OUTDOOR LIFE OF WILFORD WOODRUFF

MEDICAL DIAGNOSIS OF THE DEATH OF JESUS

PREMODERN PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE HOLY LAND

BATTALION ROUTE AND THE GADSDEN PURCHASE

RITES OF PASSAGE AND THE HUMANITIES
BYU STUDIES
A MULTIDISCIPLINARY LATTER-DAY SAINT JOURNAL
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Wilford Woodruff, ca. 1888
Courtesy LDS Archives. Photograph reversed.
“I Dreamed of Ketching Fish”: The Outdoor Life of Wilford Woodruff

Known as both a “mighty fisher” of men and an enthusiastic literal fisherman, President Woodruff melded the spiritual metaphor of fishing with the temporal reality.

Phil Murdock and Fred E. Woods

September 2, 1998, marks a century since the death of Wilford Woodruff. He was already forty years old when he stopped his carriage at the mouth of Emigration Canyon so Brigham Young could survey the prospect below. Elder Woodruff, an avid fisherman, was delighted to see “the glorious valley abounding with the best fresh water springs rivets creeks & Brooks & Rivers of various sizes all of which gave animation to the sporting trout & other fish while the waters were wending there way into the great Salt lake.”

By the time of President Woodruff’s death a half century later, the Saints had used the waters to make the desert blossom as a rose, and the single settlement in the Salt Lake Valley had multiplied into nearly five hundred settlements from Canada to Mexico. By 1898 the population of Saints, small enough to winter the first year entirely within a small adobe fort, exceeded one hundred thousand. The rapid prosperity of the Church magnified the nation’s “Mormon problem,” and it fell upon President Woodruff to achieve reconciliation. Under his presidency, the Manifesto was issued and Utah was granted statehood.

At President Woodruff’s funeral, Church leaders spoke to the gathered thousands, taking as their theme the well-known, unflagging toil of President Woodruff: Joseph F. Smith gave thanks for a prophet “whose labors had been so blessed to the people of God” and who had “shown his greatness in giving out his life’s labor for the establishment of this testimony in the earth.” Franklin D. Richards recalled Woodruff’s “great missionary labors” in which he “had been
a mighty fisher of men.” And George Q. Cannon, who as friend and
counselor knew him as intimately as any, said Woodruff “labored
freely and gratuitously in the ministry. With him it was a labor of
love.” He added that Woodruff’s “characteristics were ennobling, and
so energetic was he that nothing was too burdensome for him even
in his advanced years.”

Wilford Woodruff as Outdoorsman

President Cannon was certainly familiar with President
Woodruff’s energy—not only in his labors for the Church, but in
his outdoor life as well. After all, six years earlier Cannon and his
wife had accompanied the eighty-five-year-old Woodruff and
his wife Emma on a ten-day camping trip to the headwaters of
the Weber River. They had traveled by rail to Park City and then
sixty-five miles by carriage into the high mountains, arriving on
a Thursday at the backwoods camp of Tyler Clayton. Friday found
Woodruff on the stream, where he caught six trout and reported
seeing “many chickens or Grouse.” But the exertion and altitude
finally wearied him, and he spent most of the remaining days
in camp.

On Saturday, Tyler Clayton’s brother bagged six trout, some
grouse, and very nearly Tyler himself, who took seven ricocheting
shotgun pellets. Sunday was reserved for worship. In the outfitter’s
tent, Cannon administered the sacrament, and President
Woodruff reminisced over his conversion and missionary travels.
On Monday and Tuesday he read, conducted Church business, and
reported that a companion had taken seven more grouse. On
Wednesday, August 24, 1892, the durable Claytons crossed the
mountains in a nasty hailstorm to fish Bear River. In their absence,
primed by days of reflection in the mountains, Woodruff com-
posed a remarkable letter later published in Forest and Stream, a
prominent weekly sporting periodical.

Writing was an obsession for Woodruff. He wrote in his jour-
nal virtually every day for fifty-four years and once explained the
need: “I seldom ever heard Brother Joseph or the Twelve preach or
teach any principle but what I felt as uneasy as a fish out of water
untill I had written it. Then I felt right.” He typically concluded
each year with an entry titled "A Synopsis of Labors." The synopses recorded miles traveled, meetings conducted, and ordinances performed. His *Forest and Stream* letter is a secular equivalent, an unusual reverie in which time and place are remembered in context of landscape and wildlife. The letter begins:

I was born on March 1, 1807, at Avon, Hartford county, Conn., on the banks of a trout brook which had turned the wheels of a flour mill and a saw mill, owned by my grandfather and father, for many years. As soon as I was old enough to carry a fish-rod I commenced catching trout, which I have continued to do, from time to time, for nearly 80 years.11

Woodruff reported that his interest in sporting persisted into adulthood, when he netted salmon in Lake Ontario, "very few of which were under 20 pounds, while a few weighed 40 pounds." He also recalled his second mission to England when he experienced "fishing with fly for trout and salmon" but admitted, "I met with little success there." President Woodruff went on to tout the rich waters

of the Great Basin, which "abounded with the largest and finest trout when we first reached the Territory," and recalled a "haul at the mouth of Provo River . . . judged to be about 4,000 pounds."12

He wrote of a trip twelve years earlier, where he "fished 4 hours in a creek leading into Bear River, with a rod and reel, and caught 20 trout." One trout weighed ten pounds, he said, "but on account of the perpendicular height of the bank I could not land him." He noted with regret that "as the country has become settled [the trout] have steadily decreased" and referred to hatching operations that he hoped would sustain the fishery.13

President Woodruff wrote of a land "thickly inhabited with the elk, deer, antelope, panther, mountain lion, wild cat, and grizzly, cinnamon and brown bear." He conceded he had never killed a bear but threw in the obligatory grizzly story for the eastern publication. Woodruff was armed and the grizzly bear within range, but "the manner she treated her cubs, while apparently trying to wean them, plainly indicated the wisdom of letting her pass unmolested."14

Fowl had been abundant in the Utah Territory: "For years our lakes, ponds and streams were alive with pelican, geese and ducks; and chickens and sage hens were numerous in the hills; but as the country is being settled, our feathered game, too, correspondingly diminishes." Woodruff concluded the letter with the current sporting trip:

During the last few days we have killed 30 chickens near our camp. One of our company started a flock and shot nine times on the wing, dropping 9 birds, the tenth shot brought down 2, the balance of the charge striking the side of a rock, glanced and hit a young man as he was mounting into the saddle. Seven shots lodged in the man and eleven in the horse.15

Woodruff realized this natural world he was describing was decreasingly his. Three years earlier in 1889, when he assumed the presidency of the Church, he had written to longtime fishing companion William Atkin:

It looks now, in view of the constantly increasing labors devolving upon me, as though I would not get an opportunity very soon of again disturbing the fish and game of the pond, as in days past; but in that regard my inability or disappointment will be their pleasure, no doubt.16
The indefatigable Claytons returned to the Weber River camp the following day—diehard sportmen, "sick . . . near dying," from the stormy trip. But they brought thirty-five trout, to the delight of a man who would ever more rarely pursue them.\textsuperscript{17}

**Wilford Woodruff as an American Fly-Fisher**

Woodruff’s pursuit of trout has made him an important if minor figure in the history of American sporting. In a highly respected history of American fly-fishing, Paul Schullery uses Woodruff to illustrate the expansion of fly-fishing from eastern to western waters.\textsuperscript{18} Schullery quotes Ralph Moon, who published in the *American Fly Fisher* excerpts from "a comparatively obscure journal of a Western pioneer."\textsuperscript{19}

That pioneer, of course, was Wilford Woodruff:

> I threw my fly into the water and it being the first time that I ever tried the artificial fly in America or saw it tried, I watched it as it floated upon the water with as much interest as Franklin did his kite. . . .

> . . . and as he [Franklin] received great joy when he saw the electricity descend on his kite string, so was I highly gratified when I saw the nimble trout dart at my fly hook, and run away with the line. I soon worried him out and drew him to shore.\textsuperscript{20}

From reading Schullery and Moon, Woodruff might appear to be the quintessential nineteenth-century sportsman, mimicking English sporting rules and testing new silk lines. Woodruff himself lent some credence to the view, manifesting a little of the smugness that has characterized fly-fishing since the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{21} He prefaced his account of the "Franklinian" catch with discouraging reports from Fort Bridger that there were "vary few trout in the streams" and noted that "a good many of the brethren were already at the creeks with their Rods & lines trying their skill baiting with fresh meat & grass hoppers."\textsuperscript{22} However, for Woodruff, his catch confirmed not so much his own superiority as a fisherman as that of fly-fishing itself, an import as British as Woodruff’s Herefordshire converts. Indeed, Woodruff could not resist crowing in the privacy of his journal:

> I caught twelve in all and about one half of them would weigh about 3/4 of a pound each while all the rest of the camp did not ketch during the day 3 lbs of trout in all which was proof positive to me that the artificial fly is far the best thing now known to fish trout with.\textsuperscript{23}
But, interestingly, the journal references to fly-fishing end abruptly. Once Woodruff became established in the West, he did not write of the artificial fly again. He fished into his nineties, but did so incidentally, as the builder of a kingdom, not the proponent of a sport. His trips to favorite waters were appended to Church duties and speaking assignments.

It is also important to note that, like most of the early settlers, Wilford Woodruff's sporting life reflected the conventions of the last century, not the current one. His hunting and fishing pleasures doubled as dietary supplement or exploration for commercial harvest, and the health of a fishery never precluded irrigation. Dedicated sporting trips like that which prompted the *Forest and Stream* letter were rare. And in the end, when Woodruff was no longer physically able to fish and hunt, he did so vicariously, recording in his journal the successes of his sons.

**Early Affinity with Nature**

As his *Forest and Stream* letter indicates, President Woodruff's interest in the natural world began in childhood. With his brother Thomas, he earned a reputation as the most successful angler on Old Farm Brook, pursuing spotted trout. As Thomas Alexander explains, when Woodruff began seriously to study religion, he retreated to an island in the Farmington River to read comforting nature poetry: "The solitude of vast extent, untouched by hand or art / Whose nature sowed herself, and reaped her crops." He kept no journal from this period, but later journal references indicate the significance of nature, particularly the river, to the youth. While on his first mission to England, he recorded a poignant dream:

> I saw a still larger River. It appear like Farmington River in the U.S.A. at the Mill which my Father is tending, & on the other side of the River was a Boat to which was tied many fish lines. On one hook was a fish so large that the captain of the Boat *Israel Dormon* by name could not bring him into the Boat.

Woodruff's river dreams suggest that his love of place was twined with his love of people. Another mission dream reunited him with his father and brother on the Farmington River:
I fell asleep & Dreamed I was at my Fathers house in Farmington Con. my father had caught some fish. I thought I would go to fishing to. I went under the saw mill & the trench was full of pickerel father shut down the gates & the fish started to run down stream with the water. I run down to the bottom of the Island jumped into the trench, & caught a great many large fish with my hands as they came down. I then went to the mill & Brother Asahel Woodruff who has been dead two years came & brought many fish & showed me which he caught in the trench. 27

In the years between leaving Farmington and migrating West, Woodruff often returned to his family and the river. In 1838 he waded into the water, not to fish, but to baptize his father, mother, sister, aunt, cousin, and the local Methodist teacher. 28 During a visit in 1843, he wistfully remembered the river and its people: “I walked on the canal bank in the morning & surveyed the meadows the river the mill alone where I had walked with my Brothers & sister & with my Bosom Friend in days that are past. But now I am alone.” 29 He left Farmington for the last time in 1846. In his journal is a record of his regret, which nature itself seemed to share: “I bid Mr Woodford farewell And took the last look at the house Hills dales & Brooks of my Nativity where I was born & spent the days of my youth. I crossed the river over the aqueduct And rode home in the midst of a Heavy shower of rain.” 30

Conversion and Early Missions

Wilford Woodruff’s conversion in 1833, at age twenty-six, redirected his life. Beginning with Zion’s Camp in 1834 and then five missions in quick succession, he had little enough time to spend with his wife Phebe Carter, whom he married in 1837. His time between missions was filled with family responsibilities, including visits to the Carter in-laws who lived near marvelous fishing waters on the coast of Maine. Four months after his marriage, he reported spending “the day and night at anchor,” where he and the Carters caught 250 fish and saw four whales. 31 In 1838, he fished again with the Carters. He recorded that, after rowing two miles into the bay, we hove to, cast anchor & caught a small quantity of fish mostly Haddock; we then sailed to a point of Land & built up a fire hung on a pot, fried out some pork & dressed 6 Haddock & one Hake & put them into the pot we sliced in some potatoes & put in a quantity of
crackers & by adding some seasoning & boiling it untill it was throughly cooked it formed as rich a dish as would be necessary to set before a King.\textsuperscript{32}

In 1841 he reported still another Carter expedition, during which the party saw two hundred codfish and caught three. Again they "went onto the rocks & dined upon a rich Haddock chouder & boiled clams."\textsuperscript{33} Woodruff's affections for the Carter family ran deep, and he and Phebe had both worked to convert them. Eventually Father and Mother Carter were baptized, along with five of Phebe's siblings.\textsuperscript{34}

His frequent missions provided Woodruff more opportunity for fishing than did his life at home. His 1837–38 mission to the Fox Islands in Maine produced journal entries reflecting his interest in the fishery that sustained the islanders:

There is great quantitites of fish inhabit the waters, cooves & harbours around these Islands, such as Whale, Blackfish, Shark, ground Shark PILOT fish, Hors Mackerel, Sturgeon, Salmon, Holloboat, Cod, Pollock, Tom Cod, Hake, Haddock, Mackerel, Shad, Bass, Ale wives, Herren, Pohagen, Dolphin, Whiting, Frost fish, Flounders, Smelt, Skate, Shrimp, Skid, Cusk, Blebacks, Scollop Dogfish, Muttonfish, Lumpfish, Squid, Fivefingers, Monkfish, Nursfish, Sunfish, Swordfish, Thrashers, Cat, Scuppog, Tootog, Eyefish, Cunner, Ling, Eels, also Lobsters, Clams, Scollop, Mussels, Rincles, . . . and Porposes, Seal &c &c. & many others not named.\textsuperscript{35}

Along with his missionary companion Jonathan Hale, Elder Woodruff tested that fishery when they accompanied one S. Luce Esq. into Penobscot Bay. There they observed a school of pogagenfish that "cover'd acres" and would fill "500,000 barrels." Woodruff reported: "We caught none of them, but saw & herd them rush in large bodies upon the top off the water."\textsuperscript{36}

The missionaries' fishing of men had more positive results—their first baptisms came twelve days later, when they baptized Captain Justus Eames and his wife. The baptisms were cause for thanksgiving and telling interpretation of scripture. Elders Hale and Woodruff sought out a high granite ledge overlooking the sea, where "Elder Hale read the XVI ch. of Jeremiah that spake of the hunters and fishers that God should chuse in the last days to gather Israel."\textsuperscript{37}
Elder Woodruff saw no difficulty in a literal interpretation of the scripture, as he demonstrated the following day near Carvers Wharf:

Here we were for a moment diverted to see a school of Mackerel playing in the water by the side of the wharf while several men were cetching them with hooks. Elder Hale and myself flung out some hooks and had no difficulty in cetching a plenty of them. We caught what we wished for and went our way, leaving thousands of them in the water ready to bite the hook.38

The passage in Jeremiah suggests the seamless merge of the literal and figurative that increasingly characterized Woodruff's sporting life. In March 1838, he converted another islander, Ebenezer Carver, who had sought a witness of the Mormon preachings. Elder Woodruff prophesied “that there should no sign be given but the sign of the Prophet Jonas on a sudden their was a large fish arose on the water in the sea at a distance from him & suddenly sunk out of sight.” Carver wished to see the sign again, and the fish accommodated:

Immediately the fish again arose on the top of the water accompanied with another fish of the same specie & size & one of them swam on a straitline on the top of the water towards Mr Carver as he stood upon the beach when the fish came as near his feet as the water would permit him the fish looked at the man with a Penetrating eye as though he had a message for him he then returned to his mate in the Ocean & swam out of sight & Mr Carver returned meditating upon this strange sight & sign & the wonderful condescension of the Lord.

Woodruff noted that the sighting “was at a season of the year when fish of that size is not known upon these shores or coast & they never at any season of the year are known to come ashore as in this case.”39 Carver was baptized, and three days later Woodruff “baptized Mrs Mary Carver in the same place where the fish before spoken of came to Mr Carver.”40

Late in 1838, Wilford Woodruff concluded his mission in the Fox Islands and made his way back to the Saints in Missouri. He arrived in time to assist the other Apostles in laying the cornerstones of the temple in Far West. By July 1839, Elder Woodruff, with most of the Apostles, was on a ship to England, where he was to serve another mission of two years. This mission deepened the
weave of literal and figurative fishing. After a crossing during which he noted "a large school of purpo ses & Blackfish all around the ship," he labored first in the Potteries and then, at the invitation of convert John Benbow, in Herefordshire, where he preached with spectacular success among the United Brethren. It was in Herefordshire that he recorded a series of dreams that equated catching fish with gathering converts:

I saw by night a River in which were many fish. I cast an hook & caught some of them & while fishing I saw some large ones near shore. I put the hook to their mouth. They bit it & I caught them, & one vary notable one exceeding all other fish that I had caught. . . . [A] Bellman was called for to divide the fish & after the Bell was rung each man took a part, & while dividing the fish, one man said to another man I saw Baptizing last night. Was not you Baptized?

His dream-fishing continued after a long day of meetings at Fromes Hill:

I walked home with Brother Oaky & spent the night, & after standing upon my feet 8 hours in Conference, conversing much of the time, Ordaining about 30, confirming some, healing many that were sick, shaking hands with about 400 Saints, walking 2 miles, & Preaching 4 hours in the chimney corner, I then lay down & dreamed of Ketching fish.

The dreams followed Elder Woodruff to London; "I retired to rest & had an Interesting dream in ketching fish," he said in August 1840. His missionary labors in London were disappointing; however, he was encouraged by a series of dreams he did not record in his journal but to which he later referred:

I thank God that there begins to be a little stir in this city. We have had some good dreams of late about ketching fish & I hope we may soon realize it by Baptizing many souls for we have laboured hard in this city for many weeks & with great expens & baptized as yet ownly 19 souls.

Elder Woodruff was not alone in his frustration or in his dreaming. His journal tells us that Heber C. Kimball had similar dreams of harvest in London:

We retired to rest & I dreamed of ketching fish, fowl, geese & Turkies, in nets, & seeing a house on fire. Elder Kimball also Dreamed of casting a net & ketching a good hall of fish, two large ones, & gathering fruit. So I think sumthing will be done soon.
The work continued to be disappointing in London, where Woodruff labored until February 1841. His decision to leave was prompted by yet another fishing dream. He wrote:

We eat a supper of Sprats with Sister Morgan they were small fish 2 Inches long & I fell a sleep & dreamed of catching fish, many large ones with my hands I thought I told my Dream to a man who was putting up a gate post & he told me the interpretation was for me to make hast & Baptize as many as I could in London, & organize & set in order the Church, seal up my testimony in the city & return home in the spring.48

By October of the same year, Woodruff had returned to Nauvoo, where he spent two busy years building a house for his young family, working with the Twelve, managing the Times & Seasons, and serving on the city council. In 1843 and again in 1844, he served missions to the Eastern States. He was in Boston when he read of the Prophet’s death. Again he returned to Nauvoo, and a month later, at the direction of Brigham Young, accepted the call for a second mission to England.49

Second Mission to England

This time Elder Woodruff presided over the work in Great Britain and traveled throughout England and Scotland. Where he had only dreamed of fishing on his previous mission to England, he now wielded the rod. He went fishing on May 8, 1845, in the River Ribble, upstream from the point where Heber C. Kimball baptized the first English converts.50 Woodruff had conducted Church business in the Ribble villages between Blackburn and Chatburn. He then walked two miles to Downham expressly to visit Father Richard Smithies, who “is 70 years of age & is considered the greatest fisherman in the country.”51 The following day, Woodruff and Smithies were on the Ribble together.

Throughout his foreign missions, Woodruff sought to expand his knowledge by visiting iron works, museums, libraries, and historical sites.52 With Smithies he satisfied his curiosity about a new kind of fishing: “It was the first time I had seen the fly used in my life in the way of fishing. I was delighted with it the rod & line was so light & flung with such skill & dexterity that the trout are
beguiled & whare ever they are are generally taken." The delicacy of the casting was made possible by gear Woodruff had never seen:

His fish pole or rod was about 14 feet long somthing like cane vary slender & delicate. His long fine line made of hair & cat gut was wound around a small brass wheel with a little crank to it fastend to the but end of the pole. The line then runs through half a dozen brass rings or ilet holes fastend at a sutable distance along on the rod to the small end of it. 

The strangeness of the rod and reel was matched by the strange-ness of the tackle, which Woodruff described in detail:

One the end of the fine fish line is fastened 5 or 6 artifishal flies about 2 feet apart. These are upon a small cat gut almost as small as a single hair. 25 or 30 feet of the line is unwond from the reel at the but of the rod running through the rings to the point. The line is then flung upon the water the same as though it was tied at the end of the rod & the flies with a hook concealed in each swims down the stream. . . . The fisherman has flies different for almost ever month calculated to imitate the flies that float upon the water at the time they fish. These flies are made of the feathers of birds some of vari-ous colors.

He reported that Father Smithies was successful, catching "7 trout & two Cheven," a species of chub. Unlike the bait fishing to which Woodruff was accustomed, the take of the fly was a more graceful deception:

The trout instantly take it considering it the natural fly. They are hooked as soon as they strike it if they are large trout & run. They of their own accord unwind as much line as they want from the reel at the but of the pole or rod.

If the gear was novel, so was the playing and landing of the fish. Although fly-fishing had existed in America since colonial days, Wilford Woodruff had not seen it. He was impressed to see fish landed in current on light tackle:

The fisherman does not pull the fish out of the water on the bank by the pole but worries the fish in the water with the line untill he will not struggle. Then he draws him up to the shore by the line if he stands on the bank or to him if he stands in the water. He then takes a small hand net with a light pole 4 or 6 feet puts it under the fish & takes him vary deliberately out of the water.
The gut that attached the flies to the hair line was slender in order to reduce visibility. Because a fish in swift current could easily break it, Smithies had to be patient in landing the fish.\textsuperscript{58}

Woodruff's day with Father Smithies had been well spent. "I was much gratified," he said, "with this days fishing." He spent the night in Chatburn, and a Sister Parkinson "cooked the trout for us which made a good meal."\textsuperscript{59}

His satisfaction was such that he soon put Smithies's lesson into practice. He had taken a steamer from Liverpool to Carlisle, where he conducted a conference. The following day, in company with Brothers Allen and Walker, he tried his hand at the artificial fly. They walked ten miles, probably into Scotland, to fish a salmon stream. Success was immediate; they caught "three in about 5 minutes." But their adventure was cut short when a game warden arrived to inform them they were angling in posted waters. The brethren would, the warden told them, be subjected to a £5 fine if they continued. Elder Woodruff recorded plaintively, "So we all left the ground & returned home & got our walk for our pains & three small salmon fry."\textsuperscript{60}

Thus Woodruff inadvertently discovered British fly-fishing's companion institution—private waters. He had noted earlier the penury of Preston: the "streets were crouded with the poor both male & female going to & from the factories with their wodden or cogg shoes."\textsuperscript{61} In contrast, he wrote that in Oxfordshire the 7,500 acres of Stow and Wychwood Forests provided "a noted place of resort for sportsman to hunt Deer & hares &c."\textsuperscript{62} He also observed the grounds of the Duke of Sutherland, near Stoke-on-Trent:

Their are some hundreds of acres of wood land & farm paches all of which are enclosed with a fence of 4 & 5 feet high the whole of the fence composed of solid Iron. Their are miles of Iron railing in this park.

The Duke has vast quantities of game, fish & fowl in his Park, such as Deer, Hares, Rabits, Pheasants, Ducks, Geese Swan, Trout & many other kinds of fish. . . . There are game keepers to see that no person trespasses upon the park. The river Trent runs through the park. The Duke has converted the whole of it for a distance into a fish pool.
Wilford Woodruff felt such ownership offended the democracy of the gospel and abundance of God’s earth:

This DUKE of Southerland has two other Parks of as much value as the one above named. . . . But as JESUS said concerning the stones of the Temple, it will in like manner be with the monuments & pride of this generation. They will speedily be lade low in the Dust together.63

Woodruff resolved to pursue his fly-fishing in the more accessible waters of the United States. In December 1845, he recorded his purchase of gear in Liverpool: “I made A pruchase of salmon & trout rods, reels, lines, hooks, flies and aparatus for both salt & fresh water to the amount of £6.2.4.”64 He gave little detail about the equipment; however, one piece still exists—a fly rod now on display in the Museum of Church History and Art. It resembles Smithies’s rod as described by Woodruff: three sections of unsplit cane reinforced at close intervals with silk wrappings.65

The Migration West

Shortly after his purchase, Elder Woodruff returned to America. After stops in Farmington and Nauvoo, where he sold his home, he made his way to Council Bluffs.66 He recorded subsistence

Wilford Woodruff’s cane fly rod. Elder Woodruff purchased the rod in England in 1845 and fished with it a number of times while crossing the plains in 1847. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.
hunting but no fishing until September 1846. On the fifteenth, Woodruff went out for ducks but took his rod with him. After shooting six ducks and hiking back through “high weeds, grass mud & water,” he was “exceeding weary” but could not resist trying the rod: “Before returning home I took my salmon rod & line & spent a few moments in trying to ketch fish but could not start any.”67 He found the warm waters around Council Bluffs more conducive to traditional modes of fishing. He reported laying out set hooks and catching catfish.68 He did no more fishing until the day they left Winter Quarters, when he reported dining on catfish from the slow waters of the Elk Horn.69

The migration to the Rockies moved Woodruff into prime trout waters, which he eagerly anticipated. At Fort Laramie, he met a mountaineer “who had wintered at the great Basin of the Salt & Eutau lakes & he recommends the country vary Highly for a healthy fertile country the Lakes & streams abounding with trout & other fish.”70 But Woodruff was not content to await the waters of the Great Basin. He scanned the water of the Platt and noted its shallowness: “One can walk across two thirds of the river on bare ground.”71 Near Scott’s Bluff, he found a tiny spring-fed tributary with more promise. In a reach raised by beaver dams, the creek was “lined with fish a good share of which was speckled trout so the brethren informed me. This is the first stream I have met with containing trout since I left the New England States. Therefore I name it trout creek.”72 His interest piqued, he unpacked his fishing gear and a week later fished Horseshoe Creek in present-day Wyoming but “caught nothing.”73

Wilford Woodruff was not alone in his sporting interests. Four days later, he walked from camp up Deer Creek to find William Clayton and Appleton Harmon “fishing with a hook.” Clayton had caught “about two dozen good fish” and Harmon “some.” They graciously left their lines for Woodruff, who sat “for half an hour musing alone as unconcerned as though I had been sitting upon the banks of Farmington river.” His solitude was disrupted by sounds in the underbrush, and “for the first time the thought flashed across my mind that I was in a country abounding with the griselly bear wolves & Indians.” Deer Creek was no Farmington, and Woodruff, with “no weapon not even enough to have defend myself against a Badger,” decided that “wisdom dictated for me to
return to camp so I took up my polls & fish & walked leasurely home & retired to rest.”

Woodruff did not fish again until the camp arrived at Fort Bridger, although he did note “a creek of good water containing some small fish” near Willow Springs. But it was on the braided channels of Hams Fork that Woodruff found his water. He reported crossing “more than a dozen trout Brooks,” with water that runs “swift but clear” on “hard, cold gravelly bottoms.” Since “the calculation was to spend the day at the fort,” he seized the opportunity: “As soon as I got my breakfast I riged up my trout rod that I had brought with me from Liverpool, fixed my reel, line, & artificial fly & went to one of the brooks close by camp to try my luck catching trout.” His success was spectacular, and he penned the passages about fly-fishing that endeared him to Schullery and Moon.

The company moved the following day, but Woodruff’s success at Hams Fork sharpened his anticipation. Three days and thirty-two miles later, the camp arrived at the Bear River. On July 12, Woodruff recorded, “I started early in the morning & rode to bear River And for the first time I saw the long looked for Bear River valley. . . . My object in visiting the river before the camp was to try my luck in ketching trout as it was a stream famed for containing that kind of fish.” He found this water difficult to fish with his flies “in consequence of the thick underbrush.” Although the weather was favorable—“cloudy & cool”—he reported his “luck good bad and indifferents”:

I some of the time would fish half an hour & could not start a fish. Then I would find an eddy with 3 or 4 trout in it & they would jump at the hooks as though there was a bushel of trout it the hole. And in one instance I caught two at a time.

So eager was Woodruff to fish the difficult water that he waded in on horseback:

I fished some of the time on horsback riding in the middle of the stream which was about 3 rods wide & when I could not desend longer in the stream for swift & deep water I would have to plunge my horse through the bear thickets which was hard work to penetrate.

As always, he was alert for sounds of danger: “I knew not at what moment I would have a griselly bear upon my back or an Indian arrow in my side.”
Woodruff returned from Bear River to find Brigham Young ill with mountain fever. Brigham directed the company to split, with the vanguard pressing ahead. Woodruff stayed behind to carry Brigham in his carriage—"the easiest vehicle in camp." Bringham's party traveled more slowly, providing Wilford opportunity for fishing. On July 16, he fished the Weber Fork a mile from camp, where he "caught one trout for Br Young." The following day, Brigham's health limited travel to three miles along the Weber. Woodruff reported that he "fished with the fly & caught several trout"; he also mentioned the success of some brethren who caught trout—"some that would weigh a lb." The following day, Sunday, was spent largely in worship. However, Woodruff reported that "several Brethren caught some trout that would weight near two lbs each. I caught 2 with the fly but they did not seem to take it well in that stream." His journal entries for the final days of the trek west are peppered with references to trout streams. On July 20, Woodruff reported camping on "a trout creek about 10 feet across" and mentioned that "several of the Brethren caught small trout in the streams we camped on." The 21st was another camp day, again occasioned by illness, and Woodruff took advantage of the time:

The stream we are on [is] Ogdens fork. In the afternoon I waided the creek two miles & fished with the fly down to the mouth of the canyon & caught 8 trout. Thare is none vary large in this part of the stream. 1/4 of a lb was as large as we caught.

On the 22nd, the camp moved up East Canyon, crossing the creek eleven times in eight miles. It was "the worst 8 miles we have had on the journey," Woodruff wrote. The difficult terrain broke one of the wheels on James Case's wagon, causing a two-hour delay. Woodruff took the opportunity to catch "2 trout in the creek while waiting." On the 24th, the company emerged from the canyon onto the bench overlooking the Great Salt Lake Valley. Woodruff was delighted to see "the glorious valley" with its rivers and streams that "gave animation to the sporting trout & other fish. . . . Our hearts were surely made glad after a Hard Journey." The Fort Laramie mountaineer's description of the Great Basin's abundant waters proved to be accurate, and a week after arriving in the Salt Lake Valley, Wilford Woodruff was planting crops
during the day and fishing in the evening. His years of travel as an Apostle provided opportunity to explore God's gift of bounty, for which he was always grateful. He wrote during a trip to Idaho: “All the streams in this county abou[n]d in trout which is a great Blessing to the people.” Of the Bear Lake Valley, which would become one of his favorite sporting locations, he wrote:

We found this to be a large valley good soil & water sufficient to irrig[ate] the whole abundant timber & Handy a great stock range and the finest Lake in Utah Territory & perhaps in America for one of its size. It was 30 miles long 10 wide, & through the middle the botom not yet found with 200 feet line. The waters are cold & vary clear & abound with the finest trout in the world. Large streams inter into it from the mountains. Vast numbers of trout go up these streams from the Lake. . . . We had fish in plenty to eat.

He also recorded impressions of the Wind River basin: “[Mr. P. C. Sullivan] showed us his map and gave us an account of the streams, soil, timber, fish fir game &c. The streams abound with the fine mountain trout, Bever, Otter. There is vast forests of pine and Cottonwood.”

Changes in the West

The natural abundance of the West and Elder Woodruff's changing Church assignments redefined his outdoor life after 1847: he ceased to fly fish, his Church assignments made it possible for him to fish more frequently in different locations, and he developed an affection for local waters and companions.

Changes in Fishing Technique. After 1847, Wilford Woodruff ceased to speak of the artificial fly and delicate casts. Instead, his journals mention bait, set hooks, and netting. He understood that trout were food in the struggling settlements; when he praised Idaho trout as “a great Blessing to the people,” he was not referring to a community of scrupled fly-fishermen. Indeed, his journals reveal his great interest in the huge catches of the commercial fishermen. In 1863 he reported catches from Utah Lake:

I went out to the River on Saturday morning & caught about 15 lbs in an hour with a young man who said he could get 100 lbs per day in the Lake with a hook. A man caught 1 1/4 tons or 2,500 lb of trout at one hall with a net at the mouth of Provo River. It is the best place for fishing trout I ever [saw].
In 1868, Woodruff fished Utah Lake with several boats belonging to a commercial fisherman identified as Brother Matson. "They took there net & I my fish poll," he wrote. After catching four fish, he settled in to watch the netting operation, eventually offering a biblical suggestion:

They were some two hours drawing & took up their net in 4 feet of water. Had some 300 lb of trout & was about to draw again when I requested Brother Matson to go up & draw where I was fishing & he concluded to do so & went & drew his net & caught some 2,000 lbs of fine trout.

