expression is not known, but it may have to do with the fact that prayers in the temple were spoken with upraised arms. Clean hands are not lifted up in vanity or deceit; they are lifted up in the name of the Lord (Ps. 63:4) and in prayer to him (Gen. 14:22; Ezra 9:5; Isa. 1:15), raised toward the heavens (1 Kgs. 8:22, 54; D&C 88:132, 135) or toward God's temple (Ps. 28:2; 1 Kgs. 8:38). This manner of prayer with upraised arms was an essential feature of holy petitions put up to God in the temple of Solomon: "Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and bless the Lord" (Ps. 134:2). "I will lift up my hand to heaven, and say I live forever" (Deut. 32:40).

[10] Compare the second half of this parallelism, "be lifted up" which is a rare passive command form. The author is using the same Hebrew verb *nasa* twice, once in an active verbal form and once as a passive verbal form.

[11] The expression "this" serves enclitically to demonstrate the physical nearness of Deity to the worshipper.

[12] For these attributes, see Isa. 40:28–31 and Deut. 33:27.

[13] "The Semitic alphabet had no symbols for vowels, only for consonants. However, to remove ambiguity from pronunciation and meaning, a secondary system of vowel notation was developed for Hebrew by about the tenth century C.E." Keith Schoville, "Hebrew for Bible Readers: Starting with Aleph," *Bible Review* 7 (June 1991): 16. Christian D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition* (New York: Ktav, 1966), discusses the history and evolution of the Hebrew vowel signs (pp. 455–56). For a detailed discussion of two late competing biblical textual traditions, one belonging to the Babylonian Jews (called the Eastern Recension) and the other belonging to the Palestinian Jews (known as the Western Recension), see Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 197–240. Each school of textual critics held different approaches to adding vowels to the Hebrew Bible. For other scholarly works regarding the voweling of the Hebrew Bible, see Israel Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (Hebrew), 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 1985), and E. J. Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and Their Accents* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977): 7–34.

[14]Bruno Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing* (Frankfurt A. M.: Lang, 1979), 8.

[15] Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing*, 7.

[16]"Interpretation begins not with the writings separate from the Old Testament; it does not even begin with the pointing of a text. It begins with the choosing of consonants in Semitic manuscripts." James H. Charlesworth, "The Pseudepigrapha as Biblical Exegesis," *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee,* ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 140. See also Chiesa, *The Emergence of Hebrew Biblical Pointing*, 9–35.

[17] See for instance, Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 206; and Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament,* trans. Edward Robison (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 189.

[18] On other occasions in the Psalms, the word *dor* is translated as *circle*: "for God is in the circle of the righteous" (Ps. 14:5); "I will make thy name to be remembered in all circles" (Ps. 45:17); and "the circle of the upright" (Ps. 112:2). Such passages may refer to a social circle, a wedding circle, or a ceremonial circle. On the prayer circle in antiquity, see Hugh Nibley, "The Early Christian Prayer Circle," *BYU Studies* 19 (Fall 1978): 41–78, reprinted in *Mormonism and Early Christianity,* vol. 4 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1987), 45–99.

[19] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 205.

[20]An alternate reading produced by T. H. Gaster, who puts *veakev* for *ya'akov* and thus produces this reading: "and the reward of those that seek him is his face," cannot be supported. See *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954): 73–79.

[21]Several biblical verses connect the concept of "seeing God" with the temple. For the pre-Mosaic era, for example, see Jacob at Bethel (Hebrew, "House of God") (Gen. 35:1, 7); additional references are found in the book of Psalms (see Ps. 42:2; 84:7; 140:13; cf. Num. 14:14, "Thou Yahweh are seen face to face"); see also Moses at the Sinai sanctuary (Ex. 24:9–11; Deut. 5:4; 34:10, cf. Ex. 4:1, 5); the Israelites at Sinai (Ex. 19:10–11, 20–24); Moses at the Tabernacle (Ex. 33:11); David at Mount Moriah (2 Chr. 3:1–2); Solomon at the Temple, in a prayer setting (1 Kgs. 9:1–3; cf. 2 Chr. 1:6–7; 1 Kgs. 3:4–5); and Isaiah at the Temple (Isa. 6:1–5).

The Trials of Jesus and Jeremiah

Bernard S. Jackson

The trial of Jesus is, by far, the most difficult problem of ancient legal history. Many famous scholars have quite deliberately avoided writing and talking about it because of its immense complexity. My own teacher, David Daube, is a notable example. His contributions to our understanding of the Gospels are immense, but by and large he has abstained from writing about the trial. I, too, have hitherto followed in that tradition: it must be a sign of either incipient senility or utter arrogance that I should deign to address the subject now.

I will not be able to solve the problem of the trial of Jesus for you. Indeed, I consider that in conceptual and methodological terms the problem is insoluble. The important thing is for us to understand *why* it is insoluble, to understand the methodological difficulties which cause us to draw that conclusion.

Broadly speaking, there have been two approaches to the trial of Jesus. One has been an historical approach, seeking—as we do in the quest for the historical Jesus—to find the historical trial. If we succeed in finding the historical trial then, presumably, we can also attempt an historical legal evaluation of that trial—not in terms of the standards of the American Constitution (which almost inevitably informs the writings of some contemporary American legal historians on the matter) nor for that matter by the standards of the English common lawyer, the continental civil lawyer, or any other form of modern jurist—but rather in terms of the contemporary legal standards of that age. But here another problem arises: not only is it difficult to succeed in the quest for the historical trial of Jesus, it is almost equally difficult to succeed in the quest for the genuinely contemporary legal standards which were applicable in that era. So we have a double problem of evaluation.

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Many people have, in recent times particularly, reacted to these historical problems by saying, "We can avoid the problems of historical gaps in our knowledge by concentrating on what we do know. We have a number of texts. These texts were written in a particular theological context, the context of the early church. Let us see from a *literary* perspective what these texts meant to the writers and presumably to the readers in the context of the early church." The texts' meaning will have been a function, at least in part, of their relationship to other literary phenomena, and in particular to the literary phenomena of the Old Testament. This is not simply the adoption of some modern literary approach—structuralist, poststructuralist, or deconstructionist—to the ancient texts. It is entirely validated by the theological beliefs of the time. For if we ask, in quasi-secular terms, "What do we mean by the notion of fulfillment of prophecy?" the answer resides in some form of repetition, of repeated action which is significant because of its repetition—its significance deriving from the reiteration of that which was originally divine or inspired in a different divine and inspired form.

In this lecture, I shall summarize some of the difficulties confronted by any historical account, and then sketch what some suggest may be an original contribution to this debate: I shall suggest that important literary connections are to be found between the trial of Jesus and the trial of Jeremiah.

The Historical Sources

First, let us consider the status of the available sources.

The four gospels are not the only sources from the ancient world which talk about the trial of Jesus, although they are the sources which talk about it by far the most extensively. Such other information as we have is entirely fragmentary, although precisely because it is fragmentary it is also more clear, or at least more categorical.

The one Roman source which refers to the passion of Jesus is a very brief statement by Tacitus (who wrote around A.D. 110), describing the persecution of the Christians in Rome under Nero, in the course of which he gives an explanation of the name Christian. Christos, the founder of the sect, he says, had undergone the death penalty in the reign of Tiberius, by sentence of the procurator Pontius Pilate (*Annals* 15.44). This Roman historian shows no embarrassment in saying, quite straightforwardly, that this was a sentence of the Roman governor. Indeed, although Tacitus does not

state so directly, the context in which he speaks—namely his description of the activities of the early Christians in Rome, whom he regards as troublesome—implies that Jesus was actually executed by Pontius Pilate because of political troublemaking of some kind, but nothing more specific is said.

There are also several passages in the Talmud which allude to a person (or persons) by the name of Jesus, one of which seemingly refers to a trial,[1] but their historical value is problematic, for a number of reasons.

First, these passages were removed from the Talmud text (in the age of printing) by Christian censors and have only been rediscovered and reincorporated in some editions on the basis of secondary sources.

Second, even before the censors got to them, they had been formulated with an eye to avoiding censorship, unsuccessfully as it turned out.

Third, there is a view—expressed most directly by Justice Haim Cohn in *The Trial and Death of Jesus*—that it is unlikely that these sources do refer to the Jesus of the New Testament. One of them clearly refers to a period a hundred years before Jesus, and there is quite a credible argument that all of them originally referred to that earlier Jesus and only later were misinterpreted as referring to the Jesus of the New Testament. So those rabbinic sources do not take us very far.

A third source is the Slavonic Josephus. The Jewish historian Josephus was a general who took part in the Jewish revolt against Rome, then went over to the Romans, was accepted by them, wrote much of his Jewish history in Rome, and clearly had to rely on the patronage of the Roman emperors. Here, too, there was a problem of (self-)censorship.

There is, however, a very interesting passage in Josephus, which is missing from the Greek manuscripts, almost certainly again as a result of censorship. It reemerged in the thirteenth century in a Russian translation, hence it is called the "Slavonic" Josephus. In the 1930s, there was an immense and heated debate between Robert Eisler and Solomon Zeitlin over the authenticity of this text. I am prepared to regard it as going back to an original passage of Josephus, but in the course of textual transmission so many obvious corruptions have entered into it that it is very difficult know how far we can rely on it. More of this anon.

Finally, we have the Christian sources. It need hardly be said that the accounts written of the trial by the authors of the synoptic gospels were written at least a generation after the event; that the issue was heavily loaded theologically; and that at least some of the gospel writers, particularly Mark, were already writing in Rome, or to the Romans, and were dependent upon or were seeking the approval of a Gentile/Christian audience which was itself already being persecuted by the Romans. There was, therefore, every reason for the early Christian accounts to diminish the role of the Romans. If in order to diminish the role of the Romans it was necessary to exaggerate the account of Jewish involvement, then that was something that had to be done.

At any rate, neither theologically nor historically can we say that any of the sources, whether they be Jewish or Christian, were impartial, and there begins our problem. Moreover, the gospels themselves have a very complicated literary history. Not surprisingly, scholars have identified a considerable number of discrepancies amongst the gospel accounts. Of course, discrepancies do not necessarily destroy credibility, but they do have an effect upon it. Taken together, these discrepancies have been regarded by many historians as significant.

The Difficulties Facing an Historical Account

Let me briefly review some of the discrepancies in the gospel accounts. First, there is a discrepancy relating to the arrest of Jesus. Who did arrest Jesus? The synoptics say it was a group of Jewish police, but John is quite clear that a Roman cohort (*speira*) was involved, along with "the officers from the chief priests and the Pharisees."[2] The fact that it is John who says that the Romans were involved in the arrest is particularly surprising, since, of all the gospels, John is particularly concerned overall to excuse the Romans from responsibility for the crucifixion. This detail has been regarded by some as evidence that John was working with early materials and that in the process of writing them up for his purpose, he did not note the conflict between his sources and the general direction of his own account.

Second is the question of the charge against Jesus. In Matthew 26:65 and Mark 14:64, a charge of blasphemy is made in the course of a Jewish hearing. But in both accounts the condemnation is followed immediately by a contemptuous challenge to the prophetic status of Jesus. One of the Jewish officials strikes Jesus from behind

and says, "Now, Messiah, if you are a prophet, tell us who hit you." That is clear evidence that the prophetic status of Jesus was, at the very least, in issue, and the fact that this incident is mentioned at the time when Jesus is being charged, or at least accused, before some Jewish institution (or Jewish group), seems to suggest the possibility of an alternative charge (of which I shall say more a little later on), namely false prophecy. Nevertheless, blasphemy is the predominant conception of the accusation in Matthew and Mark. Luke and John, on the other hand, are quite vague: in Luke, although not clearly stated, the charge (made in the proceedings before Pilate) rather appears to be political in character: sedition, incitement to not pay Roman taxes.

Third, the problem of the nighttime hearing before the Sanhedrin. I say Sanhedrin in deference to the modern literature, though it is not at all clear that this was the body which was involved. Mark has two phases of procedure before the Jewish authorities, whereas Luke omits the nighttime proceeding entirely. One leading biblical commentator has suggested that this omission is a correction of the unlikely procedure in Mark of holding an inquiry in the middle of the night and another meeting in the early morning.[3]

Fourth, the sentence. In Mark and Matthew, the Jewish body condemns Jesus; in Luke there is no mention of any pronouncement of a sentence by the Jewish body; in John, the Jews deny that they have any jurisdiction in the matter. The omission in Luke might appear to be an argument from silence, were it not for the fact that there is corroboration in Acts 13:27–28, where the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their rulers are said to have found no cause of death in Jesus. In short, according to Luke there was no condemnation of Jesus in a Jewish hearing; nevertheless, they handed him over to Pilate and asked Pilate that he should be killed.

There are many other discrepancies, one of the most notable being the story in Luke about a referral by Pilate to Herod Antipas, of which there is no suggestion in any of the other gospels.

Next, we must consider the relationship between the gospel accounts and the contemporary law of the first century: both Jewish law and Roman law. One point which has been much debated is the following: could Jesus have been convicted by any Jewish court? Could Jesus have been convicted of the offense of blasphemy? The argument has been advanced by many Jewish scholars that according to the definitions of blasphemy found, first of all, in the Bible and then elaborated in early Rabbinic literature nothing that Jesus said or did

could conceivably have been interpreted as constituting this offense. Because blasphemy was conceived of as an act of cursing God—and indeed the curse (according to Rabbinic law) had to be one which used explicitly the tetragrammaton—Jesus cannot have committed the offense.

But that raises a point which I mentioned a moment ago. Are we, in fact, in a position to reconstruct what the Jewish law of blasphemy was in the years around A.D. 30–35, when the sources on which this interpretation is based date no earlier than the period of the Mishnah, about A.D. 200? Indeed, there are those who have argued that rather than interpreting the New Testament in the light of later Jewish law (even though only a century and a half later) we should recognize that the writers of the New Testament were Jewish. The stories are stories about a Jewish milieu, about Jewish culture, Jewish history taking place in the land of Palestine. We should therefore regard the New Testament as the best evidence that we have as to what Jewish law actually was in the first half of the first century A.D. However, as already noted, the New Testament sources are not impartial. They are not legal doctrine; they are not the setting out of an account of contemporary Jewish law.

In short, if one is to validate a charge of blasphemy under Jewish law, it has to be a very much wider conception of blasphemy than is found in either earlier or later Jewish sources. The New Testament *may* be evidence of such a wider conception, but if so, it is the *only* evidence of it.

The same methodological problem afflicts our evaluation of the procedural legality of the Jewish proceedings. Are the gospel accounts unreliable in what they say about the Jewish procedure, insofar as it appears quite clearly to contradict the norms (norms found in the Mishnah and the Tosefta, which are nearly two hundred years later than Jesus) of Jewish criminal procedure. Or are they the best evidence we have of what these procedures really were in the first half of the first century?

The Mishnah (*Sanhedrin* IV, 1) tells us that in capital cases the trial must take place in the daytime and the verdict be given in the daytime. It is illegal to hold a nighttime procedure. Did the nighttime interrogation break the rule, or did the rule not yet exist? Or did the nocturnal interrogation have some nonjudicial function?

Secondly, there is the problem of confession. The responses of Jesus, when interrogated both by the Jews and by the Romans, vary from one gospel to another, but even the most explicit leaves some

questions of interpretation open. When Jesus is asked whether he is the son of God but remains silent, is that an acceptance of the proposition that has been put to him? When he says (Luke 22:70–71), "You say so" (*humeis legete*), in response to the question: "Are you the Son of God, then?" is he saying, "It is as you say," or is he saying, "That's what *you* say"? The Greek can be interpreted either way. But whichever way one interprets it, it is clear that this is no unambiguous confession. And even if there were an unambiguous confession, it would not suffice according to the norms of Jewish law as represented in the Mishnah. But did these norms apply already at this time?

Finally, there is the rabbinic institution called *hatra'ah,* translated "forewarning." It is a most extraordinary procedure for any system of criminal procedure: a rule which says that a person, even where there are witnesses, may be convicted of a capital offense only if the witnesses have said to the person, as he was about to commit the crime, "Do you know that what you are about to do is a capital offense?" and the person about to commit the crime must respond, not merely "I know that," but "I know and I accept the consequences." The Tosefta (*Sanhedrin* XI, 2) puts it thus: "If he be warned and answer nothing, or if he be warned and nod his head and even say 'I know,'"—that is insufficient for capital liability. He is not liable until he says, "I know it is capital, but even so I am committing the offense." In the cases rejected by the Tosefta, we come rather close to *humeis legete.*

Surely, one might argue, this *hatra'ah* was a most unrealistic condition of capital liability? One would really have to be a psychopath of a very peculiar kind to be caught by this procedure. In fact, there is an argument that the whole procedure was designed as a way of eliminating capital punishment from Jewish criminal procedure. There is evidence that many of the Rabbis were totally opposed to capital punishment. A dictum in the Talmud says that a court which sentences one person to capital punishment in seventy years is regarded as a hanging court. That is the possible historical context and significance of *hatra'ah* in Jewish criminal procedure. But where do these points leave the trial of Jesus? Did the rule exist (but was broken in this case), or does the New Testament show that the rule did not yet exist? If we take this requirement at face value, it is impossible that Jesus could have been lawfully convicted.

There are also problems in relationship to contemporary Roman law and administration. I will not go into these in detail. There are at least three suggestions as to what Jesus might have been

charged with under Roman law before Pontius Pilate: treason under the *Lex Julia de maiestate,* sedition contrary to the *Lex Cornelia de sicariis,* or perhaps no specific statutory charge at all (procedure *extra ordinem*). Or was the proceeding an exercise of executive authority by a Roman governor with overall authority for law and order? We do not know for certain what the Roman procedure was in the provinces at this time; most of our information comes from the classical Roman jurists two hundred years later. It has, nevertheless, been argued that delegation of legal authority by the Romans, to the extent suggested in the gospel accounts (delegation, whether it be of the power of formulation of the charges to Caiaphas and the high priests, or of the preliminary inquiry, or, as in some sources, of the actual execution, or even the decision making) is unlikely. A prefect like Pilate did not have the power to make that kind of delegation, from what we know of Roman sources.

The Trial as a Literary Construction

So much for the difficulties of a historical account. We turn now to a possible literary solution. One reason why this appeals to me is the following: by adopting a literary solution, we can integrate our approach to the problem of the trial and death of Jesus with our approach to other problems in the New Testament regarding the life and teaching of Jesus. I think that integration is a terribly important thing to do. When we read contemporary scholarship on the New Testament, we seem to be in almost two different worlds: there is a literature about the life of Jesus, and there is a literature about the death of Jesus. The literature about the healings and the parables, etc., are replete with allusions to the Old Testament, and these allusions are *not* regarded as a matter of embarrassment or fabrication. Jesus had the title prophet[4] and said that he came to fulfill the law and the prophets.[5] The meaning of these stories is clearly constructed in terms of Old Testament allusions. How can it be that when we move from the story of the life to that of the death of Jesus we enter a quite different mode of contemporary scholarship, an historical rather than a *literary* mode? It does not seem to fit.

There have, of course, been those who have sought Old Testament themes in the story of the passion and the death of Jesus. But the themes which have been sought have been almost exclusively theological and not narrative. By far the most important source, in modern scholarship, has been the Servant Song, the "suffering servant"

of Isaiah 53.[6] When people say that the death, passion, and resurrection of Jesus is a fulfillment of that kind of prophecy, they are not making a claim about the reiteration of narrative, but rather about the *theological* significance of the events: they talk about fulfillment of notions of atonement, redemption, vicarious suffering, and so on. There are other models, too: those of Isaac and of Moses himself. For even Moses, in being denied entry into the promised land, is said to have suffered for the sins committed by other Israelites.

What is interesting about the trial of Jeremiah is the fact that it seems to provide a *narrative* basis for a literary interpretation of the trial of Jesus. Now this connection has been, as far as I know, entirely overlooked in modern scholarship, which, when you think about it, seems quite extraordinary. After all, the gospels provide a detailed account of the trial of Jesus, and we also have a quite detailed account of the trial of an Old Testament prophet. Jesus claimed to come to fulfill the prophecies. Why have people not looked back at the trial of Jeremiah for its possible influence on the writing of the gospel accounts? The simple answer, I suppose, is this. There is one crucial difference between the trial of Jeremiah and that of Jesus. Jeremiah was acquitted. But the story did not end there, as we shall see.

Here is an account of the structure of the trial in Jeremiah 26, annotated to indicate the gospel parallels:

A: Jeremiah, like Jesus, preaches in the court of the Temple.[7]
B: He does so following a divine mission but with no guarantee of success.[8]
C: He prophesies the destruction of the Temple.[9]
D: There is priestly involvement in arresting[10] and charging[11] the prophet alleged to be prophesying falsely.
E: There is some form of hearing in the Temple itself (i.e. within priestly jurisdiction).[12]
F: The secular authority then convenes a court.[13]
G: The priests take the lead in framing the accusation before the secular authority.[14]
H: The accused prophet defends himself, reasserting the genuineness of his mission.
I: The secular rulers tell the priests that they have decided to exonerate the prophet.[15]
J: A parallel is cited from the prophetic mission of Micah.
K: Comparison is made with the fate of another accused.[16]
L: The latter suffers execution by the secular authority.[17]

M: Jeremiah escapes this fate, but stress is placed upon the potential role of the people as being responsible for the life-or-death decision.[18]

Two of the most difficult historical problems of the trial of Jesus seem to be explained by details in the account of the trial of Jeremiah: the relations between Pilate and the Jewish authorities and the so-called *privilegium paschale.* Most significantly, in the account of Jeremiah, as in the account of Jesus, there are two sets of people involved. On the one hand, there are the priests. It is they who make the charges and make the accusations. But it is a separate secular authority who renders the decision. In the trial of Jeremiah, it is the princes of Judah who have jurisdiction, who make the decision. The decision goes the other way than in the trial of Jesus, but the narrative continues to talk about another prophet, Uriah, who is accused of having done much the same thing as Jeremiah. The charge is clearly one of false prophecy in the cases of Jeremiah and Uriah, and in the case of Uriah, which is a story told in the same chapter, Uriah is executed. So the theme, even of the execution of a prophet on a charge of false prophecy, is there in that same chapter of Jeremiah.

The story of Jeremiah's trial can also assist us to understand the so-called *privilegium paschale,* the privilege of demanding the release of a prisoner at Passover time, who turns out to be Barabbas. This custom is something which is not supported in any source outside the New Testament. Perhaps it was suggested in part by the comparison to the account in Jeremiah of another accused (Uriah) who was actually executed. Both narratives thus compare the fates of two accused: the one executed, the other released.

Concluding Observations

Let me now conclude. Though my analysis is concerned with literary relationships, I am still asking historical questions, because the question which I want to pose is not "How might someone like Jacques Derrida or Frank Kermode read these gospel accounts?" but rather "How would a contemporary audience have understood them?" I *am* thus making an historical claim: these aspects of the gospel account were written with the literary analogue of Jeremiah in mind for an audience that would understand it in this way. But that then poses further historical questions. What kind of audience would that have been? Would it have been the only kind of audience? It need not

have been. If the narrative analogy was directed to a fairly popular audience, the possibility is not excluded, for example, that Paul in his doctrine of redemption might write up the historical traditions that had come his way in terms of a different, far more sophisticated theological set of literary allusions—based, as Duncan Derrett[19] and others have argued, on the suffering servant of Isaiah. There is no problem in asserting multiple readings for different audiences.

There is, surprisingly, some external historical support for this literary interpretation of both the life and death of Jesus. The passage from Josephus which has survived in the Slavonic version says that there were some people at the time who regarded Jesus as the revived Moses: "Some said of him, 'Our first lawgiver is risen from the dead and hath performed many healings and arts.'"[20] Now, what does this passage have to do with the tradition of Jeremiah? It has been suggested from the way in which Jeremiah preaches in the temple sermon that he too claimed the obedience due to a "prophet-like-Moses." The terminology is evocative of the language of Deuteronomy 18. And the New Testament confirms not only the existence of an identification of Jesus with the prophet-like-Moses (Acts 3:23–24; 7:36–42) but also an identification of Jesus with Jeremiah himself: "Now when Jesus came into the district of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, 'Who do men say that the Son of man is?' And they said, 'Some say John the Baptist, others say Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets'" (Matt. 16:13–14).

There is, in fact, an entire set of relations between the three figures of Moses, Jeremiah, and Jesus, which may be summarized in terms of family resemblance. There is a set of characteristics: each figure partakes of a considerable number of them, though not of all. Thus, Moses performs miracles in proof of his authority, he is regarded as a prophet, he achieves the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt, he gives the law, he breaks the first set of tablets, and he has to obtain another. Jeremiah is also a prophet; he is associated with the writing of divine revelation in the form of a book, his first scroll is destroyed and has to be rewritten, he offers authoritative reformulations of the law, he even offers a "New Covenant," he preaches in the Temple against the very institution of the Temple[21] and in language evocative of the authority of a prophet-like-Moses,[22] and he is put on trial. Jesus performs miracles, he preaches in the Temple against at least some of the institutions of the Temple, he is seen by some as a liberation leader against the Romans, he proclaims authoritative new versions of the

law, he suspends the law on particular occasions (in line with the rabbinic understanding of the authority of the prophet-like-Moses), he is accused in some accounts of false prophecy, and he is put on trial.

I conclude with a detail, which also indicates the kind of questions we should pose regarding the relationship between historical claims and literary meaning. Why do Mark and Matthew choose blasphemy as the charge against Jesus in the proceedings before the High Priest?

I suggest that the traditional Jewish understanding of blasphemy as a dual offense against God and the king (Ex. 22:28) may have been evoked, in its bipolarity, by the combined offense which Jesus apparently gave to the high priesthood on the one hand and the Roman administration on the other. True enough, the purported dialogue in the Synoptics of the interviews with the high priesthood, in the context of which the blasphemy charge was pronounced, does not suggest "cursing" either God or the king, even if the parallel accusation of setting oneself up as a "King of the Jews"—what according to the Slavonic Josephus Jesus was certainly encouraged by some of his contemporaries to do—could be construed as a "cursing" of the secular authority. Yet even without importing into the narrative of the trial of Jesus the literal particularities of the Old Testament conception of blasphemy, it does seem that the choice of blasphemy may have been informed not by historical events but rather by the literary connotations of the blasphemy offense, as indicated elsewhere in biblical literature.

Recall, in this context, the accusation made by Jezebel against Naboth (1 Kgs. 21). Naboth was entirely innocent; all he sought to do was to preserve his "vineyard," "the inheritance of my fathers," against King Ahab's intimidatory offer to buy it. The accusation of Naboth stands as a paradigm case of false accusation, and it is pitched in terms directly evoking Exodus 22:28—"Naboth cursed God and the King." In short, the theme of the Jewish establishment falsely accusing, and procuring[23] the death of a wholly innocent citizen, who sought only to preserve the inheritance of his fathers, is well established, and in that theme blasphemy was the charge actually used. And there may be more. In the Talmud, Naboth's death is not the end of his story: he lives on in spirit form and is able to participate in the ultimate divine judgment on Ahab.[24] It is quite possible, therefore, that the emphasis on blasphemy in the Gospel accounts of the trial of Jesus was suggested by its literary connotations in a long-standing Jewish tradition.

NOTES

This is an edited transcript of an informal lecture, rather than a prepared text read as a lecture. For my fuller, documented discussion, see "The Prophet and the Law in Early Judaism and the New Testament," *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature* 4 (Fall 1992): 123–66.

[1] Babylonian Talmud, *Sanhedrin* 43a. Discussed in Jackson, "The Prophet and the Law," 152 and n. 118.

[2] For a recent argument in favor of the superior plausibility, if not the historical truth, of John's account, see Fergus Millar, "Reflections on the Trials of Jesus," in *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, ed. Phillip R. Davies and Richard T. White (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 355–81.

[3] A. R. C. Leaney, *A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke*, 2d ed. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1966), 274.

[4] See especially Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (London: Collins, 1973), ch. 4.

[5] Matt. 5:17: perhaps referring to "the law of the prophet," Deut. 18:15. This theme is developed in the full version in *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature*.

[6] But see Norman H. Whybray, in his monograph significantly entitled *Thanksgiving for a Liberated Prophet: An Interpretation of Isaiah Chapter 53* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978), who has comprehensively analyzed the Hebrew of the song and come to the conclusion that the servant was oppressed *but saved* and did not suffer death.

[7] Jer. 26:1–2: "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoi'akim the son of Josi'ah, king of Judah, this word came from the Lord, 'Thus says the Lord: Stand in the court of the Lord's house, and speak to all the cities of Judah which come to worship in the house of the Lord all the words that I command you to speak to them; do not hold back a word'" (RSV translation); cf. Matt. 21:23–23:36; Mark 11:27–12:40; Luke 19:47–48.

[8] Jer. 26:3: "It may be they will listen, and every one turn from his evil way, that I may repent of the evil which I intend to do to them because of their evil doings." The same verb, *shama* (to listen, obey), is used in relation to Jeremiah's mission as in the prophet-like-Moses text in Deuteronomy.

[9] Jer. 26:4–7: "You shall say to them, 'Thus says the Lord: "If you will not listen to me, to walk in my law which I have set before you, and to heed the words of my servants the prophets whom I send to you urgently, though you have not heeded, then I will make this house like Shiloh, and I will make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth."' The priests and the prophets and all the people heard Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of the Lord"; cf. Matt. 24:1–2; Mark 13:1–2; Luke 21:5–6.

[10] Jer. 26:8–9: "And when Jeremiah had finished speaking all that the Lord had commanded him to speak to all the people, then the priests and the prophets and all the people laid hold of him, saying, 'You shall die! Why have you prophesied in the name of the Lord, saying, "This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate, without inhabitant"?'"; cf. Matt. 26:47; Mark 14:43; Luke 22:52.

[11] Jer. 26:8–9; cf. Matt. 26:59; Mark 14:55–64.

[12] Jer. 26:9: "And all the people gathered about Jeremiah in the house of the Lord"; cf. Matt. 26:57; Mark 14:53; Luke 22:54.

[13] Jer. 26:10: "When the princes of Judah heard these things, they came up from the king's house to the house of the Lord and took their seat in the entry of the New Gate of the house of the Lord"; cf. Matt. 27:11; Mark 15:1–2; Luke 23:1.

[14] Jer. 26:11: "Then the priests and the prophets said to the princes and to all the people, 'This man deserves the sentence of death, because he has prophesied against this city, as you have heard with your own ears'"; cf. Matt. 27:12; Mark 15:3; Luke 23:2. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah: A Fresh Reading* (New York: Pilgrim, 1990), 31, notes that when the priests repeat Jeremiah's offending words to the civil authorities, "they omit his reference to the Temple and speak only of Jeremiah's prophesying against the city. . . . To the princes this would make the issue appear to be treason rather than a religious dispute."

[15] Jer. 26:16: "Then the princes and all the people said to the priests and the prophets, 'This man does not deserve the sentence of death, for he has spoken to us in the name of the Lord our God'"; cf. Matt. 27:23; Mark 15:14; Luke 23:4, 13–14.

[16] Jer. 26:20–22: "There was another man who prophesied in the name of the Lord, Uri'ah the son of Shemai'ah from Kir'iath-je'arim. He prophesied against this city and against this land in words like those of Jeremiah. And when King Jehoi'akim, with all his warriors and all the princes, heard his words, the king sought to put him to death; but when Uri'ah heard of it, he was afraid and fled and escaped to Egypt. Then King Jehoi'akim sent to Egypt certain men, Elna'than the son of Achbor and others with him"; cf. Matt. 27:15–26; Mark 15:6–15; Luke 23:18–25.

[17] Jer. 26:23: "And they fetched Uri'ah from Egypt and brought him to King Jehoi'akim, who slew him with the sword and cast his dead body into the burial place of the common people"; cf. Matt. 27:32–50; Mark 15:21–37; Luke 23:26–46 (here, of course, Jesus, not the other accused). For the political background of the prophecy of Jeremiah and his life, see Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 1–10.

[18] Jer. 26:24: "But the hand of Ahi'kam the son of Shaphan was with Jeremiah so that he was not given over to the people to be put to death"; cf. Matt. 27:20–23; Mark 15:12–15; Luke 23:18–25.

[19] J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1970), ch. 17.

[20] Josephus, *Jewish War,* trans. Henry Thackary, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956), 3:649.

[21] See Adam C. Welch, *Jeremiah: His Time and His Work* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 148–49, on the relationship between Jeremiah's preaching regarding the Temple and the Josianic reform some years earlier.

[22] Indeed, it has been suggested that Jeremiah may have consciously seen himself as the referent of the (then, perhaps, recently discovered) text of Deuteronomy 18:15. See Richard Jacobson, "Absence, Authority, and the Text," *Glyph* 3 (1978); 137–47, at 140, citing Jer. 15:16: "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy words were unto me to me a joy and the rejoicing of my heart; Because Thy name was called on me, O Lord God of hosts." The following earlier articles by Holladay on Jeremiah's self-understanding as a prophet-like-Moses are cited by Richard Jacobson, "Prophecy and Paradox," *Linguistica Biblica* 38 (1976): 51 n.5; William L. Holladay, "Style, Irony, and Authenticity in Jeremiah," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81 (1962): 44–54; "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-Understanding: Moses, Samuel and Psalm 22," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (1964): 153–64; "Jeremiah and Moses: Further Observations," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 85 (1966): 17–27.

[23] Perhaps hinted at in Mark 14:55–56: "Now the chief priests and the whole council sought testimony against Jesus to put him to death; but they found none. For many bore false witness against him, and their witness did not agree." Cf. Matt. 26:59–60.

[24] See Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 6:312 n. 41, for sources; see also Babylonian Talmud, *Sanh*. 89a, 102b; *Shabbat* 149b.

The Susquehanna

Upon you my fellow servants,
in the name of Messiah I confer
the Priesthood of Aaron.
—Doctrine and Covenants 13

This river makes a fine memorial.
John, who specialized in rivers,
Must have loved it.
He must have marveled
At the greenness of it all.

He would have walked the island first
To let his bones record
The mutual straightening of the river and the land.
He would have faced the island's wake
To feel the weight of water at his left,
The island's brown integrity
Extended by the central stream.
As he moved through water to the shore,
He'd see his toes, his white robe carried West.

His gift ionized the air around his hands;
The covenant relaxed commitment to the flesh.

Afterwards, the light would make it hard
To concentrate on water.
It never settles in one place
But breathes across a surface
Cupped to catch the words.

