

MORMON WOMEN'S DIARIES

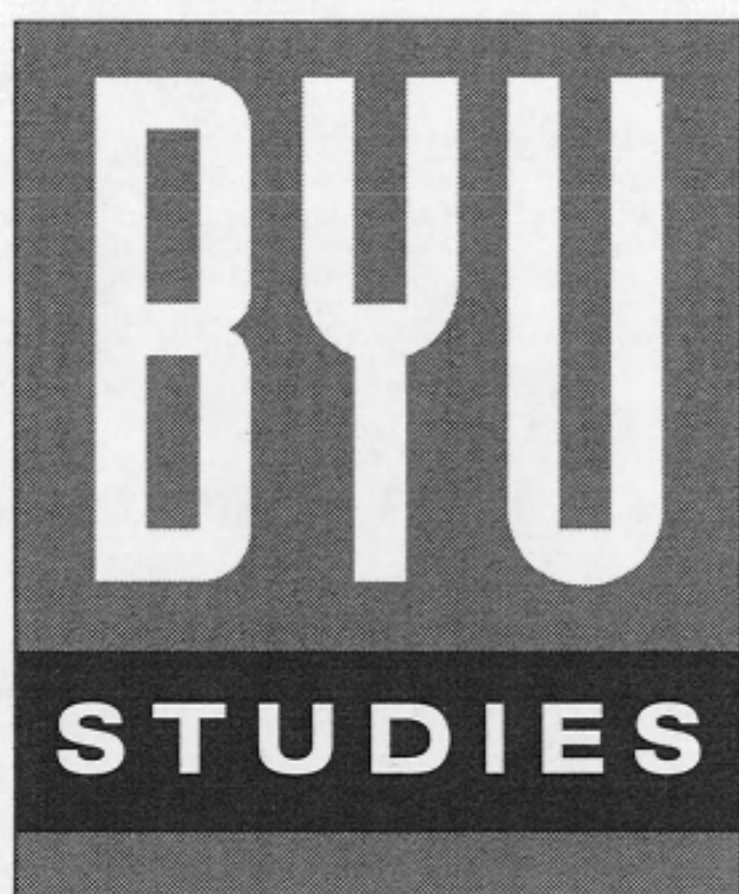
REFLECTIONS ON HOWARD W. HUNTER

JEWS IN LATTER-DAY SAINT THOUGHT

HERMETICISM AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

MATHEMATICAL PARABLES





A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT
JOURNAL

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

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In the office of the mayor of Jerusalem. Mayor Teddy Kollek with President Howard W. Hunter on January 27, 1987. Richard A. Hunter looking on. Courtesy Dorene Beagles.

Reflections on Howard W. Hunter in Jerusalem: An Interview with Teddy Kollek

A few months before President Hunter's death, the former mayor of Jerusalem paid tribute to the President as a quiet friend to all and a man of judgment one couldn't "not trust."

Mark Scott

Introduction

On September 5, 1994, former Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek was interviewed as part of a television documentary on the life of President Howard W. Hunter. The interview was conducted at the Jerusalem Center by Mark Scott of the LDS Church's Audiovisual Department. The former mayor, who himself has an extraordinary reputation, cited the great respect and admiration he held for President Hunter and said he would do anything requested of him for the President.

The documentary, *Howard W. Hunter: Prophet of God*, was produced for the Public Affairs Department of the Church and aired over the Church's satellite system between sessions of the October 1994 general conference. Only a small portion of the interview was used in the documentary. This article includes the complete interview.

Teddy Kollek

Teddy Kollek became mayor of Jerusalem in 1965 at age fifty-four and served in that position twenty-eight years. As mayor, Kollek worked to beautify the city, foster tolerance, and encourage "freedom of worship and free access to the Holy Places for all."¹

He was mayor at the time the Church built the Orson Hyde Memorial Gardens (dedicated in 1979 by Spencer W. Kimball) and the BYU Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies (dedicated in 1989 by President Howard W. Hunter). Those projects would not have been possible without Teddy Kollek's cooperation.

Kollek was born in Vienna and immigrated to Palestine in the mid-1930s. In 1939 he successfully negotiated with Adolph Eichmann to allow the release and emigration of three thousand Jewish youth who were incarcerated in concentration camps. From 1952 to 1964, he was the director general of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion's office. Although now in his eighties, Kollek remains active in raising funds for beautifying and restoring Jerusalem, as well as providing human services for his beloved city.

The Interview

Mark Scott: How long have you known President Hunter?

Teddy Kollek: Well, it's difficult for me to remember. I think certainly since the idea of a Mormon center in Jerusalem started. He came here as, of course, Elder Hunter, not as President Hunter. You had been here for quite some years in rented premises at Ramat Rachel, where you sent groups several times a year. But then you made up your mind that you wanted to be fully represented in Jerusalem and started negotiating about a site. I remember that vividly, talking several times about this with President Hunter. The first idea was to build it right next door to the King David Hotel in an open garden along the road, and I was very much against this. I thought you would be cramped in style. If there would be an argument—there is nothing in Jerusalem that is not argued about—then it would be right in the center of town, and it wouldn't do any good for the quietness and the pleasant atmosphere that you were normally accustomed to creating. So, finally, in all of these negotiations, when I met with President Hunter on frequent occasions, the decision fell on this plot here. It is so much superior to anything else that was contemplated before, and it shows his good judgment and his good taste.



At the dedication of the Orson Hyde Memorial Garden, 1979. Howard W. Hunter receiving a token of appreciation from then Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem. Seated (*left to right*): President Spencer W. Kimball, Camilla E. Kimball, Dorothy Elaine Hunter Rasmussen, President Ezra Taft Benson, and Flora A. Benson. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

S: What was your dialogue with him like at the time?

K: Well, he explained to me the importance of having a center, a Mormon center, here in Jerusalem. Then, of course, I accepted [the idea] gladly and happily; but this was the content of our conversation. I never imagined or hoped you would build something so beautiful and so impressive as this building where we are sitting. I know there were many people involved in this. Elder Faust had a great hand in this, and others who came over here. But Elder Hunter was no doubt the moving spirit and the one who stuck with it even during periods when he didn't feel so well physically. He thought about this all the time and just gave it a real push. I don't know, but I imagine you must have overspent your budget several times here. Not a penny was saved on the beauty of this place, and the results are remarkable. But without Elder Hunter, I am sure this would not have come about.

Of course, you know enough about the arguments that happened here. We are an argumentative people, all of us, whether it's the Israelis, certainly, but even throughout the various Christian denominations. They were not all happy about the Mormons coming in and made all kinds of difficulties. The Moslems are argumentative too. Everybody regards themselves as the only chosen one and has good arguments. Of course, we have the best, there's no question. I say this jokingly, but we are the oldest. Next year [1995], it will be 3,000 years since David the King came and made the capital of the Jewish kingdom here. This, of course, is decisive for us and in a sense is decisive for all the others who came after that, based on this.

S: How did President Hunter deal with the problems as they arose? What was his style?

K: He was always full of equanimity, but I have a slight suspicion that he didn't quite appreciate the fierceness of the arguments that were fought here. In a simple sense, this fell to a very great extent to me. For months and months outside city hall, I had pickets of Hassidic Jews who believed that this was the worst thing that could happen to Jerusalem . . . there's always a worst thing that could happen to Jerusalem; that's part of the atmosphere. Altogether, it is a much quieter city than people know. I had the good fortune last month to be in Seattle, a nice and quiet and pleasant city, probably the type of city in which every American would like to live. It is the same size as we are, and it turns out they have exactly ten times as many cases of homicide during the year as we have (and we have an equal number of citizens). But in our case, every one becomes a headline in the papers. There, they are a pleasant, nice, hard-working community, and they get over it easily. Here, everything is being trumpeted on television and in the media and the papers. The fact that you lived through all this quietly is to a very great extent to the credit of Elder Hunter. I'm sure inside he knew the difficulties, but he dealt with them in a sensible, a nice way. He could just as easily have thrown up his hands and said, "You don't want



Jerusalem Center, 1994. Looking northwest toward the BYU Jerusalem Center of Near Eastern Studies. Describing the center as “so beautiful and so impressive,” Teddy Kollek attributes much of the success of this project to President Hunter, who “was no doubt the moving spirit and the one who stuck with it even during periods when he didn’t feel so well physically.” Courtesy Mark Philbrick.

this to go. Why should we bother?” But he had set his mind on having this institution here, and this is what he carried out. We are really deeply grateful to have concerts in this hall here, to see this view of the Temple Mount and the whole of Jerusalem, its churches and its mosques and its ancient monuments and the Rockefeller museum and whatever you want. It is no doubt the best thing that could happen to us.

S: Do you consider President Hunter a good friend?

K: No question . . . no question. But I think he is a good friend of mankind. He is particularly attached to Jerusalem and this building. I haven’t seen all your Mormon temples all over, but of the ones I’ve seen, there is none to touch this one, this architecture, and this, of course, we owe to him. He is attached to this building particularly, but he is a man who is a friend of mankind, and that’s what makes him so special.

S: What are some of the particular remembrances you have of your association with him?

K: Well, the more recent are the stronger ones. Recently, we were really worried about his health, but he came here in spite of his health, and he didn't miss a single necessary trip. He came sometimes under very difficult physical circumstances, but he didn't miss a single meeting or a single decision. So recent memories show his real strengths in a very quiet way—his tremendous strengths in caring for the church, for his community, for his assignment, and for this building here in the city of Jerusalem.

S: If he were here and you could talk to him again, are there some things you would like to say to him . . . that maybe you don't say sometimes?

K: Well, I don't think he likes praise. I don't think he likes people to use long, unusual phrases. Therefore, I would only again repeat my very simple "thank you" to him, but in my heart I know what it means, and I hope he does.

This is a particularly beautiful day today. And if I could utter a wish today on the eve of our new year, I wish I could take President Hunter on this beautiful terrace, and we could look together at Jerusalem in this very excellent light, with the newly decorated mosque that was newly gilded by King Hussein and looks now even nicer than it did before, and the various church steeples and other important buildings that we can see from here. I think it would give him great pleasure to do this, and it would be for me a great honor to accompany him on such a tour of this beautiful terrace looking at Jerusalem.

S: This is such a remarkable place. So many religions and so many, as you said, vocal religions, where does the Mormon Church fit into all of this?

K: Well, forgive me, but you are the latest . . . the youngest child. Very often the youngest child is the most beloved child. Now you certainly came here in great style, and you took even the opposition—and it was a strong opposition—quietly, knowing that eventually your very presence and the way you



View from the Jerusalem Center, 1994. Looking southwest toward Jerusalem through some of the center's many arches. Courtesy Mark Philbrick.

presented yourselves here would conquer all the opposition. That you surely have done in a magnificent way. I don't know whether there is still some opposition or some suspicion or so around, but the way you have stuck to your undertakings here in this city—not to do any proselytizing because you know how sensitive people are, in a generation in which we lost six million Jews during the Holocaust, not to lose Jews through proselytizing—your very action, the way you did it, I think, conquered everybody. Because I can't lose any more [elections] as mayor—after the last election, eight terms, 28 years, was apparently sufficient. So here I am in a personal way thanking you very much for what you did, for what you stand for, and for how you express it.

S: When in the discussions with President Hunter, that became an issue—not proselytizing and so on—how was that handled by President Hunter?

- K: I think he understood our misgivings. Jews have suffered over generations, for a long time at the hands of the churches, the militant churches. Maybe the thing that comes first to mind is our position in Spain and Portugal. The Crusades are directly connected with this country, during which many, many people suffered. So when a single word, *proselytizing*, is mentioned, it means something very abhorrent to us . . . particularly now, as I said, in the time and generation which lost six million people in the most cruel possible fashion. I thought that all these things didn't have to be explained to President Hunter. He understood this perfectly. But he was also, I am sure, so composed because he knew how well you would overcome this by the way you are carrying yourself and you are acting. And this is what happened in every way. He understood us. The church acted the way it is accustomed to act—not to shout, to keep its promises in a quiet way. And all this together was a combination which led, no doubt, to your becoming victorious.
- S: You obviously trusted him very early. Why is that?
- K: Well, if you meet him, you can't not trust him. It's as simple as all that, you know. I knew it was not an easy thing for the Mormon Church and for him to say, "We shall not proselytize," because that is one of your tenets. This is what you are doing in many parts of the world. It couldn't have been easy for him, but I had no doubt that if he undertook this he would stick to it.
- S: Let me ask you just one last question. Are there some particular qualities of President Hunter that you especially like.
- K: With all my high regard for the Mormon Church and its members and the way you all behave—and I saw you individually and I saw you when almost 2,000 came here for the opening of the Orson Hyde Garden around the corner here—he is even quieter, if possible, more simple, more direct than all of you. And that is very impressive.



Interviewing Teddy Kollek. Mark Scott is holding a microphone. Teddy Kollek is seated on the right. The others are a free-lance film crew from Jerusalem. BYU Jerusalem Center for Near Eastern Studies, September 5, 1994. Courtesy Mark Scott.

NOTE

¹Teddy Kollek to Friends, September 14, 1993, Jerusalem. Copy in the possession of Robert C. Taylor, Provo Office of the BYU Jerusalem Center for near Eastern Studies.



Margaret Gay Judd Clawson (1831-1912). Margaret Clawson's "Rambling Reminiscence," written in 1906, details her journey across the plains in 1849, when she was a teenager, and her subsequent life in Utah. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

“Tryed and Purified as Gold”: Mormon Women’s “Lives”

A journal entry is a piece saved from the fabric of a woman’s day. Ragged, incomplete, misshapen—only its color and pattern are left to show how it fits with its mates.

Maureen Ursenbach Beecher

“And now that I have written this long, disconnected rambling remembrances of the past,” wrote Mormon pioneer Margaret Judd Clawson in the late nineteenth century, “I Scarsly know what to do with it For who Can be interested in the little things of [the] Common, everyday life of another?”¹

I, for one, and my colleagues are interested. Since the nascence some thirty years ago of the study of women’s history, we have valued every such text for the richness of its details, its “little things.” From just such “rambling remembrances” as those of Margaret Clawson, we have been able to extract the details which, analyzed and synthesized, allow us to construct and illustrate a history of the Mormon past, female.

As I have worked in archives collections abstracting an overall picture, however, I have realized that my joy was not in the generalizations I could draw, but in each life I was reading. Something in the handwritten, sometimes penciled, often naive, misspelled, uncluttered account each woman gave of herself drew me in and held me fast. I would find the single detail or particular description I needed for my historical analysis, then, guilt nudging at my elbow to move to other sources, I would read on, and on, and on. Each writer, whom I viewed first as informant, became by stages an individual, a woman, an acquaintance, my friend, my sister. The historical data became a by-product of what is now to me a much more satisfying search: the life writings of Mormon women, a literature of its own. Richard Cracroft and Neal Lambert, in their anthology *A Believing People*,

introduced me to Mary Goble Pay's description of her family's arrival in Utah with the handcart companies:

We arrived in Salt Lake City nine o'clock at night the 11th of December 1856. Three out of four that were living were frozen. My mother was dead in the wagon.

Bishop Hardy had us taken to a home in his ward and the brethren and the sisters brought us plenty of food. We had to be careful and not eat too much as it might kill us we were so hungry.

Early next morning Bro. Brigham Young and a doctor came. The doctor's name was Williams. When Bro. Young came in he shook hands with us all. When he saw our condition—our feet frozen and our mother dead—tears rolled down his cheeks.²

The passage defies analysis by any of the criteria by which I was taught to recognize good writing. Simple sentences, or run-on, or fragmentary. Interjections. Dangling modifiers. Little words—only two with more than two syllables in the whole passage. But a Hopkins sonnet or a John Donne sermon has not the power to move me as has this honest piece so simply written. The literary canon must expand to allow it a place.

For our Mormon manuscript collections are rich with the life writings of ordinary women from our recent past. Brigham Young University's Harold B. Lee Library, among other local repositories, has such gems packed away in fiberdex boxes, often untouched from year to year. Not the written-for-publication works of famous women, these are either the daily jottings of mothers, wives, daughters, or the women's mature attempts to set their lives in order, to explain themselves, not to the world, as Newman attempted in his *Apologia pro vita sua*, but to their children and their children's children in the Puritan tradition of testimony bearing and lasting testament. In loose sheets or bound notebooks, they are as imperfect as the lives they represent, as incomplete as a peek through the keyhole, as unfinished as mortality.

For all their simplicity and honesty, the life narratives of women are deceptive representations. We see only traces. That is surely part of their appeal—the intimation of life's hidden intricacies, which connect the bits we see. In a voice imitative of that of the female life writer, Canadian novelist Margaret Atwood wrote:

It's impossible to say a thing exactly the way it was, because what you say can never be exact, you always leave something out, there



Mary Goble Pay (1843–1913). Her ingenious life sketch, begun in 1896 and finished in 1909, speaks poignantly of her experiences as a British immigrant, pioneer, mother, midwife, and community builder. Courtesy Deseret Book.

are too many parts, sides, crosscurrents, nuances; too many gestures, which could mean this or that, too many shapes which can never be fully described, too many flavors, in the air or on the tongue, half-colors, too many.³

For how, in discourse that is at best only conditionally referential and subject to infinite play of meaning, can one recreate a life? a year? a day? a single moment? Try as we would to hold a mirror up to life, we are faced with the physical fact that the reflection is at best a reverse image in two dimensions. “In spite of the fact that autobiography is impossible,”

wrote Philippe LeJeune, “this in no way prevents it from existing.”⁴ To the general impossibility of writing a life, add the specific difficulty, occasioned by her gender, of composing a woman’s life: a woman whose literary models were those created mainly by men, about men’s lives, in a society that values what men value. Despite the fact that the first extant autobiography in English was written by a woman, the genre is essentially male: Augustine, Goethe, Rousseau, Bunyan, Franklin—the canon is theirs. Even that noble first autobiography, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, written in about 1450, lay undiscovered until the mid-twentieth century.

Two centuries after Kempe, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, penned “A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding and Life” as an appendage to her much longer biography of her husband. Anticipating the criticism of her peers in seventeenth-century

England, she asked rhetorically, "Why hath this lady writ her own life?" The question is real enough—in publishing her own autobiography, Lady Cavendish was exploring territory inhabited largely, though not exclusively, by men. "I hope my readers will not think me vain for writing my life," she began, adding that of herself "none care to know whose daughter she was or whose wife she is, or how she was bred, or what fortunes she had, or how she lived, or what humour or disposition she was of." She hoped her text would create and preserve her identity, "lest after-ages should mistake, in not knowing I was daughter to one Master Lucas of St. Johns, near Colchester, in Essex, second wife to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle; for my Lord having had two wives, I might easily have been mistaken, especially if I should die and my Lord marry again."⁵

Margaret was right. Historically she had no individuality separate from that of her father and her husband; the existence of other daughters and other wives might obliterate from memory her very being. "Ultimately," writes critic Sidonie Smith, "the issue is one of identity versus anonymity. Cavendish is writing for her very life."⁶

Mormon women autobiographers likewise struggled to justify their efforts at life writing. "Who Can be interested?" apologized Margaret Clawson. "It has been a pasttime, and pleasure to me recalling the little incidents, And occurrences of the long ago, And this is my only excuse for these lengthy reminiscences."⁷ It should not surprise us, then, that in Davis Bitton's *Guide to Mormon Diaries* the ratio of women's to men's life writings in Utah repositories is about one in ten, a discrepancy, I suggest, created as much by our failure to value and preserve women's life writings as by their failure to write.⁸

As we broaden the literary canon to include these texts, we establish a corpus of the life writings of ordinary women. How do we then approach them critically? What principles can guide our reading? How do they reach us, these private pieces?

First there is the question of genre. For diaries—or journals—differ from autobiographies—or memoirs or reminiscences—and both differ from letters or recorded conversations. Let me use a homely metaphor to make some distinctions. Mary White was one of the West Texas quiltmakers interviewed by Patricia Cooper and

Norma Bradley Buford for their 1978 book, *The Quilters*. For Mary, quilting was a way to see the world:

You can't always change things. Sometimes you don't have no control over the way things go. Hail ruins the crops, or fire burns you out. And then you're given so much to work with in a life and you have to do the best you can with what you've got. That's what piecing is. The materials is passed on to you or is all you can afford to buy. . . that's what's given to you. Your fate. But the way you put them together is your business. You can put them in any order you like.⁹

The image works as well to explain not only the living of a life, but also the writing of one. Each recorded moment, each diary entry, is a piece saved from the fabric of a woman's day. Ragged, incomplete, misshapen—only its color and its pattern left to show how it fits with its mates. Like fabric scraps, a diary is a jumble of unconnected pieces tossed together into a box and pushed under the bed.

My own mother had such heaps of fabric pieces. Whenever she sewed, we children had the task of picking up the scraps. The criterion for which pieces were saved and which were discarded was their size: half a quilt square was large enough to keep, since two pieces could be sewn together to make one four-by-four-inch block. Just recently, because it was worn beyond mending, I discarded an old block quilt made from mother's sewing scraps. It was like losing my childhood, for I recognized blocks from my brother's striped pajamas, a pink print dress of my own, and an apron my mother had worn.

Sometimes, after I had moved from home, my sister would find a particularly fine fabric, or plan a special dress, too good not to tell about. She would cut a sample, tidy its edges, attach to it some of the trimmings and a sketch of the style, and send it to me. That's a letter, shaped according to the writer's relationship to the intended recipient. These letters, too, often became part of a collection loosely stuffed into a hatbox on the closet shelf.

Sometimes the fabric pieces just stayed where they were; sometimes, however, in a season of relative quiet, a woman would pull them out and make the small pieces into larger blocks, bits of life history—stars or log cabins or nine-square blocks—intending to put them together, some day. She would see patterns emerging, possibilities she had not imagined. Her initial sorting might lead to a new focus, a wider view. The backward look might well lead

to a new dream of a possible future, the reshaping of the past to a restructuring of the future.¹⁰

Years later, having survived the more demanding necessities of her life, a woman might eventually pull out her box of swatches or blocks and arrange them into a full quilt top. “You can put them in any order you like,” Mary White had said. Wedding Ring, Log Cabin, Windmill, Flying Geese, or Crazy Quilt—she would now create a thing of beauty in which every piece connected artistically and permanently to its neighbor and every block had its partner. Emergent patterns became permanent, each piece part of the whole. Each piece that the collector still liked, that is, or would acknowledge as hers. That is an autobiography. Its intricacy or simplicity tells more about the woman at the time of its quilting than of the blocks at the time of their origin. It uses the stuff of the past merely as the raw material out of which the present is recreated.

Take Annie Clark Tanner, for example—you know her as *A Mormon Mother* from her fine autobiography published by her son Obert in 1969.¹¹ From first to last, we have not the child Annie growing up, the girl Annie attending Brigham Young Academy, the young woman Annie marrying into polygamy, or the mother Annie rearing her children alone in Farmington. Instead each part is cut to shape and placed in the whole to reveal to the mature, reflecting Annie—and to the reader—the meaning of the contradictions in her life. In composing the autobiography, Annie drew on her collection of her diaries and letters, which, her son later told me, were destroyed. How sad. In the spaces between the diary and the autobiography, what might we learn of growth, of struggle, of developing self-awareness?

Then we might have of Annie what we have of Rhoda Dykes Burgess, whose diary, as typed by her granddaughter, recently came to hand. Begin anywhere—it hardly matters. Try January 15, 1882. Pine Valley, Utah.

It is snowing very hard to day there has been no meeting nor Sunday school most of the men are away at work I am not well to day Eliza has been writing the young folks are having a sleigh ride oh how I miss my Dear Mother when I am sick.¹²

Then begin to trace the pieces. “Today’s” snow will last for months, even though this is Pine Valley, not thirty miles from St. George—



Rhoda Ann Dykes Burgess (1845–1918). Rhoda Burgess kept a daily account of her pioneering experiences in southern Utah's Pine Valley and Grass Valley. She bore eleven children there and reared all but two to adulthood. Courtesy Lois Shepherd Beck.

Utah's usual hot spot. The Burgesses have come down from their farm in Grass Valley, further up the mountains, where the winter is even harder, to live until summer. It helps to have neighbors, especially in winter. In spring, Rhoda and George will again move their household the twelve miles north.

It is Sunday as Rhoda writes. Even so, the men are away at work. The men are usually away at work. "I am not well today" is a rare complaint for Rhoda, and a foreshadowing: in three weeks, she will bear her tenth child and sixth daughter. On the eve of the birthing, Rhoda will write:

I have been cleaning washed and Ironed a littel the Children are home from school Geo is back from Grassvalley supper is over and the littel ones are in bed the snow is quite deep and the weather very cold I am so lonely to night and selfish enough to wish my Dear old Mother here with me.¹³

But in January, Rhoda's sister Eliza is here with her, writing. Follow her story. Eliza had married George's brother Hiram in 1858, six years before Rhoda and George married. A second and third wife entered Hiram's family, and Eliza found a better place with Rhoda, to whom she seems almost a sister wife. Had she not sprained her ankle four days before this writing, she might have been more helpful. What was Eliza writing—a diary of her own? a letter? to whom? saying what?

“The young folks are having a sleigh ride.” Splendid, for the Mormon community had little else but its own entertainment. Who of the children are there? George Edward (Eddie) is sixteen. Perhaps he is along for the fun now, but his father will need him to ride over to Grass Valley in the evening to tend the animals there. Rhoda will worry that he will freeze in the cold, of course. Perhaps he has lagged behind in order to court Emily Jeffery, who will come ever so surely into Rhoda’s diary as Eddie brings her into the family three years from now.

Mary Alice (Allie) at thirteen well deserves the sleigh ride. The weekly washing falls to her, and the cleaning when Rhoda is confined. Allie churns, cooks, and helps out at the neighbors’. Before Primary each week, a Mrs. Jones is teaching her to sew by hand, and when Rhoda’s sewing machine arrives, Allie will surely learn that too. It seems much for so young a girl, but her older sister Lillie, who would have been their mother’s main help, had died three months before Allie was born.

The next oldest daughter to Allie is Ella Mae (Ellie), nine, not quite the help her sister is. She brings in the wood and often must tend Willard, seven; Horace, four; and Lucy, three, while Allie is away or working. In two weeks, Ellie and Howard, eleven, will be feverish and covered with rashes—measles, which will last through Rhoda’s confinement. Did Rhoda fear the effect of measles on an unborn child? Did she know the fetus within her was already beyond that danger? Or did she worry alone in silence? Did the little ones catch the measles, or would she have that to worry about that later? Rhoda doesn’t say. About the time they would have broken out, Rhoda would be facing her own confinement.

Anticipating the birthing without “my dear old mother” is particularly trying; Dorcas Keeling Dykes (Grandma to the children, Ma to Rhoda) had been sick through most of December. The diary reads:

Dec 12 the Children came from Grandmas this morning said she was sick so I hurried down found her in bed she said she was a littel better she had had a chill . . .

Dec 13 I have been sick all day . . . so I did not go down till evening found her much better she said she wanted her supper so we got it she ate hearty seemed to enjoy it

Dec 14 Ma is not so well to day has that old pain in her side

Dec 15 Ma is no better and yet she does not seem very sick her appetite is quite good and her mouth is all broke out with cold sores . . .

Dec 16 Ma sent word to me not to come down to day as she felt much better I am so glad . . .

Dec 17 I hurried down to Mas this morning found she had spit blood all night . . . I hope it is nothing serious I have seen her spit blood before this Brother Lloyd has just administered to her I do wish George was here—evening—Lord help us to say *Thy will be done* our Dear old Mother has passed away to a better world than this.

“The snow is falling on her grave today,” Rhoda writes as she draws one day nearer her own passage through “the valley of the shadow of death” that was birthing.

So, patch after patch, the quilt pieces jumble into Rhoda's box—gingham for Allie; calico for Ellie; corduroy for Eddie, to keep him warm; leather for George, perhaps; and ecru lace from Ma's shawl. Life. Raw life. Day by tedious day. “I have been piecing a flannel quilt and tearing carpet rags all day.” The fabric of a woman's life.

But not always so heavy with responsibility. Take Lizzie Conrad, nearly nineteen, and waiting for her true love to return, writing to her diary as though to a friend, and signaling with a squiggle each day a letter arrives from her Hyrum:

Little Journal I haven't written any in you for a long time I have neglected you and my mind is getting rusty. Sacred little book you will keep my secrets wont you.

The persona is innocence itself, springtime pregnant with promise but threatened by approaching summer:

21st of March [1894] This is my birthday. I am 19 years old. I ought to be a woman now. Oh what a responcibility. The oldest one of the family ought to be able to take the place of ma. [Lizzie's mother will give birth next month.] Hyrum is coming home, am I happy or sorry? I am glad he is coming home, but sorry I have not been a better girl and proven my self more worthy of him. . . . I was such a child when he went away and a very thoughtless girl and Hyrum the boy that he was, sent away to preache the Gospel, he will come home with a great deal of experience and a strong testamony of the truth. I wonder if I will ever be worthy of him.



Mary Elizabeth "Lizzie"
Conrad Muhlstein
(1875–1938). Shown
here with her hus-
band Hyrum, ca.
1910, Lizzie is seen
in her diary not as
the decorous wife
and mother, but as
the fervent and
impassioned teen-
ager who waited for
Hyrum's return from
his mission. Courtesy
Joyce Muhlstein.

Hyrum does return, and the diary, like the velveteen rabbit, is forgotten a while. A year passes.

Well my little book it has been a long time since I've told you how I felt. I'd feel pretty well if I'd done right all the time but I have not. I thought at one time I had more trouble than any one, but the old saying is, that time is the great healer of all wounds, and he has partly healed mine. After having taken a fancy to the German lad [and here we may remember that the manuscript is catalogued in our BYU archive under the name Lizzie Conrad *Mublestein*] his folks took it into their heads that it must not be so. They there fore decided to seperate us by the Atlantic Ocean, and thought that I would soon marry and their son would be saved but that scheme didnt work. Hyrum and I felt the same as of old towards each other. His folks still treat me cool. He left for Scofield on the 15 of May to raise some money to pay of[f] his mission debt and of corse I am left alone again.¹⁴

The course of true love, et cetera, et cetera. But *true* true love it seldom is. For personal texts are the fictions we create in order to make our lives acceptable to ourselves. By omissions, by evasions, or by outright untruths, we reshape events to our liking. "I don't remember why I was lying here," observed a young friend on

reading her own teenage diary, “but I know this is a lie.”¹⁵ Our memories are flawed—distorted—as people discover when they share their version of an event with that of a sibling or a spouse. But within every text is imbedded a deeper truth, a transcendent reality trying to emerge. Take this reflective account of a Canadian woman looking back to her central Utah childhood.

Maydell Cazier Palmer was a queenly personage in my young world. She and her stake president husband came occasionally to our ward and shared Sunday dinner with us, my father then being bishop. I stretched to understand the sermons of the dignified man, his slight palsy seeming to add emphasis to his words, but I cowered in absolute awe of the woman, his wife, who seemed to tower by his side in regal silence. She was not silent, I discovered as I matured, but she never occupied our pulpit that I recall. Educated, articulate, outspoken, she had earned, by her conscientious examination of her life and her surroundings, a reputation for asking probing questions. In her autobiography, written in her later years, one sees her attempt to anticipate the end from the beginning. There we must doubt, objectively, the story by which she explains to herself the stance of questioning at which she arrived.