Netting was so successful in the rich waters of the new country that Woodruff felt compelled to distinguish his mode of catch: "We caught a few fish with Hooks & Returned," he wrote, and on another occasion, "Caught 25 trout with the Hook."

Woodruff was impressed enough with commercial fishing that he dabbled in aquaculture. In 1869 he built a private fish pond but does not record stocking it. In 1887, ten days after examining Matson's private ponds, he reported, "I am commencing to dig a fish pond for carp in the North East corner of the Lot." His pond was not a rarity. In 1889 he caught carp in the pond of George Q. Cannon.

However, Woodruff's techniques, as plebain as they might seem, were a step up from those of other settlers, who exploited springtime spawning runs of native cutthroat trout: "Vast numbers of trout go up these streams from the Lake. The Brethren kill them with clubs & spers & ketch them in nets." Writing of the trout at Fish Lake, he reported that during spawning season "a person can throw them out of the water with their hands or knock them in the head with a stick." He recorded that near Wanship "Giant Powder"—dynamite in granular form—was used to take fish.

Wilford Woodruff may have violated some of the rarefied tenets of fly-fishing, but he did not kill wantonly, nor did he waste his catch. He understood Latter-day Saint teachings concerning stewardship. He had been with Zion's Camp when Joseph restrained the men from killing rattlesnakes. He knew "the fullness of the earth" was "made for the benefit and the use of man," but he also understood the responsibility that attends the gift: "For unto this end were they made to be used, with judgment, not to excess, neither by extortion" (D&C 59:16, 18, 20). Instructions
A catch from Utah Lake, ca. 1890. Fishermen dock their boats at the mouth of the Provo River to unload their haul. From the collection of T. C. and O. Blaine Larson. Courtesy BYU Archives.
concerning God's living creatures were clear: "And wo be unto man that sheddeth blood or that wasteth flesh and hath no need" (D&C 49:21). Joseph's Inspired Translation of Genesis was even more explicit: "And surely, blood shall not be shed, only for meat, to save your lives; and the blood of every beast will I require at your hands" (JST, Gen. 9:11).

Woodruff reported releasing fish during a netting trip on Utah Lake: "As it was night, and having a great amount of dead fish on hand to be saved, after taking out several hundred pounds of the largest fish, the rest were turned into the lake alive." He made reference to wild game used for the sick or poor. For example, he wrote in 1887 that "we went to the pond to try to get a fish for the sick but got Nothing." Three months later, he visited the same pond with similar intentions: "I am thankful to say that Sister Cottam is Much better this morning. . . We caught 24 chub & got one quail for Mother Cottam." Woodruff's mix of sporting and compassion passed to the next generation. In 1895 he noted that his son Asahel and son-in-law Ovando Beebe "joined with the 100 Men who went to Camp Floyd to shoot Rabbits for the poor."

Woodruff recorded countless meals of his fish, and when catches were too large to be consumed, they were given as gifts to others. After a saltwater trip in San Diego, Woodruff reported that the fish "were put into the hands of our friends who went with us. I think they gave most of them away to their acquaintances."

The Saints also remembered Brigham's counsel, which Woodruff recorded in his journal: "Stop Eating pork. Use milk Eggs fowles & fish." In 1868, he took Brigham a gift of four fresh trout from Matson, the Utah Lake commercial fisherman. Woodruff also took him 250 pounds of salted fish. Brigham had use for everything, including all parts of the fish, as a Woodruff journal entry indicates:

I spent the evening with President Young. The time was spent mostly in conversation upon taning leather & making fish oil. J Cummings had bought of Homer Dunken some 20 gallons of fish oil but it was like soap & good for nothing he had kept it stiring all summer and spoiled it. President Young had told them if they wanted to make good fish oil make a vat or big tub set it in the sun & throw in all the heads & guts & let them lie & rot and stink & they will all turn to oil.
The Saints had seen too much deprivation and had worked too hard for harvests to be careless with the bounty that nature provided.

**Changes in Spiritual Significance of Fishing.** Circumstances caused other changes in Woodruff's attitude toward sporting. In England, Woodruff's fishing was woven tightly into a metaphor for his spiritual life, inhabiting his dreams as well as his journals. The tight weave ceased in the West. As the responsibilities of the growing kingdom and its troubles weighed more heavily upon his shoulders, fishing may have brought relaxation to him during the day, but his dreams in the night were concerned with more serious happenings:

I went up Big Creek & caught 15 trout. I dreamed last night . . . That the United States Flag passed from North to South in the sky all tattered & torn. Then the Constitution of the United States followed it but was all tied up with ropes to keep it from falling to Peaces. Then followed an imens Eagle with his tallons fast in the hair of the Head of President Grant carrying him off.\(^{108}\)

In 1887, as the Salt Lake Temple was nearing completion, President Woodruff recorded a dream that reflected his concerns at that time:

The Key of the Temple was given me to open it. As I went to the door a large company were assembled and I overtook Presidt Brigham Young and He asked what the matter was with the great company at the Door. Some one answered the Elders did not want to Let the people into the Temple. He said **Oh, oh, oh**, and turned to me & said let all all into the Temple who seek for salvation.\(^{109}\)

**Changes in Opportunity for Fishing.** As the metaphor of fishing decreased in spiritual significance in Wilford Woodruff's life, his opportunities to fish became more frequent. His constant Church travel provided him with ample occasion for fishing. A typical example occurred in June 1869. On the morning of Sunday the 13th, Elder Woodruff attended Church meetings in Salt Lake, then traveled to Huntsville, where he spoke in an evening meeting. The next day his delegation headed towards Bear Lake Valley, laying over on Blacks Fork, where he and his companions caught fifteen trout. They arose at four o'clock the next morning to breakfast on their trout and then rode on to Round Valley, where they visited settlements. He noted that his hostess in St. Charles bought from an Indian "2 trout that weighed 11 1/2 lbs."\(^{110}\)
On the 17th, the delegation ferried across the Bear River to Soda Springs. The next morning before breakfast, Elder Woodruff "caught 7 trout" in the Bear River, then spoke at a meeting in the schoolhouse before making the return ferry trip, which occasioned more fishing:

At the close of our meeting we went to the ferry swam our animals across & ferried our carriages across Bear river. Several of us stope[d] on Bear river to fish. We caught about 30 trout & then went onto North Creek & caught about 20 more, then to Paris & spent the night with Brother Rich family. Distance of the day 20 M.111

A trip to newly settled Rexburg, Idaho, illustrated the same mix of duty and pleasure. On May 31, 1884, he inspected canals and fencing, then attended a Saturday priesthood meeting. Afterwards, he rode to the Teton River, which was in spring flood. "We caught 2 trout but water to high to fish," he reported.112 Sunday, he spoke in meetings. Monday and Tuesday, he explored Canyon Creek, "a Deep gorge some 400 feet from the top of the bank to the water from an angle of 50 degrees to perpendicular." The seventy-seven-year-old Woodruff declined the descent, but newly called president of the Bannock Stake, Thomas E. Ricks, took the challenge. They returned with three trout, which served as dinner.113

Wednesday was recuperation day, and Thursday, fast day, with Elder Woodruff again speaking. He reminded the Saints "not to Hunt fish or work on Sunday but go to Meeting."114 The following week, he felt ill but continued to visit settlements and speak in meetings, repeatedly crossing the Teton "on a Cotton wood raft vary frail."115 On June 11, he organized the Parker Ward, and on June 12 he rode six miles up the Snake River to fish; he caught seven trout but was turned back by cold rain.116

While Elder Woodruff's fishing was appended to duty, he was not one to overlook opportunity. On August 31, 1882, he and fellow Apostle Brigham Young Jr. left Salt Lake for Church visits in the Uintah Basin. After a stopover in Heber, they "nooned on currant Creek," where Woodruff "caught 16 trout & B Young 8." That evening, they scouted the Duchesne River, which "is also of fine good water and abounds with fine large trout." Two days later Elder Woodruff passed up the opportunity to fish Deep Creek, "a small riley stream. Water rather poor."117
On September 6 and 7, they conducted interviews and on September 8 held a meeting in Ashleys Fork Valley. "At the close of the [meeting]," Elder Woodruff wrote, "we set out lines in green river and caught one white salmon of abot 5 lb weight." The next day was spent on the river, and the following day, a Sunday, Elders Woodruff and Young spoke in Church. Monday Woodruff "spent the Morning ketching grasshoppers for bait for trout." Tuesday they traveled, and Wednesday they fished the Duchesne again, where Woodruff caught seven trout, "3 of which would weigh 2 lb. each." On the 14th, Woodruff and Young fished the Duchesne in the morning, then Current Creek in the evening. On September 15, both fished Strawberry Creek, where Woodruff caught 14 and Young "quite a Number." Somehow the Brethren composed themselves by the time they reached Heber and recorded no more fishing.

Woodruff recorded less successful fishing during a visit to Idaho. "Our camp Had a day of leasure," Woodruff explained. "Myself B Young Jr. . . . & some 15 others drove 10 Miles to Blackfoot River to fish as it was Recommended as the best fishing stream in the Mountains." Woodruff confessed to "one small trout" and admitted that "we found ourselves Badly sold" by the fishing report.

Changes in Waters and Companions. Before his arrival in the West, Woodruff had fished primarily when he was away from home, on his mission, or on visits to his in-laws. But after 1847, he fished not only during his travels, but also in local waters with friends and, as his children became older, with family. In May 1851, he fished Mill Creek with his father and Thomas Kington, one of his converts from Herefordshire. In August 1852, he fished again with his father and his friend Samuel Hardy in Parleys Canyon, where they caught 39 the first day and 203 the second.

Utah Lake was a favorite haunt, particularly at year-end, for both fishing and hunting with his friend Brower Pettit. He recorded a November hunting trip during which their sailboat was twice stranded and he lost his pocket watch when he leaned out to retrieve a duck: "I striped naked & got into the water to my arm pits But it chilled me so bad I could not get my watch." Pettit then went in and retrieved the watch "with his toes." A year later, Woodruff made another Utah Lake trip with Pettit: "We caught a ton of fish & some 150 ducks 8 geese & 3 Otter." The last day of
1873 found him again fishing with Pettit: "It is Just 40 years to day since I was Baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. I rode with Brother Pettit down to Utah Lake & set a few hooks to catch some trout. We caught a few towards Evening."  

Elder Woodruff was particularly fond of Big and Little Cottonwood Canyons. On July 24, 1860, he took ten members of his family up Big Cottonwood Canyon to join other Saints in commemorating the entry into the Valley. Three boweries, each capable of accommodating six cotillions, provided a venue for the day's amusement. Woodruff wrote, "The day was spent in recreation such as dancing fishing and other amusements." Woodruff's catch was eighteen.  

He recorded fishing Big Cottonwood Creek again in 1886 and 1888. Perhaps fond memories of family trips to Big Cottonwood induced Asahel Woodruff to eventually operate a resort in that canyon.  

To celebrate the Fourth of July in 1889, Woodruff chartered three railroad cars to take friends and family up Little Cottonwood Canyon to the tent city at the temple quarries. He was delighted with the "streams of water in small troughs runing all through their settlement. The creek abounded with trout." So taken was he with the canyon that the Woodruffs built a summer home there. It was, he said,

one of the most Delightful Locations & Habitation I Ever saw for a summer retreat. . . . All the Presidency some of the Twelve & Bishop & many of the Saints have habitations there. My Habitation is built on the bank of the creek and on the East side of Central Park. The creek abounds with trout. I had a present of 25 trout for myself & family.  

Despite his many responsibilities, Woodruff found time for the occasional family vacation, which usually included fishing. In early summer 1886, he traveled with his wife Emma and five of their children on a six-week trip through Heber and Uintah Basin. His delight is evident in his journals, at least during the early part of the vacation. The party was halted by a snowslide in Cleggs Canyon, but Woodruff was undisturbed: "Asahel & the children went up the canyon 1 1/4 miles to a snow slide. I went fishing & caught 4 trout."

The rest of the trip reads like a chronicle of waters: May 26: "I caught 6 trout."; May 27: "I caught 6 trout."; June 4: "We fished in

The spectacular trip soon went downhill. Woodruff recorded a bushwhacking expedition in search of a backcountry lake. The six-mile trip took two days because of “high rocky Mountains Deep vallies, swampy water in the midst of fallen timbers which our Horses had to Jump.” The lake itself was disappointing: “We saw No fish Except trout and they were quite small. I Judge the altitude of the Lake to be 10,000 feet. I found great Difficulty in Breathing. The Boys went fishing. I had but Little spirit of fishing.” Bad went to worse: on the trip back they “followed the trail down a Mountain for near a Mile so steep & rocky that we had to go a head of the Horses & roll the rocks out of the road so they could get a foot Hold. . . . It seemed a Miracle that our Horses were not killed & ourselves also.”

The family vacation ended dramatically after a cave-exploring trip, when eighteen-year-old Clara “was taken Deadly sick.” By the time the family returned to base camp in Ashley, “half of the camp was sick with colds & fever.” In Ashley, Woodruff was greeted with the news that U.S. Marshals intended to jail him on polygamy charges. He “bid farewell to Emma & all of her Children” and fled into hiding.

An earlier family sporting experience had been even more unfortunate. While serving as president of the St. George Temple, Woodruff received a series of terse telegrams concerning the death of his twenty-year-old son, Brigham Woodruff: June 16, 1877: “Brigham Woodruff was drowned in Bear River near Smithfield 1 ocklo to day. Body not found.” June 16, 1877: “Your Brigham Shot duck on bear River. Swiming out to obtain it, supposed he Cramped. Sank about one to day. Men are searching for Body.” June 22, 1877: “Brigham floated Seventy Miles. Good Condition. Phebe W attends funeral at 10 ocklo to day. We sympathize.”

Elder Woodruff reflected on the loss: “Thus my Son Brigham has lost his life apparently for a trifle. We cannot always comprehend
the ways of Providence. . . . I have felt calm, composed, and reconciled in this bereavement."

**Sporting on the Underground**

Much of Elder Woodruff's sporting occurred under less than ideal conditions. Between 1879 and 1887, Woodruff was driven into exile for three extended periods. His first exile was triggered by the Supreme Court's conviction of George Reynolds on charges of polygamy. In February 1879, Elder Woodruff fled south.\(^{130}\)

He chafed under the restrictions of hiding: "I spent the day confined to my room. I do not have the outdoor Exercise that I feel that my system Needs."\(^{131}\) Woodruff soon found exercise during eleven months of dodging the U.S. Marshals in Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico. The forced exile gave him time to explore and reflect. He camped in the San Francisco Peaks, among "some of the finest Pine country I Ever saw in my life."\(^{132}\) He fished Black Falls, caught twenty fish, then returned a month later to catch more.\(^{133}\) In August he fished with Jacob Hamblin in Round Valley, catching "10 trout that would average about 1/2 a lb each."\(^{134}\)

Woodruff noted abundant populations of turkey, deer, antelope, and water fowl.\(^{135}\) He took the opportunity to hunt teal in nearby marshes with the assistance of his adopted dog Bobby: "The first shot . . . I got 7 that I killed dead."\(^{136}\) Never an enthusiastic large game hunter, he recorded a sequence of events that may have discouraged such hunting. On May 26, he recorded his kill of a doe antelope: "I shot her 125 yards through the Body & vitals and she run 300 yards over a ridge with her hind parts to me. I shot at her again and put a Ball from my Needle gun clear through her Body Endways. The Ball came out at her throat & she fell dead." On June 5, he wounded two deer and lost both. On June 13, he "saw 3 deer & 2 antelope & did not shoot at anything. I did not think it was right for me to kill wild game."\(^{137}\)

In August he met the Apache chief Petone, who was preparing his people for an antelope hunt. Ever the "mighty fisher of men," Elder Woodruff "preached to them one hour concerning the gospel and the Book of Mormon the Record of their fore fathers" and "prayed the Lord to Bless Petone on his hunt that he might
have meet for his family." Woodruff noted that Petone was wildly successful, killing twenty-seven animals: "It was a remarkable fact that they killed Evry Deer and Antilope they saw on the hunt."\textsuperscript{138}

Even though Elder Woodruff had relieved the stress of his exile by fishing and hunting excursions, these were not light-hearted sporting adventures. The difficulties that the Church and its members were suffering were weighing on his mind. In January 1880, on an eleven-day backcountry trip in the San Francisco Mountains of Arizona, he received what is known as the Wilderness Revelation, which predicted apocalyptic consequences for persecutors of the Saints.\textsuperscript{139} Woodruff's first exile ended in March 1880 when the Supreme Court ruled that stringent evidence was required for prosecution of polygamy.

He had a respite of nearly five years, but the passage in 1882 of the Edmunds Act, with the first prosecutions occurring in 1884, sent him underground a second time. In January 1885, he left for nine months of exile in southern Utah. This time he stayed near St. George, living with John and Emma Squires and occasionally with William Atkin.\textsuperscript{140} The Squires lived on the outskirts of St. George and had orchards and vineyards behind the house. The proximity to St. George, where people might recognize him, made fishing and hunting difficult: "Woodruff occasionally went hunting quails in a disguise that Emma made for him, a sunbonnet and a mother hubbard dress. Despite the disguise, an inquisitive neighbor met and recognized him in the rear of the house as he was returning."\textsuperscript{141}

Elder Woodruff often left St. George to stay with William Atkin, ten miles away in the bottoms of the Virgin River. Atkin's location provided two advantages: safety and sporting. On June 29, 1885, the day of his arrival, he fished Atkin's pond: "We caught 30 chubs & 20 doves."\textsuperscript{142} He hunted and fished the pond repeatedly and used it as a refuge as well. The Atkins children recalled strategies of subterfuge:

Nellie says . . . that she was dispatched to the hilltop east of the house where she could watch the approach roads. If she spotted the buggy of Marshals McGearry and Armstrong coming around the dugway above Bloomington or coming down the Price Road, it was a signal for the next step. Hyrum says . . . there was then a rush to get Brother Woodruff, his bedroll, food, and water, his books and fishing tackle into the large boat (14 x 5 feet) on the pond where he
could remain safely concealed in the heavy cattails and rushes. When asked if the marshals could see him from the bluff above the pond, Hy [Hyrum] said there were plenty of places to hide where neither the marshals from the hill, the devil from below nor the Lord from above could see the boat. When the danger was past, William went out to the pond, made a noise like a duck and Woodruff gave a signal quack in reply.\textsuperscript{143}

Woodruff's journals do not mention the pond as a hiding place but do tie Marshal Armstrong to the location:

Br Thompson took me in his wagon & we road to Atkins Pond & spent the day. We shot 10 wild Duck 4 Rabbits & one large fat Crane & caught abot 100 fish with hooks and returned in the Evening. . . . A telegram had Been sent from Beaver saying that Woodruff, Thurber, Spencer, & others were accused of threatening to Put Marshal Armstrog [sic] & his papers into the Lake or make him a prisoner in the land. This is not true but a trumped up story to Black mail us for Money.\textsuperscript{144}

Woodruff did not limit his sporting to Atkins Pond. In July, Woodruff fished northwest of St. George in Grass Valley, riding en-route with a man he later discovered was a U.S. Marshal. Five days later he made an extended trip north, where he fished in Fish Lake.\textsuperscript{145} He fished Pine Valley in late August:

[It was] the smallest stream of water I ever attempted to fish in. It was so small Brother Thompson did not Believe fish could live in it it & would not fish. I could ownly use an 18 inch line for the thick brush. I fished 2 Hours. Caught 22 trout but they were small. I lost most of the trout I hooked that would weigh half a pound. No chance to get them out for brush.\textsuperscript{146}

Three days later Woodruff went hunting.\textsuperscript{147} But all this was not enough for the exiled sportsman: "I have lain still so long I am under the Necessity of having 1 days exercise in a week for my health. So to day Brother Thompson took me over to Atkins pond 8 miles. . . . We caught 6 ducks, 1 Rabbit, a string of Chubs. We killed 2 Hawk & a Turkey buzzard."\textsuperscript{148}

Woodruff's second exile was brought to an end by a tragic event. In October he learned that Phebe had fallen and suffered a head injury.\textsuperscript{149} When her condition worsened, Woodruff returned to Salt Lake and on November 9, 1885, "laid [his] hands upon her head & Blessed her And anointed her for her burial and at 2 o'clock she died." Woodruff watched the funeral procession from hiding:
"I saw the hearse that carried my wife Phebe Whitemore Carter Woodruff to the grave. I was not permitted to attend her funeral without being arrested for my religion. . . . I am passing through a strange chapter in the history of my life."  

With Phebe's passing, Woodruff took up residence with his wife Emma and her children, young Mary Alice being only six years old. His growing children became his sporting companions, and later journals repeatedly mention trips with his sons Asahel and Owen. Indeed, Woodruff's closeness to Emma's family prompted discontent from the families of other wives. It was with Emma and her family, during the Uintah Basin trip, that he was forced into exile for the third and final time.

Wilford Woodruff's dreams in this third exile were threaded with the memory of Phebe and the failing President Taylor. He responded with a flurry of letters to loved ones. And he headed for the water. Between March 1887, when he "got nothing" from Atkins Pond, and July, when he recorded catches of fifteen and forty fish, Woodruff hunted or fished twenty-two times. On July 16, he received a letter from George Q. Cannon informing him of John Taylor's imminent death, and he returned to Salt Lake, arriving three days after President Taylor's death. "President John Taylor is twice a Marter," he wrote. "He was shot with four Balls & Mingled his Blood with the Martered Prophet. . . . Now He is Driven into Exile By the United States officers for his religion untill through his confinement and suffering He lays down his life and suffers Death." As he had done at Phebe's funeral nine months earlier, Woodruff watched the procession from hiding.

Twin Declines

Decline of Great Basin Ecology. As Thomas Alexander has noted, the ecology of Salt Lake Valley changed dramatically in the first half century after Mormon colonization. Smelting caused air problems, timber was overharvested, and irrigated agriculture and grazing dramatically changed native plant communities. The fishery suffered as well. The prodigious harvests Woodruff recorded in his journals were not sustainable: single-day catches of 203 (party of three), 183 (party of four), and 150 (party of three). That
fishermen of the day were willing to keep small, prespawning fish is implied by Woodruff's observation that twenty-four fish made two good meals for him and a companion.\textsuperscript{160} But sport catches paled in comparison to commercial hauls: recall that Woodruff reported "2,500 lb of trout at one haul with a net at the mouth of Provo River," a draft "judged to be about 4000 pounds" on another occasion, and Matson's biblical draw of "2,000 lbs of fine trout."\textsuperscript{161}

By 1895 commercial licenses were required, and fisheries reports listed a total-year harvest of only 4,000 pounds of trout from Utah Lake.\textsuperscript{162} The native cutthroat trout so successfully harvested was soon extinct in Utah Lake. Overharvesting was exacerbated by irrigation development. Woodruff reported dangerous conditions on Fish Lake outlet:

I consider Fish Lake the greatest depository of Large fine trout of any body of water in the Rocky Mountains. The Lake is fed with half a doz small streams that flow into it from the west Mountains & hills. . . . The Trout in the spring of the year go up the small streams to spawn and a person can throw them out of the water with their hands or knock them in the head with a stick from 1 to 5 or 6 lb. Men have made a Dam & put in large gates at the out let to hold the water on a reservoir to water vallies below. By this means have raised the Lake some 4 feet & not having used the water this season and the water being stoped at the out let the large trout trying to come back to the Lake get into vary shallow water. Heat By the sun many of [them] Died from 1 to 6 & 7 lb. and many others nearly dead. The Brethren let the water down to save those that were not Dead.\textsuperscript{165}

Elder Woodruff was himself involved in a number of irrigation projects. In 1862 he was appointed president of the Jordon Irrigating Company.\textsuperscript{164} In 1889 he scouted the Sevier River for "the place for the reservoir & Dam and the place for taking out the Canal," returning two years later to inspect the completed dam: "It was a strong Dam of Many tons of slag from the smelters." In December 1896 he "met with the Ogden Power Company to give out the Contract on building the dam." And in 1897, as head of the Executive Committee of the Church, he loaned "$10,000.00 or $12,000.00 To the Deseret & Salt Lake Agricultural & Manufacturing Canal Co to help them build their new dam for the reservoir."\textsuperscript{165}

President Woodruff sensed the gradual loss of biological richness and, to some degree, the cause of that loss. In his \textit{Forest and}
Stream letter, he expressed regret at the steady decline of "trout . . . and feathered game."\textsuperscript{166} Other sportsmen did, as well. By the late 1890s, the vulnerable cutthroat of Panguitch Lake were protected during spawning runs, and the president of Bear Lake Stake could argue from the pulpit that "it is altogether wrong for people to fish contrary to law."\textsuperscript{167} But habitat protection was the paradigm of the next generation.\textsuperscript{168} Woodruff's response, mirroring responses across the country, was supplementation. On June 30, 1876, he planted salmon fry in two tributaries of Bear Lake and optimistically reported plantings of salmon, trout, and shad in Utah Lake: "I am happy to say that this effort to stock Utah Lake with shad bids fair to be a success."\textsuperscript{169} Unfortunately, the shad planting was not successful—not during this attempt nor any of the other eight attempts between 1871 and 1892.\textsuperscript{170}

**Physical Decline of President Woodruff.** The decline of wild fish and game roughly paralleled President Woodruff's physical decline. He had always been disposed to accidents from which he had providentially escaped. But accidents increased during the later years, exacerbated by age and the stress of living underground. On September 13, 1886, Woodruff suffered what was probably a mild stroke: "I was taken with a verry strange turn. I turned almost Blind & speechless & lost my Memory. . . . I dont know whether it was paralises or not. I soon recovered."\textsuperscript{171}

The following year, he suffered uncharacteristic mishaps while fishing: June 20: "I went to fishing. I caught 23. . . . I run my fish hook into my thumb up to the hand. Brother Thompson Cut it out with his pocket knife. It was quite painful." June 21: "I went to fishing Early to try to get some fish for Sister Cottam. I owly caught one & had the luck to run my fishhook into one of my fingers. Brother Thompson Cut that out."\textsuperscript{172}

Between his assumption of the Presidency of the Church at age eighty-two in 1889 and his death at age ninety-one in 1898, he recorded only five local fishing trips, the fourth one being the back-country trip which prompted the *Forest and Stream* letter. He was alert and interested in sporting, but his age was obvious. He wrote during a trip in July 1890: "I felt weary this Morning but went fishing. I caught owly 1." And two weeks later: "I spent most of the Day in camp. Owen & others went fishing." On the *Forest and
Fishing off the pier, Coronado, California, August 29, 1896. Wilford Woodruff is third from the left. His friend and counselor, George Q. Cannon, stands in the foreground. Emma Woodruff (far right) and Caroline Cannon are seated on the bench. Courtesy LDS Archives.

*Stream* trip, Woodruff fished the first day, catching six, then did no more fishing for the duration of the ten-day trip. 173

However, President Woodruff did engage in less strenuous outdoor activity, particularly when he made trips to the West Coast. He conducted Church business in British Columbia, where boat passage afforded glimpses of “whales spouting in the distance and lashing the water into foam in their sports.” He also did some light fishing during which George Q. Cannon “caught one the first fish he ever caught in his life.” 174 A different West Coast trip took him to Monterey, where he hired a boat and fished with Cannon again: “Brother Cannon professed never to be a fisherman, but he caught his share to day.” Five days later, President Woodruff fished out of San Diego with his wife: “Emma caught quite a number and helped me to haul in mine.” 175 Another trip out of Astoria provided opportunity to view “more whales & porpoises,” but no fishing. 176

As President Woodruff’s physical capacity diminished, he enjoyed his sporting vicariously. He had always tallied catches,
both his and his companions'. Earlier the ratios had been in his favor, but now they reversed: July 5, 1890: "I caught ownly 1. Asahel & co caught 20 Owen & co 12. The River was high & fishing poor." July 10, 1890: "Caught 6 trout vary good fish. . . . Owen caught 20 Ovando 15." February 23, 1891: "I spent the day at the House. Asahel Owen & Ovando went up the creek fishing & caught 15 trout." July 4, 1892: "The people of Utah are celebrating the day. I spent the day at home. Asahel, Owen & Ovando came home to night from fishing in the Lost Canyon. They caught about 150 trout."177

He reported others' success without envy, for he still saw himself as sporting patriarch: "I spent the day in camp. Asahel & Ovando went Fishing. Ovando asked me how many He should catch. I told him 31. He did catch 31 & could not catch any more."178

President Woodruff's final illness occurred late in summer 1898. He had traveled to San Francisco with George Q. Cannon, who was also ailing, in hopes of securing relief. In his last days, he was again drawn to the water. On August 26th, he "rode to the Coast, & saw the seals covering all the rocks." Again, on the 29th, he "went out riding to the sea through the park."179 But the water could not heal him. On September 1, Wilford Woodruff suffered kidney failure and sank into a coma. He died the following morning at 6:40 a.m.180

Franklin D. Richards's funeral oration referring to President Woodruff as "a mighty fisher of men" recalled both the Savior's call to Peter and the Jeremiah passage President Woodruff had pondered on the granite ledges of the Fox Islands:

Behold, I will send for many fishers, saith the Lord, and they shall fish them; and after will I send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks. (Jer. 16:16)

President Woodruff had been a hunter and fisher of men. On missions to Maine and England, he had drawn a net taut with a harvest of souls. Even while gathering the catch Jeremiah prophesied, President Woodruff had sensed the beauty of this world; he had paused to hear a wolf howl fade over the waters of the Platte181 and had walked miles to watch an old man flash fly line across the River Ribble. President Woodruff shepherded his catch of souls to Zion, accompanied Zion to the West, and was rewarded with
unfinished waters. He had also been the hunted: "I have been wandering in the wilderness for the gospels sake," he said concerning his exile.  

But his wandering had been eased by the knowledge that each cleft of wilderness held a creek filled with spotted trout.

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NOTES

1W Ilford Woodruff, Journal, Wilford Woodruff Papers, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, July 22 and 24, 1847. The journals of Wilford Woodruff are also published in Wilford Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898, typescript, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-85). Hereafter citations from Woodruff's journal will be cited as Woodruff, Journal, date. Because of the difficulty in determining whether Woodruff's c's, s's, and a's are upper or lower case, we have chosen to lowercase them where it seems appropriate.


5Woodruff, Journal, August 19, 1892.

6Woodruff, Journal, August 20-24, 1892.


8Woodruff, Journal, August 20-24, 1892.

9Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249.

10Wilford Woodruff, Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1:x.

11Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249.

12Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249.

13Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249.

14Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249.

15Woodruff, "Utah Fish and Game Notes," 249. "Chickens" probably refers to grouse, as Woodruff indicated earlier in the letter. Allen and Frost suggest that the birds were sharp-tailed grouse. Allen and Frost, "Wilford Woodruff, Sportsman," 117.
Wilford Woodruff to William Atkin, letter, March 18, 1889, in possession of Bruce Woodruff.


Moon, “Frontier Fly Fisher,” quoted in Schullery, American Fly Fishing, 54. See also Hal Knight and Stanley B. Kimball, 111 Days to Zion (Salt Lake City: Big Moon Traders, 1997), 217. The journal account, which is slightly different, is found in Woodruff, Journal, July 8, 1847.

See Schullery, American Fly Fishing, 248.

Woodruff, Journal, July 8, 1847.

Woodruff, Journal, July 8, 1847.


Woodruff, Journal, March 26, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, July 2, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, July 1, 1838.

Woodruff, Journal, September 3, 1843.

Woodruff, Journal, March 14, 1846.

Woodruff, Journal, August 11, 1837.

Woodruff, Journal, September 14, 1838.

Woodruff, Journal, June 10, 1841.

Alexander, Things in Heaven and Earth, 156.

Woodruff, Journal, August 20, 1837.

Woodruff, Journal, August 22, 1837.

Woodruff, Journal, September 5, 1837.

Woodruff, Journal, September 6, 1837.


Woodruff, Journal, April 1, 1838.


Alexander, Things in Heaven and Earth, 92.

Woodruff, Journal, March 26, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, September 21, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, August 28, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, December 20, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, December 20, 1840.

Woodruff, Journal, November 15, 1841.

Alexander, Things in Heaven and Earth, 92.


Woodruff, Journal, May 8, 1845. It is likely that Richard Smithies was a member of the Church. Smithies’s son James emigrated to Utah, where he was conductor of the Tabernacle Choir from 1856–1862. See K. Newell Dayley, “Mormon Tabernacle Choir,” in Encyclopedia of Mormonism, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow,

Among Woodruff’s visits were the British Museum (Woodruff, Journal, October 19, 1840), the College of Surgeons (Woodruff, Journal, November 30, 1840), vitriol works in Newton (Woodruff, Journal, April 28, 1845), and iron works in Glasgow (Woodruff, Journal, March 18, 1845).


Woodruff, Journal, May 8, 1845. Except for the brass reel, the equipment Woodruff described is traditional early Victorian fly-fishing equipment, little influenced by the great technological explosion that was redefining England. The “long, fine line” to which Woodruff referred was constructed of horsehair or horsehair and silk, knotted end-to-end and dyed for camouflage. The hair line had been the line of choice since long before 1600, when Izaak Walton explained its construction in the The Compleat Angler (1653; reprint, New York: Modern Library, 1939). Silk lines, which could be braided to different thicknesses, had not yet come from the mills of the Midlands. Victorian rods were uncommonly long by modern standards—Smithies’s fourteen-footer was within normal range. The length was compensation for material, facilitating the casting of a heavy brace of wet flies on a rod much less elastic than modern graphites. English rods until the 1830s had been made of woods like ash and hazel, with the slender end section a limber wood like lancewood. See Harmon Henkin, Fly Tackle: A Guide to the Tools of the Trade (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1976), 38–40.