—Kathryn Ashworth

Recent Bibliography on the Trials of Jesus

John W. Welch and Matthew G. Wells

In recent years, numerous books and articles have been written about the arrest, accusation, interrogations, trials, mocking, and execution of Jesus. Many of the details about these procedures are insignificant when compared with the eternal consequences of the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Nevertheless, questions about the historicity and interpretation of the New Testament accounts continue to generate controversy in large part precisely because of their association with those culminating events in the mortal mission of Jesus. Since the scriptures and revelations leave many questions unanswered about the trials of Jesus, readers are left to sort through the data to understand their meaning as best as they can. As Elder Bruce R. McConkie has stated, "There is no divine *ipse dixit*, no voice from an archangel, and as yet no revealed latter-day account of all that transpired when God's own Son suffered himself to be judged by men so that he could voluntarily give up his life upon the cross" (*The Mortal Messiah* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981], 4:142).

Anyone striving to survey and assess the vast array of scholarly analysis and religious reflection that has been published on this topic in recent decades confronts a formidable task. In the end, final solutions to textual and historical problems will probably continue to elude us, especially concerning the questions of legal and moral accountability for the death of Jesus. But this outcome is undoubtedly what Jesus would have wanted: ultimately, no person or group should be blamed for the death of Jesus—an event that, from a Christian point of view, had to happen and that Jesus wanted and needed to happen. Consistent with his infinite mercy, the records

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about his death make it clear that responsibility was dispersed among several individuals and groups, Jews and Romans. Thus blame cannot be focused on anyone in particular.

The following bibliography classifies the major books and articles published in the last few decades that have dealt specifically with various legal dimensions of the trials of Jesus. Within each category, authors are listed alphabetically. Not mentioned are numerous textual commentaries on the New Testament gospels and the many basic works on the life of Christ.

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Native Women on the Utah Frontier

Ronald W. Walker

For a moment it seemed Native Americans might hold center stage in Utah historical writing. William Clayton, the diarist to whom we owe much for the recording of early pioneer events, told of the visit of twenty to thirty "Utah Indians" and "squaws" to the recently arrived Mormon camp. Clayton found them "generally of low stature, pleasing countenance but poorly clad."[1] This promising start has had few successors. While Utah historians have described Native Americans, often in those obligatory chapters needful for publishers' "fairness" and "balance," their treatment usually has been within the sweep of white settlement and conquest. These histories usually tell of Indian wars and bureaucratic policy, but little about the Indians themselves. When mention is made, the Native American appears less as a protagonist and more as a prop in what clearly is a white man's drama.

This article seeks to take a step in redressing this wrong. It describes the culture and life cycle of the native women whom the Euro-American trappers, mountain men, and settlers met as they arrived in the Great Basin, about 1830–80. The attempt admittedly poses some challenges. First, there is the problem of being so removed in time and circumstance. Can a modern researcher understand the early Indian woman and treat her culture with sympathetic honesty? Perhaps as daunting a challenge is the difficulty of making generalizations about her. Even unitary cultures have great variety in individual acts, and the Utah Indians whom the first settlers met represented many bands, subcultures, and levels of material wealth. Nevertheless, a broadly-based, collective portrait is possible. These women, after all, drew upon a common Uto-Aztecan heritage, and their general routines were strikingly similar. At the very least, these traits or practices may be taken as shared tendencies of the larger Uto-Aztecan culture.

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Unfortunately, few, if any, Indian women of the time left written accounts of their lives. To fill this gap, for the past half century ethnographers have reconstructed early Indian society by studying surviving artifacts and routines, augmenting their findings with the memories of aged Native Americans of the second and third generations. These data, in turn, can be enlarged by the hundreds of journals and reports of the white pioneers who described Indian ways. While bearing the usual ethno-historical bias of events seen through white eyes, still, with care, the latter sources add to our understanding.

Ancestry and Social Structure

Who were these Utah natives? To the extreme southeast lived the Navajo, but these people hardly interacted with the first settlers. More contact was made with the Indians whom the whites called the Western and Northern Shoshoni, the Utes, and the Southern Paiutes. The western Shoshoni, universally vilified by white men and women for their impoverished ways, occupied semidesert lands west of present-day Salt Lake City. They could generally communicate with their more culturally complex Shoshoni cousins to the east and north. In turn, the diverse and many splintered bands of the Utes lived south and east of Salt Lake valley, while their closely related cousins, the southern Paiutes, lay on their southern border, clustered along Utah's Colorado River tributaries. These categories, admittedly, were (and remain) somewhat arbitrary. At times all these people mixed and even intermarried. They all bore a common, though probably forgotten, history: each had issued from an area in southeastern California, perhaps near Death Valley, and had passed into what is now Utah as early as the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D.[2]

We will not understand the women's roles in this culture without understanding their society, a society that baffled most Euro-American settlers, who often assumed a complexity and stability where none existed. Far from being the monarchic figures we usually picture, chiefs were respected for their superior wisdom or supernatural power but had limited power to control the members of their band. While some served until death, others ministered only until the completion of a specific task, like heading the annual deer hunt or an interband raid. Followers might drift from band to band as the exigencies of resource, season, and personal predilection dictated. There were few social structures; to use anthropological

terms, there were no segments or lineages, no moieties, and no age-grade, hunting, or women's societies.[3]

Group Structure

What lay at the root of Utah Indian society was the small, loose, fluid, utterly individualistic, and democratic extended family, a structure that was of major importance to the Native American woman. Social scientists have struggled to accurately name these groupings. "Why any one of these should be called a band cannot be determined," wrote Julian H. Steward, who promptly set aside his own advice. "The bands were no more than purposeful or accidental congregations of individuals."[4] Without exact sociological parallels and models elsewhere, they have been called bands, protobands, family clusters, kin, and clique groupings, or demes.[5] Whatever the name, these groupings varied in size as the available resources varied. Relatively bounteous sites like Utah County's lake setting permitted larger, semipermanent settlements with a more complex social structure.[6] More often the groupings were itinerant and smaller, perhaps numbering as few as several dozen people in the summer but coalescing into larger entities during wintertime. In the winter, ten households, and sometimes as many as twenty or thirty, might join together for telling stories, enduring the rigors of the season, and participating in early spring rituals.[7]

Friends and acquaintances might temporarily or permanently join the group. Even those of differing dialects and cultures could unite, selecting some of their group to be headmen or chiefs. But it was the extended family that provided the unit with whatever stability it achieved. Family ties could be complex. Brothers and sisters might marry into the same family; sisters might unite with a single husband; the family of a deceased warrior might be assumed by a brother; brothers might share a single woman.[8] In this complex system of bilateral families and levirate and sororate polygamy, one injunction was observed: marriage should normally take place outside the immediate band. For every endogamous marriage, there were perhaps six or seven from outside the extended family.[9]

Here the Native American woman worked her influence. Newly married couples usually took residence with the bride's family, which often meant that of the mother. The bride's biological father often was not present at all, for family life was often "brittle" or "unstable," with marriage being more a process than a single event.

In this system, men and women moved from one partner to another, without the need of an official, sanctioning divorce. This fluid system of serial marriage came perhaps from the social needs of the band. Because the band was small and intimate, its functioning required relatively harmonious marriages and therefore it readily permitted family restructuring.[10]

That the newly married usually lived with the maternal side of the family suggests the broader arrangement of Utah Indian society. Members of the bands were related through the matriline and lived matrilocally, in part because the children of the severed unions usually remained with the mother.[11] These facts about feminine band organization should be interpreted cautiously lest the role of the woman be unduly magnified. After all, Indian men hunted, warred, controlled band government, and sometimes—by present-day standards—harshly dominated their women. Yet, the Indian woman's role was so important that Indian society was built around her. She nurtured children, labored, and lent social stability. If the extended family was the Utah Indians' most important social unit, the Indian woman was its core. She dominated family structure.

Birth and Childhood

What was the life cycle of these women? In the womb, a child received special and sympathetic treatment, which although not specific to gender, was still a significant part of the Indian woman's experience. To ensure a vigorous child, parents shunned intercourse and abstained from or avoided meat. It was understood that beaver meat, for example, could impede delivery.

When birth was at hand, a special shelter was built by leaning willows together in such a way to allow enough room for standing. At the south side of the enclosure, a two-by-six-foot pit was dug. After childbirth, it would be filled with hot stones and covered, making a soothing, radiant bed for the mother and child. The mother gave birth by squatting or kneeling while elderly women held the waist and pressed down. The newborn was immediately washed with yucca soap and wrapped in a soft, sagebrush-bark blanket. A day later, the infant was allowed the breast.

Parents continued their rituals after the birth. The child's umbilicus was cut with a sharp stone and put in a skin pouch or affixed to the cradle until the child walked. Eventually, it might be placed beneath a red-ant hill to promote future energy and toil.

Clearly, industry was a prized virtue. For ten days after childbirth, the father might run up and down a hill to make the child active and fleet. During this period, some men declined the use of their best horse, perhaps for a similar reason. Together, the parents continued to avoid grease and meats, sexual contact, and even scratching their bodies except with specially prepared scratchers. Both parents might dab their faces with red pigment. After a month, the mother might leave her confinement. Then both mother and father might surrender their best clothes to attendants as tokens of appreciation and respect.[12]

A newly delivered mother continued gestation's intimacy by attaching the child to a cradleboard and carrying the board on her back. Older sisters at times relieved the burden. An infant girl, swaddled in skin rags with only her face visible, might spend much of her first two years on the cradleboard. Evenings provided respite. The child was then placed on bedding or inserted into a front-laced, buckskin bag. But daylight brought forth the cradleboard again. When unattached to the mother's body, the boards could be placed upright on the ground and rocked to a lullaby or in a moment of crisis seized for swift flight.[13]

Sometime after birth, the child would be named. The selection came from either of the parents or at the joint suggestion of the elders. The name would often endure through life, though in life's midpassage it could be traded for a companion's or changed at the medicine chief's revelatory suggestion. While nicknames were common, a girl's formal name would probably be derived from surrounding flora, especially flowers.[14]

Nursing might continue until the age of six, partly in the hope of spacing conception. Toilet training and discipline were equally tolerant. "Adult attitudes toward children were completely permissive," Anne Smith has written, "and little ones were not restrained from doing what they wanted, unless they were endangering themselves. Small children were immediately comforted if they fell or hurt themselves in any way."[15] They were further indulged with toys and pets. Girls were allowed clay-crafted dolls, and birds, doves, owls, and baby eagles served as companions.

An unruly child could be cajoled by fanciful tales. Owl, Bear, or Ghost might visit them, or an old witch could carry them off in her burden basket. Mothers also told of a haunted spring near Salt Mountain in Juab County where a malevolent spirit harmed the wayward. These wonders, no doubt, wore thin as the young woman matured.[16]

Kaibab Paiute mother. For Utah Native American women, nursing might continue until the child was six years old, partly in the hope of spacing conception. This woman's outfit is probably White River Ute. Hats made of basketry were typical. Photographed by John Hiller near Kanab, Utah, in the fall of 1872.

Kaibab Paiute girl with a baby in a cradleboard. Clem Powell recorded in his journal that papooses were done up in a most artistic fashion. The girl's robe appears to be of buffalo hide, which would have been difficult for the Kaibab Paiutes in southern Utah to obtain. Photographed by John Hiller in 1872.

The result of such gentle child rearing appeared salutary. "Frequently I was at the Indian camp, and mingled freely with the youngsters and their parents," recalled an early pioneer. "During those often all-day visits I heard no 'back talk' from children to their parents, nor of [any] quarreling. Socially, their intercourse was frank, open-hearted and generous—entirely free from affectation, egotism, and hypocrisy."[17]

On arriving in Utah in the mid-nineteenth century, the Mormons quickly learned of the Indians' long-standing trade in children, particularly girls. A pubescent woman in the New Mexico market reportedly could bring $100, and members of such impoverished tribes as the Sanpitch Utes and the southern Paiutes trafficked in their own children.[18] Some parents, particularly men, appeared remarkably jaded about their children. "Natural affection even between members of the same family," complained Indian agent J. J. Critchlow, "seems except in rare cases to exercise little influence over their treatment of each other. For their boys, indeed, they seem to have a degree of it, but for the . . . women, or squaws, old or young, this delightful principle of our common nature seems wanting to an alarming extent."[19] Another respondent recalled stories of the Paiutes taking their small daughters by the heels and bashing their heads against a tree and added, "Girls were just something incidental and didn't amount to very much."[20] Malformed children and twins—the latter were thought to be an ill charm brought on by excessive or promiscuous intercourse—were neglected and sometimes left to die.[21]

There is, however, balancing evidence. On the question of Indian child slavery, an early territorial official was probably accurate. The Indians "have been reduced to the necessity of so doing to sustain life," he held.[22] While that judgment may not explain all child bartering, Indians clearly took little joy and often great sorrow in the commerce. Moreover, observers like Mormon scout Dimick B. Huntington, who knew the Utah Indians as well as any outsider, believed their parenting to be "very affectionate."[23] Clearly, when conditions permitted, girls were welcomed and indulged.

The girl's family reflected the serial marriage pattern. While some accounts suggest three or four children to a household and seldom more than six, parentage was hybrid.[24] Revealingly, Indian vocabulary made no distinction in a parent's offspring. The Indian words for *sister* or *brother* expansively meant siblings of whatever degree, whether a child was a "half" or "full" relation, and referred to first, second, and perhaps third cousins as well.[25] All were part of the intimate family.

A girl's maternal grandmother was a central figure in the family. She carved wood or potted clay to form the infant's cradleboard. At least among some bands, she also tattooed designs on the faces of the youths who were six or seven. She might place a circle, cross, or semicircle on the forehead of a girl. Sometimes she positioned additional semicircles over eyebrows and horizontal and vertical lines on the checks and chin.[26]

With the mother busy working, the girl saw much of the grandmother. "The mother must never discipline the children," recalled an observer. "That was always the duty of the grandmother, and that was in most definite terms. The children learned at a young age where the authority came from."[27] Moreover, the grandmother was an educator. She taught tanning, basketry, and food gathering. Along with other grandparents, she conveyed the traditions of the people. From earliest childhood, girls and boys were endlessly told of the extended family's lore, often before an evening's fire and especially during the winter's lengthy councils, which might begin in the afternoon and proceed to the early morning.[28] Because these were honored activities, children were taught to grant the grandmother the privileges of sleeping at the south end of the brush shelter wickiup and of sitting with other grandparents at the seat of honor by the eastern door. Children also served grandparents first and gave them the opportunity of speaking before others.[29]

Adolescence

While Utah's Native Americans did not recognize puberty with formal initiation rites, the girl's first menses marked her entry into womanhood and reminded her of some of her society's most basic tenets. Utah Indians coped with the uncertain world by seeking protective, supernatural power. Helpful taboos guided the way.[30] Of these, the avoidance of menstrual blood was so primary that women were obliged each month to shelter themselves in a newly-built hut, perhaps eight to twelve feet in diameter but tall enough to permit standing. While the rituals varied by band and region, the initiate was often guided by her mother, grandmother, or some other, older woman. She was told to drink hot water for an easy discharge of blood. No meat could be ingested for fear that the skin might darken. Also there were time-honored ceremonies that carried their own meaning. Specially prepared utensils must be used for cooking and eating; meats or anything gathered by her brothers or

father were avoided; the menstruating woman should not touch her face or teeth; a scratching stick should be employed for itches. After seven to ten days, the woman, after bathing, might return to her former society, preferably before dawn so that she might be first seen cooking.[31]

The menstrual routine was important to the Indian woman. One modern scholar concludes that perhaps the routine served to subordinate her social position, stigmatizing her as a source of ceremonial pollution.[32] However, there must have been some compensation. The routine gave the Indian woman a monthly, several-day respite from her hardest labors, although during her confinement she might grind seeds, sew, make baskets, and do other routine tasks. There was also opportunity to socialize. Similarly confined women could talk privately. As the rigid mores of Indian society loosened after the coming of white man, the menstrual hut earned a reputation as a place for liaisons, where, despite taboo, both single and married women received their lovers.[33]

Courtship and Marriage

A Ute woman's first visit to the menstrual hut made her eligible to take part in the Bear Dance, her culture's most important ceremony. Many explanations have been given as to its origin and meaning. Held in late February or early March, it certainly was a festival of renewal as well as a petition for favorable hunting. For a pubescent girl, it also marked her availability for marriage at a time when many bands (and available beaus) gathered for social enjoyment. She chose her partner, who must not refuse, and danced directly opposite him as each formed in two opposing, male-female lines. Evenings brought social mixing and gambling. At the end of the five-to-ten-day festival, the dancing became less stylized but more athletic and sexual.

One couple might don bearskin robes. Others formed themselves into shorter lines, with perhaps four couples advancing, retreating, and advancing again to the rhythm of the rasps and drums. At last, couples danced together, arms entangled around each other's waist, each attempting to exhaust the other before collapsing together on the ground. The dance chief would then rouse them by drawing a rasp across their backs. Not surprisingly, many Utes credited the Bear Dance with the beginning of their courtships.[34]

There were other courting practices. One traveler told of the simple expedient of wrapping a blanket around the intended. She

signaled consent by doing likewise.[35] Flutes might also be employed. A young man might withdraw from camp and play his distinctive tune. The method held a serious flaw: several girls might respond.[36] Other accounts have the suitor placing game at the girl's door and having spies watch to see if she picked it up. If relatives did so, he was rejected.[37]

Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, a Nevada northern Paiute, detailed a ritualized courting that may have occurred to the east in Utah. The male admirer never directly spoke to his love interest but tried to secure her notice by flaunting such skills as his horsemanship. At length he entered her wickiup at night fully dressed and sat quietly at her feet. If asleep, the girl was awakened by the protecting grandmother. The two young people then exchanged looks but no words for perhaps several hours. When the girl wished the "interview" to end, she simply laid next to her mother. Such mum, ritualized visiting could continue a year before the girl spoke her mind to the grandmother, who then began the necessary discussions leading to the consummation of the alliance.[38]

Parents and relatives prepared the girl for marriage and influenced her selection. Part of the preparation lay in instruction. In the menstrual hut, she was told not to badger her husband. She should take care with the washing and cooking. Babies must be kept clean. The home should be hospitable. Advice about a partner was as specific. "That young man is a good hunter. Wouldn't you like to marry him?" they might say. Early on, the family might settle on a choice, often an older man, but her agency was usually allowed. If her parents insisted on an unacceptable selection, the maiden might leave to live with relatives in a close-by band.[39]

The southern Paiutes departed from this general rule of choice. Perhaps because the slave trade left an imbalance of six men to one woman, the Paiutes sometimes determined a contested girl's marriage by a kind of marital tug-of-war.[40] Two suitors might place the girl between them until one, by superior jerking and scuffling, got possession.[41] More elaborate contests were staged to involve the combatants' friends. In such a setting, the admirers set up their camps about a half mile apart, with the girl halfway between. Ten men were chosen to assist each beau, the object being to pull the woman to the proper camp. "I tell you it was a great time we had, knocking the bucks down and pulling them back and helping the girl to the goal she wanted to gain," recalled a white man who joined the

Eloping Ute couple. Evidently these two eloped, he a warrior and she the daughter of a chief. This picture may have been taken shortly after their escape from the ceremonies in which she was to be married to someone else. Her dress may be her wedding gown. Photographed by John Hiller in 1871.

U-Wa, wife of Chu-ar Ru-um Peak, chief of the Shai-var-its (Sheberetch). Full-length dresses such as this woman is wearing were probably of Ute design. The photographer, John Hiller, enlisted Thomas Moran's aid in posing the Native Americans. Often the poses were guided more by the need to sell photographs than by cultural mores.

melee. "When the girl was going in the direction she did not want to go, she would pull back and lie down and catch hold of the brush and fight and do the best she could to go the other way, but as soon as she would get in the direction she wanted to go she would run and laugh defiance at the enemy." Apparently the sport of the event gave the disappointed suitor some solace. At least in the above incident, he didn't seem to take his loss "very hard."[42]

In later years, these Paiute marriage contests assumed the gloss of hardy romance and adventure, but they were often harsh and brutalizing events. Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin recorded the result when one contestant broke the rule of hair-pulling: "This presented a sight and sound that I cannot describe, the [nearby] women and children hallooing and screaming, throwing fire, ashes, and whipping [other members] of the crowd over the heads with long sticks." The struggle carried on for several days and left the woman stripped of her buckskin shirt and unconscious. In another prolonged fight, the girl's brother, overcome by her distress and injury, killed her as an act of mercy. The Paiute tug-of-war was one rite that the often tolerant Mormon missionaries tried to end.[43]

There was another. The Mormons objected to the Paiute custom of gang raping women who repeatedly refused marriage and asked Tutsebabbots, the local chieftain, why such conduct was permitted. Unperturbed, the chief explained that according to his band's tradition, if a woman rejected five suitors, she might be assaulted by those whom she had rejected. It was done in this way, he said, so that she should be compelled to have offspring without knowing the father of her child.[44]

Some women chose to become plural wives, though their percentage is unknown. Leading chiefs married plurally: Arapene, Kanosh, Sagwitch, Wakara, and Washakie married at least three women, and it has been suggested that the norm for the chiefs was at least two.[45] Likely, other headmen and leading elders followed their practice. Limited data allows only for narrow generalizations: polygamy was common though perhaps not the norm, and its practice probably declined as a result of the strictures of the government agents.[46] "Polygamy, as with most barbarous tribes or nations, exists," admitted Uintah reservation agent J. J. Critchlow in 1875, "though to a less offensive extent than formerly." Indeed, several of Critchlow's successors believed that the Indian acceptance of Mormonism had less to do with religious conversion than with their common polygamy. Mormonism gave them leave to continue taking plural wives.[47]

Joshua Terry, a Mormon frontiersman who married a Shoshoni woman, described the normal passage into marriage. Terry and his "wife" had no ceremony. He simply gave the woman's father the required horse, and the girl followed him to his tent and began to work. That "'was all there was to it,'" he claimed. "'If the father said "go," she went and then it was up to the husband to treat her in a way that she would stay.'"[48] Perhaps this uncomplicated process of securing a guardian's consent was what Indian Agent Garland Hurt meant when he said the Ute ceremony was simple and private.[49] Sometimes things were easier still. Perhaps the boy began visiting a girl's tent and remained nights; eventually he would be recognized as her husband. For several months after a marriage and in recognition of the importance of family ties, kin might exchange gifts, which were equally balanced between the relatives of both the bride and groom.[50]

By early teenage years, then, a woman ceased her childhood and assumed an adult role. But the change was a simple transition with only the menstrual hut and perhaps the Bear Dance to mark her passage. She typically still lived near or with her mother. The accustomed faces and routines of her extended family remained. What was altered was the proximity of her new husband, her active sexuality, and the prospect of soon having her own children.

Sexuality

What was proper sexual conduct? The determining of prewhite mores is difficult because all data stem from the nineteenth century when aboriginal society was greatly changing. Jedediah Smith, among the first of the American trappers in the Great Basin, purchased two Shoshoni women from the Utes to prevent their sexual abuse, but they soon departed to live with another white man.[51] A member of the John C. Frémont exploration party reported that the eastern Shoshoni willingly sold their women. "One of our men purchased a woman yesterday for one horse and one mule," he wrote. "She doesn't have a bad face; only a few pounds of soap and a few brushes will be necessary."[52]

On the other hand, mountaineers and Mormons at times spoke highly of Indian virtue. Warren Ferris, who was in the area in the 1830s, thought Native American men were "very jealous" of their women, though the latter gave "little cause for being so."[53] Mormon James Taylor, in turn, found a virtual absence of what he called "immorality" among the Indians he knew.[54] Certainly, there were

times when the Indians refused to allow the sexual assaults of the white man. When an army dissenter ravished an Indian woman, Mormons were certain that the offender would be killed if captured. Indeed, a Manti settler met such a fate. Following his assault of an Indian woman, members of her band refused to be calmed by offers of oxen and horses as compensation. Unable to solve the difficulty in any other way, the Mormon sheriff took the man to the canyon where an Indian gunned him down.[55]

These conflicting reports about Indian sexuality can partly be resolved by remembering the differing customs of the region's many bands and by understanding that men sometimes severely dictated the lives of their daughters and wives, treating them as chattel. Perhaps as important, sexual restraints were often centered on the young, who previously had been unmarried. Older women had more freedom. A long-standing observer of Indian customs claimed:

> Time was, when sex meant marriage and no question. So among young people, there was very little misconduct. An illegitimate baby was usually killed and the girl down-graded until she was almost an outcast. On the other hand, a few extra-marital relations among [older] good friends was tolerated.[56]

The ideal of premarital chastity continued well into the nineteenth century and beyond, though often observed in the breach.[57]

Within a decade or two of white settlement, several types of female sexual conduct were evident. First, Indians continued their practice of moving from one spouse to another. While bad temper, sterility, and incompatibility were recognized as permissible causes, no doubt some women left their marriages because of a wandering eye.[58] The result could bring anguish. Several Utes sought Brigham Young's assistance in retrieving their wives from the Shoshoni. Even a major chief like Wakara was not immune from heart-distress. In 1841, Thomas J. Farnham met him returning from an attempt to reclaim a wife who had fled across the San Juan River:

> He was quite sad during the early part of the journey and was constantly muttering something of which I frequently distinguished the expression, "*Kah-che, kai-vah, mah-ru-kay,*" which from hearing so often repeated I recollected, and afterwards, when he became more philosophic, which was the case towards the later part of the journey, I asked him to interpret for me (he could speak a little Spanish), and he said it meant "very bad girl." He disclaimed all thought of invading the country of his successful rival for he had, as he said, two other beauteous Helens who would console him for his loss, and they certainly ought to do so, for he was the very beau-ideal of nature's nobility.[59]

Probably the initiative for separation or divorce lay with the male, unless the woman fled to a protecting or distant band. The evidence for male dominance is widespread and stark. An Indian wife-beating incident helped trigger the Walker War when a Mormon attempted to stay a domestic quarrel. Furious over a settler's intervention, the Indians later argued that such beatings were not unusual; certainly they were not the Mormons' proper concern.[60] The war reportedly led Chief Arapeen to kill a wife (along with a favorite horse) in an act of propitiation. On another occasion, settlers accused the chief of severely burning another spouse with a hot frying pan handle.[61] His brother Wakara, in turn, beat one of his women prior to the peace parley with Brigham Young that ended the 1853–54 conflict. When the stunned Young asked the reason, Wakara explained that he didn't wish his ill daughter, who was close to death, to suffer alone.[62]

Such dominance carried over to sexual matters. Tradition gave men authority to punish the sexually active wife and, possibly, her paramour. Perhaps the husband whipped them, took a favorite blanket or horse from the offending male, or had the wife killed.[63] When the Shoshoni medicine man, Little John, learned that in his absence his wife had taken up with a younger man and moved farther down the Bear River, he borrowed a white man's gun. "Me pix em—me kill em both," he announced simply on his return.[64]

On the other hand, if a husband abandoned his wife or married additional wives, the result could be almost as violent. Perhaps rivals would wrestle, or the offended woman might slash the other or cut her hair. After Chief Kanosh took a new wife, an earlier companion, Betsykin, lured the woman from camp and slit her throat. According to local lore, the penitent Betsykin took a jug of water to her wickiup and starved herself to death.[65] Usually, however, passions cooled. The Colorado Ute women had various ways, perhaps shared by their western cousins, of signaling acquiescence to the end of a union or to their changed status when a husband added a new wife. The woman might stick the horse of her former husband with a sharp object or kill her competitor's animal.[66] Clearly, unless there was joint agreement, the change in marital arrangements was neither casual nor automatic.

Some husbands shamelessly exploited their women. While Mormons claimed themselves innocent of taking advantage of such opportunities, others were less restrained. During the 1855

Gunnison Massacre trial at Fillmore, Utah, several judges and army officers offered whiskey and blankets for Indian sex. Ammon, one of the consenting husbands, reportedly assured his wife "he no whip her, that she had been with three other Indians for nothing, and why not now consent for pay?" Ironically, the chief later bragged that his wife carried venereal infection, thereby giving the Mericats more than they had bargained for.[67]

Not surprisingly, venal Indian men found U.S. troopers willing clients for their women. During the Utah War (1857–58) when soldiers wintered at Fort Scott near present-day Evanston, Wyoming, tribesmen traded their women's favors for money, liquor, Sibley tents, and such apparel as infantry caps, coats, and pants. According to the Cumumbah chief, "Little Soldier," the Indian women were not always willing agents. On occasion, when an Indian left his wickiup, troopers raped the unprotected wife. The camp's disorder finally prompted one of Chief Sanpitch's wives to flee to the Weber River. She would rather die, she said, than continue her forced prostitution. The chief, angry at her insurrection, took her at her word and killed her.[68]

Both the Gunnison trial and Utah War episodes came during social and economic unrest and perhaps did not reflect normal behavior. Other incidents showed Indian men defending their women. Yet, the tide generally flowed the other way. Rumors suggested several Indian agents took advantage of their wards,[69] and sources from the *New York Times* to Brigham Young decried Indian and white sexual promiscuity.[70] Moreover, sometimes the women surrendered without the coercion of spouses. "The women often sell themselves for a morsel of food," reported Agent George D. Dodge. "This is no fancy picture. I try to turn them from such a killing vice, but they reply, 'We must have some food. White man no give it any other way.'"[71]

The spread of venereal disease charted the changing Indian conduct. Confused and fearful, the Spanish Fork Chief Peteetneet killed six women in his band for being carriers of the dreaded illness.[72] The afflicted Ammon, hopeful for treatment, sought President Young's aid.[73] Arapeen apparently died of complications arising from the malady, while his successor, Sanpitch, threatened war if the white man did not somehow stop its spread. "Syphilis," reported Agent Benjamin Davies, "has been spreading among the Indians at Spanish Fork, Corn Creek and San Pete for several years past and is infecting them and cutting off their offspring at a fearful rate."[74]

Vocational Roles

In this flux and decay, Native American women provided at least a measure of stability. Whatever their physical subordination, their mastery of domestic crafts, household building, and gathering, preparation, and preservation of food were critical to the economic success of the family and band.[75] They wove willows into baskets, water jugs, and baby cradles. To make buckskin, women took hides from the kill, soaked and stretched them over frames, and scraped them with sharp flint rocks, dressing the final product with grease or animal brain. Great Basin and especially Ute buckskin was highly esteemed. The women fashioned garments using sinew for thread. From the "oose" plant, some Indian women made long mesh nets for rabbit catching and then knit the pelts into wintertime blankets and capes. They also made rope with hemp fiber from stalks and milkweeds.[76]

Their labor did not end here. Women generally made the wickiup and such outbuildings as the shade and menstrual huts. They also had the responsibility to gather water and wood and to prepare the fire. Wood gathering always invoked white amazement: "The squaw would have a rope and would tie up a bundle that looked impossible for her to carry," recalled young Joseph Openshaw, speaking of the Indians who camped near Salt Lake City,

> but she would kind of sit down and get the loop in the rope over her head or on her forehead and then the old buck would help her to get up on her feet with the pack on her back, and they would go off with it.
>
> The man would not do a thing but help her get up on her feet. . . . Father would often ask her why she did not make him help her carry it but she would only grunt and go on.[77]

When it came time to move camp, the women typically gathered the family's possessions in bundles and once more shouldered the burdens on their backs. "Sometimes the bundles looked larger than the squaws themselves," recalled an amazed and sympathetic white woman.[78]

Indians always worried about the coming winter, which Coyote for his own caprice might extend to the point of extremity and even beyond. So starting in midsummer women gathered berries, roots, nuts, and insects, loading their gathering baskets which were mounted on their heads.[79] These foods might be ground, parched or preserved in "fruit-cakes," and then cached in trees, caves, and woman-made earthen receptacles. The women also had the immediate task

Kaibab Paiute domestic scene. Notice the newness of the females' outfits, which seem out of place in the willow wickiup and next to a naked boy. The outfits may have been provided by the photographer. Most women wore their hair, as in this picture, loose and sometimes with a part. Photographed in 1872 by John Hiller.

Kaibab Paiute family with their baskets in a shade shelter. The woman is wearing a rabbit-skin robe, which was a cool-weather garment worn by both sexes. E. O. Beaman wrote that the Paiutes and Utes were reluctant to pose for the camera. They feared that evil spirits would attend the strange box or that the photographer, by some magical means, would steal away their spirit. Photographed by John Hiller in 1872.

of preparing two daily meals. Thomas D. Brown recalled one of his first Paiute suppers.[80] According to the Scottish-bred missionary, the family's grandmother, after getting water from the stream, carried the water basket on her head with the same assurance of an Edinburgh fish woman ferrying a load to market. She then secured a bundle of dry brush for firewood and crushed some dried berries into the liquid. Using a mountain sheep's horn as a container, Brown at last partook of a "sweet and nourishing fluid."[81]

Hardly a white observer failed to note the Indian woman's burden. "The women do the hard work," reported Dimick Huntington. "When the hunter returns from a hunt, if he brings in any game the woman unloads it and unsaddles the horse. The hunter does nothing more until the meat is gone, when the woman brings up the horse, saddles [it], and he goes on the hunt."[82] During the dispensing of government gifts at Little Soldier's camp in 1860, the *Deseret News* noted that the women busily dressed skins while their men lolled in the sun.[83] These practices, so strange to the white man, seemed to be sanctioned by the Indian woman. According to one observer, it was she, even more than her husband, who observed and enforced the customs of the culture.[84]

Intercultural Adaptation

During the nineteenth century, Indian society began a rapid change which required Indian women to find new ways to fill their customary role. With the white occupation preempting their old range and routines, Indian women increasingly forged a symbiosis with the settlers. They might glean the Mormon fields, do white washing, pick fruit, perform housework, and even deliver the mail.[85] While pioneer journals document each of these activities, begging was more common. Often the woman, perhaps with a child on her back, would approach a door with an open gunny sack. On other occasions, the process was more systematic and cooperative. In northern Utah, a group of Shoshoni women laid a "receiving" blanket on the ground in front of a door and sang and danced to encourage gifts. They then proceeded to the next house until the town was canvassed.[86]

While accounts of Native Americans begging were generally neutral or sympathetic, some were hostile. "We noticed yesterday a number of 'Squaws' and 'Bucks' parading the streets 'cadging' and 'collaring' all they could lay hands on, and looking as dirty, filthy,

and unintellectual as ever," reported the *Salt Lake Tribune* as one begging foray went through the city. "When on Second South street they made a magnificent 'haul,' securing a half dozen bullock's skin bones from a butcher's shop, which they 'busted' between a couple of rocks, and picked out the marrow and ate it in its raw state. We queried how long it would take to make them the equal of the Anglo-Saxon."[87]

Contact between the two cultures brought the usual variety of human responses. During times of want or war, both the red and white people reacted with cruelty and even strife. But if the diaries of white settlers are representative, natives and settlers, especially the women, treated each other with kindness. One white girl, used to roaming barefoot, was delighted by the gift of beaded moccasins from her Indian friend, "Nancy." Another pioneer told of Indian ladies bringing their beadwork and spending the day with his mother. In turn, the wife of Baptiste, a Ute medicine chief, warned her white friends of her husband's impending hostility. A settler living in the outskirts of Salt Lake City recalled Indian women coming to his home to borrow cooking utensils. "They were always strictly honest with us," he affirmed, "and we had no more fear of them than we did of other people."[88]

There were a kaleidoscope of such incidents. In southern Utah a corpulent Indian woman saved the settlers' Virgin canal by placing her bulk in the rapidly deteriorating ditch until more help arrived. Not far away on Ash Creek, a "Dixie" herdsman lived isolated from his friends and was fearful of Indians. Yet a southern Paiute woman befriended him and taught him to wrap cedar sticks around a spear to make a helpful, portable fire brand. In Nephi an Indian woman begged food, only to learn that the whites were more needy than she. She returned home, cooked a meal of venison, beans, and ground sunflower seeds, and insisted a settler join her for dinner. Similarly, snow blocked the return of a Panguitch pioneer to his family for over six weeks. With only unmilled wheat to sustain herself, his wife boiled, fried, baked, and roasted the grain. A neighboring Indian woman, believing the white woman's health at risk, ground the wheat into more digestible flour with her crude grinding device.[89] These events were not unusual. Along with the often described violence of Utah's Native American frontier, acts of common humanity also occurred as women reached past the barriers of race and culture.