Born in 1889, she lived what she remembers as a happy childhood with her parents and her two sisters in Nephi, Utah. After 1903, however, her father seemed nowhere present. Actually he had gone to Canada, taking with him his second wife, duly sealed in Salt Lake before the 1890 manifesto. His brother Orson, who had also emigrated, occasionally returned to Utah. Maydell remembered:

On one of these visits he came to see my mother, and I innocently asked him why my father did not come home to visit us. A peculiar expression was exchanged between the two and a meaningless answer given. A few days later I put this question to my mother and received the answer she had hidden from me for these years. “Your father is living in Canada with a woman whom he has introduced as his wife.”¹⁶

The threads of this story are so tenuous, the spaces so open, I am reminded of a piece of Battenberg lace—just enough fabric to connect the threads but not enough to fill in the holes. How could so bright and analytical a young woman, living in a Mormon town

where marshals had so recently threatened the security of nearly half the families in the community and at a time when hearings in Washington were accusing Mormons of clinging to their polygamous marriages, have achieved her midteens without suspecting the cause of her father's absence or sensing the sorrow in her mother's silence?

Maydell continues:

I thought for a second she must be joking but when I saw her face full of anguish I realized she spoke the truth. Suddenly my fairyland disappeared. I found that the idol of my girlhood had clay feet. I sobbed in grief.¹⁷

Telescoping her fears, her suspicions, her mother's shame into one brief moment, Maydell has encapsulated for herself and divulged to us what she later saw as a turning point in her faith: "The thinking of all my life about revelation has been tempered by this traumatic experience."¹⁸ That the event occurred just as Maydell related it is unlikely; that the resulting attitude toward prophetic dicta remained is undeniable.

Before he allowed the Church historian to look at his diary, my grandfather carefully razored out small sections. More frequently we totally omit details which belie the persona we are trying to present. Spaces. Silences. Perhaps the most interesting part of the autobiographical record is what is left out and why. In my grandfather's case, notes were deleted after inclusion. Perhaps they reflected ill on another person; perhaps they spoke a truth which, in the days of post-Manifesto polygamy, could be damaging to the Church; perhaps they simply contradicted the self he wished to portray. That another of my ancestors noted the birth of one of his children in the margin, as an afterthought, need not suggest that the birth meant little to him; it could as easily reflect his sense of what a man's journal ought to concern itself with.

Women, too, have been known to suppress parts of their records or destroy the entire record. More often what happens in a woman's world seems to her simply too mundane, too routine, too insignificant to warrant mention. The "dailiness" of a woman's life, Laurel Ulrich calls it; the ongoing "woman's work" that creates the



Maydell Cazier Palmer (1889–1984). Born in central Utah, Maydell Palmer wrote her autobiography shortly before her death, outlining her life in Lethbridge, Canada, and extensive travels with her scientist husband. Photo, ca. 1975, courtesy Delbert Palmer.

core around which the household members build their lives; the “little things” Margaret Clawson deemed of no interest.

Emma Lorena Barrows Brown, called in the 1880s as president of the Wasatch Stake Relief Society, kept a lean diary of her activities. The few events and activities she considered worthy of mention are framed by the omission of the ones she did not deign to note. “At home,” she would write, summarizing for herself the demanding tasks of keeping house in rural Charleston, Utah. In contrast, Relief Society activities are spelled out in her 1878 entries:

Sun 28 [July 1878] went to R Society Meeting Meeting comenced at 9 Oclock Sister E R Snow & Zina Young spoke and gave ous some good instruction went to Sunday School then went to Bro Murdock to Dinner went to afternoon Meeting come home and got Supper then went to the Y[oung] L[adies'] Meeting Sis Snow Zina Young spoke had a good meeting

Mon 29 went to Wallsburgh to Meeting Eat Dinner to Br Camp had a good meeting come home

Tues 30 went to Heber to meeting had a good meeting Eat Dinner to Br Shelton then come home

Wed 31 at home Sister Snow and Zina come had a good visit George comenced to mow

August 1st. Th George went to Battle Creek to take Sister Snow and Zina and Lucy and Chas Seen them get on the cars to go to the City wash.¹⁹

90

14
Sat at home

15
Sun Sick Geo came home

16
Mon Geo & Brig went to Ranch

17
Tue work

18
Wed in the afternoon went to
the Ranch. Gemmet Rhoads went
went down with Nipper Fuller
and Bro Blackie

19
Thu went on the hills back
of our place Lizza came over

20
Fri started home on a load
of hay

21
Sat at home

22
Sun at home Geo went after
the cows

23
Mon at home

24
Tue at home

25
Wed at home

26
Thu at home

27
Fri at home

28
Sat at home

29
Sun went to meeting

30
Mon work

Emma Lorena Barrows Brown diary, p. 90. The entries on this page, spanning August 19–30, 1880, are brief and repetitious. Whether they reflect the quality of Emma's life at that time is unknown. The page is shown at actual size. Courtesy Jean Duke Howe.

The last terse word marks the catch-up of the household tasks which Sister Brown had set aside during the visits of her august guests; Monday's washing had had to wait until the sisters' departure on Thursday. There follows another weekend of church activities, conference in Heber, and guests to dinner. Finally on Monday the daily activities recommence in necessary, but uneventful, similarity, reflected in the diary by a series of short entries: "at home and washed"; "at home all day"; "quilted a quilet raining"; "at home ironed"; "at home."

Whether the task of diary keeping became too onerous, the weather too unremittingly hot, or Emma Lorena simply unable to find significance in her activities, in August 1880 the life of the thirty-seven-year-old wife, mother, sister, and president is reflected in an even more sparse series:

Thu 19 went on the hills back of our place Lizza came over

Fri 20 started home on a load of hay

Sat 21 at home

Sun 22 at home Geo went after the Cows

Mon 23 at home

Tus 24 at home

Wed 25 at home

Thu 26 at home

Fri 27 at home

Sat 28 at home

Sun 29 went to Meeting

Mon 30 wash

The columnar appearance of August's entries, the apparent sameness of her days may well have discouraged Emma Lorena. After three similarly brief September entries, she inscribed the date and day along the margin and left six weeks' worth of empty spaces from "Fri 3 at home" to October 22. Then she noted, after a space of a word's length, "& Ethan came home." A similar hiatus commenced again November 11 and continued to December 14, when even the dates no longer appear. Empty pages represent January and February 1881, designating presumably the diarist's intent to summarize those months later. Then the passage of March through

November is simply noted by month. September is the exception: "On the 23 of this month William Leonard Brown was Born." Whether pregnancy had been more than usually difficult, the summer more than usually hot, the work more than usually dreary, or the baby more than normally difficult, only Emma Lorena can know. For us it is left to ponder the silences, the spaces, and their meaning in the framework of the whole diary. Reading on, we feel relief when in November "Geo went to Provo to meet Sister Horn and Howard" and the Relief Society work resumes for President Brown. It is easier to deal with the positive values than the negative spaces.

Margaret Judd Clawson, with whom we began this essay, wrote in full and delightful detail of her young womanhood, of crossing the plains, of performing in the Salt Lake Theater, of young motherhood, of the social life which whirled around her family. But of the backstage romance and her marriage as second wife to Hiram Clawson, she writes only: "In 1852 I was sealed to Hiram B. Clawson by President Brigham Young and I have no cause to regret ever having taken that step For he has been a Kind, Considerate husband and a most indulgent Father to all of his Children." Four years later, when Margaret was four months pregnant with their son Rudger, Hiram married a third time. Her pain and that of Hiram's first wife, Ellen Spencer Clawson, are reflected in that woman's letter to her friend Ellen McGary in San Bernardino telling of the new marriage: "I think perhaps Margaret feels worse than I do for she was the last, and I suppose thought he would never get another, the same as I did."²⁰ In an autobiography written presumably for her children, Margaret would not share the anguish, the ache, the sorrow engendered by her marriage in polygamy. Nor perhaps could she acknowledge the seemingly illicit delight of being courted and won by a man already someone else's husband. In any case, in her reminiscence, as in so many Mormon women's accounts, her soon-to-be husband is a shadow, a phantom, seldom named or seen.

In her letter, however, Margaret's sister-wife Ellen is freer—she knows, or thinks she knows, that her words will be kept private by one who will understand. After that third marriage, Ellen confides to her friend:

I feel as though it would do me good to write, for my heart is rather heavy. I never thought I could care again if Hiram got a dozen wives, but it seems as though my affections return with double force, now that I feel as if I had lost him but I expect he thinks as much of me as ever, only in a different way you know a new wife is a new thing, and I know it is impossible for him to feel any different towards her just at present, still it make[s] my heart ache to think I have not the same love, but I console myself with thinking it will subside into affection, the same as it is with me, for you know the honey-moon cannot always last at least if you dont know it now you will some-time perhaps.

Words tumble pell-mell from Ellen's pen, her grief revealed to her friend. Such intimate disclosure is rare in an autobiography and in most diaries. In deigning to read such a letter, we who seek to understand the burdens of the past count ourselves among the writer's confidants and assume with reverence an obligation of compassion and love. We, too, become sisters and friends.

Quilts, embroideries, tapestries, fabrics of women's lives—these personal narratives. Loosely woven or still on the loom, bobbins dangling, colors yet to be interwoven; or tightly bound and neatly finished, ends tucked in, seams hidden. Unique as the mind that conceived them, the hands that made them. They warm us, please our eye, delight our sensibilities, evoke our love. Let us not participate longer in the silencing of the voices of our sisters of past and present. Let us find their texts, read them, share them, and learn from them. In them we find ourselves.

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NOTES

¹Margaret Gay Judd Clawson, "Rambling Reminiscence of Margaret Gay Judd Clawson," holograph, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). Courtesy of Jean Greenwood and Kathlene Fife Jackson, who transcribed the text. See also *Relief Society Magazine* 6 (1919): 257-62, 317-27, 391-400, 474-79; and excerpts in Gordon Irving, ed., "Teenage Pioneer: The Adventures of Margaret Judd Clawson," *New Era* 4 (May 1974): 44-50. BYU's

Religious Studies Center is publishing the entire Clawson manuscript as prepared by Kathlene Fife Jackson in a volume edited by Claudine Foudray Gallacher.

²Mary Goble Pay, "Death Strikes the Handcart Company," in *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints*, eds. Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), 107.

³Margaret Atwood, *The Handmaid's Tale* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), 134.

⁴Philippe LeJeune, *On Autobiography*, quoted in Helen M. Buss, *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 3.

⁵Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, "A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding and Life," *The Lives of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, and of His Wife, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. Mark Antony Lover [Lower] (London: John Russell, 1892), 309-10, quoted in Domna C. Stanton, *The Female Autograph: Theory and Practice of Autobiography from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 14.

⁶Sidonie Smith, *A Poetics of Women's Autobiography: Marginality and the Fictions of Self-Representation* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 100.

⁷Clawson, "Rambling Reminiscence."

⁸Davis Bitton, *Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977).

⁹Patricia Cooper and Norma Bradley Buford, *The Quilters: Women and Domestic Art* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1978), 20.

¹⁰I appreciate the extension made to the quilt metaphor by William A. Wilson: "Once we have selected the final design, pattern takes over and guides our choices." Bert Wilson to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, March 19, 1984, in possession of the author.

¹¹Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography by Annie Clark Tanner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1969).

¹²"The Journal of Rhoda Ann Dykes Burgess," typescript in possession of the author, courtesy of Lois Shepherd Beck and Jill Mulvay Derr.

¹³"The Journal of Rhoda Ann Dykes Burgess," February 6, 1882.

¹⁴Mary Elizabeth Conrad Muhlestein, Diary, 1891-1900, holograph, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Muhlestein's diary, as edited by Amy Cutt Lopez, will shortly be published by BYU Religious Studies Center.

¹⁵Amanda McPeck, conversation with the author, March 15, 1994.

¹⁶Maydell Cazier Palmer, *Autobiography of Maydell Cazier Palmer* (Lethbridge, Alberta: privately published, 1980), 61.

¹⁷Palmer, *Autobiography*, 16.

¹⁸Palmer, *Autobiography*, 16.

¹⁹Emma Lorena Barrows Brown journal, holograph in possession of Jean Duke Howe. See pages 53-54, below.

²⁰Ellen Spencer Clawson to Ellen Pratt McGary, November 4, 1856, in S. George Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974), 33.

Introduction to the Journal of Emma Lorena Barrows Brown

The everyday activities of one woman bring to life the roles of a Relief Society leader, the interactions of a small farming community, and the tedium of a frontier settler's chores.

Kristin Hacken South

Since the 1970s, many historians have shifted the focus of their studies to include subjects that were not deemed worthy of note a generation before. Where once historians considered a political history of rulers sufficient as a record of a nation, they now attempt to investigate human activity more broadly, dwelling on common cultural and social structures as much as on elite politics. The new historians seek to discover “history from below,”¹ through close examination of material related to previously overlooked or underprivileged segments of society. Every aspect of human activity now falls under the historians’ lens that seeks to illuminate the local and the marginalized.²

Mormon historians have also begun to uncover nontraditional voices, focusing on individual memoirs and experiences to add depth to the well-established patterns of “official history.”³ The study of Mormon women’s history has blossomed in the past twenty years partly as an outgrowth of this movement; a growing number of scholars are eager to study and publish women’s writings—letters, autobiographies, and journals. Such personal records allow an immediate glance into the daily routines, thoughts, and social worlds of those who write them and help scholars reconstruct the female side of the Mormon experience.⁴ This article provides a segment taken from the five-year journal of Emma Lorena Barrows Brown, a woman living in the farming community of Charleston, Utah, in the 1870s.

Emma Lorena Barrows was the second child of Ethan Barrows and Lorena Covey. Born in Nauvoo, Illinois, on October 1, 1843, she and her family crossed the plains in 1850 with the Evans Company. In 1858 she married into polygamy as the second wife of George Washington Brown, who was one of the original party to cross the plains with Brigham Young. Emma Lorena's only child, Ethan Leonard Brown, was born ten months after she married. When George's first wife, Amy Elizabeth Hancock, died in childbirth in 1862, Emma Lorena raised Amy's three surviving boys: George Washington Brown (who died in 1874 after being kicked by a horse), Isaac Nathaniel, and Brigham John. Adding one more generation to this complex household, George's mother, Avis Hill Brown McBride,⁵ came to live with them in her later years; she died in 1884. Emma Lorena and George moved from Salt Lake City to Kamas, Utah; Simpson Springs, Nevada; then back to Utah—first to Springville, Wallsburg, and Heber before they finally settled in Charleston in 1866. Both are buried in the Charleston cemetery.

A careful reading of the personal journal of this relatively unknown woman exposes a whole community. In her 115-page journal, Emma Lorena records the types of enterprises that regularly filled her days for the four and a half years from January 1878 through June 1882. The segment published here spans the period from January 1, 1878, through September 30, 1879, and describes an ambitious listing of activities such as washing, entertaining, sewing, dressing the dead, making cheese, voting, teaching Sunday School, dancing, attending concerts, participating in poetry readings, gathering wheat for the Relief Society, presiding over conferences, speaking to groups of women, gardening, preserving fruit, whitewashing, and quilting. Through her daily accounts, Emma Lorena comments on the weather, church meetings, social events, household concerns, employment, and political involvement. The life she records sheds light on local and Mormon history. Conditions in Heber Valley in the late nineteenth century come to life under her daily observation, and seasonal patterns shape her activities. She profiles the roles of a stake Relief Society president and social interactions within the Mormon community. Even the tedious chores of a frontier settler are vividly recounted in Emma Lorena's narrative.

Her daily entries concisely state the major events of the day, dwelling in greatest detail on interactions with other people. She tells about the frequent visits to and from friends and neighbors. Like many other women of her day, Emma Lorena actively corresponded by mail with her female friends.⁶ None of the letters she wrote are known to have survived, but in her journal she notes the time she spends writing to Maria McRea, Eliza R. Snow, and various family members.⁷ The receipt of a letter would often also warrant a comment in the day's tally of events.

Emma Lorena names Louisa Bagley, Betsy Murdock, Lizzie Hanks, Lavina Sweat, and Amy Wing as young ladies from neighboring families whom she employed in her home.⁸ One of these young women, Lizzie Hanks, would later become her daughter-in-law, perhaps partly through the friendship that grew while she spent time with the Browns. Emma Lorena also writes of frequent visits with her stepson Isaac and his wife, Eliza Rocksina Murdock, or Sina.

Even the things Emma Lorena chooses to leave out can reveal something of her nature and the purpose she intended for her journal. For example, she never reveals her opinions or feelings about an event. Even when strong emotions must have been present, as when her grandchild dies, Emma Lorena does not comment past the bare fact and her action taken in response to it. On Monday, December 8, 1878, she writes only that she "heard that Isaac baby was dead;" on Tuesday she "went to Isaac and Staid all day;" on Wednesday she "burried Isaac baby went to the furnel."

When such tragedies and other unusual events arose, Emma Lorena may have "pondered them in her heart" (Matt. 2:19) but not in her journal. The bare facts she does record can give rise to imaginative speculation at times, however. On September 28, 1878, she writes, "George went to Heber with a laady." What was the reason for this trip? Could it have been a courtship that failed to come to a polygamous conclusion? Or was George simply helping someone in need? Why does she leave out the name of this lady and of certain other people who enter her journal's pages?⁹ The glaring absence of introspection makes reading between the lines essential to a fuller understanding of her life.¹⁰ However, dramatization and speculation can obscure the straightforward simplicity of her narrative.

Emma Lorena's journal entries range from two words ("at home") to a dozen lines. She uses her journal for short factual annotations, not for literary treatises. Carol Cornwall Madsen has identified several reasons for which nineteenth-century Mormon women wrote diaries, including a desire to express themselves in a lasting form, a drive to record spiritual growth and introspection, or a need to assert themselves as individuals. Women also wrote to record individual responses to historic events.¹¹ In Emma Lorena's journal, the longest journal entries almost invariably detail activities connected with her "public capacity" in the Relief Society. Perhaps she envisioned her journal as an official, instead of a personal, history, or perhaps the two realms had merged since much of her time was taken up with Relief Society business.

Evidently Emma Lorena wrote more detail in her letters than in her journal. When a problem arose with local Church leaders who wanted to appropriate wheat belonging to the Relief Society, she "wrote a letter to Sister E R Snow" about the matter (January 6, 1880) but on February 6, confided in her journal only the following: "Went to a Society meeting at Sister Taylor Bp Murdock over trying to get the Society Wheat brought Bro Giles from Heber [a member of the Stake presidency and doubtless a figure of considerable authority] to talk to the Sisters." By this time, Emma Lorena would have received a reply from Eliza Snow which describes the dispute and illuminates Emma Lorena's original journal entry. The letter admonishes Emma Lorena to "let things go as they may, we will not quarrel with the Priesthood, altho' it is in 'earthen vessels.'" ¹² The letter also contained practical advice passed on from President John Taylor regarding the proper manner of selling the wheat (the profits must be returned to the sisters for investment in more wheat). Armed with this letter, Emma Lorena must have carried the day at the "Society meeting": her phrase "*trying* to get the Society Wheat" (italics added) is telling in this connection.

Evidence from letters written to Emma Lorena from her mother and her sister indicate an openness not present in her journal, as when her forthright mother says, "Emma what has become of you that you do not write and let us know what you are a goin to do Emma I think that you hav forgotten that you hav got a mother . . .

you may forgit us all but you will never be forgotten by eny of us.”¹³ Perhaps Emma Lorena, like her mother, found the format of a letter more conducive to personal disclosure than a journal.

As years passed, Emma Lorena would have found fewer and fewer free moments for reflection and letter writing. In 1874 the leader of the Charleston Relief Society moved away, and Emma Lorena, who had been acting as counselor and secretary, was appointed president. Forty-two women were enrolled in the Charleston Relief Society in 1874; an average of twenty-one attended the meetings, which were held every two weeks in a private home. The meetings consisted of charitable efforts such as sewing clothing and quilts for the poor and of spiritual enlightenment through testimonies and through Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants lectures and readings.¹⁴ Emma Lorena continued to lead the Charleston Relief Society until September 1879, at which time Eliza R. Snow and Emmeline B. Wells organized the Wasatch Stake Relief Society and called her as its president.¹⁵

In many ways, Emma Lorena Brown was a suitable choice. Her experience leading the ward Relief Society taught her much about the workings of the Relief Society and prepared her well for the greater responsibilities of serving in the stake organization. Since at least 1875, she had corresponded on Relief Society business with Eliza Snow, who sent letters to her with such affectionate address as “my very dear sister” and “My Dearly Beloved Sister.”¹⁶

Minutes of the meetings President Brown held note that she exhorted the sisters to attend their meetings regularly and promptly. She encouraged them to faithfully fulfill their duties and to know that they would be blessed for so doing, and she asked ward presidents to express the problems of the various societies freely. She comes across with humor and spunk: on November 5, 1886, the secretary reported that President Brown “spoke strongly” on the Word of Wisdom. Demonstrating a staunch belief in the importance of Relief Society, she taught on September 29, 1892, that whenever company arrived at her house on Relief Society day, she would invite them to go along with her rather than stay home and visit.¹⁷ A note of disappointment is sounded in her journal on January 17, 1878, when because of her husband’s ill health she

wistfully wrote, “it was Society Meeting but I didnt go to Meeting.” Despite Emma Lorena’s Relief Society responsibilities, she was also committed to her family. She shows her concern for their well-being with the simple words “All well” that she often wrote upon her return from an extended trip.

Emma Lorena Barrows Brown’s journal covers an exciting time in church organization. In the 1870s, several wards were organized in Heber Valley. The congregations, divided geographically and called by the names of the towns of Charleston, Wallsburch, Center Creek, Heber, Midway, and later Buysville, made up the “Wasatch Stake of Zion” covering Heber Valley. Emma Lorena was actively involved in the leadership of the stake Relief Society, the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association, and Primary organization; her husband, George Washington Brown, served from 1877 until 1901 as one of the stake high councilors.¹⁸ The couple’s constant involvement in church administration meant a great deal of travel to various local and general meetings, as seen in the large numbers of people mentioned in Emma Lorena’s journal, in her continual visits to the wards of Wasatch Stake, and in the trips she makes to Salt Lake City to attend conferences.

When in Salt Lake City, Emma Lorena would often visit her extended family. Among Emma Lorena’s relatives in Salt Lake City during the time of this journal were her father, Ethan Barrows; his second wife, Lucy Hardy (Emma Lorena’s mother had died in 1869); and their son, Charles Henry—Emma Lorena’s half-brother. Emma Lorena’s siblings also lived in Salt Lake City: Leonard Ethan Barrows, whom Emma Lorena records as coming to Charleston for extended visits; Brigham Young Barrows (“Brig”); Benjamin Joseph Barrows; Permelia Eveline Barrows; and Elmira Barrows (“Milly” or “Mira”).

Emma Lorena tells briefly of events and activities in which she participated that were part of the grand sweep of history in her day. From 1870 to 1887, a seventeen-year window of women’s suffrage was opened in Utah; the Edmunds-Tucker Act nullified this progressive legislation, but Emma Lorena capitalized on the opportunity while it was available. For three consecutive years, 1878–80, she records going to vote on the first Monday in August.¹⁹

The Edmunds-Tucker Act was partly aimed at crippling the practice of polygamy in Utah; in this practice as well, Emma Lorena was a woman of her day. She had married polygamously in 1858 at the age of fourteen, and she based her official support of polygamy on her personal experience. As one of her Relief Society responsibilities, she presided over a “Mass Meeting” of the ladies of Charleston on January 6, 1879, when she “stated that as the Gentile ladies of Salt Lake City had got up a petition to abolish polygamy, we, as sisters believing in plural marriage, wish to oppose them.”²⁰ In rallying to display their support for polygamy, Mormon women showed the Eastern press that they had the capacity to speak for themselves in the causes they espoused.²¹

In connection with her leadership role in the Relief Society, Emma Lorena led meetings and spoke in public. A rare event among mainstream Protestant denominations, public speaking by a woman had led one nervous Baptist in 1819 to declare “that woman appears to me lost to modesty and prudence, who has boldness enough to teach or exhort where men are present.”²² Perhaps her own modesty and a case of nerves caused Emma Lorena to record that she was ill all night following her first appearance as the Wasatch Stake Relief Society president: “Presied [presided] over the first Relief Society Conferance in Wasatch Stake had a very good Conferance came home and was sick all night” (December 5, 1879). Given Emma Lorena’s experience in conducting meetings, however, this illness may have been caused by something other than nerves.

Emma Lorena finally succumbed to the effects of a long-standing heart ailment and an internal cancer on December 8, 1897. Despite the little her journal reveals of her personality, Emma Lorena’s constant efforts in doing good works for her family, community, and church show her to have been a committed and stalwart soul. The esteem with which her descendants remember her pays tribute to her life, as does the comment of her daughter-in-law, Sarah Elizabeth Hanks Brown: “If there was ever an angel on earth, she was one.”²³

Perhaps most importantly, the study of nineteenth-century Mormon women’s journals brings the readers closer to an understanding of how the writer of the journal saw her life as it happened. The unstudied quality of such records gives them an

immediacy unavailable in reminiscences gathered later in life. Of such records Wallace Stegner wrote:

There is another physical law that teases me, too: the Doppler Effect. The sound of anything coming at you—a train, say, or the future—has a higher pitch than the sound of the same thing going away. If you have perfect pitch and a head for mathematics you can compute the speed of the object by the interval between its arriving and departing sounds. I have neither perfect pitch nor a head for mathematics, and anyway who wants to compute the speed of history? Like all falling bodies, it constantly accelerates. But I would like to hear your life as *you* heard it, coming at you, instead of hearing it as I do, a sober sound of expectations reduced, desires blunted, hopes deferred or abandoned, chances lost, defeats accepted, griefs borne. I don't find your life uninteresting. . . . I would like to hear it as it sounded while it was passing.²⁴

The immediacy of this particular journal must come under careful scrutiny. The journal appears to have been copied from another written source, and in certain places, clear signs of editing occur. On September 25, 1878, for example, Emma Lorena first writes, "Sent Ethan some vittels." Apparently some time later, she crosses out the last word in favor of "Provision." On October 10, 1878, she writes "&" over her original "and." In neither case does the change affect the meaning, which seems to indicate a concern for the finer points of style.

In a curious sequence inserted after Monday, September 9, the entries of August 12 through September 9 are repeated with some variations. The significance of these variations lies in their indication that Emma Lorena was not simply copying out each entry. In some cases, she gives more detail in one entry than in the former for that date; in most, the wording differs at least slightly. Why would such duplication have occurred in her journal? In another puzzling sequence during June 1879, she seems to have gotten three days ahead of herself for six entries, before crossing out the errors and correcting the dates. These and other mysteries inevitably arise when we examine the written record of another era. From the basic problems of deciphering handwriting to the particulars of the motive and feeling behind an ambiguous expression, the reality underlying a written record slips through the grasp of readers

distant in time and custom. Nevertheless, while accepting its inherent limitations, we can learn a great deal from such a record.

Emma Lorena Brown writes with a regular hand, frequently jamming in an extra word or letter above the line at the end of an entry, a practice that suggests a frugal desire to avoid wasting a line. I have inserted her superscriptions back into the text without comment, except where an extended statement was added later. Lowercase *m*, *n*, *e*, and *s* are not always distinguishable from their capitals; where capitalization is unclear, I have tried to follow her general use of capitalization, working from cases where it is distinct. Final *Rs* and *Es* tend to disappear; *Os* and *As* are easily confused. Again I have endeavored to establish the most likely use given the context. Her spelling, although irregular by modern standards, does conform to the vocalization patterns she would have used. Twice she changes her format for marking the dates (on January 28, 1878, and on Monday, June 24, 1878), and the transcription duly reflects these changes. To conserve space in the printed version, the entries for each week are grouped into one paragraph, and the dates are boldfaced to distinguish one entry from another.

I have worked from a photocopy of the journal, which is in the possession of Reta DeeAnne Clark Whetten and Fern Brown Holt Robinson. The original journal is held by Jean Duke Howe. I am grateful to the descendants of Emma Lorena Barrows Brown and especially DeeAnne Whetten, for bringing the journal to my attention, allowing me the pleasure of working with it, and patiently supplying background information. Pauline Musig at the LDS Church Archives spent several hours helping me find obscure records, for which I thank her. Susanne Roberts helped formulate questions and consider a variety of answers, besides giving helpful criticism. I am especially grateful to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher for her incredible supply of knowledge, enthusiasm, and resources and for her willingness to share them. Many thanks are due my husband, my father, and my mother for constant support and encouragement. A portion of the expenses of the project were carried by the Richter Summer Fellowship, granted by the Calhoun College Master's Office, Yale University.

NOTES

¹See Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 4.

²Burke, *New Perspectives*, 1-23. Burke's first chapter, "Overture: The New History, Its Past and Its Future," outlines very concisely the differences between this "new history" and previously practiced methods of studying history.

³This new emphasis on nontraditional sources is well explained and documented in D. Michael Quinn, ed., *The New Mormon History: Revisionist Essays on the Past* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), vii-xi.

⁴As examples of each of these types of writings, see S. George Ellsworth, *Dear Ellen: Two Mormon Women and Their Letters* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974); Annie Clark Tanner, *A Mormon Mother: An Autobiography by Annie Clark Tanner* (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1976); and Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women's Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982). Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), is an excellent example of how these sources can be put to use.

⁵She is the "Grandmother" to whom Emma occasionally referred.

⁶For a detailed study of female correspondence, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.

⁷Maria McRea was a friend who at the time of the journal entries lived in Arizona; Eliza R. Snow was an important leader of the female community in the LDS Church.

⁸Emma Lorena's lack of daughters may have necessitated the exploitation of willing neighborhood girls for assistance in the household chores. For a similar practice in late eighteenth-century New England, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1788-1812* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), 80-82.

⁹For example, on April 10, 1878, "a Dainish man" ate dinner at her house; on May 24, 1879, "a Man & his wife" stayed the night.

¹⁰Judy Nolte Lensink explores this idea in "Expanding the Boundaries of Criticism: The Diary as Female Autobiography," *Women's Studies* 14 (1987): 39-53. Lensink has reference to writings by women who tended toward far greater loquacity than Emma Lorena Brown, however, so her assertion that the topics on which women remained silent were taboo items may not hold much relevance in Emma Lorena's case.

¹¹Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Women's Traces: The Words They Left Behind," in *Women and the Power Within: To See Life Steadily and See It Whole*, ed. Dawn Hall Anderson and Marie Cornwall (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991), 193-212.

¹²Eliza R. Snow to Emma Lorena Barrows Brown, January 19, 1880, in possession of Jean Duke Howe.

¹³Lorena Covey Barrows to Emma Lorena Barrows Brown, n.d., photocopy in possession of the author, courtesy of DeeAnne Clark Whetten and Fern Brown Holt.

¹⁴Charleston Ward Relief Society History Book, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

¹⁵Carlie C. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch of Wasatch Stake Relief Society from Its Organization June 7, 1869 to June 7, 1915," LDS Church Archives.

¹⁶Eliza R. Snow to Emma Brown, February 17, 1883, photocopy in possession of the author, courtesy of DeeAnne Clark Whetten and Jean Duke Howe; Eliza R. Snow to Emma Brown, March 2, 1887, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-77), 17:384.

¹⁷Relief Society Minutes Book of Wasatch Stake Relief Society, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁸John M. Calderwood, "History of the Wallsburgh [sic] Ward, Wasatch Stake," LDS Church Archives; Wasatch Stake Historical Notes, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁹Brown's journal covers a five-year period, but the journal is incomplete in 1881 and breaks off before August of 1882, so these three citations are the only times she mentions voting.

²⁰From the report of the meeting published in the *Woman's Exponent* 7 (February 1, 1879): 189.

²¹Much of the background information in this section can be found in Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 110-49.

²²George Keely, quoted in Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 158.

²³Biographical information drawn from the following family genealogical data in possession of DeeAnne Clark Whetten: Lucile Brown White (granddaughter of Emma L. and George W. Brown), "History of Emma Lorena Barrows Brown," typescript, 1978; Lucile Brown White, "History of George Washington Brown" typescript, 1978; Ethan Leonard Brown, "Life History of Ethan Leonard Brown," as told to Reta Brown Clark, typescript, n.d.; and obituary in *Woman's Exponent* 26 (January 1-15, 1898): 237.