Smithies had already stepped up to a more flexible cane rod—the bamboo cane was a common import from China or India, a benefit of the far-flung British empire. Smithies’s reel was brass, not wood, indicating he was no traditionalist, despite his seventy years. Reels came into popular use during Smithies’s lifetime, and he probably fished in earlier times sans reel, limiting line length to single or double that of the rod. See Schullery, American Fly Fishing, 36. The small size of the reel suggests that Smithies did not carry much line, a reasonable practice given that six flies two feet apart necessitated twelve feet of line that could not be retrieved through the guides.

Woodruff, Journal, May 8, 1845. It may appear that Smithies’s fly-of-the-month pattern selection was analogous to modern hatch matching. But writers by 1838 were already arguing that flies should be changed from day-to-day and pool-to-pool. Schullery, American Fly Fishing, 27. A monthly prescription for flies was old-fashioned, going back as far as the fifteenth century, when Dame Juliana Berners prescribed it in The Treatise of Fysshbye wyth an Angle (1883; reprint, Vaduz: Kraus Reprint, 1965). An exact match of insects was rendered less important by the inference that Smithies was wet fly-fishing—casting the brace of flies upstream, letting it drift beneath the surface, and hooking the fish on the tensioning swing. Wet flies are traditionally attractors, designed to mimic a range of larval and pupal insect forms.


The leader material was silkworm gut, slender but notoriously uneven in quality. The best gut was Spanish, produced by killing silkworm larvae, milking the silk bladders, and stretch-drying the silk. See William Bayard Sturgis, “Hook Tests and Silkworm Gut,” reprinted in The Golden Age of Fly-Fishing, ed. Ralf Coykendall (Woodstock, Ver.: The Countryman Press, 1997), 69–73.
The rod is classic cane, precursor to the more powerful split-bamboo rods which require that bamboo be split, planed, and reglued to form hexagonal rods. The split bamboo improvement would shortly usher in the great age of British fly-fishing. Woodruff’s rod has two tip sections, a common feature which allowed the angler to alter the casting action of the rod. The butt section of the rod is missing. Of particular interest is the mix of new and old guides. Most of the guides are snake guides—a half-spiral of wire virtually identical to guides on modern rods. At least one of the guides is an original “floppy” or “loose” guide—a metal circket which can be folded flat when the rod is not in use. The rod shows two types of silk wrappings: older wrappings in brown and more recent ones in black.

For ease of reference, we refer to locations by modern state designation.

The reference to Sabbath fishing is puzzling, since Woodruff was sensitive to prohibitions on the Sabbath. The issue had been addressed early in the trek, when the men first saw abundant wild game. Woodruff wrote in his journal on Sunday, April 25: “The order of the Camp is that there be no fishing Hunting or labour of any kind on Sunday except such as is actually necessary” (Woodruff, Journal, April 25, 1847). On May 16, Woodruff noted that Eric Glines violated the rules “of the Camp & council of his Captain to go Hunting on Sunday” (Woodruff, Journal, May 29, 1847). And Woodruff was in attendance that rainy Saturday morning when Brigham climbed atop the leather boat to call the camp to repentance for violating the Sabbath. Indeed, Woodruff spoke after Brigham, remembering the terrible day when Joseph called Zion’s Camp to repentance (Woodruff, Journal, 3:189–190). Perhaps Brigham’s illness prompted Woodruff to fish on the Sabbath. Two days earlier, Woodruff had caught a trout for Brigham, and Woodruff may have felt that supplying Brigham during time of need was sufficient justification. The occurrence may have served as reminder that the “sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath” (Mark 2:27). On at least one other occasion Woodruff went fishing expressly to procure food for the sick (Woodruff, Journal, March 12, 1887).
Woodruff, Journal, July 20, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, July 22 and 24, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, July 31, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, June 17, 1869.
Woodruff, Journal, June 28, 1863.
Woodruff, Journal, August 12, 1868.
Woodruff, Journal, August 13, 1875; July 15, 1885.
Woodruff, Journal, November 19, 1887.
Woodruff, Journal, June 22, 1889.
Woodruff, Journal, July 17, 1885.
Woodruff, Journal, April 22, 1869.
Woodruff, Journal, August 12, 1868.
Woodruff, Journal, November 9, 1858.
Woodruff, Journal, September 5, 1873.
Woodruff, Journal, March 12, 1887.
Woodruff, Journal, June 18, 1869.

Woodruff, Journal, July 20, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, July 22 and 24, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, July 31, 1847.
Woodruff, Journal, June 17, 1869.
Woodruff, Journal, June 28, 1863.
Woodruff, Journal, August 12, 1868.
Woodruff, Journal, August 13, 1875; July 15, 1885.
Woodruff, Journal, November 19, 1887.
Woodruff, Journal, June 22, 1889.
Woodruff, Journal, July 17, 1885.
Woodruff, Journal, April 22, 1869.
Woodruff, Journal, August 12, 1868.
Woodruff, Journal, November 9, 1858.
Woodruff, Journal, September 5, 1873.
Woodruff, Journal, March 12, 1887.
Woodruff, Journal, June 18, 1869.
See Woodruff, Journal, April 14, 1886; June 11, 1886; April 12–13, 1888; July 18, 1888; June 22, 1889; July 5, 1900.


Woodruff, Journal, March 12 and 15, 1887.

Woodruff, Journal, March 12, 1887.

Woodruff, Journal, July 16 and 28, 1887.

Woodruff, Journal, July 25, 1887.


Woodruff, Journal, August 11, 1852; June 24, 1886; July 4, 1892.


Woodruff, Journal, July 17, 1885.


Woodruff, Journal, October 14, 1889; October 10, 1891; December 8, 1896; October 26, 1897.

Woodruff, Journal, August 23, 1883; Woodruff, “Utah Fish and Game Notes,” 249.


Woodruff, “Utah Fish and Game Notes,” 249.


Woodruff, Journal, September 13, 1886.

Woodruff, Journal, June 20–21, 1887.

Woodruff, Journal, July 5, 1890; July 16, 1890; August 19–28, 1892.

Woodruff, Journal, November 12, 1889; November 1, 1889.


Woodruff, Journal, September 21, 1897.

Woodruff, Journal, July 5, 1890; July 10, 1890; February 23, 1891; July 4, 1892.

Woodruff, Journal, August 13, 1892.

Woodruff, Journal, August 23, 1898; August 24, 1898; August 26, 1898; August 29, 1898.

Woodruff, Journal, September 1, 1898. This entry is a telegram sent from San Francisco by George Q. Cannon to President Woodruff’s office in Salt Lake City, alerting them to the serious condition of President Woodruff. See also Alexander, *Things in Heaven and Earth*, 330.

Woodruff, Journal, October 3, 1847.

Woodruff, Journal, December 31, 1884.
The Mormon Battalion Route and the Gadsden Purchase

- General Kearny, 1846
- Mormon Battalion, 1846-47
- Gadsden Purchase, 1853
- Southern Pacific RR, 1880s
- Present-day towns are given as reference points.

Legend:
- Miles
- 0 50 100
The Mormon Battalion and the Gadsden Purchase

The battalion’s pioneering trek through uncharted territory left its mark on the U.S.-Mexican border and blazed a trail for the future Southern Pacific Railroad.

Richard O. Cowan

When looking at a map of the southern boundaries of Arizona and New Mexico, one might wonder about the reasons for the curious jogs and angles. Actually, as is often the case, a knowledge of history can provide significant perspective. The boundary in question was a result of the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, by which the United States bought nearly thirty thousand square miles of land from Mexico for $10 million. American history textbooks commonly explain that this purchase was necessary to secure the route of a proposed southern transcontinental railroad. This is also the area through which the Mormon Battalion had marched only seven years earlier, mapping a potential wagon road as they went. One scholar who painstakingly traced the battalion’s precise route described the Mormons’ map and its link to the Gadsden Purchase as one of the significant “achievements of the battalion.” Still, the best-known histories do not acknowledge any connection between the battalion’s map and the Gadsden Purchase. Nevertheless, the march of the Mormon Battalion is directly related to the irregular shape of the U.S. southern boundaries.

As hostilities broke out with Mexico, five hundred Mormons were recruited by Captain James Allen during July of 1846. They were to join the “Army of the West,” headed by Colonel Stephen W. Kearny (whose rank had been raised to brevet brigadier general when his march to the Pacific commenced).
General Kearny’s March

Leaving Fort Leavenworth with his main force on June 27, just over one month ahead of the Mormon Battalion, Kearny headed west along the Santa Fe Trail and occupied Santa Fe, the New Mexican capital, on August 18 without bloodshed.

After setting up a military government, Kearny departed from Santa Fe on September 25. Superiors in Washington suggested that Kearny follow the Old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe through present-day Colorado, Utah, and Nevada to southern California. However, such a trek would have involved a difficult crossing at Green River, “a sandy ninety mile desert, and possible snow in the higher elevations during the late season.”2 Kearny opted for a more southerly route. As he headed south along the Rio Grande, he was following the well-traveled Camino Real, which for two centuries had connected Santa Fe with Chihuahua City. In contrast to this well-known north-south route, the region to the west was essentially terra incognita:

Though the Spaniards, the Indians, and the mountain men had traversed the country between the Rio Grande and the Pacific, an accurate knowledge of the whole area did not exist. There were no dependable maps, and it was difficult even to visualize a line of communication through the Southwest to the Pacific.3

People believed, however, that following the Rio Grande and Gila Rivers would provide a route with adequate water most of the way to California.

When Kearny left Santa Fe, he took with him a force of three hundred dragoons (heavily armed cavalry), baggage wagons, and two howitzers. His army also included a party of topographical engineers under Lieutenant William H. Emory, whose extensive descriptions of the country, together with his careful observations of latitude, longitude, and elevations, were badly needed sources of information. On October 6, only two weeks after Kearny had left Santa Fe, he met Kit Carson, who had been dispatched from California to carry the news that the war in that area was over. Realizing that his first priority should be reaching California as quickly as possible to secure the peace, the general cut his force to just one hundred dragoons plus Emory’s forty men, ordering the remainder back to Santa Fe.
After only three more days of travel down the Rio Grande, the road became more difficult—the wagons bogged down in sandy stretches. Carson estimated that at their present rate, at least four months would be required to reach the West Coast. Kearny therefore decided to abandon the wagons and remained in camp four days until pack saddles could be obtained from Santa Fe. The army then continued a few miles further south along the Rio Grande before turning west toward the Gila. While traversing the mountains, the troops examined the rich copper mines at Santa Rita, which would become a point of contention during the peace negotiations following the war.

Mormon Battalion Arrival at Santa Fe

The Mormon Battalion was outfitted at Fort Leavenworth and followed Kearny. Sadly, soon after leaving the fort, Allen died and the battalion was placed under the leadership of an officer for whom they had much less respect. When Kearny heard of Allen’s death, he bestowed the rank of lieutenant colonel on Philip St. George Cooke, who was still at Santa Fe, and appointed him to assume command of the Mormon Battalion upon their arrival. Cooke’s orders were to “open a wagon road by the Gila route to the Pacific,” the task that Kearny had originally planned to accomplish himself.

The first contingent of the battalion arrived in Santa Fe on October 9, two weeks after Kearny had departed. Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan, who had befriended the Saints at a critical juncture during their persecutions in Missouri eight years earlier, had been left in charge at Santa Fe. As the battalion marched into the central plaza, Doniphan ordered his men to give them a one-hundred-gun salute from the rooftops of surrounding old adobe buildings. Just ten days later, the battalion continued its march south and west.

Choosing a Route. The original plan was for the Mormons to follow Kearny’s route as closely as possible as they blazed the way for a wagon road. However, Kearny with his streamlined force, and without wagons, found the going in the mountains quite difficult—even after his troops arrived at the relatively easier terrain along the upper reaches of the Gila River on October 20. The rattling
sound of spurs and mule shoes in the deep, dark ravines; the looming, black peaks; and the ever-present thorny cactus all combined to make the soldiers feel as though they were, as one of Kearny's men wrote, "treading on the verge of the regions below." Thus, when Kearny dispatched his scout Antoine Leroux to guide the Mormons, his directions were to continue further south along the Rio Grande in order to skirt the mountains.

The battalion was about twenty miles south of Socorro when Leroux met them on November 2. Cooke found his report to be "very discouraging." At least a ninety-day march would be required to reach the Pacific, some twelve hundred miles distant. According to Leroux, the battalion would have to continue seventy or eighty miles further down the Rio Grande before turning west. They would then need to cross four hundred miles before reaching the Gila—a distance largely "unexplored and unknown by any of the guides."

Four days later, the battalion passed the place where Kearny had abandoned his wagons, and after three more days, the spot where his army had turned west from the Rio Grande. The battalion then continued further south four more days before also leaving the river on November 13.

As they skirted the south end of the mountains, their route took them in a generally westward direction for about a week. The battalion spent November 20 at Ojo de Vaca, or Cow Spring, a well-known watering hole on the north-south road connecting the Santa Rita copper mines with the Mexican frontier town of Janos. Colonel Cooke recorded that he spent "an anxious day" in camp pondering his course. Cooke knew that General Kearny "wished me to come the Gila route, that a wagon road might be established by it." At this point, the Gila lay west and a little north of the battalion's location. But Cooke's guides favored heading southwest to the San Bernardino Valley (in the extreme southeastern corner of present-day Arizona) and then to the headwaters of the San Pedro, a tributary of the Gila. Eleven days earlier, Cooke had referred with some misgivings to the prospect of taking the San Pedro route: "By patience and perseverance and energy to accomplish the undertaking . . . in a very few days I commence a route of above three hundred miles to the San Pedro River, of which the
guides know little or nothing." The guides reported that the only water they could find ahead lay in this southwesterly direction.

Cooke decided to take the southerly San Pedro route rather than follow Kearny along the Gila River. A group of Mexican traders that happened to come by Cow Spring on November 20 gave a little more information on the country through which the soldiers would need to pass. In some places, they would need to go as far as thirty miles, or two days, without water. To the north, on the other hand, was the more difficult mountainous topography as well as the stronghold of the often hostile Apache. The colonel was apprehensive as he headed out. The guides' information, he wrote, "is very obscure, if not contradictory. They can convey no ideas of distance, but it would seem that my greatest risk is not to find enough of water." Cooke's decision to swing further to the south would have a direct impact on the future territorial limits of the United States.

**Pioneering a Road.** The battalion continued through the desolate country of what is now southwestern New Mexico. On November 25, they crossed the Continental Divide, which at that point is formed by the Animas Mountains. Three days later, the battalion came to the "edge of a massive precipice separating the level Animas tableland from the rough and confused mass of rocks and arroyos of the Guadalupe Mountains." The men spent the next two days constructing a road and lowering the wagons down the incline. Cooke wrote that "the descent was steeper than I have ever known wagons to make (ropes, of course, were used); one [wagon] was very near turning over, the hind part over the fore part." The scouts subsequently discovered that the true Guadalupe Pass they had been seeking was only a mile south of where they made this precipitous descent. Cooke therefore prepared careful instructions to help future groups avoid making the same mistake.

For the next week, the battalion continued pioneering their road through the rocky, sandy, cactus-covered terrain of the San Bernardino [Arizona] Valley. Finally reaching the San Pedro River on December 9, their going became a little easier; their main challenge was an encounter with wild bulls two days later. Near present-day Benson, Colonel Cooke had to make another choice. He could follow the San Pedro River to its junction with the Gila, but this route
would take him through the Gila Canyon, where his men would be forced to cross the river several times. The other choice was to strike out on a more westerly, shorter route even though this path risked a confrontation with Mexican forces at Tucson and would take the troops through seventy miles of the most desolate country so far. The colonel opted for the shortcut.

The Mormons were relieved to arrive at Tucson peacefully on December 16. At the Tucson presidio, members of the battalion posted an American flag, the first time the Stars and Stripes were raised over a town in what would become Arizona. Five days later, the battalion finally reached the Gila River in the vicinity of the Pima Indian villages. At this point, they rejoined Kearny's route, the general having passed this area just over a month earlier.

On January 10, 1847, the battalion crossed the Colorado River into California and, two and a half weeks later, had their eagerly anticipated first view of the Pacific. They had fulfilled their commission to open a wagon road from the Rio Grande, successfully pioneering a route through the relatively unknown country between the rugged mountains and hostile Indians to the north and the fortified Mexican frontier to the south. Standing in front of the old Spanish mission in San Diego, Philip St. George Cooke commended the battalion in these words:

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding congratulates the battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless table-lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. . . . Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.16

The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

In the postwar boundary negotiations with Mexico, the Americans got almost everything they wanted. On the west coast, the
United States claimed San Diego, which had traditionally been regarded as the southern end of Alta (Upper) California; the international border would begin just one league (about three miles) below the bay, with its excellent harbor. From the Gulf coast, the boundary followed the Rio Grande, which the Texans had always insisted was their true southern frontier.

The central portion of the boundary was influenced by the mounting interest in a transcontinental railroad. The pending acquisition of territory from Mexico and the recent agreement with Great Britain defining the northern boundary of Oregon combined to focus attention on the need for improved lines of communication to the Pacific. Several potential rail routes were actively considered.

Interest in the southernmost rail route was stimulated by a map drawn by Major William H. Emory, who had marched with Kearny’s forces. He provided the first accurately drawn map of the Gila River region. It corrected the errors in Alexander von Humboldt’s atlas and modified John Frémont’s widely circulated 1845 map. “In compiling his map Emory was, in most cases, careful not to include anything that he or his subordinates did not actually observe, so that his map was with some exceptions a trustworthy view.”

The report of his scientific reconnaissance “first raised the question of a railroad along the 32nd parallel in official circles.” During the summer of 1847, his “glowing reports” of the Gila River route excited members of President James K. Polk’s cabinet. This interest prompted Secretary of State James Buchanan to instruct U.S. negotiator Nicholas P. Trist “that provision for such a railroad route be included in the peace treaty.”

The Mexicans agreed, inasmuch as their missionary work with the natives had generally been confined to the area south of the Gila. This river was the traditional northern boundary of the Mexican state of Sonora (earlier known as Estado Occidente).

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed February 2, 1848.

A great controversy arose because of imprecision contained in the treaty concerning the precise location of the boundary between the Gila River and the Rio Grande. Article V in the treaty stipulated that the boundary would run along the main channel of the Rio Grande to the southern boundary of New Mexico, which was “north of the town called Paso,” then to the western boundary
of New Mexico and north along that line to the first tributary of the Gila. These boundaries were marked on a map of Mexico that had been published by J. Disturnell at New York in 1847. His map showed the southern boundary passing eight miles north of El Paso.

The Disturnell map, however, was not accurate. El Paso was shown at the latitude of 32°15' N, which was about thirty-four miles north of its true location at 31°45'. Therefore, it was unclear whether the New Mexico line should be placed eight miles north of the actual location of El Paso (which would be 31°52') or thirty-four miles further north at the latitude of 32°22'. Both of these could be justified by Disturnell's map. Between these two latitudes was the agricultural Mesilla Valley (the present-day Las Cruces area), which had always been considered part of Chihuahua rather than New Mexico.

Disturnell's map showed the New Mexico line continuing three degrees of longitude west from the Rio Grande, but this river was placed two degrees too far to the east. Therefore, New Mexico's western boundary could be put either at about 108° west longitude as shown on Disturnell's map, or at about 110°, three degrees west of the Rio Grande's true location. Between these two meridians lay the rich Santa Rita copper mines.

The treaty specified that each country should appoint a boundary commissioner and an official surveyor. Within a year, they were to meet in order to "run and mark the said boundary." The line they would agree on "shall be deemed a part of this Treaty." Thus these appointees would have the power to resolve the problem of New Mexico's proper limits and hence the new international boundary.

The Bartlett-Conde Compromise

However, the U.S. boundary commissioner, John R. Bartlett, and his Mexican counterpart, General Pedro Garcia Conde, did not meet until December 3, 1850, and then they could not agree on the treaty's meaning. Bartlett demanded that the line be drawn just eight miles north of El Paso and then proceed three degrees of longitude west before turning north, as shown on Disturnell's map; the U.S. would thus gain both the Mesilla Valley and the Santa Rita
mines. Conde, on the other hand, insisted that the coordinates on the map be followed—placing New Mexico's southern border at 32°22' and having it run only one degree of longitude west from the Rio Grande; in this way, Mexico could retain both prizes. Finally, both commissioners agreed on a compromise: the more northern line was accepted, but it would continue the full three degrees west from the river. Thus the United States would get the copper mines, but Mexico could keep the Mesilla Valley.

Despite this agreement, the controversy still was not resolved. Article V stipulated that the commissioner and surveyor had equal authority and needed to agree on all decisions. But because of illness, Lieutenant A. B. Gray of Texas, the United States' designated surveyor, did not reach El Paso until July 1851. He utterly refused to accept the compromise, believing that Bartlett had allowed the U.S. to be swindled. Gray "was interested in a southern railroad route to the Pacific through his state," and he had actually served as the engineer for eastern companies promoting such a line. He worried that the "surrender of the Mesilla valley to Mexico would result in the loss of the only practicable railroad route to the Pacific through American territory." In his official survey report, he declared that "the Mesilla valley, from the standpoint of territory, was of little value, but that this disputed region embraced the most accommodating gateway over the Rocky Mountains and the most feasible railroad route from the Rio Grande to California."23

In the midst of this debate, Nicholas P. Trist, the treaty's original negotiator, spoke out. In a letter to a New York newspaper, he declared that finding the correct boundary simply "consists in going upon the right bank of the Rio Grande and there finding the point of beginning," a "spot whose latitude is 32°22'". He explained that rather than specifying a certain latitude, the negotiators simply marked on Disturnell's map "where they had agreed the boundary should run." Then, recognizing the map's errors, they inserted the words "north of the town called Paso" to demonstrate "the 'good faith' of the United States" that Mexico should retain this key outpost.24

Trist's explanations, though also confusing, might have supported the appropriateness of Bartlett's compromise. But, because the U.S. commissioner and surveyor could not agree, this settlement
never became official. The dispute was finally resolved through the Gadsden Purchase of 1853.

The 1853 Gadsden Treaty

The years following the Mexican War witnessed an increase in railroad fervor. Rail mileage in the United States mushroomed from 8,800 miles in 1850 to 21,300 miles just four years later.25 This increased activity intensified interest in a rail link with the Pacific. Various cities on the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi River vied for the honor of becoming the Midwestern jumping-off point. Each section of the country wanted the anticipated economic advantage the transcontinental railroad and trade with the Far East would bring. Because it was generally assumed that the economy could support only one road, their rivalry became intense.26

Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was an ardent supporter of the southern route. As local and national politicians heatedly argued the merits of their favored routes, Davis, who served as secretary of war during the Franklin Pierce administration, advocated a series of surveys to scientifically compare the advantages of the respective proposals. He anticipated that an impartial investigation would demonstrate the superiority of the 32nd parallel route. On March 2, 1853, Congress authorized the surveys and directed the secretary of war to report the results of these explorations within ten months.27

As the southern route received closer scrutiny, even its proponents recognized some difficulties. A. W. Whipple, one of the government’s early surveyors west of the Rio Grande, insisted that a railroad could not be built entirely along the route Emory had mapped through the New Mexico mountains and along the Gila River; the route would need to dip south into Sonora in order to get around the mountains.28 Even Major Emory, one of the route’s earliest advocates, agreed. Because of the “broken and rocky nature of the country” along the upper Gila, he realized the only practical route must follow the San Pedro Valley east to the Guadalupe Pass in order to reach the tablelands west of the Rio Grande. This was precisely the road opened and mapped by Colonel Cooke and the Mormon Battalion. “The fact that wagons had made the journey,” Emory argued, “did much to confirm the
opinions of those who deemed it suitable for a transcontinental road." He also emphasized that this preferred route lay "far south" of both the Bartlett-Conde compromise and the line favored by Gray. Hence "an additional slice of Mexican land was needed."

Therefore, during the summer of 1853, a few months after Franklin Pierce was inaugurated and probably with the influence of Jefferson Davis, James Gadsden was named as the U.S. envoy to Mexico. He was president of the South Carolina Railroad and had long been interested in a southern transcontinental line. As early as 1845, he had proposed building a railroad across Texas and along the Gila River. Gadsden was now instructed to purchase as much of northern Mexico as he could. Santa Anna, president of Mexico, later reported that "Gadsden told him that if Mexico negotiated it would receive a ‘good indemnity,’ if Mexico would not negotiate then ‘imperious necessity would compel [the United States] to occupy it one way or another.’" Although Santa Anna’s government was bankrupt, he refused to consider selling any more territory than the small amount specifically needed for the rail route. Gadsden was instructed that if he could not get more, he should hold out for a boundary just above the latitude of El Paso, giving the U.S. a seaport on the Gulf of California.

Various factors dictated the final boundary line. Mexico insisted that it should have a land connection to Baja California. Because of powerful tidal currents in the lower Colorado, the southernmost point where a bridge could be built was twenty miles below the mouth of the Gila River at Yuma. The single most significant consideration was the United States’ demand that it control at least the land through which Philip St. George Cooke and the Mormon Battalion had pioneered their wagon road.

Cooke recalled that he had made a "map and sketch" of his 474-mile route from the Rio Grande to the Gila—having no instruments other than a compass. Nevertheless, he reported with obvious satisfaction that "my rude map . . . chanced to get into Captain Emory’s hands." The captain verified its accuracy and incorporated it with the official map made by his group of topographical engineers during their march with General Kearny. Hence, Cooke observed, the Pierce administration had access to his map, which gave them the key to exactly what they were seeking—a practical
southern rail route that "would avoid both the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, with their snows, and would meet no obstacle."\textsuperscript{34}

The Gadsden Treaty, signed December 30, 1853, transferred nearly thirty thousand square miles to the United States. The irregular frontier reflected the concerns of the negotiators. (New Mexico's southern boundary east of the Rio Grande had already been set at 32° N as part of the Compromise of 1850.) Proceeding west from the Rio Grande, the border was placed at the latitude of 31°47', allowing a rail route to extend almost directly west from the American side of El Paso and at the same time barely leaving the Mexican side of the community, across the river, in Mexican territory. The boundary continued west one hundred miles and then abruptly dropped south to 31°20'—just at the right point to include the area where the Mormon Battalion had headed south in order to get through the mountains. Hence this conspicuous jog was "deliberately drawn in the hope of securing the entirety of Cooke's Wagon Road for the United States."\textsuperscript{35} The line continued west at that latitude far enough to include the battalion's route from Guadalupe Pass to where it turned north along the San Pedro River to reach the Gila. At the 111th west meridian, the boundary began angling northwest to a point on the Colorado River twenty miles below the mouth of the Gila. This jog gave Mexico its land bridge to Baja California but denied the United States its hoped-for seaport on the Gulf of California. Thus the Gadsden Purchase brought into U.S. jurisdiction virtually the entire route of the Mormon Battalion—believed at that time to be the only practical alignment for the southern transcontinental railroad.

**Subsequent Developments**

Although there had been keen interest in and several explorations of the southern route before negotiations for the Gadsden Purchase were completed, specific data on potential railroad grades and resources along the way were still lacking. Consequently, on December 20, 1853, just ten days before the Gadsden Treaty was signed, Lieutenant John G. Parke of the Topographical Corps received orders to make a more thorough survey of the route between the Gila River and the Rio Grande. He completed this assignment during the early months of 1854, paying particular
attention to the recently discovered “Nugent’s cutoff” through the mountains east of Tucson. He reported that there were no obstacles such as excessively steep grades or high passes. The only problem would be scarcity of timber and water, so he recommended experimenting with artesian wells. The trail he surveyed soon became part of the Southern Overland Route to California, used by thousands of travelers. Beginning in 1858, the famed Butterfield Stages followed the battalion’s route from Santa Fe to Southern California, except for a short distance east of Tucson where they took advantage of Nugent’s cutoff.

A quarter of a century would pass before the Southern Pacific Railroad (SP) would push its “Sunset Route” through the Gadsden Purchase area from Yuma to El Paso. Curiously, the rails were laid by California business interests rather than by the promoters in the Old South who were the original proponents of the southern route. The SP followed the Mormon Battalion route from Yuma through Tucson to Benson but then took a more northerly cutoff, as had Nugent, through the mountains into New Mexico. A second railroad, however, the El Paso and Southwestern, which was built just after the turn of the century, followed the battalion’s more southerly route quite closely through Benson, Douglas, and Hachita.

The area acquired in the Gadsden Purchase was occupied slowly and only sparsely. At least fourteen members of the Mormon Battalion eventually returned to live in the country that they had first seen during their historic march. Tucson, passed peacefully by the Mormon Battalion in 1846 and reached by the SP tracks in 1880, became the largest city in the territory. On December 14, 1996, following an eight-year campaign in which a local group raised $200,000, a monument to the battalion was erected in Tucson’s El Presidio Park. The monument, “designed by Clyde Ross Morgan, . . . is a 2-ton, 19-foot-tall bronze statue of battalion members Christopher Layton and Jefferson Hunt raising the U.S. flag and engaging in peaceful trade with Teodoro Ramirez, a prominent Tucson merchant.” Gordon B. Hinckley, President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, dedicated the monument in honor of the battalion’s “terrible suffering on pitiful rations, their lack of water, their exposure to the heat and the cold of these desert areas, [and] their backbreaking labors in cutting a road through the
The Mormon Battalion monument in Tucson, Arizona. Designed by Clyde Ross Morgan, the monument commemorates the peaceful arrival of the battalion in Tucson on December 16, 1846. Photographed by Kendal Brown.

mountains." Even though the Mormon Battalion did not have to fight—fulfilling a promise Brigham Young had made to the recruits—it nevertheless influenced the shape of the southwestern boundary of the United States.

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NOTES

1 John F. Yurtinus, “A Ram in the Thicket: The Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1975), 637, 643–44.
5 Harlow, California Conquered, 246.
7 W. H. Emory, Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers (Washington: Wendell and van Benthuyssen, 1848), 66, quoted in Harlow, California Conquered, 177.
8 Philip St. George Cooke, Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846–1854 (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1938), 86.
10 Cooke, Exploring, 106.
11 Cooke, Exploring, 95.
15 Cooke, Exploring, 124.
16 Cooke, Conquest, 197.
17 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 142.
21 Goetzmann, Army Explorations, 191–92; see also Beck, Historical Atlas of New Mexico.
23 Garber, Gadsden Treaty, 22.
24 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 190–91.
25 Garber, Gadsden Treaty, 19.
26 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 263.
27 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 274.
29 Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 141.
30Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 268.
31Garber, Gadsden Treaty, 18.
33Garber, Gadsden Treaty, 92.
34Cooke, Conquest, 158–59.
35Faulk, Too Far North, 135.
36Goetzmann, Army Exploration, 290–91.
37Roscoe P. and Margaret B. Conkling, The Butterfield Overland Mail (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1947); see also Dan Talbot, A Historical Guide to the Mormon Battalion and Butterfield Trail (Tucson: Westernlore, 1992).
The Holy Land: 
A Premodern Photo Tour

The following photographic essay presents a series of rare vistas from Jerusalem and Palestine photographed about a century ago. More changes have occurred in the Holy Land in the last one hundred years than in the previous two thousand. Pictures such as these take the viewer back into the premodern era of the land of Israel. Their unpaved streets and simple landscapes are the same that greeted President George A. Smith and his party on their visit to the Holy Land in 1873 (see Journal of Discourses, 16:93–102) or that surrounded Orson Hyde as he prayed on the Mount of Olives in 1841 (History of the Church, 4:455–59). These scenes are probably close to the general surroundings experienced daily by Jesus and his early disciples.

Most of these photographs come from a book printed in Berlin in 1926 by Karl Gröber entitled Palestine and Syria: The Country, the People, and the Landscape, donated in 1998 to the BYU Harold B. Lee Library by Dr. James K. Lyon. At the conclusion of his mission in the Netherlands in late 1925, Professor Lyon’s father, T. Edgar Lyon, and two other recently released missionaries traveled to the Middle East before returning to the United States. On their way, they encountered little besides Nomadic shepherds living in black wool tents, girls herding sheep, simple methods of agriculture, and a simple diet. Modern conveniences were few. Thus began the lifelong friendship of T. Edgar Lyon with the Holy Land. In 1927, on his twenty-fourth birthday, his father, David R. Lyon, gave him this book as a gift. It is now part of the BYU collection and held in thelibrary at the BYU Jerusalem Center.

Gröber’s photographs portray life in the Holy Land before it fell prey to the forces of modernization. Professor Lyon comments, “It seems to me that these photos may present a fairly accurate reflection of external living conditions that probably had not
changed significantly since the time of the Savior. My hope is that they convey strong impressions to viewers and that from them modern eyes may gain a sense of some of the physical circumstances in which the greatest spiritual teachings of all times arose."

Added to Gröber’s photographs are three others. The picture of Golgotha was taken in 1993 by John W. Welch. The views of the village meeting and the terraced hillsides outside Jerusalem belong to the Madam Lydia Mary Olive von Finkelstein Mamreov Mountford collection, donated to the BYU Photo Archives in 1977. When Lydia Mountford,¹ an early-twentieth-century star of the stage, visited Jerusalem with her entourage in 1903, she took with her a Utah photographer, Charles Ellis Johnson, a son-in-law of Brigham Young. Even though many of his two thousand photographs, discovered in San Jose in the 1970s by Nelson Wadsworth, are spontaneous tourist shots, some of them capture significant scenes and historical social settings.