Recreation

The Indian woman's life was not devoid of amusements. Girls competed to find the longest pieces of *pau-waa=pi,* a kind of grass. During winter, they used rawhide to slide on the snow. The older women juggled. If the participant walked while performing her art, two dried clay balls were used; three balls were employed if she was seated. Women also enjoyed a contest where players, arranged in a circle, kicked at their opponents with their moccasin-clad feet to see who remained standing. The contest of "shinny" was also popular. This was a soccer-like game, played on a two or three hundred foot field with a four-inch buckskin ball stuffed with deer hair. Two teams of ten to twenty-five women competed, each wielding a three and a half or four foot, curved-at-the-bottom, hockey-like stick. The goal of the game was to move the ball across the opponents' goal line. The activity might consume an afternoon.[90]

No activity delighted the Indian like sleight-of-hand. One trick involved perhaps two sets of pony bones, one marked with dots or stripes. Spectators guessed which set was concealed in a moccasin.[91] But the game that most compelled Indian women and men was "hand," sometimes called "stick." Mormon pioneer William B. Ashworth recalled one version:

> They would sit around in a group with a small piece of bone about three inches long, tapered down to a point at each end. One of [the] players would throw [the] bone up in front of him, then catch it in one hand, then he put both hands behind him, brought them forward, and crossed arms. When each hand was under the opposite arm pit, he rocked the arms up and down, singing a kind of ditty like "Ha ha ha." His opponent would spat [spit into] his [own] hands . . . then swing his right hand to the hand he thought the bone was in. If he guessed right the bone would be passed over to him and he would go through the procedure.[92]

There were many variations. Sometimes the game was played with elk teeth, with an elaborate counting system of twenty sticks or markers passing from one side to another. On other occasions, the single concealed object became two: a "true" bone that was unmarked and its "false," engraved counterpart. Sometimes the contest involved two players, sometimes four, and often larger groups. Whatever the number, the game was usually characterized by a continuous, swaying motion, nasal humming by participants, and the repeated, pounding cadence of a stick being hit against the ground.[93]

Recreational gambling. These Native Americans are probably Kaibab Paiute Indians photographed by John Hiller in 1872. Their clothes were possibly introduced from the Utes or were brought by the photographer. His account mentions a trunk of clothing that he had had manufactured by Ellen Thompson, John Wesley Powell's sister, or had collected from the White River Utes, with whom he had spent the previous winter.

"The tribes of Utah are passionately fond of it," recounted a *New York Times* reporter after visiting some Shoshoni and Ute bands playing "stick." He recalled the circled "squaws," most with infants strapped to their backs (the babies' "black eyes peering over the mother's shoulder"), "so completely absorbed . . . as scarcely to be conscious of the approach of strangers." Elsewhere, George Smith Bailey, an eastern Utah freighter, reported that for several days, one chief tried to get his people to decamp, but their game proved too engrossing.[94]

What made these games so exciting was the Indian's willingness to gamble everything he or she had on the outcome. Trinkets, animals skins, buffalo robes, lodges, horses, even clothing might be risked. Players could end a long wintertime session of games with nothing but the skimpiest clothing and the prospect of beggary.[95] The puritanical Saints saw nothing good in the practice and labeled it a main cause of Indian decline. But betting was an ingrained part of Indian culture long before its members showed signs of social disintegration, being common during the mountain man era and perhaps having roots in aboriginal society as well.[96] Moreover, gambling had its advantages for the Indian woman: it was one of the few activities that allowed her social equality. In a game, she competed on an equal footing with men, and if successful, she gained status by advancing the family's fortunes.[97]

Female Status

Prestige and status were important to the Indian woman. Thomas D. Brown's missionary journal showed how ingrained such values were among the southern Paiutes:

> When [we] awoke[,] [we] found eight ladies and many children had already arrived. . . . These stayed during our morning devotions, and always keep a retired and modest distance, unless especially invited forward towards the fire, which we sometimes did, for the men have always kept them in the rear and seemed to esteem them as of but little account; yet among them there is caste, order [and] rank. The Captain's 2 squaws sat some 2 rods before the others, and the humble behind looked forward to them as if in deference they said, "These are our leader's wives!" When did rank, pride and aristocracy begin?[98]

While the social and economic position of her mother or father could initially be important in giving inheritance and prestige, a woman's station was ultimately set by other things. Union with a ranking male was important, though the woman's role within the

marriage was also vital. If the family was advanced by her craft making, food gathering, or gambling, she rose in position. Age also played a role. A woman as young as thirty or forty gained status by becoming a grandmother, which also meant she became, as we have already seen, family disciplinarian, instructor, chaperon, and midwife. Unfortunately, widowhood in old age left her unprotected and possibly deposed.[99]

Kin ties, marriage, personal skills, and age were not the only determinants of female status. In the Indian world of supernatural power, a woman with shamanistic power won respect and the right to engage in such otherwise male monopolies as smoking.[100] Current authorities differ on whether Uto-Aztecan culture split the shaman's vocation equally between the sexes, but female "medicine" practitioners were common and had powers similar to those of their male counterparts, though the control of weather was usually a man's domain.[101] Curing involved two kinds of diagnosis. If the patient had pain, they believed a foreign object or spirit had intruded itself into the body. This condition required the shaman to suck, blow, or brush the diseased area, often to the accompaniment of chants and the brandishing of fetishes. On the other hand, if a sick person was delirious, the delirium was judged the result of soul loss. To cure such an illness, the shaman entered a trance, which allowed the doctor's soul to track the fugitive spirit. If captured or controlled, the spirit could be restored to the body.[102]

How a woman came to act as a shaman varied. She might be the daughter of a practicing doctor, inheriting the powers and techniques. She might seek the vocation through a vision quest. Or perhaps another shaman might select her as a candidate during a cure. But in all cases, an acolyte was expected to have empowering dreams or visions, which usually came in adolescence. During such visions, the young woman was shown the chants and charms that would be personally useful to her. She was also told of the diseases over which she might have power.[103]

The earliest white settlers noted these practices, sometimes quizzically. During the 1849 exploration of southern Utah by Parley P. Pratt's company, an Indian guide, Ammon, rebuffed white man's cures for those of "medicine squaw."[104] John McEwan, a member of the Elk Mountain mission, described how the eastern Utes combined Mormon and traditional healing. Quitsubsocits, a local chieftain who was "very ill," first requested Mormon prayer healing by the "laying on of hands." Shortly after, however, McEwan saw an Indian woman

doctoring the chief, joined by two other chanting Indians. Finally a young, dancing Indian fired a gun to ward away the afflicting spirit. While McEwan thought the Indian ceremony "had a good many curious maneuvers and actions," he could not dispute the result: returning to the chief's wickiup later, he found the chief sitting up, apparently cured.[105]

If Indians believed a shaman fraudulent or evil, she paid dearly. Monticello settlers rescued an abandoned Ute girl, who was almost frozen. Members of her band reacted with ferocity on learning she still lived. First they demanded the girl, and when the settlers refused, they abducted her and threw the child from a cliff as marksmen filled the body with arrows. An Indian later explained: her shamanistic mother had earlier been judged bewitched and was therefore killed. Fearing her evil might pass to the daughter, who might seek retribution, the band killed the child in self-protection.[106]

Death Rites

Shamanism was not the woman's only spiritual function. With Indian culture instructing men to stoically control their emotions, the public functions of mourning and obsequy lay especially with the female.[107] The first signs of death brought their wailing, which then expanded into more stylized forms of lamentation. For example, some southern Paiutes laid the newly dead body on a blanket in front of its wickiup, as members of the band squatted around the body in a twenty-foot circle. With the men remaining composed, the women began three days of periodic death songs and loud weeping prior to burial.[108]

Mourning was often strenuous. Ute ladies might crop their hair. Sometimes they also cut their bodies, particularly about the ears, so that blood ran over the mourners, causing a "frightful spectacle."[109] The women of a Cache County band gashed three wounds on their arms and three more on their legs. They then began a "dismal wailing" until the wounds healed.[110] Even after the corpse was buried, the women continued their grieving. During the daytime, the band might feast in a ritual wake, but evenings once more brought "loud and piteous cries," which could continue until dawn. During the mourning period, which sometimes lasted several months, some women placed themselves on the grave or left food there. Other women abstained from food or restricted their diet.[111] While much of this lamentation was genuine, it could also be ceremonial.

When one band learned that a white friend had died four years earlier, they dutifully had their women break into a mechanical chant. Their act left the white men both amused and touched to "hear the squaws cry over an incident that had happened so long before."[112]

The women's funeral duties encompassed more than mourning. The Ute women of central Utah swaddled a dead infant's body in a blanket-wrapped cradle and tied it to the forked branches of a tree. They could not bear to see their children interred.[113] This type of "burial" was not unknown for adults. Following a nighttime brawl among tribesmen in Draper, Utah, settlers awoke the next morning to find the body of a stabbed Indian woman left in an orchard on a quickly made burial platform as "was the Indian custom."[114] Sometimes bodies were cremated. After a Black Hawk War militia fight killed several Native Americans, Paiute women pled to be allowed to burn the bodies.[115]

More commonly, Utah Indians were buried—when possible, near their nativity. The Sanpitch Utes trussed the body's knees to the chest in the Indian natural sleeping position so the departed could "lay and rest."[116] To facilitate the spirit's afterlife, an individual's possessions were also buried. For a woman, usually her cooking utensils were buried, though the daughter of Little Soldier, a Weber County chief, was buried with a horse.[117] The place of burial was often a crevice on which rocks and soil were piled. Other burial sites included isolated pits or a graveyard. After the burial, the ground was swept to ensure privacy and secrecy.[118]

Though the record is only suggestive, apparently women had an active and perhaps a leading role in these acts. At the death of the Ute warrior Black Hawk, an Indian woman led two heavily packed horses to the interment. She apparently had the duty of transporting the noted warrior's goods to the burial site.[119] When the Spanish Fork Chief Peteetneet died in 1862, he decreed that one of his wives should go with him. A woman of the band carried out the instruction with an ax.[120] There was no reciprocity in such matters; no record exists of a man being killed to join a departed wife.[121]

Old Age

Not all Utah Indians received a formal burial. If burdensome or incapacitated, the aged were abandoned. When moving to a new location, the band simply made no effort to assist them. Later, settlers might find a withered form lying pitifully beneath a bush.[122] However,

groups were not always so laissez-faire. One Paiute woman was buried alive except for her face. In another case, Indians in Sanpete County commissioned several Mormon youth to dig a grave. Discovering the "corpse" to be still alive, the boys refused further work. However, in their absence the band entombed her after placing a restraining board over her body. In still another case, an elderly woman was abandoned, but to hasten her death, tribesmen shot and wounded her twice.[123]

Even Wakara's mother was not free from this stark tradition. According to Sanpete lore, the chief, believing his mother's time was past, first attempted to kill her with a butcher knife. After she escaped, the Manti colonists nursed her to health and then returned her to her band. Another party of Mormons next saw her in the early winter of 1849 near Coal Creek, abandoned. "Walker's mother lay there sick," recorded a journal, "being old she had been left to die."[124]

Conclusion

Thus, the life cycle of the Utah Native American woman ended on a gritty note. I have examined her birth, childhood, education, courtship and marriage, sexuality, and vocational roles. I have also suggested her part in intercultural adaptation, recreation, the achievement of status, healing, and death rites. From a modern perspective, her life was difficult, though participants probably had no such notion. "Their punishment and discipline at times seemed cruel and inhuman by our standards," recalls someone who knew them well. "But to them it was law and was carried out according to their beliefs."[125]

Clearly, women played a key role in Utah Native American society. They excelled as workers and bore a heavy and perhaps unequal burden in day-to-day tasks. Their role in nurturing the young glued together their utterly individualistic bands, lending stability to an otherwise thoroughly unstable community. If their culture recognized this contribution by its structure, it was a matrilinealism that allowed the harsh subjugation of women and gave scant attention to a woman's personal being or to her life itself. No doubt the burdens of the Native American women were tempered by the time allowed them in the menstrual hut, by their several diversions, and by the limited healing and ceremonial functions allowed them. Hopefully, as women lived out their lives with their husbands, children, and grandchildren, there was a leavening kindness and respect that ethnography and history only faintly suggest.

Kaibab Paiute wickiups. The women were responsible for building these brush shelters. Apparently, these were the Paiutes' homes for some time after their first exposure to the white man in 1860. Photographed by John Hiller[126] in 1872.

Such was the life of Utah's early Native Americans. I have noted that when aged and no longer productive, a woman was simply left behind. There is a parallel. Historical writing has also left her abandoned. Despite her important role in the history of Utah and the West, she hardly occupies a page in the detailing of the past. It is time to reach back into time, to reclaim her, and to restore her to her rightful role and importance.

NOTES

[1] William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1921), 327–28. For a parallel treatment of Indian women on a broader scale, see Gretchin M. Bataille and Kathleen M. Sands, *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1984). This article was delivered as the first annual William J. Critchlow Lecture, Weber State University, in November 1990. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of the Critchlow family and directors for permission to publish it in *BYU Studies.*

[2] David B. Madsen, "Dating Paiute-Shoshoni Expansion in the Great Basin," *American Antiquity* 40 (1975): 82–86; Catherine S. Fowler, "Some Ecological Clues to Proto-Numic Homelands," in *Great Basin Cultural Ecology: A Symposium,* ed. D. D. Fowler, University of Nevada, Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences 8 (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1972): 105–21; James A. Goss, "Culture-Historical Inference from Utaztecan Linguistic Evidence," in *Utaztecan Prehistory,* ed. Warren L. D'Azevedo and others, Occasional Papers of the Idaho State University Museum (Pocatello: Idaho State University Museum, 1968), 1–42; and Wick R. Miller, "Anthropological Linguistics in the Great Basin," in *The Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964,* ed. D. D. Fowler, University of Nevada Desert Research Institute Social Sciences and Humanities Publications, 1966, 1 (Reno: Desert Research Institute, 1966), 75–112.

[3] Julian H. Steward, "The Foundations of Basin-Plateau Shoshonean Society," in *Languages and Cultures of Western North America,* ed. Earl H. Swanson, Jr. (Pocatello: Idaho State University Press, 1970), 114–51; and Julian H. Steward, *Native Components of the White River Ute Indians,* supplement to *Aboriginal and Historical Groups in the Ute Indians of Utah: An Analysis with Supplement* in *Ute Indians,* 1 (1974) *American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Basin-Plateau Indians* (1954 ; reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), 42–43.

[4] Steward, *Native Components of the White River Ute Indians,* 47.

[5] Carling Malouf, "Ethnohistory in the Great Basin," in *Current Status of Anthropological Research: 1964,* 4; Warren L. D'Azevedo, "Introduction," in *Current Status of Anthropological Research: 1964,* 12–13; and Don D. Fowler, "Great Basin Social Organization," in *Current Status of Anthropological Research: 1964,* 62.

[6] Joel C. Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 28–37.

[7] Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* Papers in Anthropology no. 17 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1974), 123–24.

[8] Fowler, "Great Basin Social Organization," 59; and Fred Eggan and Warren D'Azevedo, "Pseudo-Cross Cousin Marriages," in *Current Status of Anthropological Research: 1964,* xvi.

[9] Judith Shapiro, "Kinship," in *Great Basin,* vol. 11 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, U.S. Government Document Printing, 1986), 620 (hereafter cited as *Great Basin*).

[10] Shapiro, "Kinship," 624; and Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 123.

[11] Donald Callaway, Joel Janetski, and Omer C. Stewart, "Ute," in *Great Basin,* 353.

[12] Conner Chapoose, oral interview, July 30, 1960, 42–46, Duke Collection, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as the Duke Collection); Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 138–40; and Callaway, "Ute," 350–51.

[13] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 21, 87, 101–4, 142–43; and "A Miscellany of Pioneer Records," in *Our Pioneer Heritage,* ed. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Company, 1958–77), 11 (1968): 238–39.

[14] Chapoose, oral interview, August 13, 1960, 32; Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 143. See also Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes,* in *Let Them Speak for Themselves: Women in the American West, 1849–1900,* ed. Christianne Fischer (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1978), 261.

[15] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 144–45.

[16] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 144, 146; John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1856), 148; and Demitri B. Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," in *Great Basin,* 311–12.

[17] Josiah F. Gibbs, "Moshoquop, the Avenger, as Loyal Friend," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (January 1929): 5. See also James W. Taylor, "Pioneer Personal History," 6–7, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[18] Thomas J. Farnham, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California* (New York: Nafis and Cornish, 1849), 377–78.

[19] "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," September 10, 1875, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1875), 358–59. See also Alva Matheson, oral interview, 1968, 4–5, Duke Collection.

[20] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 22.

[21] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 138, 140; and Zella Matheson, oral interview, 1968, 1, Duke Collection.

[22] Z[erubbabel] Snow to Luke Lea, March 9, 1852, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881 (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1824–81, microfilm).

[23] Dimick B. Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne, or Snake, Dialects, with Indian Legends and Traditions,* 3d ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Herald Office, 1872), 30.

[24] Chapoose, oral interview, July 30, 1960, 46. A recent survey suggests a usual household of two adults and three children, which confirms the judgment of an early traveler who estimated six Indians per lodge; see Callaway, "Ute," 352; also see Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper* (Boise: Syms, York, 1914), 30.

[25] There were four words that conveyed these sibling relationships: older sister/female cousin, younger sister/female cousin, older brother/male cousin, younger brother/male cousin (Shapiro, "Kinship," 625). Also see Fowler, "Great Basin Social Organization," 60.

[26] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 79, 104.

[27] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 1968, 2–3.

[28] Chapoose, oral interview, July 30, 1960, 2, 14, 27–28, and August 13, 1960, 28.

[29] Fred A. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People,* ed. Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd A. O'Neil (Salt Lake City: Uintah-Ouray Ute Tribe, 1982), 7–8; and Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 37.

[30] Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 325.

[31] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 146–47; Chapoose, oral interview, July 30, 1960, 52. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, a western Paiute reared in the nineteenth century in present-day Nevada, spoke of a young woman's first menstrual rite as a twenty-five-day sacred ritual, during which the grandmother played a leading role. The initiate was expected to gather fifteen stacks of wood daily as a mark of her coming strength and to bathe every fifth day (Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes,* 262–63).

[32] Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 311.

[33] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 148. Interestingly, later Indians spoke of the menstrual taboo more in terms of physical than spiritualistic health, asserting that the violation of the menstruation ban might bring the men urinary difficulty (Chapoose, oral interview, August 17, 1960, 35–36).

[34] Joseph G. Jorgensen, "Ghost Dance, Bear Dance, and Sun Dance," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 11:662–63; Thomas Vennum, Jr., "Music," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 11:694; Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 221–22; Janetski, *Ute of Utah Lake,* 107; and Conetah, *History of the Northern Ute People,* 3.

[35] Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 537.

[36] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 106.

[37] Grant Borg, "Indian Courtship," July 22, 1938, Works Progress Administration Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[38] Hopkins, *Life among the Piutes,* 262.

[39] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 129–30; and Chapoose, oral interview, August 17, 1960, 35–36.

[40] The female-male ratio was suggested by Jacob Hamblin, Journal, 31, Archives, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

[41] William B. Ashworth, Autobiography, 7, BYU Archives; and "Historical Sketch of the Life of Alice Ann Langston Dalton," 4, Madeline R. McQuown Papers, University of Utah Manuscript Collection, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as U. of U. Manuscripts).

[42] Ebenezer Farnes, "Reminiscences," 15, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Archives). Also see "Life Story of Anna Hafen," 14, McQuown Papers, U. of U. Manuscripts.

[43] "Mission to the Indians," in *An Enduring Legacy,* comp. Lesson Committee, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1977–89), 12 (1989): 375–85. The frequency of the custom is uncertain. One twentieth-century observer believed it uncommon, but this belief may have been the result of its diminution after the coming of the white man (Alva Matheson, oral interview, 1968, 24).

[44] George A. Smith, "History of the Settling of Southern Utah, Given in an Extemporary Address," Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Thursday, October 17, 1861, LDS Archives.

[45] Chapoose, oral interview, August 17, 1960, 41–43.

[46] Shapiro, "Kinship," 622; and Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 315.

[47] J. J. Critchlow, "Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," September 10, 1875, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1875), 358–59; Elisha W. Davis, "Uintah Valley Agency," August 21, 1884, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1884), 158; and Eugene E. White, "Ouray Agency," August 14, 1886, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1886), 228. Davis and White assumed that Indian polygamy owed its practice to the Mormons. See also John S. Mayhugh, an agent at the Western Shoshone Agency in Nevada, who wrote: "I am happy to report that polygamy, one of the greatest obstacles to civilization, is fast disappearing among the Indians of the reservation. The teacher and myself lecture them upon this subject every Sabbath after Sunday school." Such constancy betrayed an unannounced prevalence (John S. Mayhugh, "Western Shoshone Agency, Nevada," August 20, 1883, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* [Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1883], 114).

[48] "Pioneer Love Stories," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 14 (1971): 533.

[49] J. H. Simpson, "Indian of Utah," in *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), appendix, 5–6. Dimick B. Huntington believed the Shoshoni once had a ceremony, but after the white influx neither they nor the Utes had any marriage rites except the occasional transfer of property (Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne,* 30–31). Some Shoshoni continued to require parental consent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See David Zundel, "Reminiscences of Relations with the Indians: The Shoshones and Washakie Ward in Early Utah and Idaho History," oral interview, 1945, U. of U. Manuscripts.

[50] Shapiro, "Kinship," 624.

[51] Jedediah S. Smith, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827,* ed. George R. Broocks (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1977), 43–44.

[52] Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss,* ed. and trans. Erwin G. and Elizabeth K. Gudde (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 29.

[53] Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Denver: Old West Publishing, 1983), 388.

[54] Taylor, "Pioneer Personal History," 11.

[55] Orson Hyde to Brigham Young, Manti, Utah, July 6, 1860, and Warren Snow to Brigham Young, Manti, Utah, August 25, 1860, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives.

[56] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 4.

[57] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 129; and Chapoose, oral interview, August 17, 1960, 35–36.

[58] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 132–34.

[59] Thomas Jefferson Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies: The Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory* (London: 1843; New York: Da Capa, 1973), 374.

[60] George W. Bean, Dictation, microfilm, Bancroft Utah Manuscript Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

[61] Brigham Young, Sermon, *Deseret News,* May 11, 1854; and Peter Gottfredson, ed. and comp., *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1919), 319.

[62] Anson Call, Autobiography and Journal, May 8, 1854, BYU Archives.

[63] Chapoose, oral interview, August 17, 1960, 44.

[64] Adolph Madsen Reeder, "Hidden Tales of Box Elder County," 2–3, LDS Archives.

[65] Thomas Callister to *Deseret News,* July 25, 1869; Elizabeth Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Philadelphia: 1874), 79; and "Utah and Her Neighbor States Receive Statehood," in *Heart Throbs of the West,* comp. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939–51), 1 (1939): 100.

[66] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 134.

[67] Martha Spence Heywood, *Not by Bread Alone,* ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1978), 108; Brigham Young Office Minutes, Memorandum, April 9, 1855, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives; and Heber C. Kimball to William Kimball, May 29, 1855, Historian's Office Letter Book, LDS Archives.

[68] Manuscript History of Brigham Young, June 2 and 8, 1858, 599, 619, LDS Archives; George A. Smith to T. B. H. Stenhouse, June 7, 1858, Historian's Office Letter Book, LDS Archives; and Dimick B. Huntington, Journal, April 2, 1858, LDS Archives.

[69] Joseph Caine to Luke Lea, April 30, 1852, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Indian Affairs Collection, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives; Huntington, Journal, April 1859.

[70] *New York Times,* July 3, 1860, 2; and Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, *Millennial Star* 18 (May 30, 1856): 604.

[71] G. W. Dodge to Francis A. Walker, March 18, 1872, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881 (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., microfilm).

[72] George A. Smith to T. B. H. Stenhouse, July 2, 1858, George A. Smith Papers, LDS Archives.

[73] Brigham Young's Office Minutes, April 16, 1861.

[74] Benjamin Davies to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 20, 1861, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881 (Bureau of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C., microfilm); and Dodge to Walker, March 18, 1872, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs.

[75] Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 311.

[76] "The Indian and the Pioneer," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 8:83, 85–86, 115; "Indian Tribes and Their Dealings with the Mormons," in *Treasures of Pioneer History,* comp. Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1952–57), 4 (1955): 378–79; and Utah County Histories, vol. 7, nos. 4 and 29, Utah Manuscript Collection, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

[77] Joseph Openshaw, Autobiography, 9, LDS Archives.

[78] "Christina Bullock—Husband, John Sherratt," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 18 (1975): 194.

[79] Howard Stansbury, *An Expedition to the Valley of the Great Lake* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966), 82.

[80] Chapoose, oral interview, July 30, 1960, 33.

[81] Thomas Dunlop Brown Diary, June 11, 1854, 92, LDS Archives.

[82] Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne,* 30–31.

[83] *Deseret News,* November 21, 1860, 300.

[84] Jesse S. Hoy, "History of Brown's Hole," 148, U. of U. Manuscripts.

[85] Lewis Barney, Autobiography and Diary, 74, LDS Archives; Brown, Diary, June 21, 1854, 115; "Historical Sketch of the Life of Alice Ann Langston Dalton," 3, Madeline R. McQuown Papers; and "Nine Autobiographies," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 13 (1970): 434.

[86] W. F. Fail, "The Life Story of a Western Sheriff, Livy Olsen," 9, Madeline R. McQuown Papers; "Bits of Pioneer History: Histories Compiled by the Manti Seminary," 78, BYU Archives; Geneva Ensign Wright, *The Adventures of Amos Wright* (Provo, Utah: Council Press, 1981), 91–92; and Joel Ricks, Pioneer Experiences Related by Ella Campbell [1914], in "Memories of the Early Days in Cache County," series of articles published in the Logan *Herald Journal,* Manuscript Collection, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, 1924.

[87] *Salt Lake Tribune,* April 25, 1873, 3.

[88] "Ruby Iverson," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 3 (1970): 462; Taylor, "Pioneer Personal History," 6; Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes,* 36–37; and Openshaw, Autobiography, 9.

[89] "Utah River," in *An Enduring Legacy* 9 (1986): 269, quoting Hazel Bradshaw, ed., *Under Dixie Sun,* 36–45; "Portraits of Yesterday," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 17 (1974): 184; "Nine Autobiographies," 434; and Alva Matheson, oral interview, 13–15.

[90] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 233–34, 236; Callaway, "Ute," 360; and Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah and Sho-Sho-Ne,* 30.

[91] Jimmie Pete, oral interview, January 15, 1868, 2, Duke Collection; and Toney Tillohash, oral interview, June 18, 1967, Duke Collection. For other games of chance, see Pete, oral interview, 3–4; and Callaway, "Ute," 361, caption of illustration.

[92] Ashworth, Autobiography, 7–8.

[93] *New York Times,* July 8, 1858, 1–2; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains,* 166–67; and Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 322–23.

[94] *New York Times,* July 8, 1858, 1–2; "Freighters and Freighting," in *An Enduring Legacy* 2 (1979): 287; Thomas Callister to J. E. Tourtellotte, May 31, 1870, Record of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Indian Affairs, microfilm).

[95] Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains,* 166–68; *New York Times,* July 8, 1858, 1–2; and Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 322–23.

[96] "Early Minutes of Provo," Utah Stake Minutes, March 18, 1849, LDS Archives.

[97] Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 311.

[98] Brown, Diary, June 16, 1854, 102.

[99] Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 311.

[100] Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 154.

[101] Callaway, "Ute," 354, suggests that in Ute culture there were an equal number of men and women shamans, while Ake Hultkrantz, "Mythology and Religious Concepts," in *Great Basin,* 635–36, gives the preponderance to men. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 154, discusses sex roles in shamanism.

[102] Hultkrantz, "Mythology and Religious Concepts," 636; and Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 325.

[103] Hultkrantz, "Mythology and Religious Concepts," 636; Shimkin, "Eastern Shoshone," 325; and Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes,* 154, 261.

[104] Robert Campbell to Brigham Young, December 25, 1849, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence; "Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," December 8 and 11, 1849, LDS Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

[105] John McEwan, Diary, September 15, 1855, BYU Archives.

[106] Louise Hyde Walton, "When My Mother Was a Girl," in "I Was a Pioneer Child," in *Heart Throbs of the West* 9 (1948): 424–25. Also see Chapoose, oral interview, August 13, 1960, 12.

[107] Hoy, "History of Brown's Hole," 148.

[108] Alva Matheson, oral history, 4–5.

[109] Joseph Holbrook, "Reminiscences," 167, LDS Archives.

[110] "An Early History of Cache County," 4.

[111] Grant Borg, "An Indian Funeral," August 16, 1938, 1–2, Works Progress Administration Papers, 1–2; Garland Hurt, "Indians of Utah," in Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin,* appendix 0, 5–6; and Holbrook, "Reminiscences," 167.

[112] Grant Borg, "Horse Racing with the Indians," August 8, 1938, Works Progress Administration Papers.

[113] Borg, "An Indian Funeral," 2.

[114] Glenna B. Crookston, "Stolen Fruit," in "Indian Tribes and Their Dealings with the Mormons," in *Treasures of Pioneer History* 4 (1955): 371–72.

[115] James G. Bleak to George A. Smith in Journal History, January 26, 1866.

[116] Grant Borg, Untitled Memoranda, August 8, 1938, Works Progress Administration Papers, no. 1.

[117] *Deseret News,* May 4, 1861, 80.

[118] John T. Beatty, Interview, in Kattie Webb, "Interviews with Living Pioneers, 1935," LDS Archives; Holbrook, "Reminiscences," 167; and Alva Matheson, oral interview, 4–5, 10.

[119] *Deseret Evening News,* September 20, 1919.

[120] "They Came in 1862," in *Our Pioneer Heritage* 6 (1963): 7.

[121] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 10.

[122] "Life Story of Anna Hafen," 14–15, 34.

[123] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 19; William Seeley and James H. Tidwell to George A. Smith and Robert L. Campbell in Journal History, November 3, 1860; and Margaret Eliza Utley Tolmon, "My Heritage of Faith," 7–8, LDS Archives.

[124] Mina Hamilton, oral interview by Orville C. Day, September 23, 1967, Duke Collection, 11–12; and Minutes of the Southern Exploration Company, in Journal History, December 8, 1849.

[125] Alva Matheson, oral interview, 10.

[126] John Hiller was employed by Major John Wesley Powell in May 1871 as a boatman on a scientific and topographic expedition of the Colorado River. Hiller, born in Germany 1843, had fought in the Civil War and sustained a permanent back injury. Hiller became interested in photography and volunteered to assist E. O. Beaman with packing his equipment. When Beaman and Powell had a falling out, Powell employed James Fennemore to take over the photography. Fennemore instructed Hiller in technique and style but fell sick and returned to Salt Lake City, so Powell placed Hiller in charge of the photographic equipment. In the fall of 1872, they returned to their winter camp near Kanab, Utah. Hiller's photographic interest turned to the nearby Kaibab Indians, among the last Indian groups in this region to have sustained contact with the settlers.

The Historians' Corner

Ronald W. Walker with Dean C. Jessee

This issue of the Historians' Corner prints three documents which shed light on the first relations between the Latter-day Saints and the Native Americans in the Great Basin.

The first document reports the conversation of Dimick B. Huntington with the legendary Ute chief Walker. The second is a letter from President Brigham Young, answering Walker's request for communication, and the third records the resulting council that took place between the Mormon and Ute leaders. Together, these documents introduce the reader to the personalities and themes that dominated Mormon-Indian relations during the first years of the pioneer period.

When the Mormons entered Utah in July 1847, they chose to make their first colonies on the southeast rim of the Great Salt Lake, fifty miles north of the most prized land, the fertile shoreline of the fresh-water, fish-laden Utah or Timpanogos Lake. The Mormons wisely shunned this land, fearing the Ute Indians there. Known variously as the Timpanogos, Timpany, or Timpanawach bands, these Native Americans had a reputation for aggressiveness with the white people who had preceded the Mormons into the region.

Within two years of the Mormons' arrival in the Great Basin, a Timpanogos band under the leadership of Kone, also known as Roman Nose, caused serious trouble. Kone and his family had found the Mormon cattle grazing at the southern end of the Salt Lake Valley to be an irresistible lure. After repeated warnings had failed to halt the band's thievery, the white men took action. With the aid of other Timpanogos Indians, the Mormons attacked and killed most of Kone's band at Battle Creek, now Pleasant Grove, Utah, in March 1849. But Big Elk or Parriats, who was a member of the Kone family

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and perhaps the most pugnacious warrior of the southerly clans, remained at large.