²⁴Wallace Stegner, *Angle of Repose* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971), 24-25, emphasis in original.



Emma Lorena Barrows Brown (1843-1897) and George Washington Brown (1828-1906). Emma and George posed for this photograph about 1880, one of the years Emma journalized. They were married in 1858 and had settled in Charleston, Utah, by the time the journal was started. Courtesy DeeAnne Clark Whetten.

Emma Lorena Barrows Brown Journal

January 1878–September 1879

Transcribed and edited by Kristin Hacken South

January [1878]

1st 1878 Pleasant day at home all day Eve **Jan 2 wed** Fine day at home all washing at home in the Eve **Jan 3 Thur** Clear and cold at home it was Fast Day but we didnt go to Meeting because George had a lame back at home in Eve **Jan 4 Fri** Clear and cold at home Bro [William] Wright and Wife¹ came and Spent the day. Bro. Lenard ~~as~~ was Sick with a Sore throat **Jan 5 Sat** Clear and cold at home Cleaning day Len is no better

Jan 6 Sun Clear and cold at home Len was worse Bro [Enoch] Richens and wife² Staid to Dinner Fanney Richens Staid in the Eve the boys went to Meeting **Jan 7 Mon** Clear and cold at home Len is a little better got a Letter from Mira McRea³ who lives in Arizona **Jan 8 Tus** Cloudy and Snow a little at home Len is not much better Br [Nymphus] Murdock⁴ gave ous a call at home in the Eve **Jan 9 Wed** Warm pretty day thaw Some went to the Store and traded a little wrote a letter to Maria McRea Len is Better **Jan 10 Thu** fine day at home and washed Len is better **Jan 11 Fri** fine day at home and in the Afternoon went to Mr [William H.] Bagley⁵ and help lay thair child out at home in the Eve and irion **Jan 12 Sat** fine day went to the burriel of the Bagley child Bro [Edward] Buyce [Buys] and wife [Celestia Clarissa Bromley]⁶ and Bro [Samuel Joseph] Wing came home with ous and Staid over Night

Jan 13 Sun Clear and cold George and myself Bro. Buyce and Wife and Bro. Wing went to ~~Wallburg~~ Wallburgh to Meeting went to Bro Camps⁷ to Dinner came home had Prayer Meeting Bro Buyce and Wife and Bro Wing staid till after Meeting **Jan 14 Mon** fine day at home **Jan 15 Tus** fine day George and Len went to Heber I was to home **Jan 16 Wed** warm day at home Bro Buyce

was here to dinner **Jan 17 Thur** warm and Snowed a little at home George and Len went to Heber **Jan 18 Fri** warm pretty day went to a Surprise Party to Bro Watkin⁸ at Midway dance till 12 O'clock visited had Supper came home about 5 O'clock in the Morning **Jan 19 Sat** fine day at home Mr Gammett⁹ came and Staid all Night the Boys went to the Young Mens Meeting

Jan 20 Sun fine day went to Meeting Bro Murdock & Bro Wing Preached came home and Eat dinner went to Bro Richens to Prayer Meeting **Jan 21 Mon** Warm pretty day at home in the forenoon in the afternoon Went to Society Meeting Bro Murdock appointed Me as Pres of the Relief Society¹⁰ had a good Meeting in the Eve Bro. Richens and wife and Daughter came to Night School **Jan 22 Tus** fine day at home all [*damaged*: day] **Jan 23 Wed** fine day at home in the Eve went to John Brown to a dance¹¹ **Jan 24 Thur** warm day at home and washed Len got A letter from Father and Bro Benjamin **Jan 25 Fri** fine day at home in the forenoon in the afternoon went to Midway to a Consert came home in the night it was George Birth day he was 51 years old **Jan 26 Sat** fine day at home George went to Heber to High Priest Meeting Ethan and Len went to the Young Mens Meeting

Jan 27 Sun warm day went to Meeting Bro Hatch and Bro Giles¹² Preached came home Bro Richens and wife and Some Young Men from Midway Eat Supper with ous went to Bro Bagley to Prayer Meeting **28 Mon** at home all day in the Eve Bro Richens and Daughter came to Night School Snowed Some in the Moring it cleared up **29 Tus** wash to day at home in Eve Ethan and Len went to Bro Murdock warm day **30 wed** at home all day making Geo a pair of pants warm day **31 Thu** at home in the forenoon Bro Murdock & Br [Emmanuel] Richman com & wanted me to go & See Sis Taylor¹³ I went & staid all nighth Georg staid al night to Murdock

Feb[ruary 1878]

1st Fri came home from Sis Taylor ironed warm day **2nd Sat** went to Heber to Meeting all day & staid all night fine day

3 Sun went to Meeting & came home in the Eve fine day none at home in the fornoon went to society Meeting Br Murdock ordain me as Pres of the R Societ & my councler Br Richens & wife & Daughter came to night school Stormy day **5 Tus** at home all day

in the Eve went to a dance & Br Murdock presented Br Wadkin with a Bible fine day **6 wed** at home all day Br ~~Wad~~ Wadkin & his women¹⁴ came & staid all night warm day **7 Thu** Br Wadkin & his women Staid till Eleven Oclock Geo & me went to Wallsburgh & to the Society Meeting in the Eve went to Night Meeting said all Night to Br camps fine day **8 Fri** staid & viseted Br camps went to R Society party fine day **9 Sat** came home & ironed fine day

10 Sun went to Meeting then went to Br [James] Prices to Dinner came home Georg & the Boys went to prayer meeting pretty day **11 Mon** at home & washed Geo & Ethan Len went to a meeting Snow Some in the night **12 Tus** at home all day in the Eve went to Br Murdock to Rehersed some peaces fine day **13 wed** at home all day and ironed in the Eve went to the school hous to see some slight hands preform **14 Thu** at home all day Snow Some in the moring went to Br Murdock to rehersed some peaces Snow **15 Fri** went to help to clean out the Meeting House Snow Some **16 Sat** at home Stormed all day

17 Sun fin day went to Teach Sunday School went to Meeting in the afternoon in the Eve went to Richens and staid till after Prayer Meeting **18 Mon** wash to day the boys went to a party Stormed all night **19 Tus** at home Ethen & len went to B Murdock Stormey **20 Wed** at home in the forenoon went to Society Meeting had a good Meeting clear cold **21 Thu** at home Bro Daybell & Wife & Willy & Wife¹⁵ came & made a visit in the Eve went to the school house to rehearse pretty day clear & cold **22 Fri** irionid to day fine day **23 Sat** went to the school house to rehearse went to Smith¹⁶ to Dinner & staid till night then went to the consert clear and cold

24 Sun in the afternoon went to Meeting Br [Thomas] Todd Preach went to Richens to Prayer Meeting cold day **25 Mon** at home George went to Heber to mill Ethan & Len went to Br Murdock clear & cold day **26 Tus** wash Georg went to Heber to get his grist Ethan & Len went to Wallburgh Thawing **27 Wed** irioned fine day **28 Thu** went to Br Murdock to Society quilting fine day

March [1878]

1st Fri in the afternoon went to Wallburgh to consert came home in the night fine day **2nd Sat** at home Sis Mcgee¹⁷ & Richey¹⁸ & Fanney Richens came for a visit Sis Mcgee Staid night George went to Heber to Meeting warm day

3 Sun went to Teach Sunday School went to Isaac to Din went to meeting had some Missionary from Midway fine **4 Mon** at home warm day **5 Tus** went to geather wheat for the Society Fanny Richin went with me got 3 Bushel 8 lbs¹⁹ **6 Wed** went around again to geather wheat got 2 Bus & half Storm all day **7 Thu** at home Storm all day **8 Fri** wash to day clear & cold **9 Sat** at home warm day

10 Sun went to Sunday School went to Br Daybell to Dinner then went to Meeting the boys went to [Young?] Men **11 Mon** went to Br Wright snow some to day **12 Tus** went to geather some wheat Fanny & me got [illegible number—perhaps 3] Bus went to Br Mcgee to Dinner **13 Wed** wash to day Pretty day **14 Th** at home in the Eve went to see Isaac baby which sick Georg & the boy was making a dam across the river the boys went to a dance **15 Fri** at home Richen & wife here to Dinner Still a working at the dam **16 Sat** at home all day

17 Sun went to Sunday School went to Pres Simmons²⁰ to Dinner Mary Ann Simons came home with ous. Pres Hatch Preach **18 Mon** at home wash Al Roads & wife²¹ came staid all night **19 Tu** at home all day had a dance in the Eve in the barn **20 Wed** went to a society meeting organized a Young Ladies Association went to Richens & spent the Eening **21 Th** at home Ethan went to work for Isaac **22 Fri** at home Al Roads come & got a load of hay went to the store **23 Sat** at home

24 Sun went to Sunday School in the afternoon went to Meeting **25 Mon** white washing Stormey day **26 Tus** white washing & cleaning **27 Wed** cleaning house George went to Heber Fanney eat Dinner **28 Th** washing to day Stormy **29 Fri** at home irioned windy **30 Sat** went to Heber went to Br [John] Galigher to Dinner

31 Sun went to Sunday School went to Sis Taylor to Dinner went to Meeting went [*cut off*: to Sis Taylor to Sis . . .]

April [1878]

1 Mon wash to day & George Plowed to day **2 Tus** at home irioned Geo went to Heber **3 Wed** working in garden **4 Th** at home George was sowing some wheat **5 Fri** Fanny & me went to Society Meeting Geo was sowing grain Len started home **6 Sat** at home working in garden

7 Sun went to Sunday school went to Sis Pinapp²² to Dinner
8 Mon at home Fanney [Richens] & Magg[y] Wright came in the
 afternoon **9 Tus** went to Mary Wright to a quilting **10 Wed** Wash-
 ing a Dainish man come and eat Dinner **11 Th** white wash Gran-
 mother house comenced a vest for George **12 Fri** cold & windy at
 home & irioned finish Georg vest **13 Sat** Stormey & Snowed
 at home Snowed Some in night

14 Sun Stormy in the afternoon went to Meeting **15 Mon**
 Stormy most all day at home writing most al day **16 Tus** Stormy
 most all day making a dress **17 Wed** Stormy wash to day **18 Thu**
 clear & fine in the afternoon went to Society Meeting **19 Fri** fine
 day went to Sister [Emma] Trotman²³ wrote a letter to Milly Stop to
 the Post Office got 2 letters one from Br McRea & Sister Follat
20 Sat Stormy at home wrote a letter to Sister [Maria] McRea

21 Sun Stormy in the afternoon went to Meeting went to
 Br Richens in the Eve **22 Mon** fine day went to Br Wadkin had a
 good visit **23 Tus** at home in the afternoon went to Sis Richens
 George plowed for Mr Simons **24 Wed** fine day wash to day **25 Th**
 at home making a dress **26 Fri** at home all day **27 Sat** at home
 George & the boys went to Heber to Meeting

28 Sun went to Sunday School went to Br Murdock to din-
 ner Br Wadkin and family was thare Bro Wadkin & Br Dablin²⁴
 Preach **29 Mon** wash to day George went to the store **30 Tus** at
 home irioned

May [1878]

1st Wed at home all day sewing **2 Thu** at home **3 Fri** at home all
 day cleaning **4 Sat** went to Heber to Confers came home

5 Sun went to Heber to Meeting went to Br. Scheldon²⁵ to
 dinner **6 Mon** wash Ethan & Brig went to canyon **7 Tus** at home
8 wed at home **9 Th** at home Bro Wright & wife came & Br Gal-
 ligher & wife **10 Fri** Br Galligher & wife went home George & me
 went to Heber George went to Mid[way] **11 Sat** at home

12 Sun went to Sunday School went to Sis Trolman²⁶ to din-
 ner after meeting went to Br Buyce come home in night **13 Mon**
 at home making Soap in the afternoon went to the store **14 Tus** at
 home not very well **15 Wed** washing to day **16 Th** Snowed most
 all day at home Sewing **17 Fri** cold & snowed went to Heber to

trade went to Br Hatch to dinner **18 Sat** comenced to clear up
Some at home

19 Sun went to Br [William] McGee to dinner then went to
Meeting **20 Mon** raining most all day wash Br Wadkin & wife Said
[staid] all night **21 Tus** Br Wadkin & wife went home I went to
Society Meeting but it was so stormy that I staid to Br Murdock
Ethan went to canyon **22 Wed** at home all day **23 Th** at home
sewing **24 Fri** at home all day **25 Sat** at home made Polley
Simons a Hat

26 Sun went to Sunday School then come home Bro Dablin
Staid all night **27 Mon** Stormy day Bo Dablin Staid all day at home
28 Tus went to Society Meeting staid to Bo Wright & got Dinner
Bo Dablin went to Midway **29 Wed** wash to day **30 Th** at home all
day Sis Dablen staid all night **31 Fri** at home making Shirts
Br Dablin & Bo Richens Eat dinner Sis Dablin went home

June [1878]

1st Sat stormy day George went to Heber had the toothach

2 Sun went to Meeting in the afternoon **3 Mon** George
planted some corn Ethan went to canyan **4 Tus** went to Heber to
trade got a letter from Milly & Mide & Len went to Gallagher to Din-
ner **5 Wed** went to Wallburgh Eat dinner to Br Camps **6 Th** wash
George went to canyon **7 Fri** at home George went to the canyon
Ethan came home **8 Sat** at home wrote a letter to Len & Mide

9 Sun went to teach Sunday School George went to Heber
went to Br Murdock to dinner went to Meeting **10 Mon** at home
Ethan went to canyon B Richens Eat dinner **11 Tus** wash John
Brown & B Richens Eat dinner **12 Wed** at home in the afternoon
had a thunder storm **13 Th** at home Ethan came [home] **14 Fri** at
home Ethan went to the canyon cleaning out cellar Br Dablin Eat
Dinner **15 Sat** at home all day George watering Wheat

16 Sun at home all day George wattering wheat **17 Mon**
wash to day **18 Tus** at home made a chees **19 wed** at home **20 Th**
Made a chees then went to Society Meeting **21 Fri** Made a chees
22 Sat at home the Boy went to raise the liberty pole.

23 Sun at home Bo Wadkin Eat dinner with ous start to Meet-
ing met Len & Br Rumill²⁷ Boys then came home **Mon 24** went to
Br Murdock and Eat Dinner then came home fine day **Tus 25** wash

to day fine day **wed 26** at home George went to canyon **Thu 27** at home fine day **Fri 28** at home Br Rumell Boys went home fine day **Sat 29** at home fine day

Sun 30 went to Meeting fine day

July [1878]

Mon 1st wash fine day **Tus 2** at home wash [set of ditto marks for "fine day"] **wed 3** at home Br Mcgee & B Wright came Teaching **Thu 4** at home **Fri 5** at home **Sat 6** went to Br Buys George went to Heber

Sun 7 went to Meeting fine day **Mon 8** wash fine day Sis Mcgee ~~Tus 9~~ come & Charley Decker²⁸ & boy Eat dinner Sis Mcgee Staid **Tus 9** Charley Decker Son Eat dinner then Sis Mcgee and Me went to Fany Richens **wed 10** at home in the Eve went to Meeting Sis Mcgee went home **Thu 11** at home fine day **Fri 12** at home George went to Heber **Sat 13** at home

Sun 14 in the afternoon went to Meeting **Mon 15** Started to the City went to Anderson **Tus 16** got in the City about noon the next day **Wed 17** Staid to Father till noon then Lucy [Hardy Barrows] & me went up in town and done some trading the [then] went to Mr McCoy where Mira [Barrows] lived **Th 18** in the afternoon went to the Exponent Office then went to Sister [Eliza] Snow then went to her [illegible word]²⁹ **Fri 19** Started home **Sat 20** got to Heber staid to Ghaligher and got Some Dinner then came home

Sun 21 went to Meeting went to Br Dablin had the dark [illegible word] **Mon 22** at home **Tus 23** wash **Wed 24** we all went down to Dear Creek to get some servis Berry³⁰ came home found lots of Grass hopper³¹ **Th 25** wash & iron Some George went to Provo **Fri 26** at home George met Sis E R Snow & Z[ina] D Young and Lucy [Hardy Barrows] & Charles [Barrows] came **Sat 27** George went to Heber had a good visit with the sisters

Sun 28 went to R Society Meeting Meeting comenced at 9 Oclock Sister E R Snow & Zina Young Spoke and gave ous Some good instruction went to Sunday school then went to Bro Murdock to Dinner went to afternoon Meeting come home and got Supper then went to the Y L Meeting Sis Snow Zina Young Spoke had a good meeting **Mon 29** went to Wallsburgh to Meeting Eat Dinner to Br Camp had a good meeting come home **Tus 30** went to Heber

to Meeting had a good Meeting Eat Dinner to Br Shelton then come home **Wed 31** at home Sister Snow and Zina come had a good visit George comenced to Mow.

Aug[ust 1878]

1st Th George went to Battle Creek to take Sister Snow and Zina and Lucy and Chas [Barrows] Seen them get on the cars to go to the City wash **Fri 2** at home and irioned Geog come and brought Mira [Barrows] **Sat 3** at home George mowed

Sun 4 went to Heber to Conference went to Br Galligher to Din **Mon 5** in the afternoon went to vote then came home **Tus 6** at home and washed **Wed 7** at home all day **Th 8** at home **Fri 9** in the afternoon went to Society Meeting horseback had a good meeting George cutting grain Will Hanks³² came to bind Br Murphy and wife came and Staid all night **Sat 10** in the afternoon Mira and me went to Br Murdock George went to Br Murphy to cut grain

Sun 11 went to Isaac to Dinner then went to meeting **Mon 12** wash to day George went to Br Murphy to cut grain **Tus 13** at home **Wed 14** quilted a quilt **Th 15** quilted a quilt **Fri 16** at home **Sat 17** at home all day

Sun 18 went to Meeting **Mon 19** at home George cutting grain Will Hanks came to bind **Tus 20** wash George finish cutting grain **Wed 21** at home coulering³³ **Th 22** quilted a quilet raining **Fri 23** at home in the afternoon went to Society Meeting Sister Murdock from Heber was thaire had a good meeting got a letter from Maria McRea **Sat 24** at home in the Eve went to Meeting Ju F Wells M H Hardy Preached to Y M³⁴

Sun 25 after Dinner went to Heber to Meeting **Mon 26** went to Glean wheat for the Society rained got a letter from Father **Tus 27** at home **Wed 28** washed **Th 29** at home all day **Fri 30** went to Br Mcghie to Glean wheat for the Society **Sat 31** at home all day

Sep[tember 1878]

1st sun went to Meeting **Mon 2** washed **Tus 3** went to Battle Creek rained when we got on the bench stop to Mr gammet **Wed 4** Staid in Battle Creek Mira got on the train to go home rained all day **Th 5** Started home in the afternoon got home in the night **Fri 6** the thrashing machene came to thrash Lattie [Murdock] come to help cook **Sat 7** got done thrashing about noon Lattie went home

Sun 8 went to Meeting Al Roads come and staid all night
Mon 9 at home taking care my fruit Mr Oaks³⁵ come and staid all night
Mon 12³⁶ wash to day **Tus 13** at home **Wed 14** went to Bro Buys George went to Heber **Thu 15** went to wallsburgh **Fri 16** at home irioned **Sat 17** at home

Sun 18 went to Meeting then after Meeting went to Bro Buys Staid Till Six Oclock **Mon 19** at home George is cutting grain Wm Hanks came over ~~to~~ **Tus 20** wash George finish cutting grain **Wed 21** at home all day Callering **Th 22** quilted a quilt Jake Harris³⁷ bought Me [illegible word] rained **Fri 23** at home in the afternoon went to Society Meeting Sister Murdock come from Heber to make the Society a visit had a good Meeting got a letter from Maria McRea **Sat 24** at home in the Evening went to meeting Junis F Wells & Milton Hardy Preach to the Young Men & Young Ladies Association

Sun 25 Eat dinner then went to Heber to meeting J F Wells & M Hardy Preach **Mon 26** went out to glean wheat for the Society **Tus 27** at home rain **Wed 28** wash to day **Th 29** at home all day **Fri 30** went up to Bro McGhie to glean wheat for Society **Sat 31** at home all day

September [1878]

Sun 1st went to Meeting **Mon 2** wash **Tus 3** went to Battle Creek rain in the afternoon Stop at Mr Gammitt **Wed 4** Mira went home on the train went down to Mr Gammitt on the Lake Bottom **Th 5** Started home got home all well **Fri 6** in the afternoon the machine came to Thrash or grain Lattie Murdock came to help me **Sat 7** got done thrashing about noon & left Lattia went home

Sun 8 went to meeting A Rhaods come Staid all night **Mon 9** taking care of my fruit Mr Oaks come to get Some hay Staid all night **Tus 10** Making perserves & taking care of my fruit Bro & Sis McGhie & Sist Trotman come and Eat dinner **Wed 11** wash **Th 12** at home George & Granmother went to Springvile **Fri 13** at home & irioned **Sat 14** at home George & Granmother come home Ethan came from canyon

Sun 15 went to meeting **Mon 16** kill a hog Ethan went to the canyan **Tus 17** wash George went to Heber **Wed 18** Maggie Wright³⁸ come to Stay a while I went to Heber **Thu 19** started to

the city camp b[e]low Park City Stormy **Fri 20** Started in the Morning got in the city about 7 Oclock **Sat 21** went to the Society Conferance in the forenoon read the report of the difreant Society in the afternoon the Pres gave a verabel report Con. E. Taylor³⁹ Preside a good meeting

Sun 22 went to Meeting in the Tabnacle good Meeting went to See Sister Snow had a good visit She gave ous Spesiman she got from Palestine **Mon 23** Started for home got as far as Snyderdervill⁴⁰ Staid all night **Tu 24** came to Heber Stop to Bro Ghaliger Eat dinner got home about 2. Oclock all well **Wed 25** at home sent Ethan some vittels Provition **Th 26** Wash george went to Heber **Fri 27** at home irioned **Sat 28** cleaning house George went to Heber with a laady Dry

Sun 29 went to Meeting **Mon 30** rained in the forenoon Stopt rain went to Wallsburgh trade Ethan went to the canyon

Oct[ober 1878]

Tus 1 wash Geo & Brig went to canyon ~~Oet~~ **Wed 2nd** irioned Geo went to Heber **Thu 3** Georg commenced digin Potate wrot a letter to Mrs Follet **Fri 4** went to Sist Dablin in the afternoon went to Society Meeting Geo went to Heber **Sat 5** Geo sick Brig went the canyon

Sun 6 at home all day Geo Sick **Mon 7** at home Ethan & Brig finish diggin Potatoes Ethan went to canyon **Tus 8** at home Geo is no better Bro & Sist McGhie came to see ous ~~ous~~ **Wed 9** Geo is pretty Sick gave him a Sweat **Th 10** wash Geo is better Brig went &⁴¹ got a load of Lumber **Fri 11** Geo is still a getting better Brig went to Heber Ethan came home from the canyon **Sat 12** at home Geo & Ethan went to Bro. Murphey to get some grain

Sun 13 at home raining **Mon 14** at home Ethan went to the canyon Stormy day **Tus 15** Sewing Snowed Some **Wed 16** wash **Thu 17** went to wallsburgh Eat dinner to Br Camp **Fri 18** at home in the forenoon in the afternoon went to Society Meeting **Sat 19** at home Br McGhie come around as teachers⁴²

Sun 20 went to Meeting come home wrote two letters one to Father & one to Milley Storm **Mon 21** at home Ethan went to canyon come home at Night **Tus 22** wash Ethan & Brig went to the canyon Geo lost his Mules cold **Wed 23** at home Geo was hunting

the Mules & cows all day cold **Thu 24** irioned Br Wrights Boy found the Mules & cows cold **Fri 25** went to the Society quilting Brig came home from canyon **Sat 26** had the toothache Geo went to Heber to Mill Ethan came home from the canyon

Sun 27 went to Meeting **Mon 28** at home Geo & Ethan went to the canyon **Tus 29** Went to Wallsburgh to trade **Wed 30** at home **Th 31** wash Geo went to canyon A Rhoads came and Staid night

November [1878]

Fri 1st at home **Sat 2** went to Heber to Stake Conferance came home at night Ethan went to drive Some horses up Daniel creek A Rhoads staid all night

Sun 3 went to conferance J[oseph] F Smith was a here Preach had a good conferance went A Rhoads Staid all night up center creek **Mon 4** went to Sist Horner⁴³ Eat dinner then came home **Tus 5** went to the Schoolhouse to vote then came home look like a Storm **wed 6** kill 2 Hogs Sam McFee⁴⁴ come and help went to Sist McGhie Staid till Eve then came home **Th 7** wash Geo & Brig went to the canyon **Fri 8** at home in the afternoon went to Society meeting had a good meeting **Sat 9** at home

Sun 10 went to Meeting after Meeting went to Isaac Eat Supper staid till Eve then came home **Mon 11** cleaning house **Tus 12** at home **Wed 13** wash **Thu 14** went to Wallsburgh to trade **Fri 15** cleaning house **Sat 16** at home

Sun 17 went to Meeting **Mon 18** went to the Young Ladies Association had a good meeting **Fri 19** at home **Sat 20** wash Ethan came home **Th 21** at home **Fri 22** at home in the afternoon went to Society meeting **Sat 23** went to Heber to trade got a letter from Mare McRea

Sun 24 went to Meeting **Mon 25** went Midway to a Relief Society meeting Staid all night **Tus 26** came home all well **Wed 27** wash to day **Th 28** went to wallsburgh to trade Ethan went to canyan **Fri 29** Bro Camp & wife came & Staid all night **Sat 30** Geo & Bo Camp went to Heber Sister Staid with me

December [1878]

Sun 1st went to Meeting stop to Br Murdock ~~Sister Murdock~~ got Some Blank from Sist Murdock **Mon 2** at home Ethan & Brig went

to Joseph Murdock wedding dance **Tus 3** at home **Wed 4** Wash to day **Th 5** at home in the afternoon went to wallsburgh to trade **Fr 6** Jasper Boran⁴⁵ & wife came and Staid till after dinner I went Society meeting Ethan went to Provo **Sat 7** went to Sist McGhie Geo went to Heber Ethan come from Provo

Sun 8 went to meeting after meeting went to Midway to Br Wadkin Staid till Eve Mlissa⁴⁶ Murdock went with ous **Mon 9** at home Sewing **Tus 10** at home making a coat Geo & Ethan went the canyon **Wed 11** wash Ethan went a Deer hunting **Th 12** went to wallsburgh to trade **Fr 13** at home irioned **Sat 14** at home

Sun 15 went to meeting **Mon 16** Wash **Tus 17** went to Wallsburgh Ethan went to Center Creek **Wed 18** at home ironed **Th 19** went fix the School house for a Dance **Fri 20** went to Society Meeting then at 12 Oclock Eat dinner after Dinner had a Dance **Sat 21** at home Geo went to Wallsburgh to take the fidlers home cold

Sun 22 went to meeting clear cold **Mon 23** at home cold day **Tus 24** wash Granmother was sick **Wed 25** at home Geo & Granmother was sick with a cold Brig came home and Eat Dinner he was living to Taylor cold day **Thu 26** at home cold

[One page of the journal is missing here. The next entry is January 6, 1879.]

Mon 6 at home in the afternoon went to a Mass Meeting had a good Meeting⁴⁷ **Tus 7** made a pair of pants for Brig Ethan comenced going to School thawed Some **Wed 8** at home Snowed **Thu 9** Wash Snowed **Fri 10** went to Bro Murdock Isaac & wife came while I was gon wrote 2 letters one to Follett **Sat 11** ironed fine day

Sun 12 went to Meeting Bro Foreman & Crook⁴⁸ preach clear & cold **Mon 13** went down to Br. Wright **Tus 14** wash George went to wallsburgh with John Brown came home with his Shouldr out of place Bro Wright⁴⁹ & Richens came and Set it Snow **Wed 15** at home taking care of George Brig came home fine & plesant cold **Thu 16** George is not much better **Fri 17** at home it was Society Meeting but I didnt go to Meeting George not much better **Sat 18** Bro Buyce & his two women & children came and staid all night Isaac & Sina & Joseph Murdock came over & Bro Richens & wife came up got a letter from Lucy

Sun 219 at home Bro Buyce went home Bro Murdock & wife came & staid the Evening Geo not much bett **Mon 20** George was a little better Bo Bromley⁵⁰ came and Staid all night **Tus 21** Geo was a little better Br. Bromley went home John Brown & wife called in **Wed 22** ~~comens~~ comenced to wash Bro Mcghie & wife & Sister Daybell & Bro Wright came Geo was better fine day **Th 23** finish washing Brig came⁵¹ home & Staid the Eve fine day **Fri 24** Isaac & Sina came and Staid till Evening the Teacher came and visit ous Bro Richey & Sam McFee Snowed **Sat 25** Geo is better at home rained & blowed

Sun 26 Geo is better reading & fixing a scrap book fine **Mon 27** Sewing carpet rag **Tus 28** wash Snowed **Wed 29** at home [set of ditto marks for "Snowed"] **Th 30** went to Bro Murdock snowed **Fri 31** went to Wallsburgh to the Theater Staid all night

Feb[ruary 1879]

Sat 1st staid till Sundown started home the Sled brake went back to Bro Campe and Staid all night

Sun 2nd staid till 2 Oclock then started home all right **Mon 3** at home **Tus 4** comenced to make a dress **Wed 5** comenced to wash John Brown came and wanted ous to go to his house we went Al Rhoad came in the Evening we went [to] Sam McFee to a dance fine **Th 6** Bro Price & wife & W. Daybell & wife came and Eat dinner Bro Camp & wife came & staid all Night warm day **Fri 7** Bro camp & wife Staid **Sat 8** Bro camp & wife went home after dinner

Sun 9 went to Meeting Bro [John] Jardan & [Samuel?] Davis preach had a good meeting **Mon 10** at home Geo Sold a calf to Bro camp & 3 lbs Butter wrote 2 letters one to Maria McRea and to Jenett Duncan Ethan went to a dance **Tus 11** at home rained

[The next page of the journal is missing.]

and then went to Society working Meeting come back to Annie and got Supper **Fri 21** ironed & comenced to make a vest a Man from Eveston come and baught Some calves & Staid all night Geo went to the Y M Meeting **Sat 22** at home Fanney & Jane Richens call in

Sun 23 went to meeting **Mon 24** went to Wallsburgh Staid till after Dinner then came home **Tus 25** at home **Wed 26** ~~at home~~ wash **Thu 27** at home **Fri 28** went to Society Meeting then came home & irioned

March 1879

Sat 1st at home all day to work Ethan Sowed Some wheat

[The next page of the journal is missing.]

went from thair to Society Meeting had a good Society Meetg came home after Meeting **Fri 7** Geo went to Provo to take Bro J E Taylor I went to Sister Saby⁵² staid till 4 Oclock then came home **8 Sat** wash George came home

Sun 9 went to Bro Dablin to Dinner then went to Meeting Bro Dill was the Preach **Mon 10** wash Geo Plowed **Tus 11** Made some Saop and worked in the garden **Wed 12** worked in the garden **Th 13** ironed **Fri 14** went to Sister Taylor then went to Society Meeting Geo went to Heber to mill **Sat 15** went to wallsburgh stop to Bo Camps all night

Sun 16 came from wallsburgh then went to Meeting Stop to Bro Richeys to dinner in the Eve went to Bo Richens to Meeting **Mon 17** commenced to white wash **Tus 18** white washing John Richey & wife came and Eat Dinner Geo Sold them 5 head of Sheep **Wed 19** cleaning house Snowed **Thu 20** wash to day Stormy **Fri 21** put down my carpet a man came and staid all night Bro and Sis Camp came and Staid all night got a letter from Mira **Sat 22** Geo & Bro Camp went to the Elders Meeting Bro Camp went home

Sun 23 went to Meeting **Mon 24** Sewed Some to day **Tus 25** work Geo sowed some grain **Wed 26** ironed Geo sowned some grain **Thu 27** at home Stormy **Fri 28** went to Society Meeting some of the Sisters from

[One page is missing; evidently she went to Salt Lake City.]