Altogether, these pictures take us where no traveler can go today. We may stand on the same spot and look out in the same direction, but the world of the New Testament is now obscured forever behind the billboards, pavements, and other facades of modernism. If we have clear, historical bearings and a knack for imagination, however, these pictures take us a long way back into the lands of the Bible. They have been selected and arranged below as a journey through the life of the Savior Jesus Christ.

NOTE

¹For more information on Lydia Mountford, see Thomas Alexander, Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 324–29.
Bethlehem, birthplace of Jesus. Olive trees dot the terraces around this “city on a hill.”
Shepherds in Bethlehem. Sheep and goats have been tended in much the same manner for centuries.
The Forum of Sebaste. Ruins mark the site of the magnificent basilica of Herod the Great, king of the Jews.
Nazareth. A small town a century ago, the city was even smaller during Jesus’ childhood—perhaps only a few dozen homes.
The Jordan River. When John baptized Jesus, the Jordan flowed more swiftly than it does today.
Cana. At this village, located near a hellenistic center at Sepphoris, Jesus changed water into wine.
The Sea of Galilee. Though usually calm, this lake becomes turbulent when winds swirl through its low valley.
Married woman. Palestinian women showed their married status by wearing their dowry of jewelry and a head covering.
Mary’s Well. This well in Nazareth evokes Jacob’s well across the valley in Samaria, where Jesus taught the woman about living water.
Ruins of a medieval inn. Jesus would have passed near this site several times on the old road from Jericho up to Jerusalem.
Bethany. Here Lazarus was raised and Jesus was anointed before he entered Jerusalem.
View of the Temple Mount, from the south. “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?” (Ps. 24:3).
Bazaar in Jerusalem. This turn-of-the-century marketplace is much quieter than the busy tourist centers of today.
The Western Wall. Jews come to pray, to read, and to discuss the Law at this Herodian retaining wall around the Temple Mount.
Jerusalem street. Although the buildings are more recent, this narrow dirt street is perhaps not unlike the paths Jesus walked.
The Temple Mount. Islamic arches mark an entrance to the temple precinct where Jesus frequently taught.
Muslim-period arcades on the Temple Mount. Anciently, money changers would have operated in the arcades lining the Temple Mount in Jerusalem.
The Gate of Herod. Named in the sixteenth or seventeenth century after Herod Antipas, the gate became the site of a market.
Village meeting. Jesus may have encountered similar scenes as “he went round about the villages, teaching” (Mark 6:6).
Jerusalem, from the Mount of Olives. From here, Jesus could see the temple as he wept over its impending destruction.
A view of Jerusalem from Absalom’s Pillar. Jesus passed this way going to the Garden of Gethsemane.
Traditional site of the Garden of Gethsemane. Jesus probably retreated for his great agony to this garden, whose name means “the garden of the olive press.”
Citadel of Jerusalem. This tower stands on the Herodian foundations of the palace where Jesus was likely presented to Pilate and flogged.
Golgotha (a skull). “And he bearing his cross went forth into a place called the place of a skull” (John 19:17), so called because it bears the image of a face on its limestone hillside.
Gordon’s grave of Christ. “In the garden there was a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus” (John 19:17). Discovered in 1883 by British officer Charles Gordon, the tomb is now more commonly known as the Garden Tomb.
Terraced hillsides outside Jerusalem. This scene is similar to the countryside around Emmaus (Luke 24:13).
The Search for the Physical Cause of Jesus Christ’s Death

*Using both modern medical knowledge and accounts in the Gospels to study Jesus’ death increases our appreciation for the Atonement.*

W. Reid Litchfield

The physical cause of the death of our Lord has occupied the minds and fueled the pens of medical theorists and theologians for centuries. The search for the answer to this diagnostic dilemma has left a windfall of literature and theories that is of tremendous interest to students of the life of Jesus Christ. This essay will review some of the more prominent theories on the physical cause of the death of Christ: the ruptured heart theory, the asphyxia theory, the cardiovascular collapse theory, the aspiration theory, and the fatal syncope theory.1 Each of these theories has its merits, along with its probable flaws. I will also address and reject the theory that Jesus did not die on the cross but rather was resuscitated by his followers and then feigned resurrection.

The Ruptured Heart Theory

The ruptured heart theory is, without doubt, the most well-known theory on the cause of Christ’s death. It is certainly the one most familiar to the Latter-day Saint community as a result of its endorsement by James E. Talmage.2 Dr. William Stroud popularized this theory in 1847,3 and it was on Stroud’s work that Elder Talmage based many of his conclusions.

Understanding cardiac rupture can be conceptually difficult without a basic knowledge of how the heart works. At the simplest level, the heart is a hollow pump surrounded by an inflexible fibrous sac called the pericardium. The heart and its vast network...
of arteries and veins represent a self-contained system that circulates blood to nourish the organs of the body. In a cardiac rupture, a hole in the wall of the heart causes blood to leak into the pericardial sac, which quickly stops the pumping action of the heart. This phenomenon, known as cardiac tamponade, is rapidly fatal. When cardiac tamponade strikes, many victims will cry out loudly, quickly lose consciousness, and then die—all reminiscent of the way Jesus died.

Stroud’s theory is based on the incident described in John 19:34: “But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.” John’s observation contradicts the maxim that “a corpse does not bleed” and places special significance on the emergence of both blood and water from the wound. Stroud’s theory is relatively simple: The intensity of Jesus’ suffering on the cross caused his heart to rupture, resulting in his rapid and dramatic death from cardiac tamponade. The blood in the pericardium then separated into clot and serum and emerged under pressure as separate components when the soldier’s javelin penetrated the pericardium.

It is certainly true that when blood is left to sit in a test tube it will eventually separate into an amber-colored serum and dark red clot. Nevertheless, with few exceptions, blood does not clot in the pericardium after cardiac tamponade. Even if this were a possibility, the one or two hours at most that intervened between death and the spear thrust would have been insufficient for the separation to occur. Finally, it is difficult to understand how a blood clot, which has the consistency of gelatin, could flow from the wound. In all likelihood, the accounts describing the presence of blood and water, which seemed to Stroud to pinpoint the cause of Christ’s death, led him to an erroneous conclusion.

A more likely explanation for the emergence of both blood and water from the wound assumes separate sources for the fluids—the blood emerging from the heart and clear fluid emerging from either the pericardium or the chest cavity. In the case of the clear fluid, there is normally a small amount of watery fluid in the spaces that surround the lung (pleural cavity) and the heart (pericardial space). Excessive and pathologic accumulation of this fluid is nonspecific and can occur in a variety of conditions such as
heart failure, chest trauma, and shock. In the Lord’s case, the or-
deals of crucifixion could have caused an accumulation of pericar-
dial or pleural fluid. A javelin thrust could penetrate the pleural
cavity, the lung, the pericardial space, and the heart itself, resulting
in the drainage of the separate fluids under the influence of gravity.
The biblical record suggests that the wound was large enough for
this kind of drainage to occur; remember that Thomas was able to
thrust his hand into Christ’s side (see John 20:27).

Other aspects of Stroud’s theory do not stand up well to our
current medical understanding of cardiac tamponade. The phe-
nomenon is not known to occur in the absence of some underlying
disease of the heart. The overwhelming majority of cases of cardiac
rupture seen today occur in the setting of a heart attack, or myo-
cardial infarction. In first-century Judea, it would have been stun-
ningly rare for a healthy man in his thirties to experience a heart
attack. Furthermore, when cardiac tamponade complicates a heart at-
tack, it usually does not occur until seven to ten days following the
infarction. The scriptural record offers no suggestion that Jesus was
in any way ill in the week prior to his crucifixion. It is important to
concede that anything, including a heart attack, could have hap-
pened during Christ’s atoning agonies in the Garden of Gethse-
mane twelve hours before his crucifixion. But it would be difficult
to attribute the alleged cardiac rupture to a heart attack that oc-
curred in Gethsemane only twelve to eighteen hours earlier.

It should be noted that Stroud never suggests that Jesus suf-
fered a heart attack. Yet he fails to offer an explanation other than
the intensity of Christ’s suffering as a cause for the rupture. Since it
is impossible to know the physical consequences of Christ’s etern-
al atonement, it is impossible to further critique this argument
from a medical perspective.

Cardiac tamponade is known to occur in other settings. Dr. David
Ball suggests that Christ could have died as a result of traumatic car-
diac tamponade and cites several case studies to support the the-
ory. He argues that Christ’s numerous falls during his walk to
Calvary could have been the source of the chest trauma that
caused the syndrome. With his arms tied to the crossbar, Jesus
could not shield his body and would have fallen forward to the
cobblestone road under the weight of the load. In this type of
trauma, the heart is compressed between the breastbone (sternum) and the spinal column. Ball suggests that this trauma weakened the wall of the heart and caused it to rupture.7

The problem with Ball's theory, like Stroud's, relates to time. The theory would require cardiac rupture to occur only six to seven hours following the trauma. The modern experience with these injuries suggests that traumatic cardiac rupture occurs most often at the time of injury or, less commonly, days following the injury. The six- to seven-hour time frame simply does not fit well. Although the various cardiac rupture theories may have great appeal from a sentimental view, supporting a traditional broken heart symbolism, modern medical thinking does not substantiate that particular physical diagnosis.

The Asphyxia Theory

Virtually every medical treatise on the subject of crucifixion and most of the experiments that simulate crucifixion in healthy volunteers agree that crucifixion causes a profound disruption of the victim's ability to breathe. This knowledge has led many medical theorists to postulate asphyxia as the cause of Christ's death.8

This disruption of breathing relates to the way the chest wall is stretched when the victim is suspended from the cross. In a normal person, the act of inhaling, or inspiration, occurs with the coordinated contraction of the diaphragm and outward expansion of the chest wall. When the chest and diaphragm relax, the chest spontaneously deflates.

In the cruciarius (the Latin term for a victim of crucifixion), the chest was stretched into the same position that it assumed during normal inspiration. Expiration could not occur spontaneously because the chest was held in the inspiration position by the weight of the body pulling on the arms. In essence, the positioning of the body on the cross transformed the normally effortless act of breathing into something that required tremendous energy. Incomplete emptying of the chest could occur by contracting the muscles of the abdominal wall to force air out of the chest; the diaphragm will only work for inspiration. Adequate expiration could not occur without lifting the body up either by pulling up with the arms or pushing up on the nailed feet.
While hanging by the hands, the victim's breathing would be shallow, rapid, and inefficient. With time, oxygen levels in the blood would fall and carbon dioxide levels would rise. Intense air hunger would ensue and prompt a heroic effort on the part of the cruciarius to lift the body up to facilitate normal breathing. A period of frantic, gasping respiration would rescue the victim from suffocation. Then with time, the legs would fatigue and force the cruciarius to hang by the arms, thereby ushering in another period of tortured breathing and air hunger.

The rhythmic cycle of breathing would continue for many hours or even days. To the experienced eye of the executioner, this cycle served as a useful barometer of the overall condition of the condemned and could probably be used to predict the time of death. To the onlooker, it was a powerful visual deterrent of criminal conduct and a sober reminder that the ruling authorities would not tolerate disruptions that threatened their political or religious order.

The agonies exacted by this form of capital punishment were unspeakable. They resulted not only from the air hunger and respiratory distress already mentioned, but also from multiple other factors: intense thirst, severe muscle cramping, and traumatic injury to the nerves, bones, and soft tissues of the feet and wrists caused by the nails. Death came slowly and only after the victims were so weak that they could no longer lift the body to rescue themselves from asphyxia. As the victims weakened, they lifted themselves less frequently. In time, carbon dioxide levels rose and oxygen levels fell, and the victims gradually slipped into a coma. Death, when it finally came, was quiet and peaceful.

It should now be apparent why the practice of breaking the legs of the cruciarius was an effective means of accelerating death. This maneuver would make it impossible for the crucified to "stand up" and breathe, even if the victim still had sufficient strength to do so.

With this background in mind, it is now possible to critically analyze the asphyxia theory in light of the details provided by the Gospel narrators' accounts of Christ's crucifixion. Although none of the Gospel narratives give a direct description of Christ's physical condition on the cross, they do so indirectly. All four writers agree that Jesus spoke from the cross. Since vocalization is only
possible during expiration, he had to have sufficient strength to lift his body and speak out above the clamor that surrounded him. On each of the seven occasions where his words were recorded, he spoke deliberately and used the occasion as a teaching moment. Perhaps the point is best illustrated by reviewing the words Christ spoke immediately prior to his death. Matthew, Mark, and Luke all describe them as being uttered forcefully and relate that they were quickly followed by his death (see Matt. 27:50, Mark 15:37, and Luke 23:46). These words were not the final whispers of a near-comatose man in the terminal stages of asphyxia.

Asphyxia caused by crucifixion closely resembles a severe asthma or emphysema attack. Normally, patients are restless, panicky, and feel like they cannot get enough air. They may be extremely agitated initially, but as the condition worsens, they become more sedated and do not speak. Every effort is devoted to breathing. Finally, victims gradually become drowsy, slip into a coma, and die quietly if the process is not reversed.

Although victims of crucifixion are very similar to asthmatic or emphysema patients in some ways, they were different in one very important respect: they could reverse their inability to fully exhale by pushing down on the nails in the feet, easing the pull on the chest that paralyzes normal respiration. This maneuver allowed normal respiratory mechanics to ensue and temporarily rescue the victim from impending coma and death.

Death from asphyxia and the cardiovascular instability caused by slow suffocation were probably the cause of death in the vast majority of the men and women who died by crucifixion. However, it could not have been the cause of Christ’s death. Although obviously weakened and suffering from his great ordeal, he still had sufficient strength to lift himself, speak out, and be heard above the din of his enemies who encircled the cross. His sudden and unexpected death bears little resemblance to the gradual decline and quiet passing of one that dies by slow asphyxia.

The Cardiovascular Collapse Theory

The most prevalent modern theory on the cause of Christ’s death is that of cardiovascular collapse. The numerous supporters
of this theory suggest that Jesus died of profound shock. The scourging, the beatings, and the fixing to the cross would have left Jesus dehydrated, weak, and critically ill. Add to these insults the tremendous energy expenditure that crucifixion exacted for things as simple as breathing, and the conclusion is intuitive. The stage was set for a complex interplay of physiological insults to be present simultaneously: dehydration, massive trauma and soft tissue injury (especially from the prior scourging), inadequate respiration, and strenuous physical exertion. All acted together to initiate a vicious cycle of incremental and irreversible decline. Eventually the severity of the shock would be such that blood pressure would fall below levels required to perfuse the brain, and coma would result. In fact, cardiovascular collapse is inseparably connected with the abnormalities that accompany gradual asphyxia. This theory supposes only that the cause of coma was the metabolic complications of shock rather than those of asphyxia.

For this reason, the contentions used to renounce the asphyxia theory are exactly the same as those used to question the cardiovascular collapse theory. Again, the biblical account of Christ’s death clearly describes a sudden, unexpected death that was immediately preceded by a loud cry and a statement to the onlookers surrounding the cross. Jesus showed none of the hallmark signs of one dying from profound shock.

The Aspiration Theory

The next two theories, although less widely mentioned, are truly fascinating, and stem from the passage in John 19:28–30. In this account, John places the death of the Lord immediately following the administration of the drink of vinegar that was offered to relieve his thirst. This account has caused some to speculate that the drink was the proximate cause of the Lord’s death.

There are several possibilities whereby drinking could result in sudden death. The most common scenario would be aspiration of the drink into the lungs rather than the stomach. When aspiration of a sufficient volume of fluid occurs, it can cause suffocation. Alternatively, it could have provoked a coughing fit that proved fatal when added to the already labored breathing pattern caused by crucifixion. Yet, the Gospels discredit both possibilities. A sponge
on the end of a hyssop stalk could not hold sufficient fluid to cause suffocation. Furthermore, John does not describe a violent paroxysm of labored breathing or coughing, but rather states that “he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost” (John 19:30).

**The Fatal Syncope Theory**

Could the drink of vinegar have precipitated a fainting spell, or syncope, and been the cause of Jesus’ death? The notion that one could precipitate sudden death by offering the cruciarius a drink has its basis in ancient writings on crucifixion.\(^{10}\) The executioners would even go so far as to prevent onlookers from offering the victim anything to drink so as to maximize the duration of their suffering. The current understanding of syncope also supports the possibility.

Syncope occurs when the blood pressure falls precipitously. It is more likely to occur in states of dehydration, shock, and severe pain or in association with disorders of the heart or nervous system. It can be precipitated by fear, anxiety, pain, a strong gag reflex, or prolonged upright posture. Syncope would have been rapidly fatal during crucifixion because it would make it impossible for the victims to lift themselves to breathe. Furthermore, the victims’ prolonged upright position would exaggerate the lack of blood flow to the brain. A careful review of the scriptures shows that Christ’s condition was characterized by many of the factors that can predispose a body to syncope. It is a very real possibility that a gag reflex to the drink of vinegar could have induced syncope in the Lord.

There is, however, one point that is difficult to explain using this theory. It again relates to the consensus conveyed in the reports of Matthew, Mark, and Luke regarding the Lord’s words immediately prior to his death. In isolation, the account of John is compatible with death due to fatal syncope, but in the context of the other Gospels, it is not. If Jesus had fainted immediately prior to his death, his body would have slumped down, respiration would have ceased, and he would have suffocated. It would have been impossible for him to lift himself up to exhale and speak. The faint, in any case, would have been silent.
The Resuscitation Theory

This theory states that Jesus did not die on the cross but rather recovered spontaneously in Joseph’s tomb or was revived and spirited away by his followers. Like many of the theories offered thus far, it has many advocates, whose views have been circulating since the late nineteenth century. The argument begins with the fact that on Sunday morning the tomb was empty. This detail is a matter of record and a point that is not even disputed by the Jews that orchestrated Christ’s judicial murder. The dispute begins with whether the hands that rolled back the stone were human or heavenly.

Contemporary medicine’s most vocal advocates of the resuscitation theory are Margaret and Trevor Lloyd Davies, who suggest that profound shock resulted in unconsciousness on the cross and led to a premature entombment. Then, in the cool and secrecy of the tomb, Jesus recovered or was revived by his followers and then disappeared from the area. The loud cry before his collapse was merely a heavy sigh that coincided with his loss of consciousness. They openly question John’s medical credibility because of his account of the resurrection of Lazarus. They argue that the wound in Christ’s side is overstated and may not have occurred at all. It could not have been a wound to his heart, for this would have irreversibly upset the balance of one so precariously perched between life and death. Instead, they favor a superficial wound, perhaps nothing more than a bored soldier draining a blister left over from the scourging. Finally, to explain the reports of Christ’s numerous subsequent appearances, they call on mass hallucination rather than resurrection.

In most cases, the believing Christian’s reaction to theories such as this is initially one of outrage. However, such a reaction almost always obscures one’s ability to critically assess the theory for its merits or flaws. The common thread that binds the resuscitation theories in all their varieties is the fact that the events that transpired after the death of Jesus Christ cannot be explained by current scientific knowledge. The need to explain Christ’s resurrection could be done away with by arguing that he never died in the first place. Rather than addressing the central question, they shift
the focus to one that can be addressed more comfortably from within the paradigm of strict allegiance to the scientific method.

A detailed discussion of why the resuscitation theory is unacceptable is largely irrelevant. After all, from the outset, this paper has been written for the believer rather than the skeptic. However, since some imply that it is ludicrous to consider any theory that embraces the reality of the resurrection from a scientific perspective,14 I shall point out some of the glaring inconsistencies in the resuscitation hypothesis. My rebuttal's only requirement is acceptance of physical events portrayed in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

That an unconscious but still living Jesus was able to make this recovery within thirty-six hours of being crucified is no small feat. Unless he were assisted by some unknown co-conspirator, Jesus would have had to uncover himself from beneath many pounds of embalming spices and then unbind the linens that were wrapped around his limbs and body. He would then have had to remove the large stone that blocked the entrance to the tomb and still escape the notice of the sentries at the tomb's entrance. His recovery also would have required sufficient strength to walk the eight-mile journey to Emmaus within thirty-six hours of being crucified. Considering how critically ill Jesus was at the time of entombment, this type of recovery goes beyond the recuperative capacity of a mortal body.

Additional arguments are equally problematic for this theory. We should not forget that the act of breathing on the cross was far from subtle. It required periodic lifting of the body to prevent asphyxia. As a result, the unconsciousness that is the foundation of the theory would have been fatal or permanently damaging in its own right.

The early death of Jesus (see Mark 15:44) represented a glaring departure from the usual crucifixion. If Pilate, from the sanitized environs of Herod's palace, recognized the oddity of Christ's early death, we must assume that it was even more apparent to the executioners. I envision a group of hyper-vigilant and suspicious soldiers gathering around the foot of Christ's cross. They would have watched with the eye of experience and not hastened to
conclude that he had died hours ahead of the expected time. Surely, the soldiers relegated to execution detail knew their profession and understood well the meaning of “dead.”

Finally, with regard to the witnesses to whom Christ appeared after the crucifixion, no one disputes that an emotionally traumatized person can experience hallucination. But to suggest that this experience occurred simultaneously in over five hundred individuals (see 1 Cor. 15:6) and on multiple other occasions in other group settings raises serious doubts about the doctors’ objectivity. It is this loss of objectivity and surrender to personal bias that results in the conclusion being written before the research is complete.

The concluding remarks of Margaret and Trevor Lloyd Davies are as follows: “Faith does not require the abandonment of thought or the assent to concepts not scientifically acceptable. The Church will be stronger if it accommodates proven knowledge within its creeds. If it does not, all that is left is blind belief, far beyond the credulity of most people.”15 Indeed, they correctly point out some of the perils of blind faith. However, they fail to point out that it is equally dangerous to have blind faith in the ability of science. It is crucial to remember that in no field is scientific knowledge complete. To place supreme confidence in the ability of science to explain everything around us is naive and ensures that sooner or later a serious mistake will be made.

The Lord’s Death in Perspective

The assertion that the exact cause of Christ’s death really does not matter is, of course, valid. It is a detail that could be omitted from the story without significantly changing the importance of the overall message. When this line of reasoning is taken to an extreme, the same could be said of almost everything we know about the Lord. The only details of his life that are of primal significance are that he did live, that he did atone for us, and that he was resurrected. These few details tell us he fulfilled his part in the plan of salvation.

However, the exercise of studying the nuances of details transforms ancient manuscripts into living words of counsel. It is
the details that bring long-dead men and women to life in our minds. The intimacy of our relationship with the Lord is in large part predicated upon our study of the details of his life and teachings. In this context, any question that serves to deepen our understanding of the Lord's life is of great value to all those who seek to know him and understand him.

A separate line of reasoning argues that the exact cause of the Lord's death is a moot concept since Jesus alone determined the timing and nature of his death and reminds us that Jesus himself stated, "No man taketh it [my life] from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again" (John 10:18). Christ's unique ancestry made him at once both a man and a God and left him in full control throughout the entire ordeal. This point is critical to the entire discussion and should not be overlooked.

Yet I believe it is reasonable to assume that the Creator of this world and God of heaven and earth would abide by the same laws that maintain and govern his creation. Jesus' mortal body would therefore be subject to the same laws that govern all mortals. Once Christ suspended his godly power to maintain his life under the lethal weight of an eternal atonement, standard physiological principles and laws would be operative. After all, it is Christ's human side rather than his immortal side with which we most closely relate. We cannot fully identify with the death of the God that died on Good Friday, yet it is much more within our reach to identify with the man.

I am confident that any theory on the cause of Christ's death, including mine, which follows, is vulnerable to the criticisms of a new generation of scholars with revised editions of medical textbooks. It is therefore important that the exercise not be invested solely in a search for a cause of death. If this search for enlightenment is to provide anything more than intellectual curiosity and vigorous debate, it must attempt to bridge the gap between the secular and the spiritual. To aspire for something less than this goal dilutes the experience and calls into question its merit. This quest is the basis for my theories on the cause of Christ's death.
The Cardiac Arrhythmia Theory

For me, the most important details surrounding Jesus’ death can be summarized in a few lines. First, it was premature compared to the usual crucifixion pattern. Second, he had sufficient strength to lift his body and speak out loudly immediately prior to his death. Third, his death was sudden and unexpected. A viable theory must suit these fundamentals.

My review of the scriptural accounts has convinced me that Christ’s death was cardiac in nature, but I maintain my belief that it was not due to cardiac rupture, a heart attack, or cardiovascular collapse. Instead, I believe it was due to a cardiac arrhythmia.

A cardiac arrhythmia is an acceleration of the heart’s beating motion to rates that dramatically impair the heart’s ability to pump blood. Before blood can be pumped out of the heart to provide oxygen and nutrients to the brain and other organs, blood must enter the heart and fill the pumping chambers. Malignant arrhythmias represent one of the most common causes of sudden cardiac death because they rapidly decrease the flow of blood from the heart to levels that approach zero. This drop may occur because the heart beats so quickly that it does not allow sufficient time for the heart to fill with blood or because the beating motion of the heart becomes chaotic and uncoordinated. In either case, the result is the same. As soon as the cardiac output decreases to levels that prevent blood flow to the brain, unconsciousness develops (after seven to ten seconds of pulselessness), and death rapidly ensues.17

The most deadly arrhythmias are ventricular tachycardia and ventricular fibrillation. Today these arrhythmias are most commonly seen in conjunction with underlying heart disease such as chronic heart failure or heart attack. In fact, the reason one-third of heart attack victims die prior to arrival at the hospital relates to development of a fatal arrhythmia. But arrhythmias can also be seen in other settings. There is a wealth of scientific evidence to suggest that a fatal arrhythmia could be precipitated by metabolic complications that are thought to occur during crucifixion.

Arrhythmia’s most notable provocateurs, which almost certainly occurred during crucifixion, include high blood potassium
levels and an excessive accumulation of acid in the body (acidosis). High potassium levels can result from dehydration-induced kidney failure or leakage of potassium from damaged cells. Even brief simulations of crucifixion in healthy young men resulted in significant damage to muscle cells, probably the result of the intense physical exertion and severe muscle cramping that occurred on the cross.\textsuperscript{18} This type of muscle injury, exaggerated further by flogging or other trauma, releases large amounts of potassium into the blood from the damaged cells. Furthermore, in the setting of severe dehydration, potassium is poorly cleared from the blood.

High potassium levels alone would be sufficient to cause a fatal arrhythmia. Arrhythmias that result from high potassium levels usually begin as ventricular tachycardia. Although very dangerous, this arrhythmia may allow enough cardiac output to maintain consciousness, especially in a young person with a healthy heart. However, with time and further increases in potassium levels, ventricular tachycardia usually degenerates into ventricular fibrillation. Ventricular fibrillation is an arrhythmia in which cardiac output falls to zero due to chaotic electrical activity in the heart; it is rapidly fatal.

Acidosis occurs with any form of shock and would be worsened by dehydration, trauma, and the abnormal breathing pattern seen in crucifixion. Several hours on the cross would lead to profound acidosis, which can worsen high potassium levels and can make the heart "irritable" and prone to arrhythmia. The stage was set perfectly for Jesus to experience cardiac arrest due to an arrhythmia.

Cardiac arrhythmia is compelling as a potential cause of the Lord's death because its onset is often sudden and unpredictable. It may also occur in the absence of any underlying heart disease. Of interest is the fact that many patients who experience malignant arrhythmias have a foreboding that something is wrong before they collapse. This may relate to the patient's feeling palpitations, being aware of a rapid heartbeat, or having a premonition of an impending loss of consciousness. With the onset of this type of arrhythmia, it is not uncommon for patients to cry out or frantically search for help seconds prior to their collapse and death. Finally, when these malignant arrhythmias occur, they are rapidly fatal.
The Broken Heart

In light of the abundant, albeit circumstantial, evidence in support of an arrhythmic death, we may conclude that the psalmist spoke well in saying “Reproach hath broken my heart; and I am full of heaviness: and I looked for some to take pity, but there were none; and for comforters, but I found none” (Ps. 69:20–21). Indeed, the entire ordeal was borne in solitude notwithstanding the throng of people at the foot of the cross. For, even the Father's presence was withdrawn at the pinnacle of his suffering on the cross. Consider the irony of the notion that Jesus himself died of the very thing he requires of those he would redeem: a broken heart and a contrite spirit that bears the heaviness of others' burdens (see Ps. 51:16–17, 147:3; 2 Ne. 2:7; and 3 Ne. 9:20).

My feelings about the “broken heart” theory may seem as much figurative as they are based on medicine and physiology. However, I stand by my assertions that they have merit from a medical perspective. Yet, more important than all of that is the way that the exercise increases our understanding of Christ's atonement, death, and resurrection. As we study and ponder all that we can about our Savior, our hearts swell with gratitude for his condescension and his infinite love. Our empathy for the Lord fulfills the pleadings of a familiar hymn: “More tears for his sorrows, More pain at his grief.” Once this change has occurred, our perspective is dramatically altered, and the quest for the answer to the question of how Jesus died becomes, above all, the medium through which our appreciation for the Lord's sacrifice is greatly deepened.

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NOTES

1Additional minor theories have been offered, but it is beyond the scope of this paper to visit them all.


The interested reader is referred to several studies that describe this type of respiratory pattern in volunteers undergoing mock crucifixion: Hermann Moedder, “Die Todesursache bei der Kreuzigung,” Stimmer der Zeit 144 (1948): 52-59; Frederick T. Zugibe, “Two Questions about Crucifixion,” Bible Review 5 (April 1989): 36; Zugibe, “Death by Crucifixion,” 7; and Ball, “Crucifixion and Death of a Man Called Jesus,” 77-83. At first glance, the studies of Zugibe appear to contradict the hypothesized respiratory pattern seen during crucifixion. However, a careful review of his study reveals that his mock crucifixions were done such that the body was kept in a raised position throughout the study. Furthermore, whenever cramping or discomfort in the study subject occurred, Dr. Zugibe would support the weight of the body at the level of the thighs and allow the subject to rest. This maneuver would serve to prevent the development of the very phenomenon he was trying to study. The balance of evidence therefore supports the development of severe respiratory embarrassment during crucifixion.

Equally instructive are horrific eyewitness accounts of victims of torture during the first and second world wars. The Austro-German and Nazi armies used a practice known as aufbinden as a torture technique. The victim was suspended by the wrists such that the feet scarcely touched the ground. The chest wall was stretched by the body’s weight such that the victim could not exhale without lifting the body up by the arms. If the victim was prevented from doing so, he or she would rapidly die of asphyxia. Barbet, A Doctor at Calvary, 75-76; and R. W. Hynek, Science and the Holy Sbroad (Chicago: Benedictine, 1936).


15Lloyd Davies and Lloyd Davies, “Resurrection or Resuscitation?” 168.


17Death may be averted by applying cardiopulmonary resuscitation, or CPR, as a temporizing measure to mechanically force blood through the heart by compressing it between the sternum and spinal column. It is estimated that CPR may deliver approximately 10 percent of normal cardiac output, which may be enough to perfuse the brain for a short period of time. If coordinated cardiac activity can be restored through the timely administration of an electrical shock, normal pumping action may be restored in some instances.

18Zugibe, “Death by Crucifixion,” 8–11.

19Latter-day prophets have indicated that the pains of Gethsemane and the horrors of the atonement returned to Christ in his final hours on the cross. See Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, 660–61, and Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 109.

20“More Holiness Give Me,” in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 131.
Two or Three Witnesses

Mary
So this is what you meant,
born again:
from the day your name
spilled from the angel's
tongue like wine
until now,
one long labor
only to bring you
naked into this
chorus of rainwater
then back into
the womb of earth.

John
Here in the storm
at the Place of the Skull
my ears reach to catch
your words like fish.
For us words
used to come more easily:
parables and proverbs
loaded against
the nets of language,
the weight breaking them
into joyful swimming
all the way back to song.

A donkey
Nothing will grow here.
The ground is too hard for
even the rain to soften.
If someone would take
this bundle from my back,
I would lie down in a meadow
or a garden,
then get up and go home.

—Michael Hicks
Loving God and Mankind: Rites of Passage and the Humanities

Eric B. Shumway

This article was first given as an address to the College of Humanities at Brigham Young University, October 10, 1996.

Aloha! I thank you deeply for your kindness in inviting me to participate in your homecoming celebration as a college of humanities. I can truly say with Shakespeare’s Juliet, “It is an honor I dream[ed] not of.”1 I have an old, rather sardonic Polynesian friend, a poet of some renown among his people who, when he heard of your invitation to me, responded with a bit of proverbial Tongan wisdom. “Samuei, neongo kuo tō tu’a ‘a e fakabekabeké, ka e ngalingali kuo tō lelei ki ho lotō” (“Even though [the honor] is obviously a wild exaggeration of your merits, yet it has no doubt distilled sweetly on your heart”). I cannot deny this.

It is sweet indeed after thirty years to come back as a guest of the university that so profoundly influenced my life and my attitudes when I was “in passage” here. Walking through the corridors of memory, I stand in reverent appreciation before the mighty figures of the teachers I had here. Frankly, as a young student, I was an unabashed hero worshipper of my professors, given to small ecstasies over their ideas in class, taking copious notes, hanging on every word and nuance, and, later in my apartment, imitating gestures, accents, even their affectations, fantasizing private conversations with them in which I sounded intelligent and impressive, and instantly forgiving them in my mind if they ever behaved as mere human beings. It was always a shock, for example, to see one of them lingering over the candy section in the bookstore or to encounter them in their grubbies, shopping at Safeway. I simply refused ever
to let them off their pedestal. Although this kind of adoration has mellowed, my appreciation and affection for these wonderful mentors have not diminished over the years.