A few weeks after the Battle Creek affair, a Mormon colony was dispatched from Salt Lake City to Utah Valley, in part to conciliate and stabilize the Timpanogos. Dimick Huntington, who was a member of the settlement, would soon become the Mormons' chief Indian interpreter and liaison. It was within this context that Huntington made his oral report of conditions in Utah Valley, which Church secretary Thomas Bullock recorded in his customary abbreviated manner.

Born in 1808 in Jefferson County, New York, Huntington was first drawn to Indian affairs as a result of his religious profession. "God has shown to me that you have got to go among the Lamanites," Joseph Smith had solemnly told him in 1839.[1] Arriving in Utah eight years later, Huntington began to trade with the Indians and gained enough fluency in the Ute and Shoshoni dialects to speak with the Native Americans.

The documents also introduce Walker, the leading Timpanogos Ute of his time. Born about 1815 near the mouth of Spanish Fork River, Walker knew firsthand of his people's civil turmoil. His father had been murdered during one of the Timpanogos' civil struggles—shot in the back while smoking near his tent. After taking revenge on the killers, Walker fled to the Sanpete Valley, fifty miles to the south. There, the chieftain established one of his headquarters and gained ascendancy over his rivals by slave trading, raids on ranchero livestock in California, and claims of suzerainty over the growing commerce of the southern California trail. For all this, Walker's Timpanogos enemies remained a troubling thorn in his side, and he clearly welcomed the Mormons as a possible means of permanently ridding himself of them.

Report of Dimick Huntington on His Meeting with Chief Walker

[Written in the hand of Thomas Bullock. Located in Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives.]

May 14. 1849. 9 a.m.

Dimick Huntington sd. on Thursday last[2] Walker with 20 lodges came to Utah [valley]. 20 lodges[3] of Timpany Utes pulled up Stakes in this <Utah> Valley - Walker shook hands with me - his heart was warm - his bro[ther].[4] came in Sunday previous - we smoked togr [together] - he made a medicine pile[5] - told me his bro[ther]. was

coming - Walker came & sat down in my house - we smoked all round - then made a puding[6] - they were satisfied -he traded a horse for a flint gun - in evening they felt happy, sung round the Fort[7] - they slept round the Fire - Walker lay in my arms - at night we talked - he said I am their friend - he said their were lots of Indians coming[8] - as the Mormons were friendly to them - he wants them to stop fighting[9] - Walker is a smart sensible man - I told them of the Book of Mormon they must be our friends, & we yours - they said Tou (done) - after Walker left, Elk[10] came - four of the Indian boys helped to drive the Cattle down to the Fort - Old Elk came with a pistol in belt -bowie knife in case - & gun on hand - we smoked - Mrs Orr hit old Elk a blow[11] with her fist & reeled him - Walker wanted his boy to learn our language & wants B[righam]. Y[oung]. to write him a l're [letter] what to do[12] - Walker sd it was good to kill the Timpany Utes[13] & we ought to kill some more - Walker wants us to & settle a Co. [Company][14] in his valley - 200 miles South of this[15] - I s'd if a few Mormons go there wont the Piutes steal our cattle [?] - he sd no he will watch them - the Wood, the Water & Soil is good -there is a mountain of Salt & a Spring of Blown salt.

The very day Dimick Huntington reported on Utah Valley conditions, the Mormon leadership met in council. Present were Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, members of the First Presidency; Newell K. Whitney, Presiding Bishop; Daniel H. Wells, soon to be appointed major-general of the Nauvoo Legion, the Mormon militia; and several other leading churchmen. Obviously, Huntington's report was viewed as an important matter requiring immediate discussion and action.[16]

During the meeting, President Young directed that Walker's request for a letter be acted on at once. The letter was perhaps dictated by Wells, who increasingly assumed charge of the day-to-day operations of Indian matters.

Letter from Brigham Young to Chief Walker

[Brigham Young to Walker, May 14, 1849, Ms. in hand of Thomas Bullock; located in Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives.]

Great Salt Lake City
May 14, 1849
Mr Walker, Utah Chief

We have heard from you this morning by Dimic Huntington Interpreter of your desire to have our friendly feelings ~~and~~ to be at peace with us. and to have a letter[17] from me - When you see this, you will learn that we want to be friends to you and will not do you or your people any hurt, we are the friends of the Indians,

and we want them to be at peace with us - if you hear any thing from any mountaineers[18] bad news - you go straight to Dimic Huntington and he will always tell you the truth - When our people come in this fall[19] we will trade[20] with you, if you and a few of your men will come down to this place. We have told Huntington all our feelings and he will tell you what they are -

If you want, we will send a company of our men down to your Valley[21], to make a Settlement and raise grain, ~~as soon as we can, perhaps~~ <sell you cattle, supply you with seed and perhaps some clothing> it may be this fall, if not, it will be as soon as we can - but before we do so, we want to know from you that you and your people will not attempt to molest them or do them any injury. we want to make peace, and a good peace that will last for ever and we will do you
good -

We have but very little ammunition but Mr. Huntington will sell you a little, that you may hunt and live till Fall, and then we may sell you more <when the companies come in,> or sell you grain for horses -

I am your friend
Brigham Young

A month after Young wrote Walker, the two men, along with their respective advisors, met in what would become the center of Salt Lake City. The minutes of meeting indicate that they met "near [the] Council House," a two-story, forty-five-foot-square building that was located on the southwest corner of Main and South Temple streets. The Mormon-Indian council likely took place across the street to the northwest, on the land now occupied by Temple Square.

The account of the transaction provides an important view of the first phase of Mormon-Ute relations. It tells much of the planned Mormon-Indian cooperation, as well as providing a look into Native American ways and concerns.

1849 Meeting between Mormon Leaders and Chief Walker

[Brigham Young, report of meeting with Walker, June 14, 1849; located in Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives.]

June 14 - 1849 - 4 P.M

Council met near Council House. [Present were] B[righam] Young. H[eber]. C Kimball - W[illard] Richards - John Smith, J[ohn]. Taylor - N. K. Whitney J[edediah]. M. Grant. I[saac]. Morley -

D[imick]. B. Huntington[22] - Walker Utah Chief & 12 of his tribe. Walker asked for Tobacco - which Young gave.

D. B. H[untington]. [Walker] wanted us to go down to his land & make Settle[men]t. - he wanted to no how many Moons bef[ore]. we go & build at his place - & he will do what we want him to do - coming down yesterday by American Fork[23] he said the Piedes[24] sd. that Americans & Mormons wod. come in their midst. Walker manifests a very friendly feeling towards us & his p[eo]ple, -they [ha]av more idea of God than I was aware of - their tradition is God cut a man in two - the upper part was man, the lower part made woman -[25]

When Walker had filled his pipe - they offered the Lord the first smoke - pointing the pipe staf towards the Sun[26] - he then smoked it - & passed it round by the right hand round the ring to H[eber]. C. K[imball] - who smoked - then passed by the left & to B[righam]. Y[oung]. W[illard] R[ichards] - J[ohn]. Smith - D[aniel]. H. Wells. I[saac]. Morley - J[edediah]. M Grant N[ewel]. K Whitney - G[eorge]. D. Grant - D. Spencer, L[orenzo]. Snow - J[ohn]. Taylor - D[imick]. B. Huntington & on to Indians -[27]

Walker says he is now friendly with the Snakes,[28] they r at peace & he can go among them - a few of the Snakes & Timpenny Utes wont hear[29] - he never killed a White man & sd. he was always friendly with the Mormons - he hears what the Mormons say & he rem[em]bers it - it is good to live wt Mormons & their chil[dren] - he dont care about the Land but wants the Mormons to go & settle it -

B.Y[oung]. we shall want some of his men to come & pilot thro' some of our men to his place this fall - we will school his Children here[30] - in 6 moons we will go to his place with a co.[31] - we av our understanding with Goship & Wanship about this place[32] - its not good to fight the Indians - & tell his Indians not to steal[33] - we want to be friendly with him - we r poor now - but in a few years we shall be rich - we will trade cattle with him

Walker thats good

B.Y. Well build a house for him & teach him to build houses themselves - he can pay us his own pay -[34]

Walker His land is good - no stones - big hi timber & plenty of it -

B. Y. Well raise grain for him, till they raise - well find them ammunitn. to hunt till they raise grain - will take sheep & teach his women how to make blankets - we want some of them to learn to read the B[ook] of M[ormon] that they ma know of their forefathers -

Walker - all the Utes want the Mormons to go [among them] -they all love them - but a few here[35] - here there is lots of Snow - but there he once saw it white -[36] but they av no game now -[37]

B.Y. they must raise cattle for game -

D. B. H[untington]. they live on thistle tops now -[38]

B.Y. they must raise all they want in cattle - Sheep & hogs -we will teach them that in a few yrs they can av plenty -

Walker Do you want to trade cattle for horses now -

B.Y. I wod. give him a bull, if his was not alive

Walker It his [is] alive & does good bus[iness] -[39]

B. Y. In 6 moons we'll send men to look out the ground - probably 3 or 4 moons - we want to go where there is no Snow

Walker that does me good -

B.Y. enquired about the Gulf - & Country -[40]

Walker he has been to Cal[ifornia] - if you go S[outh]. there is no grass it is best abt. the Salt Mountain[41] - from my house not a stalk -

B. Y. we want to settle by Little Salt Lake[42]

W[alker]. beyond the mountain plenty of Streams - from Salt Spring[43] over a mountain - lots of Timber - then next sleep good land plenty of timber & good grass - all his land clear -the Timpenny Utes killed his Fatr. 4 yrs ago[44] - he wants the Mormons to go down where there is no Snow - he hates to have us stay on this land if they come on my land they shall not steal your cattle nor whip them & wants the Mormon Chil[dren] to be with his - he hates us to be on such poor land - when Passawitt heard the Mormons killed his bro[45] - he had told them to stop -he is not mad but glad[46] - it is not good to fight - makes women & chil cry - but let women & chil play togr. he told the Piedes a great while ago to stop fighting & stealing - but they av no ears-[47]

they passed the pipe again -

W. one of these days Sowiet[48] his [is] coming - he wants the Mormons to go among them -[49]

B. Y. I want him to come - I dont want to kill anotr. Indian - but they dared us to do it -[50]

W. he want you to hunt Passanetts wife -[51]

B. Y. I wrote to Wanship & Smith[52] - both of them -

W. Wants the bre[thre]n to give 40 charges for a heavy buck skin -[53]

B. Y. Grant[54] has given 10 or 12. Bridger to 25. 30 is enough as scarce as it [ammunition] is here now -

W. from 10 to 12 - then big heavy ones up to 30 & 40 -

B. Y. we shod. make most by giving 10 for small - 15 & 20 larger - 30 for good ones & 40 for big bucks Skins -

B. Y. We will give for the biggest & 10 to 15 for small ones

W. Good -

B. Y. We ought to buy all - do they want hats -[55]

W. They all want hats -

B. Y. When they r ready to go - Peace a good peace go with them -if we settle the land we want good peace, that our chil[dren] can play togr. -

W. Good -

They then adjourned - B. Y. went & gave them half an ox -

NOTES

Documents and sources located in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, are used by permission.

[1] Oliver Boardman Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 129, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Archives).

[2] *on Thursday last*. May 10, 1849.

[3] *20 lodges*. Counting adults and children, a Ute lodge usually consisted of about four or five people. Thus, Walker's entourage probably totaled eighty to one hundred Native Americans.

[4] Walker's brother is not identified but likely was Arapeen, his closest advisor and war chief.

[5] *a medicine pile*. According to Huntington's brother, Oliver, another Timpanogos warrior commonly fashioned dirt between his legs into a small, round pyramid as part of his ceremonial smoking: "This he does to shield him from the shots of his enemies, and that he may always have good luck whenever he shoots. Called 'making good medicine' for himself" (Huntington, Diary and Reminiscences, 51).

[6] *a puding*. Perhaps another ceremonial pyramid.

[7] *sung around the Fort*. A Native American atonal chant, performed outside or "around" the Mormon "Fort Utah" bastion. Brigham Young required each new colony to build a rectangular, high-walled fort, which was supposed to serve both for defense and living quarters for the settlers during their first years in a new land.

[8] *lots of Indians coming*. As the Mormons were considered friendly, their presence was not expected to hinder the annual gathering of Native Americans for the prodigious fish run from Utah Lake. Said one settler, "We soon found out that [the] Provo River region was the great place of gathering of all Ute tribes of central Utah valleys, too, on account of the wonderful supply of fish moving up the stream from the lake to their spawning grounds every spring" (George W. Bean, *Autobiography of G. W. Bean, a Utah Pioneer of 1847* (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing, 1845), 51). Four days after making his oral report, Huntington, now back in Utah valley, wrote to President Young confirming the Native Americans in the valley were "very numerous" as they were "coming in from all quarters" (History of Brigham Young, May 18, 1849, 78, LDS Archives).

[9] *he wants them to stop fighting*. Walker expressed the hope that the Timpanogos strife might come to an end.

[10] *Elk*. During the best of times, the heavily armed Big Elk or Parriats was feared and mistrusted by white and red men alike. And at the time, his temper must have

been set on edge by the widespread disease raging among his people, likely white man's measles or perhaps smallpox.

[11] *Mrs Orr hit old Elk a blow.* Apparently disarmed and allowed in the fort, Big Elk soon earned himself a doughty woman's rebuke.

[12] During their first meeting in the fall 1848, President Young and Chief Walker likely agreed to meet the following year. Walker now seeks information on when and where they should meet.

[13] *good to kill the Timpany Utes.* Walker no doubt wished the killing of his Timpanogos enemies.

[14] *settle a Co. [Company].* The chief hoped to prosper from the Mormon trade, while at the same time learn Mormon, white-man ways.

[15] *in his valley - 200 miles South of this.* The nomadic Walker had various "valleys," or annually used campsites. Most likely his invitation was to the Little Salt Lake Valley in present-day Iron County where the Chief sometimes wintered. The area became the first Mormon settlement built in southern Utah, occupied by the white men in January 1851. Southern Paiute bands had long lived on these lands, though Walker now asserted his "ownership" on the basis of his superior arms and culture.

[16] Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, May 14, 1849, LDS Archives (hereafter cited as Journal History).

[17] Once this letter was delivered to Walker, the chief and his tribesmen carefully preserved it, presumably as evidence of their good standing with the Mormons. When the Mormons made their Iron County settlement, Walker brandished it before them (George A. Smith to Walker, March 1851, George A. Smith Papers, LDS Archives).

[18] *mountaineers.* Nineteenth-century usage for mountain men. Brigham Young had received a report that these men were trying to stir up the Native Americans against the Mormons, apparently in the hope of maintaining their old trading monopoly (Louis Vasques to Brigham Young, May 8, 1849, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, LDS Archives).

[19] *When our people come in this fall.* Mormon emigrants due to arrive during the late summer and early fall will replenish the Saints' supplies and permit trade.

[20] *trade.* There were still other items in Huntington's report that were not placed in the written summary. President Young reveals here that Chief Walker wants to trade with the Mormons, probably for hard-to-get guns and ammunition.

[21] Jim Bridger and others had told Brigham Young of the advantages of settling in the Little Salt Lake Valley situated in present-day Iron County, Utah, and the Mormon leader clearly wished to pursue this option.

[22] Those Mormon leaders attending the negotiation (some of whom are not here listed) included Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, President Young's counselors in the First Presidency; Newell K. Whitney, the Church's Presiding Bishop; John Taylor, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles; Jedediah M. Grant, one of the seven presidents of the Seventy, later Salt Lake City's mayor and a member of the First Presidency; John Smith, Presiding Patriarch of the Church; and finally early Mormon convert Isaac Morley, soon to be charged with the leadership of the Sanpete county settlements.

[23] *coming down yesterday by American Fork.* Traveling to Salt Lake City, Walker apparently followed the American Fork River through the Wasatch mountains. Later the Mormons built a community by the same name in the area. Huntington accompanied Walker on at least the last leg of the journey and now relates some of their conversation.

[24] *Piedes*. Generally the word designated in a general way the Southern Paiutes, who lived in southwest Utah. However, sometimes the settlers used the term to mean a particular subband of the several southern Paiute peoples. Walker appears to suggest that the Piedes acquiesced or at least expected a Mormon settlement.

[25] Why Huntington should view this concept as similar to Mormon or Christian thought is unclear. Perhaps he saw it as a variation of the Adam and Eve "rib" account.

[26] The Sun, or *Tarp*, was seen by many of the Great Basin tribesmen as embodying, or perhaps personifying, the Great Spirit. Many modern commentators have claimed the Utes lacked religious ceremonialism, but Walker here clearly observes proper Native American ritual and reveals a religious feeling.

[27] Still other Mormon leaders who were present for the occasion are identified. George D. Grant, Jedediah's brother, was a prominent Mormon lawman, militiaman, and legislator. Daniel Spencer was called as Salt Lake Stake President in 1849 and presided over the local congregations of the city. Lorenzo Snow and John Taylor were members of the Twelve Apostles and future Church Presidents.

[28] The *Snakes* or Shoshoni Indians roamed to the north and northwest of present-day Salt Lake City and were Walker's inveterate enemies.

[29] *a few of the Snakes & Timpenny Utes wont hear*. The Mormons urged the Native Americans to be at peace with one another, and perhaps Walker wishes to ingratiate himself by declaring his conciliation with the Shoshoni—despite some Natives among both groups who, he says, will not "hear" the message of peace. If Walker achieved a temporary truce, it was not long lasting.

[30] Brigham declares his willingness to organize a school for the youth of Walker's band in Salt Lake City. Brigham's plan was twofold. While "domesticating" the young Native Americans to white ways, he could at the same time supervise and control them.

[31] President Young promises that the white men will settle on Walker's land in six months, or shortly after the harvesting of crops and the arrival of the expected tide of new emigrants.

[32] Goship and Wanship were Timpanogos Indians who left their Utah Lake homeland for the Salt Lake valley, where they assumed the leadership of several Shoshoni bands. President Young informs Chief Walker that the Mormons have made an accommodation with each, though he provides no details. When first arriving in the Basin, the white men had explicitly refused to treat for Native American land. Their informal agreement with Goship and Wanship probably offered surplus food and commodities in exchange for the Natives' willingness to tolerate the newcomers.

[33] For his part, President Young disclaims any desire to fight the Native Americans. In return, he asks Chief Walker to prevent the stealing of the whites' livestock.

[34] The new colony will build a house for Walker and teach Walker's band white man's domestication.

[35] *but a few here*. Only a few of Timpanogos, perhaps the remnants of the Kone band, have antipathy for the white men.

[36] *once saw it white*. Walker continues his fulsome view of his southern lands, saying he has only once seen the ground covered with snow. He employs the exaggeration of a nineteenth-century land agent.

[37] *they av no game now*. Even prior to widespread white settlement, the Native Americans repeatedly complained of the passing of their game resources. Several factors may have played a role in this diminution, including the possibility of recent climate change, new European-introduced animal microbes, the ecological

devastation brought about by the white trapper, and, even more likely, the deadly efficiency of the Natives' new horse and gun culture, which made the killing of large animals much easier. Whatever the cause, the Indian met the white settler with continual complaints of hunger and poverty.

[38] *live on thistle tops now.* The Native American had skillfully adapted to the Great Basin environment, learning to prepare and eat what nature's limited bounty provided. But with very few exceptions, the white man wanted none of it. Here Huntington disparages a native traditional staple, suggesting only hunger could drive a man or woman to eat it.

[39] *does good bus[iness].* Brigham has heard of Walker's bull, and the latter confirms its existence and productivity. Unlike most of the Great Basin Native Americans, whose condition could only be described as marginal, Walker had prospered, as his performing bull evidenced. The chief's entourage was often considerable, one pioneer counting in his train "23 men and about 25 squaws, 120 head of horses[,] some sheep[,] some cows & oxen[,] about 20 head [of cattle,] & some goats." See John Steele to George A. Smith, November 7, 1854, George A. Smith Papers, LDS Archives.

[40] *Gulf-& Country.* The President seeks information about country lying west, including the California Gulf. At some point, perhaps as early as this conversation, Brigham hoped to bring goods via the Gulf and the Colorado River to his budding inland empire. Walker knew this country well. Several California travelers testified of his knowledge and assistance during their journeys west. See for instance William Lewis Manley, *Death Valley in '49* (San Jose, Calif.: Pacific Tree and Vine Company, 1894; reprint, Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1966), 86.

[41] An unidentified peak, Salt Mountain may have been near present-day Salt Creek canyon, about three miles northwest of Cedar City, Utah.

[42] *Little Salt Lake.* A small, seasonal sink lying north of present-day Parowan, Utah; the Southern Paiutes called it "Paragoon," meaning vile water. Later generations have identified it as Parowan Lake. "Little Salt Lake" was in contradistinction to the larger body of water near the Mormons' first settlement.

[43] *Salt Spring.* This spring was probably located in today's Iron County, Utah.

[44] In the middle of speaking about other matters, Walker strangely interposes details of the death of his father by hand of his Timpanogos neighbors. Obviously the matter weighed on him.

[45] *Passawitt heard the Mormons killed his bro.* Walker's likely reference is to Timpanogos Indian Patsowiet. Patsowiet's brother apparently had been killed in the Battle Creek engagement, spawning the surviving sibling's enduring enmity for the Mormons. Patsowiet played a leading role in the Fort Utah battle in February 1850 and after escaping capture by the militia, continued his depredations during the following spring. Captured while visiting Brigham Young's Salt Lake City office, he was given a summary trial and was executed on the outskirts of the city. See Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844-1861,* 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 2:368.

[46] Walker claims to have told members of the Kone, or Roman Nose, band to stop their thievery of Mormon cattle. He is not "mad" about their suppression, but "glad."

[47] Walker shifts the discussion to the Paiutes of southern Utah. He claims that they, like the Timpanogos, do their share of "fighting & stealing." Some of these bands had been outraged by their treatment by John C. Frémont's troops during the Pathfinder's 1844 exploration. Believing the white men to be their enemies, they

proved a continual scourge to travelers on the Old Spanish Trail to California. For conflicting views of the raiding Paiutes, see George A. Smith, "History of the Settling of Southern Utah," October 17, 1861, Journal History; Charles Preuss, *Exploring with Frémont: The Private Diaries of Charles Preuss*, ed. and trans. Erwin G. and Elisabeth K. Gudde (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 130; and John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Readex Microprint Corporation, 1966), 267.

[48] *Sowiet*. While Walker's exploits on the Old Spanish Trail and in California earned him considerable notoriety in the American and English press, among the Native Americans themselves no Utah Ute rivaled the prestige of Uintah chief Sowiette. Esteemed for his good judgment, good nature, and high principles, Sowiette was already an old man when the first white settlers came into the region. In 1868 he declared himself to be 132 years old. See F. H. Head, "Office of Superintendent of Indians Affairs Utah, Salt Lake City, September 16, 1868," in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), 610. Sowiette had visited the Saints' Salt Lake City settlement with Walker the year before.

[49] *to go among them*. Like Walker, Sowiette wants the Mormons to expand their settlements into his high country, Uintah domain.

[50] *they dared us to do it*. Brigham justifies the Mormon Battle Creek expedition. The Kone, or Roman Nose, clan were warned several times to stop their depredations but apparently believed their concealed camp gave them protection from Mormon retribution.

[51] *he want you to hunt Passanetts wife*. Chief Walker wants President Young to use his good offices to secure the missing Timpanogos wives, including Patsowiet's.

[52] *Wanship & Smith*. No copy of either of these letters survives. However President Young's office journal documents that a letter was issued, May 14, 1849, to Thomas L. Smith, a friendly mountain man then living in the Bear River valley, asking him to "hunt up Patsowett's squaw." See Journal History, May 14, 1849.

[53] *40 charges for a heavy buck skin*. A consummate trader, Walker begins his bartering with a high bid. He seeks forty ammunition charges for a prime buckskin. Young, himself no novice at such transactions, responds by noting that other traders such as Grant and Bridger are reportedly offering no more than twenty-five charges. He counters with a bid of thirty and offers less for smaller and lesser grades of skins.

[54] Possibly mountain man Richard Grant.

[55] Brigham Young offers to buy all the skins that Walker's clan can secure and ends the negotiation by giving the Native Americans some hats, which he promises will be ready when the Natives leave their camp.

"Oh, how our world needs statesmen! And we ask again with George Bernard Shaw, 'Why not?' We have the raw material, we have the facilities, we can excel in training. We have the spiritual climate. We must train statesmen, not demagogues; men of integrity, not weaklings who for a mess of pottage will sell their birthright. We must develop these precious youth to know the art of statesmanship, to know people and conditions, to know situations and problems, but men who will be trained so thoroughly in the arts of their future work and in the basic honesties and integrities and spiritual concepts that there will be no compromise of principle.

"For years I have been waiting for someone to do justice in recording in song and story and painting and sculpture the story of the Restoration, the reestablishment of the kingdom of God on earth, the struggles and frustrations; the apostasies and inner revolutions and counter-revolutions of those first decades; of the exodus; of the counter-reactions; of the transitions; of the persecution days; of the miracle man, Joseph Smith, of whom we sing 'Oh, what rapture filled his bosom, For he saw the living God' (Hymns, no. 136); and of the giant colonizer and builder, Brigham Young."

Spencer W. Kimball
Ensign 7 (July 1977): 5

The Eli H. Peirce Collection of Mormon Americana at Harvard University

Alan K. Parrish

Some of the controversial saga surrounding Harvard's acquisition of the heart of its Mormon collection has been published; however, no attempt has been made to evaluate the content and significance of the materials Harvard acquired.[1] Likewise, no attempt has been made to answer some of the unresolved questions concerning the collector, Eli H. Peirce, and certain details of the negotiations. This article endeavors to resolve some of those controversies about Peirce and to provide some analysis of the large collection Harvard purchased from him in 1914.

Born in Salt Lake City on September 27, 1850, Eli Harvey Peirce, Jr., was the son of Utah's 1847 pioneers. They had fled the East and crossed the plains to escape religious persecution from Eastern neighbors who would not tolerate a belief in Joseph Smith, the religious ideas he taught, or the devoted life required by his teachings. His father was bishop of the Brigham City Ward and was sent on a Church mission while Eli was just a boy. The elder Peirce died from an illness he contracted on that mission. Many years later Eli served a similar mission, a mission that altered the course of his life. His adherence to the Church developed as a result of that service. Following his mission, Eli became an ardent defender of the faith and began to collect books and pamphlets about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its people.

From its earliest days, much had been written for and against the Church. Nine months prior to his own sudden illness and death, on February 10, 1915, Eli sold his valuable collection to Harvard University. Some of Harvard's top officials were drawn into the purchase

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negotiations by the renowned historian of the American West, Frederick Jackson Turner, whose driving interest set the whole effort in motion. Turner considered the collection a vital library resource to support the program of studies on the American West he was developing.

Life Story of the Collector

Though born of Mormon pioneer stock and raised in protected Mormon communities, Eli grew up quite outside the religious life one would expect. His assessment of his first twenty-six years, to the time of his first mission call, indicates his lack of devotion:

> My mind to that time had been entirely given up to temporalities. I had never read to exceed a dozen chapters of the Bible in my life, and little more than that from either the Book of Mormon or Doctrine and Covenants, and concerning Church history was entirely ignorant. Had never made but one attempt to address a public audience, large or small, and that effort was no credit to me. Had been engaged in the railroad business for a number of years, and this occupation would have deprived me of meetings and religious services even had my inclinations led in that direction, which I frankly confess they did not. I had become almost an inveterate smoker, and bought cigars by the wholesale, a thousand at a time. Was addicted to the use of language which, if not profane, was at least vulgar and reprehensible. Frequently visited saloons, but was not a habitual drinker. Was not proficient in billiards, but squandered considerable money in acquiring what little knowledge I possessed of the game; and pool frequently cost me more for drinks than my board bill came to. Though these indiscretions were common and frequent, thanks to a mother's sagacious training, they never led to grosser or more alluring ones.
>
> Nature never endowed me with a superabundance of religious sentiment or veneration; my region of spirituality is not high, but below the average. A phrenologist once said to me: "You are too level-headed to ever make a sanctimonious church member." With this list of disqualifications, which serious reflection helped to magnify, is it surprising that I marveled and wondered if the Church were not running short of missionary material.[2]

Eli served in the Eastern States Mission from November 1875 to September 1876. On his return, he passed through Council Bluffs, Iowa, where he received another call to serve in Iowa with Elder James A. Little. In April 1877, Eli was given a second honorable release. Three days after returning home, Eli was called by President Brigham Young, speaking from the pulpit during general conference, to accompany Young's son and Eli's cousin, B. Morris Young on another mission, this time to Iowa, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania. His departure was delayed four months, but this mission lasted from August 1877 through August 1878. He calculated the

Eli Harvey Peirce (1850–1915), avid collector of early printed materials about the Mormons. (Courtesy of Lydia Peirce, Salt Lake City.)

financial burden of his missions at $1,320 and three years of lost wages, but, he declared, "I have never for one moment regretted the sacrifice; the experience gained more than compensated for time, labor and means; while the knowledge acquired, of the things of God and the testimony of Jesus, I hold as invaluable."[3] His was a productive mission. He became a preacher of note, succeeded in baptizing 108 people, and he had many unusual experiences with healing the sick.

In 1882, Eli married Lydia Snow, daughter of Mary Elizabeth Houtz and Lorenzo Snow. In 1888 he followed Church teachings and entered polygamy by marrying Henrietta "Etta" Madsen. Eli and Lydia had four children before Lydia's death in 1898. Eli and Etta also had four children. The families resided in Brigham City, where he was a telegrapher for eighteen years. During these years, he was a fully participating church member. His ecclesiastical responsibilities as an active member of the Fifty-ninth Quorum of the Seventy included presiding over the seventies in the town of Mantua. He was also a successful local stage actor and is credited with organizing the Brigham Dramatic Association. He was also a prominent speaker and a popular figure.

In 1890, Eli began to devote his talents to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. At this time, the family moved to Salt Lake City, making their permanent residence at 161 C Street. Eli's church activity during the major period of his life centered around the Tabernacle Choir. In addition to singing in the choir, he served as its business manager for a considerable time. Beyond his regular administrative duties, he compiled and published a volume containing printed news coverage of six choir excursions between 1893 and 1909.[4]

In 1911 a lengthy letter from Eli defending certain actions of the Tabernacle Choir was carried in the *Deseret News*.[5] Newspaper accounts record Eli's defense of Church members in Brigham City against charges from Reverend R. G. McNiece[6] of Ogden, who, in addressing the citizens of Brigham City, challenged anyone to debate him on the issues he raised in criticizing LDS beliefs. On at least two occasions, Eli defended the faith in major addresses from the pulpit in the Salt Lake Tabernacle.[7]

Eli worked in the insurance business for many years, first with the Heber J. Grant Company and later as a general agent with his own office. Large advertisements for Peirce Independent Underwriters appeared regularly in the Salt Lake City directories from 1900–10. He sold his business a few years before his death. The hard economic times of the 1890s forced Eli to enter into bankruptcy proceedings in 1899. Several personal items, including his books, were listed in

Etta's name. Lewis B. McCornick, a Harvard-educated Salt Lake City banker who assisted Harvard in negotiations with Eli, wrote, "It appears that Peirce was discharged from the bankruptcy court sometime ago and prior to that time had made over into his wife's name a part of the library."[8] The collection survived the claims of creditors and its value became a vital part of the family's financial security. Naturally, the Harvard sale was a matter of great importance to Etta and the family.

Harvard's efforts to purchase the collection faltered in 1911 but were renewed in 1914. Key figures involved in the acquisition seemed less than enthusiastic about spending much money on "Mormon" materials and were determined to pay the bare minimum to acquire the Peirce collection. These same officials made considerable efforts to avoid paying commissions to the Torch Press Book Store and the Shepard Book Company, with whom they had corresponded in discovering the collection. They even sent their own agent to Salt Lake City to deal directly with Eli, though to have a staff examination of such a large purchase may have been standard procedure. Roger Pierce replaced E. H. Wells as Secretary of the Harvard Alumni Association and the Harvard Commission of Western History and thus became Harvard's major representative in acquiring the collection. Assisting Roger Pierce with the final arrangements were David Heald, a member of the library staff, and Lewis B. McCornick, a 1902 Harvard graduate living in Salt Lake City.

Despite their own shrewd behavior and subsequent refusals to pay the commissions, Harvard negotiators criticized the business behavior and moral character of Eli, Joseph Smith, and the people of Utah. After reading the accounts of his emissaries in the final negotiations, Roger Pierce wrote the following to McCornick.

> I might have known that he was shifty on his feet from the indignation he worked up at my request that there should be something written in the option. Evidently there is considerable in the religion of the Latter Day Saints not found in the "Book of the Mormon." I should say that Joseph Smith had very little on him. I suppose that this is nothing new, however, to you who live in the atmosphere all the time.[9]

Published accounts of Harvard's negotiations with Eli raised questions about his church standing and marriage.[10] McCornick sent word east that if Eli sold the collection to "Gentiles" at Harvard, there would be Church disciplinary action leading to his excommunication. Heald reported that Etta Peirce insisted on receiving half of the proceeds from the sale while Eli attempted to make private arrangements to prevent it. Careful study of his life has failed to yield any

evidence to support these assertions. Available information indicates that his was a happy marriage and that he was highly regarded by neighbors, business associates, and Church leaders.