Sun 6 went to Meeting after Meeting went to Sallie Rumell Eat Super **Mon 7** went to meeting all day Eat dinner to Sister Snow had a good Meeting **Tus 8** went to see Mira in the afternoon went to Meeting Stormy day **Wed 9** Started for home Bro. Buyce & wife came home with ous **Thr 10** came to Bro Buyce place and Staid all night **Fri 11** got home all well **Sat 12** went to wallsburgh rain

Sun 13 Stormy night went to Meeting **Mon 14** at home rain all day **Tus 15** at home rain & Snowed **Wed 16** wash Isaac & Sina came and Staid all night I was Sick all night **Thu 17** Sick all day Bro Wright

Sun went to Meeting after
 Meeting went to Saller
 Russell eat Super
 Mon went to Meeting all
 day eat dinner to Sister
 Snow had a good Meeting
 Tue went to see Maria in
 the afternoon went to
 Meeting stormy day
 Wed started for home because
 Bruce & wife came home with
 Thu came to Bro Bruce place
 and staid all night
 Fri got home all well
 Sat went to Wallburg^{rain}
 Sun stormy night went
 to Meeting
 Mon at home rain all day
 Tue at home rain & snowed
 Wed work Isaac & Anna came
 and staid all night I was
 Sick all night
 Thu Sick all day Bro Wright

Emma Lorena Barrows Brown diary, p. 51. On April 7, 1879, Emma, who was president of the Charleston Relief Society, notes a meeting she had with Eliza Roxcy Snow in Salt Lake City. The page is shown at actual size. Courtesy Jean Duke Howe.

[The missing page spans April 18–28.]

to Bro Murdock **Tus 29** went to Wallsburgh then came home
Wed 30 Lousia Bagley came & work

May 1879

Thu 1st at home all day **Fri 2nd** at home **Sat 3** went to Meeting to Heber Bro Lorenzo [Dow] Young & Son Preach in the afternoon Br Hardy & Burton Preach

Sun 4 went to Heber to meeting **Mon 5** wash **Tus 6** at home in the Eve went to Meeting **Wed 7** at home Dr Young came⁵³ Bought some Midicine ironed **Th 8** at home **Fri 9** at home in the afternoon went to Society Meeting **Sat 10** at home

Sun 11 went to Meeting Ethan came home from Green River all right **Mon 12** at home Ethan & Brig went to canyon **Tus 13** wash & Sew Carpet **Wed 14** ironed **Thu 15** made a chees and put down my carpet Sick **Fri 16** Sick all day Mrs Bagley and her daughter came and Staid all day Bro Richens & wife Staid all Night Ethan & Brig came home from the canyon **Sat 17** Some better Bro McGhie & Thacher came a Teacher

Sun 18 better at home **Mon 19** Louize Bagley came & wash **Tus 20** at home **wed 21** at home **Thu 22** Made a chees **Fri 23** at home **Sat 24** at home George went to Heber & braught a Man & his wife Staid all night⁵⁴

June 1879

Sun 1st went to Meeting **Mon 2nd** Louisia Bagley came & wash went to a Show at night **Tus 3** Geo took that man & wife to Wallsburgh **Wed 4** Made a chees Geo killed 3 Calf **Th 5** at home Geo went to the City **Fri 6** Made a chees then went to Society Meeting Br Richey took Mrs Bagley and my self to Meeting **Sat 7** at home

Sun 8 at home Geo come from the City **Mon 9** Louis Bagley work I went to Br Murdock to get Betsy Maurdock to come & live with me **Tus 10** ~~went to Br Wadkin Mill~~ Made a chees **Sat 11** ~~went to wallsburgh~~

~~Sun 12 went to Br Buys then to Meeting 13 Wed Mon Betsy work Tus 14 Sewing Wed 15~~ **Wed 11** at home **Thu 12** made a chees **Fri 13** went to Br Wadkin Mill Eat dinner had good visit **Sat 14** went to wallsburgh

Sun 15 went to Br Buys then to meeting **Mon 16** Betsy [Murdock] wash **Tus 17** Sewing **wed 18** Made a chees **Th 19** at home **Fr 20** I went to Sis Dablin Staid till Meeting time then went to Society Meeting Geo went to Heber **Sat 21** at home Geo went to the Canyon

Sun 22 went to Meeting Br Taylor & wife came home with ous **Mon 23** wash to day **Tus 24** at home **Wed 25** went to Br Taylor

[Another page is missing; the month is now July.]

Sat 12 at home

Sun 13 went to Meeting Isaac & Sina came home with ous **Mon 14** went down the canyon **Tus 15** wash **Wed 16** Made a chees **Thur 17** went to Heber stop to Mrs Shelton **Fri 18** at home **Sat 19** went to wallsburgh Staid all Night

Sun 20 came home then went to Meeting **Mon 21** Sewing **Tus 22** at home **Wed 23** at home Geo & Ethan & Brig went to raise the Liberty Pole **Th 24** went to celerbrate the 24th Taylor Barn **Fri 25** at home **Sat 26** went to Midway

Sun 27 at home **Mon 28** at home Geo took Betsy Maurdock home braught Amy Wing⁵⁵ home to work for me **Tus 29** at home **Wed 30** at home **Thu 31** at home

August 1879

Fri 1st made a chees then went to Society Meeting **Sat 2nd** went to Heber to meeting J F Smith Preach staid all night to Br Shelton

Sun 3 went to Meeting went to Br Giles to Dinner had a good Conferance **Mon 4** went to vote come home got dinner then went to wallsburgh Bro Capner⁵⁶ and Bro Murphy came to work on the barn **Tus 5** Isaac and Sina came over and staid all night **Wed 6** at home all well **Thu 7** Lousia Bagley come and wash **Fri 8** at home all well **Sat 9** at home Isaac and Sina went home

Sun 10 at home Amy Wing was sick **Mon 11** at home al **Tus 12** wash **Wed 13** at home **Thu 14** at home in the afternoon Hannah Bagley and her daughter came and spent the afternoon **Fri 15** at home in the afternoon went to Society Meeting **Sat 16** at home

Sun 17 went to meeting **Mon 18** at home Lizza Hanks⁵⁷ came and staid a few days **Tus 19** at home the Lizza and Amy wash **Wed 20** at home Lizza ironed ~~I~~ Geo and myself went to Wallsburgh

Thu 21 we had the Barn raised the men staid till after dinner Sister Jane Taylor came and staid till Evening **Fri 22** at home **Sat 23** cleaning house

Sun 24 went to Meeting **Mon 25** the girls wash Lizza went home **Tus 26** went to Mlissia Murdock to a quilting Bro Grosebeck⁵⁸ and ~~Wed 27~~ wife and children came and camp in the pasture I was taken sick in the night **Wed 27** sick all day Hannah [Bagley] came and staid a while then went home Sina came over **Thu 28** better to day Geor Dablin⁵⁹ came to work **Fri 29** better went to Wallsburgh then went to Society Meeting **Sat 30** Geo went to Midway Sina went home

Sun 31 went to Meeting Sina and Lizza came home with ous

September 1879

Mon 1st Geo went to Provo **Tus 2nd** Geo came home Sister Snow and Sister Wells came a up to visit the Society and to organize **Wed 3** we had Society Meeting in Charleston then went to Heber staid to Sister Shelton **Thu 4** went to Society meeting in Heber I was put in as President over all the Societys and assocition in Wasitch Stake Sister Wells was sick **Fri 5** went to center ward and organized a Society and Primary association [*added later:* with E R Snow M E Cluff as Pres of RS & Retta Harvey as Pres ovr Prim⁶⁰ I dismiss the Meeting] then went to Midway Staid all night to Bro Wadkin **Sat 6** Sister Snow and myself met with the R Society and ~~organ organize a P~~ met with Primary association Sister Snow stop at Pres Hatch we came home

Sun 7 went to Buysvill Sister Snow and E B Wells and Sister Hatch met me thare organize a Primary association Clara Buyse as Pres I dismiss the meeting in the afternoon went to Charleston Meeting house and Mallissia Murdock was put in a Pres over the Relief Society and Ester Dablin was Pres over the Primary association **Mon 8** went to wallsburgh met with the Relief Society in the afternoon organize a Primary association Sister Glen was chosen a President come home Sister E R Snow and Sister E B Wells came home with me and found Sister [Rhoda or her mother Ann Coope] Harvey there **Tus 9** went to Provo stop to ~~M~~ Sister Smoots⁶¹ got dinner then Sister E R Snow and E B Wells got on the train for home we went to Springvill stop to Mary Crandell **Wed 10** seen

Bro and Sister Rollens then went to Jane Crandell for dinner then came to Provo stop to Bro Paxmen all night **Thu 11** went to the factory got Some cloth there got dinner then came home all well **Fri 12** went to Society Meeting had a good Meeting **Sat 13** at home Geo went to Midway

Sun 14 went to meeting Sister Taylor came home with ous **Mon 15** went to wallsburgh to trade went to Sister Clifton to dinner **Tus 16** at home Geo went to Midway Ethan went to the canyon **Wed 17** at home **Thu 18** at home **Fri 19** at home **Sat 20** at home

Sun 21 went to meeting **Mon 22** at home Ethan went to the Canyon **Tus 23** went to Sister Taylor to a quiltting **Wed 24** at home Bro Dablin and a pedler by the name of Mr Plant came **Thu 25** at home a fruit pedler by the name of Mr Pace came and stop all night **Fri 26** went to a Society quilting **Sat 27** went to wallsburgh

Sun 28 went to meeting **Mon 29** went to Bro Buyes Geo went to Heber **Tus 30** at home

NOTES

¹William Wright and his wife Mary Jane Baum Wright were on the records of the Charleston Ward in 1884. Margaret (Maggy) Wright was a daughter of William and of Jemmima Dands Wright, who had died in 1871. William Thomas (the "Billy" mentioned later in the journal) was the oldest child of the family, of the same generation as Isaac and Ethan Leonard Brown. Membership Records, Charleston Ward, 1884, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); William James Mortimer, comp. and ed., *How Beautiful upon the Mountains: A Centennial History of Wasatch County* (n.p.: Wasatch County Chapter Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1963), 1042.

²Enoch Richens was married to Fanny Boardman Richens and Susannah Bird Richens. Membership Records, Charleston Ward, LDS Church Archives. In 1877, Charleston was organized as a ward with Enoch Richens as one of the counselors to Bishop N. C. Murdock. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1003. Fanny Richens served in the Charleston Ward Relief Society presidency with Emma Brown. Carlie C. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch of Wasatch Stake Relief Society from Its Organization June 7, 1869 to June 7, 1915," LDS Church Archives.

³Maria McRae had served with Emma Brown in the Charleston Ward Relief Society from 1873 to 1877, when she moved to Arizona. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch."

⁴The Murdock clan was prominent in Heber Valley. Nymphus Coridon Murdock helped organize a cooperative store in Charleston; starting in 1877, he

served as bishop there for fourteen years. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in the Church*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901-36), 3:174. In 1879 his first wife, Melissa Barney Murdock, was a first counselor to Emma Brown, who was president of the Charleston Relief Society. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch."

⁵The 1884 membership records for Charleston Ward record a Sadie Bagley, daughter of William H. and Hannah Burnes Bagley. When Sadie died on January 10, she would have been eleven months old.

⁶This couple were the first settlers in "Buysville," and the ones for whom it was named. Other settlers Emma Brown knew in Buysville included the William Bromley family, the Wings, Thackers, Bancrofts, and Wahlquists. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 863. Buysville was still a part of the Charleston Ward at the time of this journal.

⁷Richard Camp and Sarah Jane Glenn Camp lived in Wallsburg. In 1879, Sarah Glenn was secretary and assistant counselor of the Wallsburg Ward Relief Society. Wallsburg Ward Relief Society Minutes, LDS Church Archives. Richard Camp was made president of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) in 1877-78. John C. Calderwood, "History of the Wallsburgh [sic] Ward, Wasatch Stake," LDS Church Archives.

⁸John Watkins was the head of a large family in Midway and first counselor to the bishop from 1877 until 1893, when he himself was appointed bishop. He had presided over the Charleston Branch earlier, which fact may in some part explain Emma Brown's acquaintance with his family. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 681-82.

⁹Mr. Gammett is not otherwise identified; however, Emma Brown later mentions stopping at Mr. Gammett's place on the way to Battle Creek.

¹⁰This appointment is curious since several other records agree that Emma Brown became Relief Society president in Charleston in 1874. Since the ward was first organized as such in 1877 with N. C. Murdock as bishop, perhaps this appointment constitutes an official organization of the Relief Society within the Charleston Ward even though the Relief Society had been organized in Charleston since 1870.

¹¹Evidently John Brown was not related to George Washington Brown and Emma Lorena Brown. He claimed farming land around Charleston and taught school there. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 994, 1008.

¹²Abram Hatch, considered "the foremost man in the county" in 1893 (Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, 4 vols. [Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892-1904], 2:24), was stake president; Thomas Huskinson Giles was his first counselor. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 4:660.

¹³Jane Maria Capener Taylor is often mentioned in this journal, as the mother of Sarah Elizabeth ("Lizza") Hanks and as the ex-wife of Ephraim Knowlton Hanks. At the time of this journal, she was the wife of Joseph E. Taylor, one of the original settlers of Charleston. Charleston Ward Membership Records, LDS Church Archives. She became first counselor in the Charleston Relief Society in 1879. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch," LDS Church Archives.

¹⁴John Watkins was married to Margaret Ackhurst, Harriet Steele, and Mary Ann Sawyer, all of whom lived in one house with their families. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 680-81.

¹⁵These visitors are Finity Daybell and Mary Draper; William Daybell, their son; and Annie Price, his wife.

¹⁶George Smith and Hannah Turner, his wife, lived in Charleston at this time. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 482.

¹⁷Agnes McGhie, wife of William McGhie, was treasurer in the Charleston Relief Society at this time. Tidwell, "Brief Sketch."

¹⁸Sarah McAfee Ritchie, married to John Ritchie, lived in Charleston. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1034.

¹⁹The number of bushels is very faint and may read either 2 or 3.

²⁰George E. Simmons was a high priest and seventy, which may explain Emma's use of "Pr[esident]" with him. Mary Jane Simmons, his daughter (here age fifteen), could be the Mary Ann in the next sentence. Charleston Ward Membership Records, LDS Church Archives.

²¹Jannetta Rhoads is named as a member of the Heber Ward Relief Society in an 1872 list, so this couple was probably living in Heber.

²²This may be Margaret Abpnalp of the Midway Ward Relief Society. Midway Ward Relief Society Minutes, 1877 list of members, LDS Church Archives.

²³One of the Relief Society sisters, Emma Trotman, acted as secretary in Charleston jointly with Sina Brown, Emma's daughter-in-law, at least from May 1878 to January 1879, since she is named as secretary in two reports of the Charleston Relief Society that were published in *Woman's Exponent* 7 (February 1, 1879): 189.

²⁴George Dabling was married to Esther Richman Dabling and they lived in Wallsburg, where Esther was a member of the Relief Society. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 647; Wallsburg Ward Relief Society Minutes, LDS Church Archives.

²⁵Charles Shelton was the founder of Charleston and the man after whom it was named. When he returned from a mission in 1869, he moved to Heber. His wife was Susan Jane Wilkins. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 478-79.

²⁶This is the same person as Emma Trotman, above (n. 23).

²⁷Rumill cannot be identified at present, but he (and his boys) may be related to Sallie Rumell of Salt Lake City, who is mentioned later in the journal on April 6, 1879.

²⁸Charles Franklin Decker lived in Salt Lake City and was related through marriage to Brigham Young. Ethan Leonard, Emma Brown's son, tells in his life history of living "across the Provo river south with Ike Decker" around 1860. Delight Decker, the sixth wife of Isaac Decker, was the neighbor of Emma and George Brown. FamilySearch, Personal Ancestral File (PAF), version 2.20, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987, 1994 (hereafter cited as FamilySearch). Isaac Decker was the father of Charles Decker. Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 56.

²⁹This entry is very faint; the word appears to be "brother," in which case it would refer to the residence of Lorenzo Snow.

³⁰In an undated story probably written years later entitled "Hard Times Again," Emma Brown relates an experience that occurred on one such outing: the bishop, hearing a rustling behind a bush, mistook a bear for one of his group, "so he commenced to preach to him" and "Mr Bear" came after him. After a series of comical mishaps, the group ate poor Mr. Bear and some of the berries they had gathered; "then they comenced to get sick and they concluded that servis berries

and bear meat warent good together.” Photocopy of holograph in possession of DeeAnne Clark Whetten.

³¹According to John M. Calderwood’s “History of the Wallsburgh [sic] Ward, Wasatch Stake,” a plague of grasshoppers descended in the following summer (1879) and destroyed all the wheat crop.

³²Ephraim Knowlton Hanks was married to Harriet Amelia Decker and Jane Maria Capener. Among the children of the second marriage were William Albert, mentioned in this entry, and Sarah Elizabeth, later to marry Ethan Leonard Brown. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1028.

³³That is, dyeing cloth.

³⁴Junius Free Wells was called in 1875 to organize the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association. Milton H. Hardy accompanied him on their mission of organizing the program in all the wards of the Church. Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:714, 2:240.

³⁵Several Oaks families lived in Heber Valley, all directly related to Hyrum and Sarah Ann Woods Oaks. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 666–67, 883–87. Emma Brown does not clarify which Oaks she has in mind.

³⁶Here begins a complicated pattern of duplicated entries. With the skip from “Mon 9” to “Mon 12,” Emma Brown goes back and retells, with some variation, the events of August 12–31. With the entry dated “September Sun 1st,” she repeats the events of September 1–9 as recorded above, with minor variations. From the entry dated “Tus 10,” she moves ahead with her narrative.

³⁷Jake Harris was a store owner in Wallsburg. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 912.

³⁸“Wright” is written over “come.”

³⁹Elmina S. Taylor, counselor to Mary Isabella Horne in the Salt Lake Stake Relief Society, was also president of the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association. Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, *Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 120, 122.

⁴⁰Snyderville was a small settlement near present-day Park City, well situated as a halfway point on the road to Salt Lake City.

⁴¹“&” is written over “and.”

⁴²When Emma Brown names men who come to her home as “teachers,” she makes reference to visits from church men in the forerunner of the modern LDS “home teaching.”

⁴³Probably refers to Jane Freeman, wife of William Eaton Horner, or to Amanda Jane Smith, her daughter-in-law. FamilySearch.

⁴⁴Samuel McAfee had a young family and lived in Charleston with his wife Ann Campbell Baird McAfee. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1077.

⁴⁵William Jasper Boren Sr. and Lucina Mecham Boren moved to Wallsburg in 1864. Emma Brown is said to have taken the butter Lucina Boren made and to have sold it in Salt Lake City for her. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 926–27.

⁴⁶The writing is blurred, so the reading of this word is a guess.

⁴⁷*Woman’s Exponent* 7 (February 1, 1879): 189 reports:

A Mass Meeting of the ladies of Charleston was held in the Meeting House Jan. 6, 1879. Mrs. Mary Daybell called the meeting to order, and moved that Mrs. Emma Brown preside; the motion was carried

and Mrs. Emma Trotman was chosen Secretary. After singing and prayer Pres. E. Brown explained the object of the meeting, and stated that as the Gentile ladies of Salt Lake City had got up a petition to abolish polygamy, we, as sisters believing in plural marriage, wish to oppose them. Many of the sisters expressed their feelings, and all felt to uphold and sustain the principle of plural marriage.

⁴⁸William Forman was bishop of the Heber West Ward, 1877-84. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1941), 329. Catherine, his wife, was the Relief Society president of the same ward. In 1877, John Crook was made one of the high councillors of the stake as well as first counselor to Bishop Forman. Wasatch Stake Historical Notes, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁹The neighbors of William Wright relied on his medical expertise, although he was never trained as a physician. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 1042.

⁵⁰William Bromley and Sarah Bullimore Bromley lived in Charleston. Their children were Celestia Clarissa, Amanda, and Benjamin. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 862.

⁵¹The corner of the original page is turned down in the copy, so one word is illegible.

⁵²Eliza McCullun Sabey, wife of James Sabey, lived in Charleston and Wallburg. Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 1146.

⁵³The only doctor in the area named Young was Seymour Bicknell Young, a trained physician practicing in Salt Lake City. Perhaps he is the doctor to whom she refers. See Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:200-202.

⁵⁴Unlike other lacunae of a week or more, this one cannot be explained by a missing page, at least according to Emma's own pagination.

⁵⁵Amy and Elvira Wing were twin daughters of Samuel Joseph Wing and Elizabeth Jane Wright. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 501.

⁵⁶Perhaps Emma Lorena is referring to William Capener, father of Jane Capener Hanks Taylor and grandfather of Elizabeth Hanks. In 1885 he and Sam, his son, came to help build a home for Ethan Leonard and Elizabeth Hanks Brown. Ethan Leonard Brown, "Life History of Ethan Leonard Brown," as told to Reta Brown Clark, typescript, n.d., in possession of DeeAnne Clark Whetten.

⁵⁷This is Sarah Elizabeth Hanks, who would marry Ethan Leonard Brown on October 27, 1880.

⁵⁸Cannot be identified at present.

⁵⁹George Dabling was sixteen years old in 1879. He later married Ada Glenn. Mortimer, *How Beautiful*, 931.

⁶⁰Mary Ellen Foster married Benjamin Cluff in 1854, and they lived in Center Creek; Rhoda Elizabeth Harvey was married two weeks after this entry (September 21, 1879) to Joseph Foster. FamilySearch; family information in possession of Maureen Ursenbach Beecher.

⁶¹This and the following entry contain names of several Utah Valley acquaintances, including Margaret Thompson McMeans Smoot, president of the Utah Stake Relief Society.



Judith Mehr, *Family Garden*. Oil on canvas, 42" x 56", 1981. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.

Quiet Acts of Religious Devotion: The Art of Judith Mehr

Richard G. Oman

The works by Judith Mehr in this issue are significant because they help bridge the distance between Latter-day Saint art and life. They remind us that Latter-day Saint identity is based upon more than faith in angelic visitations and heroic religious history. That identity is also about faithful obedience in our daily lives to prophetic counsel. Latter-day Saints are set apart from others not only by their theology and history, but also by the religious meaning that is assigned to what may appear to be rather mundane acts. Thus Latter-day Saints often express acts of religious commitment in ways that the broader world might not even recognize as religious.

Mehr depicts quiet acts of religious devotion that connect faith and action. “I was looking for ways to depict faith without being too sentimental,” Mehr said. “But it is sometimes scary to expose your inner feelings in something as public as a painting.” In two works, she also explores some of the quiet acts of nurturing, thrift, and devotion that shape a Mormon woman’s life. One painting depicts her own mother, Kathryn Mehr, standing in the middle of her food storage. The other depicts Nada Fluckiger, who is well known for her homemade bread. The third work, *Family Garden*, was painted during the period in which President Kimball advocated planting gardens. In this piece, she captures the Mormon values of devotion, self-sufficiency, and family strength. The models for this work were the Blalicks—members of her own extended family—including her cousin who was bishop of the Natchez, Mississippi, ward at the time.

A native of California, Mehr studied art at Brigham Young University with Bill Whitaker, Trevor Southey, Franz Johansen, Alex

Darais, and others. Mehr graduated with a B.F.A. in 1974 and the following year did graduate work and taught art part-time in the BYU art department. She returned to northern California, where the two works of art on the cover were painted. She currently resides in the Salt Lake Valley, where she works as a full-time professional artist.

Working primarily in oils, Mehr does portraits, landscapes, still life, genre, and religious murals. One of her best-known paintings is a huge seventy-four-figure, twenty-three-foot-long mural, *The Eternal Family through Christ*, in the foyer of the Genealogical Library in Salt Lake City. Her portraits, including one of Spencer W. Kimball, have been displayed at the Museum of Church History and Art. Her work is also found in private and corporate collections in many states and has been exhibited as part of the Church-wide international art competitions. In a 1990 national competition, one of her pieces was selected for the Art in the Parks exhibition in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

Richard G. Oman is Senior Curator at the Museum of Church History and Art.

Please Don't Kick the Piano

James M. Thorne

Some wise and enterprising piano manufacturer would do well to produce a kick-proof model with a sturdy padded panel just above the pedals. The walnut and mahogany veneers are beautiful but vulnerable to the petulant toes of teenage girls. At least so thought the wise and enterprising Mrs. Bloom as she winced at the veneer-threatening percussion that accompanied her daughter's practice session. "Kick it one more time and you'll be down under the piano with a rag and furniture polish!" she yelled. But her own toes hurt with some long-ago memories.

"I've got a better idea," daughter Lisa called back. "Let me get under the piano with a box of matches, and I'll burn the horrid thing up! Mom, why do I have to take these dumb lessons? What possible good will it ever do me?"

"It will make you into a refined and talented young lady," Mrs. Bloom lied. "And boys will come from afar just to sit under the window and listen to you play, their hearts breaking from the beauty of it," she added, carrying the lie just a little further.

She thought about her own husband with his tin ear and knew of a certainty that her own arduous years of piano lessons were of absolutely no consequence in their courtship. She had taken him to a symphony once; he had fallen asleep and snored magnificently through Barber's Adagio for Strings. She was so embarrassed that it had become a favorite story of his, repeated endlessly at parties while she stood with a fixed smile and imagined herself feeding him, piece by piece, down the garbage disposal.

"If it's supposed to make me into a refined and talented young lady," Lisa retorted, "why is it turning me into a raving maniac?"

"You were always a raving maniac," Mrs. Bloom said sweetly. "Maybe, with enough practice, you can become a refined and

talented young lady maniac. Boys won't come from afar to sit under the window of a raving maniac."

"No boy is going to come and sit under my window, anyway," Lisa said with the finality that betrays cautious hope.

"Don't be too sure. Kevin the paper boy sat in our driveway on his bicycle yesterday for about five minutes listening to you practice, and that's a fact because I watched him."

"Not Kevin the paper boy! Oh, Mom, that's horrible! Kevin plays the piano at assemblies and accompanies the school choir. He plays concert stuff. That's like having Paganini standing outside your window listening to every mistake you make!"

"Paganini astraddle his bicycle," laughed Mrs. Bloom. "Besides, Paganini was a violinist."

"I don't care what he was. This is it! I quit piano today! I can't have Kevin the paper boy laugh at my mistakes!"

"He didn't seem to be laughing. In fact, he seemed to be rather enjoying it. Look," Mrs. Bloom suggested, "you don't have to practice in the afternoon if you're worried about Kevin the paper boy. Do your homework in the afternoon and practice right after supper. That way your father can listen to you instead of Kevin."

"A nice touch," Mrs. Bloom congratulated herself. "A little coup. Let him suffer through the tantrums and the trills. He deserves it! Oh, yes he does!"

So she was perhaps a little disappointed when the new schedule worked beautifully. Lisa suddenly became quite dutiful—even enthusiastic—about practicing in the evening, and her father seemed to tolerate the sessions without any apparent discomfort. It didn't seem quite fair. A couple of weeks later, she was surprised again when Lisa reported that her music teacher had suggested that she try some duets with her mother. "It's to help me learn how to accompany people," she explained. "I have to learn how to keep playing and not stop when I make a mistake."

"What about my mistakes?" objected Mrs. Bloom. "It's been years since I had to practice." She suddenly realized she was groping for excuses just like her daughter. Lisa picked up on the rationalization immediately. "But Mother, think of how talented and refined you will become. Think of the men from afar, sitting under your window, their hearts breaking."

"Astraddle their bicycles," giggled Mrs. Bloom.

So they selected a Mozart sonatina arranged for four hands. Mrs. Bloom practiced a little in the midmornings, when she was all alone and didn't have to worry about Kevin the paper boy laughing at her mistakes. Lisa practiced right after supper, mostly ignored by her tolerant but tin-eared father, and then the two women sat down on the piano bench together. By mutual and unspoken consent, Mrs. Bloom assumed the lower clef, and Lisa played the upper melody. The two suffered through miscues, stops, starts, and initial awkwardness; for two brains, two pairs of eyes and ears, four hands, and twenty fingers were all trying to cope with Mozart's musical dance of ideas, communicated through two centuries to Mrs. Bloom and Lisa, seated side by side on the piano bench.

Once, during her own practice time, Mrs. Bloom gave a frustrated—but tentative—kick at the piano just to see if it felt the same. She had special trouble with a trill for the left hand. Unreservedly right-handed, she could not make her fingers move fast enough for a proper trill. She tried crossing her right hand over and letting more nimble fingers handle the trill, but it was too distracting, and finally she had to eliminate the trill and simply play the bass note. Mr. Bloom didn't even notice.

Mrs. Bloom had an odd moment of reflection a few days later when Lisa's music teacher told her that the idea for the duet was entirely Lisa's, although the teacher seemed pleased that Mrs. Bloom had taken up the challenge that her daughter's decision had posed. Mrs. Bloom searched for the motivation behind Lisa's untruth and decided that it was a simple ploy to make her a fellow sufferer by requiring her own practice routine. The plan had backfired, because she was beginning to enjoy it.

Then one evening the piece came together. About a third of the way through, with no mistakes by either, each became aware that they were completely in sync with each other. They could sense each other's growing excitement and began to anticipate each other's timing and inflections. There was first a shared expectancy and then a growing certainty that this time would be perfect, that not only would there be no mistakes, but they were incapable of making mistakes. They felt the tangible thrill that jazz

musicians feel sometimes, late in the lonely nights, when the music takes hold of them and plays them as if they had become their own instruments. They felt the cumulative excitement of a team on a hot streak, when everything works and the crowd goes wild with excitement and anticipation.

The thrill grew and carried them through to the final chords, and Lisa squealed with excitement and gave her mother a hug and a squeeze. Even Mr. Bloom looked up and smiled. Mrs. Bloom went to bed that night inexpressibly happy and curled up against her husband; her dreams were full of great, round things which seemed to burst when one touched them, filling everything with such incredible sweetness that she was sorry when she woke up and had to make breakfast for Mr. Bloom.

A few days later, Lisa somehow got Kevin the paper boy disengaged from his bicycle and into the house. "My music teacher gave me this duet," Mrs. Bloom heard her daughter explain disingenuously as she steered Kevin over to the piano bench. "Mom has been practicing it a little with me, but she gets so busy and really doesn't have the time." Mrs. Bloom stood in the doorway and leaned against the jamb, twisting the dishtowel in her hands, partly amused and absolutely fascinated by her daughter's manipulation of Kevin.

Then they began to play, and from the opening notes, they were in sync. Kevin, sight-reading the music for the first time, handled the bass part crisply and flawlessly. Mrs. Bloom's breath caught as he executed the left-hand trill with precision and grace. Lisa, with weeks of careful practice behind her, was caught up in Kevin's technical skill, and Mrs. Bloom could feel the electrical excitement build as they fed on each other's playing.

"So!" thought Mrs. Bloom. "So! This is what it was all about. The whole idea for the duet was for Kevin the paper boy, and I was simply used." The initial amusement gave way, and a strange sadness welled up as she seemed to feel herself supplanted in her daughter's affections.

Kevin's and Lisa's hands danced through the final chords, and Lisa squealed with excitement and gave Kevin a hug and a squeeze. Mrs. Bloom turned quickly away; even that had been simply practice for Kevin.

At supper that night, Mrs. Bloom winked at her daughter and said, "So, your mother doesn't have the time to practice with you, and you had to enlist Kevin the paper boy!"