Despite my claim to a shared BYU history with some of you, I am acutely aware that I am a stranger to most of you. In Polynesia, a stranger on the *marae*, or the formal place of speaking, must first tell something of his own story, background, and lineage before he can presume to share his *mana‘o*, or message. It is the same for a long absent family member. He must tell of his voyaging and account for his behavior to the ceremonial family. The great explorer Captain James Cook failed to establish his lineage and background for the Hawaiians, and we all know what happened to him.

As I contemplated this ancient custom among the people with whom I have chosen to make my home, I realized again that the Pacific islanders view life as a voyage—a series of departures and arrivals, reunions and farewells. But mainly they see us all in passage through the vast ocean of experience. As a missionary in Tonga, I was impressed by the expression of our church-boat captain in Ha‘apai: whenever we sailed outside of the harbor or over the protective barrier reef, he would say grimly: “*Kuo tau tō ki vaha*” (“We have fallen into the in-between place”). That is to say, we had reached the channel or come into the high seas. But I was always fascinated by the idea of falling into the great “in-between place”—a wonderful metaphor for this world, suggesting among other things that we are indeed all in passage, sharing individual and group voyaging experiences, calling advice back and forth across the water, clustering occasionally because of personal, formal, or strategic group connections, but essentially having to steer our own passage, dealing individually with the storms and currents that tend to overpower us.

We can get close to each other. Life’s essential requirement is that we compassionately assist each other, because our assistance to others affects our own voyage profoundly. But there is still rough ocean always between us, and each one must negotiate his or her destination. We can never quite get into another’s boat. Wisdom, skill, faith, courage, and love are the principal operatives in this voyage. In fact, many times they are our only companions, and
mysteriously they become an essential part of our destination. The Maori poet Vernice Wineera says it this way:

When you live with an ocean,
There is undeniably a line in your life.
An imprecise notion
Defining the boundary
Of your existence.
The apparent intersecting
Of sea and sky,
An ethereal idea
Challenging passage.
For when you advance
It recedes before you,
Ever remaining,
The passionate crossing
Between
Known and unknown;
The finite and beyond.
No erratic angle in your life,
Laving the wide earth,
This gentle curve,
Encompassing your yearning
Reveals the frontier—
No further
Than the deep warm sea of the universe.²

From this Polynesian perspective, I have organized a few thoughts around my own voyage before and after my passage through BYU, with particular reference to the humanities, which, in relation to the gospel of Jesus Christ and his church, have been such a potent force in that passage so far.

My passion for the humanities did not begin at BYU, but in my first growing-up place—St. John’s, Arizona, our tiny hometown that Rex Lee described affectionately as a “little one-horse town expecting its second horse any day.” Situated between two Indian reservations on the high, windy plateau north of the White Mountains, St. John’s produced a tiny but hearty population that eeked a living from the rocky soil, watered from the highly temperamental Little Colorado River. Despite the regular extremes of drought and floods, the early settlers hung on to the little colony with ferocity and faith that became legend in the Church. “There is more faith in the little finger of a St. Johnser than in the entire Salt Lake Valley” was one visiting General Authority’s estimation—or so we heard as
children in the lore of the community. What I did hear firsthand as a child was my own mother's response to a shaken, wide-eyed tourist who rolled into Dad's three-pump service station after driving the fifty miles from Highway 66 without seeing another car or anything else that moved, except windblown dust and tumble-weeds. "Ma'am, what do you folks grow in this Godforsaken country?" he asked, wiping his face.

"Men," Mom said fiercely, "we grow men."

But St. John's grew more than men and women who could survive in a difficult environment. Like many tiny, rural LDS communities, it also grew a tradition that embraced the arts and the humanities in an interesting way. When I was growing up in the late '40s and '50s, that tradition had built-in expectations of singing and dancing, performing and reciting as a part of its heritage. "To be cool" was defined largely in one's involvement in more than just sports and hot rodding. There were just 129 students in our entire high school, but we fielded a football team, a basketball team, a band, an orchestra, and a choir—all made up of many of the same students. Those who enjoyed the pregame or half-time band performances at football games frequently watched a group of football players come off the field, file into the stands, throw off their helmets, pick up their instruments, and play. The two major high school events of the year were the regional music festival and the state basketball tournament. St. John's High made a strong showing in the one and dominated the other, again with many of the same students. Each Friday night we danced to the music of the best live band in the region. Our basketball coach played lead trumpet, our football coach was on the drums, and the town barber was at the piano.

Our English teacher, Letty A. Patterson, also taught the Cultural Refinement lesson in Relief Society, often drawing in her students to recite poetry or act out scenes of famous plays. For one lesson, she recruited me to play Romeo in the balcony scene. Since no balcony existed in the crowded Relief Society room, poor Juliet had to climb to the top of a ten-foot step ladder that wobbled dangerously as she recited her lines; I passionately gripped my heart with one hand and held the ladder as steady as I could with the other.

The matriarch of our home wonderfully combined theology and aesthetics as well as the domestic arts in her life. She taught
music, dancing, and English in both elementary and high school and, for over thirty years, instructed the fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds in Sunday School. "It's not everyone who gets to have Isaiah for a mother," my younger brother Nick used to tell his friends. At home, the six children practiced on two pianos, four violins, and one cello and performed for our father every week during Sunday afternoon family hour. Although our family's financial condition was always modest to poor, Dad purchased the musical instruments and paid for our lessons. When Nick, age fifteen, was denied access to the church organ except when he played for priesthood meeting, Dad was incensed. He assuaged his anger over the disappointment of his immensely talented teenage son, not by giving the bishop a piece of his mind, but by going out and buying an organ for the boy to play at home.

Mom was a highly public person who composed music, wrote novels, poetry, and short stories, and produced an operetta every year. For some, she was the community's final word on gospel matters. But it was Dad's passionate longing for things beautiful that drove the family. He was a blue-collar, one-fist-of-iron-the-other-of-steel kind of man who could speak thunder when angry but could weep over a squeaky violin rendition of Saint-Saens's "The Swan." When I announced to him after my freshman year at BYU that I was planning to major in English and teach poetry in college, he joked a bit about whether I'd rather do that or work for a living by getting a real job. He then proceeded to recite from memory Thomas Gray's "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard." It nearly blew me away—perhaps because I had not heard the elegy recited before by a man with grime on his clothes and car grease under his fingernails. As it turned out, all four of his sons chose professional college careers in the humanities areas of language, literature, and music.

All was not harmonious in our little town, however, despite the powerful religious influence of the Church and the community's artistic and aesthetic heritage. For one thing, racial tensions between the Mormon Americans and the Catholic Mexican-Americans served to pinch feelings and harden hearts toward people of other accents, color, and language. Although hostility was rare, private attitudes of disparagement of each other seemed
to qualify any expression of trust or affection between the two groups. Wartime propaganda cemented our prejudice further against our country’s enemies who had killed a number of young men in the community. It was impossible for my generation to escape the effects of racial intolerance.

Two things helped mitigate sharply against those narrow prejudices that clung like barnacles to my thoughts and behavior. Both were humanities related. One was the study of Spanish, with the attendant introduction to the history, music, and humor of the Spanish-speaking peoples. The other was a remarkable and profoundly moving experience, listening to a Boston Symphony recording of Tchaikovsky’s sixth symphony, the Pathétique, which produced in me a kind of epiphany that was both spiritual and aesthetic. It was a moment when I first began to realize that such a moment in art comprises many of the emotions of religious experience—wonder, reverence, gratitude, humility, and most of all an abounding sense of love. More specifically, the experience had the effect of awakening my soul to universal truths that hitherto had been inaccessible to me because of my youth. I was about eleven years old at the time, home alone, recuperating from surgery.

I cannot quite explain what happened to me as the dark, melancholy strains of the symphony’s first movement penetrated our quiet house on that late summer afternoon. But suddenly amid the sounds and harmonies, I was lifted out of myself, out of my youth, out of my sheltered ignorance, and brought to a kind of communion out of time with all of suffering humanity. It was as if I saw in a vision the soul of man in a cosmic struggle against evil. I saw humanity both as predator and victim, inflicting and suffering ghastly injustices—lured by wealth and power and wasted by vain ambition and uncontrollable passion. In the midst of this special moment, I also sensed what the torments of hell must be, the pounding of an outraged conscience, the panic-stricken search for relief in all manner of delusions, the terror of outer darkness. The experience ended as the symphony ends, conveying a deep sense of tragedy and loss. The beat of the last movement throbs like a weary heart about to break. The lamenting melody simply trails off and collapses in a chaos of grief and despair, as if the soul had fallen over the edge of eternity into the abyss.
What, one might ask, was so spiritual about that experience? It sounds more like a nightmare. The miracle of it was what happened to me inside. Rather than being haunted by fear and self-doubt, I was filled with a profound pity for a humanity that I didn’t even know yet empirically; my compassion transcended the limitations of my extreme youth and my country environment. Insights and feelings came to me that only in later years could I rationally justify from literature—world history, biographies of Peter Tchaikovsky, and, of course, from scripture. You can imagine, for example, with what feelings I first discovered that Enoch had experienced similar feelings after hearing the Lord’s voice:

And it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Enoch, and told Enoch all the doings of the children of men; wherefore Enoch knew, and looked upon their wickedness, and their misery, and wept and stretched forth his arms, and his heart swelled wide as eternity; and his bowels yearned; and all eternity shook. (Moses 7:41)

Artists and critics have given different names to the experience I have just described. It is a familiar phenomenon in both art and religion but not usually one that can be consciously willed. As Wordsworth says, it comes “by chance collisions and quaint accidents . . . to impregnate and to elevate the mind.”\(^3\) It comes as a grace, as dew distilling from heaven (D&C 121:45). Robert Browning calls the crescendo of emotion that culminates in a flash of moral insight a “moment . . . infinite.”\(^4\) The bar between life and life is broken, and the soul is bathed momentarily in the truth and joy of eternity. Juanita Brooks would call the phenomenon a “sunburst;”\(^5\) Thomas Hardy refers to “moments of vision;”\(^6\) James Joyce would call it an epiphany.\(^7\) Tennyson records such a moment when his soul was “whirl’d / About empyreal heights of thought / And came on that which is, and caught / The deep pulsations of the world.”\(^8\) Joseph Smith would explain it as that moment when “pure intelligence flow[s] into you . . . giv[ing] you sudden strokes of ideas.”\(^9\)

For me, this moment and succeeding moments with the symphony constituted a rite of passage. I had fallen into a new “in-between place.” More than that, I was vocal about it, feeling a fire in my bones, as it were, to tell others about this musical allegory of human experience. I am sure I made myself quite obnoxious.
Thus, I was feelingly convinced early in life that the best art, at least musical art, was closely connected to religious experience and that the supreme emotions of such an experience were those of love or within love’s orbit.

My years at BYU as an English literature and language major opened my vision further to the close relationship between the study of language arts and religious experience. It was here I learned that prophets and poets spoke God’s truth and that good literature is indeed a vast repository of human parables, narratives, and poetic imprints about men and women in passage, struggling within the maelstrom of the cosmic opposition between good and evil. I learned at BYU that education is a lifelong process of “getting a new heart” as well as “getting new eyes,” and ultimately it all had to do with perspective and love.

It was at BYU that I learned the miraculous nature of books—that the pursuit of knowledge was akin to an act of worship and that learning to use a sound-thinking brain was one way of loving God with all of one’s mind. It began to dawn on me here that true doctrine and true authority were only part of true religion, a definition of which eventually evolved in my mind: True religion constitutes all the values and truths revealed by God to his children and all the truths that we have induced about God and humanity. True religion is also the sum total of one’s inner life that is grounded in those truths—the quality of one’s impulses and desires, the way one perceives, acts, and enjoys. Finally, any experience that lifts and ennobles one in a greater love and reverence for God or a deeper love for fellowbeings and better prepares one to act morally is a religious experience.

It was at BYU that I first began to realize the powerful relationship between the study of literature and religious experience, in that both are mainly born and nourished in the concept of otherness. This concept of otherness implies at least four powerful virtues: (1) perception, a way of looking at another; (2) attitude, a way of thinking about another; (3) sensibility, a way of feeling about another; and (4) behavior, a way of treating another. Abandon any one of these virtues and you have something less than true religion.

The first three virtues of otherness, perception and attitude and sensibility, are the ultimate concerns of literature; the fourth,
behavior, is the ultimate concern of scripture. Joseph Conrad, the literary artist, says: "My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you see. That—and no more, and it is everything."\textsuperscript{10} James, the Apostle of Christ, says: "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves" (James 1:22). The need for a synthesis of all four virtues is obvious to the Latter-day Saint. Without vivid and accurate perception, clear thought, and genuine feeling, religious action is little more than hollow exercise. Without righteous action, however, seeing, thinking, and feeling can be moral delusions.\textsuperscript{11}

At BYU, I was converted more fully by the Book of Mormon to the truth and majesty of the atonement, indeed all the doctrines of Christ. I made closer friendships with the men and women of scripture, their lives and teachings. I was also converted and changed forever by Thomas Hardy's Tess, Browning's David, Coleridge's mariner, Dostoyevsky's Sonia, Wordsworth's Cumberland beggar, and Bronte's Jane. Intensely, though vicariously, I was thrust into the peopled worlds created by artists who, despite their own personal weaknesses, enjoyed gifts of great imaginative power in communicating truth, wisdom, and beauty. At the same time, thanks to faithful teachers, I was able to cultivate the Arnoldian sense of a mutually sustaining relationship between a strictness of conscience and a spontaneity of consciousness, between keeping covenants with exactness and honor and giving motivation and freedom to one's creative imagination.

David O. McKay and Orson Whitney are well-known Church leaders who argued that poets and prophets often speak by the same spirit. Even though their techniques and language may differ, the impact power is much the same. Some say it's easier to rationalize a poet or literary artist than a prophet. For many it is the other way around. Let me give you a case in point. I still teach an introduction to literature class to nonmajors at BYU—Hawaii and begin every course with a section on Mormon literature. I am always fascinated by the response of certain students to the assignment of reading President's Kimball's speech in the October 1978 general conference, in which he decries the wanton destruction of animal life for sport. Most of us who were around at that time remember
his reciting the little primary song, "Don't Kill the Little Birds." Quoting President Joseph F. Smith, he said, "It is wrong, and I am surprised at prominent men whom I have seen whose very souls seem to be athirst for the shedding of animal blood."\(^{12}\)

What was the effect of that speech? Why, I remember the whole hunting culture in Utah scrambling for cover. When the "shooting" was over and the conference concluded, many came out from behind the rocks and trees, brushing themselves off, making light of their wounds, talking about the value of family outings and family hunting traditions and the positive economic impact on society of the hunting enterprise. Because of their powers of rationalization, they were able to relegate President Kimball's wonderful and courageous admonition to little more than a glitch on the television screen.

Next, I have the students read Douglas Thayer's short story "Opening Day,\(^{13}\) an excruciating, intimate view of a soul in conflict over the shedding of animal blood for sport. In this context, the literary artist is not so easily dismissed or rationalized. The story is about a returned missionary who promised God during his mission he would never kill for sport again but who comes back to a family that can't wait to take him on a deer hunt. The unfolding psychological and emotional drama draws the reader in to see, hear, and feel things that are missed in a direct homily. It forces us to examine the dynamics of the heart, the spirit, and the family in a context of shedding blood. If the prophet's preaching tingles our ears, the literary artist hits us in the solar plexus.

By the way, I was not personally acquainted with Professor Douglas Thayer when I was here as a student, but I knew he was a writer. I would frequently come to the library to find my favorite study table taken over by Doug's short-story manuscripts. Lining the edges of the table with the pages of a story in process, he would walk slowly around the table, peering at each sheet, marking and correcting, backing up from page eleven to page five, getting the flow and consistency right, and muttering to himself. I was impressed and amused. Little did I know he would write works which one day would constitute another rite of passage for me.

Despite the powerful contribution BYU made to my intellectual and spiritual development, my life's voyage was soon to bring
me into an intimacy with non-Western peoples and cultures, children of God not of the Wasatch fold or even under the Stars and Stripes forever. This intimacy gave me yet again new eyes and a new heart. BYU in my day was largely white and Eurocentric. And, as I have already mentioned, my growing-up place had not prepared me totally for close encounters with people of color in settings and cultures far different from those I was familiar with.

Three profound experiences, all humanities related, provided points of passage through another great "in-between place" in my life. The first was being "born again" in a new language. This metaphor is not inappropriate when as a twenty-year-old missionary, in pre-MTC days, I was dropped into an island village in Tonga, with only two suitcases, Tongan scriptures, and a native companion and told not to leave my post for any reason until I could speak the Tongan language. In the meantime, I was to direct in that part of the island the missionary work made up of eight Tongan missionaries, seven of whom were married, six of them old enough to be my father. None spoke much English. Although I had authority, I had no real identity, no way to connect with a people I feared and resented—for I was still nursing a tiny bitterness that I had not been called to a Spanish-speaking mission after which I could converse with an additional 250 million people in the world. Instead, I was to learn a language spoken by only a hundred thousand isolated Polynesians. In this tiny island context, with meager means of communication yet feeling laden with a serious responsibility, I was a cipher, afflicted by culture shock, an identity crisis, waves of homesickness, and near despair. As W. O. Facer had written in his journal in Tonga fifty years before my time: "When you get that kind of homesickness you wish your mother hadn't had you."14

At least two things saved me here. One was a profoundly spiritual outpouring and reassurance during a desperate, broken-hearted and contrite prayer. The other was the magnificent sounds of a strangely powerful music filling the air every night as the villagers practiced their lakalaka for Queen Salote Pilolevu's birthday. I was later to learn that this traditional performance is one of the most sophisticated art forms in the world, combining the eloquence of poetry and grand chorus harmonies with the movements of a stately communal dance.
Frequently in the muggy darkness those sounds penetrated our missionary quarters. As with Tchaikovsky’s *Pathétique* symphony in my early youth, there was something deep and profound about this music that first lifted me out of my despair and then brought me to a kind of communion with the Tongan people, whom I hardly knew, with the beauty of their lives, the richness of their past, and the dignity of their culture. Crusts of fear, ignorance, and prejudice were beginning to dissolve within me, replaced by sensations of love. I had caught the “deep pulsations” of a new world. When the language began to come in a rush of spiritual energy, the Tongans were no longer just anthropological curiosities or a blurred generalized populace defined by their material poverty. They could now be understood, appreciated, even revered, as wonderful individuals and collectively as one of the great civilizations of our planet.

Language and music were key to this “born again” miracle, the opening of the heart and the eyes of understanding. But another aesthetic/spiritual event was equally important. It took place at an all-Saints mission conference just a few months after I arrived in Tonga. The following account appears in my book *Tongan Saints: Legacy of Faith*:

After a late afternoon meeting, the visiting authority, Elder John Longden, Assistant to the Council of the Twelve, retired to the home of the school principal. Soon a large group of Saints from Vava’u gathered on the front lawn to perform a *lakalaka* dance in honor of this General Authority from Salt Lake City. As with all *lakalaka* performances, this one began in majesty and ended in exaltation, the voices of two hundred singers reverberating through the grounds of the school.

The group dance concluded with a male solo dance, a *tau’olunga* performed by the Vava’u district president, Malakai Manu ‘Unga. It was fascinating to me to see a man dance with such graceful movements and warmth. Elder Longden sat forward in his lawn chair, clearly animated by the beauty of the performance. Suddenly he sprang to his feet and commenced his own version of the *tau’olunga*, imitating Brother ‘Unga’s every movement, including the whirls, the nods, and the bows. I nearly swallowed my tongue with surprise. Whatever grave dignity Elder Longden had conveyed from his chair as a travel-weary but interested spectator was now transformed into overflowing and overwhelming love and appreciation that manifested itself through the movements of his whole body.
Here the white man, knowing little of the ways of the brown, and the brown, knowing less of the ways of the white, were caught in a glorious moment of harmonious feeling which transcended color, race, or culture.

Slowly they gravitated together in the movements of the dance, until they embraced—equals, brothers, co-stewards in God's kingdom, communicating a love and wisdom that surpassed words. For me it was as if the barriers of race, ignorance, and prejudice had fallen, and I stood bathed in the insight of Peter's vision: "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons" (Acts 10:34).15

The insights and illumination of these experiences have been repeated and reaffirmed many times in our lives since, as we have lived among people and students of many races. Again, it has been frequently in those poignant moments when the art, music, language, and literature of a people become the means by which the Spirit works on us, endowing us with greater love for all of God's children. It changes our mind-sets. It frees us from the narrow prejudices of our upbringing. It allows us to participate lovingly and imaginatively in ways impossible before such illumination.

For example, I was deeply moved by a portrait of our first Shumway grandchild, Spencer Kealoha, drawn by a Nigerian artist, Nnamdi Okonkwo, a graduate of BYU—Hawaii and now a graduate student at BYU. Having two blondes for parents, baby Spencer inevitably was born a true paleface in a land of robust color within the population—thin of lip, narrow of nose, and pigment deprived. But since the drawing was to be a gift for doting parents whom Nnamdi loved, the black artist, perhaps in a burst of inadvertent compassion and artistic license, conspired against cold nature and rendered Spencer in tones of an African child—not as a caricature by any means, but as an authentic ideal. Clearly little Spencer's unique features are all present, but with the added beauty of slightly fuller lips, a generous nose, and a warm ebony coloring. I recognized immediately what this art piece represented: a resonance of brotherhood and a "one-blood-of-all-nations" perspective of black as beautiful, not as a curse or mark of Cain, but as a distinguishing feature of a people whose heritage of suffering, art, dance, and music is one of the world's humanities treasures.

BYU—Hawaii is a place where students of many nations come together in a powerful manifestation of harmony amidst diversity.
Obviously, a shared gospel faith and testimony helps create an environment where bonding and appreciation, even affection for one another, can occur. Prophets have called it a "living laboratory" in which a common humanity is magnified, even exalted, by the sense of a common divinity.

I am always touched by how this sense is sustained by the students sharing and participating in the arts and humanities of each other's culture. For example, in the Fijian section of the night show at the Polynesian Cultural Center, you will just as likely encounter a Samoan, Hawaiian, or Tongan as a Fijian. The same is true of all other performance sections of the famous night show. On campus, in our Song Fests and Culture Nights, the Filipino club may do their version of a Maori haka, the Koreans, their effort at a Samoan slap dance, sometimes even in jest. Everybody loves it.

One of my favorite memories as a stake president on campus is visiting a ward Relief Society meeting in which a young Tongan woman gave a cultural refinement lesson on the music and poetry of India. Nervous but well prepared, she spoke and recited with surprising expertise. All went well until she turned on an audio tape of a traditional Indian song. Instantly, the Relief Society room reverberated with the sounds of a woman's voice so different and an accompaniment so strange, our teacher, much in control before, now broke out in an uncontrollable laughter that almost immediately turned into weeping. Turning off the music, she begged forgiveness through her tears and then made this comment, "I confess I cannot grasp this music. The sounds are so different from those of my island. But I do know I have sisters in India whom I love, though I've never seen. Their spirits are lifted by this music, their lives of hardship sweetened. Therefore, I'm going to love this music, though I don't understand it."

As our separate voyages intersect today for a brief moment, perhaps I can conclude by calling two bits of modest advice across the water, especially to you students. First, beware of pure specialty. Develop a healthy skepticism of the so-called cutting edge research in the humanities, which often means simply another rush to a new critical fad without fully trying to absorb the grand heritage. The cutting edge, like the argumentative edge, too quickly snaps the ties with precious parts of our vital past and severs the
heart strings of our humanity. I remember reading in a teacher education journal a few years ago the lament of one scholar who said that our colleges produce people today who have “ephemeral knowledge and tenacious dislikes.”16 That is, too many programs narrow and constrict students through passionate proselytizing to one point of view or another. “Let us not narrow ourselves up,” pleads Brigham Young, “for the world, with all its variety of useful information . . . is before us; and eternity with all its sparkling intelligence.”17 Our education should widen our interests and deepen our appreciation and love.

Finally, it is true that in a contemplation of the humanities we explore and celebrate what it is to be human. But your voyage and mine is bent more on what it is to become like God, which is to love the way God loves, as Enoch eventually felt and understood. Why is it that we must love God first with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength, and with all our mind (see Luke 10:27) and then second, love our neighbor as ourself, which Christ taught means loving all humanity? Partly, it is because if we don’t love God first and all he represents, instead of loving our neighbor as ourselves, we are just as likely to end up “loving” our neighbor’s wife, or his goods, or his reputation, or his sins that complement and magnify our own. Love also needs both anchor and compass on our voyage. For me, loving God with all one’s mind means not only putting one’s critical faculties in God’s service, but one’s imagination as well. This requires a will to purity as well as analytical discernment, a passion for good, even perfection, as well as for beauty and understanding.

Where love and human understanding are concerned, the humanities can provide rites of passage through much of this dark world, but they will never have power to save us in the celestial kingdom. Only Christ, his gospel, his authority, his prophets, and his church can do that. Francis Thompson, the nineteenth-century poet, expressed it well in his poem “Hound of Heaven.” In the poem, the soul of man is in rebellious flight, and Christ, compared to a hound, is in the exorable pursuit. Christ’s words resound in response to the soul’s panic to find comfort and fulfillment in every kind of human pleasure—art, nature, erotic love, wine, fame, fortune, fashion, and so on. Surrounding the soul, “like a
bursting sea,” the voice of Christ says, “All things betray thee, who betrayest Me. . . . Naught shelters thee, who wilt not shelter Me. . . . Lo, all things fly thee, for thouliest Me!”

I wish you well on your voyage and pray that your passage will be as powerfully enhanced by the humanities as mine has been. I pray especially that the love of God will be not only our anchor and compass, but our motivation and reward, indeed our destination.

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NOTES

1William Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet, 3.1.66.
11Much of the preceding six paragraphs were taken from a previous lecture entitled “Literature as Religious Experience,” given by the author at BYU—Hawaii, February 1975.
14W. O. Facer, journal, in possession of the author.

16 Personal notes of the author.


Fig. 1. The Olmec region. Courtesy David Shelton.
Archaeometry Applied
to Olmec Iron-Ore Beads

Modern research tools reveal the curious workmanship used in the ancient drilling of small beads found at archaeological digs in Mesoamerica.

Steven E. Jones, Samuel T. Jones, and David E. Jones

Archaeometry is the use of advanced physical methods in the study of archaeology. The tools of applied physics allow us to search for clues contained in ancient objects themselves. Here we report what we have learned regarding iron-ore beads discovered in the Olmec region. We refer to these artifacts as "beads" since they are thumb-sized and multiply pierced, although their use by the Olmec remains a mystery. These beautiful objects were carved out of stone, shaped, drilled, and polished approximately three thousand years ago. This process required considerable workmanship in view of the hardness of the iron-titanium ore from which the beads were manufactured. Although iron and titanium are common today and rather inexpensive, their rarity three thousand years ago evidently lent to these metals a high value that led to their being hidden away and preserved.¹ Using photomicroscopy, x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy, electron microprobe analysis, and magnetometer analysis, we have learned more about the origin, manufacture, and possible function of the beads.

The Olmec Civilization

"The most ancient Mexican civilisation is that called the 'Olmec.'"² The Olmec civilization arose in southern Mexico around 2500 B.C. By 1200 B.C., the Olmec had built a center at present-day San Lorenzo in Veracruz.³ The area dominated by the Olmec is shown on the map in figure 1. Trade and other influences of the
remarkably advanced Olmec civilization extended over a much greater area, including Oaxaca and Chiapas. By 400 B.C., the civilization had come to an abrupt halt:

Then La Venta [a major Olmec city] comes to an end. The cause and nature of its fate is lost in mystery, a mystery that we shall also see at the great Olmec center of San Lorenzo. All construction comes to a halt, no more tombs are built and stocked, no more offerings are made beneath its multi-colored floors. Its ruler and people are gone. . . . Olmec civilization had died.

The reasons for the demise of the civilization still elude researchers. It is interesting to note that the Olmec civilization coincides in time (and possibly in location) with the Jaredite civilization described in the book of Ether in the Book of Mormon. In particular, the Jaredite civilization came to a curiously abrupt end between 600 and 300 B.C., just as the Olmec civilization did. We read of the Jaredite civilization:

They were exceedingly industrious, and they did buy and sell and traffic one with another, that they might get gain. And they did work in all manner of ore, . . . [including] iron. . . . And they did work all manner of fine work. . . . And they did make all manner of tools. . . . And they did work all manner of work of exceedingly curious workmanship. (Ether 10:22–27)

If the Olmec civilization coincides with the Jaredites, these iron-ore beads may be an example of the Jaredites' "exceedingly curious workmanship."

Discovery of the Beads

In 1967, Michael Coe of Yale University supervised the excavation of a large basalt head in San Lorenzo, in the Tehuantepec region of Mexico. While unearthing this Olmec monument, he discovered large amounts of pottery and a cache of heavy beads. The head monument and beads are dated to the Early Formative period of the Olmec civilization (about 1100 B.C.). Since then, other large caches of these beads have been found in the San Lorenzo area and in the nearby Tuxtla Mountains. In addition, in the 1970s Pierre Agrinier discovered several more of these objects, along with a quantity of unworked ore, in the Chiapas region. Dr. John
Clark of the Department of Anthropology at BYU obtained several of these beads on the surface at San Lorenzo along with some raw ore samples from Plumajillo in the Chiapas region. With the permission of the Instituto de Antropología y Historia, Dr. Clark brought them out of Mexico for analysis.

Here we have a tantalizing mystery. What is the source of these objects, and how and why were they made? We look for clues in the physical parameters of the beads.

Description of the Beads

Our sample consists of five whole artifacts, some broken fragments, and a quantity of unworked ore. A striking feature is that the surfaces of the objects are smoothed and polished. Some surfaces remain quite shiny, even though three millennia have elapsed since their manufacture. The worked beads are rough parallelepipeds about 2 cm x 2 cm x 3 cm. Each has a large primary hole and two smaller holes drilled perpendicular to the primary hole. The corners and surfaces are smoothed and polished and generally have a metallic luster. The broken fragments reveal the boreholes, aiding our study (fig. 2).

![Fig. 2. An Olmec bead. The rectangular shape and polished sides are typical of these three-thousand-year-old stone beads. Over time, the holes drilled through the bead have filled with sand. Courtesy Scott Daniel.](image)

Physical Properties

With David Tinge of the BYU Geology Department, we performed scratch tests with the objects. We discovered that the material easily scratches obsidian but scratches glass with difficulty. It cannot be scratched by glass. The material is also scratched by quartz but will not scratch quartz. These tests established that the hardness is slightly more than 5.5 (see fig. 6).
Next we probed the surface of the artifacts with a sensitive Hall magnetometer to look for any residual magnetic fields. We found magnetic fields up to about 8 gauss on some of the beads, but the orientations of these fields were not correlated with the alignments of the holes. The weak magnetic fields indicated the presence of iron or nickel in the ore.

**Microscopic Examination of Bead Surfaces**

Subjecting artifacts to a microscopic examination provides evidence on how the objects may have been manufactured. Using a dissecting microscope, we obtained photomicrographs that show several interesting features (figs. 3, 4).

Scratch markings in the boreholes clearly demonstrate circular patterns. The observed circular patterns show that the holes were almost certainly drilled by a tool operated in a rotating manner, implying considerable sophistication when one considers the hardness of the material. One observes also a prominent raised point in the center of an incomplete borehole (fig. 4). This suggests

![Image](image-url)  
*Fig. 3. Ilmenite ore and broken bead. The broken bead, on the right, reveals the circular pattern made by a drilling tool. Courtesy Scott Daniel.*
that the tip of the boring tool was softer or less efficient at cutting than the outer rotating perimeter of the tool.

We also photographed microscopic cross-sections of both unworked ore and the drilled beads to compare them for similarities. Our photographs show pyrrhotite blebs of similar sizes in both materials. According to Dr. Jeffrey Keith, this indicates that the ore and beads came from the same geological formation.\textsuperscript{12} Also seen are inclusions of amphibole, chlorite, and feldspar. These structures also strongly link the ore and the bead material. Similar observations have been seen in the ore deposits in the Oaxaca mountains.\textsuperscript{13}

**Composition Analysis**

Molecular composition determines the minerals present and also bears a signature of the ore’s original location. Analyzing the
composition of the artifacts can therefore yield important information about where the resources for these artifacts originated and what they could have been used for.

We engaged the help of Professor David Tingey to apply x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy analysis on a powdered sample of the mineral from one of the Olmec beads. The analysis showed an abundance of both iron and titanium (see fig. 5), suggesting that the material is ilmenite, an ore comprised of iron and titanium oxides.

To expand on these results, we used a Cameca SX-40 electron microprobe at the Department of Geology and Geophysics at the University of Utah to determine the mass percentage of the major oxides contained in both the beads and the unworked ore. The microprobe operates by directing a tightly focused electron beam on a sample. The electrons excite the material, which then emits x-rays. The energy of the emitted x-rays provides a signature of the elements present. In this way, a precise elemental analysis of a small sample may be obtained.

We used two samples for this analysis: a thin section from the unworked ore and a thin section from the smallest of the artifacts. We had more artifacts from the same find but considered it unjustifiable to cut sections from more of them.