Less than nine months after the sale to Harvard, Eli H. Peirce died. A paragraph from one of the obituaries reads:

> Eli Harvey Peirce, actor of note during the early days of Utah, collector of rare volumes and singer of ability, who had been associated with the Salt Lake tabernacle choir for years as business manager and successful insurance man, died at L.D.S. hospital at 2:40 o'clock yesterday afternoon. Peritonitis was the cause of death, which came after but four days of illness. He was 64 years of age.[11]

Probate records list among his assets, a "library of 1500 volumes." The records further indicate receipts for $2,250.00 from the sale of approximately twelve hundred of these volumes.[12]

Funeral services for Eli H. Peirce, Jr., were held on February 12, 1915, in the LDS Salt Lake Eighteenth Ward chapel. The services began with prayer offered by his longtime friend, Charles W. Nibley, the Presiding Bishop of the Church. A special chorus of forty members from the Tabernacle Choir performed several selections in memory of their friend and colleague. Rudger Clawson and Orson F. Whitney, members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, spoke. Both had been associated with Eli for the twenty-five years he had lived in Salt Lake City, and Elder Whitney had been his bishop. They commended Eli's exemplary role of devotion and church activity. Elder Clawson said he could unhesitatingly place Eli Peirce in the First Resurrection among those faithful to gospel principles. They both spoke highly of his integrity "in every capacity."[13]

Harvard's Quest for the Peirce Collection

Frederick Jackson Turner's arrival at Harvard in the autumn of 1910 drew the attention of Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper. She was interested in creating a memorial in honor of her father, Charles Eliot Perkins, who had been instrumental in establishing railroads in the western United States while residing most of the time in Burlington, Iowa. She expressed her desire to E. H. Wells, secretary of the Harvard Alumni Association. Shortly thereafter he presented her with a recommendation that she

> lend a hand in assisting the Harvard Library to build up a collection on the history of the West which would enable Professor Turner to carry on his historical work more easily. As you probably know, Professor

> Turner had at his command at Madison in the library of the State Historical Society the most complete collection on the history and development of the West that has ever been brought together.[14]

Alice Hooper became an ardent supporter of Turner's efforts to establish a strong program of study on the American West and agreed to contribute a thousand dollars a year as a memorial foundation in her father's name to build a library collection of valuable items according to the judgment of Professor Turner.[15] On November 8, 1910, Hooper sent to the president and fellows of Harvard, her written answer which in part stated:

> In talking with Mr. Turner, lately called to the Chair of History, at Harvard University, I find that the collection of material bearing on the history & development of that part of America which lies beyond the Alleghanies, is incomplete and I write to offer to the Harvard College Library the sum of one thousand dollars a year, as long as I am able to give it, for the purchase of books and material for the above collection.[16]

Turner, who had been accustomed to the splendid collections at the University of Wisconsin, had been invited to Harvard to establish a similar program. Following a brief acquaintance with and limited discussion of Hooper's interests, Turner wrote her an expression of his gratitude:

> I am sure that it is possible to make your gift in honor of your father, the means of making Harvard a unique center, in important respects, for understanding how the West was built up. Students of later generations—not only those of the present—will appreciate it, and will be obliged, I hope, to come to Harvard for important sources of their country's history.[17]

Through the Harvard Library, the Harvard Commission on Western History, and the alumni offices, a campaign to collect library material was launched. On February 2, 1911, Alfred C. Potter, assistant librarian of Harvard University, requested information on a Mormon library offered for sale by the Shepard Book Company of Salt Lake City. In their response, the Shepard Book Company described the collection:

> It consists of about 1400 volumes—All books abtainable [*sic*] pro and con on the subject of Utah and Mormonism. Many of the pamphlets on the subject have been bound up in volumes [47] of say 500 to 600 pages each yet when bound are counted as one volume. . . . There are only five collections of Mormonism in this country—viz., the one in Congressional Library, one (the Berrian Collection) in N.Y. Public Library, one in Wisconsin Library at Madison, The Church (Mormon) Library here, and the one we offer for sale. . . .

> . . . We can assure you that its like cannot at this day be duplicated at all, while many of the volumes could be, yet there are many rare ones that can not be at all procured.[18]

The cost of the collection, $6,000, was far in excess of the funds Mrs. Hooper had offered, yet when no other sources were forthcoming, Turner attempted to convince her to make the purchase anyway. Enclosing a copy of the Shepard letter, Turner described to her the value of Mormon material to a library on the American West.

> Mormonism touches not only Utah but the characteristics of a vast area about Utah where Mormons are living, and it touches some pretty important matters of national legislation as well—so such a library has a value beyond local history. Perhaps in the long run its greatest value will lie, however in the field of the history of religions. Here was a native growth under the eyes of the American of the nineteenth century, of a religion that colonized an area equal to that of a great European nation, and built up an industrial empire at the same time. I wish we could get a donor, and I am sending you the letter remembering your desire to know when such things appeared.[19]

Hooper's response may have reflected the national view of the Church in 1911. That year *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, a popular family magazine, ran a series of strongly critical articles about the Church that gave the impression that it was made up of strange notions and strange people. Her answer to Turner stated:

> Of course I'm too poor to give this particular collection on Mormonism and while it must be of value have we not other things now which we need more than this kind of a collection? There can be no doubt about the Mormons' part in our western country from Nauvoo on, and if we were very rich it would seem a pity to allow this to get away from us—but I don't know of anyone whom I could induce to bury $4500 with the Mormons![20]

Efforts to acquire the collection, having failed for want of capital, remained dormant for three years until notice of a larger collection was announced by the Torch Press Book Shop. Investigations soon revealed that this was in fact the same collection, though substantially larger through Eli's continuous collecting efforts. Greater efforts were made this time by Harvard alumni officials, library staff, Professor Turner, and even Harvard president, Charles W. Eliot. Ultimately, Harvard bypassed both the Torch Press Book Shop and the Shepard Book Company and dealt directly with Eli in arranging the purchase. On March 3, 1914, a document labeled "classified schedule, Mormon library of E. H. Peirce" became the basis of a thirty-day option to purchase which was granted to

Harvard. Handwritten on the face of this document, over the signatures of E. H. Peirce and Roger Pierce, is the statement, "This option to hold good for thirty days after submission of complete schedule."[21] As soon as the complete schedule arrived, university officials assiduously sought to determine the value of the collection and the extent of duplication in their current holdings.

Noteworthy opinions of the Peirce collection are contained in the correspondence file of the Harvard Commission on Western History. Roger Pierce recorded that

> the History Department at the University is of the opinion, from information which they have at hand, that this is an exceedingly valuable collection and that future investigation will prove that it would be a great addition to the Harvard University Library.[22]

Lewis B. McCornick had been asked to check into the value of the collection. He reported:

> There is no question about this library being complete and valuable, but that value can be best determined by the need of the University. It is perfectly safe to say that no such library could be again accumulated for thrice the asked price.[23]

Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society wrote Professor Turner:

> The newspapers, pamphlets and books of local (Utah) imprint would by themselves be worth four or five thousand dollars, and in the auction room might bring more. Assuming them worth that much in money, they are worth more to the Harvard Library, where the possible utility of the material must count, rather than the money value. It is an unusual opportunity, and all the more unusual as representing so remote a region, for few (if any) Eastern collections would give attention to the subject. Taking the list as it stands, and the little prospect of having as good an opportunity to obtain what the College Library needs, I consider the price not only fair, but on the whole moderate. What is difficult to obtain in the collection is worth to the Library what must be paid for the whole collection. The sale of duplicates will be so much gain.[24]

In a letter to his distinguished grandfather, Charles W. Eliot, former president of Harvard, Roger Pierce stated that:

> From such expert opinion as I obtained there [Salt Lake City] and have since obtained, it is the second most valuable collection of Mormon material in existence; the most valuable one is in the possession of the Mormon Church.
>
> The History Department is extremely desirous of obtaining this for the Harvard Library.[25]

Charles William Eliot (1834–1926). Eliot, who served as president of Harvard University from 1869 to 1909, encouraged the purchase of the Eli Peirce collection of Mormon Americana for the university's archives. Photographed about 1910. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Archives.)

President Eliot's response, as an assessment of Mormonism, is of interest and significance to the Church because Eliot, in his day, was the foremost citizen of the country in many peoples' estimation and certainly the foremost educator.

> I cannot think at this moment of any person who would be likely to give the money to obtain that Mormon collection. Nevertheless, I very much hope that you will ultimately succeed in buying it; for thirty years hence it may be possible for some impartial scholar to write a very interesting account of the whole Mormon movement. It had many quite extraordinary merits in the way of exploration, pioneering, colonizing, and cooperation in fundamental industries.[26]

David Heald, the Harvard librarian who went to Salt Lake City to finalize the purchase, examined and packed each volume in the collection, arranged for the shipping and insurance, and supervised loading the cartons on the train. By the time he left Salt Lake City, he had developed considerable competence on Mormon library materials. In a letter from Roger Pierce to Mrs. Hooper is the following important evaluation of Eli's collection: "Mr. Heald, on his return trip visited the University of Wisconsin, and saw the collection of Mormon material which they have. In his estimation it is not nearly so valuable or complete as ours."[27]

After Roger Pierce obtained for Harvard a thirty-day option to purchase the collection, news of the transaction leaked to the press and the *Salt Lake Herald* published an announcement. From information in letters from Lewis B. McCornick to Roger Pierce, it appears that the University of Utah, the Governor of Utah, and the Church were quite opposed to the sale and that serious efforts to prevent it would be made. McCornick even suggested that Eli Peirce's actions would likely result in his excommunication from the Church:

> From the beginning I have suspected Mr. Pierce's [*sic*] intentions in this sale, as he is directly under the influence of the Mormon Church, and the church has often forbidden him to sell the collection. The church exercises such an influence by giving counsel, and this mild form of threatened excommunication is seldom broken.[28]

David Heald indicated to Alfred Potter, assistant librarian over the Purchasing Department, that Eli had received "a letter from the Prophet urging him not to sell, saying that would be a sin for the library to get into the hands of the enemies of the faith."[29]

Eli's letters imply that someone from the Church had been in contact with him, because he indicated to Harvard that the Church was interested in purchasing approximately five hundred items from

the collection. McCormick became alarmed, and Turner and the others at Harvard sent David Heald to Salt Lake City to oversee the exchange and prevent Church, state, or university officials from interfering with the acquisition or commandeering the collection. While Eli may have wished to duck out of the sale to Harvard in favor of an arrangement with the Church or another purchaser, such a conclusion finds no support in the available records.

In the final negotiations in Salt Lake City, the Shepard Book Company insisted on its commission. Eli agreed they were entitled to it even though their contract had expired. Heald refused and tempers flared. Finally, it was agreed that Eli would pay seventy-five percent and Harvard twenty-five percent of the commission. On May 18, 1914, Heald wrote to Potter with a sense of relief:

> I lived up to my telegram of yesterday and shipped the books early this afternoon by freight. They are in twenty-six cases—total weight upwards of 5,200 pounds, and at three dollars and some odd cents per hundred weight, the freight charges come to the tidy sum of $161.
> I have sent you by registered mail the following documents—
>
> (1) Receipt for $6,562.50, payment in full signed by both the Peirces
>
> (2) Receipt for $100 from Shepard Book Co.
>
> (3) Bill of lading for books
>
> (4) Insurance policy [$25] for shipment.[30]

Harvard's total costs, exclusive of Heald's personal expenses, were $6,848.50. Having been persuaded by Turner, Alice Hooper agreed to pay $6,000; the remainder came from Harvard Library funds. Hooper's enthusiasm over the purchase had grown through the period of negotiations as indicated in a letter to Roger Pierce:

> My dear fellow, far from thinking you pressuring I like your keen interest & the expression of it= If we catch those Mormons I shall be glad of it= paying the piper is a good deal more than I can do without some sacrifice but so thoroughly do I believe in the gamble of the thing as an important asset for our purpose that I undertake to finance the venture= In so doing I am pleasing myself & it therefore seems to me as being hardly a matter for praise= but pleasure & satisfaction on the part of man making for nice collection of American Hist. is certainly legitimate. . . . I am but a passenger paying my fare & being carried along by those in command who know far more than I may ever dream of knowing.[31]

A few days later Alice Hooper again wrote Roger Pierce expressing her pleasure in the acquisition and significant praise for the efforts of those involved in carrying out the plan:

> I have read the enclosed letters in regard to the purchase of the Mormons with a real thrill. You Mr. Turner & Mr Coolidge showed great wisdom in speeding Mr. Heald to Salt Lake when you did & I owe you each & all a debt of gratitude certainly because my satisfaction is great in this acquisition & I feel sure this collection adds a value & an importance to the Charles Elliot Perkins Collection which will mean something for always.[32]

On June 12, 1914, the day the shipment arrived at Harvard, Hooper sent Roger Pierce a long-awaited letter: "I think your plans for the Mormons excellent & herewith enclose my checque [*sic*] for six thousand dollars. The cost of the Mormon Library belonging to your Utah namesake. I hoped to be able to supply an extra five hundred at some future date."[33]

The Peirce Collection

After many failed attempts to find it, the detailed schedule Eli submitted to Harvard officials listing the actual contents of his collection finally surfaced. In the Library Order Department records for the relevant years was a large, crumbling, gray envelope labeled "Mormon Library." On fifty-one single-spaced typed pages, is a list of the volumes in the collection, including the name of the publication, the number of volumes, the author or publisher, the place of publication, year of publication, approximate value, and notes. In the margins are numerous notations in Eli's familiar handwriting. Also in the envelope were four half-sized pages of blue Hotel Utah stationery. On two of these, Heald had begun letters to Potter, dated May 17, 1914. On the back of these pages is a list from 1 to 51 and a number matching the number of volumes listed at the bottom of each of those fifty-one pages. The total for the fifty-one pages and the purchase price shown is 2,612 "@ $2.50 per vol. = $6,530." On the last page, centered at the top appears the following note, "E. H. Peirce Library, Count of sheets by bound vols."[34] A legal-sized sheet at the back, apparently made up after the books were sorted and packed, showed unlisted and missing volumes which changed the total to 2,622 volumes and the price to $6,562.50.

A review of the inventory of the Peirce library shows that Eli was a thorough collector. The very detail with which the list is made out is an indication of the meticulous attention he gave to such things. As the whole collection is best measured by the sum of its many parts, a brief review of those major parts will help determine the contribution the collection makes to the Harvard library.

LDS Church Periodicals

The first eight pages in the schedule list the Church periodicals that were included. They are listed chronologically by date of publication. (See table 1.)

LDS Church Scriptures

The LDS scriptures in the collection included twenty copies of the Book of Mormon. Among them were copies of the first, second, and third American editions; the first, second, third, and fourth European editions; a Deseret alphabet edition; a copy of an edition published in Chicago by the Northern States Mission in 1907; an early, bound, triple combination volume of the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price; and a copy of early editions in ten foreign languages. There were seven copies of the Doctrine and Covenants, including the first, second, third, and fourth American editions; the first European edition; one bound in the triple combination volume; and two foreign language editions. There was also an 1888 Salt Lake City edition of the Pearl of Great Price.

Pamphlets

Perhaps the most unique part of the Peirce collection is the pamphlet collection. The pamphlets were bound into 47 volumes of about 800 pages each. Eli Peirce prepared a directory of all of the pamphlets arranged in alphabetical order by titles, including authors, dates of publication, total pages, and estimated values. The number of pages listed in the directory is 37,846 from a total of 1,016 individual publications. Harvard has made microfilm copies of this collection for research and for purchase by other libraries.

The pamphlets were organized by Peirce into twelve classifications and were cut and bound together in an attractive binding with a red and black spine. The bindings have deteriorated badly, and Harvard has wisely placed restrictions on their use. It appears that the pages, however, are in excellent condition. They had been cut for uniform binding, excepting those of smaller size, and the edges have been painted to give them a green and white finished appearance. All forty-seven volumes would occupy approximately fourteen feet of bookshelf space.

The description at the top of the index, written in Eli's handwriting, reads: "A collection of pamphlets for and against the Church of

Table 1: Peirce Collection Periodicals

Periodical	Years	Vols.
Evening and Morning Star	1832–33	2
Messenger and Advocate	1834–35	2
Elders' Journal	1837–38	1
Times and Seasons	1839–46	6
Millennial Star	1840–1913	75
Gospel Reflector	1841	1
The Prophet	1844	1
Frontier Guardian	1849–51	3
Guardian and Sentinel	1852	1
Udgorn Seion (Welsh)	1849–55	8
Deseret News	1850–63	13
Etoile du deseret (French)	1851	1
The Seer	1853–54	2
Zion's Watchman	1843–44, 1855–56	2
Skandinaviens Stjerne (Danish)	1853–89	33
Le Réflecteur (French)	1853	1
Journal of Discourses	1854–86	26
The Mormon	1855–57	3
Der Darsteller (German)	1855–57	3
The Western Standard	1856	1
Die Reform (German)	1862	1
Woman's Exponent	1872–1905	34
Juvenile Instructor	1866–1906	41
Nordstjernan (Swedish)	1877–80	4
Ungdommens Raadgiver (Danish)	1880–86	4
The Contributor	1880–96	17
Morgenstjernen (Danish) & Historical Record	1882–90	9
Deseret Home	1882–83	2
Deseret Weekly	1888–92	8
Zion's Home Monthly Magazine	1888–94	3
Der Stern (German)	1894	1
De Ster (Dutch)	1896–1904	9
Improvement Era	1897–1908	11
The Children's Friend	1902–13	10
Young Woman's Journal	1889–1910	21
Elder's Journal	1903–07	4
Liahona	1906–08	2
Utah Genealogical & Historical Magazine	1910–12	3
Southern Star	1899–1900	2
Conference Reports	1897–1912	8

Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Almost a hundred items in the pamphlet collection exceed 100 pages in length and several exceed 200 pages. The pamphlets cover numerous topics of historical interest about the Church, its people and practices, the railroad, legislative and legal topics, Indians, the University of Utah, Church manuals, and much more. There are numerous items listed as "Reorganite," "Josephite," "Strangite," the "Mission Tract Society," the "Tribune," and the "Utah Gospel Mission." It is evident that Eli sought everything he could obtain about the LDS Church, both pro and con. This breadth made his collection more valuable.

The pamphlets span nine decades, from the 1820s through 1912. No date is given for many of them, but table 2 shows the distribution by decade of those that are dated. Of the 83 pamphlets from the 1830s–1840s, many are by prominent Church leaders as indicated in table 3. The pamphlets are bound and categorized by topic, and each is identified by a label printed on its spine, as shown in table 4.

A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930, edited by Chad J. Flake of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, is the authoritative bibliographical listing of publications on Mormonism in its first century. Considerable efforts were made to locate in Flake's bibliography each pamphlet named in the Peirce index, but about 250 items were not found. Evidently Peirce had a wider focus than that covered in the bibliography.

Mormon Magazine Miscellany

A unique part of the collection is a set of fifteen volumes labeled "Mormon Magazine Miscellany" and listed as "magazine articles for & against" the Church. Above the listing, in Eli's handwriting, is the notation, "Chiefly Anti-Mormon." The inventory list indicates that these fifteen volumes contain 350 articles spread across a total of 6,052 pages.

Legal and Legislative

In the collection is a substantial legal and legislative section with a nearly complete set of the acts, resolutions, and laws from the Utah territorial and state legislative sessions beginning in 1855 and running through 1909. There are also numerous copies of the House and Senate journals of the State of Utah, a copy of the proceedings of the Utah State Constitutional Convention, dated 1898, and the charter

Table 2. Chronological Distribution of 1830–40 Documents

Decade	No. of Pamphlets
1820s	1
1830s	8
1844s	75
1850s	83
1860s	19
1870s	76
1880s	200
1890s	117
1900s	106

Table 3. Distribution by Author

Authors	No. of Pamphlets
Parley P. Pratt	6
John Taylor	5
Orson Hyde	3
Joseph Smith	2
Orson Spencer	2
Brigham Young	1
John P. Greene	1
Thomas Ward	1
John E. Page	1
Lorenzo Snow	1
Benjamin Winchester	1

Table 4. Topical Breakdown

Labels	Volumes
Doctrinal	1–3
Historical	4–6
Ecclesiastical	7
Biographical	8
Constitutional	9
Governmental	10
Poetical	11
Educational	12
Statistical	13
Apostatical	14
Antagonistical	15
Supplemental	16–47

relating to the early organization of Salt Lake City. Another volume contains the proceedings of the State Bar Association for 1894–1905. Sixteen volumes of the Utah Reports contain the State Supreme Court cases for 1872–91.

Church History and Teachings

The collection appears to be substantially complete in books on the doctrinal teachings and Church history written mostly by LDS authors and used widely within the Church in its first century. There are also copies of numerous hymnals used over many years in Church worship services.

Publications of Dissenting Factions

A section labeled "Publications of Dissenting Factions" is made up primarily of material from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS). There are copies of an 1858 and 1874 edition of the Book of Mormon published by the RLDS Church and copies of their first, second, and third editions of the Doctrine and Covenants. There is a copy of the 1867 edition of the RLDS "Retranslation Scriptures," the first published edition of the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible. There are approximately thirty other volumes on miscellaneous subjects.

Assorted Publications

Mormon publications in foreign languages consist of about 35 volumes. Almost 20 volumes are about Utah history before the arrival of the Mormon pioneers. Another section of about 150 volumes is labeled, "Antiquitie - Indian Tradition Etc. Confirming Book of Mormon History." More than 100 volumes are listed under the label "Other Sects, Creeds and Denominations."

Utah Publications and Authors

A large section (about 225 volumes) under the label "Utah Publications & Utah Authors" includes a wide assortment of local histories and literary expressions about Utah, the life of its people, its geology, fauna, flora, mining, agriculture, locally produced magazines, business and university directories, volumes of the proceedings of local lodges of the Masons and other fraternal orders, and publications of various local clubs.

Anti-Mormon Publications

There is a large section of anti-Mormon publications of local, national, and international origin. Under a separate heading, yet also largely anti-Mormon, is a 75-volume section labeled, "Doctrinal—published outside the Church." These volumes and the large numbers of anti-Mormon publications in both the pamphlet and magazine article collection gave rise to the rumors that the Church opposed the sale to Harvard. Some have wondered if its existence indicated that Eli Peirce himself was skeptical about the Church. As noted above, such conclusions are not founded in fact, and Eli's faithfulness is a matter of record.

Mormon Americana

Further evidence that Eli was an avid collector of anything relating to Utah or Mormonism is seen in the Americana section, the largest single part of his collection. This section lists approximately nine hundred volumes in seventeen pages of inventory and is arranged alphabetically by author. Justification for the volumes in this large collection is given in his handwriting as part of the heading preceding this section, "Americana. . . Treating of Utah and (or) the Mormons Incidentally."

Conclusion

This paper does not attempt to assess Harvard's total holdings on Mormonism. Harvard had gathered many materials before it acquired the Peirce collection, and it has since added many more including some unique items. For example, between 1948 and 1955, the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, sponsored the "Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures" in the Rimrock Area of western New Mexico. "Mormons" was one of the five cultures studied. Many notable social scientists participated in this study and files of their research notes and field diaries are on file at Harvard.

In the single purchase of the Eli H. Peirce Collection, however, Harvard acquired one of the best collections of printed Mormon Americana of the time. It was acquired from a practicing and believing Mormon who was also a conscientious collector. The collection included all items obtainable for and against the Mormons and their beliefs. The most significant features of the collection are the pamphlets and magazine materials purporting to deal with the

Houghton Library, Harvard University, where the Eli H. Peirce collection is housed. This exterior view was photographed about 1942. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Archives.)

subject or people associated with Mormonism. The collection supports the kind of scholarly research that Frederick Jackson Turner envisioned as part of his academic program on the history of the American West. Through it, Harvard can boast of having one of the finest collections of early printed materials treating the broad subjects of Mormonism and Utah.

NOTES

[1] Ray Allen Billington, "The Origins of Harvard's Mormon Collection," *Arizona and the West* (Fall 1968): 211–24.

[2] Eliza R. Snow, *Biography and Family History of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1884), 407–8.

[3] Snow, *Biography,* 421.

[4] Eli H. Peirce, Jr., *Mormon Tabernacle Choir, Being a Collection of Newspaper Criticisms and Cullings from Metropolitan Magazines and Musical Journals Covering Six Excursions, from the World's Fair in 1893 to the Seattle Exposition in 1909* (Salt Lake City: E. H. Peirce, 1910).

[5] *Deseret News,* February 22, 1911, 4.

[6] *Salt Lake Herald,* September 5, 1886.

[7] *Deseret Evening News,* September 12, 1892, and October 22, 1894, 2.

[8] Lewis B. McCornick to Roger Pierce, May 19, 1914, The Harvard Commission on Western History, Correspondence Box L*O, "Mormon Collection," UA III.50.29.12.2.5, Harvard University Archives, Pusey Library, Harvard University. Hereafter cited as Harvard Archives.

[9] Roger Pierce to Lewis B. McCornick, May 25, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[10] Billington, "The Origins of Harvard's Mormon Collection," 211–24. See also, Ray Allen Billington, *Dear Lady* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1970), 34–37.

[11] *Herald-Republican,* February 10, 1915.

[12] Petition for Sale of Personal Property, Third District Court, Salt Lake County, Utah. Regarding the estate of Eli H. Peirce, August 14, 1915.

[13] "Last Rites for Eli H. Peirce," *Deseret Evening News,* February 12, 1915, 9.

[14] E. H. Wells to Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper, August 26, 1910, Box: UA III.50.29.12.2.7, Harvard Archives.

[15] An extensive record of the friendship and association of Turner and Hooper, documenting their efforts to raise a substantial collection of Western American materials is recorded in Billington, *Dear Lady.*

[16] Alice Forbes Perkins Hooper to the President and Fellows of Harvard University, November 8, 1910, Box: UA III.50.8.11.1, Harvard Archives.

[17] Billington, *Dear Lady,* 89.

[18] Shepard Book Company to Alfred C. Potter, February 6, 1911, Harvard Archives.

[19] Billington, *Dear Lady,* 94.

[20] Billington, *Dear Lady,* 95.

[21] Classified Schedule, Mormon Library of E. H. Peirce, Harvard Archives.

[22] Roger Pierce to L. B. McCornick, March 20, 1914, HCWH.

[23] Lewis B. McCornick to Roger Pierce, March 30, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[24] Worthington C. Ford to Frederick Jackson Turner, May 10, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[25] Roger Pierce to President Charles W. Eliot, May 4, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[26] President Charles W. Eliot to Roger Pierce, May 7, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[27] Roger Pierce to Alice Hooper, June 10, 1914, Box: UA III.50.29.12.2.7, Harvard Archives.

[28] Lewis B. McCornick to Roger Pierce, April 14, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[29] David Heald to Alfred C. Potter, May 17, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[30] David Heald to Alfred Potter, May 18, 1914, Harvard Archives.

[31] Alice Hooper to Roger Pierce, May 14, 1914, Box: UA III.50.29.12.2.5, Harvard Archives.

[32] Alice Hooper to Roger Pierce, May 29, 1914, Miscellaneous Correspondence, "Mrs. Hooper," Box: UA III.50.29.12.2.7, Harvard Archives.

[33] Alice Hooper to Roger Pierce, June 12, 1914, Box: UA III.50.29.12.2.7, Harvard Archives.

[34] In Box, U.A. III.50.8.116, "Library-Order Dept.," Harvard Archives.

The Peirce Mormon Bibliography at Utah State University

Ann Buttars

In 1916 the Board of Trustees of the Agricultural College of Utah in Logan purchased the Eli H. Peirce library, a collection of books dealing with Mormon and Utah history. This purchase generated a fair amount of concern and a number of problems. However, it also provided a solid foundation upon which to build the special collections of Utah State University and one of Utah's most robust Mormon bibliographies.

The biennial report of the board of trustees for the years 1915–16 reported the purchase this way:

> The Pierce [*sic*] Library of Utah History was purchased by the Board of this Institution. The books have been classified and cataloged with other books of the Library, but shelved as a special collection. This Pierce Library consists of 680 volumes relating to the history of Utah and Western United States. The collection includes also many of the publications of the Latter-day Saints, and much of the vast literature which has been written on Mormonism, pro and con.
>
> Many of the volumes are very rare and the entire collection is a valuable and desirable addition to the library.[1]

This statement, though short, is an accurate description of the books the library had just acquired and to which Peirce had dedicated a major portion of his life. However, this purchase had been neither approved nor appreciated by the library staff.

On July 5, 1916, Elizabeth Church Smith, librarian at the Agricultural College, wrote an irate letter to Dr. E. G. Peterson, newly appointed president of the college, questioning the appropriation of library funds for this purchase and saying that "the requisition for the purchase of the Pierce [*sic*] collection of Utah History books amounting

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"THE MESSENGER TO THE NATIONS."

"What shall then one, (The Messenger to the Nations) say? That the Lord hath founded Zion; and that the poor of his people shall trust in it."—ISAIAH.

"All ye inhabitants of the World and dwellers on the Earth, see ye when he lifteth up an Ensign upon the Mountains, and when he bloweth a trumpet hear ye."—ISAIAH, 18–3.

From the above text of holy writ, it is evident that something very remarkable is designed to be understood; and, as nothing has as yet transpired which has been regarded as a fulfilment of this wonderful prediction; and as the attention of the whole world is called to the subject of the text—which is the lifting up the Ensign, and blowing the trumpet—it becomes imperative for one that has the light to let it shine, that it may be seen by all. And in order to do this the scriptures should be allowed to be their own interpreter. According to this rule we shall point out the Ensign; and in so doing shall also explain the last clause of the text, which we consider imperative; and the blowing of the trumpet is [illegible] light concerning the Ensign, to all nations. And as [illegible] are regarded as the spiritual things of the holy Scriptures, the apostle Paul declares that none can understand, except [illegible]d unto them, by the Spirit:—2 Cor. 2–10 to 16—and [illegible] his secret unto his servants the prophets:—Am., 3 [illegible] the light of the Ensign is revealed, and shin[illegible] forth to all the world; that the time for the fulfilment of [illegible] remarkable prediction has arrived. Wherefore with this [illegible] subject before us, we shall refer to another scripture by the same prophet, whom, we of course must suppose, best understands his own words. Says Isaiah, ch. 11, verse 12: "And he (the Lord, see verse 11,) shall set up an Ensign for the nations, (and to show when it should take place, he continues,) and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth." And then to the end of the chapter, he speaks of the return of the Jews, as immediately following the event of the setting up of the Ensign; so that we are led to the conclusion, that another event than the coming of Jesus of Nazereth is spoken of in these scriptures; inasmuch as no such thing took place at his coming. We quote again from the 10th verse, to show more fully who is the character called the Ensign: he is here called the Root of Jesse, whose rest, (the Millennial rest) should be glorious; and also to whom the

Page 3 of *Zion's Messenger* by Francis Gladden Bishop, published in Council Bluffs, Iowa, 1854. The only original copy known to exist is in the Peirce Library. (Courtesy of Utah State University Merrill Library.)

to $1299 is to be taken from the 1916 library fund of $1900" which would leave "practically nothing . . . for the purchase of any new books for the departments and none for magazines."[2] She was extremely concerned because no new books had been ordered for the coming school year and the majority of the library budget had been spent. Later that month, she again wrote to Peterson reemphasizing her concern and frustration while acknowledging the inherent value of the collection:

> I wish that I might say to you unofficially that the Pierce [*sic*] Library was not a library buy. It was done entirely by the Board and I feel that they should arrange in someway by special appropriation to pay for it as it was fully expected would be done. To be sure it is a splendid collection.[3]

Smith had apparently not been included in making the arrangements for the purchase of the Peirce Library. Although she had called it "a splendid collection," she, being a devout Episcopalian, probably did not entirely approve of the acquisition of a Mormon collection of books, let alone its consuming almost the entire library budget.

After voicing her opinion in several letters on the handling of this purchase, Smith left the matter in the hands of President Peterson in hopes that he would do something about this situation. On September 8, 1916, Smith received a letter from the secretary to the president informing her that an order for new library books had been sent off and an additional appropriation had been made to cover all other requests.[4] With her budgeting problems taken care of, Smith finally accepted the purchase of Eli Peirce's library and began making preparations for its arrival in Logan.

Eli Harvey Peirce was born in Salt Lake City, February 27, 1850. He received his early education in the Salt Lake City public schools and later graduated with honors from Deseret University, now the University of Utah. In addition, he graduated as a telegraph operator from a school organized by President Brigham Young in 1870 for the benefit of the Utah Northern Railroad.[5] After completing his training, he worked in Brigham City for eighteen years as an agent for the Utah and Northern branch of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, as an agent for the Pacific Express Company, as a coal agent, and finally as manager of the Western Union and Deseret Telegraph offices.[6] During Peirce's tenure with the Union Pacific Railroad Company in Brigham City, historian Edward W. Tullidge aptly described him as

> a young man of as much business capacity and push as any young man in our Territory. . . . We should offer him to those who would investigate

> the meaning of young Utah as one of the best specimens of that class, concerning whom even our Gentile brethren are prophetic with great promises of the future. Doubtless it is the type of Mormon origin, like Eli H. Peirce, that has suggested to the Gentiles this idea of young Utah. Expounded, the class signifies a host of young men who have received a better education than their fathers, consequently are men of more culture, yet who have sprang from that hardy, indomitable race of pioneers who have peopled and subdued this mountainous country.[7]

While in Brigham City, Peirce displayed his flair for culture by organizing the Brigham Dramatic Association, where he developed a great appreciation for various literary and historical works. There seemed to be nothing that could stop him in his endeavors. He was indeed a very ambitious man and continued to be so throughout his entire life.