"Isn't he cute, Mom?" gushed Lisa. "And how do you like the way he plays? Isn't he marvelous? We've made a deal. He helps me with my practicing in the afternoon, and I help him finish his paper route."

"Did you need to lie?"

"It was only a little lie," grinned Lisa with absolute innocence. "Now you don't have to practice anymore, except when I'm trying to learn a new duet. I don't want Kevin to hear all my mistakes. Besides, you told me that piano playing would make me into a refined young lady, and what good is a refined young lady if she can't attract boys?"

"Sitting under your window, their hearts breaking," said Mrs. Bloom in a tiny voice, wondering why her own heart was breaking.

"Silly me," she thought that night, when her tears began to flow onto her pillow. "Silly, old, foolish me. I should be happy that I have such a clever daughter. I should be happy that my clever daughter has snared a boyfriend. This is the way life is." And she held in her sobs so she wouldn't wake her husband because there wasn't a thing she could tell him that he would even begin to understand.

James M. Thorne is an architect, practicing in Sunnyvale, California. He never kicked the piano, but his sisters all did. He won third place with this story in the 1994 Short Story contest sponsored by *BYU Studies*.

Mimesis Upended: A Reluctant Nod to Mr. Wilde

How did she see peaches,
never seeing a Cezanne?
this mother of my mother
who passed to me, across a generation,
her own deep-burning need for Beauty.

Or so I'm told.

"You remind me of your grandma,"
my mother used to chide as she coaxed me
from pages abloom with Renoirs and Monets.
"Only she loved honeysuckle and Indian paintbrush."

I don't remember.

I knew her only when she was old
and her mind was gone
and she waltzed with strangers in her ruby robe
and sang, "Have you seen my new shoes?"

How did she see flowers,
knowing no O'Keeffe to lead her
deep into the sultry depths of poppies?
this daughter of desert basin who journeyed once
as far as Blue Bench—one day's ride.

“You’ve got your grandma’s eyes,” great-aunts
peer out from afghan barracks and decide.
But I know better.
She saw unaided (unencumbered?).
She saw direct, all by herself. I can’t.

How would I see orange without Albers,
thick-crust bread without Vermeer,
eyes without Eakins, light without Turner,
my own still bath-wet form reflected
without hosts from Phidias forward?

Proud fashioners of Art (of life?)
these benefactor-thieves,
bestowing their vision while robbing my own,
granting me what grandma never had—
The prejudice of education.

—Sharlee Mullins Glenn

cosmic dishtowels

Now, I'm not calling for the feminine Father,
or androgynous Adonai or gender reversal in the trinity;
I'm just relating simple facts:
The Lord was a homemaker from the beginning,
and He embroidered dishtowels.

Contemplating creation, He cut
the fabric of angel robes,
threaded his needle with comet tails,
some dyed in the pinks and blues of nebulae,
and decorated a complete set
with uncounted, numberless cross-stitches:

light from darkness on Sunday
waters from waters on Monday
land (and plants) from waters on Tuesday
lights in the firmament on Wednesday
animals on Thursday
man on Friday
rest on Sabbath.

Now, whether he uses the towels
to dry the big dipper,
or to cover suns as they rise,
or to keep cosmic dust off cooked comets,
or to pull pans of baked stars out of the oven,
I can't establish—I'm just relating the facts:
The Lord was a homemaker from the beginning,
and He embroidered dishtowels.

—Casualene Meyer

Mathematical Parables

Examples of mathematicians assisting each other and building upon instead of fearing their differences serve as modern parables for handling our own differences as scholars and friends.

J. W. Cannon

William P. Thurston, the best geometer in the world today, always wore plaid shirts and stretch denim jeans in his younger years. My children thus consider plaid shirts and stretch denim jeans standard costume for mathematicians. When Bill was to give the final talk of the International Congress of Mathematicians in Helsinki, we all wondered how he would dress for this formal occasion. Would he wear a plaid shirt and stretch denim jeans? Or would he succumb to the pressures of public appearance and dress in formal or semiformal attire? We watched from far back in the huge audience. He had indeed succumbed to societal pressures: he had ironed his plaid shirt.

A recent essay discusses academic dress and makes the following assertion: academic people dress with a formality inversely proportional to the confidence they have in their subject. Without doubt, said the essay, mathematicians are the worst dressed among all academics, since they have the most confidence in the reliability of their discipline. You can guess for yourself which departments were found to have the best-dressed professors. And tonight—well, you can guess from my black tuxedo and pleated white shirt just how much confidence I have in what I am going to say.

Elaine Sorensen congratulated me shortly after the Maeser Lecture was announced and said, “My only disappointment is that the committee still hasn’t chosen a woman for the award.” Her point was well taken. The Maeser Lecture is designed to honor an endeavor rather than a person. The lecturer represents a

group of people who find academic life important and satisfying. The lecturers need to represent over time all of the large segments of this striving population, including women. The speakers are viewed as a little more important than they are because they represent not only the reality, but the aspirations of the population. Most of us can appreciate and hope for better things than we can actually accomplish.

Some would say that research and creative arts aren't that important in the eternal perspective. And in saying so they may be right. But this work, for me as a mathematician at least, is the best work that I can do, and I would be wrong to give it up for something that is even less important. It beats watching television by a country mile.

Some Generalizations about Mathematicians

Let us begin with a few general questions about mathematicians. These questions are representative of the ones I'm most often asked.

Regarding the traditional mathematics professor, George Pólya, a Hungarian mathematician, wrote:

The traditional mathematics professor of the popular legend is absentminded. He usually appears in public with a lost umbrella in each hand. . . . He writes a , he says b , he means c ; but it should be d . Some of his sayings are handed down from generation to generation. . . . [For example], "This principle is so perfectly general that no particular application of it is possible.

Geometry is the art of correct reasoning on incorrect figures."

After all, you can learn something from this traditional mathematics professor. Let us hope that the mathematics teacher from whom you cannot learn anything will not become traditional.¹

How Does a Mathematician Work? Bill Floyd and his father are mathematicians. The elder Floyd was long-time provost of Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia. Son Bill wanted to become a botanist, but in deference to his father, he applied to one graduate school in mathematics. Princeton accepted him. Commenting on the mathematician's thought process, Bill says, "R. H. Bing said he only worked on problems that you could think about while mowing the lawn. Any problem I've worked on I could think about while on a hike."²

Why Do People Become Mathematicians? G. H. Hardy wrote concerning the lure of mathematics:

It is sometimes suggested, by lawyers or politicians or business men, that an academic career is one sought mainly by cautious and unambitious persons who care primarily for comfort and security. The reproach is quite misplaced. . . . [The mathematician] would have rejected their careers because of his ambition, because he would have scorned to be a man to be forgotten in twenty years.

A mathematician, like a painter or a poet, is a maker of patterns. If his patterns are more permanent than theirs, it is because they are made with *ideas*.

The mathematician's patterns, like the painter's or the poet's, must be *beautiful*; the ideas, like the colours or the words, must fit together in a harmonious way. Beauty is the first test: there is no permanent place in the world for ugly mathematics.³

Why Does Mathematics Exist? Science and mathematics exist because the universe is patterned. Mathematics is simply the study of these patterns, especially of their logical structure. Science decides whether a given pattern proposed by a mathematician does or does not approximate a specific aspect of reality.

People are amazed at the applicability of mathematics. For example, physicist Steven Weinberg writes about the application of linear algebra and matrix theory to Heisenberg's matrix mechanics, "This is one example of the spooky ability of mathematicians to anticipate structures that are relevant to the real world."⁴ The mathematician would reply, "I wouldn't be a very good mathematician if I couldn't recognize fundamental patterns in the world around me."

Is Mathematics Worth Anything in the Real World? I always laugh inwardly when people ask, Is mathematics worth anything in the real world? Studying the patterns inherent in God's universe always seems more real to me than watching real-world television or engaging in real-world business. The mathematician wants to understand—to understand everything! The great German mathematician David Hilbert formulated this motto: "Wir müssen wissen. Wir werden wissen." "We must know! We will know!"⁵ If mathematicians and scientists keep their eyes open for the richest and most significant patterns apparent about them, they can hardly avoid developing important results.

Consider three of the great scientific developments of this century: relativity theory, quantum mechanics, and the science of computing. Surely you will have a hard time finding three developments that have had a more profound effect on our world in this century. You may consider two of them as physics and the third as engineering, and they are. But each was founded in very large measure upon mathematics.

Einstein founded relativity theory on the mathematical principle of geometric invariance. The mathematics he used was the differential geometry of Gauss, Riemann, Poincaré, and Levi-Civita.

In his development of quantum mechanics, Erwin Schrödinger found exactly the mathematical methods he needed in the work of David Hilbert.⁶ Concerning the discovery, Schrödinger wrote:

It works!—the magnificent classical mathematics and the mathematics of Hilbert. These unfold everything so clearly before us, that all we have to do is to take it, without any labour and bothering; because the correct method is provided in time, as soon as one needs it, completely automatically.⁷

Mathematical logicians supplied the foundation for modern computing. Kurt Gödel, Emil Post, Steven Kleene, Barkely Rosser, Alan Turing, and others answered the question, What does it mean to calculate something? They found that all known methods of calculation can be reduced to procedures so simple that they can be implemented in a mechanical way. Based on this logic, another mathematician, John von Neumann, developed the idea of the stored computer program. With new developments in electronics, computers were on their way.

Do Mathematicians Delight in the Uselessness of Mathematics? Mathematicians have sometimes resisted being told by others what is real and what is important. The mathematician's point of view is well illustrated by several paintings of the Flemish painter Peter Bruegel the Elder. It would be helpful to refer to a collection of Bruegel's paintings, such as Marguerite Kay's book *Bruegel*.⁸

Ask yourself in each instance, What is the important issue at stake in the painting? As with mathematics, the important issue is not always obvious at first glance, and our experience may not

make obvious what *is* important; therefore, we may have to be educated to realize that certain issues are critical.

First consider *The Numbering at Bethlehem*. The scene is a typical Flemish village, midwinter, with peasants walking or skating on a frozen river or lake, village children playing, and many people clustering around a rather prominent house in the lower-left foreground. Have you recognized the obvious fact that there is no room in this inn? Did you find Mary and Joseph and the donkey? Did you understand that one of the key moments of earthly existence is about to take place?

You won't have as much trouble with the next picture because you now know what to look for. The painting is entitled *The Procession to Calvary* and the scene is, of course, of Flemish peasants pursuing their everyday tasks. Far away on the hill stands a circle of people so distant as to be almost invisible. Upon close examination, you see that they are awaiting some special event. You are struck by the colorful red cloaks worn by a rather long procession of horseback riders. Almost invisible in the center of the painting is a man fallen upon his knees with a cross over his shoulder. The largest figure in the painting is beautiful: a woman in the lower-right corner who clearly sorrows and is being comforted by three companions—one male and two female.

In a third painting, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, you might have a little trouble identifying the important factors in the scene without some coaching from the artist. Business travelers in ancient costume with a Flemish flare are toiling up a dirt-covered mountain road. Amidst some very large trees, far away and somewhat in the background, many people surround a fallen traveler. One companion shades his eyes as he stares into the sky. Most of the travelers see nothing unusual or ignore what is happening. Would you, as an outsider, want to tell Paul what is really important at this moment? If he heard you at all, he might find your intrusion irritating.

Mathematicians care very much about the applications of their mathematics. As with Bruegel's work, the applications they have in mind, however, may have little to do with the ones you think they ought to have in mind.

How Do Mathematicians Choose What to Study? Much of mathematics is devoted to problems with an immense history. No field has a richer tradition. Most mathematical problems are too difficult to solve. Many mathematicians hack away at these old, difficult problems, bringing the difficulties into better focus, perhaps revealing new vistas and resolving old difficulties. But mathematicians are ready to consider any rich and interesting pattern, new or old.

What Is It Like to Be a Mathematician? My children say that only the children of mathematicians want to be mathematicians. I consider the life of a mathematician personally exciting. Mathematics has given me friends spread over the world and over time. I have spent days with the Greeks who lived hundreds of years before Christ—with Euclid, Eudoxus, Archimedes, Pythagoras, and Apollonius. I have spent months with Newton, with Euler, with the Bernoullis, with Gauss, Riemann, Poincaré, and Hilbert. I have personal friends on each continent and have traveled, because of mathematics, to four of the continents. I have personal mathematical friends in almost every state of the Union and in many foreign countries. They have invariably treated me with kindness and consideration and respect.

Let me give you an idea of the life of mathematics by outlining in the next section a problem in which I have been involved. It is not the most important problem in mathematics—only the best I can do. The account will be simplified. A reporter suggested to physicist Richard Feynman that he might respond to the question, “What did you win the [Nobel] Prize for?” with “Listen, buddy, if I could tell you in a minute what I did, it wouldn’t be worth the Nobel Prize.”⁹ Of course, I haven’t won the Nobel Prize. Mathematicians don’t have a Nobel Prize. They have a Fields Medal.¹⁰ And I haven’t won the Fields Medal, and won’t, since it is given only to mathematicians under the age of forty. As I discuss some general goals, ideas, and events, you may be able to gain a feeling for what it is like to be a mathematician.

Mathematical Parallels, or Parabolas: The Double Suspension Problem

Both *parable* and *parabola* mean to set beside or in parallel. Our mathematical parallels are called parabolas while our people

parallels are called parables. I will start with parabolas. The parabolas I consider are geometry versus algebra and large versus small.

Geometry versus Algebra. Our models of space are built on line and number, geometry and algebra, respectively. In ancient Greece, the Pythagoreans viewed the entire universe as built upon number. They imagined the line as a succession of indivisible objects that could be counted, like beads on a string. When Hip-pasus, one of their colleagues, proved that this view was wrong, they were so shocked they drowned him in the sea.¹¹ Being a mathematician is sometimes dangerous.

History has since modified our vision of line and number. For millennia, the number zero was not recognized as a number—it was a nothing. In the first century after Christ, someone introduced zero as a placeholder. Arithmetic as we know it, however, was not widely accepted until A.D. 1300. Finger arithmetic was standard fare in books as recently as A.D. 1500.¹²

Beginning with the eighteenth century, the concepts of line and real number were fused, setting the stage for a unified geometric-arithmetic model for space. A number became simply a point in the line, and the line could be viewed as a varying number. The line was the basis for one-variable mathematics.

One variable, however, is not enough to measure a complex world. Are three space variables enough? Does it make any sense to talk about space with more than three or four variables?

Mathematician Mary Ellen Rudin once wrote in a letter:

My one total disaster [as a speaker] was a talk that I gave to the winners of Presidential awards for high school science teaching. It was at the State Department. The law forbade me to have any visual aid. I could only wave my hands. I'm not sure a single non-Ph.D. mathematician in the room understood anything I said. I got exactly one question, asked by perhaps 15 different people: "How can one possibly have more than 4 dimensions?"¹³

Mary Ellen Rudin grew up in a small Texas town. She wrote more than seventy research papers while tending her small children in her very open home designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. She covered the dangerous gaps in the open stairway with fishnet until the children were old enough to be safe from falling.

I should at this point ask a mother with six children (Mary Ellen had only four) to explain how many variables complicate her

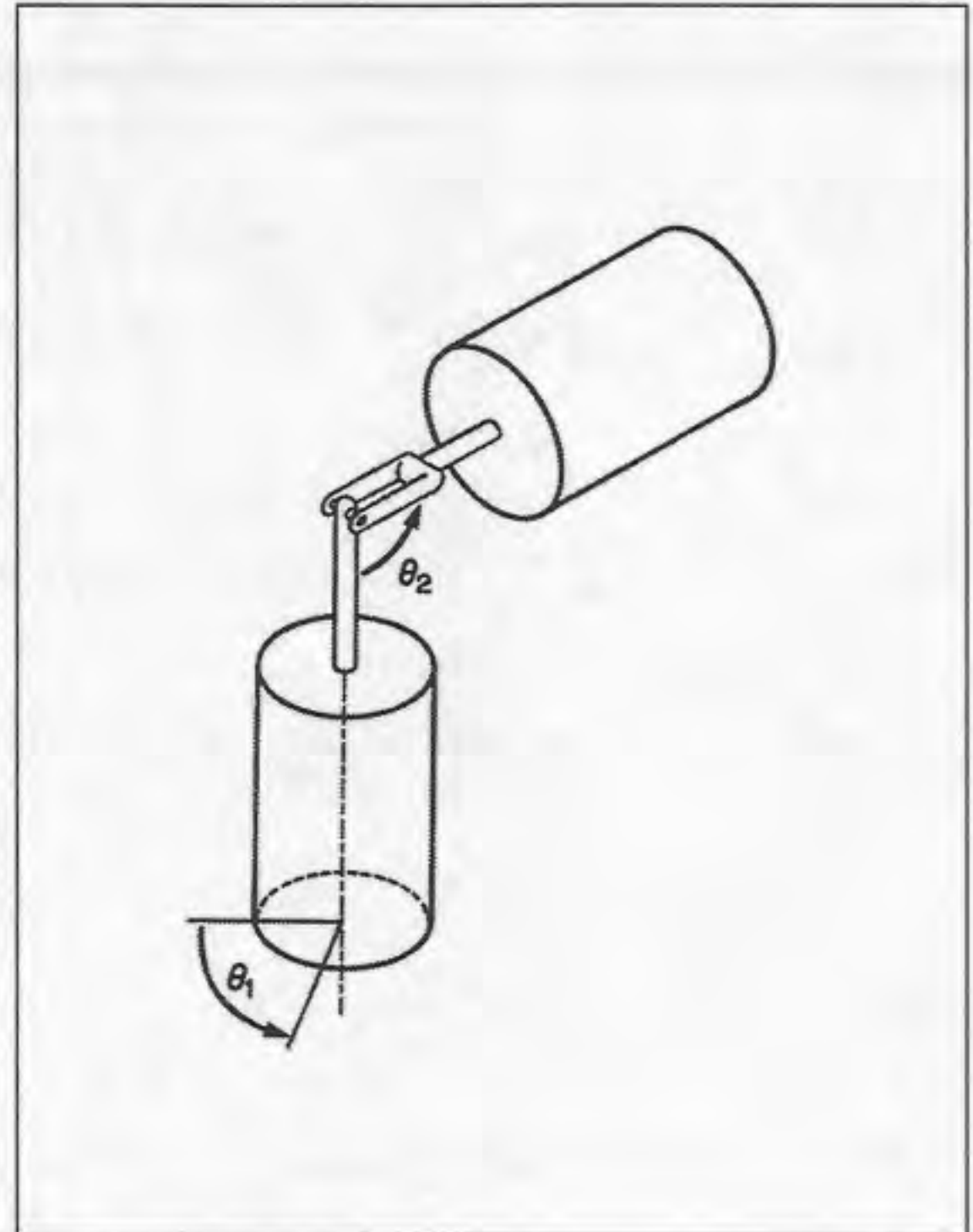
life. If she can get by with three variables, she has either lost four children or three children and their father.

Life is high dimensional. The mathematics of life is equally high dimensional. As one might say, the complications of life are manifold; *manifold* is the name given to a mathematical model with more than one variable. The mathematical term *manifold* should be learned by every educated person.

A robot arm formed from links illustrates the term *manifold*. The position of each link, relative to the previous link, is given by one variable. Each link raises the mathematical description of the arm by one dimension. Robot arms with six links have been built. The possible positions of such an arm require six variables for their descriptions and therefore form a manifold of six dimensions.

Helaman Rolfe Pratt Ferguson is a noted Mormon mathematical artist who believes in the power of high-dimensional art. He asks the question, "Why does a sculpture affect us more when we see it in person than when we see a picture?" His answer? "The physical viewing of sculpture is a high-dimensional event." Ferguson comments:

In examining sculpture, one should use all of the body, not just the eyes. Our feet supply a dimension that brings us in proximity to the object. In order to feel the object we bring into play the joints of feet, ankles, knees, waist, neck, shoulders, elbows, wrists, and fingers. The nerve impulses from fingertips and palms add to the sensory perception. With truly binocular vision at play with the twelve ocular muscles, with all of the muscles and joints and nerves sending their separate messages to our brains, when we view and feel the object at close range, we get a huge-dimensional view of a physical sculpture.¹⁴



A robot arm. This robot arm is an example of the high dimensionality of life. The position of each link must be defined by a variable of one dimension. Because this arm has two free joints, a specific position of the arm must be described in terms of two dimensions.

Manifolds can be geometrically beautiful. They can be curved. They are generally very high dimensional. The notion of a manifold is much more basic to physics and mathematics than the better-known notions of a black hole, quasar, neutrino, or big bang. (This last point reveals the difference between mathematicians and physicists: physicists are better at advertising their work. If mathematicians solving some equations discover a singularity in the solution, they report, "There is a singularity in the solution of these equations." On the other hand, if physicists discover the same singularity by the same methods, they say, "The universe was created with a Big Bang [read, singularity in an equation]. Give us a billion dollars to study it.")

From 1821 until 1848, Karl Friedrich Gauss¹⁵ conducted extensive geodetic surveys. (Geodesy is a branch of mathematics involving features of the earth, like surface, shape, size, and gravity.) These surveys suggested problems connected with curved surfaces. The resulting studies began the mathematics of relativity and the geometric study of manifolds.¹⁶

Gauss was followed by Bernhard Riemann, born in Germany in 1826, the son of a Lutheran pastor. In 1857, at the age of thirty-one, Riemann became an assistant professor. On his minuscule salary, he supported himself and three sisters. Riemann married at the age of thirty-six, but he contracted tuberculosis and died at the age of thirty-nine: "He said to [his wife], 'Kiss our child.' She repeated the Lord's prayer with him; . . . at the words 'Forgive us our trespasses' he looked up devoutly; she felt his hand grow colder in hers. He served his God faithfully, as his father had, but in a different way."¹⁷

Riemann revolutionized everything he touched. With Gauss, he fathered the geometry that led to relativity theory.¹⁸ Here is how Riemann explained the notion of manifold to the general audience:

If one travels in a continuous manner from one position to another, then the intermediate points through which one travels form a one-fold manifold. We then think of this entire one-fold manifold sliding from its given position over into another completely different position so that every point of the first passes into a specific point of the second. The simple manifold, by its motion, sweeps out what we call a two-fold extended manifold. And it is easy to imagine continuing this construction into arbitrarily many dimensions.¹⁹

At the turn of the century, Henri Poincaré was the world's greatest mathematician. With H. A. Lorentz and Albert Einstein, he discovered the theory of special relativity, based on the theory of curved manifolds. Poincaré studied the properties of manifolds by means of a new method that we now call topology. (I consider myself a topologist.) Poincaré explained: "Topology allows us to recognize qualitative relations in spaces of more than three dimensions. Topology renders service analogous to that rendered in low dimensions by pictures."²⁰

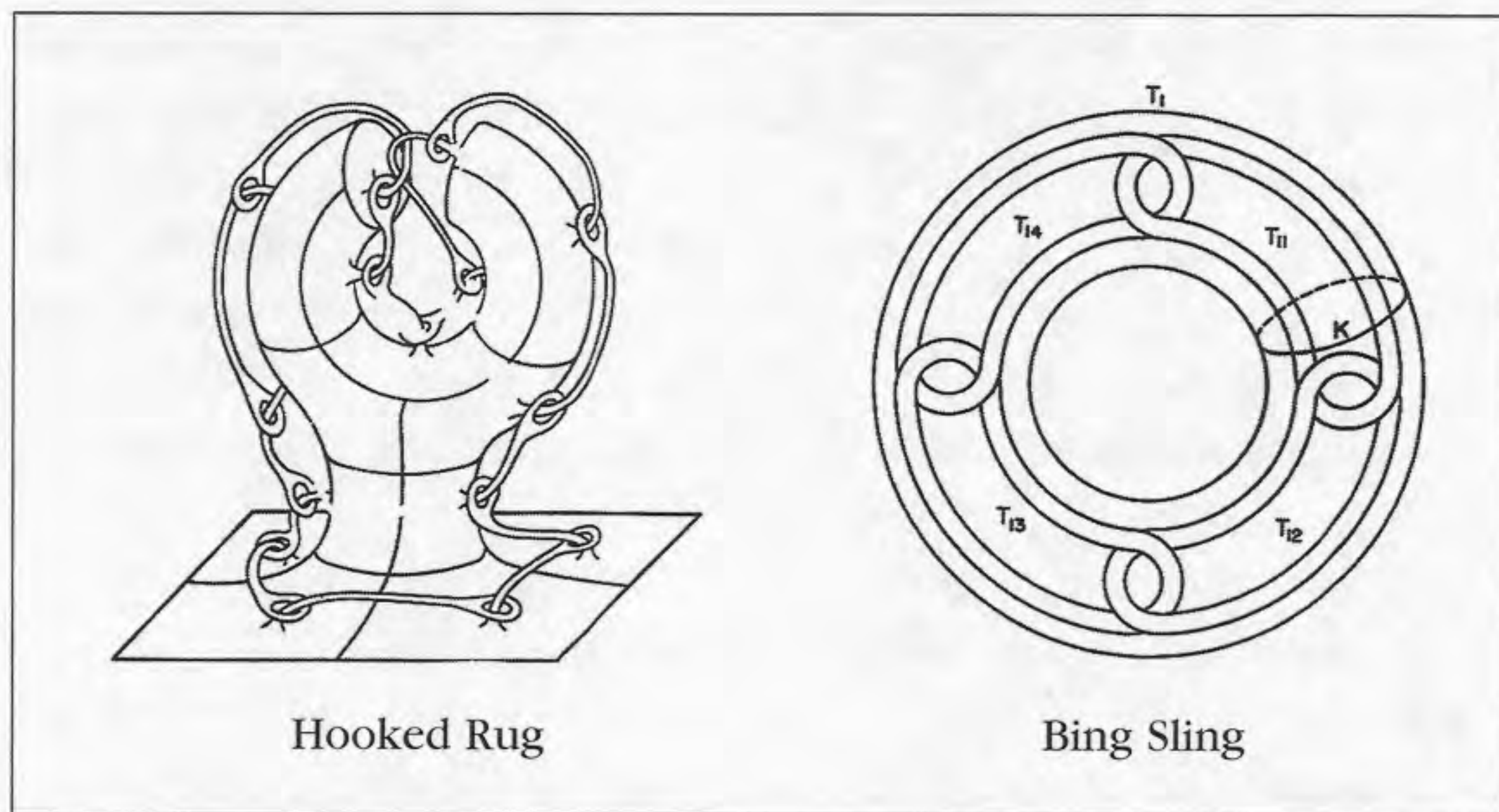
In summary, the most common mathematical model of space is the manifold, based on many variables, each variable being a number that as it varies, sweeps out a constituent direction or line in the manifold. This fusion of line, number, manifold, and space completes our first mathematical parallel or parable. Our second parabola is more modern, more specialized. It concerns the topology of manifolds. Here we are concerned with the conflict between the very large and very small.

Large versus Small. People have always disagreed about the most important things to study. For example, are big things more important, or are little things? Relativity theory studies big things; quantum theory, small things. Manifolds are a good model for relativity theory, a poor model for quantum theory. Hence, two schools of thought have developed. One says only the large-scale structure of manifolds is important. The second says anything that happens in the small happens in the large and vice versa. Both small and large are important. The theories of small and large developed independently according to the thought and taste of the participants. An advocate of the large view was John Milnor of Princeton University. An advocate of the small view was R. H. Bing from Texas.

In an undergraduate class at Princeton University, freshman John Milnor solved within a week the problem his professor posed as an illustration of an important unsolved problem in mathematics.²¹ Milnor went on to a brilliant career and became a Fields Medalist.²² He claimed we should study high dimensions algebraically and prove theorems about infinitely many dimensions at once.

R. H. Bing, on the other hand, was a high-school football coach from Texas. The stereotypical complaint of mathematicians

about high-school education is that the football coach is asked to teach mathematics classes although the stereotypical football coach scores lower than his students on standardized exams. Bing, however, was a football coach who went on to become president of both the American Mathematical Society and the Mathematical Association of America and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. He never lost his love for football, once paying \$700 for tickets to the Texas-Oklahoma football game. He loved to show just how surprising things could be, and he gave wonderful names to his examples. Thanks to him we now talk of the “Bing Sling,” the “Dogbone Space,” the “Hooked Rug,” “Crumpled Cubes,” and many more. In a deep Texas accent, he spoke of “epslums and deltas,” of “baseball moves” and “pill boxes.”²³ Bing’s central claim was that we should really understand low dimensions with all of their warts. We should understand geometry geometrically and develop specific examples.



We will call the two schools of thought developed by Milnor and Bing the Princeton School and the Texas School. The Princeton School approached things from an algebraic and global point of view. The Texas School approached things from a geometric and local point of view. The Princeton School felt that they had developed the algebra to the point where they almost had the whole story figured out. The Texas School developed complicated counter examples showing that things weren’t as simple as the

Princeton School supposed. The Princeton School discounted the examples because the Texas School used limiting arguments that made sense only in the small.

Then the Princeton School ran up against a paradox. The 5-sphere is a well-known manifold that can be pieced together from eight 5-dimensional diamonds. The Princeton School, however, discovered another important 5-dimensional space that could be pieced together from twelve 5-dimensional diamonds. The new space satisfied all of their global prejudices. By their algebraic methods, the new space was indistinguishable from the 5-sphere. If the new space were a manifold, it could be only the 5-sphere. However, geometrically it obviously was not the 5-sphere because the only possible way it could be the 5-sphere would be that four edges of the twelve diamonds were “infinitely knotted” in the space. But how can a straight edge of a flat polyhedral space be infinitely knotted in that flat space?

The Princeton School was caught in a quandary. Either this space was not a manifold and their algebraic methods were inadequate to the task of understanding manifolds, or this space was a manifold and polyhedral pieces could be infinitely knotted, an absurd idea. The issue at stake was this: are global methods adequate to study things in the large, or must one study vanishingly small things to understand large things? Milnor asked the inconceivable: is it possible this space is a manifold?²⁴ This question became known as the famous double suspension problem. Is the double suspension of a homology sphere a manifold?

One of my very good instructors at the University of Utah, Les Glaser, soon proposed a proof showing that the space was not a manifold.²⁵ The idea of the proof was really clever. It used local limiting techniques inspired by Bing’s work. Unfortunately, the proof was incorrect.²⁶ Making mistakes in mathematics is so easy. Everyone makes them. You try to catch your own. If you don’t, someone else catches them for you. Slowly, the difficulties are understood and ironed out.

My story now leaves the question of mathematical taste in the United States during the 1960s and moves to Russia. The account here is most complicated. I leave it purposely confusing because I originally found it so myself.



M. A. Štan'ko. Štan'ko, a Russian mathematician, provided one of the crucial ideas used to solve the double suspension problem. 1971. Courtesy Robert J. Daverman.

M. A. Štan'ko, a young Russian mathematician, decided to see whether it is always possible to unknot an infinitely knotted object that is in high-dimensional space.²⁷ His idea was this: look at a three-dimensional slice of that high-dimensional space. The part of the space that sticks into that slice is knotted in ways that we understand. If we aren't too fussy, we can unknot a knotted set in three-dimensional space by simply cutting apart any knotting that we see, rearranging the strands so they no longer look knotted, and fusing (taping?) them back together in an unknotted position. Alternatively, we can think of one strand as being physically transparent to any other strand so that the strands can simply be unknotted by pulling them through one another.

But what are we to do with the part of the space that is all around the three-dimensional slice that we have chosen? We have to move the parts of the space in nearby slices as well. And in the nearby slices we do not have the same control that we had in the slice that we were viewing. Things that weren't tangled become tangled, and strands that had missed one another hit one another. It is one big mess!