From the x-ray spectroscopy results, it was clear that the metallic ore was titaniferous. Dr. Jeffrey Keith suggested that the following elements might be expected in titaniferous deposits such as ilmenite: titanium, silicon, aluminum, chromium, iron, manganese, magnesium, calcium, and zinc.

On February 16, 1996, we used the Cameca SX-40 electron microprobe with the assistance of Ray Lambert of the University of Utah department of Geology and Geophysics. An x-ray fluorescence scan of the samples was first conducted to search for any elements present other than those listed above. The scan revealed a small amount of potassium in addition to the expected minerals.

We then proceeded to calibrate the microprobe to measure occurrences of the nine metals previously stated and also potassium. Once calibrated, we scanned the surface of the ore sample. The material was mostly composed of ilmenite, with occasional traces of other minerals. We analyzed various points on the sample, trying to target the ilmenite crystals and several of the inclusions. The
results of the microprobe analysis on the ore sample are shown in table 1. We proceeded in a similar manner with the thin section from the Olmec bead and obtained the results displayed in table 2.

There are two expected sources of difference between the composition of the ore and artifact: measurement error and natural variation between ore samples. To estimate expected errors, we compared results with those of another researcher using the same microprobe under similar conditions on similar materials. We found that for large percentages (around 30%), one should expect about 0.3% error, and for small trace occurrences (around 0.1%), one should expect errors of about 0.02%.

The iron oxide content in the ore and in the artifact is found to be 55.43% ± 0.31%, which shows agreement within experimental error. The next most prevalent metal in the bead was titanium; the TiO₂ content in the unworked ore and in the finished bead was 42.43% ± 0.27%, which again shows consistency within measurement error. A comparison of two ilmenite crystals within the same bead sample shows comparable small differences. Note also the similarity in the iron oxide content of the magnetite inclusions in the ore and the artifact, 93.85% ± 0.72%. Magnetite will provide ferromagnetic properties to the beads such as those measured with the magnetometer.
The small variations we found in the elemental compositions in inclusions in the samples should be viewed as the expected variations that occur in igneous formations such as ilmenite. This is expected in magmatic formations such as ilmenite ore. It is also expected that the compositions of inclusions in the ilmenite vary somewhat between different regions of the same formation. Silicates such as amphiboles, chlorites, and pyroxenes and the aluminum-rich spinel inclusions are not unusual in such a magmatic ore.\textsuperscript{17}

We conclude that the unworked ore and the bead samples almost certainly originated from the same source. It is evident that the material used to make the beads was an ilmenite ore from a natural igneous deposit. The physical properties of the beads such as hardness are also consistent with those of ilmenite ore.

Other Analyses

Previous researchers have used Mössbauer spectroscopy to analyze the composition of Olmec artifacts from San Lorenzo and Chiapas.\textsuperscript{18} The conclusion of this analysis was that some San Lorenzo and Chiapas artifacts were composed of ilmenite from a common but unknown source. Ilmenite is a relatively rare ore that exists in few parts of the world and is not natural to the San Lorenzo area where the drilled beads were found. There is a small ilmenite deposit in the Chiapas region, and the ore is abundant in the Oaxaca mountains about 140 miles (220 km) to the southwest. Some San Lorenzo artifacts are similar in composition to formations reported by E. Paulson from the Pluma Hidalgo part of the Oaxaca region.\textsuperscript{19}

The logical continuation of this research would be to use modern physical methods to compare the compositions of ilmenite deposits in Mesoamerica and of ilmenite artifacts found at various Olmec and Maya sites, including those recently discovered in the Tuxtla Mountains. Microprobe (or, alternatively, proton-induced x-ray emission) analyses of these samples should show which ilmenite ore body corresponds to a given artifact.

Bead Manufacture

How were these iron-ore beads drilled? Owing to the hardness of the ilmenite ore, the grinding abrasive used was probably harder than six on the Mohs scale\textsuperscript{20} (fig. 6). This excludes obsidian,
which was also in use among the Olmec. Some possible grinding minerals available to the Olmec are quartz sand, topaz, and corundum. The consistent circular pattern in the holes shows that the holes were formed or at least finished by drilling. The raised point at the center of some of the smaller bore holes indicates that a hollow or soft-centered tool was used to drill these holes. It seems likely that a rotating wooden rod was used with wet quartz sand as grit for the drilling tool. The process would have required hours of careful labor for each bead. Wet quartz sand could also have been used to polish the surface of the beads to a smooth finish.

We also note the presence of round indentations common on the large Olmec head monuments. We hypothesize that a drilling process may have been used to make these markings, since the beads provide clear evidence that drilling was used by the Olmec. Drilling into rock to a certain depth provides a means of fracturing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX MINERALS</th>
<th>COMMON OBJECTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talc</td>
<td>1 Fingernail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gypsum</td>
<td>2 Copper penny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Calcite</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fluorite</td>
<td>4 Glass</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apatite</td>
<td>5 Obsidian</td>
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<td>6 Ilmenite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartz</td>
<td>7 Steel file</td>
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<tr>
<td>Topaz</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corundum</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 6. The Mohs Scale, with common objects and ilmenite and obsidian.
rock at that depth so as to remove large pieces as the sculpting of the face is begun.\textsuperscript{25}

**Speculations on Ancient Use of the Beads**

A puzzle of considerable interest is how these drilled beads were used by the Olmec people. Because the Olmec carved, polished, drilled, and cached away these beads, one is led to surmise that the beads were valuable and were used either as money or as ornamental jewelry. Indeed, the possibility of ornamental use was suggested by Michael Coe when he first discovered the artifacts.\textsuperscript{24} Using the bored holes, the beads could easily have been strung together on a cord for carrying or wearing.

On the other hand, the possibility that the artifacts had a functional utility is suggested by the nature of the perpendicular holes. A small hammer could be made by inserting a shaft through the main hole and pinning it through the smaller holes. Such hammers could be used to chip obsidian, which is softer, into blades, or to shape other ilmenite beads.

Another possibility promoted by Ann Cyphers Guillen is that the bead could have been used as a capstone to guide a stick as it was used in a bow drill to drill other stone or wood.\textsuperscript{25} However, the fact that the large holes penetrate all the way through the beads argues against their use as capstones for bow drills, since this penetration would leave the holding-hand unprotected. The material is too hard to be cut by a wooden drill alone (without abrasive). Furthermore, the beads are too small to be used effectively with bow drills and have multiple holes, not just one. These observations argue against the bow drill-capstone hypothesis.

The surface, when polished, becomes quite mirrorlike. Thus, these beads may once have served as mirrors that one could carry on a cord or as mirror pendants such as those seen later among the neighboring Maya.

Protective armor could be another use of the beads. The multiple holes would allow the metallic beads to be cross-tied together to form a hard yet flexible shield, a type of mail. Such mail could be worn on the head of a warrior as a protective helmet\textsuperscript{26} or over his chest. Such armor would have an awe-inspiring appearance, especially when polished (see 3 Ne. 4:7).
Conclusion

We have applied several advanced tools of physics to probe three-thousand-year-old objects made by the Olmec in Mesoamerica. The results show that the artifacts are primarily composed of ilmenite, which is harder than obsidian. The beads have multiple penetrating holes which have evidently been drilled using a rotating tool, not chipped out. Circular scratches along the walls of the boreholes clearly demonstrate that the cutting tool was rotating. Because the material is ilmenite, the artifacts were probably drilled by something harder than obsidian, possibly using wet quartz sand as an abrasive on the tip of a wooden tool.

The ore and the beads that we scrutinized are very similar in physical composition. We have also found that the bead ore is similar in composition to ilmenite from Oaxaca, 140 miles from the cache where the drilled beads were first found. If we can determine for certain the source of the ilmenite for these artifacts, we may learn more about trade between San Lorenzo, Chiapas, and Oaxaca around 1000 B.C., during the Jaredite period.

Finally, we note that the workmanship of these beads is consistent with the description given in the Book of Mormon regarding the Jaredite civilization that worked ore using "exceedingly curious workmanship" (Ether 10:27). The high value of iron anciently is suggested by these beautifully worked iron-ore beads.

Acknowledgments

We particularly acknowledge the assistance of Professor John Clark of the BYU Anthropology Department. We also thank Jeffrey Keith and David Tinge y of the BYU Geology Department and Ray Lambert of the University of Utah Department of Geology and Geophysics for their assistance. This project was funded by the BYU Physics Department, the BYU Honors Program, and the BYU Office of Research and Creative Activities.

Steven E. Jones is Professor of Physics at Brigham Young University. Samuel T. Jones is a graduate of Brigham Young University in physics. David E. Jones is a graduate of Brigham Young University in computer science.
### Table 1: Microprobe Analysis of Samples of Ore (Oxide % by Weight)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SAMPLE 1</th>
<th>SAMPLE 2</th>
<th>INCLUSION 1</th>
<th>INCLUSION 2</th>
<th>INCLUSION 3</th>
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### Table 2: Microprobe Analysis of Samples of Artifact (Oxide % by Weight)

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<td>0.00 *</td>
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<td>Ilmenite</td>
<td>Magnetite</td>
<td>Spinel</td>
<td>Chlorite</td>
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</table>

* Less than 0.01%
NOTES

1For comments on the scarcity of iron, see “Decorative Iron in Early Israel,” in Reexploring the Book of Mormon, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 133–34.
7Coe and Diehl, Land of the Olmec, 23, 324.
8Clark, Los Olmecas en Mesoamérica, 61.
11Parallelepips are objects whose six sides are all parallelograms.
12Jeffrey Keith, telephone conversation with Samuel T. Jones, summer 1995.
14We should note that an external beam of protons from the BYU Van de Graaf accelerator will soon make it possible to do proton-induced x-ray emission (PIXE) analysis without destructive cutting of specimens.
15Keith, telephone conversation.
17Keith, telephone conversation.
23 Douglas Chabries, conversation with Steven E. Jones, May 1996.
25 John Clark, telephone conversation with Steven E. Jones, June 1997; see also Clark, *Los Olmecas en Mesoamérica*, 61.
26 John Sorenson, telephone conversation with Steven E. Jones, May 1997.
Captain Dan Jones and the Blind Man

Two 1847 pamphlets, one a polemic by convert-turned-antagonist Daniel Jones and the other a rebuttal by Elder Dan Jones, give an interesting glimpse into early LDS missionary work in Wales.

Ronald D. Dennis

It was love at first sight when the Prophet Joseph Smith saw the steamboat Maid of Iowa as it pulled up to the Nauvoo House wharf on April 13, 1843. On board were 210 British converts under the leadership of Parley P. Pratt. The captain and owner of the steamboat was thirty-two-year-old Dan Jones, himself a recent convert. Captain Jones had spent little time in his native Wales during the previous fifteen years. He had traveled the seas, and he and his wife, Jane, had immigrated to America about 1840. The Mississippi River and the steamboat provided them their livelihood.

This first meeting of Joseph Smith and Dan Jones was the beginning of a friendship that shortly thereafter led to a partnership: Joseph purchased a one-half interest in the Maid of Iowa on May 12, 1843. Jones had been called just one day earlier to prepare himself to serve a mission in Wales, but the Prophet requested that Jones stay awhile to operate the steamboat as a ferry between Nauvoo and Montrose, delaying the mission call for over a year. Just before the Martyrdom, Joseph offered to buy Jones's half of the Maid of Iowa so that Jones could finally be on his way to Wales to preach the gospel to his compatriots. The money offered, however, was never received because of confusion that arose after the Prophet’s death. Nevertheless, Dan Jones departed for his native land in early August, arriving in January 1845.

After one year in North Wales, during which time he succeeded in bringing only a handful of converts into the Church, Elder Jones was assigned to assume the reins of leadership for all of Wales. This assignment began in December 1845 and necessitated
his removal to Merthyr Tydfil in South Wales. His constant missionary travels found him in the town of Llanybydder, Carmarthenshire, in July of 1846.2

Elder Dan Jones was among those who taught a certain blind man, coincidentally named Daniel Jones, who expressed interest in joining the Church. They discussed the possibility that the man might be healed of his blindness. The elders explained that they did not have the power to perform miracles themselves, “but could show the way and the means which God ordained so that men could obtain the blessings from him, not us, according to the honesty of their hearts. . . . We did not promise him his sight, . . . for we feared that his purpose was a bad one.”3 When Daniel Jones professed faith and repentance, the elders could not refuse his request to be baptized.

According to witnesses, prior to the baptism the blind man admitted to several people that he had agreed to the baptism as a “prepared Judas,” planning to test Mormonism by asking Elder Jones to restore his sight following the baptism.4 Then, when the missionaries were unable to perform the miracle, he would expose them as frauds. For this reason, Elder Dan Jones announced a rare public baptism so he could explain that the message of Mormonism was true whether the blind man received his sight or not.

A huge crowd gathered on the banks of the River Teifi (Taff, in English) on July 7, 1846. Following Dan Jones’s two-hour oration and the baptismal services, the small group of Latter-day Saints walked up the hill to perform the confirmations at the farmhouse of Thomas Jeremy, a convert of four months whose wife, Sarah, was also baptized that July day. They were accompanied by the large crowd of curiosity seekers. Jones described the procession:

> It was amusing to hear the remarks as the crowd followed, crossing and re-crossing to peep at his eyes, to see whether his sight was restored; some said it was, some that he was blinder than before, and that was difficult. But there and then Madam Slander filled the baskets of her pedlars with a variety of trinkets that were retailed out again at a fine rate, until even her own markets were entirely deluged.5

At the blind man’s request, after his confirmation Elder Abel Evans anointed the man’s eyes with oil, and then Elder Dan Jones pronounced a blessing on him and “prayed for the Lord to bless his
obedience to this plan according to his honesty and his faith, even to the extent of receiving his sight, if that was pleasing to him." 6 The blind man claimed his sight was momentarily partially restored—that "he had come to see the candle in the candlestick on the table." 7 However, he attended only two more meetings with the Saints 8 and soon afterwards began to speak out against his short-time associates, claiming that he had been greatly deceived by them.

Months later, in October 1846, Elders Dan Jones and Thomas Jeremy again crossed paths with the blind man. When Elder Jones asked him why he was persecuting the Saints, the blind man

did not give one reason in answer, but he indicated clearly enough that he was an enemy of the Saints. Capt. D. Jones told him, that if he persecuted and falsely accused the Saints, the hand of God would be upon him, and his fate would be hotter than that of Cora, Dathan, and Abiram. 9

In spite of the warning, the blind man was persuaded to publish a twelve-page pamphlet about his experience, warning the Welsh of the Mormons' deceit. 10 Y drych cywir [The Correct Image] 11 is the write-up of an interview conducted by the blind man's friend, the Reverend Josiah Thomas Jones, editor of a religious periodical of the Congregationalists. Also included was an anti-Mormon ballad that became popular in South Wales. 12

Dan Jones responded to the blind man's pamphlet by printing a pamphlet of his own: "Haman" yn hongian ar ei grogbren et bun! ["Haman" Hanging from His Own Gallows!] In this eight-page pamphlet, Elder Jones describes the details of the baptism, the momentary restoration of the blind man's sight, and the testimony of various witnesses. 13 Shortly after the publication of his pamphlet, Elder Jones wrote about the fulfillment of his prophetic warning:

No sooner was the reply out of press, than on the old blind man it came, hot and heavy. He cried out that he was burning up alive; his friends poured cold water on him night and day in vain! He would rush out from them to a pool that was by, and there he would roll, and wallow, and yelp until he terrifed the passersby. 14

Dan Jones adds that the blind man "died a monument of the displeasure of a just God for hypocrisy." 15

A curious epilogue to the whole affair was a second edition of the blind man's pamphlet over a year later. Strangely enough, those
behind the publication claimed that Daniel Jones was still alive. Thomas Jeremy stated in a letter to Dan Jones:

Although I was not present [at the death of Daniel Jones], I heard about him. I live about three miles from the place where he died. I have been with Mr. James Evans, the Registrar, who has registered the death of Daniel Jones, and he is willing to give a copy to anyone who wishes it, if they pay 2 [shillings] 6 [pence] and the postage.\(^{16}\)

Because the two pamphlets are not readily available, they are presented here. They have been prepared as facsimile translations\(^{17}\) in order to preserve the appearance and flavor of the originals as well as the content.\(^{18}\)

Ronald D. Dennis is Professor of Portuguese and Welsh, Brigham Young University.

**NOTES**


2For additional information on early missionary work among the Welsh, consult Ronald D. Dennis, *The Call of Zion: The Story of the First Welsh Mormon Emigration* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1987).

3Dan Jones, *Haman* “Hanging from His Own Gallows! or Daniel Jones (the Blind) and His Book Proving the Truth of Mormonism!!* (Merthyr Tydfil: Dan Jones, 1847), 3, italics in original. See pages 160–72 below.

4Dan Jones, “*Haman*,” 6.

5Dan Jones to Orson Spencer, letter dated July 24, 1846, printed in the *Millennial Star* 8 (August 15, 1846): 41, italics in original.

6Dan Jones, “*Haman,*” 4.

7Dan Jones, “*Haman,*” 2.


9Jeremy, “The Blind Man and His Book,” 171. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were swallowed up in the earth after fighting against Moses (Numbers 16).


11Daniel Jones, *Y drych cywir, lle y gellir canfod yn eglur twyll y Mormoniaid, neu “Seintiau y Dyddiau Diweddaf;* mewn dull o boltadau ac

12Dennis, Welsh Mormon Writings, 51.
13Dennis, Welsh Mormon Writings, 53.
17A facsimile of these two pamphlets would furnish the reader with an exact depiction of their appearance, but since Welsh is an unknown tongue among virtually all LDS historians, a reprint would be of little practical value. Thus the “facsimile translation”—an English translation made to look like the original publications. Preserved are the long sentences and large paragraphs, the italicized words, brackets, quotation marks, and other typesetting peculiarities, and the general look of the originals. Their size and pagination have been modified somewhat to enhance readability.

18A score of other nineteenth-century pamphlets written in Welsh in defense of Mormonism are being prepared, also as facsimile translations. These will be published by the Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center as part of the Specialized Monograph Series. To be included in this volume is Dan Jones’s 102-page History of the Latter-day Saints that was first published in 1847.

The Religious Studies Center has recently published a facsimile translation of Prophet of the Jubilee, the periodical in Welsh published by Dan Jones from July 1846 to December 1848. Nearly six hundred pages in length, this publication contains considerable information about the growth of Mormonism in Wales during the nineteenth century, information that has lain buried beneath barriers of language and obscurity for well over a century.
Y
DRYCH CYWIR,
I. LE Y GELLIR CANTOD YN EGLUR

TWYLL Y MORMONIAID,
neu
"SEINTIAU Y DYDDIAU DIWEDDAF;"

MEWN DULL O HOLIADAU-AC ATEBION, RHWNG DANIEL AT' GYFAILL.
GAN
DANIEL JONES, Penygraig.

"Ymoglewch rhag Cauhroffwydi, y rhai a ddewant atoch yn ngwisg-
annahodd defaid, ond oddimewn bleiddiaid rheibus ydynt hwy."

"Canys cyfyd gaesristiau a Cauhroffwydi lawer, ac a roddant ar-
wyddion mawrion a rhyfoddodau, hyd oni thwyllant—io, pe byddal
bosibl yr etholedigion."

D. S. Yr hyn a atebir gan Daniel sydd wedi cymeryd lle yn llwythyr-
enol, fel y mae ar laur.

CAERFYRDDIN:

ARGRAFFWYD GAN J. T. JONES, HEOL LAS.

1847.
THE CORRECT IMAGE,
WHEREIN ONE CAN PERCEIVE CLEARLY

THE DECEIT OF THE MORMONS,

OR

"THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS;"

IN THE FORM OF QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, BETWEEN

DANIEL AND HIS FRIEND.

BY

DANIEL JONES, Penygraig.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

"Beware of False Prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves."

"For there shall arise false Christ, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; inasmuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect."

N. B. That which Daniel answers has taken place literally, as it is written.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~

CARMARTHEN:

PRINTED BY J. T. JONES, GREEN STREET.

1847.
TO THE WELSH PEOPLE.

DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—Such a leaflet as this, at first sight, may surprise you, and cause you to think that madness and foolishness were responsible for my making such a presentation to you; but I can assure you without hesitation that it was after sincere persuasion, having seriously conferred with religious brothers and friends of different denominations and my own careful considerations, that I ventured to the task, being completely convinced that it was my special duty. It is true that inability and ignorance like strong and high fortresses are before me as insuperable obstacles to overcome; but consider for a moment that deception and heresy are being spread around me, and throughout Wales generally, until some of my dear neighbors and many of my fellowmen are charmed to believe such heresy as is declared by the Mormons, which causes me, despite all obstacles, to try to do my best against them, sincerely hoping and wishing that the following unworthy and disorganized lines will be a means, with the blessing of the GIVER of all blessings, to deliver some and prevent others from the grasp of such deception and heresy, and also to awaken others more able and more suitable to withstand them wisely and bravely, so that enlightened Wales will not be darkened by deceivers, and many misled by false teachers as I was,

Is the wish of your unworthy servant,

DANIEL JONES.
THE CORRECT IMAGE, &c.

Some strange sound I hear
Everywhere I travel,
About the Mormons so great,
Or rather the Latter Saints.

They travel throughout Wales,
And bitterly they announce,
That all are lost
Unless they join with them.

They say that the gifts
Are the same as in days of old,
Within the Church continuing,
To all those who believe.

So I too was deceived,
Their words I believed,
And with them I joined,
But behold my cry—I was disappointed.

I believed in my Jesus,
That he was my Savior,

They told us that without fail
I would be blind no longer.
I believe now that Jesus,
Is as strong as before in his power,
That he can work great miracles
Should he now wish to do so.

But by some wise providence,
I believe that the miracles,
Are not to be found throughout the wide world
And neither is there a need for them.

And now I must testify,
That the Saints only deceive,
If you buy this you will have the full story,
Of the way I was charmed.

FRIEND.—Good day to you, dear Daniel; how have you been this long time?

DANIEL.—Good day to you. My mind has been very troubled for some time.

F. What causes you to be so?

D. I know you have heard of this new sect who call themselves The Latter-day Saints; or as they are commonly known, The Mormons.

F. Yes, many times; but what do you have to do with them?

D. I will tell you; they came to do what they call preaching in the neighborhood where I live; I went to listen to them, and when I heard their fancy talk, they charmed me into believing them, and into joining with them; but along came their deceit! and after going with them I understood it, and I turned back from them afterwards.

F. For goodness sake, dear Daniel, what made you go to them? Were there not other denominations around you could have gone to?
and as far as I can judge, there are godly men in these also; and why would these not do for you? But what happened? let me hear.

D. Well, I shall tell it from beginning to end. There had been something on my mind for some time, seeing so many different sects in the world, and so much condemning one of the other, that I was afraid that the spirit of Christianity was becoming lost from their midst. Also, I had some idea that a new sect would arise, closer to the Bible; and when it came, it would swallow up all these different denominations into one body; and then, you see, my mind was ready to accept them. When they came to the neighborhood, I went to listen to them, and I heard them speak very strange things.

E. What did you hear from them that was like that?

D. Before I go further with my story, I shall tell you some of the things I heard: one strange thing they said was that the church had been sent to the wilderness twelve hundred and sixty years ago, and how they interpreted the prophecy in the Book of Revelation, 12. 6, and that God did not have a true church on earth during that time, and that an end had come to the appointed time recently through one called Joseph Smith, from America, having a supernatural revelation of the form and the order and the authority to restore them to their primitive privileges and gifts. Now, you see that this strikes very close to what I have told you.

E. Yes, indeed; but go ahead with your story.

D. They said also that miracles had been restored as in the time of the Apostles; that they could cast out devils; and if they ate something deadly it would do them no harm. They laid their hands on the sick, and they cured them, so that there was no need for anyone from their church to suffer any physical illness; they would, through the authority they received from Christ, and the faith of the sufferer, directly remove the ailment. They said also that Jesus Christ will come to reign in twenty-five years' time in their midst on the earth for a thousand years, and that all the old godly ones would be resurrected to reign with them, and that every mountain and hill would be made flat by that time, according to how they explained Isaiah 40. 4, and before that time, they said that the godly who had died after the church had gone to the wilderness, would come back to them to ask some of them to be
baptized in their place; and they proved this supposition from 1 Cor. 15. 29, and many other things too long to relate to you now. Strange, isn't it, friend!

F. Yes, indeed, very strange; but there was no need to be long before seeing whether some things they said were true or false, especially healing the lame, for there is plenty of opportunity for them in every district; and also, did you hear that they had healed anyone anywhere?

D. Yes, they said, far away from here.

F. Why did they need to go far away when there is plenty of opportunity here? You are the one who badly needs two eyes. I know of no other place in the world where they would have a better chance to show their miracles. Why didn't you seek this from them?

D. Oh dear, I did; and they promised, faithfully, that I would have my sight before joining them; but fair play to the Saints too, I don't wish to do them an injustice. You said one thing now that they did not profess or claim to do, that is to work miracles in order to be seen of men, but only for the sake of the church itself.

F. Let that be then; I don't know how they could have done more good for the church than by working miracles for the disbelievers to see, so they would believe, the same way that Jesus Christ did before. But go ahead as you have begun your story.

D. All right. After I heard these strange things from them, I began to think and meditate on the things they said; and after a while I began to consult with them and talk to them, when they told of the strange blessings they received from the Spirit of the Lord, and the clear testimonies they had that they were in the true church, and the certainty they had that they were the children of their heavenly Father, which things, they said, every man must have to be saved, and that I could possess them if I believed the Scriptures as they understood them, and submit to do as they wished; and they also added that there was no need for me to be without my precious sight, that the wise God had provided for the salvation of the body as well as the salvation of the soul for all his saints and his dear children on the earth; and they persuaded me not to be foolish and sell my comforts in this world, and my salvation for eternity, by being prejudiced against the truth they spoke. For my part, after serious consideration, I saw that I would be less
than a reasonable creature if I were to disobey what they wanted. Then, in a meeting they held one evening, I decided to join them; and I revealed to them that I believed them completely, and that I wished to be baptized by them; after considering this we came to the decision that I would receive the ordinance they called baptism the following afternoon. And now, as you can understand, the news spread quickly around the neighborhood that the Saints were going to give sight to the blind that afternoon; and by the appointed hour, before the Saints and I had arrived at the place of baptism, a numerous crowd had gathered at the place in order to see the promised miracle. Then Capt. D. Jones, (one of the chief leaders of the Saints,) addressed the crowd at the start, relating those things they believed, and condemning anything different as false; and then another, authorized by them, carried out the task of immersing me, and by the time he raised me above the water, everyone's eyes were closely searching me to see if the blind had received his sight or not; and often I heard this question asked, "Does he see?" And great was the disappointment of many when they understood that Daniel, the Blind, was still blind! so that some were ready to say, From such deceivers, Save me, good Lord; for many like myself had been charmed to believe such deceit.

F. What were your feelings by then, when you realized you could not see?

D. I was still strong in the faith, because I was not expecting much at the time, for they had said previously, Perhaps afterwards, by the laying on of hands, and anointing with oil, I would be made well.

F. When was that done to you, and in what way?

D. In the evening I went to a neighboring farmhouse where they usually held their worship, and on that night they held a service there, during which through their rituals I was to be received as a member of their church; and the manner and procedure they had in relation to me was as follows:—Capt. D. Jones put his hands on my head, pressing firmly, then poured some sort of oil on my head, until it wetted all my hair, and dripped across my clothes; also, at times, he rubbed my head with his hands while praying sincerely, as I thought, for a cure for me; then he said that I was a man who had received full forgiveness of all my sins, that he had received proof of this from above; then another whom they called a
prophet joined in (his real name was Abel Evans,) and he prophesied that I would surely regain my sight. Then Capt. D. Jones asked him how he knew this? To this he replied that he had seen a strange vision ensuring this; that is he had seen the heavens open, and two bright stars appear there, and these were thrown down to earth, and that this showed that the blind man (that is, myself) would receive his sight; and he also added that it was not only the vision that ensured this, but that it was always the practice of his heavenly Father to everyone in his church, and that what he himself felt also proved this to him, that is, he had received a direct and miraculous cure through it himself from a severe fever he had suffered earlier for three months and a week, and many other things also too long to relate here.

F. Indeed, my boy, they had some strange customs in their midst; but I fear sometimes I see where you went wrong.

D. Well, where is that?

F. Your faith was too weak, or your expectation was purely about your sight, and the main thing had taken second place, that is, the salvation of your soul.

D. Oh, friend, you are mistaken; if I have ever known myself, I can truly assure you, that I have sincerely believed in Jesus Christ for years, that he is Savior enough to save my soul, and I have obeyed his laws as I understood them; but at that time I was in a strange state, and also believed that they had been sent as authorized servants by the Lord Jesus Christ, according to what they professed, and I felt very grateful that I had had the privilege of receiving the gospel in its purity, through its Ministers. It is true that I thought and believed I would regain my sight, indeed, I believed so strongly that at one time I thought I could see, and I shouted at them to continue, that I was beginning to see. My sight, although it is precious, is only second in my mind compared to my Salvation; I was very content for the great plan of the Most High, to do with me according to his wise will, but I expected to have a testimony like theirs that I was in the true Church.

F. I must be silent about that then; you previously mentioned that prophet; who showed him that vision?

D. Indeed, I don't know who, yet I heard him say it was through an angel I believe, for they all saw and often associated
with such beings, but it could have been through some spirit, because they also often associated with them.

F. I don't know either, but I do know this, that it was some foolish angel or spirit, and he could not foresee much, because if it had been a wise spirit and knowledgeable of things to come, it would never have said that you would receive your sight, knowing that you would turn away from them to the other side; it was a terribly wicked trick he played on poor Abel, that is tricking him to prophesy that you would regain your sight, knowing that you would not, but that you would soon turn your back on them.

D. Fair play to every spirit and angel, I believe they were innocent that time, and that it was Abel's own wicked heart that wanted to trick innocent men to believe his deceit.

F. Doubtless that may well be, but you said they associated with spirits; I would like to know how they did this.

D. Oh dear, that's too long a story for me to tell it all, and I cannot say in what way they received it, but I shall tell you some of the ways I heard them say it happened. The youngest of them received them only very weakly and infrequently at the start, and mostly when they received them, they felt something taking their breath away, until they gasped similar to how an animal sounds after much endeavor, and after the spirit had entered them they felt as if they had drunk a glass of Gin. I heard one of them telling a young lad who had just been accepted by them, that he had almost received the Spirit, because he said he had felt a shortening of breath, and the innocent boy, ignorant of their deceit, believed such a thing, because their leaders persuaded him that that is how it was at the beginning, because God was a wise and gentle Father, and he did not wish to give too much of this thing at first until they were strong enough and used to managing it, except for the older leaders, especially Abel Evans, the Prophet, as they called him; he could receive the Spirit for good or for evil whenever he wanted; sometimes the evil spirit, or the devil as they more commonly called him, tried to enter him; and once he did enter him, and as soon as he went among the saints, the old boy became restless in fear of them, and they said that he did not have lodgings there for long, because Captain D. Jones, worked a great miracle which amazed them all, that is, he cast the devil out of the prophet, and
then when Dick had to leave his comfortable lodgings, surprising were the groans, the frowns, and the looks of poor Abel, an indication, he said, of the great torments he suffered, when the strong warrior resisted, unwilling to yield his dwelling place, but they said he had to quit in the end.

Quite a difficult miracle was the trick,  
Changing the comfy lodgings of Dick;  
But too difficult was the alternative,  
That is, restoring sight to the blind.  

Another time, he said, he was to receive the Spirit of the Lord in an exceptionally powerful manner. One particular time I heard him mention that he was in a far away place, and he received the Spirit so abundantly that he prayed for it to cease, and the people praised and glorified God, and perceived him to be burning like a bright light, so powerfully did the Spirit descend on him.

F. How strange! I never heard such a thing, and reasonable men believed things like that as well.

D. Yes, it was true, and such things still continue as far as I know, and to my great shame I too was so foolish as to believe it as the pure truth.

F. You heard no more from them?

D. Yes, yes; before the end of their meeting it was their custom for each one to stand up to testify that they had received the Spirit of the Lord, when they made some sort of speech, each one similar in words, and then they sat down and sang a hymn; now the first meeting was over, and soon the leaders were leaving before another meeting that was to be held later; they gave a strict order that no one venture to open the meeting to receive the spirit in case they could not control it.

F. Regardless of that, let us hear how the second meeting went for you.

D. Despite all this, one rustic elder ventured to open the meeting, which he did as orderly as I had heard them, as far as I know, by singing and praying for the Spirit of the Lord to be poured on them; then we all waited quietly, for half an hour, earnestly waiting for the Spirit, and then as before, they stood up one after the other, testifying how they had received the Spirit, and everyone said, Amen, with each one, and so on until them came to me.
F. Well, what did you say to them?

D. I was not hypocritical with them, but I said that I was very happy to hear them say that they were able to testify to such things, and that I would be very glad if I could say the same, but that I had not received any more in their midst than I had received among other religious friends. To this the Elder replied, saying, to begin to testify a little the first time, and I would improve the second time, like the old proverb, "A small lie the first time, bigger the second time;" but I must end now, for I'm going on too long, although there is still much untold.

F. Nevertheless, let us hear what made you turn back away from them.

D. One evening, while going with one of the strongest in the faith, in speaking at least, he told the whole neighborhood that he had felt strange things in their midst, and had had full assurance from God that he was his true child, yes, he had enjoyed, he said, more pleasure in one evening with the Saints than he had received in nine years with another respectable denomination. He was a leader in their midst, and he was testifying most eloquently in the presence of the Saints, that he had received the gift of the Spirit, when I told him of my feelings as a brother in the faith at that time, and that I could not accept anything I heard them testify; and then I asked him seriously, Had he received such things? To this he answered to my great surprise, *He had not*, but that he had decided to follow them for five years, and that if he had not received anything by then, he would become an Atheist, and that he would not believe there was any truth in Christianity.