Upon leaving Brigham City, Peirce moved to Salt Lake City, where he became associated in the insurance business with Heber J. Grant, future President of the LDS Church, and later operated his own prosperous insurance business with offices in the Templeton Building. During this time, he was an active member of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir, which he also served as business manager. He played a prominent part in planning and organizing some of the earliest trips taken by the choir.[8] While living in Salt Lake City, he became well known as a singer, actor, and lover of rare books.[9]

Throughout his active business career, Peirce found time to collect what was reputed to be "the most complete library of books written for and against 'Mormonism' ever brought together."[10] This library was built painstakingly over many years despite Peirce's modest means and large family.[11] Most of his book purchases were handled through the Shepard Book Company on South State Street in Salt Lake City.[12] The company published, imported, bought, and sold old, rare and new books. It advertised:

> We carry the largest stock of MORMON and ANTI-MORMON BOOKS in the world. If you are interested in this subject, write or call on us and we will quote you prices on any book on Mormonism in or out of print.[13]

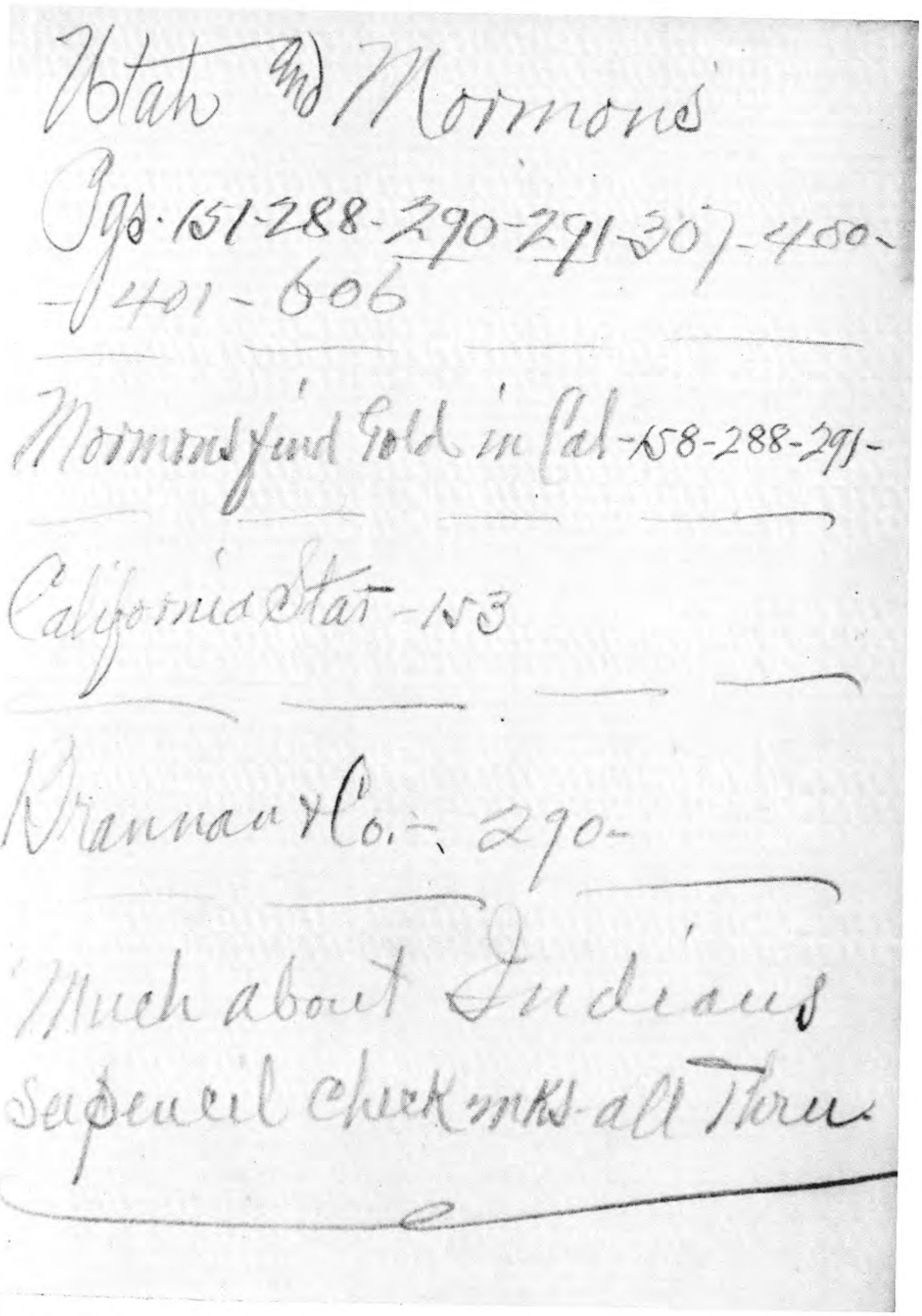
This company was later responsible for buying and selling many of Peirce's books. Through a 1911 Shepard Book Company advertisement offering a major collection of books on Mormonism for sale, Harvard University became interested in Peirce and his Mormon library. News of Harvard's intent to buy the collection was leaked to the *Salt Lake City Herald,* and Peirce received extensive criticism from friends and neighbors, the community, the governor, and the

Advertisement for the Shepard Book Company found in the back of the 1904 edition of *Brigham's Destroying Angel.* This company was responsible for the buying and selling of many of the Eli H. Peirce books. (Courtesy of Utah State University Merrill Library.)

University of Utah. It was even rumored that General Authorities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints strongly disapproved of the sale and offered to purchase five hundred of the most outspoken anti-Mormon books to prevent their leaving the State. It was not until three years later that Harvard actually purchased 2,653 books and pamphlets from Peirce. The *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* announced the news of the purchase and proudly listed its contents.[14]

Shortly after the sale, Peirce began collecting another, essentially duplicate, library beginning with a few copies of works he had left from the Harvard sale. He was no longer working as an insurance agent and had more time for book collecting. He spent the rest of his life reading and studying these books, inside each volume making notations which listed the page numbers where there was a reference to Mormons. In 1914, just a few months prior to his death, he used a number of these books to write a series of three articles in the *Deseret Evening News* arguing that the Garden of Eden was located in the region of the country that now borders Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado.[15] At the time of his death, on February 9, 1915, Peirce owned approximately seven hundred volumes mentioning Mormons.

These volumes were the library that the Agricultural College of Utah purchased from Mrs. Peirce during the spring of 1916. When the purchase was completed, the books were moved to Logan and deposited in the library. Elizabeth Smith shortly thereafter began processing them for patron use. She registered the books in the accession records, giving a complete description of each and assigning it an accession number as well as a call number.[16] Under the assumption that these Mormon books were not that significant, she classified them according to the ninth edition of the *Dewey Decimal Classification,* which placed books about Mormons in with non-Christian religious groups (#289.9).[17] The books were put there whether Mormons considered themselves Christian or not. The rest of the books were classified and placed in whatever category they corresponded to in the Dewey Decimal system, despite Peirce's notations about mentions of Mormons. The books apparently were never shelved in a separate, special collection; rather they were scattered throughout the stacks of the entire library. Further, there were never any book plates made to identify the books as belonging to the Eli H. Peirce library. The only thing that identified the books as part of the Peirce library was the accession number stamped inside each volume. When it came to the cataloging of the Peirce books, Smith did an exceptional job of descriptive cataloging, but she did not take the



An example of Eli Peirce's handwritten notes. These notes are in the front of the *American Quarterly Register and Magizine,* vol. 2, located in the Peirce Library. (Courtesy of Utah State University Merrill Library.)

time nor feel it appropriate to put Mormon subject headings on all of the books. The original shelflist cards reveal that many of them were cataloged under author and title only.

The Peirce library also included a large collection of pamphlets, but these were never fully processed because the policy of the library at that time was not to process such items. They were simply laid on shelves in the back of the library with the myriad of other too-small-to-catalog items waiting to be taken care of later or bound in buckram as a book that could be processed. There is no way of knowing how many pamphlets were in the Peirce library, but apparently there were quite a few; many pamphlets with notations about Mormon material and in the same handwriting as that in the Peirce books have been transferred over the years to the Special Collections Department from other areas of the library.

Little did Elizabeth Smith know that the Peirce library would be not only the beginning of a Mormon bibliography at Utah State University, but also the foundation of the Special Collections Department of the Utah State University Merrill Library. Although the 1915–16 Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees stated that the Peirce Library would be shelved as a special collection, a department for doing so was not established at Utah State University until January 1965. In announcing the creation of the Merrill Library's Special Collections Department, Dr. Milton C. Abrams, university librarian, indicated that books "acquired over a period of years by purchase, gift and university publication" would be used as the foundation for the new department.[18] Some of the books he referred to were those of the Peirce library.

Though many of the books from the Peirce library were placed in the newly established Special Collections Department, they were not gathered into the originally promised special collection until 1971. Under the direction of A. J. Simmonds, curator of special collections at Utah State University, and with the aid of the library accession records for 1916, the stacks of the Merrill Library were searched to find the remaining books of the Peirce library. At last, the Peirce books were gathered together and placed in the Special Collections Department as Book Collection 13.

This time the actual content and value of the Peirce library was finally realized. The books range in date from 1830 to 1914, with volume one of *The Millennial Harbinger* being the earliest published volume in the collection. The books span the history of the LDS Church from its organization through 1914, the year prior to the

THE MILLENNIAL HARBINGER.

{No. 1.} BETHANY, VIRGINIA: *MONDAY, JANUARY* 4, 1830. {Vol. I.}

I saw another messenger flying through the midst of heaven, having everlasting good news to proclaim to the inhabitants of the earth, even to every nation and tribe, and tongue, and people—saying with a loud voice, Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgments is come: and worship him who made heaven, and earth, and sea, and the fountains of water.—JOHN.

Great is the truth and mighty above all things, and will prevail.

PROSPECTUS.

THIS work shall be devoted to the destruction of sectarianism, infidelity, and antichristian doctrine and practice. It shall have for its object the developement and introduction of that political and religious order of society called THE MILLENNIUM, which will be the consummation of that ultimate amelioration of society proposed in the Christian Scriptures. Subservient to this comprehensive object, the following subjects shall be attended to:—

1. The incompatibility of any sectarian establishment, now known on earth, with the genius of the glorious age to come.

2. The inadequacy of all the present systems of education, literary and moral, to develope the powers of the human mind, and to prepare man for rational and social happiness.

3. The disentanglement of the Holy Scriptures from the perplexities of the commentators and system-makers of the dark ages. This will call for the analysis of several books in the New Testament, and many disquisitions upon the appropriated sense of the leading terms and phrases in the Holy Scriptures and in religious systems.

4. The *injustice* which yet remains in many of the political regulations under the best political governments, when contrasted with the *justice* which christianity proposes, and which the millennial order of society promises.

5. Disquisitions upon the treatment of African slaves, as preparatory to their emancipation, and exaltation from their present degraded condition.

6. General religious news, or regular details of the movements of the religious combinations, acting under the influence of the proselyting spirit of the age.

7. Occasional notices of religious publications, including reviews of new works, bearing upon any of the topics within our precincts.

8. Answers to interesting queries of general utility, and notices of all things of universal interest to all engaged in the proclamation of the *Ancient Gospel* and a *Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things*.

9. Miscellanea; or, religious, moral, and literary varieties.

Much of the useful learning which has been sanctified to the elucidation of those interesting and sublime topics of christian expectation,

Volume 1, number 1 of *The Millennial Harbinger*, published in Bethany, Virginia, January 4, 1830–December 1833. This is the earliest publication in the Peirce Library. (Courtesy of Utah State University Merrill Library.)

Peirce's death. They include everything from fact to fiction on such subjects as history, geography, sociology, anthropology, archaeology, geology, and, of course, religion. Even such general titles as *Travels around the World*, *Men and Manners in America*, and *Story of the Wild West* are found in the library. At first glance, such books do not appear to be overly concerned with Mormons and Mormonism. However, Peirce's notations concerning Mormon content inside each volume make it quite evident that the entire collection is indeed relevant to the study of Mormonism.

Interestingly, when Dale Morgan visited the Agricultural College Library in 1948 in a search for books to include in his Mormon bibliography, he did not find a substantial number of books on that subject.[19] He was unable to locate many titles because the Peirce books did not have the subject headings under which he looked to identify the books for his bibliography. Had Morgan been able to find and identify all of the books in the Peirce library, he would have found a gold mine of Mormon bibliography and probably would not have thought Utah to be quite as "bibliographically naive" as he indicated in the introduction to *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930*.[20] Because of the Peirce Library at the Agricultural College of Utah, Utah was not the "bibliographic desert" that Bernard DeVoto is thought to have judged it to be.

The Peirce library consists of numerous, significant titles in Mormon bibliography. Morgan included such titles as E. D. Howe's *History of Mormonism* and *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake*. Other titles such as *The Latter Day Saint's Messenger and Advocate* and *Voree Herald* are included in his bibliography but are not shown as holdings of Utah State University. Some hard-to-find titles in his bibliography that are also in the Peirce library include *The Olive Branch* and Lucy Mack Smith's *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith*. There are a few titles such as Francis Gladden Bishop's *Zion's Messenger* that are part of the Peirce Library but are not listed in Morgan's bibliography.

The purchase of the Peirce library brought a wealth of Mormon bibliography to the Agricultural College of Utah (later called Utah State University). In 1916 the board of trustees paid $1,299 for the Peirce library, making the average price per volume $1.98 (a slightly better price than Harvard had been given). Today this collection is virtually irreplaceable. Numerous articles, theses, dissertations, and books concerning "Utah and Mormons" (as Peirce would have annotated them)[21] have been written using the library. What was a rather

insignificant and troublesome purchase of library books for Elizabeth Church Smith is today one of Utah State University's most cherished and valuable library possessions, as cherished as it once was by Eli H. Peirce.

NOTES

[1] Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of the Agricultural College of Utah for the years 1915–1916 (Salt Lake City, 1917), 161.

[2] Elizabeth C. Smith to E. G. Peterson, July 5, 1916, E. G. Peterson Papers, Box 3, Folder S-1916, Utah State University, Special Collections and Archives.

[3] Elizabeth C. Smith to E. G. Peterson, July 28, 1916, E. G. Peterson Papers, Box 3, Folder S-1916, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.

[4] Secretary to the President, Utah Agricultural College to Elizabeth C. Smith, September 8, 1916, E. G. Peterson Papers, Box 3, Folder S-1916, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.

[5] Journal History of the Church, February 9, 1915, 3, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[6] *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine* 2, no. 1 (April 1882): 412.

[7] *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine,* 411–12.

[8] *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 10, 1915, 14.

[9] Journal History of the Church, February 9, 1915, 3.

[10] *Deseret Evening News*, February 10, 1915, 2.

[11] Ray Allen Billington, "The Origins of Harvard's Mormon Collection," *Arizona and the West* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1968), 216.

[12] The sign from the Shepard Book Company now hangs over the rare book room in the Special Collections Department, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

[13] The Shepard Book Company advertisement was found on the back cover of William A. Hickman, *Brigham's Destroying Angel* (Salt Lake City: Shepard Book, 1904).

[14] Billington, "Harvard's Mormon Collection," 211–22.

[15] Journal History, November 14, 1914, 4; November 28, 1914, 4–5.

[16] Library Accession Ledgers of the Agricultural College of Utah, vol. 6, 1913–16, nos. 29001–29656, Library Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University.

[17] Melvil Dewey, *Decimal Classification and Relative Index for Libraries, Clippings, Notes,* 9th rev. (Lake Placid Club, N.Y.: Forest Press, 1915).

[18] *The Herald Journal,* January 22, 1965, 6. The announcement of the new department was also published in Student Life, February 1, 1965, 2.

[19] Dale L. Morgan to Fawn Brodie, April 20, 1948. *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986), 154–55.

[20] Dale L. Morgan, Introduction to *A Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978), 2.

[21] "Utah and Mormons" is the most common reference to Mormons used by Peirce in his handwritten notations.

"Above all things, we must be original. The Holy Ghost is the genius of 'Mormon' literature. Not Jupiter, nor Mars, Minerva, nor Mercury. No fabled gods and goddesses; no Mount Olympus; no 'sisters nine,' no 'blue-eyed maid of heaven;' no invoking of mythical muses that 'did never yet one mortal song inspire.' No pouring of new wine into old bottles. No patterning after the dead forms of antiquity. Our literature must live and breathe for itself. Our mission is diverse from all the others; our literature must also be. The odes of Anacreon, the satires of Horace and Juvenal, the epics of Homer, Virgil, Dante and Milton; the sublime tragedies of Shakspeare [sic]; *these are all excellent, all well enough in their way; but we must not attempt to copy them. They cannot be reproduced. We may read, we may gather sweets from all these flowers, but we must build our own hive and honeycomb after God's supreme design."*

Orson F. Whitney
Contributor 9 (June 1888): 300

Book Reviews

RICHARD E. TURLEY, JR. *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. viii; 519 pp. Illustrations, index. $27.95.

Reviewed by Edward L. Kimball, Professor of Law, Brigham Young University, with an interest in evidence, criminal law administration, and professional responsibility.

As I read *Victims,* I could not help thinking of *Rashomon,* a play and film in which the same incident is told repeatedly, each time from the perspective of a different participant. The Hofmann case produced three earlier books. The title of this version rightly identifies Turley's emphasis on the role of LDS Church leaders in the playing out of Mark Hofmann's deadly game of forgery, fraud, and murder. Turley became the managing director of the Church Historical Department toward the end of the Hofmann case, and his position gave him unique access to church records, personal journals, correspondence, and individual memories. Anyone who has tried to piece together a controversial story from contemporary sources must stand amazed at what Turley has accomplished. His documentation is thorough and includes as prominent sources journals or other materials of LDS leaders Gordon B. Hinckley, Hugh W. Pinnock, and Dallin H. Oaks, as well as minutes of meetings of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve, file memoranda, telephone messages, and interview notes. Turley received the full cooperation of such people because they trusted him not to sensationalize, nor to make one "an offender for a word" (Isa. 29:21), nor to take things out of context. His showing them as good but fallible people lends his account credibility.

Of all Hofmann's forgeries and frauds, only a few would have had real significance for LDS history: (1) The alleged Anthon transcript of Book of Mormon characters would have confirmed Joseph Smith's version of the incident. Likewise, the letter purportedly written by Joseph Smith's mother in 1829 was favorable in

that it referred to matters otherwise lost in the 116 pages of the Book of Mormon manuscript. (2) The Joseph Smith III blessing offered some discomfort to the Church, because of the expectation that the RLDS Church would use it as confirming their claim to be Joseph Smith's rightful successors. That blessing's acceptability was enhanced by a forged letter from Thomas Bullock to Brigham Young that referred to the blessing. (3) A letter from Joseph Smith to Josiah Stowell portrayed Joseph as involved in folk magic. (4) Similar in effect, but even more directly concerning the origins of the Church, was the Martin Harris letter which attributed the finding of the Book of Mormon to a spirit that took the form of a white salamander. A hymnal with writing purporting to be Martin Harris's provided a basis for authenticating the handwriting in the salamander letter.

Turley's point is that the Church was a victim not only in more than $100,000 in cash and trade items it gave Hofmann for various spurious documents, but also in the shadows cast on Church origins by his forgeries—particularly the salamander letter—and on the honesty of Church leaders by his planting false news stories that they possessed an embarrassing document written by Oliver Cowdery. Their denials only heightened the imputation of dishonesty. And the adverse publicity could never be wiped out by the later disclosure of Hofmann's frauds. Everything the Church leaders did was subjected to unfriendly interpretations.[1]

Of the earlier books about the Hofmann case, two received generally good reviews, but one was so sensationalized as to lack credibility. *Victims* is designed largely as a corrective to the earlier books, based on Turley's access to information the other authors did not have. No one can affirmatively prove honest character; the best one can do is disprove alleged lies. Mormons give their leaders the assumption of honesty; anti-Mormons are prone to assume the opposite. Turley cuts away many of the grounds on which suspicions of dishonesty were based, but probably nothing can persuade those who have predetermined that the Church leaders acted dishonestly.

Turley reports almost hour by hour the involvement of the Church and its leaders and employees in crucial events. The documentation occupies 150 pages in the book of approximately 500 total pages. That degree of detail would not be necessary (particularly when many of the sources are not accessible to other researchers) except for the author's need to

share his data and to persuade his readers of his accuracy and thoroughness. His status as a Church employee inevitably raises a question about his bias, and he seeks to compensate for that by exhaustive documentation. With respect to substantive matters, that practice serves him well, but occasionally footnoting becomes a fetish. For example, to illustrate how busy President Hinckley was during the five years of the Hofmann case, Turley cites twenty-six articles in Church publications telling of the President's attendance at new temple sites around the world (457 n. 36). No one is likely to dispute Turley's assertion on such a point, even without citations.

The author sticks very close to his sources and does relatively little interpreting. This he leaves to his notes, where he elaborates his disagreement with some inferences drawn by earlier authors. Indeed, for readers already acquainted with the case, the discursive notes may be the book's most interesting and valuable contribution.[2] In each of these instances some earlier authors had cast a shadow on the integrity of Church leaders, and Turley's information provides a basis for making a more favorable judgment.

The body of the book is divided into three segments: an introduction containing a brief history of Church beginnings and a fascinating description of more than a dozen earlier frauds (1–23);[3] the Hofmann frauds on the Church (24–145); and the bombings and their aftermath (149–345). The third part repeats much that was discussed in the second part, but that may be inevitable.

Turley allows the story to unwind on its own and does not generally reach ahead in time to answer every question as it arises. We are allowed ultimately to see miscommunication and mistaken perceptions as the source of many problems, and we come to see fuller information as the best solution to such problems. For example, Alvin Rust's frustration and anger at President Hinckley's failure to respond to his letter dissolved when he learned that Hofmann had falsely told Hinckley that Rust's problem was being taken care of (327, 483 n. 80). Police supposition that Church security personnel had been following Hofmann simply proved to be a mistaken assumption (213, 286).

As I read this retelling, I stood again amazed and dismayed at Hofmann's ability to manipulate people. It is not that they were stupid or especially gullible, but that he was skilled

enough as a forger and conscienceless enough as a con man to take full advantage of peoples' trust and biases. He played various roles—the generous friend, the faithful Church member, the mole inside the Church organization, and more. While he undoubtedly had mixed motives, one to which he admitted was wanting to change Mormon history to conform to his own lack of faith (316).

By hindsight Hofmann's claim to have found so many important documents in such a short space of time sends up warning flares, but at the time his finds were plausible because no one else had ever sought for such documents as ingeniously and diligently as he did (or purported to do). Who was to say that such documents were not out there to be found? Historic documents are often in private hands, especially over so short a span as 150 years, especially if their significance is not obvious. A generation earlier, Wilford Wood's diligent search for Mormon-related artifacts had filled a small private Utah museum.

The book illustrates how often a promise of confidentiality is breached. Hofmann made such promises but gave them no weight. Other people, from whom he extracted such promises, felt guilty at violating their promises, yet on a number of occasions they felt a need to tell someone else, coupled with an instruction "not to tell that I told" (for example, 57).

Among the lessons to be learned from the Hofmann case is the futility of trying to keep secrets in a large organization. Leaks, from various motivations, are common. Of course, we never know about the secrets that are well kept, but we do know that many secrets come unraveled. Trying to control awkward information about the Church is understandable, but ultimately undesirable. The Mountain Meadows Massacre would still be a basis of criticism had not the sore been exposed to the healing sunlight by Juanita Brooks's work. The Joseph Smith III blessing and even the salamander letter did little harm; the Church is not to be derailed by such things. To modern sensitivities, more corrosive than a mistake or a wrong is an actual or purported "cover-up," as recent political history amply illustrates.

The Church was accused in connection with the Hofmann frauds of engaging in hiding information about its origins. In some instances that was simply false, as in the case of the purported Cowdery history. In others there is a germ of truth. The Church eagerly publicized the Anthon transcript and the

Lucy Mack Smith letter that enhanced the Church story, but put silently away for later decision the Josiah Stowell (money digging) letter (75) and the Bullock letter relating to the Joseph Smith III blessing (62, 75).

It seems to me that confidentiality pending cautious appraisal of authenticity and sufficient study to put the document into full context is not only acceptable, but desirable. One should expect nothing else. That is essentially what happened with the Martin Harris (salamander) letter. The Church expected it to be published by Steve Christensen, but only after authentication and study. With respect to the Dead Sea Scrolls, there was little complaint at first concerning the delay in publication while the scrolls were being studied, even though that took years; but complaints mounted when people felt that the delay was selfishly motivated. The time between the Church's acquiring the Stowell and Bullock letters and its publishing them (because of the rumors Hofmann floated) was not long enough to see what the outcome might have been, but the existence of a separate First Presidency vault to which almost no one has access offers a basis for speculation and accusation.

Concerning mechanics, the book is well printed and bound. The photographs reproduced on forty-two pages add much to the book's interest. I noted few errors.[4] Turley left the occasional spelling errors in quotations without the signal [*sic*], but there is something to be said for using the signal when the error could as easily be in the transcribing or typesetting as in the original.[5] Repetition is unavoidable, but the story of Alvin Rust's letter to President Hinckley is told in substantial detail four times. The index is reasonably good, but it can make no claim to completeness.[6] Obviously, whether a reference is significant enough to warrant inclusion in an index is a matter of judgment, but I believe that the discursive notes are underrepresented in the index.

A puzzling omission is any mention of D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, and the work of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, which relate directly to the discussion of the salamander letter (103). The obvious place for the citation is where President Hinckley is quoted on the subject, rightly pointing out that some superstition and symbolism is part of culture and not inconsistent with receiving true revelation (103, 419 n. 64).

Anyone who wondered about the imputations of Church leaders' dishonesty found in other books concerning the Hofmann case, especially *The Mormon Murders,* will find this book illuminating. Turley has, by virtue of his unparalleled access to the journals and files of living Church leaders, been able in exhaustive (and sometimes exhausting) detail to explain what the acts and statements that other writers have seen as sinister meant to those personally involved.

Victims is not *the* book on the Hofmann case, nor does it purport to be, but this careful work tells many essential parts of the whole story. Turley provides by far the most reliable source on the ways the LDS Church was victimized by the forgeries and frauds of Mark Hofmann.

NOTES

[1] Media distortions can make what is innocuous appear sinister. Reference to Hugh Pinnock's meeting Mark Hofmann in the Church's "secure parking garage" conjures up images of meetings with "Deep Throat" in *All the President's Men,* quite contrary to the brief exchange when the men met by chance as one was arriving and the other leaving the parking ramp. The press indulged in scandalous insinuations (185). The *Los Angeles Times* stories about the Church's suppressing a supposed Cowdery history, based solely on Hofmann's story as "confidential source," was bad in itself, but worse was the failure of the *Times* to correct the damaging imputation for most of two years (309, 477 n. 11).

[2] These argumentative notes concern the meaning of a cryptic notation concerning a phone call between Steve Christensen and Gordon B. Hinckley (421 n. 28); reasons for FBI involvement (437 n. 52); cooperation by Church leaders in the murder investigation (438 n. 1; 440 n. 3; 441 nn. 13, 16, 17; 444 n. 18; 445 n. 36; 446 n. 38; 447 n. 58); the identity of an "Oaks" mentioned by Christensen (449 n. 4), whom Kent Jackson has subsequently identified was actually Keith Oakes; the number of contacts between Christensen and Hinckley (450 n. 11; 452 n. 12); Church involvement in the bank loan to Hofmann (452 n. 22); Christensen's future role in acquiring historical documents (459 n. 54); Hinckley's record-keeping practices (468 n. 60); the amendment or dismissal of charges (469 n. 61); the choice of charges to which Hofmann would plead guilty (478 n. 23); the reasons for plea bargaining (479 n. 25); and the explanation to victims about the proposed plea bargain (480 n. 33).

[3] The list of frauds is not exhaustive. Another involved supposedly ancient brass plates from South America offered to the Church by Bert Fuchs in 1976. Frauds in religious history have abounded over the centuries. See Curtis D. MacDougall, *Hoaxes,* 2d ed. (New York: Dover, 1968), ch. 14.

[4]The last line on page 167 is repeated. In the fourth line of note 80, on page 483, the name *Rust* should be *Bird*.

[5]For example, on page 105 the words *in* and *which* are run together in a quotation; was it originally so, or is the error in the typesetting? Similarly, *Summerhay'* for *Summerhays* (58) looks like a typo, whereas *negociate* (51) is the kind of spelling error one would assume belonged to the writer of the original memo.

[6]For example, although there are several page references in the index to the Rust letter, it is also discussed significantly on pages 117 and 483. Jerald and Sandra Tanner's work is discussed also on page 397. George Smith's denial of having some photographs is buried in the notes (142 and 433 n. 100) and not mentioned in the index. The Jonathan Dunham letter (132) is indexed under *Jonathan*.

RICHARD E. TURLEY, JR. *Victims: The LDS Church and the Mark Hofmann Case*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. viii; 519 pp. Illustrations, index. $27.95.

Reviewed by Jennifer Larson, a professional book dealer in San Francisco.

Of the various tragedies resulting in and arising out of the short but devastating career of Mark Hofmann, antiquarian book and document dealer, forger, and murderer, perhaps the least consequential is the failure of the trade and its clientele to take to heart a number of hard-won lessons. The inability of the antiquarian book trade and the scholarly community to effectively identify spurious documents has been manifested, more quietly, in many other forgery cases before and since, reminding us again that we do not have an easy, inexpensive, and infallible test for forgery, and we are not likely to get one soon.

Mr. Turley's purpose in *Victims* has been to carefully document the Hofmann affair from the perspective of the major corporate victim, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His very focused account relies heavily on sources unavailable to earlier chroniclers, including the personal journals of many of the Church principals involved. The result is a necessary and welcome chronological exposition of the LDS Church's dealings with Hofmann, which were neither error-free nor, as many have supposed, sinister. Readers of some of the earlier accounts will discover that false conclusions, and at times bigotry, have colored earlier interpretations of these relations. In fact, the Church's representatives initially showed a diligence and restraint seldom equaled in institutional and private document collecting.

Prior to its acquisition, the first major Hofmann forgery, known as the Anthon Transcript, was informally examined by a variety of knowledgeable persons and submitted for a written report to Dean Jessee, the acknowledged expert on the handwriting of Joseph Smith. Jessee's chirographic expertise, like that of dealers, collectors, librarians, and his fellow historians, is grounded in years of familiarity with the material in question, not in formal training in forgery detection. He arrived at the wrong conclusion; however, so did Sherman Young, a former FBI handwriting analyst who examined the transcript on an informal basis. In light of subsequent failures of expertise, one

questions whether Young's unadopted recommendation to formally retain a certified handwriting expert would have resulted in convincing evidence of forgery.

Other efforts to ascertain the nature of the transcript, loaned to the Church for examination on April 22, 1980, and not actually acquired until October 13, included study by a team of outside experts working from historical, physical, and textual standpoints. Additionally, the Church made persistent efforts to independently verify the document's provenance. Sophisticated scientific ink and paper tests were considered and reasonably rejected as likely to be inconclusive or destructive of the document or both. Infrared and ultraviolet photographs revealed no anomalies. Finally, in negotiating for the acquisition of the document, the Church effectively resisted the seller's inflated notion of value at the risk of losing the document altogether.

In the end, the Anthon Transcript proved recalcitrant even to the forensic team of George Throckmorton and William Flynn, whose groundbreaking discoveries exposed many of the Hofmann fakes. With the benefit of an extended comparison of a large group of Hofmann creations with comparable but authentic documents, they found only relatively inconclusive problems with the Anthon Transcript: the handwriting was "too neat for Joseph Smith" and the document "looked as though it had been heated with an iron." Later, Throckmorton's published forensic analysis mentioned the anachronistic solubility of the transcript's ink, a blue-haze effect under ultraviolet light (that had either not been previously observed on this document or was not interpreted as proof of forgery), and a bleed-through effect (that even these examiners admitted was not very convincing as proof of forgery).[1]

The exigencies of the trade in antiquarian documents usually preclude this sort of circumspection and leisurely analysis. Major documents are frequently sold at auctions; offers to purchase and, after successful bidding, decisions to authenticate and keep, are typically required within a period of less than two months. In private acquisitions, buyers rely almost exclusively on the reputation of the seller, rather than on outside opinion, for expertise, integrity, and solvency in the event of subsequent unforeseen problems over authenticity or title. In a word, the type of intensive independent scrutiny accorded the Anthon Transcript by the LDS Church is rare, very rare.

The second forgery, the Joseph Smith III Blessing, was scrupulously examined at the insistence of the RLDS Church. Two retired U.S. Postal Inspection examiners determined it to be in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock, with an additional annotation in the handwriting of Joseph Smith. These examiners based their conclusions on comparison with an unquestioned Bullock document and photographic negatives of several Joseph Smith signatures. The composition of the document's ink was appropriately iron gallotannate; the paper and its sizing were analyzed by Walter C. McCrone Associates of Chicago and found to be consistent with its ostensible date and origin. The LDS Church obtained a notarized affidavit from the purported source of the blessing, in return for an agreement not to contact him; a copy of this document was furnished to the RLDS Church with the proviso that it remain confidential.

After this meticulous, even wary, beginning, the Church's authentication procedures became considerably more relaxed. The letter of Thomas Bullock to Brigham Young, the manuscript white notes, the letter of David Whitmer to Walter Conrad, and the Grandin Contract were all acquired by the LDS Church in the apparent absence of independent verification. With the benefit of hindsight, however, the inefficacy of such procedures is underscored by the fact that as late as January 1986, when Hofmann was a forgery and murder suspect, the FBI reportedly failed to find evidence of forgery in the Grandin Contract.[2]

A lenient approach in transactions with a regular and familiar dealer is natural. Hofmann had effectively established himself as a reliable, occasionally generous, and astonishingly fruitful source of extremely interesting and apparently authentic material. More important than trust, though, as a barrier to continuing elaborate steps to independently authenticate the documents, was a fact suggested by Dean Jessee's observation during a news conference announcing one of the sensational finds that it is "possible to 'pay a lot of money' to have someone 'put a stamp'" on a document of which the authenticity is in question (68).

The value of a "stamp of approval" of the sort Jessee referred to is indeed dubious. If the effort occasionally resulted in proof positive of forgery, that result would of course justify such a proceeding, but evidently such a finding was *never* the result of any formal independent examination of a Hofmann forgery offered to the Church or to anyone else. In the small

world of historical document dealing and collecting, there are no certifying agencies, ethics committees, competency reviews, or examining boards to oversee the quality and validity of these authentications, which are not, in any case, tantamount to a warranty. Opinions in such matters are no more valid than the facts on which they are based, and many of these certifications are simple statements of unsubstantiated conclusion, impossible to evaluate and essentially useless.

In retrospect, the Church did miss a couple of tricks. Expert comparison of the forged high-denomination Deseret Currency Association notes with authentic lower-denomination notes might have revealed conclusive problems with those particular Hofmann fakes. Similarly, a set of four multicolored, printed scrip notes known as Spanish Fork Cooperative Notes, forged by Hofmann, were later easily demonstrated to have been printed in Carter's brand ink for stamp pads. The notes are not very significant from a historical standpoint, however, although they had been accepted as genuine by the leading expert in Mormon currency. Furthermore, the smaller value of the Spanish Fork notes, reflected in selling prices ranging from $200 to $2,500 per set, precluded, as is so often the case, the expense of hiring outside expertise.

One might expect that, at least in this recent case of an acknowledged, confessed, and still-living forger, the scholarly and collecting communities would have the benefit of complete identification of all the spurious items originating with Hofmann and an account of his known book and document transactions. Sadly, and ironically, considering the criticism the Church has received for its secrecy in the business, such candor seems to be the case *only* with respect to transactions between Mark Hofmann and the LDS Church.[3] Many of the victims in the vicinity of Salt Lake City cooperated fully with the investigation, and their evidence is at least partially on the record in the form of the twelve-volume transcript of Hofmann's preliminary hearing. The witnesses responded only to the questions they were asked, however, a proceeding which did not result in full accounts of all of their transactions with Hofmann. Leads to a great many of the forger's out-of-state transactions were not pursued, and a number of dealers and private collectors who regularly traded with Hofmann have never or only fleetingly been mentioned in connection with the case.