Štan'ko noticed that, if he were to look ahead, he could prepare for the problem in advance by first moving some things out of the way in nearby slices. But moving things out of the way in nearby slices creates the same type of unknotting problem found in the first problem. But that difficulty can again be solved by looking ahead and pushing things out of the way of the things that need to be moved out of the way. But this third move can be prepared for by a still earlier fourth move, which can be prepared for by a still earlier fifth move, and so forth. That is, we only have to look ahead infinitely many steps. We do these infinitely many steps, infinitely often, in infinitely many carefully chosen places, and the unknotting problem is solved!

Did you follow Štan'ko's argument? Neither did I. I stared at the critical four pages of his paper²⁸ every day for a month. His idea, whatever it was, seemed really important, and I was determined to understand it. And then all at once I saw how simple it was. Trivial! as they say in mathematics.

Štan'ko's argument did not apply in all of the places that we would have liked, but we believed that just a little effort would make it work every place. Štan'ko thought so, and he published another short paper to that effect.²⁹ I was so convinced that it would work in general that I assigned the problem to Ric Ancel, a graduate student. However, Štan'ko's argument had not been carried out carefully enough. Ric worked unsuccessfully for a year to extend the Štan'ko techniques. People all over the United States set about extending his techniques—all without success. I thought the extension should be an easy one. Then I learned that Bob Daverman at Tennessee had tried unsuccessfully, that Bob Edwards at UCLA had tried unsuccessfully, and that Štan'ko himself had tried unsuccessfully. I started feeling guilty. An advisor is supposed to pick solvable problems for his students.

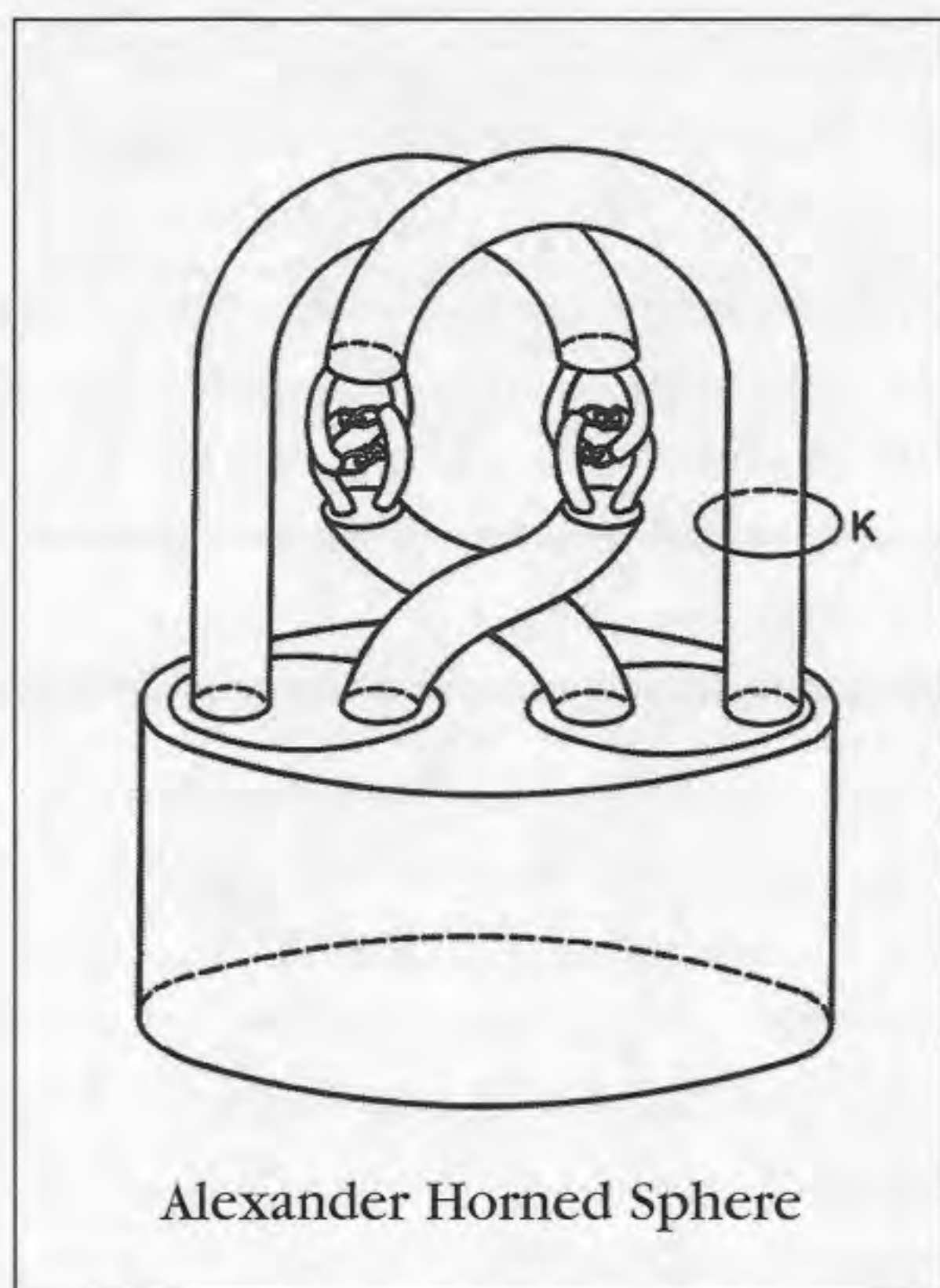
Ric and I decided to work together on the problem. It was a hot, Wisconsin summer. Every day we would sit sweating in our offices and push the problem around for hours at a time. After one and a half months of steady work, we gave up. It was too hard. We could push the difficulty to one side or the other, but always it would reappear someplace else. We decided to work on something else, and we got really involved in the new problem—to such a degree, in fact, that I started to dream about it. One night at 2:00 A.M., my eyes suddenly popped open. I sat up in bed next to Ardyth. I knew how to extend Štan'ko's techniques. I do not know how the answer came to me. I couldn't sleep. I dressed quietly and went walking on the dark streets of Madison. No one was around. I checked the ideas for all of their consequences. I checked for absurdities. I couldn't find any. The picture was wonderful.

Earlier, fixing one difficulty had created new difficulties. The solution was simple: push one point, but in the push don't disturb any of the point's neighbors, and don't tear it way from its neighbors. Yes, it's a simple solution. The only problem is that it is impossible to do. If you don't allow tearing, then moving one

point will inevitably move neighboring points. Such an action is simply impossible, unless the point is a really big point! But points have size zero. Now, the real nature of the solution was this: decide which points needed to be moved; increase the size of each point that had to be moved by expanding it into a ball or disk; then, keeping the boundary of the disk fixed so as to not disturb surrounding points, move the inside of the disk. Carry out this process for all of the (infinitely many) points that had to be moved. After this had been done so as to untie all of the infinitely many knots, shrink all of the expanded points back down to real points. The process was exactly the Štan'ko process, except that each step had now been fractured into three substeps, each of which could be performed in a completely controlled way that did not create new difficulties. The next morning, I showed Ric the idea. It was technically difficult to carry out, and it took him a full year of further work to write his thesis.³⁰

Bob Edwards also worked on the Štan'ko problem. He had grown up on Long Island and studied at the University of Michigan. He has served for many years as a mathematical ambassador in geometry and topology, taking the news around and helping other people with ideas. After spending months on the Štan'ko work, he found that Štan'ko's argument could be used to understand the exact form of infinite knotting in high dimensions. Bob had the great idea of applying this picture of knotting to the double suspension problem. He found that if one looked "sideways and skeewompus" at the four critical edges of the diamonds making up the new space, they looked a lot like an infinitely knotted set. He could show, he said, that many double suspensions were, in fact, manifolds.

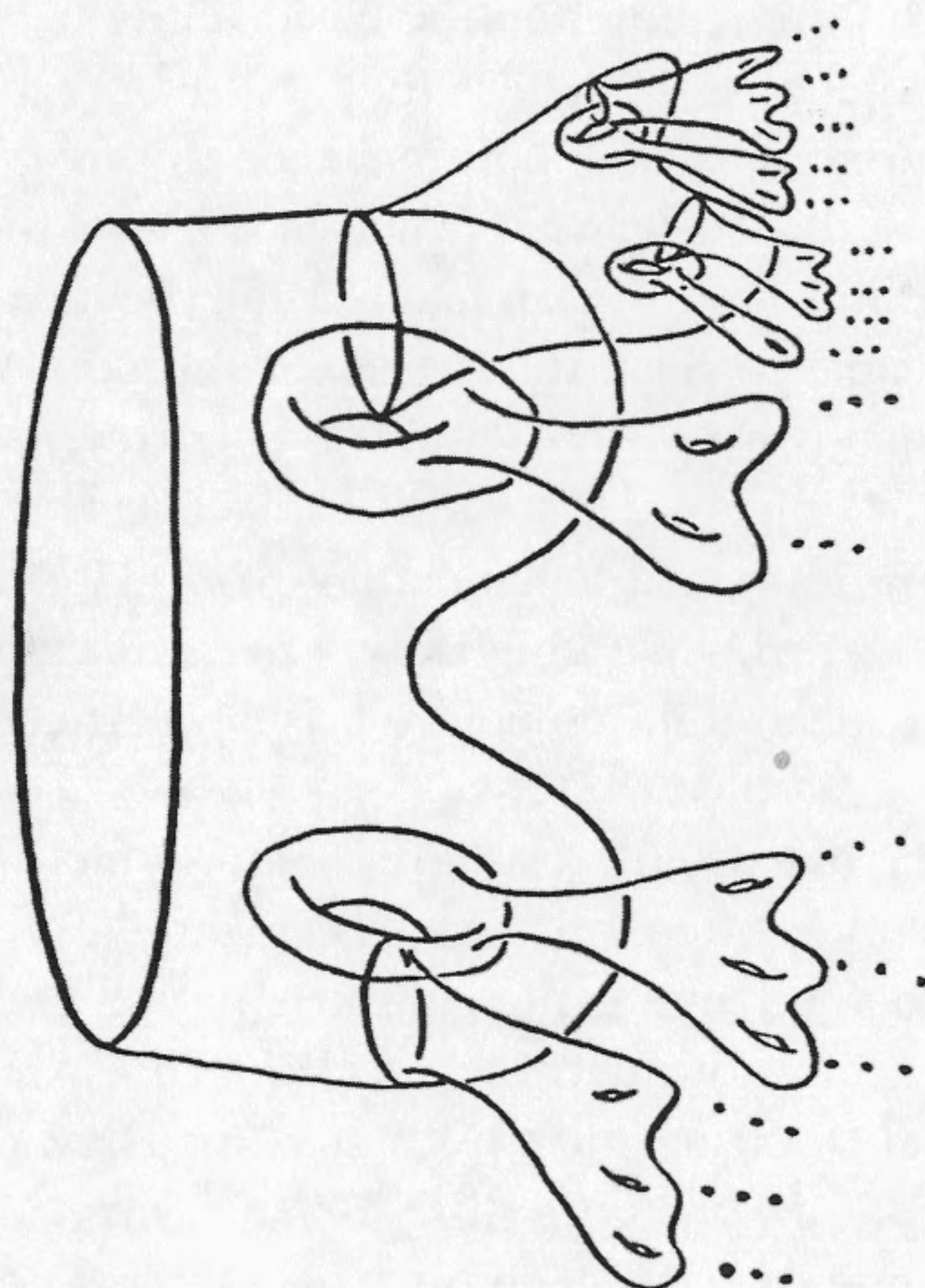
This was an exciting time. Bob's result was incredible. He had spent the previous two years traveling all over the United States picking up the techniques he needed for this problem. My student David Wright had shown me some of Bob's techniques. But there were difficulties. We had no written version of what he had done. We had no idea how he proceeded. He was writing some master work on the thing, but he couldn't prove the general theorem associated with the Milnor double suspension problem. He also couldn't handle some of the most common examples. I had understood



Štan'ko's work, too, and I thought he must use that. Štan'ko seemed to give such a clear view of what must be happening that I believed Bob could finish the problem if he could do one example. Things were becoming clearer and clearer to me, but I needed one more idea. I avoided working hard on the problem, however, for almost two years because I was sure that Bob would finish it off any day. We finally invited Bob to visit us at the University of Wisconsin, and he outlined

his insight for us: in high-dimensional spaces all infinite knotting could be traced to ghostly approximations of high-dimensional objects called Alexander Horned Spheres. Bob didn't actually find these horned spheres, but he found something enough like them that he could usually unknot all of the problems.

Bob left, and I thought and thought. I knew what to look for now. I would never have believed that Bob would find something so explicit, but when I looked carefully, I found not just ghostly approximations of these horned spheres, but the horned spheres themselves. I was amazed! The construction of these spheres could be based on a crazy infinite construction. Reach a hand toward the infinite knotting. As the knotting becomes more tightly bound and things get too constricted, split the fingers into multiple tiny fingers. When things get even more constricted, split the tiny fingers into still tinier fingers, *ad infinitum*. Russ McMillan called the hands with multiple fingers "the grope." (Ric Ancel sent a picture and quotation from Einstein: "How do I work?" asked Einstein. "I grope.") In the limit—in the end—the fingertips nestle onto the knotted structure. Thicken the groping hands. The result is a knotted horned sphere. Now it is time for the old exploding point trick: explode all of the infinitely many fingertips. The knotting



The Grope

disappears like magic. Analyze what has happened, and the proof is finished. The solution sounds easier than it was. I couldn't believe how pretty the picture was. I sat for most of a day just staring at the pictures.

The new results led to important new conjectures, inconceivable earlier: Conjecture A—it is possible to decide whether a space is a manifold by checking a short list of simple conditions. The truth of the conjecture would require the truth of two further conjectures that I simply call Conjectures B and C.

I wrote to Bob, telling him the basic additional ideas and the results and conjectures to which they led. Before I gave my first public talk on my theorems, Bob managed to prove Conjecture B using a key idea that he learned from the doctoral thesis of one of my students, Dan Everett.³¹ Dan had learned the idea from me, but only Bob was able to push the argument through. Within a year, Frank Quinn had proved Conjecture C—incorrectly. In this unsatisfactory state, Conjecture C stood for a decade.

Last year, four mathematicians—from Florida, Michigan, Brazil, and New York—working in two pairs, managed to resolve Conjecture C.³² Beautiful Conjecture C is false. There are infinitely many counter examples.

This story has an interesting epilogue which illustrates the fact that the truth is often more surprising and more beautiful than we imagined beforehand. (An example is Joseph Smith's astonishment upon learning through the revelation the beautiful plan of life recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 76.) The examples found in the refutation of Conjecture C by Bryant, Ferry, Mio, and Weinberger filled more than the need presented by that conjecture. The beautiful algebra developed by the Princeton School had largely mirrored, in algebra, the geometric properties of manifolds. But the algebraic mirror revealed disturbing gaps in the geometric landscape: where algebra suggested the probable existence of special manifolds, those special manifolds occasionally did not, could not exist. The miracle of the Bryant-Ferry-Mio-Weinberger examples of nonmanifolds constructed by the local, infinite processes of the Texas School was that they exactly filled the gaps suggested by the algebraic mirror constructed by the Princeton School. Perhaps these new mathematical models of space, whose very existence



Brazilian Washington Mio with his family. Mio is one of the four mathematicians who determined that Cannon's Conjecture C has many counter examples and is therefore false. 1992. Courtesy Washington Mio.

was unsuspected ten years ago, are in fact as natural and as important as manifolds themselves. At the very least, in a limited way they fuse more perfectly the geometric and algebraic views of our world and fuse more perfectly the work performed by mathematicians with disparate views.

Human Parallels, or Parables: Debt and Appreciation

We turn now to people parallels, or parables. The people we have been discussing have been more to me than mathematicians. They have also been friendly, kind and compassionate, moral and exemplary, loyal and fun, and helpful and supportive when our family was in need. Almost without exception they have had faiths different from ours. To us they have exemplified the best as described by the Savior's parable where people from differing backgrounds were reconciled in a moment of need:

Who is my neighbor? . . . A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead. . . . A certain priest . . . when he saw him, passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite. . . . But a certain Samaritan, . . . when he saw him, he had compassion on him, And went to him, and bound up his

wounds. . . . Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him? (Luke 10:29-36)

Ardyth and I have lived approximately twenty-five years away from the centers of the Church. We have during that time incurred a great debt toward many kind Samaritans. The Brigham Young University community must show the same kindness and appreciation toward the strangers in our midst that others showed us when we were strangers. As I talk about mathematicians as people rather than mathematicians, I pay tribute not only to them, but also to those who have committed their lives, as people of a variety of faiths, to our great cause at BYU. I say to them, "We appreciate you. We need you for the excellence of your knowledge and teachings and lives. We need you for what you teach us about life and about ourselves. We need more like you. We know that we do not agree on all things. But we look forward to the time when we both know much more than we know now so that we can see eye to eye."

A number of these mathematicians have taught me by example because they and their families have survived tremendously difficult times with goodness intact. Lipman Bers, George Pólya, and the parents of Ric and Ester Ancel either fled from or survived the horrors of the Nazi concentrations camps.

One account states that "Lipman Bers in 1934, as a young radical had to flee his native Latvia following a fascist coup d'état. Four years later, having just received his Ph.D. at the University of Prague, he had to flee again, this time because he was a Jew."³³ He is well-known in the mathematical community as an advocate for human rights. Though having suffered the oppression of the Nazis, Bers studied and admired the work of a rabid Nazi youth named Otto Teichmüller, who helped hound Jewish mathematicians at Göttingen, wrote wonderful theorems, volunteered for the Russian Front, and was never heard from again. I have always been touched by Bers's appreciative and sensible response to Teichmüller's work. Bers quotes Plutarch: "It does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your esteem."³⁴

George Pólya was a Hungarian mathematician I mentioned earlier. Famous for his work in Germany during the twenties and thirties, Jewish Pólya nevertheless had to flee Germany for America

during the Nazi regime. As he aged, Pólya turned his great talents to the teaching of teachers. He was greatly beloved. Pólya invited me, as a freshman, to his home, introduced me to his wife, and showed me his mathematical notebooks written over many years. He took time to write me a letter of encouragement during my mission in Austria. He encouraged me to work hard and to do a little mathematics regularly because, as he said in German, “He who rests, rusts.”

A number of mathematicians taught me—by little things they did—what I consider important life lessons. When I was just beginning to learn the mathematics that Bill Thurston was studying, Bill and I found ourselves the lone strangers at an extended mathematics conference in Houston. I hardly knew the basic terminology of the subject. Bill suggested a problem. I said that I found the problem really interesting and that I would go off and think about it. Bill said, “Oh, no. It would be a lot more fun to think about it together.” And so we did.³⁵

One year, Bob Edwards, my friend who worked on the Štan’ko problem, told his department chairman, “I haven’t done very well this year. I don’t think I deserve a raise.” How many of us have that kind of integrity?

Additionally, other mathematicians took us in and cared for us as a family. R. H. Bing, from the Texas school, hired us at Wisconsin. He took our children for rides on the little train at the park. He and Mary Bing lent us their home for two weeks when we didn’t have a place to stay. R. H. took the children boating in his speedboat and let them steer, telling them not to mind what their Mom and Dad said about speeding. He saw that we got fellowships, promotions, and enough money to live on. He attended Covenant Presbyterian Church regularly but even then couldn’t leave mathematics alone. His daughter, Gay, reported seeing him reach up to write on an imaginary blackboard during the sermon. Later he reached up and erased what he had written.

Ed Burgess was raised in rural Texas and studied topology with R. L. Moore at the University of Texas at Austin. Ed Burgess was my doctoral advisor. He took care of his students. When he decided that I was worth taking a chance on as a sophomore at the University of Utah, he went out and scrounged up a graduate

fellowship for me. The dean called me in and explained that, like student athletes, I had no legal obligation to stay at the University of Utah, but that I was morally obligated to pay the fellowship back if I went to another university for graduate school. Ardyth and I used those fellowship moneys to get married after five years of writing letters to each other.

Mary Ellen Rudin³⁶ was the first person to visit the hospital after our child was born with Down's Syndrome. Having raised such a child herself, she wanted to encourage us. When the child died a year later, she mourned with us.

Further, some mathematicians, dead long before any of us were born, taught me when I was still a high-school student about values and about truth. For example, Karl Friedrich Gauss noted:

There are problems to whose solution I would attach an infinitely greater importance than to those of mathematics, for example touching ethics, or our relation to God, or concerning our destiny and our future; but their solution lies wholly beyond us and completely outside the province of science.³⁷

My favorite quotation from Henri Poincaré rivals even my favorite from the Book of Mormon, which says, "And if ye will lay hold upon every good thing, and condemn it not, ye certainly will be a child of Christ" (Moro. 7:19). Poincaré talks about truth, its beauty, the reason we love it, the reason we fear it, and its essential unity. We tend to separate sacred and secular truth in a way that I have never been able to understand; I have always believed there is only one truth. Poincaré explains how the two truths, if there are indeed two, cannot be separated. Here is the quotation:

Truth should not be feared, for it alone is beautiful. When I speak here of truth, assuredly I refer first to scientific truth: but I also mean moral truth. I cannot separate them, and whosoever loves the one cannot help loving the other. These two sorts of truth when discovered give the same joy; each when perceived beams with the same splendor, so that we must see it or close our eyes. In a word, I liken the two truths, because the same reasons make us love them and because the same reasons make us fear them.³⁸

Since my childhood, kind Samaritans have cared for my family. The following story is typical of our experiences living in many different neighborhoods. In 1947, I was four years old, the

youngest of three small children living with Mother and Father in Bowling Green, Ohio. We were the only Mormon family in town. My father traveled with H. J. Heinz to South Africa on an extended trip to look into the prospects for building a new food-processing plant there. My mother was expecting a fourth child. While my father was gone, my mother suffered a miscarriage. She lost so much blood that the doctor abandoned her to what he termed inevitable death while he cared for accident victims who had just arrived at the hospital. Although Mother did not die, she was very ill for a long time before father returned home. Our neighbors saw to it that Mother was nursed and we children were fed and cared for in every way. We remember those people, Grace Schulz, Ruth Putnam, and others, with great love.

These stories are my own parables because they have taught me, like the parable of the Good Samaritan, that differences do not have to engender fear. Unfortunately, we occasionally have a large streak of fear towards those who are different, toward those who disagree with us—fear that they will corrupt us or cost us our uniqueness. We fear that secular truth will destroy moral truth. But how are we to serve the world if we are afraid of the world, if we are driven by fears that those we disagree with will destroy what is unique about us? I think that we can be unique in the best possible way only if we abandon fear and concentrate on exercising the highest standards in our personal actions and thought.

Here is my personal academic creed:

I will act with courage and not from fear—fear of what others may expect or think, fear of my own inadequacies.

I will speak freely, openly, publicly. I will remember that our knowledge of truth, even revealed truth, proceeds by approximation according to our ability and experience and that difficult issues can be understood and resolved best in an atmosphere where the evidence—physical, spiritual, or intellectual—can be freely and openly discussed.

I will learn from those who do not agree with me. In particular, I will not impute bad motives to those who do not agree with me. I will instead examine their evidence, their arguments, and their conclusions and weigh each thoughtfully and carefully. I will remember that bad feelings arise when evidence is ignored and people are treated with disrespect and that, since the experiences of individuals vary widely, differences in point of view, even momentarily awkward ones, need to be welcomed, understood, and appreciated.

I will not fear being wrong, for which of us has not been wrong? I will instead fear being dishonest in what I understand or being unwilling to change as my understanding grows. I will fear using shoddy arguments, presenting weak evidence, and ignoring good evidence and hiding behind cleverness with words or behind the incorrect use of authority. I will not demand that others accept my evidence and arguments but will have faith that good evidence and valid arguments will in the long run prevail.

I will not be embarrassed by those who do what I think is wrong, for they are responsible for their own actions. I will instead try to see the issues clearly and react to the issues directly and honestly.

I will not presume that because I have authority over another (whether an employee, child, or student) that I can demand their loyalty. I will remember that loyalty can be earned but not bought or compelled. I will remember that in academics, as in all of life, any true influence arises not from position, but from good and honest work—persuasion, love, and long-suffering. Influence is not something bestowed by a university or anyone else but comes, when it does, from the good work of the faculty, students, alumni, staff, and administration.

Postscript 1995: Perhaps this creed, my own attempt to implement the principles of Christ's parables, can serve as an approach to the treatment of differences among people. Ardyth and I took at least ten years of married life to learn to handle our differences compassionately and gracefully. I am now trying to learn to handle my differences with people in the larger world.

This talk is, of course, both mathematically and nonmathematically, about the perennial problem of dealing with differences among people. This fundamental and difficult problem is the real subject of the Savior's parable of the good Samaritan. The parable derives its special strength or bite from the fact not that the Samaritan was a good man, but that the good man was a Samaritan, an outsider, a despised and feared person, a stranger, religiously incorrect.

This speech was written in 1993 as we watched BYU struggle with the problem of differences in a self-conscious way. The public dialogue exhibited at least three emotional tendencies, sometimes explicitly, sometimes only implicitly, whose merits, in the best tradition of the great university, deserve to be publicly examined. The first tendency was to fear the strangers of other faiths in our midst as a potential threat to our uniqueness as a church-run university. The second tendency was to assume that all

LDS scholars in our midst, sharing as they do a common label, did, or at least should, share all of the same views. The third tendency, on both sides, was to evaluate difference of view as willful malice. This talk was my attempt to enter the public dialogue in the most gentle and constructive manner I could muster.

The key to overcoming tendency one, fear of strangers, is and always has been one of inversion: imagine ourselves as that stranger in the midst. Because I lived and worked among people of other faiths for many years, this inversion was, for me, an easy matter; the value to me of the stranger's views was a tested and confirmed reality.

Tendency two, judging people by their labels, is a consequence of one's retreat from reasoned dialogue—from replacing reason with sloganeering, labeling, and packaging. We Mormons have differences among ourselves, and we will be in reality strangers to each other until we learn to recognize and treat our differences lovingly and respectfully. The fact that any people share common labels, such as “Mormon” or “Intellectual” or “Conservative” or “Feminist,” does not confer upon them a well-defined, common background, experience, knowledge, or views.

Tendency three, the distrust of disagreement, leads to one of the great traps of our public world, the curtailment of public dialogue. Any truly important issue has many aspects and is deserving of open, respectful, and passionate discussion in an atmosphere free of fear. We could do much better in this regard. Essayist Wendell Berry warns of the possibility of forming not only an extreme right and left, but also an extreme middle which “looks upon all critics as traitors,” which “equates the government with the country, loyalty to the government with patriotism.”³⁹

In remembering the lesson of Jesus's great parable, we have the opportunity of avoiding the traps of the extreme middle, loaded labels, and fear of the other. My hope is that we can add the unique qualities of faith and inspiration to the strengths of other great universities without throwing away other qualities as profound.

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NOTES

¹George Pólya, *How to Solve It: A New Aspect of Mathematical Method* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 208.

²Personal communication with author.

³G. H. Hardy, *A Mathematician's Apology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 82–85.

⁴Stephen Weinberg, *Dreams of a Final Theory* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), 67.

⁵Constance Reid, *Hilbert* (New York: Springer, 1970), 220.

⁶See R. Courant and D. Hilbert, *Methoden der Mathematischen Physik*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Springer, 1968).

⁷Schrödinger to Wien, February 22, 1926, printed in Jagdish Mehra, *The Historical Development of Quantum Theory*, 5 vols. (New York: Springer, 1987), vol. 5, part 2, p. 583.

⁸Marguerite Kay, *Bruegel* (New York: Paul Hamlyn, 1969).

⁹James Gleick, *Genius: The Life and Science of Richard Feynman* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), 378.

¹⁰See Donald J. Albers, G. L. Alexanderson, and Constance Reid, *International Mathematical Congresses: An Illustrated History, 1893–1986* (New York: Springer, 1986).

¹¹William Dunham, *Journey through Genius: The Great Theorems of Mathematics* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1990), 10.

¹²See Tobias Dantzig, *Number: The Language of Science* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1954).

¹³Rudin to J. W. Cannon, January 1993.

¹⁴See J. W. Cannon, “Mathematics in Marble and Bronze: The Sculpture of Helaman Rolfe Pratt Ferguson,” *Mathematical Intelligencer* 13 (1991): 37.

¹⁵“One Saturday Gerhard Gauss was making out the weekly payroll, . . . unaware that his young son was following the proceedings. Coming to the end of his long computations, Gerhard was startled to hear the little boy pipe up, ‘Father, the reckoning is wrong, it should be. . . .’ A check of the account showed that the boy [Karl Friedrich Gauss] was correct.” E. T. Bell, *Men of Mathematics* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1937), 221.

¹⁶See Karl Friedrich Gauss, *General Investigations of Curved Surfaces of 1827 and 1825*, trans. James Caddall Morehead and Adam Miller Hildebrandt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1902).

¹⁷Bell, *Men of Mathematics*, 500–503.

¹⁸See Bell, *Men of Mathematics*, ch. 26; Bernhard Riemann, *Collected Works*, ed. Heinrich Weber (New York: Dover, 1953).

¹⁹Riemann, *Collected Works*, 275.

²⁰See H. Poincaré, *Oeuvres*, 6 vols. (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1953), 6:183, for the original text, or J. W. Cannon, “The Recognition Problem: What Is a Topological Manifold?” *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society* 84 (1978): 835, for a rough translation of the complete passage.

²¹See J. W. Milnor, “On the Total Curvature of Knots,” *Annals of Math* 52, no. 2 (1950): 248–57.

²²See the list of all Fields Medalists in Albers, Alexanderson, and Reid, *International Mathematical Congresses*.

²³See R. H. Bing, *The Collected Papers of R. H. Bing*, ed. Sukhjit Singh, Steve Armentrout, and Robert J. Daverman, 2 vols. (Providence: American Mathematical Society, 1988).

²⁴R. Lashof, ed., "Problems in Differential and Algebraic Topology: The Conference in Seattle, 1963," *Annals of Math* 81 (1965): 565-91.

²⁵Leslie C. Glaser, "On a Well-known Method for Trying to Obtain a Non-combinatorial Triangulation of S^n for $n \geq 5$," *Duke Mathematics Journal* 35 (1968): 147-54.

²⁶Leslie C. Glaser, "On Double Suspensions of Arbitrary Nonsimply Connected Homology n -spheres," in *Topology of Manifolds*, ed. James C. Cantrell and C. H. Edwards Jr. (Chicago: Markham, 1970), 5-17.

²⁷See M. A. Štan'ko, "Approximation of Imbeddings of Compacta in Codimensions Greater Than Two," *Dokl. Akad. Nauk SSSR* 198 (1971): 783-86 or in *Soviet Math. Dokl.* 12 (1971): 906-9; and M. A. Štan'ko, "Approximation of Compacta in E^n in Codimensions Greater Than Two," *Mat. Sbornik* 90, no. 132 (1973): 625-36 or in *Math USSR Sbornik* 19 (1973): 615-26.

²⁸Štan'ko, "Approximation of Imbeddings of Compacta," 783-86.

²⁹M. A. Štan'ko, "Approximation of Imbeddings of Manifolds in Codimension One," *Mat. Sbornik* 23 (1974): 456-66.

³⁰See F. D. Ancel and J. W. Cannon, "The Locally Flat Approximation of Cell-like Embedding Relations," *Annals of Mathematics* 109 (1979): 61-86.

³¹See Robert D. Edwards, "The Topology of Manifolds and Cell-like Maps," in *Proceedings of the International Congress of Mathematicians, Helsinki, 1978* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1980), 111-27.

³²See J. L. Bryant and others, "Topology of Homology Manifolds," *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society* 28 (April 1993): 324-28.

³³Donald J. Albers, Gerald L. Alexanderson, and Constance Reid, *More Mathematical People: Contemporary Conversations* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), 3.