F. That's the kind of faithful men the Saints are then.

D. Yes, indeed, and I said this in the hearing of a crowd of men in the presence of that man, and he did not deny it; another thing, I told them all before I turned back that I had not received anything in particular, and they replied that they were not receiving anything now, but that they hoped to receive something later when their leaders returned, and also the fulfillment of the prophecy of the old Prophet Abel that I would regain my sight; and my not regaining it discouraged me greatly, but the main thing that caused me to turn back was that when I began to search in detail each day, as the Bereans of old, I perceived clearly in the scripture
that these things were not so, and if I had time now, I would tell you my reasons, and prove them in the Scripture, but I hope we will meet again soon.

F. What is your general opinion of the Saints? tell it again before leaving.

D. Well, my impartial opinion is that many of the most inexperienced group of them may believe all these things, and that they act with their cause out of good will, having been deceived by their leaders; but as for their leaders, I consider them to be lying deceivers.

F. Let us hear again, what do you say to the different religious sects in the world?

D. To do good and not be idle, for eventually you will reap, unless you become weary; the Latter-day Saints are here only for a short time to trouble us, because little by little their deceit will become obvious to the world, and then everyone will retreat from them. They are like many before now, it may be that they hinder the Gospel of the Kingdom from moving forward, and cause many of God's children to hang their heads because they make so much mockery of the Sacred Oracles of the Lord; but obstacles are bound to come; therefore, my dear brethren, be sure and steadfast in the Lord's work, and you know that your labors are not vain in the Lord.

*Penygraig.*

*Blind Daniel.*
“HAMAN”
HANGING FROM HIS OWN GALLOWS!
OR
Daniel Jones (the blind) and his book
proving the truth of Mormonism!!

The excuse we offer to our readers for calling their attention
to an object so unworthy and wretched as a singer of ballads and
his slanderous ballads is the support and circulation which the
authors, the “Reverends,” and the believers of our country have
given to his ballad. Not only has the “Reverend” editor of the
“Times” quoted extensively the morsels which suit his taste best,
and placed them on the table of his readers as truths, but his ball-
lads are being sold in chapels and Sunday schools, giving a high
character to the author now, though it has been but a short while
since he was excommunicated by the Independents for transgres-
sions the law does not allow us to name! But, surprise! Who but
one of the “Reverends” of that denomination, namely Josiah Thomas
Jones, editor of the “Treasury,” is already seen taking advantage of
the first opportunity to print, if not to be a “friend” to help him to
form the false accusations against others, out of hostility toward
the truth! Two rather comparable partners. Here is the Reverend
who published that crooked “profession” of the Saints in his pol-
luted Treasury and who refused us permission to defend our-
selves. And it is likely that one of his pranks under the pain of the
whipping which it received in the Prophet is what has caused him
to get revenge in this way. But since his own fingers were hottest
in the fire because the blind man was unable to sell the ballad in
his own country, rather he was chased away by even the boys of
the fairs because of his deception, behold his dear brother from
Liverpool, publisher, a constant patron of the continual false accu-
sations against the Saints, helps him out of the scrape, and boosts
the sales of the ballad by lifting it to the wind in the fan of the
“Times.” And yet they failed to sell them all until they distributed
them to their Sunday schools and their chapels, and since the story
has a “Reverend” at its tail, even the brotherhood in Bethesda,
Merthyr, considered it a high honor to get to be salesmen of the

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]
ballads in public in their meetings on Sunday! Having understood the partnership, who would expect much of the truth from such as these? More shame on his two backers than on the blind man himself; for the "friend" in behalf of the "cat's paw" admits in the foreword, "that it was after sincere inducements by seriously counseling with religious brothers and friends of different denominations," that he ventured on the accursed task of publishing shameful lies about his neighbors because of their religion. And his "friend" shows even on the first cover that he cares not what claims he makes when he dares to assure that "what Daniel answers has literally taken place, as it is set down." But how he knows he does not say. Nor could he know unless he was present with him in the meetings and everywhere else he was, which thing he does not claim. Who is this dear friend and what purpose does he have in subscribing to such a thing, I wonder.

The objection which is offered to prove "the deceit of Mormonism" from these circumstances is that this blind man did not receive his sight immediately. And in order to prove the deception of this logic and to show the error, let the reader come with us calmly and with no bias toward similar examples, and there he shall see in the correct image that what our accusers do is to prove the truth, and not the deceit of Mormonism. First, let us read the account of Jesus Christ giving to two blind men their sight in Matt. ix, 27-30. Here it is proven that their faith is what compelled them to follow him along the road, crying for mercy; and further yet, they followed him to the house and then Jesus Christ notes the basis on which their success depended entirely, i.e., believe ye [the blind men] that I am able to do this? he asked. Now why are the Saints scorned for asking the same words? If they had answered that they did not believe, would they have received their sight? Our accusers will not be so foolish as to assert that; or else they accuse Jesus Christ of having asked a foolish and futile question! On the other hand one must admit that their sight depends on their faith, which is proven by Jesus Christ beyond argument, for he would not touch their eyes until they admitted their faith firmly. "Yea, Lord," said they. Then he touched their eyes saying, "Observe keenly and you will see." Is that how it was? Oh no, rather, "According to your faith be it unto you," said he. So said the
Saints to this blind man in Llanybydder. Who is at fault if such do not receive their sight? Not Jesus Christ we hope. But yes, that would prove him a fraud, said the Pharisees of that age. No, the blind men would be at fault, say the Pharisees of our age, and with the same breath they blame the minister and our religion, because this blind man did not get his sight! What strange blindness this is! This is really the literal fulfillment of the words of Jesus Christ, “If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.” If we should do such things to get people to believe, why was that not the purpose of Jesus Christ? If it was, why did “he straitly charge them, saying, See that no man know it?” If his purpose was to get men to believe in him by casting out devils, he was disappointed, for the effect was as totally opposite as it would have been in Llanybydder if the blind man had received his sight, because the onlooking Pharisees, instead of believing, said, “He casteth out devils through the prince of devils.” V. 34.

Another example which proves our blind accuser and his partisans to be in the ditch is seen in Mark viii, 22-26; Luke ix, 7-11. Here it is seen also that, 1. According to his faith that blind man received his sight, which is proved by the act, i.e., obedience to that which the administrator asked. 2. It is proved that he had more faith, and had tried more sincerely and more patiently than did dark Daniel, because medicine was used more frequently with the former than with the latter; the former confessed that he “saw men as trees, walking,” and Daniel confessed that he “saw the candle in the candlestick on the table.” And the chief difference was that the other had received his sight gradually, proportionate to the strengthening of his faith, by going after the second anointing to the pool of Siloam to wash, and because of his obedience he received his sight; whereas, instead of following along in the practice and the medicine in faith, Daniel went back to the darkness and persecuted us mercilessly! And now, can not even the blind man see that it is he who is at fault, and that he was not worthy of the blessing from God who knew his heart, and weighed his spirit at the time?

The hypocritical Pharisees said that nothing is a miracle unless it be done in public, fully, on the first try, and without using any medicine at all; and so it is expected that we now do whatever they
ask. But it is seen that it was not in one or two attempts that those above were healed, or without the use of medicine, or in public, rather, one was healed in the house, and Jesus took the other clear out of town to a secret place, lest the disbelief of the sign seekers work against the faith of the recipient. These confess that through periodic use of the medicine they received their sight.

After I went and washed, says the blind man, and not before that “I received my sight.” He does not say how long he was at the task of rubbing the water on his eyes, but that he kept at it continuously until it worked. Well, did Daniel give such a fair trial to the Saints, I wonder? I answer boldly, no, nothing of the kind, and we have no reason to believe that he was anything but hypocritical from the start. And this is proved throughout the entire incident. He asserts, “they promised before I joined them that I would get them [that is, his eyes] without a doubt,” says he. This is an imaginary falsehood every word of it, as the following proves,—When it first came to the confines of our knowledge that such a man existed, when after we finished preaching to a large congregation on Sunday night, he asked if he could be baptized. But others who know him quite well told me of his character, that he had been excommunicated from the Independents because of * * * and that he had heard us only once before, and that they had strong reasons for believing that he was now being hypocritical. From the example of Simon Magus, Judas and others, the danger was shown to him in great detail of his trying to hide his motives from the searcher of hearts, that dealings with godly ordinances are important things which require great sobriety; in spite of that he professed his honesty and his desire to be baptized at that time. This prompted us to explain the plan of God according to the scriptures with respect to his sight, and (in the presence of a houseful of listeners who had remained behind) to tell him firmly that neither we nor any of the Saints now professed or ever had professed one miraculous power of ourselves, but only to show the way and the means which God ordained so that men could obtain the blessings from him, not from us, according to the honesty of their hearts and their obedience to the plan. For proof of this we said (as the witnesses will testify, to this very day) that we did not promise him his sight, and that we knew some blind men who had been in
this church for years, and had received great blessings and gifts from God, and as yet had not received their sight. Yes, we were careful to make this clear, for we feared that his purpose was a bad one. When he heard this, he lost courage, something which everyone noticed, and offered an excuse to delay the baptism for several days. At that the crowd wished for him to state the time that he would come. And we showed to him, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that he would be baptized according to his profession of faith and repentance, and that the result would be between him and God, and we could not, according to the scriptures, refuse to baptize him.

Before going away he said that he would come there the following Tuesday; then we took the opportunity to announce that there would be a sermon at that time, and if the blind man would come there and if he wished, he could be baptized. And even though there was no one that we know of who expected him to come, he and a large group of people had gathered before the time, and they listened attentively and graciously. Again and again we said that "the truthfulness of the gospel did not depend on whether or not the blind man received his sight, that our religion was scripturally and firmly true before we heard his name mentioned, and that it would continue just as true after he and his memory had gone to oblivion, that there were several who already knew this besides hundreds of thousands throughout the world, etc." We made clear to the crowd that we strongly doubted his intent, although there was not sufficient proof to refuse him. In the presence of the crowd he was requested to confess his faith and repentance, something we had never previously asked of anyone at the water's edge. And to prove his evil intent, we present before you the testimony of men of high character, farmers, craftsmen, etc., who knew him and heard him themselves, several who have no connection with our religion, rather out of an honest desire to enlighten the country through refuting his false accusations and his deceit; these gave their names.

"We testify that we were present when Daniel Jones was baptized; and because it was suspected that he had not come for the right reasons, he was required to confess his repentance at the river's side, something which had not been requested of anyone else. He had
testified that his purpose was to gain forgiveness, and not just his sight and even though we could not believe him, yet there was no way to refuse him, as he knew, on those grounds. After baptizing him, we received him in the meeting that evening as a member, through the ordinance of the laying on of hands according to the scriptures. After he was counseled and exhorted to live righteously, etc., Daniel requested through the guidance of one of the elders that his eyes be anointed with oil, which was done by Abel Evans; and not one drop went on his hair, or on his clothes, as he says. After that, the two elders, Abel Evans and Capt. D. Jones, laid their hands on him and prayed for the Lord to bless his obedience to this plan according to his honesty and his faith, even to the extent of receiving his sight, if that was pleasing to him. After that we heard Abel Evans say to him that he had seen something like two stars far from him, and that perhaps that signified that he would receive his sight in some future time, if be lived faithfully. Also, we testify that we heard Daniel say, after the meeting was over that "he had come to see the candle in the candlestick on the table." He said also, "I believe that if Bro. Jones had continued to pray just a little while longer, I would have received my sight completely." He was exhorted to faithful observance of the ordinances in the following meetings, and he was told that the contributor of every good gift knew the time and the best manner to impart; Capt. Jones told him that with respect to the neighbors, it would be better for them if he were not to get his sight at that time because they would persecute him all the more, just as they tried to kill Christ and Lazarus; that the more the power of God was manifest now as earlier, the greater was the anger of the enemies of the truth; or if they believed through seeing a sign he would not think as well of them, for the Bible says "that faith comes through bearing," and not through seeing. After that we departed hoping that Daniel was more honest than when he had been baptized; and if so, we believed that he could get his sight at some future time, for we knew that only God could impart that blessing. The engagements of Capt. D. Jones and Abel Evans called them away the next day. Daniel Jones came to our special meeting the following Thursday night, and to the meeting on Sunday, which was all the special meetings he attended. But he did not request anointing at that time either. The Saints have a practice, by choice, to testify of the goodness that they have received from the hand of the Lord, of the hope which they have, and their feelings toward God and his work. The elder of the meeting exhorted us to do this, nothing more. Those who wished to do so testified, as they chose, in the Thursday night meeting, and Daniel also told of his wish to obtain a certainty, which he did quite well. We believe that it is from this occasion only that he proclaimed to the world that "we tried to get him to swear an oath." We did not have the right to administer an oath; and what purpose would his oath have served about such a thing? There was not a word about an oath or anything like it, in our midst. Every word of
it is his lie. He said nothing in the last meeting he attended with us; but he demonstrated clearly that he did not believe the doctrine but was pulling back. “His opinion was,” says he, “that Capt. Jones and Abel Evans were the deceivers,” and that we had been deceived by them. He did not come back after this, but did everything possible to malign us. As for his statement that Capt. Jones had said that he was a man who had received forgiveness of his sins, and that he had received a witness of that, it is similar to his statement that Capt. Jones had cast out a devil from Abel Evans; and we testify that there is not a word of truth in the one statement or the other. Others of his baseless assertions are that we claim to commune frequently with angels, etc., and that we call Abel Evans a prophet. The only occasion he had to say that one of the strongest in the faith had not received anything, was because he had said that he had not received the spiritual gifts on that occasion, such as “speaking in tongues,” “prophesying,” etc. The gifts were not experienced in the meeting which Daniel attended, and so he could not have received one sign to know the truth of our religion, except the immediate healing of one sister of her illness in his presence, and this he could have received himself. All of us whose names are below testify to the truth of the foregoing things—Thomas Jeremy, John Davies, Benjamin Jones, Richard Jones, Thomas Nash, John Evans, Evan Hughes, Sarah Jeremy.”

Now, is that not enough, from such a large number of truthful witnesses respected among all their acquaintances, to prove the lying deceit of one blind composer of ballads, although he be supported by all the Pharisees of Wales? It is, no doubt, to every lover of the truth, and stamps a stigma on the foreheads of the deceivers, and proves the truth of our religion in many ways, against their will. If the “deceit of Mormonism” is laid bare because of its believers’ obedience to the ordinances of the gospel according to the commandments and examples of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and according to the scriptures, is this not the deceit of the godly authors who commanded them to do so? Are not the “Reverends” who scorned them laying bare their own deceit, in spite of all their professions that the scriptures are their rule? And if the obedience of the apostles to the commandments of their Leader was proof of the truthfulness of their belief, and the consequences of this were whatever he wished, why is not the same obedience that we show to the same unchangeable commandments as much proof of the truthfulness of our own profession? Let them answer if they can, without becoming professed atheists by denying the first also. I wonder if one reasonable man thinks that we have sufficient faith
to continue to use the oil and lay on hands for the receiving of physical health over the years, if we never received health through doing so, and would the Saints by the hundreds continue to do as they do, instead of using the medicine of doctors as others do? We do not believe that our accusers would admit that we have enough faith to do that either. All right, let this be a witness to them then, that this fact proves, according to their own admission, that our God and his promises are the same to his children now as before; and let them consider who persecutes us and for what. A pagan would think that proving such commandments according to scripture would end all argument with those who profess that they believe that godly standard. But not so here; for those who follow them most closely are scorned the worst! You atheists, hide your heads in shame for the Pharisees of our “enlightened age.”

If the fact that this Daniel Jones did not receive his sight after being in our church three times proves our religion false, does not the failure of Paul to heal Timothy, and the fact that he left Trophimus, his fellow officer, sick among the pagans of Miletum, after they had been in their church for years, and faithful also, prove far more obviously according to the same logic, that their profession too was false? Here to our accusers are the comparable and fair reasonings of their book and ours placing “Mormonism,” as they call it, equal in this with the apostolic religion! We thank them for this confession.

Again, to show the atrocious deception and the arrogant lies of this persecutor, compare his following sentences with each other, on p. 8, wherein he says, “At that time I especially believed that they [the Saints] had been sent as authorized Servants by the Lord Jesus Christ, just as they professed to be; and I felt very thankful for having received the privilege of having the gospel in its purity.” But to form the proper image of his own self to show him in his proper color, let us place the following side by side with the above.

“We heard Daniel Jones say that he was a “prepared Judas when he joined the Saints; and if they prophesy, how did they not know that I was a deceiver when I went to them,” says he. He said also at the same time, and for proof of that, that he wished to play a trick* with

*“Play a trick” is our word, instead of the word which he used, lest the remainder of his character be eliminated.
the fowls which were in the shed of the farm on his way as he went home the night after getting baptized. We testify that the above statements are true:—David Evans, Pen-y-wern, John Jones, Mary X Evans, David Evans (another), Mary Evans."

Now it is seen what kind of man is the accuser of the Saints! And here is the best tool that the preachers and believers of our country could get to slander us, but they would not be ashamed to shoo him off and chase him away if they could get better. Yes, the booklet of a man like this is what they published, and circulated, and read, and believed readily, selling it in their public meetings! Their behavior is an embarrassment to our country, and a fulfillment of the prophecy which says that there would be hypocrites in the last days, having given themselves up to "strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, because they received not the love of the truth." And here they are,—"By their fruits ye shall know them." It is a pity for the people that this is the taste of their educators. Notice that just one of the above witnesses belongs to the Saints, and the rest are respected and truthful farmers; and in their testimony, which is more reliable than that of Daniel, is seen the reason why he did not receive his sight; and it was not because of the deceit of Mormonism, rather his own deceit. And I wonder if his friends will be ashamed when they read of his deceitful tricks in the light of day? Will they publish and circulate this other side of the story as sweetly as the first? Yet, why will they not if they are seeking the truth, or if they wish to feed their followers with the truth; and so their behavior will settle the argument in this matter.

We have several testimonies of his respected neighbors stating that they heard Daniel say, after the sermon of the Saints in Gwarallt, "that he [Daniel] believed completely at the time that Capt. Jones and Abel Evans were practicing sorcery when they anointed him and laid hands on him!"

That is totally opposite to his book also; and is it any wonder that a man like this does not receive a blessing from God? We beg the patience of the reader with yet one more testimony before throwing this "Judas" and his book, together with his supporters, to the clamor and bats where the birds of the night belong. Once
again here is the testimony of one of the farmers, of the highest character, in the neighborhood:

"I testify that I heard Daniel Jones say that if I joined the Saints, that he would believe me again, and that perhaps he would go to them a second time—Jonathan Jones."

This proves either that he was a bad man for promising to go again to those whom he calls "conjurers, lying deceivers," etc., or, as we suggested from the beginning, that his "religious friends" were the ones who put these sentences into his mouth. Now they come back to their faces, and they chew their cuds on them, lest their faces will be blackened because of them in that day when the refuge of lies will be blown away.

The reader sees, then, this treachery against our religion in "a correct image," and it is far easier to believe the witnesses against Daniel than those in his favor. And then every reasonable man will confess that the bad deeds of men like this are praise for our religion. And if it had not more truth than other religions, the devil would not excite wicked men to accuse us falsely and persecute us more than anyone else. We do not profess perfection of persons, rather we readily admit our failings as do other fallible men, trying to live lives which are more and more godly. We admit also that sometimes wicked and hypocritical men come into our midst "to spy out our liberty," as in biblical times,—some with evil intent to get the opportunity to misrepresent us and to hurt us; however, we know that such will not stay in our churches very long. But it is surprising the kind of acceptance which the accusations of such men receive from the believers of the age, without considering that the loyalty of all the other Saints by their profession, under every scorn and obstacle, are stronger proofs of their truthfulness; and the cause for this, I suppose, is that they "love lies more than truth." If it is necessary for us to understand the hearts of men before receiving them, why is it not as necessary for other sects to understand the hearts of those who come to them? If that is required, how is it that the apostles did not know about Simon Magus, and Paul about all those who left him? Oh no, our rule for judging is profession and behavior, and we claim no foreknowledge of anything or supernatural power to do anything, except that which God sees fit to impart to us. In him is our trust; and as Paul
said, so say we to all the scornful hypocrites:—"Covet earnestly the best gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy." And after everything: "But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he [not sign seekers, but God] will." And no matter how scriptural this is, yet, say our accusers, to profess them is deceit!!

Next, "Blind Daniel" shows that the principal way in which he came to perceive the deceit of the Saints was "when I went to search daily and carefully, as did the early Bereans, I perceived clearly in the scriptures," says he! Well, there's a miracle for you! What greater miracle than for a blind man being able to 'search carefully' and, since the scriptures are sufficiently 'clear' to be able to ascertain that others who have two eyes are "deceitful liars." Is this not the blind man who a while ago asserted that "miracles were not necessary." Yes, he did not need his sight to be able to read the scriptures, he says; for he believed that the two eyes of his sightless "friend" were better for him than if he had had his own eyes! Well, how did he get his sight, I wonder? Well then, is not this assertion an example of the threefold blindness of these blind men! Yes, and here is the man who takes the form of an angel of light, and with Pharisaic hypocrisy, like the poison of dragons, says he, practically in the next lines:—"Dear brethren, [now to those who excommunicated him shamefully a while ago!] be sure and steadfast in the work of the Lord, and you shall know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord." It is true that the father of lies recited a few scriptures when that suited his purpose to deceive; and Daniel and his "friend" think that his ballad would sell more readily after daubing soft soap on its tail. A while ago he condemned his former "brethren" because they professed to 'know' that they were in the Church of Jesus Christ, and that God was true to his promises, but now he professes that his present 'dear brethren' 'know' the same thing, yet he asserts it to be false that they possess this knowledge. What is too evil for him to say when he accuses the Saints that they were guilty of his bad deeds? But here he is caught again in his "own trap." It is said that "he who digs a pit for his neighbor will fall in it himself."

Notice this denier of miracles, one who scorns the spirit of prophecy through his books, now becomes a great prophet himself,
a sufficiently barefaced prophet to proclaim his prophecy to the
world, and notice, here it is, let it be a witness against him to prove
from which spirit he prophesies,—"The Latter-day Saints are here
only for a while to plague us." "Everyone will flee from them," says
he. He prophesies his own desire, and he is not the first by any
means to chant the funeral knell of 'Mormonism.' And despite it
all, thanks to her author, she is living, and well, and succeeding
and prospering more than all the sects of our country; and one
does not need the spirit of prophecy to foresee that she will go on
succeeding; let them persecute, falsely accuse, struggle and do
whatever they wish against her; they do nothing but unwittingly
help her to go forward. And the big secret of all is that God is in
her, through her and for her; she is his work. In spite of the poor
tools he uses, he will strengthen her through his Holy Spirit until
he brings down to the ground the shelters of lies and the castles of
the hypocrites, until the honest in heart who are searching for the
truth grasp it and become heirs to eternal life through obedience
to her godly ordinances. This is the true wish of our heart for all,
for their benefit and for the glory of God. Amen.
Short Study

Evidence for a New Testament Miracle

John W. Welch

Mark 8:22–26 records Jesus’ healing of a blind man at Bethsaida. When the villagers brought the man to Jesus, Jesus took him outside the town, spit on the man’s eyes, laid his hands on him, and asked him if he could see anything. The man answered, “I see men as trees, walking.” Jesus then put his hands on the man’s eyes again and made him look up, and with that the man could see clearly and normally. Jesus sent the man home, instructing him not to tell anyone back in the town. This account contains several remarkable details and raises interesting questions.

First, and most extraordinary, is the line “I see men as trees, walking.” What are we to make of this sole statement made by the blind man? Interestingly, it is scientifically sound. Similar occurrences have resulted in strikingly similar descriptions of partially restored sight. Modern ophthalmology has learned that when eyesight is restored to people who have been blind for an extended amount of time, those people must relearn to assemble the data in order for their brain to make sense of it all. It takes time for the brain to get used to processing visual data. Thus a tree or a man at first does not look like a single, integrated unit, but only like a set of disjointed parts, merging together.

A recent book by Oliver Sacks reports a case study of a man named Virgil, who seems to have had just this experience.1 In Virgil’s case, when the bandages first came off after surgery, he could see colors and movements, but “he lacked a coherent visual field, . . . and it was almost impossible for the eye to fixate on targets; it kept losing them, making random searching movements, finding them, then losing them again.”2 Three days after the surgery, Virgil and his wife went to the grocery store. Seeing so many images—packages,
people, signs, and shopping carts—even became frightening because "'everything ran together.'"³ He left the store to escape the confusion.

Reviewer Keith Mano picks up on Sacks's points and suggests that the Gospel of Mark may miraculously describe a true scientific phenomenon common to new seers in general.⁴ Mano suggests that Mark 8:25 offers us "a clinical description"⁵ of eyesight being restored. It would have been normal for the two perceptions of men walking and trees standing by the wayside to blur together at first in the unadapted mind of the man from Bethsaida: "A newly healed blind man has neither depth perception nor the ability to synthesize shape and form."⁶ Thus, everything would appear confused and mixed. Seeing this, Mano claims that Mark 8 describes "a miracle that depends on science for its proof, that cannot be understood except by adducing modern medical data—quite unknown in 30 A.D.—as evidence."⁷

Second, this healing occurred in two stages, and one may wonder why. Each of Jesus' miracles was unique. Some were instantaneously complete. When a deaf-mute was healed in Mark 7:34-35, "straightway his ears were opened." Likewise, the healing of the blind and faithful Bartimaeus was complete and direct: "immediately he received his sight" (Mark 10:52). Other healings, however, took time or proceeded in stages. The ten lepers, only one of whom returned to thank Jesus (let alone had enough faith to follow Jesus), were not healed immediately but in time, as they walked to do as Jesus had instructed (see Luke 17:11-19).

The blind man at Bethsaida was healed first physiologically (his eyes began sending sensory impulses), but he had not yet been healed neuropsychologically (his brain did not yet know how to make sense of data). Was this delay due to incomplete faith at first on the part of the one being healed, or were there other factors? Elder McConkie suggests several possibilities: "Not [all healings] happen instantaneously; the prophetic fingers do not always snap and cause a prostrate sufferer to leap from his pallet as though by magic... A suffering soul may be tested to the full before hearing the blessed words: 'Be it unto thee according to thy faith.' It is no less a miracle when shattered bones weld themselves together gradually than when they reform in an instant."⁸ In fact, Mark says nothing to indicate that the blind man at Bethsaida was initially
very faithful, and it was the people of the town who took him out to Jesus. Were the people of Bethsaida testing Jesus when they brought this blind man to him? Indeed, on another occasion, Jesus cursed the village of Bethsaida for its unfaithfulness (see Luke 10:13). Be that as it may, in this case “Jesus began a series of acts, each of which was designed to increase the faith in the heart of the sightless one,” leading to his complete healing.9

Interestingly, the account in Mark 8 differs on this very point from the Mark 10 account of Christ healing the blind Bartimaeus. As Bartimaeus sat begging by the road, he heard that Christ was passing by and cried out, “Jesus, thou Son of David, have mercy on me” (Mark 10:47). Others told him to be quiet, but Jesus called Bartimaeus to him and asked what he wanted. Bartimaeus replied, “Lord, that I might receive my sight.” This blessing was exactly the same as that petitioned of Christ for the blind man of Bethsaida, but Christ did not say to that man, “Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole,” as he said to Bartimaeus; nor was it said of the man of Bethsaida that “immediately he received his sight, and followed Jesus in the way,” as did Bartimaeus (Mark 10:52). How are these differences to be explained? Perhaps the circumstances required Jesus to heal the man of Bethsaida in a way that would signal to that unbelieving village that greater faith was needed to avoid a fate less tolerable than that of Sodom, Tyre, or Sidon (see Luke 10:12, 14).

NOTES

2Sacks, Anthropologist on Mars, 115.
3Sacks, Anthropologist on Mars, 119.
7Mano, “The Bethsaida Miracle,” 26; italics in original.
states of grace

the cold riverbank
  hazel and silver after rain
cattails dripping the almost stillness

  liquid streaks
down trunks of bare trees
  faint trickle of the familiar

where we walk two
  together and each
apart

distant houses shrink and darken
  in the orchid twilight
overripe in the west
  clouds bruise
into night    edges tinging
  an afterlife

thirty years and no words
  as faithful
as an ordinary solitude

  our breath geysering
before us    brown grasses
  sheened by the rains

—Dixie Partridge
Sage Junction

We drive the two-lane highway
after a downpour, black storm moving easterly,
sun slanting into whole spectrums of gray
edged sterling in light through rain.
The downhill road toward Idaho glints
like a long trout, and from Wyoming
the highway steams faintly where a semi,
streak of silver, speeds through
with its shaft of wind.

I open windows to the tremble and breathe
deeply: the durable gears of memory lean
with my father's truck taking the curve;
then the downshift to winter peril the school year
a whole family died on this route
linking rival basketball teams.
We gather speed in the wet desert northward,
fragrances arcing through time:
I leave for school and Grandmother
hands me bread fried in butter,
sprinkled with sugar . . . in a scent of sage
white curtains of her kitchen
rise like a loaf.

—Dixie Partridge
Domestic Violence

He came home with Pandora’s bags in hand.
I shelved and shook my head and breathed: *Not right.*
He bought lard and water in a net, tight girdle for bloated bacon sold as ham.

Two-percent, slow grits—didn’t understand my shopping list, did he? So why’d I shove the wet, wadded bags into the trash, slam the cupboards and tell him *Thanks* in reprimand? Forget the hurled pots and heimlich hugs—my short list made us victims of his love.

—Casualene Meyer
Book Reviews


Reviewed by Steven Walker, Professor of English, Brigham Young University.

*Feasting on the Word* is both a heartfelt and a thoughtful book, as clearly reasoned as it is faithful. That wedding of the rational and the religious works well for a volume which argues that the literary dimensions of the Book of Mormon contribute deliberately and dramatically to its religious impact. Author Dil Rust’s explicit purpose is to “set forth a literary testimony of the Book of Mormon, to show how the impact of what the Book of Mormon says often is created through how it is said” (2; italics in original).

He shows that clearly. *Feasting on the Word* gives a helpful introduction into what might be the most underappreciated dimension of the Book of Mormon, providing a useful overview of the literary aspects of the scripture. Rust offers up a complete menu of Book of Mormon literary considerations, from the most minor embellishments to the largest questions. He lays out for us a smorgasbord of literary insights into the narrative, the poetry, the sermons, the letters, the imagery, the typology, even the epic elements of the Book of Mormon. He titles his final chapter “Larger Perspectives,” and he’s especially good at that larger end of the literary spectrum, with cosmic issues, as when he focuses on what Hugh Nibley thinks may be the central issue of the book—the underlying question of why “there has been chosen for our attention a story of how and why two previous civilizations on this continent were utterly destroyed.”

Rust is especially good at overview, managing a sweep of vision that takes in the big picture that readers who focus on individual
passages may miss. He helps us see that “the final shape of the book is what God intended” (245-46): “The book begins with Lehi’s vision of the descent of Christ . . . and ends with Moroni’s anticipation of being lifted up” (229). Rust shows us that the “overall structure of the Book of Mormon is like a triangle” of “concern for the Lamanites’ receiving the gospel”; the “apex of the triangle is an account of a great spiritual change among the Lamanites” that “occurs in the physical center of the Book of Mormon” (234). He enables us to better read that larger structure through such practical lenses as his assertion that “the book of Ether is a key to its latter-day audience on how to read the Book of Mormon” (241).

All this is in invitational form. The most impressive aspect of Feasting on the Word to me is its accessibility. For all the learnedness of its author, the discussion rarely lapses into pedantry—perhaps only when the author insists on bringing up apophasis and reminding us it is “also called paraleipsis” (152). I mention that slip only to suggest how easily this study could have sunk itself in jargon; the exception proves the rule of the book’s user friendliness. Clear application of literary paraphernalia makes this work unusually invitational literary criticism, clarifying for us a great deal of complex material rather than confusing us with it. Given the inclusiveness of the approach and the complexity of the subject, I was struck with the book’s consistent readability. Rust’s language is as invitingly “plain” as the Book of Mormon’s plain language he so much admires—as “easy to understand” (11) as Nephi’s.

And Feasting on the Word is a well-thought-through book. Dil Rust is a widely respected professor of American literature at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and his careful research shows: Rust has read extensively and incorporated much of the field’s best scholarship into his updated overview of the Book of Mormon from a literary perspective. The overview nature of Rust’s book does not permit him to be as subtle in his applications as some of the original thinkers he summarizes for us. His quotation of Robert Alter’s discussion of narrative “type-scenes,” for instance, makes us realize that where Rust is seeing the pattern, Alter is working more deeply with variations on it (23-24). His application of Erich Auerbach’s biblical analysis to Book of Mormon narrative, too, invites in-depth application of the kind Auerbach
manages with the Bible (147, 197-98, 200-201). Though he cites Nibley's identification of Lehi's poem as Qasida, he doesn't have time to delve into the subtleties of its similes (93).