Thus, many documents and signed books associated with Hofmann remain privately held, perhaps in the possession of people who have no idea of the ultimate source of their material. The difficulty of identifying all these documents, in order that no future deceptive sales will take place, is daunting. Information is sketchy. Many of the persons involved are uncooperative; the present location of the documents is unknown; and even if the owners were known and the suspect items made available for examination, the time and expense involved in evaluating them appears to be prohibitive.

Two examples of these problems should suffice. The first is a small receipt for funds to purchase provisions for Indian prisoners, ostensibly signed by Daniel Boone and dated October 24, 1787. Its first known appearance is in a 1982 Charles Hamilton auction catalogue, where its price is estimated at $3,000/3,500. A southern California collector purchased the Boone receipt for $3,500 and subsequently traded it to an experienced dealer. The dealer later stated in writing his conclusion that the item is not genuine and is in fact probably a Hofmann forgery. Hofmann has verbally acknowledged forging a Daniel Boone autograph letter and three other Boone documents, and Boone's name appears in the list of forgery subjects recovered from his prison cell. The Boone receipt in question was later offered at auction at Superior Galleries, October 15, 1991, estimated at $5,000 /7,000. It realized $2,600.[4]

Also suspect are two copies of a document known as a reward of merit, consisting of four printed lines enclosed in a decorative border, completed in manuscript. The particular rewards of merit in question are valuable because the instructor who presented and signed them appears to be Nathan Hale. Hofmann stated in April 1988, that he made his own plate for a forged Nathan Hale reward of merit and produced two copies; he also stated in a letter dated June 29, 1990, to this reviewer that this item "is, indeed, a forgery." A Nathan Hale reward of merit is illustrated in the Charles Hamilton Sale 157 of August 11, 1983, estimated at $7,500/9,500; the present whereabouts is unknown. At present, there is only Mark Hofmann's word as to the identity of the dealer to whom he sold the other Nathan Hale document; that dealer has declined to comment. Al Malpa, the author of a forthcoming book on rewards of merit, pointed out, on inspection of a photocopy of this item, that no unquestioned

rewards of merit are known earlier than the 1790s (Nathan Hale died in 1776); no known examples bear a printed place and date, as this one does; and the typography and layout of the suspect example more closely resemble those from the 1810s and 1820s than those of an earlier date.

Victims does much to advance our knowledge of what happened in the trade of historical documents in Utah, circa 1980–85. In a broader context, *Victims* ought to make the thoughtful reader aware that the limitation of expertise in antiquarian documents is universal—not restricted to the freakish success of a uniquely talented forger taking advantage of very special circumstances. This larger usefulness would have been enhanced had the full text of all the expert reports authenticating the forgeries been provided. More photographs of the documents, together with the authentic examples with which they were compared, would also have been illuminating.

The field of autograph collecting has experienced astonishing and sensational growth in the past five years. Prices have reached unprecedented levels and continue to rise. Many new and inexperienced dealers have entered the field, often attracting fresh collectors with appeals based on investment potential. Those who, through their knowledge of the Hofmann case, are painfully aware of the awful havoc wrought in Utah by the failure to recognize forged documents should view such developments with foreboding and alarm.

NOTES

[1] Utah v. Mark Hofmann, *Reporter's Transcript of Preliminary Hearing*, Testimony of George Throckmorton, 11:98–101, May 12, 1986; George J. Throckmorton, "A Forensic Analysis of Twenty-one Hofmann Documents," in Linda Sillitoe and Allen Roberts, *Salamander: The Story of the Mormon Forgery Murders* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 534–36, 538–39.

[2] David J. Whittaker, "The Mark Hofmann Case: A Basic Chronology," *BYU Studies* 29 (Winter 1989): 96.

[3] The librarians, scholars, scientists, and dealers involved in the examination and attempted sale of Hofmann's most expensive forgery, the *Oath of a Freeman*, have participated in a valuable published account of that endeavor: James Gilreath, ed., *The Judgment of Experts: Essays and*

Documents about the Investigation of the Forging of the Oath of a Freeman (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1991). Except for dealers Justin Schiller and Raymond Wapner, however, none of the contributors to that account had a sustained business relationship with Hofmann.

[4] Charles Hamilton Galleries, Auction Number 148, New York, August 12, 1982, lot 41; Superior Galleries Manuscript Auction, Beverly Hills, October 15, 1991, lot 1030; private letters to this reviewer, May 17 and 25, 1990; Robert Lindsey, "Sotheby's Says Boone Letter Is a Fake," *New York Times*, August 14, 1987, C16.

FRANCIS J. BECKWITH and STEPHEN E. PARRISH. *The Mormon Concept of God: A Philosophical Analysis*, Studies in American Religion 55. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1991. 156 pp. Bibliography, index. $49.95.

Reviewed by James E. Faulconer, Associate Professor of Philosophy, Brigham Young University.

Francis J. Beckwith and Stephen E. Parrish's *The Mormon Concept of God* contains five chapters; chapter 1 is "The Classical Concept of God." In it the authors give an overview of traditional Christian theism and brief arguments for what they take to be the central claims of the classical view of God, namely, that God is personal and disembodied; that he is the creator and sustainer of all contingent existence; that he is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent; that he is immutable and eternal; that he is the source of all values and perfectly good; that he is able to communicate with human beings; and that he is the necessary and only God. Chapter 2, "Mormon Finitistic Theism," gives what purports to be an overview of Latter-day Saint belief about the nature of God. Chapters 3 and 4, "Philosophical Problems with the Mormon Concept of God" and "Design, Necessity, and the Mormon God," offer arguments against the positions that Beckwith and Parrish attribute in chapter 2 to Latter-day Saints. Chapter 5, "A Biblical Critique of the Mormon Concept of God" offers what its title suggests, an attempt to use the Bible to criticize the Latter-day Saint understanding of God.

The Mormon Concept of God is an unusual book. Beckwith and Parrish are obviously conservative Protestants, but they nonetheless attempt to give a reasoned and fair critique of Latter-day Saint beliefs. They claim their critique centers on showing that the LDS understanding of the "universe is fundamentally irrational" (53) and that the LDS understanding of God is nonbiblical (109). However, they devote most of their time to the former, and that is the best of their work.

There are minor irritations in the book, such as the consistent juxtaposition of "Mormon thinkers" and "Christian thinkers," as if the two groups were mutually exclusive. The final chapter, "A Biblical Critique of the Mormon Concept of God," is similarly irritating. It accuses LDS thinkers of begging the question by assuming an LDS metaphysics and then reading the Bible through

that metaphysics (109). Beckwith and Parrish, however, do exactly the same thing, as they must. They deduce the character of God from the Bible by beginning with their own metaphysics. Given that the Bible is not a metaphysical document, such question begging is unavoidable if one is going to do metaphysics with the Bible; but one ought to recognize that it *is* unavoidable,[1] especially when one relies, as Beckwith and Parrish sometimes do, on an unclear and outmoded metaphysics, such as the Thomistic rewriting of the Aristotelian doctrine of substances, which they use to explain the omnipresence of God.[2] It is additionally irritating that though Beckwith and Parrish themselves point out that there are acceptable conceptual limitations on such things as God's omnipotence, limitations that are compatible with classical theism (14–15), they do not see how those limitations of omnipresence and omniscience might fit with an LDS understanding of God. In philosophical terms, their critique is not always as charitable an interpretation as it should be. On the whole, however, Beckwith and Parrish are judicious and reasoned. They seem the kind of people with whom one could have a genuine discussion of the issues involved.[3]

A major problem with Beckwith and Parrish's book is that they do not know Latter-day Saints and LDS culture well enough to establish the object of their criticisms. Though they recognize divergence within LDS beliefs regarding God, they suggest that there are nine generally held beliefs:[4]

1. God is personal and embodied.
2. (a) God is the organizer of the world, but (b) he is subject to the laws and principles of a beginningless universe.
3. God is limited in power.
4. He is limited in knowledge.
5. He is not omnipresent.
6. God is mutable.
7. He is subject to values and eternal principles that are external to him.
8. He is able to communicate with human beings.
9. (a) God is contingent and (b) one of many gods. (38)

This, Beckwith and Parrish say, is the understanding of God that is "currently held by the leadership of the LDS Church" (79, n. 23).

Without intending to speak authoritatively, I think it accurate to say that 1, 2a, 8, and 9b are doctrinal, although there is some room for discussion. It seems also true that 2b, 5, 7, and perhaps 9a are commonly believed by Church members, but are not doctrinally binding on them. (Whether 9a is commonly believed depends on what one means by the word *contingent.*) Beckwith and Parrish suggest quite reasonably that *immutable* means not that God is an eternally static being, but that he does not change morally, in other words, with regard to his relation to his creations (14–15). Given that interpretation of immutability, I think that proposition 6 that God is mutable is *not* held by most Mormons. In fact, I believe it is doctrinally false. Finally, though some whom Beckwith and Parrish cite, such as Blake Ostler,[5] hold to propositions 3 and 4 and though it seems doctrinally permissible for Latter-day Saints to believe those propositions, nevertheless those beliefs are neither doctrinal nor commonly believed. It is certainly true that contemporary Church leaders who have spoken on such matters, such as Elder Neal A. Maxwell, do not hold to either 3 or 4.[6] Beckwith and Parrish seem not to realize that propositions 3 and 4 currently represent a possible but minority view among Latter-day Saints and that Ostler and others cite earlier general authorities, such as Elder John A. Widtsoe, in support of 3 and 4 in order to argue against the view currently prevailing among Church members and leaders.[7] Consequently, *The Mormon Concept of God* is a critique, not of *the* LDS understanding of God, as if there were one, but of a particular understanding of God that is presently held by some LDS thinkers, but not generally held by the membership or leadership of the Church. Rather than focusing on LDS doctrine as a whole, Beckwith and Parrish would have done better to focus on a particular LDS thinker or group of thinkers.[8]

The authors have not recognized that one of the spin-offs of a belief in continuing revelation is an implicit refusal to allow theology to be set once and for all. Fundamental doctrines of the Church do exist,[9] such as the belief that Joseph Smith was a prophet through whom the fullness of Christianity was restored; the propositions described in 1, 2a, and 8, above; and the few authoritative statements by the First Presidency of the Church (such as the 1916 statement on the nature of God).[10] Except for such things, however, the fact by itself that a particular

theological proposition was commonly accepted or even espoused by a General Authority at one point in LDS Church history means little for whether it is or should be believed now. By themselves, references to the work of B. H. Roberts, John A. Widtsoe, or Bruce R. McConkie tell us what has been believed by respected LDS authorities, they suggest what may have been commonly believed at some point in time, and they open possibilities for discussion. A series of congruent statements by individual General Authorities over time may even suggest that a particular belief is true, as well as commonly believed, and it may give an indication of unfolding doctrine. However, by themselves, references to the writings of particular General Authorities do not necessarily tell us what is doctrinal; they do not tell us in so many words what is binding in terms of belief on those who claim to be Latter-day Saints.

Though Beckwith and Parrish say that they recognize the diversity of belief about these questions in the LDS Church (38), they seem to have recognized neither the depth nor the significance of that diversity on issues that go beyond fundamental doctrines. I suspect that is because they do not recognize that, in spite of the human tendency found among some of its members and leaders to gravitate toward a creed, the LDS Church remains largely noncreedal—precisely because of the Church's commitment to continuing revelation. Within some roughly defined creedal boundaries, *praxis,* not theory, remains fundamental among the Saints.[11] Of course, this is not to say that there are not any number of things that Latter-day Saints accept as doctrinally binding, such as the divinity and bodily resurrection of Jesus Christ, the necessity and efficacy of the atonement, the premortal existence of human spirits, eternal marriage, the necessity of baptism and temple covenants, and so on. The point is simply that though there are LDS doctrines, they tend to be relatively unexplained in formal terms, in other words, philosophically or theologically, and practice is at least as important as, and perhaps more important than, doctrine.

However, it is hardly fair to place all the blame for this misunderstanding of LDS culture and belief on Beckwith and Parrish. Clearly some beliefs, such as the belief that God has a body, are doctrinal, but in many other cases, Latter-day Saints themselves are not sure where common belief ends and firm doctrine begins. In addition, with the possible exception of the

little-known and as yet incomplete work of David L. Paulsen (Philosophy Department, Brigham Young University), Latter-day Saints have never had clear, articulate, expositions of what such concepts as *embodied, limited in power, mutable,* and *contingent* might mean in an LDS theological context. Even Paulsen's work focuses primarily on negative apologetics rather than on theological exposition. Latter-day Saints themselves are usually at least implicitly unclear about how to use such traditional theological concepts to talk about the nature of God. My personal view is that this "problem" may actually be a strength: the emphasis on practice rather than theory and systematized beliefs and the resulting ambiguity of theological concepts may make our attempts to do systematic theology difficult and perhaps impossible, but that may well be a good thing. It suggests that we may want to rethink what it means to do theology or whether it should be done at all.

For those interested in systematic theology, however, two chapters of *The Mormon Concept of God* are particularly important. Beckwith and Parrish offer numerous arguments in response to LDS positions regarding the nature of God,[12] but chapters 3 and 4 are central to their book, and those chapters raise interesting questions about relevant philosophical problems. The first is a discussion of the problem of infinity, a problem with which LDS thinkers must deal if they are to believe that time stretches infinitely backwards and forwards. This problem impinges directly on several of the beliefs that Beckwith and Parrish list, including the beliefs that God is limited in power and knowledge and he is localized in time and space, as well as on the usual construal of the belief in eternal progression. The second of these two chapters is a response to David Paulsen's work. Paulsen has specifically argued that LDS theism is better than classical theism in explaining the design one finds in the universe. Beckwith and Parrish recognize the sophistication of Paulsen's argument (86) and, unlike many others, including Latter-day Saints, they implicitly recognize that his work is a major contribution to LDS systematic theology. I would commend and recommend their book to those Latter-day Saints interested in systematic theology for that reason alone. But I will leave the response to the arguments of that chapter for Paulsen to make in his writing.[13] I will focus my remarks on chapter 3, the discussion of infinity.

Beckwith and Parrish take up the question of infinity in order to argue that

1. it is impossible that there has been an infinite series of past events;
2. it is impossible for there to be eternal progression in a future infinite series of events;
3. there can be no actual infinite of material things;
4. it is impossible to achieve omniscience in time and space. (53)

Obviously, if these propositions are true, then much that is commonly believed by Latter-day Saints is rationally incoherent. Beckwith and Parrish make their case in a number of ways, but the central argument on which their four conclusions are based runs as follows:

1. A series of events in time is a collection formed by adding one member after another.
2. Such a collection cannot be infinite.
3. So, a series of events in time cannot be infinite. (54)

Beckwith and Parrish's conclusions about the four impossibilities listed above follow from this argument that time cannot be infinite.

Most discussions of mathematical infinity are irrelevant to theological discussions of infinity because the word *infinity* is equivocal: it does not mean the same thing in theology as it does in mathematics. In fact, the word *infinity* has any number of meanings, and those meanings must be clarified carefully if one is to discuss the significance of infinity in any particular context. Since, however, the authors' discussion of infinity comes in the context of the possibility of infinite time and space, the discussion of mathematical infinity appears to be relevant to discussions of LDS systematic theology. Without going into detail, let me suggest some responses to Beckwith and Parrish's discussion of mathematical infinity. First, though their endnotes show that there is disagreement about the issues they discuss, the body of their text may easily lead a nonphilosophical reader to believe that the discussion of infinite sets is more clearly in line with their conclusions than it is. Non-LDS philosophers have made cogent arguments for quite different conclusions about infinite sets than Beckwith and Parrish propose. As *The Encyclopedia of*

Philosophy article, "Infinity in Mathematics and Logic," points out, much of Georg Cantor's theory of "the actual infinite" is now almost universally accepted by philosophers of mathematics and logic.[14] The burden of proof therefore lies with the authors, who want to say that the infinite can only be potential. Additionally, Beckwith and Parrish define time as a countable collection, which again requires considerable justification, given that time is almost always thought of as being now uncountably infinite. The authors have raised interesting questions regarding the infinite, but they have not accepted the burden that falls to them if they want to make persuasive arguments for the conclusions they propose.[15]

This question of whether time is created by addition—in other words whether it is a countable set—is a complex philosophical issue, but in addition to the philosophical arguments that have been made that it is not, I think the intuitive answer to the question is no. Time does not appear to be a set of discreet moments added to one another, though any individual's history is.[16] Any history, any collection of events added to each other, would seem to require a beginning, but it does not follow that time must begin. Time is not formed by the addition of one moment of time to another, for there seem to be no such things as moments of time except in reflection, in designating events and gathering them into a set. And even if there were such moments, the addition of one moment to the next could only itself take place *in time.* In addition to seeming to be factually false, the belief that time is formed by the addition of one moment to the next begs the question of the nature of time.

Beside the question of whether time is created by addition, the question remains whether time is a collection—a set—of any kind. Briefly, to assume that time is a set is to assume that there is something exterior to time, something that, so to speak, "does the collecting" that makes the set. That collector could be a Platonic form. It could be an algorithm. It could be God or another person. But the collector is not itself part of the set; it is exterior to it. To assume that time—as a whole and not as any discrete set of events—is a set is, therefore, to beg the question as to whether there is anything, such as God, outside of time. Alternatively, we could say that if time is a set, then there is, by definition, something outside of that set—at least a universe of discourse—that is not itself a set. But why not suppose that time is

the "universe of discourse" for all events and series of events? That supposition seems to offer a coherent understanding of time, as opposed to assuming that time consists of a set of countable time-points or even of a noncountable set. That supposition also seems to present an alternative for the particular LDS belief that Beckwith and Parrish criticize, an alternative that does not lead to any of the four conclusions that they argue for. Beckwith and Parrish's arguments against the infinity of time and space and, therefore, against some commonly held LDS beliefs are interesting but not fully developed or convincing.

Finally, even if Beckwith and Parrish's conclusion that time and space cannot be infinite proves to be cogent, it does not follow that there cannot be an infinity of gods or universes, and so on. For example, though contemporary physicists believe that space is finite (but unbounded), they leave open the possibility that there is more than one universe.[17]

In spite of the weakness of the arguments in *The Mormon Concept of God* and its eristic tendency, Beckwith and Parrish have offered a first step in a dialogue about theology between Latter-day Saints and conservative Protestants. In addition, they raise questions that Latter-day Saints interested in theology must answer, for we are often too confident that our understanding of the nature of God answers the problems of the tradition unproblematically. Too often we seem not to recognize that our own view, while dispelling several misconceptions and solving several puzzles, creates its own further engaging philosophical problems. For example, our emphasis on the similarities between God and human beings often tempts us to overlook the differences and the potential conceptual significance of those differences. Likewise, the belief in God's embodiment makes it difficult to conceive how he knows everything in the universe. And I think we do not sufficiently recognize that those of us who talk about limitations on God's knowledge or power create genuine tensions with ordinary, reasonable beliefs about prayer, prophecy, and God's ability to save. In raising issues having to do with the notion of infinity and its implications for LDS conceptions of God's nature, Beckwith and Parrish do LDS thinkers a service, pointing out a fertile area for thought and inviting philosophical discussion of the issues. Thus, in spite of its flaws, the book is to be welcomed. Perhaps it will encourage more LDS thinkers to think more deeply and to write more

carefully about such issues when they find themselves doing theology. Perhaps the book will make it more possible for LDS and non-LDS thinkers to address issues such as these without the animus that often accompanies those discussions.

NOTES

[1] One can reject a proposed Christian metaphysics by showing that it is incompatible with any cogent interpretation of the Bible, but one cannot establish a Christian metaphysics by showing that it is compatible with a cogent biblical interpretation, nor can one deduce a metaphysics straightforwardly from the Bible.

[2] Along traditional lines, Beckwith and Parrish explain the omnipresence of God in three ways:

1. God knows everything and is present to all things in knowing them.
2. God has power over everything and, by having that power, is present to all things.
3. God sustains the existence of the universe—quoting Thomas Aquinas: "He exists in everything causing their existence." (14)

The first two of these propositions are not necessarily incompatible with LDS beliefs. In fact, they sound very much like LDS explanations of God's omnipresence. The third may or may not be incompatible with LDS beliefs, depending on what is meant by "causing their existence" and by the word *substance.* Put otherwise, we need to know what it means to say that God "exists *in* everything." (Moses 6:60 is provocative in this regard: "Therefore it is given to abide in you, . . . that which quickeneth all things, which maketh alive all things; that which knoweth all things, and hath all power.") The answer to that question was traditionally given by means of the ancient doctrine of substance and its medieval reworking, but the question of substance has been and remains a knotty one in Aristotle and even more so in Aquinas. For example, it is unclear why assertion of the doctrine of substance (when combined with the doctrine of omnipresence to yield the claim that God's substance is in all things) does not cause one to slide from classical theism into either pantheism or, at best, panentheism. In addition, few if any contemporary metaphysicians accept as plausible the Aristotelian doctrine of substance or its Thomistic rewriting. All of these points make Beckwith and Parrish's third argument for God's omnipresence difficult. Though Beckwith and Parrish are right that Blake Ostler's argument against omnipresence (17: if God is omnipresent, then he can't have personal identity) is naive, the part of their argument for omnipresence that most Latter-day Saints would find difficult (3, above) is not nearly as convincing or coherent as they would have us believe.

Most contemporary metaphysicians do not leave room for traditional omnipresence, much less substance theory, so the burden of proof is on those such as Beckwith and Parrish who believe in either: they must defend the doctrine of substance in order to use it to defend the third explanation of

God's omnipresence. Some non-Thomist Catholic theologians have recently looked to other ways of explaining doctrines that were traditionally thought to require one to assume an Aristotelian view of substance. See Jean-Luc Marion's discussion of transubstantiation in *God without Being,* trans. Thomas A. Carlson (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991), 161–82, for an example of such a discussion. Such contemporary approaches might provide the grounds for justifying the third proposition, but what such claims would mean in either an LDS or a conservative Protestant context is less than clear.

[3] Just after finishing this review, I received a copy of two pieces by Beckwith published in the *Christian Research Journal:* Francis J. Beckwith, "What Does Jerusalem Have to Do with Provo?" *Christian Research Journal* (Spring 1992): 39; and an untitled synopsis of *The Mormon Concept of God* in *Christian Research Journal* (Spring 1992): 25–29. The first is a summary of the contents of Beckwith and Parrish's book. The second piece is an opinion-piece diatribe against David L. Paulsen and Brigham Young University for not accepting Beckwith's submission for presentation at the western regional meetings of the Society of Christian Philosophers. Those meetings were held at Brigham Young in March 1992, and Beckwith's submission was a version of the summary of his and Parrish's book. The opinion piece substantially misrepresents the facts of what happened, accuses the LDS Church of being a "pseudo-Christian" cult, describes LDS belief as "bizarre," and warns of the dire consequences to follow from allowing Latter-day Saints to be involved in the Society of Christian Philosophers. Attaching itself as it does to a summary of *The Mormon Concept of God,* Beckwith's opinion piece makes it clear that *The Mormon Concept of God,* though posing as a reasoned discussion of philosophical issues related to the question of LDS beliefs, removes any doubt that it was intended simply as an attack on Latter-day Saints and the LDS faith.

[4] The authors' positions are represented nearly verbatim. Interestingly, Beckwith's summary of *The Mormon Concept of God* in the *Christian Research Journal* lists only seven characteristics of the LDS concept of God, omitting of the nine propositions the seventh and eighth: that God is subject to values and eternal principles that are external to him and that he is able to communicate with human beings. It is unclear why he omits the seventh (that God is subject to external values and principles). Presumably he omits the eighth (that God communicates with human beings) because that claim does not mark a difference between classical theism and the LDS belief he describes.

[5] Blake T. Ostler, "The Idea of Pre-existence in the Development of Mormon Thought," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Spring 1982): 59–78; and "The Mormon Concept of God," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 17 (Summer 1984): 65–93.

[6] Neal A. Maxwell, "A More Determined Discipleship," *Ensign* 9 (February 1979): 69–73.

[7] John A. Widstoe, *Evidences and Reconciliations: Aids to Faith in a Modern Day* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1943), 62–64, 76–78, 158–65.

[8] Beckwith and Parrish may have a similar problem with audience. It is not clear just how much philosophy they expect their readers to know. Generally, they seem to aim at a nonphilosophical, non-LDS audience, though chapters 3 and 4 are, I think, often too technical for most nonphilosophers.

[9] For a convenient summary of LDS concepts of God and godhood, see the articles on God in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:546–55. See also Gordon B. Hinckley, "The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," *Ensign* 16 (November 1986): 49–51;

Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball,* ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 1–23; Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 21–77; Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation,* 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 1:1–55; James E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965), 29–51.

[10] See *Messages of the First Presidency,* ed. James R. Clark, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), 5:23–34.

[11] The temple recommend questions are ample evidence for this claim. With a couple of significant exceptions, they focus on practice rather than belief.

[12] I can't resist pointing out that another of their arguments is fallacious. They say, "Since mental realities cannot be sufficiently accounted for by appealing to matter, it seems perfectly reasonable that there could exist a Mind Who is disembodied" (19). That something more than matter is needed to account for mental realities does not imply that matter is not itself necessary, since matter could be necessary but not sufficient. But perhaps all Beckwith and Parrish mean is that the insufficiency of matter shows that the belief in a disembodied mind is not, on the face of it, self-contradictory.

[13] David L. Paulsen, "Early Christian Belief in a Corporeal Diety: Origen and Augustine as Reluctant Witnesses," *Harvard Theological Review* 83, no. 2 (April 1990): 105–16; and *The Comparative Coherency of Mormon (Finitistic) and Classical Theism* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1975).

[14] James Thomson, "Infinity in Mathematics and Logic," *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* ed. Paul Edwards, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 4:183–90.

[15] Those who want further reading on infinite sets should see the *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* article mentioned in the previous note. It gives both a good overview of the issues involved and a good, if somewhat dated, bibliography.

[16] An individual's existence, however, is not the same as that individual's history. There may be no account, no history, of the totality of an individual's existence.

[17] See Marc Davis, "Cosmology: The Modern Creation Myth," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 45, no. 8 (May 1992): 47–64, esp. pp. 62–64. Davis gives one construal of the possibility of alternate universes.

The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492–1493. Abstracted by Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, transcribed and translated into English, with notes and a concordance of the Spanish, by Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. xiv; 491 pp. Bibliography, concordance, index. $59.50; paperback, $24.95.

The Libro de las profecías *of Christopher Columbus.* An *en face* edition. Translation and commentary by Delno C. West and August Kling. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991. x, 274 pp. Bibliography, index. $49.95.

Reviewed by DeLamar Jensen, Professor Emeritus of History, Brigham Young University, and Chairman of the BYU Columbus Quincentennial Committee.

Much has been written about Columbus during this quincentennial year—perhaps too much. Nevertheless, many questions about the man and his impact on world history remain unanswered; indeed, some of them still remain unasked. A good deal of the writing has been polemical at best and at worst outright nonsensical. Just as happened one hundred years ago during the quadricentennial, many people took advantage of Columbus's name and notoriety to get into print, knowing that no matter what they wrote on the subject, whether it had any scholarly merit or not, or did or did not adhere to the facts, it would likely be published. Some of the Columbian literature of 1992 carries the additional burden of being motivated by political agendas of various kinds.

Nevertheless, the five hundredth anniversary has also stimulated a number of commendable projects which, just as happened in 1892, have produced some valuable works, both documentary and interpretative. Two of the more significant publications of a century ago were the fourteen-volume collection of Columbian writings and related documents, known as the *Raccolta,*[1] and the other was a remarkably perceptive and balanced interpretative history by Justin Winsor.[2] Comparable to these monumental works are the current publications in progress called the *Nuova Raccolta Colombiana*[3] and the *Repertorium Columbianum.*[4]

Less ambitious yet perhaps having a much wider impact are new editions in English of two of Columbus's most important

writings: his shipboard *Diario,* or Journal as it is frequently called, of the first voyage to America, and his lesser-known but equally significant *Book of Prophecies,* composed in 1501–1502.

The Dunn and Kelley edition of the *Diario* is the most complete transcription and accurate scholarly edition of the Las Casas manuscript version of Columbus's diary, our principal source of information about that unique voyage of discovery. Columbus kept a daily journal of his first voyage, which was not just a position log with navigational data and related information, but was also an account of what he found after he reached land and of many of his personal opinions and feelings. Upon returning to Spain, he presented the diary to the monarchs. They had a copy of the original made for Columbus and gave it to him prior to his departure on the second voyage. Unfortunately, both the original and the copy eventually disappeared (not unusual for documents written five hundred years ago), but before they did, Father Bartolomé de Las Casas, the colonist-turned-historian and widely known "Defender of the Indians," made an abstract of Columbus's copy in the 1530s. This abstract is partly a summary of what Columbus wrote and partly direct quotations from the Admiral himself. The Las Casas manuscript, a document of seventy-six large folios, all hand-written by Las Casas, also disappeared for over 250 years but was found again in the 1790s by Martín Fernández de Navarrete, the Spanish naval officer and historian. It is now preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.

The present transcription by Oliver Dunn, professor emeritus at Purdue University, and James E. Kelley, Jr., a computer and management consultant and long-time student of medieval cartography and navigation, painstakingly follows the basic structure of the Las Casas original. For those interested in the exact words of the Spanish manuscript, including crossed-out words, corrections, abbreviations, and marginal notations, this edition is a treasure. Folio numbers of the original manuscript have been retained in the transcription, with recto and verso designations added for clarity. In addition, each line has been assigned a number corresponding to its position in the manuscript, so it can be easily identified. Dunn and Kelley have meticulously adhered to the form and spelling of the original, while at the same time clarifying Las Casas's handwriting, capitalization, and punctuation. For example, the ambiguous interchange of the letters *i, j,* and *y,* in both lower- and uppercase,

is clarified according to modern usage (*almjrante,* or *almyrante,* for instance, is transcribed *almirante* [admiral], *iudio,* as *judio* [Jew], and *mui* as *muy* [very]).

Likewise, Dunn and Kelley have rendered the text less ambiguous by separating or combining, according to normal Spanish usage, words that Las Casas compressed or disconnected. Line 16 of manuscript folio 31r, for example, was written *de to dalatormēta dl mūdo,* which is almost illegible until it is regrouped to give the clearer *de toda la tormēta dl mūdo* ("of all the storms in the world"). The reader soon recognizes also that Las Casas placed bars or tildes over vowels preceding an omitted *n,* and compressed short, single words by omitting intermediate vowels altogether. Thus the complete rendering of the above phrase in modern Spanish is *de toda la tormenta del mundo.*

Las Casas frequently inserted text between the lines or, in the case of more lengthy insertions, in the margin of the manuscript. The transcribers have followed the original as closely as possible by printing interlinear text exactly where Las Casas wrote it, and marginal insertions opposite the line of text to which they apply. Even blank spaces in the manuscript are reproduced in the transcription, with the length of the blank indicating the extent of the omissions. Cross outs, misspellings, and factual errors in the manuscript are allowed to stand, except for significant errors, which are cited in the footnotes. These also contain explanations and clarifications of the text. Other features that make this book so useful are a carefully selected bibliography, a seventy-three-page concordance of words appearing in the document, as well as a clear and comprehensive index.

In summary, this is the most successful attempt to provide an accurate and readable transcription of the original Las Casas manuscript. It is much more reliable and useful than the previous transcriptions of Fernández de Navarrete (1825);[5] the *Raccolta* (1892); Guillén Tato (1943);[6] Carlos Sanz (1962),[7] which includes a manuscript facsimile; Joaquín Arce and Gil Esteve (1971);[8] Manuel Alvar's two-volume edition of 1976;[9] and the recent text of Consuelo Varela, prepared in 1982 for the quincentennial and reissued in 1989.[10]

Yet Dunn and Kelley do not stop here. For the benefit of English readers, they have provided an up-to-date, literal yet smooth-flowing translation into modern English. The grammatical

structure of the translation parallels that of the Spanish transcription; capitalization and punctuation follow modern practice, making the text easy to read and understand. In most ways, it is superior to the earlier translations of Samuel Kettell (1827),[11] Sir Clements Markham (1893),[12] and Cecil Jane (1930).[13] The latter, based on the *Raccolta* transcription, was revised in 1960 by L. A. Vigneras.[14] Samuel Eliot Morison's translation is lucid and colloquial, as is his writing, but it lacks the scholarly apparatus of the present volume and has no Spanish transcription.[15] Two more recent translations, one by Robert H. Fuson and the other by John Cummins,[16] attempt to make the journal more spontaneous by putting it entirely into first person, as though it *were* Columbus's original. This gives the text readability and interest but at the expense of authenticity. By all odds, the Dunn and Kelley transcription/translation is the most accurate edition of Las Casas's manuscript, and probably the closest thing we will ever get to a definitive text.

How accurate is the Las Casas transcript as a source document? That is hard to say. Unless the Columbus original should somehow turn up—not impossible but highly unlikely—we have nothing better. We do not know how faithfully Las Casas adhered to Columbus's words and meaning. The Admiral had been dead for over twenty-five years when Las Casas took up the project, although they had known each other. Las Casas had access to many of Columbus's papers (made available by the latter's son Fernando) and had no apparent reason to falsify the record knowingly. Las Casas had close, friendly relations with the Columbus family. His father and three uncles accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage, and in 1506 Las Casas went to Rome with Columbus's brother, Bartolomé, to remind the pope of the opportunities afforded by Columbus's discoveries to spread the Christian faith. A year later he accompanied Columbus's son Diego to Hispaniola where he was awarded a tract of land. He most likely copied the Admiral's words from the diary as accurately as he could and believed he was making a correct summary of those parts he abstracted.