³⁴Lipman Bers, "Quasiconformal Mappings and Teichmüller's Theorem," in *Analytic Functions*, ed. R. Nevanlinna and others (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), 90.

³⁵See Albers, Alexanderson, and Reid, *More Mathematical People*, 324-43.

³⁶See Albers, Alexanderson, and Reid, *More Mathematical People*, 283-303.

³⁷Bell, *Men of Mathematics*, 204.

³⁸See Henri Poincaré, *The Value of Science* (New York: Dover, 1958), 11-12, for the entire quotation.

³⁹See Wendell Berry, *Recollected Essays, 1965-1980* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1981), 154.

Nine Moons

*And Coriantumr was discovered by the people of
Zarahemla; and he dwelt with them for the space
of nine moons.*

Omni 1:21

Nine times the moon has filled with brightness
Since he whom we have buried came among us.

He was a large and brooding man—
A man of silence, scars, and sorrow.

There was something regal, fierce, and weary in his manner,
A warrior with a weight and shadow in his heart.

That final night he spoke for hours,
Even knowing that we did not understand.
We listened.
His husky, halting voice was full of distance
And emotion and regret
As if he were recounting legends
That needed to be uttered one last time.

Dying seemed as difficult a thing as he had ever done.

—Randall L. Hall

Three Views on Latter-day Saints and the Jews

The following three essays deal with LDS perspectives on the Jews and Israel. In keeping with its main objective of publishing scholarly views on LDS topics, *BYU Studies* is pleased to assemble here three approaches to this very complex, religiously and politically sensitive subject.

In the first essay, Grant Underwood discusses Steven Epperson's book on the Mormons and the Jews (a published version of his doctoral dissertation at Temple University). Epperson's work, heavily influenced by broad contemporary American attitudes toward Jews, tends to emphasize the independent covenantal standing of the Jews before God. His book rejects the view that the Jews must eventually convert to Christianity in order to be acceptable to God. Underwood supplies contrary evidences from early Mormon sources and takes issue with a number of points advanced by Epperson's analysis.

Epperson then follows by reviewing Robert Millet and Joseph McConkie's book on the call and election of the house of Israel. Frequently quoting from various LDS sources, Millet and McConkie chart a path for the salvation of the house of Israel, including the Jews, that draws heavily on the concepts of the blood of Israel and coming to Christ. Alert to anything that might in any way be seen as anti-Semitic, Epperson offers some sober reminders that God loves all people and deals with his various children in their own time and way.

The differences of language and interpretation found in these two books are due, in part, to certain degrees of ambivalence that have existed in Mormon teaching and rhetoric regarding the Jews from the beginning. In order to explain how those strands of thought have been emphasized or deemphasized from decade to

decade in the history of the Church, *BYU Studies* invited Arnold Green to write a bibliographic essay summarizing and assessing the corpus of LDS writings about the Jews. His study, which compiles in its footnotes numerous significant references on the subject, shows how LDS positions have oscillated on such factors as God's judgment against or forgiveness of the Jews, the relative importance or unimportance of race or lineage, the relevance of the return of the Jews to Israel in relation to their attitudes toward Christ, and other pertinent sentiments. Like pistons, these interconnected issues have risen and fallen and risen again as the work of LDS theology has moved from era to era.

People often ask, What is the Mormon position on the Jews? or on any number of other similar topics. Within bounds, answers can usually be given to such questions. Where dispositive doctrines have not been propounded by the Church, however, several Mormon views may well exist. In some ways, such variety may expose an unsettled openness in meaning; in other respects, this multivalence may positively reflect the richness of a living religion.

When those of us on the board of editors for Macmillan's *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* were counseled by that project's Church advisors, we were encouraged to be clear wherever an issue was settled but to be open-ended if it was not. Our objective was not to cut off discussions in Church classes or meetings, but to present information that each person might find helpful in addressing the relevant topic.

As editor of *BYU Studies*, my aims are the same. Clearly, the LDS outlook on the history and salvation of the Jewish people opens onto a wide-angled landscape. Hopefully, readers will find in all parts of the following collection a combination of thorough scholarship, well-meaning scrutiny, and faithful reflection on Latter-day Saint interests in the temporal and eternal welfare of our Jewish brothers and sisters.

—John W. Welch

A Review Essay

The Jews and Their Future in Early LDS Doctrine

Grant Underwood

Review of *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* by Steven Epperson. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992. ix; 228 pp. 10 illustrations, epilogue, index. \$18.95.

Mormons and Jews begins by painting a backdrop of Christian attitudes toward the Jews and their place in prophetic history. In the next several chapters, Latter-day Saint perceptions are sketched against this backdrop. By and large, the Christian biases against the Jews that are outlined in the first chapter also plagued the early Latter-day Saints. Despite the reservations of early Mormons about the apostate Christian world around them, their “perceptions of Jewish people and Judaism were mediated by the canon of Christian scripture and filtered through the common opinion of [Joseph] Smith’s contemporaries informed over the centuries by anti-Judaic theologies and anti-Jewish prejudice” (54). Thus, Epperson argues that early Mormonism included such ideas as the abrogation of the former covenant with Israel, deicide followed by centuries of punishing afflictions, and, especially, the hope that one day Jews would be converted to Christ and gather to Palestine.

Mormons and Jews then goes on to draw a distinction between the views of Joseph Smith and other early Saints, a distinction which soon becomes the heart of the book and the reason for its subtitle—*Early Mormon Theologies of Israel*. The book presents a “deep theological rift in the [early] Mormon leadership over the issue of the Jewish people” (113). On one side could be found Joseph Smith, Orson Hyde, and Brigham Young; on the other stood Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Orson Pratt.

The second group's view of the Jewish future is painted primarily in the traditional Christian colors. But, the book generally asserts, neither Joseph Smith, Orson Hyde, nor Brigham Young expected a latter-day conversion of the Jews. Such an event would be unnecessary given the "integrity" of the Jewish covenant with God.

The underlying understanding of the Abrahamic covenant in this book, though never clearly detailed, appears to be that it was unilateral and unconditional. God initiated the covenant, and despite a history of Israelite infidelities, he never disowned it. Thus, the Prophet proclaimed both the "integrity of covenant Israel outside of the Latter-day Saint church" (126) and a future for the Jews that would proceed "independent of any necessary connection to the Church of Christ" (132).

"The sum of Smith's contribution," argues *Mormons and Jews*, "was the creation of an independent Christian theology of Israel which affirmed the autonomy, integrity, and continuity of covenant Israel—embodied in the life and witness of the Jewish people" (viii). *Autonomy, integrity, continuity, and independence* are the book's buzzwords. They are constantly mobilized to demonstrate that far from being the sole repository of divine authority and the fulness of truth, the Mormons are merely "another covenant community [that] had been convoked from the nations to help lay the foundations of the coming messianic, millennial age" (202). Since God's relationship with the Jews had remained basically intact through the ages, the Restoration meant that now there would be "two communities of covenant" to labor independently yet harmoniously to "bring us into the house of our father, with its eternally pluralistic 'arrangement into societies and communities' in the age to come" (202).

This portrait of the Jews and eschatology will strike many Mormon readers as unusual, particularly the notion that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young rejected a future Jewish conversion. How then is such an interpretation derived? It begins with a novel reading of scripture. The Book of Mormon has commonly been read to affirm that Israel's restoration will be both temporal and spiritual, yet, the *Mormons and Jews* continues, "The Book of Mormon repeatedly asserts that Israel's restoration depends on realizing the *territorial* terms of the covenant not in its conversion to, or identity

with, the church” (30). A few pages later Epperson declares, “The conversion of the Jewish people to the church is never mentioned nor advocated in the Book of Mormon” (36). Most Mormon readers will find such statements puzzling in light of such passages as this:

He has spoken unto the Jews, by the mouth of his holy prophets, even from the beginning down, from generation to generation, until the time comes that they shall be restored to the true church and fold of God; when they shall be gathered home to the lands of their inheritance, and shall be established in all their lands of promise. (2 Ne. 9:2)

Most LDS commentators have been consistent in expecting the eventual conversion of the Jews and in associating it with the second coming of Christ and the Millennium. The question has been not *whether* the Jews will believe, but *when* they will believe. The way nineteenth-century Mormons framed the debate was, Would the Jews gather in belief or in unbelief? The idea that the Jewish religious system, or any other for that matter, had salvific validity equal to that of the restored gospel and its ordinances was one that never entered the minds of the early Mormons. As Parley P. Pratt stated, “A man must be very inconsistent, to come with a message from God, and then tell the people that they can be saved just as well without, as with it.”¹

In truth, Joseph Smith rarely commented on the conversion of the Jews, but this shortage should not be taken as evidence that he did not believe in it, especially since he nowhere explicitly rejected the idea. Even when comment is made, the differences in the prevailing language usages between Latter-day Saints then and now should not be overlooked. For instance, Joseph Smith almost never used the word *convert* or its cognates except when talking about converts to other churches—as if its frequent use by evangelical Christianity tainted the word for him.² Other modern Mormon expressions used to describe conversion—*joining* or *becoming a member of* the Church—are also noticeably absent. However, expressions like *received our testimony* or *embraced the truth* abound. These were the common LDS parlance of the day. Thus, while contemporary records contain virtually no comments about the Jews *converting to* or *joining* the Church, the same

holds true for every other group. The absence of such statements, therefore, says nothing particular about Joseph Smith's beliefs with respect to the Jews.

Much of Epperson's argument that the Smith-Hyde-Young school of Mormonism rejected the conversion of the Jews and instead respected them as an equally legitimate sister religion is based on LDS statements repudiating contemporary Christian missions to the Jews. *Mormons and Jews*, however, misreads the nature of that rejection. In the first place, what Joseph Smith and the rest of the Saints were criticizing was not the idea of Jewish conversion itself, but the fact that the Christian missionaries who presumed to undertake it had no legitimate authority. This point becomes clear when one looks, for example, at the Prophet's full editorial comments, portions of which Epperson claims repudiated Jewish missions (103). Joseph's comments point out the ludicrousness of an unauthorized Christian missionary trying to damn a Jewish rabbi for not believing him. In portions not quoted in *Mormons and Jews*, Joseph Smith chides that at least "the Rabbi had been set apart by the laws and ordinances of Moses"; however, the "London Society . . . had never been acknowledged by either Moses, or Christ; nor the missionary set apart, nor sent by either." That he was not trying to validate contemporary Judaism as a religious system whose integrity and legitimacy had continued unbroken is made clear by his addition of the crucial qualifier "yet the laws and ordinances of Moses are abrogated in Christ." The message of the London Society missionary was ridiculous enough on its own terms. The real problem, however, was that he was not God's representative. The Prophet concludes his editorial comments by remarking, "If the above named gentleman had been sent by God instead of by the London Society he would have known his business better."³

One of the best evidences that Joseph Smith affirmed the need for Jews to embrace the gospel is the account of his prayer on behalf of his Hebrew teacher, Joshua Seixas. This episode is mentioned briefly in *Mormons and Jews* (88), but the primary source account contains unambiguous statements that clarify Joseph's perspective. The Prophet and his associates prayed that, as Seixas was their teacher in Hebrew, they "may become his

teachers in the things of salvation, that he may come forth and be baptized into the Church of Christ” and that “his soul may be saved.” They further petitioned that the Holy Spirit would cause his family “to embrace the fulness of the gospel, that they may be saved with him.”⁴ Nothing here indicates that the salvation of the Jews was “independent” of the Church and its ordinances.

The other reason Joseph Smith and his associates rejected contemporary missions to the Jews was that the whole enterprise disregarded the prophetic timetable for, as well as the predicted manner of, Jewish conversion. W. W. Phelps used words from a Philadelphia religious periodical entitled *The Reformer* to explain that “the Lord, and not man, will have the glory of bringing about this event, and all the efforts and undertakings of men to accomplish it will prove unavailing [*sic*], as heretofore has been the case down to the present time.” Phelps then quoted from Psalm 110:3: “Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power.” This, Phelps explained, would be “when [Christ] comes in the clouds of heaven.” Then the Jews “will be ready and willing to receive the Messiah.”⁵ Commenting on this same Psalm, Joseph Smith wrote:

For there was another day limited in David which was the day of his power and then his people *Isreal* [*sic*], should be a willing people and he would write his laws in their hearts and print them in their thoughts their sins and their eniquities [*sic*] he would remember no more.⁶

Such an eschatology coincides well with reflection on Zechariah 12-14 and Revelation 11, which place Jewish conversion in the wake of the Second Coming. As Mormons have interpreted these prophecies, the Jews would gather to their homeland, be besieged by gentile hordes, and at the crucial moment in the battle of Armageddon, be delivered by a messiah whom they would not recognize until he showed them the wounds in his hands and feet. Any uncertainty in interpreting the identity of this deliverer is swept away in the words of modern revelation: “Then shall the Jews look upon me and say: What are these wounds in thine hands and in thy feet? Then shall they know that I am the Lord. . . . Then shall they weep because of their iniquities; then shall they lament because they persecuted their king” (D&C 45:51-53).

The idea that Jehovah would personally participate in the conversion of his ancient people is probably the biggest factor in understanding why the Mormons still have rarely mounted any missionary effort among the Jews. The Mormons have not seen themselves, at least not prior to the Second Coming, as principal actors in this drama; however, this fact should not be taken to mean they did not expect a conversion to take place at some time. Thus, it is not as “remarkable” as *Mormons and Jews* suggests that a church as “mission-oriented as was Smith’s was so reticent to carry out a Jewish mission” (37).

Toward its end, the book also includes several quotes from Brigham Young that seem to align him with the rejection of the idea of Jewish conversion. Yet reading these quotations in context provides a different view. Brigham Young was developing the idea articulated, but not elaborated, by Joseph Smith that there would be adherents to other religions—including Jews—on the earth during the Millennium. Young was also a realist in terms of his assessment of human conduct in a world where

ev’ry soul is free
To choose his life and what he’ll be;
For this eternal truth is giv’n:
That God will force no man to heav’n.⁷

To say that not everyone will embrace the gospel in the Millennium or even that there will be members of other faiths throughout all eternity is not objectionable. That there will be those who on earth were Jews, or Muslims, or Presbyterians who in some way will wish to retain that identity in eternity is a scenario provided for in Doctrine and Covenants 76. But to imply that such individuals will enjoy God’s full presence on any basis other than acceptance of the plan of salvation is something that no Church leader, including Brigham Young, ever taught.

Thus *Mormons and Jews* is guilty of a non sequitur. After showing that Young believed in a pluralistic afterlife—a common Mormon belief—it concludes, “Contrary to fervent expectations of many, Young taught the Saints that membership in the church was not the inexorable, universal goal of humankind” (200). Of course, the “goal” and desire of the Saints has been to see all of God’s children accept the plan of full salvation and follow it, but the reality,

for the very reasons of agency which the book notes, will always fall short of that objective.

In pursuit of this goal, Orson Hyde, the third member of the book's anticonversionist trio, went on a mission to Jerusalem. According to *Mormons and Jews*, Hyde "did not proselytize or teach against Jewish learning and worship." Rather, he was sent to "convey words of comfort, forgiveness, and blessing from the Lord; and to call them [Jews] to gather to the Holy Land" (vii). Nowhere "was Christian conversion or baptism attached to this message of reconciliation" (150). Yet, referring to Orson Hyde, the Prophet wrote to the Twelve in England saying:

He requested to know in his letter if converted Jews are to go to Jerusalem or to come to Zion. I therefore wish you to inform him that converted Jews must come here. If Elder Hydes & Pages testimony to the Jews at Jerusalem should be received then they may know 'that the set time hath come': I will write more particular instructions to them afterwards.⁸

If neither the Prophet nor Hyde envisioned that Hyde would preach the gospel to Jews along the way to Jerusalem, why this exchange? And if the Prophet did not intend Hyde to announce in Jerusalem the latter-day restoration, why did the Prophet say that a favorable Jewish response there would indicate that the time of Isaiah's prophecy was at hand?

That Hyde's 1841 dedicatory prayer focused on the physical rather than the spiritual return of the Jews is consistent with the Saints' prophetic timetable. However, Hyde did share the gospel with individuals as he had opportunity. In fact, he records at some length his attempt in Jerusalem to convert "a very respectable Jew" by the name of Mr. Simons. "After some considerable conversation upon the priesthood and the renewal of the covenant," reported Hyde, "I called upon him to repent and be baptised." The invitation was vigorously resisted because Simons felt he had already achieved his salvation by becoming an Anglican. This experience led Hyde to report, "There is more hope of those Jews receiving the fullness of the gospel, whose minds have never been poisoned by the bane of modern sectarianism."⁹

If Hyde felt the Jews, either then or later, had no need for the gospel because a preexisting covenant would save them, such efforts and expressions would be unintelligible. So would his hope

that one day "Israel's banner, sanctified by a Savior's blood, shall float on the walls of Old Jerusalem, and the mountains and vallies [*sic*] of Judea reverberate with their songs of praise and thanksgiving to the Lamb that was slain." Equally incoherent would be his dedicatory plea that the Lord's kindness would "conquer and subdue the unbelief of thy people. Do thou take from them their stony heart, and give them a heart of flesh."¹⁰

Such expressions also make clear that Hyde did not accord redemptive parity to the ancient Jewish covenant nor see in Jewish history an unbroken covenantal relationship with God. Or if he did, he later changed his mind. In one of the very few instances in which Hyde discussed the Jews during his postmission life, he certainly did not seem to be stressing the "continuity" and "integrity" of the Jewish covenant:

The natural seed of Abraham rejected the offers of mercy, and it was said of them, "Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them" [Jer. 6:30]. Again, Paul says, "For he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh" [Rom. 2:28]. Their true line of connection with Abraham was broken because of unbelief, and Heaven regarded it no more.¹¹

If the case for parallel LDS and Jewish paths to salvation cannot, therefore, be made historically, how about theoretically? Since *Mormons and Jews* appears to be the first instance in which the two-covenant approach to Christian-Jewish relations has been superimposed on Mormon theological commentary, it will strike many LDS readers as novel. Actually the Christian version is a notion that has been proposed off and on over the years. The book makes no reference to this fact in either the text or the notes, perhaps because the author is unaware of it, but the theory is not an original one.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust, some Christians began to reexamine their teachings about Christ, covenant, and election in relationship to Judaism. Portions of the Vatican II decree, *Nostra Aetate*, redefined Roman Catholic doctrine on Judaism and the Jews by rejecting the notion that the Jews should be viewed as accursed or rejected of God and by affirming the bond which ties the people of the new covenant to Abraham's stock. Various Protestant

communions—Evangelical Lutheran, Anglican, Methodist, United Churches of Christ, and others—similarly adopted more ecumenical stances. The upshot was that for certain Christians, Judaism was no longer held to be a dead religion superseded by Christianity but was considered a valid covenant between God and holy Israel.¹²

The views in *Mormons and Jews* closely resemble the “two peoples/two purposes” theology of John Nelson Darby’s dispensationalism.¹³ Especially as articulated in the popular Scofield Bible, dispensationalism has long been the eschatology of choice in certain sectors of modern evangelicalism. The particular theological twists and turns of Darbyite dispensationalism are beyond the scope of this review, and important tactical differences exist between the author’s view and that of Scofield evangelicals. However, the common denominator is that redemption is dualistic. God works out one salvific purpose for the Christians and another for the Jews. Each people has its own distinctive future, and both eventually receive God’s full favor. For dispensationalists, heaven will be the millennial and eternal home for Christians, while the Jews will reside and reign on earth over unregenerate Gentiles. In its discussion of “eschatological pluralism,” *Mormons and Jews* is vague about how social and spiritual distinctions will be perpetuated into eternity. But the book posits that Mormons and Jews would cohabit the millennial earth as independent, autonomous covenant communities with no “organic relation” to each other.

This application of the two-covenant theory to Mormon theology, however, does not remove the thorny problems that have pricked Christian proponents of this notion. In what sense, for instance, can it be said that Christ “fulfilled” the Torah or that there is no “salvation in any other” (Acts 4:12)? Or, what is meant by the “integrity” of Judaism and the “continuity” of its covenant over a period of more than three thousand years? As Jewish scholar Jacob Neusner remarked recently, “Late antiquity’s Judaism was exceptionally rich and complex, so that the data scarcely sustain the premise of a single, uniform, coherent, normative, Jewish religion, much less the cumulative and linear history of such a religion.”¹⁴ Rabbinic Judaism—the primary influence on modern Judaism—did not take final shape for several centuries after Christ. Is the Talmud on the same footing with the Torah? Exactly what part of the

Talmudic tradition or its derivative halakic¹⁵ heritage represents “continuity” with the covenant made with Abraham? Which part of it will continue “autonomously” into the Millennium and beyond? What about the sizeable number of modern Jews who have no wish to be observant or to live the orthodox rules? Will they “convert” to halakic holiness in the future? If so, how? What about those who have no desire to make *aliyah*?¹⁶ What will motivate them to change, especially if the key characteristic of the Millennium, according to Epperson’s view, will be the peaceful coexistence of different ethnic and religious groups?

Additional problems arise by overlaying this theory on Mormonism. Unlike two-covenant Christians, for whom the Jews constitute the sum total of contemporary Israel, Latter-day Saints believe that the Israelite commonwealth also includes descendants of Lehi among the American Indians. These, too, are a “remnant of Jacob” who have just as legitimate an Israelite pedigree as any Old World Jew. While LDS literature leaves some ambiguity concerning the Jews, it is clear about the American Indians. From the first official mission in Mormon history, Mormons have understood that American Indians need to repent and be baptized. If the spiritual destiny of Indian Israel depends on their acceptance of the gospel, why not Jewish Israel? How is this inconsistency explained? Where is the logic in claiming that one part of Israel will be redeemed through the old covenant while another portion of Israel must accept the new?

Such questions will no doubt occur to readers of *Mormons and Jews*. However, the book seems to focus more on delivering the Jews from any future theological, liturgical, or ecclesiological oneness with the Latter-day Saints than on addressing the implications of these ideas or ironing out the inconsistencies they promote. The failure to acknowledge, let alone address, the weaknesses in this theory allows the impression that the book is primarily seeking to give Mormonism a theological face-lift to fit modern pluralist sensibilities and please Jewish friends.

The fundamental problem with the book, however, is the way sources are handled. Ambiguous statements are almost always interpreted to favor difference between the Smith-Hyde-Young view and the others. However, since no compelling evidence to

the contrary exists, such statements could be interpreted just as readily as support for similarity. Clear evidence of similarity is occasionally presented but then promptly explained away. Most troubling is the method of excerpting sources. As an example, the book describes Parley P. Pratt as saying that the sign of the end of Jewish affliction would be the “establishment of a Jewish ‘national polity: a national . . . form of government, a national priesthood, a national house of worship’” (192). Had Pratt actually made such a prediction, it would greatly strengthen the book’s argument about an autonomous Israel whose religious system represented a divinely sanctioned alternative for the Jews. Unfortunately, the full quotation from Pratt reveals something quite different: “It is said, in the history written by Josephus, that one million and a half of Jews perished in that siege, that is, in that one city, in putting an end to a national polity; a national corrupted form of government, a national priesthood, a national house of worship.”¹⁷ Pratt was actually speaking of how such a society came to an end in the first century, not how it would be “established” in the latter days! That this is no inadvertent misreading is revealed by the fact that in the book the adjective “corrupted” in front of “government” is cut out to advance the desired reading.

While this is a particularly pointed example of textual abuse, the procrustean effort to shape the source to fit the theoretical bed is a constant throughout the book. Sometimes this effort results in unfortunate gaffes. At one point, the book attempts to distinguish the tone and substance of Joseph Smith’s coverage of the Jews while he served as editor of the *Times and Seasons* from the attitudes both of his predecessors and successors (97–104). The first piece of evidence is a discussion of an alleged marked change in the February 15, 1842, edition of the *Times and Seasons*, the first one bearing the name of the Prophet as editor. However, Joseph Smith did not actually produce that issue. Two issues later, former editor Ebenezer Robinson published an explanation stating that at the time of the transition “it was not fully decided whether President Smith should take the responsibility of editor, or not, therefore that paper went to press without his personal inspection.” Referring to an item in the issue, Robinson remarked, “The first time Pres’t. Smith or myself saw the article, was after the papers

had been struck off.”¹⁸ Whatever differences may exist in the issue, they cannot be attributed to a rift between Joseph Smith and his associates.

Another example of how lack of careful consideration of sources undermines the book’s arguments is the use of what is taken to be an entry from Joseph Smith’s journal. The Prophet quotes verbatim a letter from a Jewish father to his son who had converted to Christianity. In *Mormons and Jews*, the letter’s introductory comments are considered to be significant evidence of Joseph Smith’s distinctive approach to the Jews (96–97). But again, the Prophet is not the author. After his death, portions of Joseph’s journal were fleshed out, were published serially in the *Deseret News*, and later became the *History of the Church*. The problem is that Epperson quotes the published *History of the Church* as his source, whereas Joseph Smith’s journal as reproduced in either the Jessee or Faulring edition contains no such words. In fact, no entry exists for the date listed. Once again, such evidence is no evidence at all, and the arguments based on it are invalid.

Most authors make some mistakes in handling their sources, but the problem is pervasive enough in *Mormons and Jews* that readers should proceed with caution throughout. The casual reader should be aware that often the argument is driven more by assertion than by evidence, that sometimes the “evidence” is no evidence at all, and that the author’s approach to sources tends to be eisegetical rather than exegetical. No clear and compelling evidence has been discovered that Joseph Smith, Orson Hyde, or Brigham Young ever espoused anything close to what the book claims they did. The book does not present a single statement from these leaders which unambiguously proclaims the unbroken integrity and autonomy of the Jewish covenant. Despite the Prophet’s willingness to correct associates on errant points of doctrine, the “deep rift” theory is not supported by a single instance in which Joseph Smith explicitly rejected something a colleague said about the Jews. Moreover, *Mormons and Jews* shows no incontrovertible proof that a Latter-day Saint leader ever exempted the Jews from ultimately accepting the gospel of Jesus Christ in order to receive full salvation. In short, the book works to construct a dichotomy that the documents simply do not sustain.

But if the book's overall thesis cannot withstand scrutiny, a number of worthwhile points are nonetheless made along the way. Most helpful is the way it sensitizes readers to residual anti-Jewish sentiment in LDS expression. Many Mormons have never paused to examine the social implications of their theology. To the degree that Latter-day Saints become more sensitive in their interactions with Jews after reading *Mormons and Jews*, the book makes a real contribution. Without accepting its redemptive dualism, one can still find in this book fresh and respectful ways of thinking and speaking about Jews and Jewish history. Here the author seems to have been positively influenced by the post-Holocaust literature on Christian-Jewish relations. Several of his mentors at Temple University—including Paul Van Buren and especially Franklin Littell—have contributed to this effort to disinfect Christianity of its anti-Jewish bias and to promote mutual respect between the two religious traditions.

Ultimately though, Mormons continue to affirm that they stand alone as authorized caretakers of the covenants, concepts, and ordinances that open the door to the highest degree of eternal happiness and exaltation. Hopefully, this book will help the Saints articulate their conviction with greater sensitivity and admiration for Jews, for proclaim it they must.

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NOTES

¹Parley P. Pratt, *Mormonism Unveiled: Zion's Watchman Unmasked and Its Editor, Mr. La Roy Sunderland, Exposed: Truth Vindicated: The Devil Mad, and Priestcraft in Danger!* (New York: O. Pratt and O. Fordham, 1838), 25.

²"It is common," Joseph Smith once remarked, "for many of our orthodox preachers to suppose that if a man is not what they call converted, if he dies in that state he must remain eternally in hell without any hope." On another occasion, he reported, "We ask the sects, Do you believe this? They answer, No. I believe in being converted." Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 220, 314.

³*Times and Seasons* 3 (May 2, 1842): 781.

⁴Leonard J. Arrington, "Oliver Cowdery's Kirtland, Ohio, 'Sketch Book,'" *BYU Studies* 12 (Summer 1972): 423–24; entry for February 15, 1836.

⁵W. W. Phelps, *Evening and Morning Star* 1 (August 1832): 21. The excerpt is from "Restoration of the Jews," *Reformer* 12 (December 1831): 109.

⁶Dean C. Jessee, ed. and comp., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 271.

⁷"Know This, That Every Soul Is Free," *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), number 240.

⁸Jessee, *Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, 486.

⁹Orson Hyde, *A Voice from Jerusalem* (Liverpool: Parley P. Pratt, 1842), 12-14.

¹⁰Hyde, *A Voice from Jerusalem*, 15, 30.

¹¹Orson Hyde, in Brigham Young and others, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855-86), 11:152 (October 7, 1865).

¹²Jacob Neusner, ed., *Judaism and Christianity: The New Relationship* (Hamden, Conn.: Garland, 1993).

¹³See generally John Nelson Darby, *The Collected Writings of J. N. Darby* (London: G. Morrish, n.d.).

¹⁴Jacob Neusner, "Scholarship without Shame: A Review Essay," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 61 (Winter 1993): 771.

¹⁵The halakah is the body of Jewish law and includes the Talmud and those legal codes and rabbinical decisions based on it.

¹⁶The term *aliyah* (ascent) refers to the return of individual Jews to the land of Israel as their permanent residence.

¹⁷Parley P. Pratt, *Journal of Discourses* 3:134 (October 7, 1855).

¹⁸*Times and Seasons* 3 (March 15, 1842): 729.

A Review Essay

Some Problems with Supersessionism in Mormon Thought

Steven Epperson

Review of *Our Destiny: The Call and Election of the House of Israel* by Robert L. Millet and Joseph Fielding McConkie. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993. 157 pp. Bibliography, index. \$11.95.

Robert Millet and Joseph McConkie have undertaken the ambitious project of explaining, in 144 pages, that “history of histories”—the election of and covenant with the house of Israel by the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The book attempts to chronicle the rise of Israel to eminence in the premortal realm, the covenant of God with Abraham, the loss and restoration of that covenant, the scattering and gathering of Israel, covenant people in ancient America, the lost tribes, and the consummation of the individual and collective endeavors of members of the house of Israel in the millennial age. Drawing heavily on the teachings of Bruce R. McConkie, the authors have as their central thesis the claim that the house of Israel is a people called, prepared, and chosen to be a light to others.

The strengths of this book include discussions about the biblical understanding of the intimate nature of the covenantal relationship between the Lord and his people (34–37), temples as “sacral space” (120–22), the people of covenant as a “light to the nations” (62), and the sacrament as a covenantal meal (95–96). In discussing this last topic, the authors add insights into LDS celebrations of the Lord’s Supper by drawing upon the work of biblical scholars informed by historical/critical methodologies.

This book, however, can be rather difficult fare due to a priestly writing style¹ and some verbatim redundancies,² dogmatic

assertions,³ and insider debates about Mormon esoterica.⁴ The text frequently appeals to the fears of those readers⁵ who are concerned that Church members may fall prey to “would-be leaders” (91), “unstable views” (99), and “other aspects of the apostasy” (13) and concludes that “the gentile nations—and, sadly, many Latter-day Saints—sin against the fulness of the gospel and reject its blessings” (86). Without factual support, the effects of this style of argument are coercion of assent by stigmatization and diversion of the reader’s attention from the avowed purposes of the book.

At first glance, the principal assertions of *Our Destiny* appear consistent with certain traditional LDS concepts of election, covenant, dispensations, and religious identity. Closer examination, however, reveals flaws in interpretation, argumentation, and use of historical sources. A negative view of the Jews and a distinct chauvinism mar the pages of *Our Destiny*. Readers should ask what the effects would be on both Mormon thought and Church practice if these attitudes were to prevail.

Speculative Interpretation of Scripture

The book uses a number of scriptures in ways that can be supported only by tendentious readings or by appeals to private, noncanonical interpretations. For example, Colossians 1:5 is cited as proof that “gospel principles were taught to us and understood by us long before we were born” (22). But Colossians 1:5 is part of Paul’s greeting to the Christian community in Colossae. The community’s “faith in Christ” and “love [for] all the saints” (Col. 1:4) are the causes for the Apostle’s praise, not virtues acquired in pre-mortal life or reserved for the Saints in the life to come.