So the overview strength of the volume is also its weakness. Useful as I find its overview, I wish the book could have included less naming of literary phenomena and more investigation of them. As helpful an initiation as this book is to the study of the Book of Mormon as literature, I wanted it to push more often beyond pointing out literary aspects into more exploring of their applications and implications. I wish it could have gone farther even where it went farthest, in its cosmic considerations. I would have liked, for instance, a larger exploration of apocalyptic scenes such as the epic scenes in 1 Nephi 1 and 14 and 3 Nephi 8-11—Christ's crucially central appearance gets surprisingly short shrift. And the terrible battle scenes that ended the Nephite and Jaredite civilizations, which for me generate much of the power of the book, could be mined in greater depth for their apocalyptic aspects. Necessary as summary is for Rust's purposes, his study contributes most to me when it is most detailed. I like particularly, for example, his explication of specific poems in the fourth chapter. Those in-depth analyses, like his thorough examinations of letters that lead to insights into biographical dimensions of the Book of Mormon, seem to me groundbreaking work. I'd like more of that.

Which is, I suspect, Professor Rust's underlying point: much more should be done with literary study of the Book of Mormon. Readers who know something of this field are likely to yearn for more detailed investigation, and that yearning for more is precisely the reaction Rust aims to provoke—this volume is an invitation to work at greater depth the field Dilworth Rust has laid out for us. Feasting on the Word brings us up to speed on what has been done with literary study of the Book of Mormon and opens up possibilities for future study. The book's feast, always nourishing and, at its specific best, succulent, provides an appetizer for more literary study of scripture.

For the general readership of the Church, that is a significant boon. Anyone who savors or who would like to savor reading the Book of Mormon should not miss Feasting on the Word: The Literary Testimony of the Book of Mormon. From his delicious literary
perspective, a perspective augmenting the blander doctrinal view we have grown used to, Professor Rust persuades us that the Book of Mormon makes wider claims on its readers: “These writings in all their richness of style, complexity of poetry, vividness of imagery, and memorability of narrative, reach both the mind and the heart” (246). I echo enthusiastically, as I think most readers of the book will echo, its essential conclusion: “The content of the Book of Mormon is inseparable from the way it is presented. It is a literary testimony of Christ” (246).

NOTE


Reviewed by Grant Underwood, Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus.

For those who take interest in how Mormonism is portrayed in the public media, *Viper on the Hearth* is a stimulating read. On one level, it is perhaps the most detailed and sophisticated study to date of patterns of representation in nineteenth-century anti-Mormonism, moving beyond a mere recitation of the already well-documented "proclivity to depict the Mormons as a violent and peculiar people" (5-6). Its novelty lies in its explanation of the origins of anti-Mormon literature, with implications down to the present day.

Author Terryl Givens’s argument is that in nineteenth-century America “the pressures of pluralism made it desirable to cast the objectionability of Mormonism in nonreligious terms” (7). The rootedness of religious tolerance in America’s ideological mythology made it virtually impossible to extirpate a religion from the body politic. Thus, the Mormon “other” had to be constructed in such a way that its persecution was a manifestation of patriotism rather than bigotry. In this way, specious claims about Mormonism being a social and political threat were reified.

Anti-Mormonism illustrates “the necessary contortions that religion must be subjected to, the rhetorical strategies that must be deliberately and ingeniously applied, in order to maintain intact the underlying value system of pluralism and religious toleration while the aberrant group is proscribed” (21). Lest his approach be dismissed as merely a sophisticated new defense of the old apologetic claim that persecution is really only irrational religious jealousy or Satan’s subversive influence, Givens clarifies that he is not arguing “that the underlying hostilities were or were not really more religious than economic or political. It is to say that such hostilities, to be culturally sanctioned, had to take the form of political rather than denominational interests” (22).
Where Givens is particularly effective is in his application of the new literary criticism (and the relativizing perspectives of postmodernism generally) to the study of anti-Mormonism. The entire second half of the book is devoted to a literary critical reading of anti-Mormon literature and as such is the first extended treatment of its kind. The contextual and constructed, as opposed to essential, character of religious categories and categorizations shows through clearly in his analysis. As Givens remarks, "[Christian] orthodoxy cannot escape the fact of its own construction" (93). What outsiders say about the Mormons represents no fundamental, disinterested truth but reflects the narrow world of their own assumptions. Commentators have long pointed out the hypocrisy of anti-Mormonism, but *Viper on the Hearth* does so with a subtlety and sophistication that will delight and enlighten readers.

Through more than 160 pages of incisive analysis and elegant prose, Givens drives home his postmodern point that all religious constructions are inescapably ideological. It is not just the Mormons who are trapped in subjectivity. In dealing with American perceptions of Mormons, scholars should be aware of "the mechanisms by which ideology and acts of self-fashioning work to conceal inherent tensions and inconsistencies that arise when espoused values and political imperatives collide" (45).

One of the lasting contributions of *Viper on the Hearth* may be the way in which it grounds a more adequate source criticism for Mormon studies. One moral to Givens's story is that scholars should be just as cautious in using non-LDS sources as they are in dealing with LDS sources. Despite the great strides made in Mormon studies in the past generation, a certain lack of source-critical sophistication still lingers when it comes to the use of sources looking at Mormonism from the outside, and some scholars continue to accept a little too readily the self-exculpating constructions of the Saints' antagonists. In this way, the tropes of the old anti-Mormon literature sometimes appear in contemporary studies in only slightly revised form.

The book is not perfect, of course. Givens's grasp of American religious history and religious studies scholarship leaves something to be desired, and his use of Mormon history is not always built on the firmest foundation. Still, this interpretive monograph
is as effective as anything in print for disarming—even dismembering—anti-Mormonism and for drawing attention to the subtexts embedded in all texts created by or about Latter-day Saints. That the book was published by Oxford University Press highlights both the soundness of the analysis and the fact that these days sure-footed Mormon studies are welcome at the finest publishing houses.

Reviewed by Joseph Fielding McConkie, Professor of Ancient Scripture, Brigham Young University.

Symbolism is the language of the temple; it is a rich and expressive language designed both to instruct and to bind into one the Saints of all gospel dispensations and all cultures. It is the universal language of faith. Symbols enable us to speak with an eloquence not found in words.

In like manner, our temples are "symbols in stone," built to lift our eyes to heaven even as they lift our spirits above the mundane world in which we live. Built according to a heavenly pattern, a temple represents not just a fortress where we take refuge from the world, but also the high mount known to the ancient prophets, from which they obtained a panoramic view of earth's history and learned of their role in it. Here it was that they could pass through the veil to obtain the mind and will of the Lord.¹

Brown and Smith center their book, Symbols in Stone, on the symbols with which the Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake Temples have been adorned. Before doing so, however, they provide a scriptural and prophetic description of the temple yet to be built in the New Jerusalem.

Symbols in Stone is very readable and informative. Illustrations and photographs are used effectively, and the book itself is attractively designed. For most readers, the chapter on the Kirtland Temple will be the most informative because the craftsmanship and symbols with which it was adorned are not well known. The sections on the Nauvoo and Salt Lake Temples will be more familiar. Here the authors discuss the symbolism of the different stones and designs on the exterior of the temple. The authors' interpretation of these symbols is insightful, but perhaps it should be noted that it is neither necessary nor desirable that everyone see precisely the same interpretation of a symbol. Like a work of art or the wonders of nature, symbols will not affect each of us in
the same way. Some may sense and feel one thing, others another. Different perspectives enrich us all.

The book's purpose, to consider the "symbols that adorn the temple's exterior" (ix), gets lost in the chapter on the temple to be built in the New Jerusalem. This chapter is a potpourri of more sensational things. Our attention is centered on the return of Christ, the color of his robe, the ushering in of the Millennium, the stakes of Zion, and the great council at Adam-ondi-Ahman. Though these are matters of interest to all of us, they have little if anything to do with the architectural and exterior symbolism of the temple to be built in Jackson County.

Each chapter has an extensive array of endnotes. They range in number from 18 in the first chapter to 146 in the chapter on the Kirtland Temple. In total, about 50 of the 176 pages of text are devoted to endnotes. This is unusual for a book intended for general readership. These notes contain accounts of dreams and visions combed from journals, along with tantalizing tidbits like the design of Moroni's garments and a description of Adam and Eve. Virtually none of the material in the endnotes deals with temple symbols. They are spice for those whose taste buds require it. The work loses little without them.

Indeed, an important caution ought to be given to the reader, centering in the more than two dozen instances in which dreams, visions, and revelations found in private journals are cited to sustain one point or another. The reliability of such sources is at best questionable. These include quotations from a "recent convert to the Church" (28), "a young missionary" (74), and "a young English girl" (108). In other instances names are given, but they are virtually always someone the reader could not be expected to be acquainted with.

The sharing of personal dreams and visions is very tender ground. "It is my conviction," observed Elder Boyd K. Packer, "that experiences of a special, sacred nature are individual and should be kept to oneself." On the same subject, President Harold B. Lee said, "It never ceases to amaze me how gullible some of our Church members are in broadcasting sensational stories, or dreams, or visions, or purported patriarchal blessings, or quotations, or [something] supposedly from some person's private diary." Similarly,
Joseph Fielding Smith said, "If you have had a vision or manifestation, it is your duty to keep it to yourself; it is not for the church, and I advise you not to repeat it." 4 Years before, his father, Joseph F. Smith, said, "We can accept nothing as authoritative but that which comes directly through the appointed channel, the constituted organizations of the priesthood, which is the channel that God has appointed through which to make known his mind and will to the world." 5

The liberal use of dreams and visions found in personal journals to reinforce a point is hazardous because we have no means of measuring the spiritual stability of the persons involved. It would be hard to suppose that those who recorded them did so with the idea that what they were writing would be made public or that it would be used in a work like the one being reviewed. Much of the material quoted in Symbols in Stone clearly fits the description of the kind of thing the Brethren have warned against.

Brown and Smith set out to teach us about the symbols that adorn our temples, and they do it well. In the process, however, they pander to the sensational. Their work is a little like a cake with too much frosting. Scrape off the frosting, and it is a good cake.

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3Clyde J. Williams, ed., Teachings of Harold B. Lee: Eleventh President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996), 399.


Reviewed by Allen J. Christenson, Assistant Professor of Humanities, Classics, and Comparative Literature, Brigham Young University.

John Sorenson's new book is a welcome addition to the field of Book of Mormon studies. It is the first serious attempt by a noted scholar trained in the cultures of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica to describe the lifeways of the indigenous inhabitants of that region as they may relate to the artistic, social, and literary heritage of peoples described in New World scripture. Each chapter presents a concise vignette summarizing an aspect of ancient Mesoamerican society: geography, subsistence, societal organization, government, militarism, religion, science, and art.

The real strength of the work, however, is its outstanding compilation of more than five hundred high quality photographs, maps, drawings, and reconstruction paintings that span the major cultural phases of Mesoamerica from ca. 1000 B.C. to modern indigenous groups that conserve traditional social practices whose roots lie in the pre-Columbian past. These carefully selected images bring to life the pre-Columbian world in a way otherwise impossible with a written text. Each illustration is well attributed and referenced with regard to date and provenance. This alone will make the book an indispensable tool for further research.

For much of this century, most LDS readers of the Book of Mormon had their conception of scriptural settings in the New World shaped by the work of artists like Arnold Friberg or Minerva Teichert. Until recently, Friberg’s imaginative paintings were published in many editions of the Book of Mormon, becoming a well-beloved part of the way we in the Church imagine ancient America to have once looked. Unfortunately, there is little that is authentically Native American in Friberg’s artworks. The majority present a pastiche of visual references to the dress and architecture of the ancient Near East and medieval Europe, with the occasional inclusion of minor Mesoamerican motifs to give them a bit of New World flavor.
Sorenson's greatest contribution in his new book is to provide both the serious scholar and the average interested reader an opportunity to see authentic views of ancient-American life and art relevant to the experience of cultures contemporary with the Book of Mormon. Images of Ancient America therefore fits nicely into the same category as numerous books that illustrate artifacts and scenic views from the Holy Land as an aid to understanding the world of the Bible.

Sorenson begins his book with the premise that Book of Mormon events took place in the general area of Mesoamerica. He bases this conclusion on the plausible geographic and environmental fit, as well as the Book of Mormon's description of densely populated nations with millions of inhabitants who occupied large cities (built at least in part with stone masonry), their extensive commerce, literacy, metallurgy, finely woven textiles, and complex religious, monetary, and political institutions, including kingship. The author contends that only Mesoamerica evinces all these cultural traits at the appropriate time in the centuries immediately before and after Christ, a thesis he proposed in much fuller detail in his book An Ancient American Setting for the Book of Mormon, published in 1985. This seminal work set the standard and direction for further research in the field and was primarily responsible for outlining the terms of the debate over possible settings for Book of Mormon lands. Although it is generally unwise to identify a region as the setting for ancient events based solely on the contention that no other candidate satisfies the necessary criteria, Sorenson's arguments in favor of a setting in Mesoamerica are useful and generally persuasive.

The Book of Mormon describes a number of fully literate cultures who preserved the records of their people on nonperishable materials. Mesoamerica is the only area in the New World where indigenous cultures possessed sophisticated writing systems capable of recording such complex information. Most of the history described in the Book of Mormon took place during the preclassic period in Mesoamerica, from about 1500 B.C. to A.D. 250/300. This was a time of widespread cultural interaction and trade throughout the region. The Book of Mormon also suggests that Nephi...
and Lamanites engaged in long-distance trade networks as a means of increasing their prestige and wealth (Mosiah 24:7; Hel. 6:7–8).

If we cannot with any degree of certainty identify specific sites with Book of Mormon events, we can at least surmise that Book of Mormon people were aware of the greater world around them and were familiar with neighboring cultures. Given the premise that Jaredites, Nephites, Mulekites, and Lamanites were authentic lineage groups who occupied a significant area somewhere on the American continents, it is legitimate to search the archaeological record for those contemporary ancient peoples that bear identifiably similar traits in an analogous contemporary geographic setting.

Sorenson describes his field of research not as archaeology, but rather as sociocultural anthropology, a discipline that attempts to go beyond the study of artifacts and ruins in order to reconstruct the living cultures that produced them. This approach has livened up considerably in recent years, thanks in part to advancements in the decipherment of ancient hieroglyphic scripts, particularly that of the Maya. The ability to read the words of these ancient people opens new opportunities to understand their culture and history in ways that would have been inconceivable only a decade or two ago. The pre-Columbian people of Mesoamerica now have a voice with which to speak for themselves without having to rely on secondhand interpretations.

For the most part, Sorenson successfully draws on current knowledge concerning the Maya and other Mesoamerican cultures derived from indigenous sources, although the primary focus of this work concerns the way these ideas are expressed through visual imagery. As a careful scholar, Sorenson does not claim that any of the images he includes in his book belong to a specific culture mentioned in the Book of Mormon, whose account ends with the destruction of the Nephites at the close of the fourth century A.D. Indeed, the great majority of the artworks included in the book postdate this period. He asserts only that the ancient beliefs and societal practices reflected in these artifacts have similar cultural antecedents in the late preclassical (about 400–1 B.C.) and protoclassic periods (about A.D. 1–250) in Mesoamerica.

Sorenson’s arguments are weakened somewhat by his tendency to generalize long stretches of history. A common practice
in ethnographic studies is to work from the known back to the unknown—a process known as “upstreaming.” This assumes a continuity of particular forms or behaviors over time to the extent that later, better-documented cultures can be used to interpret earlier ones. Upstreaming is particularly useful in studying Mesoamerican societies because of their remarkable cultural conservatism.

Considerable care must be taken, however, not to carry such analogies too far. Even in Mesoamerica, discontinuities occur with the introduction of new religious or political ideas. In addition, care must be exercised to recognize the often significant variations between cultural groups who occupy different ecological environments. Although certain core religious ideas and lifeways seem to have been prevalent throughout Mesoamerica for much of its history, readers should not assume that the everyday life of an Aztec living in the fifteenth century A.D. in the mountains of central Mexico can be used to describe the world of the Olmecs living a thousand years before Christ in the coastal swamps of Veracruz. Upstreaming and ethnographic analogy were hotly critiqued by the late art historian George Kubler, who argued that artistic form and meaning are not static and that lengthy temporal gaps inevitably create disjunctions.2

To some degree, Sorenson may be criticized for failing to consistently connect the images in his book with their appropriate historical moment, as well as for his reliance on art and literary sources that are substantially later in date than the Book of Mormon. The author likely chose this approach due to the relative paucity of well-preserved indigenous texts from the preclassic phase and the somewhat less-impressive corpus of early artworks compared to those created during later periods.

Nevertheless, Sorenson’s book would have been strengthened by including more representative examples of paintings, ceramics, and sculpture contemporary with the Book of Mormon era. Certainly the preclassic monumental art of Kaminaljuyu, Abaj Takalik, and La Mojarra rivals that of later stone carvings in beauty and importance. Sorenson includes the impressive frescoes from a ninth-century building at Bonampak and another from an even later cycle of paintings at Chichen Itza, but he does not include those from Uaxactun that were painted shortly after the time of Christ.
Sorenson is on firmer ground in his review of architecture. He presents excellent reconstruction paintings or photographs of late preclassic buildings at El Mirador, Uaxactun, Edzna, Becan, Dainzu, Chiapa de Corzo, and Teotihuacan. These are surely more useful to our understanding of contemporary Book of Mormon architecture than the constructions the author includes from Tenochtitlan and Tulum, which were built within a hundred years of the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century and are clearly of a distinctive style easily distinguishable from earlier periods.

Had Sorenson’s sensitivity in selecting pertinent images to illustrate his points been matched by a comparable degree of concern for their historical context, he may still have reached the same basic conclusions concerning the life and culture of ancient Mesoamerica, but those conclusions would then have rested on even firmer historical foundations.

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Reviewed by Gordon A. Madsen, an attorney in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Two summary histories of Jerusalem, the Holy City, both written in 1996 on the eve of the three-thousandth anniversary of David's establishment of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, could scarcely be more different. One is written by a former Roman Catholic nun who left her order to study at Oxford and later taught at Leo Baeck College for the Study of Judaism. She has written a biography of Mohammed, a history of the Crusades, and, more recently, her *History of God*. The other study is a collaboration written primarily for a Mormon audience by three LDS educators, all of whom have served for various periods on the faculty of the BYU Center for Near Eastern Studies at Jerusalem.

The subtitles of both books give us a clue as to their theses. Armstrong writes of Jerusalem as “one city, three faiths.” With the smooth prose of a seasoned storyteller, her history recounts man's repeated inhumanity to man in the Holy City. Galbraith, Ogden, and Skinner, on the other hand, see Jerusalem as “the eternal city,” constantly in God's mind and purposes. One is secular history; the other is providential history.

*Three Faiths* has a threefold agenda. Its first basic premise is that the Old Testament is a collection of myths, at least until the time of David. Armstrong argues that the first five books of the Bible cannot be considered “historical in our sense” (25), by which she means that the stories of Abraham, Moses, the Judges, and other pre-Davidic personalities were the invention of later chroniclers and were created to legitimize Israel as a chosen people of God and to justify their claim to the land of Canaan. She ignores a considerable body of pre-Davidic evidence and scholarship in holding to that premise.
Armstrong's second undergirding premise is that mortal contact with the divine is unknowable, or better, essentially indescribable (147–48). She rejects, out of hand, divine explanations for Jerusalem's history, preferring rationalist interpretations that describe the city's history in terms of purely human foibles and appetites.

These two premises lend themselves to the broader framework she builds, contrasting the irrational history and experience of the true believer against the scientific and historically more accurate account she provides. Unfortunately, Armstrong's use of the tools of scientific history is not always sure-handed. At one point, she asserts that David adopted wholesale the religious practices of the Jebusites (the inhabitants of Jerusalem at the time of David's conquest) (39–41). In so arguing, she leaves many features and furnishings of the temple unaccounted for—features that other scholars assert originated in Israelite history before the time of David. Moreover, Armstrong ignores the whole subject of prophecy and specifically those prophecies that concern Jerusalem itself.

The third and most pervasive premise repeated throughout Three Faiths is that "all the great religions insist that the test of true spirituality is practical compassion. . . . Some of the worst atrocities have occurred when people have put the purity of Jerusalem and the desire to gain access to its great sanctity before the quest for justice and charity" (xxi). Having gently chided Jews, Christians, and Muslims through most of the book for not living up to their belief systems, she concludes, "The societies that have lasted the longest in the holy city have, generally, been the ones that were prepared for some kind of tolerance and coexistence" (427). She thus deplores the use of myth or religion to justify land grabs (as she views the city's history) and unapologetically tells all factions in Jerusalem that they should get along with each other. It is one thing to take all three faiths to task for not living up to their systems of belief in terms of human relations, but it is quite another audacious presumption to tell them in the name of "objective history" that their religions are all wrong. It further becomes hypocritical when "objective history" takes factual vacations and itself is used to promote one, albeit attractive, political objective.
Ultimately, her effort leaves one important problem unaddressed. That is, having mythologized the God that all three faiths owe the duty to love and obey, she provides no alternative imperative for loving or serving one another as a basis for achieving peace and harmony. Put simply, Armstrong assumes that stripping the three faiths of their imperative to love God will cause their adherents to automatically or spontaneously love their fellowman in some form of secular utopia. The last century's experience with secular utopias should give pause enough to consider exactly what it means to tell one quarter of the earth's population that God never lived in his city.

*The Eternal City*, although very different from *Three Faiths*, is an equally programmatic study. Growing largely out of the BYU Study Abroad program at the Jerusalem Center, it is a serious effort to survey and include biblical and archaeological scholarship, augmented and interpreted primarily by Latter-day Saint revelation.

The city's history thus begins with Melchizedek. The authors draw heavily on texts in Genesis (expanded by Joseph Smith's translations), together with passages in Alma and the Doctrine and Covenants. Melchizedek and Abraham are historic persons in this book, not mythological creations. Abraham's offering of Isaac on Mt. Moriah, these authors argue, identifies and sanctifies the site for the temples subsequently built there.

Considerably less emphasis on the Islamic involvement in Jerusalem appears in *The Eternal City* than is found in *Three Faiths*. A wealth of information is offered, however, about the Latter-day Saint involvement in Jerusalem, beginning with Orson Hyde and continuing to the present, including prophecies (biblical and LDS) concerning the Holy City.

Since these authors include LDS sources in their study, a stronger coverage in that area would have added even further insights. For example, they include Joseph Smith's translation of Luke 2:46, detailing Jesus' visit to the temple at age twelve, which makes the distinction that he answered the doctors in the temple but asked no questions himself. The authors could (and should, in this reviewer's opinion) have included the Joseph Smith Translation version of Matthew 3:25, "and he spake not as other men, neither could he be taught; for he needed not that any man should
teach him." The authors' historical scholarship lapses occasionally as well. For example, their assertion that the Palestinian Talmud was composed in Jamnia (or Jabneh) is disputed, if not discarded, by scholars.\(^2\) On the other hand, the inclusion of topographical and geological information, including maps, and of a glossary of biblical, Midrashic, Islamic, and other terms is very useful.

The providential orientation in this book leads on occasion to exaggeration. It surely overstates the matter to claim that "throughout history [Jerusalem] has stood for holiness, for ascendency, for centrality. Jerusalem is the connection—the umbilical cord—between heaven and earth" (488). Such excess not only reflects misdirected zeal, but also can lead to potentially inflammatory innuendos.

Again, *The Eternal City* describes the BYU Jerusalem Center as being "not unlike the Temples of old, where the faithful gathered by the thousands to be instructed in spiritual matters" (470). Even though the authors presumably wrote this sentence intending to describe the center in an academic sense rather than in a Jewish context of God's house of spiritual instruction, the latter association might easily be made. It is well, therefore, to keep in mind the disclaimer given in the preface of *The Eternal City* that "these interpretations and opinions do not necessarily represent the official position of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or any other ecclesiastical or educational institution" (x). No one need conclude from this volume that Latter-day Saints have built the millennial temple or that the BYU center is destined to become such.

Much remains to be learned about Jerusalem, both its history and its destiny. Rabbinical traditions, latter-day revelation, and the purposes of God among all of his children on this earth remind us that we really do not know much about God's future plans for Jerusalem and its temple. The question of whether Latter-day Saints are to be spectators, participants, or both, and to what extent, is, at best, speculation.

These two volumes make a direct and pervasive contrast between a secular and a providential approach to Jerusalem's history. The best of both is necessary to enable one to come to understand the richness of the Holy City's past.
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Brief Notices

Prophet of the Jubilee, translated and edited by Ronald D. Dennis (Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1997)

In July 1846 in Rhydybont, Carmarthenshire, Wales, Dan Jones published the first issue of a monthly LDS periodical in the Welsh language on a press owned by John Jones, Dan’s brother, who was an ordained Congregational minister. The periodical, Prophwyd y Jubili (Prophet of the Jubilee), ran monthly thereafter through December 1848. Jones’s great-great-grandson Ronald Dennis has presented what he calls a “facsimile translation” (xxix) of the complete series, retaining original fonts, layout, and pagination, slightly enlarging font size for readability. Text and index are over seven hundred pages, and Geraint Bowen, former Archdruid of Wales, offers a superb introduction.

Many articles in Prophet of the Jubilee rebut arguments of local anti-Mormons or apostates. Articles entitled “The ‘Hater of Deceit’ Proving Himself a False Prophet Again!!” and “The ‘Rev. W. R. Davies, from Dowlais,’ and His Cruel and Shameful Persecution Again!—Again!!” give a glimpse of the intense feelings between early Welsh Saints and their religious adversaries. Jones garnishes his numerous doctrinal treatises with occasional fiction and poetry, excerpts translated from the Millennial Star, the neighboring LDS periodical in England, and portions of articles on religious topics taken from European and U. S. newspapers.

A brief summary of each article is provided at the beginning of the book, but after that the reader is left to plod through the text without annotations. While pagination is sure to confuse some readers, Prophet of the Jubilee opens up LDS historical documents that have been inaccessible to most English-speaking readers for 150 years. Here is a mass of interesting cultural and doctrinal history, as well as the voice of Dan Jones himself, one of the most prolific and persistent missionaries in the history of the Church.

—Jed L. Woodworth

Book of Mormon Authors: Their Words and Messages, by Roger R. Keller (Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1996)

The statistical study of Book of Mormon texts is a well-traveled road in Book of Mormon scholarship. However, in Book of Mormon Authors, Roger Keller shows
that there is still valuable work to be done.

Keller acknowledges a great debt to previous statistical studies. The most famous of these is Wayne A. Larsen and Alvin C. Rencher’s “Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints,” published in Book of Mormon Authorship: New Light on Ancient Origins, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1982). In this ground-breaking study, Larsen and Rencher use “wordprints,” patterns of language using numerous “function words,” to establish the authenticity of various authors. Larsen and Rencher argue that because wordprints are primarily set through function words, it would be very difficult for one author to imitate or emulate another author’s wordprint. Thus, a wordprint becomes a kind of linguistic “fingerprint.”

Keller builds his analysis on the wordprint studies of the Book of Mormon and takes as a given the division of authors established by Larsen and Rencher and others. Keller’s work then extends previous statistical studies of the Book of Mormon by moving from description to interpretation. Instead of focusing on function words, Keller catalogues patterns of content words in the Book of Mormon to identify major themes.

Although Keller is not trained as a statistician, he is very careful about his methodology and works closely with other scholars who have conducted statistical textual studies. Keller uses a kind of “cluster analysis,” in which he identifies certain key terms related to major themes and then identifies which authors use which terms. He then interprets the differences in terminology among Book of Mormon authors. Each chapter of his book includes a section entitled “Theological Implications,” in which Keller connects his interpretation of Book of Mormon terms to LDS theology.

After discussing the general differences among Book of Mormon authors, Keller delineates five major themes or clusters of terms that appear in the Book of Mormon: laws and commandments, church and churches, earth, Israel, land and lands. Within each section, he provides a helpful table that lists the terms he identified as part of the cluster and the incidence of this term for each Book of Mormon author. Readers who are not as interested in the details of Keller’s methodology may want to skim through this section of each chapter and move directly to the interpretation and theological implications, Keller’s most useful contribution to Book of Mormon studies.

Because of his theological training, Keller has a real ability to distinguish shades of meaning in Book of Mormon terms. His analysis introduces a number of new and provocative interpretations of Book of Mormon authors and presents important theological principles. Keller unabashedly uses his study of the Book of Mormon to build faith in his predominately LDS audience, but he is also careful to explain that his testimony of the Book of Mormon does not come from scientific studies.
Previous statistical studies of the Book of Mormon may have been too technical for many lay readers, but Roger Keller’s *Book of Mormon Authors* has greater appeal and should inform and inspire both casual and serious scholars. Keller admits that his work is not finished, and he encourages others to undertake similar studies, particularly studies of how Book of Mormon authors use synonyms for the terms he identifies. Such a study of synonyms would lead readers into even more nuances of meaning in their reading of this ancient text.

—Gary L. Hatch


The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints experienced exceptional worldwide growth and public recognition during the presidency of David O. McKay. This book, by an assistant professor at Wichita State University, is a study of President McKay’s rhetorical appeal to both members and nonmembers and a look at the role he played in creating a positive public image of the Church.

The author suggests that President McKay’s timely messages, such as “no other success can compensate for failure in the home,” filled the needs of many people—members and nonmembers alike. His clarion call, “every member a missionary,” not only inspired the LDS community to accelerate their missionary effort, but also motivated nonmembers to learn more about the Church. Consequently, Church membership rose dramatically during his presidency (1950–71). Because the book is written for a non-LDS academic audience, it also includes chapters explaining the importance of general conference to Church membership and how Latter-day Saints fit into the Christian community.

All readers will appreciate the positive effect President McKay’s exceptional rhetorical skills had on the Church’s public image and growing Church membership, but Latter-day Saints will also finish the book with the conviction that the Lord calls his leaders when their talents are most needed.

—Beth Hamilton


The 26th Annual Sperry Symposium centered on various Old Testament prophets, especially the little-known figures and obscure events in their lives. Interesting details and analyses are included, often for the first time in LDS circles—for example, on the mentoring of Jethro, the rebellion of Korah, the stability of the prophets in the Exile, the saviors referred to by Obadiah, the hopeful stories of Habakkuk and Abigail, and the blessings of the temple in the ministry of Haggai. More familiar themes
deal with Isaiah's indictments, the Millennium, the priesthood, and the eternal nature of the gospel.

The organizers have succeeded in bringing several new scholars to publication. Some of their names will be as unfamiliar to most readers as are the names of the prophets of whom they write. Readers should enjoy getting to know them all.

—John W. Welch


*Mormon Sisters* is a new edition of a book first published in 1976 by Emmeline Press Limited in Cambridge, Massachusetts. When the original work was published, it was considered to be a "pioneering" study of early Mormon history because prior to that time much of the focus of history had been on the male leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The book brought to the foreground many important issues about the lives of Mormon women in nineteenth-century Utah. Since the time of its first publication, many of the book's contributors have become prominent scholars. The book published in 1976 represents some of the earliest work by these now widely published and well-accepted historians.

The topics chosen for the essays in the book include biographical sketches as well as essays dealing with some of the political, economic, social, and spiritual activities of women in Utah during the nineteenth century—women's spiritual gifts, their roles in education, medicine, polygamy, and in the political sphere of promoting women's suffrage and Utah's statehood. One of the book's strengths is that the chapters focus on what "average" women did and how they coped with their situations. While there is some discussion of famous Utah women leaders, I especially appreciated the examination of "typical" women's lives—their struggles and joys—that leaves us with a much greater understanding of these women and allows us to feel a closer kinship with them.

Since this is a reprint of a previous book, some comparison with the first edition is warranted. Some of the most obvious changes to this edition are an additional preface by Claudia L. Bushman and a new introduction by Anne Firor Scott. The book also provides a reading list of books related to Mormon women that have been published since the previous edition. This list, along with the reading list published in the first edition, are helpful resources to readers interested in furthering their study of women's lives and issues in Mormon culture. Other changes in this new edition include nine different historical photographs and an update on the lives and careers of the book's contributors.

The content of the essays has not been changed or updated since the first edition. Since the essays focus on women in Utah during the nineteenth century, the
original research and the essays written in the 1970s would not have been outdated unless new evidence had come to light which negated the previous findings. In the case of these essays in *Mormon Sisters*, updating was not particularly necessary, and a couple of changes that were needed are mentioned in Scott’s introduction. Although the book would be different if it were written today, the authors were desirous of simply reprinting their essays without changes to allow a new generation of students and scholars to learn from their early work.

The essays found in *Mormon Sisters* are interesting and informative for both the serious student and the reader without much knowledge of the history of women in early Utah. The book is an excellent overview of women’s activities, concerns, and everyday lives and should be recommended reading for anyone desirous of gaining a broader understanding of Mormon women’s experiences in nineteenth-century Utah.

—Cynthia Doxey
Call for Short Studies

BYU Studies invites you, our readers, to teach one another. The good news is you don’t have to spend a year researching and writing a lengthy article. In this issue is an example—a short study of Christ healing a blind man—of what can be done. BYU Studies has published similar brief notes in the past. They are just a few pages long, but they report a significant idea or discovery. We encourage you to write and submit similar short studies.

Do you have a scholarly insight into a scripture? Would you like to share a study of a puzzling word or phrase? Have you uncovered something new about a cultural detail or historical event of interest to LDS readers? Write it up and send it in.

As Nephi reminds us, “By small means the Lord can bring about great things” (1 Ne. 16:29). Your short study may be just what someone is looking for.
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For Minerva Teichert there were only two reasons to paint—"either a thing must be very beautiful, or, it must be an important story." She loved the truths of the Book of Mormon; she felt determined to tell this important story through her masterful art.

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