However, Las Casas was not a seaman and was not acquainted with the language and lore of the sea. Clearly, he did not fully understand everything he wrote. It is obvious from the many words deleted, changed, inserted, and altered that he made errors. He seems to have had particular trouble with *leguas* and

millas, leagues and miles. Whether these were jumbled in the original document or confused by Las Casas we have no way of knowing. There are many passages in the account that are open to question, or at least to variant interpretations. The polemics have sometimes become heated as "the diario has become invested with all the emotions and passions that Columbus and his discoveries have evoked," notes one recent critic.[17] Yet there is insufficient evidence to argue that what Las Casa wrote was not essentially, though perhaps somewhat shortened, what Columbus himself recorded in his shipboard diary.

Columbus's *Libro de las profecías* is an entirely different kind of document. Composed in 1501 and 1502 in Seville during the interim between his third and fourth voyages, it is the Admiral's religious testament, written for the king and queen and intended to convince them of the importance of his voyages in the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and to motivate them to do more in promoting and expanding the Christian faith. "In a sense, the document is a sermon," writes Delno West in his excellent introduction, "and its author is the preacher and messenger of 'great events for the world' to be accomplished by those who have 'so much faith as a grain of mustard seed,' and who may, like Columbus himself, 'be certain that there will be success' because God 'makes himself responsible' for the fulfillment of the prophecies he has disclosed in the Bible."[18]

After 490 years, the West and Kling edition is the first English translation of this important work. The *Libro* has been known all of that time but rarely mentioned except in derision and never read nor analyzed as a document revealing the religious and spiritual sophistication of its author. Columbus began the compilation of the *Book of Prophecies,* which he intended to use later to compose a long apocalyptic poem, at the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville. His stated purpose was to remind Ferdinand and Isabel of the fulfillment of biblical prophecies concerning the "great events of the world," past, present, and future. It was also to reveal his own role as "Christ-bearer," the missionary discoverer, divinely called to announce a new era of enlargement and renewal for Christendom.[19]

He compiled the work with the help of his friend Father Gaspar Gorricio. Although three or four hands are recognizable in the manuscript, which has led some to dispute the book's authorship, there can be little doubt that the entire project was

conceived and carried out by Columbus himself and that it reflects his views dating back at least to 1481. Furthermore, Father Gorricio testified that the compilation was primarily Columbus's work. In September 1501, the Admiral sent the manuscript to the Carthusian monk, asking him to read it and make any additions or corrections he thought necessary. On March 23, 1502, Father Gorricio replied to Columbus as follows:

> My most noble and distinguished lord: In my other letter, I reported to your lordship I having received your letter and book of prophecies and opinions and authorities relating to the matter of Mt. Zion and Jerusalem and the peoples of the islands and all nations. As I am able with my inadequate intelligence, since you command, I have worked at it as best I was able. . . . I have interposed and added a few remaining items, as one who reaches for the leftovers on the branches of the olives. . . . Thus, with your original material, as well as the crumbs, I am very content, and in this way I have been introduced to a subject very remote from my own studies. My lord, the little that I have added, and intermixed, your lordship will find in my handwriting. I send the whole work back again for correction by your spirit and prudent [illegible]. I have not attempted to reorganize the opinions, or the subjects, far less the [illegible] historical material, but I have inserted some rules and opinions of the doctors on the subject.[20]

The *Libro de las profecías* begins with an introduction explaining the fourfold scholastic method of interpreting Holy Scripture—"The literal teaching tells facts; the allegory tells what you should believe; the moral interpretation tells how you should act; the analogy tells where you are going."[21] The application of this method by several authorities is given, followed by an important prefatory letter from Columbus to the king and queen, stating his "proposal for the restoration of the House of God to the Holy Church Militant" and urging the monarchs to recognize and fulfill their destined role in the unfolding of God's plan.

The letter contains clear illustrations of Columbus's spiritual dimension, not the ranting of a demented mind, as some would have us believe. "With a hand that could be felt," he wrote, "the Lord opened my mind to the fact that it would be possible to sail from here to the Indies, and he opened my will to desire to accomplish the project. This was the fire that burned within me when I came to visit Your Highnesses. . . . Who can doubt that this fire/was not merely mine, but also of the Holy Spirit who encouraged me with a radiance of marvelous illumination from his sacred Holy Scriptures, . . . urging me to

press forward?"[22] Further on he declared, "I believe that the Holy Spirit works among Christians, Jews and Moslems, and among all men of every faith, not merely among the learned, but also among the uneducated. . . . The working out of all things is left to the freedom of each individual by the Lord, even though he gives directions to many."[23] He concludes his letter with these apocalyptic words: "I said above that much of the prophecies remained to be fulfilled, and I believe that these are great events for the world. I believe that there is evidence that our Lord is hastening these things. This evidence is the fact that the Gospel must now be proclaimed to so many lands in such a short time."[24]

The first part of the work introduces the themes he wishes to treat—salvation of the world and the rebuilding of Zion—and summarizes sixty-five Psalms that deal with these themes. He cites God's promises to the Gentiles by quoting extensively from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah and also from St. Isidore of Seville, Rabbi Samuel of Fez, St. Augustine, and Nicholas of Lyra. After quoting Matthew 24:14, "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come," Columbus comments that the gospel has been preached to three parts of the earth and must now be preached to the fourth.[25]

In part 2, Columbus is concerned with prophecies that have already taken place. There he emphasizes the ancient greatness and fall of Jerusalem and the scriptures prophesying its restoration and the rebuilding of the Temple. The third part deals with prophecies of the present and near future, namely, the conversion of all the nations. Here he records the prophecy from Seneca's *Medea,* which the Admiral takes to refer to his discoveries:

> The time will come
> In a number of years, when Oceanus
> Will enfasten the bounds, and a huge
> Land will stretch out, and Typhis the pilot
> Will discover new worlds, so
> The remotest land will no longer be Thule.[26]

Columbus's translation of these verses into Spanish give them sharper focus and meaning in relation to his recent voyages. August Kling's English version maintains this clarity: "In the latter years of the world will come certain times in which the Ocean Sea will relax the bonds of things, and a great land will open up, and

a new mariner like the one who was the guide of Jason, whose name was Typhis, will discover a new world, and then will the island of Thule [Iceland] no longer be the farthest land."[27]

The final section of the *Libro de las profecías,* which deals with prophecies of the future and the Last Days, reveals Columbus's eschatology. Here he begins to mention the predictions of the thirteenth-century abbot, Joachim of Fiore, concerning the Second Coming and the Last Days, but at this point ten pages of the manuscript are missing. No clue is given as to why, when, or how. Old Testament citations follow, with particular interest in every mention of King Solomon, his fleets, the gold they brought from Ophir, and the island kingdom of Tarshish, spoken of in 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, and in the apocryphal books of 3 Kings, David, and Judith. Finally, he cites twenty-six scriptures that talk about the islands of the sea and their part in the Last Days.[28]

Like the *Diario*, the *Libro de las profecías* is superbly edited and well documented. It presents the original version (in this case Latin, except for the prefatory letter to the sovereigns, which is in Spanish) on the left pages with the English translation on the right. The translation is primarily the work of the late Reverend August J. Kling, formerly research fellow at the Center of Theological Inquiry at Princeton University and teacher at McGill University and the universities of Mexico, Edinburgh, Paris, and Vienna. Delno C. West, also a research fellow at the Princeton Center of Theological Inquiry, and professor of history at Northern Arizona University, completed the work, added a valuable ninety-nine-page introduction summarizing Columbus's intellectual and cultural background, a commentary on his piety and faith, and a description of the history and meaning of the *Libro de las profecías.* The introduction concludes with notes, bibliography, general index, and scripture index.

The transcription, translation, and publication of this remarkable book by Delno West and August Kling is an occasion worth celebrating. Those who pay attention to it will find a great deal of food for thought and a Columbus quite unlike the arrogant, gold-seeking, Indian nemesis depicted in the popular press this year. Of course that is why the *Libro de las profecías* has been ignored for so long. It does not fit the stereotype of a man

interested only in material gain or secular methods. Hopefully, the issuing of this book in English by a prominent university press will widen the spectrum of interest in understanding the mind of the man who ushered in the modern world.

NOTES

[1] *Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombina nel quarto centenario della scoperta dell America,* ed. Cesare de Lollis, 14 vols. (Rome: Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, 1892–96).

[2] Justin Winsor, *Christopher Columbus and How He Received and Imparted the Spirit of Discovery* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1892).

[3] (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e zecca dello Stato, 1988–), re-edit and amplification of the 1892–96 *Raccolta,* with the intention of making it accessible to a larger, general audience. That plan is further promoted by the Ohio State University's coordinating the work of U.S. scholars who are translating twelve selected volumes of the *Nuova raccolta columbiana* into English.

[4] The *Repertorium Columbianum* project, under the aegis of the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, is publishing additional source texts in English translation, accompanied by extensive commentaries. The general editor is Geoffrey Symcox; the publisher is the University of California Press.

[5] *Viajes de Colón,* transcribed by Fernández de Navarrette, in vol. 1 of *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde fines del siglo XV* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1825).

[6] *El primer viaje de Cristóbal Colón,* transcribed by Guillén Tato, (Madrid: Instituto Histórico de Marina, 1943).

[7] *Diario de Colón: Libro de la primera navegación y descubrimiento de las Indias,* transcribed by Carlos Sanz, 2 vols. (Madrid: Gráficas Yagües, 1962).

[8] *Diario de a bordo de Cristóbal Colón,* transcribed by Joaquín Arce and Gil Esteve (Alpignano, Turin: A. Tallone, 1971).

[9] *Diario del descubrimientos,* transcribed by Manuel Alvar, 2 vols. (Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular, 1976).

[10] *Cristóbal Colón, Textos y documentos completos: Relaciones de viajes, cartas y memoriales,* edición, prólogo y notas de Consuelo Varela (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1989).

[11] *Personal Narrative of the First Voyage of Columbus to America* (Boston: T. B. Wait and Son, 1827).

[12] *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492–93), and Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893).

[13] *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus, Being the Journals of His First and Third, and the Letters Concerning His First and Last Voyages* (London: Argonaut, 1930).

[14] Cecil Jane, trans. and ed., *The Journal of Christopher Columbus,* revised and annotated by L. A. Vigneras (New York: Bramhall House, 1960).

[15] *Journals and Other Documents on the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: Heritage, 1963).

[16] Robert Fuson, *The Log of Christopher Columbus* (Camden, Maine: International Marine, 1987), and John Cummins, *The Voyage of Christopher Columbus: Columbus' Own Journal of Discovery Newly Restored and Translated* (New York: St. Martin's, 1992).

[17] David Henige, *In Search of Columbus: The Sources for the First Voyage* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 283.

[18] *Libro de las profecías,* 85. The book was previously published in Latin by Cesare de Lollis in part 1, vol. 2 of the *Raccolta,* from the original velum-bound manuscript of eighty-four folio sheets, located in the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville.

[19] *Libro de las profecías,* 3.

[20] *Libro de las profecías,* 84.

[21] *Libro de las profecías,* 101.

[22] *Libro de las profecías,* 105.

[23] *Libro de las profecías,* 107, 111.

[24] *Libro de las profecías,* 111.

[25] *Libro de las profecías,* 151, 153.

[26] *Libro de las profecías,* 225.

[27] *Libro de las profecías,* 227.

[28] *Libro de las profecías,* 239.

ARNOLD K. GARR. *Christopher Columbus: A Latter-day Saint Perspective.* Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992. xv; 103 pp. Maps, appendix, bibliography, index. $8.95.

Reviewed by Mark L. Grover, Latin American Bibliographer, Harold B. Lee Library, and Chair, Latin American Studies, Brigham Young University.

It has been a difficult year for Columbus in most respects but not within the LDS Church. Special firesides, sacrament meeting talks, a fifty-foot, four-panel mural in the Los Angeles Temple Visitors Center, and even a laudatory statement in President Gordon B. Hinckley's discourse in the October 1992 general priesthood meeting have been part of the commemoration of the discovery of the Americas. Columbus would have appreciated the affirmation that he was inspired by religious motives and experiences to make the voyage. The way Mormons, in general, view Columbus is probably similar to the way he would have wanted.[1]

Curiously, although Latter-day Saints have long used Book of Mormon prophecy to identify Columbus as a man "wrought upon" by the Spirit of God, members of the Church have done little research prior to this past year on the religious elements of Columbus's life. Even though recent Columbus scholars generally have not taken his religious views and belief of spiritual guidance seriously and consequently have not written about them, those views have been available in his published diary and his work, *Libro de las profecías* (Book of Prophecies).[2] Typically, LDS commentators have used limited secondary sources to support the claim that Columbus felt himself to be inspired, rather than drawing from the rich primary documents where Columbus several times alluded to his feelings of spiritual guidance.[3] Given this weakness in Mormon Columbus research, the volume by Arnold K. Garr, assistant professor of Church History at Brigham Young University, was anticipated.

This book must be understood as a volume oriented to the general Church population and not the scholar. For this audience, the volume provides what was intended. It is a short biography (about seventy pages of text excluding maps and blank pages) asserting that Columbus was an inspired instrument who accomplished the purposes of the Lord in the

discovery of the Americas but acknowledging the Admiral's lack of inspiration in attempting to govern the colonies. Those with even a limited knowledge of Columbus, however, will be left wanting more.

Garr primarily has two objectives in the volume. The first is to give a historical sketch of Columbus's life and his voyages to the Americas. Using recent scholarship on the topic, this part is well done. The second purpose is to outline Columbus's religious convictions and demonstrate that he believed himself an instrument in the hands of the Lord. This section has some deficiencies. There is only a limited discussion of his religious views and background. Columbus had a scholastic Catholic view of the universe as permanent and unchanging, and of a world that was divided into three parts: Europe, Asia, and Africa. As Garr points out, Columbus believed in the prophecies of the Old and New Testament regarding the conversion of all of the world's peoples to Christianity, the final recovery of the Holy Land, and the return of the Messiah. A major stimulus for his travel and discovery was a striving to fulfill prophecy. He believed that his understanding of the world came about through inspiration and that his subsequent discoveries were inspired by and influenced by God. He believed himself to be selected and predestined to fulfill this important quasi-final scene in the world's history.[4]

The author draws some statements on Columbus from early writers who recognized this important religious component. His first biographers, his son Ferdinand and Bartolomé de Las Casas, both emphasized his religious training and convictions.[5] In his study of the European discovery and exploration of the Americas, Alexander von Humboldt felt that Columbus was a "strange combination of ideas and sentiments. . . gifted with a high intelligence and with an invincible courage in adversity, nourished on scholastic theology."[6]

Garr includes little concerning those who influenced Columbus and recognizes only briefly the religious climate and millennial fervor that was part of his environment. Columbus's religious feelings and beliefs were not atypical, but representative of an important faction of the Catholic Church who anticipated the spread of the gospel and the subsequent apocalyptic end of the world. Even Sir Isaac Newton spent time with the numerology of the Apocalypse attempting to determine the second coming of Christ. Many of the educated and prominent

people of Europe believed the discovery of the New World was one of the final events to occur before the end. Columbus's beliefs were not unique, but typical of his time.[7]

The greatest disappointment in the volume is its failure to examine seriously the *Libro de las prophecías.* The author devotes a brief five pages to the document. For Mormons its translation and publication in English may be the most significant event of the quincentenary. In it we learn much about Columbus's feelings and emotions about his role in religious history. We learn that he loved to read and believed the foundation of all learning was in the Bible. We recognize clearly that he saw himself as the chosen messenger of God, destined to open the way for the evangelization of the newly discovered lands. His search for gold is justified because it would be used by the sovereigns of Spain to reclaim the Holy Land. Garr's approach to the document is descriptive with some discussion of the scriptures Columbus used. Greater analysis is needed to clarify how the scriptures were understood by Columbus and to address other questions Columbus's account raises for Latter-day Saints. An explicit comparison with LDS beliefs would also have been helpful.

The volume includes maps and appendixes with a Columbus chronology and a brief list of Columbus quotes related to his spiritual beliefs and experiences. Also included are a list of quotes by Latter-day Saint prophets and apostles on Columbus and a list of the one hundred "eminent men" baptized by proxy in the St. George Temple in 1877 of whom Columbus was one.

The book will provide Church members with a summary of the life of Columbus and a brief discussion of his religious perceptions within the framework of the Book of Mormon prophecy. An in-depth study of his religious beliefs and activities and how they relate to LDS thought has yet to be written.

NOTES

[1] In her study of Columbus's spiritual background, Pauline Moffitt Watts indicated that Columbus had strong feelings about his place in religious history. He felt strongly about the scientific and discovery advances he had brought about but felt equally strong about his spiritual accomplishments: "He came to believe that he was predestined to fulfill a number of prophecies in preparation for the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world." See "Prophecy and Discovery: On the Spiritual Origins of Christopher Columbus's 'Enterprise of the Indies,'" *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985): 74. Garr includes the work in his bibliography. The work is also discussed in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon,* ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Provo: F.A.R.M.S., 1992), 32–35.

[2] One of the reasons may be that of language. His diary has been available in English for years. The *Libro,* however, was published in 1894 in the original Spanish and Latin. It was translated into English only in 1991. A copy of the 1894 version has been part of the rare books collection at Brigham Young University for several years. BYU also recently acquired a facsimile of the original manuscript.

[3] A favorite Columbus quotation used by Mormons is drawn from a biography published in English in 1930 by the German author, Jacob Wasserman, which was described by a reviewer as "not a biography of Columbus based upon the sources, but a picture made up of personal impressions having almost no relation to the known facts." See "Jacob Wassermann, *Columbus, Don Quixote of the Seas,* trans. Eric Sutton (Boston: Little, Brown, 1930); and P. Biggaritt, "Recent Books on Columbus," *Canadian Historical Review* 12 (March 1931): 61. An article in the *Improvement Era* quoted his visitation experience during the fourth voyage. That reference was not mentioned by other Mormon writers. See Hyde M. Merrill, "Christopher Columbus and the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 69 (February 1966): 135.

[4] Watts, 79.

[5] Ferdinand Columbus (Colón), *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand,* trans. and annotated by Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1959); and Bartolomé de Las Casas, *History of the Indies,* trans. and ed. Andrée Collard (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

[6] Alexander von Humboldt, *Examen critique de l'histoire de la géographie du Nouveau Continent et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique aux quinziène siècles* (Paris: Librairie de Gide, 1836), 110. See also Alejandro de Humboldt, *Cristóbal Colón y el descubrimento de America* (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1926).

[7] For studies of the religious environment see Margorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1979); and John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

MICHAEL R. COLLINGS. *In the Image of God: Theme, Characterization, and Landscape in the Fiction of Orson Scott Card*. Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction and Fantasy, no. 42. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990. ix; 192 pp. Bibliography, list of works cited and consulted, index. $42.95.

Reviewed by Jonathan D. Langford, Ph.D. student, Department of English, University of California at Riverside.

Orson Scott Card is arguably the most successful, and certainly one of the most talented, writers of fiction the LDS community has yet produced. For a Mormon audience, he has produced several short stories; a number of plays; a historical novel, *Saints* (originally published as *A Woman of Destiny,* winner of the 1985 award for best novel from the Association for Mormon Letters); and an assortment of miscellaneous items, including *Saintspeak,* a humorous dictionary of LDS terms, and scripts for many of the popular video and audio tapes on LDS Church history and scripture. Card is perhaps best known, however, for his science fiction and fantasy: over sixty short stories, many of which have been collected into his recent omnibus volume, *Maps in a Mirror,* and over a dozen novels, including the award-winning *Ender's Game* and *Speaker for the Dead,* the yet-to-be-completed *Tales of Alvin Maker* series (based on the life of Joseph Smith), the new *Homecoming* series (*The Memory of Earth* and *The Call of Earth* published so far), and *Lost Boys,* a recent excursion into mainstream horror. A several-times winner of the prestigious Hugo, Nebula, and World Fantasy awards, Card is clearly an important figure within the science-fiction-and-fantasy landscape, notable not only for his popularity, but also for the high standards of quality in his work.

In the Image of God: Theme, Characterization, and Landscape in the Fiction of Orson Scott Card by Michael Collings represents the first book-length study of Card's fiction, though numerous shorter articles have appeared. As such, it deserves particular attention, not only for its own sake, but also because it sets an agenda of sorts for future Card studies. Each of the seven chapters stands almost as a separate essay on some aspect of the broad triple focus of the title (theme, characterization, landscape), but together they create a suggestive, carefully drawn picture of Card's writing as a whole, as well as provide

interesting observations on a number of individual works. Throughout, Collings focuses attention on elements that are clearly central to a proper understanding of Card's work, yet not so obvious as to preclude the possibility of fruitful and intriguing commentary. For someone who is interested in exploring the manifold implications and ideas in Card's work, this volume is a good place to start.

It is often considered unsophisticated, or at least unfashionable, to look too closely at authors' ideas about their own work; and certainly it is important not to mistake an author's views for authoritative pronouncements. However, critics cannot properly ignore information about the conceptual context within which such writing projects are shaped, particularly when that information sheds light on important ideas in the works themselves. Thus, one of the most important services Collings provides is to make the reader aware of the large body of writing Card has produced on his own writing, on the practice of writing in general (Card is author of a book on characterization in science fiction and fantasy), and on other writers' works. By quoting Card's words and relating them to the practice of Card's fiction, Collings creates a context for understanding precisely what Card is attempting to accomplish in his work and for judging his success in that project. Particularly interesting are Card's observations on the role of storytelling in the life of the community (discussed in chap. 2, "To See the World the Poet's Way"), which are highlighted by his three critical terms *critick, epick*, and *mythick*. Each of these represents a different level of belief in reading stories: the critickal mode is that of the detached reader; the epick, that of readers who find a story true for their own group (for example, fiction that embodies a particularly "Mormon" experience of the world); and the mythick, that of readers who believe a story is true for all human beings. Card's own fiction is focused on creating belief on the latter two levels; hence the central importance of storytelling to Card, as opposed to the stylistic concerns that drive many other writers. This emphasis on storytelling is also—at least, according to Collings—one of the keys to understanding the effectiveness of Card's fiction, which is powerful because it allows readers to "see the world as the poet sees it and live by the changes that will then irrevocably taking place in them" (41).

One of the most significant elements in Card's worldview is his strong commitment to LDS ideals and beliefs, a commitment that finds its way into his science fiction and fantasy as well as his overtly Mormon fiction. Collings, who is himself LDS, spends much of the book arguing the importance of these elements in Card's fiction and tracing their appearance in specific works. Chapter 3, "'Farther in and Farther Up': Mormonism, Science Fiction, and Orson Scott Card," discusses Card's "Book of Mormon" style, the Messianic focus of such works as *Ender's Game* and *Speaker for the Dead,* the description of America as the promised land in Card's *Folk of the Fringe* stories, and the use of Joseph Smith's life story and early events from American history in the *Tales of Alvin Maker* series. Throughout Card's fiction, Collings argues, both in his more and in his less explicitly LDS-influenced work, the focus is not on preaching but on inviting readers into "an essentially Mormon world" (74). One of Card's tools in constructing such Mormon worlds are landscapes (described in chap. 7) which, according to Collings, can be interpreted literally, allegorically, analogically, and anagogically (the traditional four levels of medieval exegesis) in terms of LDS elements: the explicitly LDS historical setting of *Saints;* the science fiction marvels of the Worthing and Ender stories, which can be seen as standing for spiritual counterparts; and the worlds of *Treason, Folk of the Fringe,* and the Alvin Maker stories, in which the landscape itself blends with the human characters in the fulfillment of their individual and collective destinies. Card thus represents, in his attempts to blend science fiction and fantasy with his own Christian beliefs, a kind of Latter-day Saint C. S. Lewis—though the comparison is perhaps unfortunate in light of Lewis's tendency at times to sacrifice story on the altar of theology, a temptation Card generally resists.

These sections are clearly of particular interest for LDS readers of Card's work, and may help create a broader understanding of the LDS implications of his work for non-LDS readers as well. Unfortunately, much of Collings's discussion is handicapped by the absence of any clear exposition of some basic LDS beliefs—including the doctrine of human divinity, which seems central to Card's Worthing stories and to many of his other stories as well. It is hard to perceive the particularly LDS twist to Card's use of Christic patterns without

an understanding that the path Christ took is one that other humans are expected to follow and that the hero in Card's works is thus a human on his or her path to godhood. Hence the particular suitability of science fiction as a vehicle for Card's fiction, since the attaining of godhood is one of the genre's most resonant themes. Collings's analysis here stops short of some of its most interesting possibilities—though whether out of reluctance to spend even more time on the LDS angle in a work of mainstream literary criticism or out of fear of over-simplifying and perhaps overstating the relationship between LDS theology and Card's fiction is unclear. On the whole, however, Collings's discussion is both clear and suggestive and provides a good starting-point for future criticism along these lines.

Another element of Card's fiction that more or less demands attention is his use (perhaps overuse) of the young boy (sometimes girl) with extraordinary gifts who is exposed to great suffering, including the need to inflict cruelty; loses his identity as a child; must be sacrificed or sacrifice himself in order to save the community; and at the end of the story either dies or (in more recent works) must struggle to reattach himself to humanity in order to live: "the child-god with life and death in his hands," as Collings describes him in his title to chapter 5. The pattern is that of the Christ-figure but has a broader application as well: it is the hero monomyth, the archetypal pattern described by Joseph Campbell, Northrop Frye, and others, or at least one variation on these patterns.

The use of this pattern in Card's fiction is the primary focus of chapters 4 and 5, in which Collings also responds to criticisms of Card's work as being too violent and lacking adequate characterization (although, as Collings points out, Card's characters are consistently praised by those who like his work). Collings's argument is that both the pain and the archetypal overtones of Card's characters are part of what gives them their power: Card's use of these elements is neither trivial nor simplistic, but valid and complex, justified not only in terms of literary convention, but also in terms of Card's own fictive worlds and their emphasis on individual and collective transcendence. This last point is the particular focus of chapter 7, "'The King's House Is All the World': Building the Crystal City," in which Collings confronts the problems of the hero's

reintegration into the larger community at the end of the quest and the need for individual experience to serve the communal good. Such an emphasis runs directly counter to the practice of much "serious" literature over the past hundred years or so: the hero has commonly been the artist, whose alienation from the community is featured not only as a cause of suffering, but as the mark of his or her special calling. In Card's fiction, however—as in his criticism—the hero and the artist both are defined in terms of their function within the community and must find their identity there in order for their lives and their work to be complete.

There are suggestions here of a distinctly LDS poetics—one which sees the poet as one type of hero, even as a type of Christ-figure, but which, like LDS theology, thinks of that role less in terms of difference than in terms of continuity with other human beings. Thus, the work of the Maker—whether he or she is simply a shaper of stories and tales or, like Alvin Maker, a creator of genuinely new things in the real world—is to create a community by teaching other people how to be Makers. Perhaps such a way of looking at the poet/hero is better expressed through the particularly LDS image of the prophet—someone who, while remaining human, receives communication from God and is often called upon to sacrifice his life for the community. In light of Card's view that it is through the telling of stories that we create human communities, such a poetics might provide interesting insights into the larger question of the relationship of the individual and the community—a problem that is particularly vexing for a theology like ours which simultaneously insists both on community solidarity (the "City of Zion" imperative) and on irreducible individual responsibility. Such ideas might also help move us beyond a relatively narrow view of what constitutes a "Mormon" literature, both in terms of subject matter and stance.

The development of such an LDS poetics is clearly beyond the scope of Collings's work. What this study does, however—and does well—is to raise a number of such issues and make a convincing case for their importance without going too far afield from its primary focus, that is, to provide a clear and accessible interpretation of some of the most important features of Card's work. On this score, Collings's bibliography of Card's works and of writing about him deserves particular

mention for its carefulness and completeness (though I did notice two omissions: "Billy's Box," a short story published in *The Friend* under the name of Byron Walley,[1] and "Star Pioneers," a star show written for the Hansen Planetarium in Salt Lake City[2]). It is to be hoped that Collings will continue to maintain and find publication outlets for updates to this bibliography, which constitutes a vital critical tool for anyone interested in writing on Card's work.

Unfortunately, the editing and proofreading of this work do not equal its scholarship: there are several errors and inaccuracies (e.g., missing lines in the preface and a reference to Lewis's seven-book series *Chronicles of Narnia* as a "five-volume treatise" (8)), and there is a general problem with repetition on the one hand and a lack of needed information on the other: for example, Card's critical output and honors are described at the beginning of both chapters 1 and 2, while the term "critickal" is not defined until the chapter after it has been initially used. Overall, it appears that the various chapters were written as separate essays and only incompletely integrated into a single work. Given the fairly hefty cost of volumes in this series, one would expect that Greenwood Press could devote a little more editorial attention to their manuscripts.

Such problems, however, do little to decrease the overall usefulness of the volume, nor to detract from the interest of its carefully thought-out and persuasive discussions regarding specific aspects of Card's works. As for the other point noted earlier—an unwillingness at some points to push critical arguments as far as they could, perhaps, profitably be taken—such criticisms may ultimately reflect little more than the inevitable difference in perspective between an author and any individual reviewer. What Collings has done, in any case, is to open up the field for future work. One can only hope that future contributions will maintain the same high level of scholarship and care that Collings's work displays.

NOTES

[1] Byron Walley, "Billy's Box," *Friend* 8 (February 1978): 14–16.
[2] Script copyrighted in 1986.

Brief Notices

Prophesying upon the Bones: J. Reuben Clark and the Foreign Debt Crisis, 1933-39

by Gene A. Sessions (University of Illinois Press, 1992)

During the 1920s, foreign governments tapped the U.S. capital markets by selling bonds to individual investors. However, as these governments encountered financial difficulties, they found it easy to forgo payments to the U.S. bondholders. Responding to the resulting outcry from the private investors, the U.S. government formed the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council in 1933. This quasi-governmental group was authorized to negotiate directly with foreign governments to seek redress for the bondholders. J. Reuben Clark, Jr., served as the president of the FBPC almost from its inception until he resigned in 1939.

Sessions describes this period as perhaps Clark's primary public service accomplishment. Focusing on the administrative structuring of the council, Sessions relates how Clark imbued it with his ideals of honesty, trust, commitment, and honor. During this same period, Clark was also serving in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Sessions draws parallels between Clark's public policy and negotiating positions and his religious beliefs and values. Although the book lacks details about the actual negotiations, we learn that Clark was able to obtain relief from several countries. He was also successful in defending the council from its public and private critics. *Prophesying upon the Bones* is weakest in its comparison of the 1930s bond defaults to the current developing country debt crisis. Sessions' attempts to "probe deeply into the mindset" of Clark are also subject to challenge. Nevertheless, the book provides insights into a little-known aspect of Clark's public career.

— Brent D. Wilson

Toward Understanding the New Testament

by O. C. Tanner, Lewis M. Rogers, and Sterling M. McMurrin (Signature Books, 1990)

According to its preface, this book is intended to update O. C. Tanner's 1932 work on the New Testament for modern critical readers. In this attempt, it fails. There has been some effort to add references to more modern sources in the bibliography and in the footnotes, but these seldom influence the substance of the text. A few selections, but too few, show signs of recent work, but overall the patina of contemporary scholarship is just too thin to disguise the fact that this book is almost a century out of date.

On the one hand, the book is postrationalist in that it adopts a naturalistic methodology and assiduously avoids the "distortion" of religious belief, but on the other hand, the book is distinctly precritical. There is little or no discussion of the problem of the historical Jesus, of the Quest or New

Quest, of form criticism or other types of literary criticism, or of the importance to the New Testament of archeological and manuscript discoveries since the 1940s. And while there is a cursory discussion of the synoptic problem, the critical implications of that problem are totally ignored in the harmonized "life of Jesus" approach of the commentary. The footnotes lean heavily toward works written at or before midcentury, except where they have been added as an afterthought.

In short, for the most part this book is a museum piece of social gospel, ethical Jesus, turn-of-the-century rationalism. *Sic transit eruditio doctorum.*

— Stephen E. Robinson

Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict
edited by Clark V. Johnson
(Bookcraft, 1992)

Ultimately, persecution is personal. The causes may be institutional and the aftermath may blame faceless mobs, but in reality it's people persecuting people. The blows are thrown by flesh and blood, and the hits are losses taken at the most personal levels. No better (or worse) example of this can be found than in the Missouri persecution of the Latter-day Saints, and *Mormon Redress Petitions* assembles a massive collection of all known and existing personal petitions for redress submitted by early LDS Church leaders to the United States government after those atrocities ended in 1838.

Even though the Saints had purchased land, cultivated it into productive farms, and built homes, they were obliged to abandon their property or face certain death. While imprisoned in a Missouri jail, the Prophet Joseph Smith instructed the Saints to compile written affidavits detailing their losses. These affidavits were organized into at least four separate petitions to the United States government, yet they produced no relief, nor could federal courts be persuaded to hear the case. This book gives a grassroots view of this episode in Mormon history, with statement after statement by the people who experienced these persecutions up close.

This documentation also dispels the notion that the Mormons were expelled from Missouri only because of social, political, and economic reasons, and shows that the dominate reason for Missourian hostility toward the Saints was religion. Account after account tells how the mobsters pressed the Saints to denounce their belief in the Book of Mormon and membership in the Church in exchange for promises of safety. Readers may inspect these original statements and personal narratives, and come to their own conclusions about what happened during this dramatic period in Church history.

— Boley T. Thomas

Breaking the Cycle of Compulsive Behavior
by Martha Nibley Beck
and John C. Beck
(Deseret Book, 1990)

Written to Latter-day Saints who are addicted to compulsive behaviors and to their family members, this work presents a simple and refreshing new paradigm. It describes four steps of a "compulsive cycle" which can be replaced by opposing steps in a "joy cycle." The addictive cycle begins with feelings of isolation, followed by actions of

self-indulgence, followed by feelings of self-hatred, followed by actions of self-concealment, followed by deeper feelings of isolation and so on. The opposing "joy cycle" consists of replacing the negative feelings and actions with self-enhancing counterparts such as feelings of belonging, progressive actions, feelings of self-esteem, and actions of self-disclosure, which lead to greater feelings of belonging.

To bring about change from the negative cycle, those attempting to help the addict are enjoined to focus on the addict's feelings, not on changing actions or behaviors. Three fictionalized representative cases—Ellen, an anorexic; Bill, a drug addict; and Warren, a homosexual addict—are presented in helpful monologues. These three characters reveal their internal struggles to break the cycle of compulsive behaviors. Chapters 7 and 8 are especially full of helpful insight for the loved ones of the behavioral addict and are worthy of serious discussion in the family. While there are no magical panaceas, the authors offer the lay reader doable instructions for change.

—Jonathan M. Chamberlain

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