Our Destiny often employs an esoteric interpretive procedure to explicate scriptural texts and make authoritative pronouncements. For example, the book claims without canonical justification that the Lord called Abraham to leave Ur “that the bloodline may be kept pure” (44). This claim does not conform with the accounts in Genesis and in Abraham 2:6, which say nothing about bloodline. Similarly, there is no evidence for the claims that Ephraimites are to be “found on the frontier of movements that bring freedom” (48) and that Abraham was baptized and given the priesthood before receiving the covenant of

circumcision and promise (43–44). Although this point can be supported by a “presentist” logic, no passage in the standard works states that this was so. *Our Destiny* introduces many interesting ideas, but sometimes at the expense of caution.⁶

Finally, the book uses noncanonical oral tradition and certain apocryphal literature to substantiate its preoccupation with consanguineous marriage and priesthood authority. For example, the book conjectures that Asenath, whom Joseph married in Egypt, was a “Shemite princess” descended from Hyksos invaders of Egypt and thus fit breeding stock for an Israelite (45). But there is no evidence that Asenath was of Hyksos descent or that the Hyksos were an ethnically pure Semitic group.⁷ Rather, her name means “belonging to *or* the servant of (the goddess) Neith.”⁸ The underlying message here is that race, lineage, and intermarriage were not determinative factors for the prophetic or priesthood authority of either Joseph or Joseph’s posterity. Asenath embraced the faith of her husband. Conversion, not racial consanguinity, was the essential ingredient in this story.

Although these are sometimes minor problems, they surface throughout the book and thus erode its credibility. Contextual and contradictory evidence is occasionally disallowed or simply set aside, while speculative tales claim heroic deeds for putative Israelites and questionable views proliferate about privileged blood.

Standing behind these problems lies a difficult methodological task for Latter-day Saint scholars, namely articulating the purpose and status of a written canon of scripture and its relationships to pronouncements of living prophets. In addition, this written canon of scripture must be compared to statements by other General Authorities, to the influence of the spirit of revelation, to details in noncanonical texts, to the implications of logic, and to other such factors. Such issues are not addressed in *Our Destiny*. An unexamined method of interpretation—if it appeals ultimately to any extracanonically written authority or wrests selected passages of scripture from their contextual base and then reads them against a more overt, historical, or literal sense of written scripture—can contribute to an erosion of the reader’s confidence in the standard measure of scripture and can lead to a proliferation of private, noncanonical, and idiosyncratic readings.

A Negative View of the Jewish People and of Judaism

While this book includes some positive statements about the Jews, overall it tends to present a negative judgment about the status of Jews as a covenant people and about Jewish religious experience during the past two thousand years. *Our Destiny* portrays the Jews at the time of Jesus as being preoccupied with lineage (26–27) and land (72, 108, 126), resenting and snubbing Gentiles (26), rejecting the gospel, and forsaking the Abrahamic covenant. They were “lost as to their identity as covenant representatives” and have since been scattered for apostasy (67). The book claims that the Jewish people became “as the world” and the Lord then “allowed [Israel] to suffer” (109). Exiled and scattered upon the face of the earth, they were no longer “truly the seed of Abraham” (27); yet, paradoxically, they symbolized all the house of Israel (67), formed “false churches,” and substituted “rabbis” for “prophets” and “traditions” for “scripture” (109).

Most Jews, according to *Our Destiny*, have mistakenly believed there is something “spiritual,” redemptive, or “scriptural” about their “political” gathering to, and creation of, the state of Israel (72–73, quoting Bruce R. McConkie). Actually, the book asserts, title to covenant (89), land (127), and, hence, the rights to Abrahamic lineage will be restored to the Jewish people only when they “join the Church” (98). Indeed, the book claims that the Jews will enlist with those who have not been obliterated at the time of the Lord’s second coming to constitute the universal church in the millennial age—that time when “every living soul on earth will belong to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (134, quoting Bruce R. McConkie).

This list of negative judgments about Jews and Judaism runs consistently through the pages of *Our Destiny*. In effect, the book is strongly aligned with a tradition articulated by some early Church leaders—Sidney Rigdon, Oliver Cowdery, and others—who viewed the relationship between Mormons and Jews in the classic terms of traditional Christian, anti-Jewish theology. This theology, established and maintained for eighteen hundred years by the doctors of Christendom, purchased exclusive covenantal status for the churches of Christ at the price of displacing the Jewish people as heirs and witnesses of the covenant.⁹ According to

this supersessionist doctrine—that Christians succeeded Jews as the Lord’s covenant people—“apostate,” “old” Israel had forfeited its covenantal rights to the universal church of Christ, whose members now constituted the “new” Israel of God.

From the second century down to our own, this theological “triumph” has been employed to justify enactment of forced conversions, vilification of Jews and Judaism by rank-and-file Christians, prohibitive social and economic legislation in both canon and civil laws, establishment of ghettos, expulsions, and martyrdom of millions of innocent people. It is a shameful story.¹⁰

But supersessionism does not exhaust the options available to Latter-day Saints. That the Jewish people are the “seed of Abraham” and still heirs to “the glory, and the covenants . . . and the service of God, and the promises” (Rom. 9:4–5) is clear from the writings of Paul (Rom. 11:1, 29). The mystery Paul celebrates with his gentile converts is not the displacement of the Jews by the Church. Rather it is the adoption of Gentiles into the household of Israel through the Gentiles’ faith in Christ, which adoption fulfills the covenant of God to Abraham that he would be the father of many nations.¹¹

In contrast to Cowdery and Rigdon, other LDS leaders, including Joseph Smith, Parley P. Pratt, and Orson Hyde, have seen the Jewish people as “truly the seed of Abraham” (27). Parley Pratt declared, with considerable historical sense and clarity, that Jews had resisted conversion and faced martyrdom because they would “‘not move one step to the standard that *is* not Abraham’s, nor from the everlasting covenant’” of their fathers (37). When Orson Hyde embarked on his nonproselytizing mission to the “children of Abraham” residing in European cities and in Jerusalem, he communicated and met with Jews and blessed the land for the return of the Jewish people—words and deeds that were unprecedented in nearly eighteen hundred years of encounters between Christians and Jews.¹² These positive strands of LDS thought toward the Jews are conspicuously absent from the pages of *Our Destiny*. Evidence concerning encounters between Mormons and Jews seems to be selected on the basis of whether it agrees with the theoretical construct of Christian supersession.

This underlying theory dictates that the contemporary gathering to what became the state of Israel by Jews from around the

world be viewed merely as a “political,” secular, nonredemptive phenomenon. In fact, according to the book, this assembling to “the Palestinian nation of Israel” is not the gathering of “Judah” at all; “people of Jewish ancestry” are merely rehearsing a minor prelude to the real gathering that is to come (72–73).

However, in the Latter-day Saint tradition, one learns of Joseph Smith’s invocation that “from this hour [March 27, 1836] . . . the yoke of bondage . . . be broken, . . . and the children of Judah . . . begin to return to the lands [given] . . . to Abraham, their father” (D&C 109:62–64). In addition, widespread support was given by Mormons to early Zionist aspirations, expressed in editorials like the following: “We hope . . . steps will be taken for the full emancipation of the Jews in all the civilized nations, and that something will be done leading to the future occupation and redemption of the land. . . . Prophecy points to this as one of the certain events of the latter times.”¹³

Our Destiny asserts that Jews have become “as the world” and have forsaken the true covenant of Abraham (109). However, Jewish history and experience demonstrate that the terms of covenant, community identity, and autonomous religious legitimacy continue among the Jews in the covenant of circumcision (Gen. 17:10–14), Torah recitation and study, daily prayer, celebration of covenant festivals, observation of divinely sanctioned moral and liturgical duties, eighteen hundred years of spiritual and intellectual reflection on the covenant, the martyrdom of millions for the “sanctification of God’s name” (*kiddush ha-Shem*), and the recitation, by tens of millions every day for four thousand years, of “Hear O Israel; The Lord our God is one Lord; And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might” (Deut. 6:4–6).¹⁴

Even the teachings of our own tradition acknowledge the facts of Israel’s covenantal witness. In reference to this, Joseph Smith spurned theoretical abstractions of traditional Christian anti-Judaism and affirmed that the Jewish people “inculcate attendance on divine worship” and manifest to any disinterested reader “true piety, real religion, and acts of devotion to God.”¹⁵ George A. Smith, having returned from Palestine in 1873, asserted that the Jewish people “still maintain their identity as the seed of Abraham. . . . They are a living record of the truth of the revelations of God.”¹⁶

Since the Jewish people are still of “the seed of Abraham,” lineage and returning to the lands of their inheritance are not contingent upon their joining the LDS Church (98). Jews have no reason to seek for, nor wait upon, our permission to be what they are in fact.

Finally, *Our Destiny* concludes that the Jews must join the Church or be “destroyed” with the unrighteous (131–34). While several LDS writers have agreed with this strand of Christian apocalypticism, Brigham Young on three occasions corrected “erroneous expectations” that “all the inhabitants of the earth will join the church” in the Millennium, by calling those who held these false hopes “egregiously mistaken.”¹⁷ Reflecting on the mystery and splendor of natural and human diversity, as well as on the law of free agency, Brigham Young said that “Jews and Gentiles” will not “be obliged to belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” neither in the millennial nor distant ages to come.¹⁸

In other words, members of the Church have an alternative to supersessionism. Paul celebrated the adoption of the Gentiles into the covenant household of Abraham through faith in Christ without, at the same time, displacing the Jews. Mormon prophets and Apostles have placed emphasis on the living witness of covenant Israel, including the Jewish people, hoping thereby to learn more of the Maker and the meaning of covenant in these latter days. It may be well to remember the wisdom of the prophet Jacob: “For the people of the Lord are they who wait for him; for they still wait for the coming of the Messiah” (2 Ne. 6:13).

Racial and Religious Chauvinism

Frequently citing Bruce R. McConkie and others, *Our Destiny* argues that those individuals who comprise the house of Israel were elected due to their “premortal faithfulness and spiritual capacity” (17), were “segregated out from their fellows” (17), and were foreordained to “come to earth through a designated channel” (17) to occupy positions of “lineage and station” (18) in this life and “enjoy greater spiritual endowments than their fellows” (19). They are born with “believing blood” (19), “royal blood” (66) which makes it “easier for them to believe . . . than it is for the generality of mankind” (19). They are “endowed at birth with spiritual talents” (19) and a “predisposition to receive the truth” (66).

In addition, the authors contend that since “literal blood descent” from Abraham delivers “the right to the gospel, the priesthood, and the glories of eternal life” (143), “rights” by blood descent are crucial for the exercise of legitimate authority to establish and maintain the Church (52–55). They claim that such authority is rooted securely, since the Church’s early leaders “were all of one stock” (53), sharing with Joseph Smith a “pure . . . blood strain from Ephraim” (54, quoting *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*); they are “pure-blooded Israelite[s]” (86). This teaching, they assert, is to be taken literally (52); it is “neither myth nor metaphor” (143). One is left wondering, however, what this doctrine amounts to today, for the book also says, “Nor should those who are not directly descended from Israel who join the Church feel *in any way* less than chosen” (143; italics added). Perhaps clearer definitions of what is meant by “the idea of a covenant *or* chosen people” (2; italics added) would make the book’s position less ambiguous.

While recognizing that modern people may see this doctrine as “racist, sexist, or exclusivist,” *Our Destiny* rejects the “egalitarian-sounding” views of such people on the grounds that such positions are “doctrinally defenseless and even potentially hazardous” (18). The authors, however, do not grapple with the implications of this doctrine, especially in light of the momentous 1978 revelation in Official Declaration 2. The book begins by worrying that “doctrines” about “royal blood” and “believing blood” in recent years have been “untaught” and “ignored” (1). Perhaps the revelation of 1978 explains that shift.

Moreover, other factors raise further questions. Genetic research shows that intensive endogamy practiced in pursuit of a pure blood strain is biological suicide. It results in deleterious genes, which introduce incidences of disease, imbecility, and infertility otherwise checked by exogamic reproduction. In any event, pure blood strains are probably a myth. The distinguished Jewish historian Raphael Patai observed, “If by ‘pure’ we mean uniform, then it is unlikely that pure races of man ever existed.”¹⁹

From genealogical science, statistics attest that the entire human family is lineally and genetically related. Most geneticists are in agreement. Guy Murchie has written that “no human . . . can

be less closely related to any other human than approximately fiftieth cousin, and most of us . . . are a lot closer.”²⁰ “It is virtually certain,” Murchie concluded, “that you [that is, all readers] are a direct descendant of . . . Abraham.”²¹

This book’s use of William J. Cameron as an authority on these issues and its reference to him as a “wise man” (22) is even more troubling. William Cameron (1875–1955) was the editor of Henry Ford’s *Dearborn Independent*, a weekly publication whose columns in the 1920s and 1930s contained “some of the most vile anti-Semitism ever to be published in this country.”²² Ninety-one issues of the *Independent* “hammered away at the theme of an international Jewish conspiracy. . . . Jews were blamed for everything from Communism to jazz, immorality, and short skirts.”²³ Albert Lee has identified Cameron as the author of “most of the anti-Semitic articles.”²⁴ His writings became “the bible of the German anti-Semites, including Adolf Hitler.”²⁵ In 1928, Cameron left the *Independent* to become editor of *Destiny*, the official publication of the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America, well known for its anti-Semitism, racism, and nativism. He maintained that Jesus “was not a Jew. And the Jews, as we know them, are not the true sons of Israel. It was the Anglo-Saxons who descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel.”²⁶ To associate, even slightly, with Cameron is unconscionable in the international Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.²⁷

More meaningful and abiding criteria than race or blood exist for citizenship in the household of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Happily, *Our Destiny* does not completely ignore these religious dimensions. Unfortunately and probably unintentionally, the authors leave the distinct impression that membership based on conversion without the benefit of “believing blood” is second-rate because of their heavy emphasis on bloodline.

However, their statements on privilege cannot be successfully reconciled with those concerning equality in the house of Israel. In Deuteronomy, the prophet reminds Israel that its God is “faithful” and “keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations” (Deut. 7:9).²⁸ Paul wrote that all who have and act with faith in the God of Abraham, “the same are the children of Abraham” (Gal. 3:7).

Gentile Christians, former “heathen[s]” (Gal. 3:8), uncertain and insecure about their covenantal identity because the Jewish people’s claim to Abraham is so strong in comparison, are told by the Apostle not to fear: “If ye are Christ’s then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise” (Gal. 3:29). The earth is the Lord’s; he “hath made of one blood all nations of men” (Acts 17:26).

If we are all of one blood and virtual descendants, every one of us, of father Abraham, then claims to “lineage and station” (18), “nobility” (48), and rights by virtue of a select “blood strain” (54) are at best specious and quite irrelevant in today’s Church. Is it possible that, just when the LDS community is emerging from ethnic, linguistic, and geographical parochialism to become a world-wide religion, that *Our Destiny* would unwittingly turn us back?

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NOTES

¹For example, “be it remembered,” 13; “forsakes and eschews,” 65.

²Compare repetitions on pages 2 and 85 as well as 72 and 116.

³“The great issue described by Nephi is not translation, but *transmission*” (6). Do we know that the written testimony was by John *the Baptist* (7)? Did “the Jews of Jesus’ day” all know “that all true servants of the Lord come baptizing” (12)? Is it true that “as with the individual, so also with persons and nations” (15)? The authors even dubiously put words into the Lord’s mouth (26).

⁴For example, “one mighty and strong” (136). The authors also make frequent use of passages from the Joseph Smith Translation without explaining their context or significance.

⁵These *ad metum* arguments are instances of “fallacies of substantive distraction,” whose purpose is to shift “attention from a reasoned argument to other things which are irrelevant” to the case at hand. David Hackett Fischer, *Historians’ Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 282–306.

⁶For example, what does the word *organized* mean when Abraham saw “the intelligences that were organized before the world was” (Abr. 3:22) or when Father in Heaven “organized” the human family? It may or may not mean the kind of stratification that Millet and McConkie mention (16). Also in this connection, they speak absolutely of everyone’s “foreordination to lineage and family” (17), but President Harold B. Lee was more tentative: “These rewards were *seemingly* promised” (18, italics added).

⁷"Hyksos," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 2:667.

⁸"Asenath," *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 1:247-48. See also "Asenath," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:476. The alien status of Asenath is underlined in a text from around the time of Christ that depicts Joseph as saying, "It is not meet that a God-fearing man . . . should kiss a woman of a strange people, who blesses dead and unprofitable idols, and eats the putrid bread of idolatry, which chokes the soul of man, who drinks the libations of deceit, and anoints herself with the oil of destruction." Quoted in Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1910), 2:172.

⁹See James D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways between Christianity and Judaism and Their Significance for the Character of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1991); John Gager, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism: Attitudes toward Judaism in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); David P. Efroymson, "The Patristic Connection," in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, ed. Alan Davies (New York: Paulist, 1979), 98-117; Paul M. van Buren, "A Christian Theology of the People Israel," pt. 2 of *A Theology of the Jewish-Christian Reality* (New York: Seabury, 1983), 1-42; Charlotte Klein, *Anti-Judaism in Christian Theology*, trans. Edward Quinn (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978); James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue: A Study in the Origins of Antisemitism* (New York: Atheneum, 1979); and Gavin I. Langmuir, *History, Religion and Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹⁰James Parkes, *Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*; Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Heiko A. Oberman, *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in the Age of the Renaissance and the Reformation*, trans. James I. Porter (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984); Léon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Schocken, 1974); Jacob Katz, *From Prejudice to Destruction: Anti-Semitism, 1700-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975); and Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961; New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985). For two works that demonstrate that Christians did not have to acquiesce to or participate in political, economic, or theological discrimination against Jewish people, see Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1978); and Philip P. Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed: The Story of the Village of Le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

¹¹Lloyd Gaston, "Paul and the Torah," in *Antisemitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, 48-71; van Buren, "Christian Theology of the People Israel," 277-83. The supersessionist theology of Millet and McConkie leads them into tendentious readings of many scriptures; for example, Acts 17:24-26; Romans 9:6-7; 3 Nephi 21:14-22.

¹²Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), 139-72.

¹³*Deseret News*, September 10, 1879, 502.

¹⁴Robert M. Seltzer, *Jewish People, Jewish Thought: The Jewish Experience in History* (New York: Macmillan, 1980), dispels the severely limited and inaccurate picture of the Jewish people and Judaism offered in *Our Destiny*.

¹⁵*Times and Seasons* 3 (June 1, 1842): 810.

¹⁶*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 16:103–7, 220–21; hereafter cited as *JD*.

¹⁷*JD* 11:275; 2:316–17; see also 12:274.

¹⁸While Brigham Young based this view on John 14:2, “In my Father’s house are many mansions,” allowing in that house “different classes of mankind . . . requiring a classification and an arrangement into societies and communities” (*JD* 11:275), he did not explain the differences that may exist amidst that variety of people in God’s mansions. He did, however, insist upon their difference, distinction, and duration “to all eternity.”

¹⁹Raphael Patai and Jennifer Patai, *The Myth of the Jewish Race*, rev. ed. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 16.

²⁰Guy Murchie, quoted in Alex Shoumatoff, “The Mountain of Names,” *New Yorker*, May 13, 1985, 60.

²¹Shoumatoff, “The Mountain of Names,” 60.

²²Ernest Volkman, *A Legacy of Hate: Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1982), 33.

²³Harold E. Quinley and Charles Y. Glock, *Anti-Semitism in America* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 168.

²⁴Albert Lee, *Henry Ford and the Jews* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980), 19.

²⁵Edwin Black, “The Anti-Ford Boycott,” *Midstream: A Monthly Jewish Review* 32 (January 1986): 39–41. Robert Wistrich noted that *The International Jew* was “highly praised by Adolf Hitler and widely distributed in German translation by the Nazi Party.” Ford’s paper (written and edited by Cameron) had depicted the Jews as “a universally corrupting influence . . . from liberalism, unionism, and Bolshevism to Negro jazz music. One can see why Hitler once told an American reporter: ‘I regard Heinrich [*sic*] Ford as my inspiration.’” Standing behind and supplying Ford with his public anti-Semitic discourse was William Cameron. Robert S. Wistrich, *Antisemitism: The Longest Hatred* (New York: Pantheon, 1991), 118–19.

²⁶Lee, *Henry Ford and the Jews*, 88; see also James H. Anderson, *God’s Covenant Race: From Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1944), 288, 304, 307.

²⁷For more information on the racial fallacy and the historic relationship of racism and anti-Semitism in America, see Robert Singerman, “The Jew as Racial Alien: The Genetic Component of American Anti-Semitism,” in *Anti-Semitism in American History*, ed. David A. Gerber (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 103–28.

²⁸For a bracing antidote for religious chauvinism, see Yeshayahu Leibowitz, *Judaism, Human Values, and the Jewish State*, ed. Eliezer Goldman, trans. Eliezer Goldman and others (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 106–22, 209–13.

Jews in LDS Thought

Chronicling the attitudes of Latter-day Saints toward the Jews and Israel illustrates a subjective use of history as well as the objective dynamics of a living theology.

Arnold H. Green

In their basic revealed texts, Latter-day Saints encounter many themes concerning the history and destiny of the Jews. Generations of Church officers and members have formed differing combinations of those themes. Their varying formulations somewhat reflect the trends and perceived needs of their eras. Thus, in effect, many Latter-day Saints have functioned as subjective revisionists or as reductionists.¹ While a few of their revisions are specific to certain eras, other revisions have endured or reappeared and now coexist. In an effort to identify the main elements that have played roles in LDS thought about the Jews, this essay will first discuss revisionism and subjectivism in history and theology. It will then examine, in the order in which they have appeared over time, certain themes relating to the Jews. Bibliographic information for this body of LDS literature is given in the endnotes.

Revisionism and Subjectivism in History and Theology

Reviewing the issues surrounding revisionism and subjectivism is helpful for understanding the various themes that have been present in Latter-day Saint attitudes toward the Jews from 1830 to the present. Revisionism is the practice of deliberately revising generally understood ideas about history or theology. Subjectivism in historical studies means perceiving past situations or events in terms of present values. Both practices are risky yet unavoidable and often salutary. Revisionism is hazardous in that such a reinterpretive

exercise can attract dishonest zealots—some whole historical endeavors reek of unscrupulous fanaticism. Perhaps the most unsavory of these at present is the revisionism which denies the occurrence of the Holocaust.² Nevertheless, revisionism is relentless and necessary, as implied by Carl Becker's oft-quoted *mot* that every generation rewrites history from its own perspective.

This re-visioning can also be beneficial. Events, documents, and other phenomena become more fully understood after scrutiny from various angles by historians of many eras. In fact, many reputable scholars label themselves "revisionists" to promote what they deem are improved ways of comprehending certain events and texts in light of neglected sources or fresh analytical approaches.³

Debates about the pros and cons of revisionism in history often pit subjectivism (investigating the past from one perspective or one's current beliefs and values) against objectivism (reconstructing the past for its own sake).⁴ Meinecke identified these "two great tendencies" in historical studies and recommended that "neither of these tendencies . . . be pursued one-sidedly."⁵

Twentieth-century historians have typically employed some subjectivism and rejected Ranke's ideal of completely objective, "scientific history." They have urged historians to assess the past's "usefulness" in applying historical knowledge to humanity's present quandaries. As Becker argued in 1935, "The history that lies inert in unread books does no work in the world. The history that does work in the world, the history that influences the course of history, is living history."⁶ Subjectivists of course distinguish between "living history" and fiction or propaganda. For instance, in the early twentieth century, Croce affirmed, "A history without relation to the document would be an unverifiable history; and . . . the reality of history lies in this verifiability."⁷

A similar subjective-objective interaction occurs in religion.⁸ In a Latter-day Saint context, subjectivism underlies Nephi's practical advice that individuals should "liken" the scriptures unto themselves.⁹ Neal A. Maxwell counseled, "Make the living scriptures relevant to our lives and to our times as did Nephi." Russell M. Nelson, trained as a physician, used curative metaphors and urged that knowledge of history be used to uplift. He cautioned that

“some truths are best left unsaid” in preference to the practices of “self-serving historians [who] grovel for ‘truth’ that would defame the dead and the defenseless.”¹⁰ Yet, where subjectivism endorses likening, selecting, and omitting for our current or personal needs, objectivism cautions against “wresting the scriptures” (see 2 Pet. 3:16; Alma 13:20; D&C 10:63).¹¹

In both history and theology, objectivism checks the subjectivist temptation to treat the documentary record too selectively, thereby wresting the past by reducing it or by citing evidence out of context. This concern applies to the intent of a specific passage (otherwise the sixth commandment could be rendered “Thou shalt . . . kill”) and especially to the integrity of the whole context’s complexities and subtleties. For example, an objectivist might countenance on one hand the reduction of a situation that has the elements AABCCCXYZZ to AbCxYZ (where two A’s are reduced to A, three C’s to C, and so on). On the other hand, the objectivist would protest the reduction of that event to BX. Yet B and X might be precisely those aspects of the situation that some historians or theologians would subjectively find most relevant to their day, although other subjectivists might prefer element C or the formulation AYZ.

The ongoing revisionism present in the exercise of history and the tensions between subjectivism and objectivism in both history and theology are among the issues one encounters when surveying the complex topic of LDS attitudes toward the Jewish people and the modern state of Israel.

The Jews in LDS Thought

Impressively, the whole tapestry of the Book of Mormon consists of a myriad of complex and subtle threads. Through the decades, sermonizers and scholars have treated individual strands either in isolation or in reweavings of their own design, sometimes with apparently contradictory results.

Scriptural Foundations. One may select from the tapestry a few main strands, for example:

1. judgment
2. lineage

3. Judeophilia
4. partnership
5. return
6. conversion to Christ
7. universality

On the basis of the manifestations of factors such as these, one may hazard to infer the Jews' status according to LDS scripture.

When considered in isolation, one of these strands—judgment—focuses on transgressions by the Jews and their resulting condemnation.¹² For example, 1 Nephi 19:13–14 includes such phrases as “those who are at Jerusalem . . . shall be scourged by all people, because they crucify the God of Israel” and “they shall wander in the flesh, and perish, and become a hiss and a by-word, and be hated among all nations.”¹³ Although milder than the sermonized abuse by the Greek and Latin Church Fathers, such language compares in accusation and tone to New Testament passages that Jewish writers have found offensive.¹⁴

In contrast, the thread of the Abrahamic lineage evokes themes of divine respect and prophetic expectations, leading to the strands of Judeophilia (esteeming the Jews) and an anticipated religious partnership. We find references to “the Jews, the covenant people of the Lord,” and explicit cautions against hatred of the Jews: “Ye need not any longer hiss, nor spurn, nor make game of the Jews, nor any of the remnant of the house of Israel; for behold, the Lord remembereth his covenant unto them” (3 Ne. 29:8).¹⁵ Indeed, as Latter-day Saints have identified *themselves* either as literal or adopted descendants of scattered Israel, they imply a future Jewish-Mormon partnership. Assuming a “tribes of Israel” framework—featuring “Judah” and “Joseph”¹⁶—scriptures predict cooperation between these tribes in such areas as promulgating scriptures¹⁷ and building millennial capitals.¹⁸ Prophetic expectations for the tribe of Judah also include the concept of a return to the Holy Land: “And I will remember the covenant which I have made with my people . . . that I would gather them together in mine own due time, that I would give unto them again the land of their fathers for their inheritance, which is the promised land of Jerusalem” (3 Ne. 20:29).¹⁹

Yet this thread of the Jews' return to Israel frequently appears interwoven with Christ's divine and messianic roles, the latter-day restoration of the New Testament church, and its progress defined in "tribes of Israel" terms. Many passages in Latter-day Saint scripture mentioning the Jews' return thus also mention the Jews' Christianization—"when they shall come to the knowledge of their Redeemer, they shall be gathered together again to the lands of their inheritance" (2 Ne. 6:11).²⁰ Ambiguities exist, however, regarding sequence, amount, and timing. Verses like 2 Nephi 6:11 and 25:16–17 imply that the Jews' conversion not only precedes their return, but also serves as its precondition, whereas those like 3 Nephi 20:29–30 imply a sequence of return followed by a delayed conversion and final inheritance. Suggesting the former order, 2 Nephi 30:7–8 hints at still a third sequence—return triggered by the Jews "begin[ning] to believe in Christ."²¹

Moreover, a prominent related strand conveys a sense of universality—"he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female; and he remembereth the heathen; and all are alike unto God, both Jew and Gentile" (2 Ne. 26:33).²² Although Joseph Smith characterized the LDS Church's missionary-driven growth as "the literal gathering of Israel" (A of F 10), provision is made for those not counted among the innumerable sand-grains of Abraham's descendants: "If the Gentiles shall hearken unto the Lamb of God, . . . they shall be numbered among the house of Israel" (1 Ne. 14:1–2). In other words, faith and faithfulness can "Israelize" Gentiles, and unfaithfulness can "gentilize" Israel (2 Ne. 30:2).

The threads of judgment, lineage, Judeophilia, partnership, conversion, return, and universality have appeared, ebbed, reemerged, and continue to entwine in various configurations through Latter-day Saint thought on the past and future of Jews and Israel.

1840–1880. By the mid-nineteenth century, Reform Judaism had arisen in Germany and spread to America. (Reform Judaism discarded or modified some traditional beliefs and observances and instituted others, such as a belief in progressive theology.) Secular Jewish nationalism (the advocacy of a Jewish nation and homeland divorced from traditional Judaism) was emerging. Christianity's long tradition of trying to convert Jews had new expressions;

“Christian Zionism” (Christian denominations encouraging the Jews’ return, largely because it validates their own theology) was flourishing, now mainly among evangelical Protestants. De Gobineau, a French aristocrat, was popularizing scientific racism, claiming the white race combined the best human traits and therefore was superior to, and should be isolated from, inferior races. Pogroms were increasing in Eastern Europe, as was the trickle of pious European Jewish emigrants to Palestine.²³

Reading their newly revealed scriptures in light of such developments, nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints articulated three main and enduring theological positions regarding the Jews’ status. All three positions included the ideas of judgment, lineage, and return: Orson Hyde and Wilford Woodruff saw the promises made to the lineage triggering a return which would lead to conversion. Parley and Orson Pratt urged Christianization as necessary for removing the judgment on the Jewish lineage and thus permitting the Jews’ return. And Brigham Young disassociated return from the removal of judgment on lineage and from conversion. Instead, he associated conversion with the Second Coming.

Orson Hyde’s 1841 prayer to “dedicate and consecrate this land [the Holy Land] . . . for the gathering together of Judah’s scattered remnants” included the themes of judgment, lineage, and delayed conversion, with the return to Palestine receiving the focus of attention—expressed formulaically as judgment/lineage/RETURN/delayed conversion (with the emphasized topic capitalized). While praying to “incline them to gather in upon this land” and “constitute her people as a distinct nation and government,” Hyde also petitioned to “let Thy great kindness conquer and subdue the unbelief of Thy people.”²⁴ Almost the same blend of return and conversion exists in the Twelve’s 1845 *Proclamation*. Composed by Wilford Woodruff, it charges “the Jews among all nations . . . to return to Jerusalem” but implies impending conversion: “For be it known unto them that *we* now hold the keys of the priesthood and kingdom which are soon to be restored unto them.”²⁵

In contrast, Parley P. Pratt’s “Address to the Jews” in his 1852 “Proclamation” emphasizes a second formula of judgment/lineage/immediate CONVERSION: “To the Jews we would say—Turn from your sins.” “We have now shown you the door of admission into



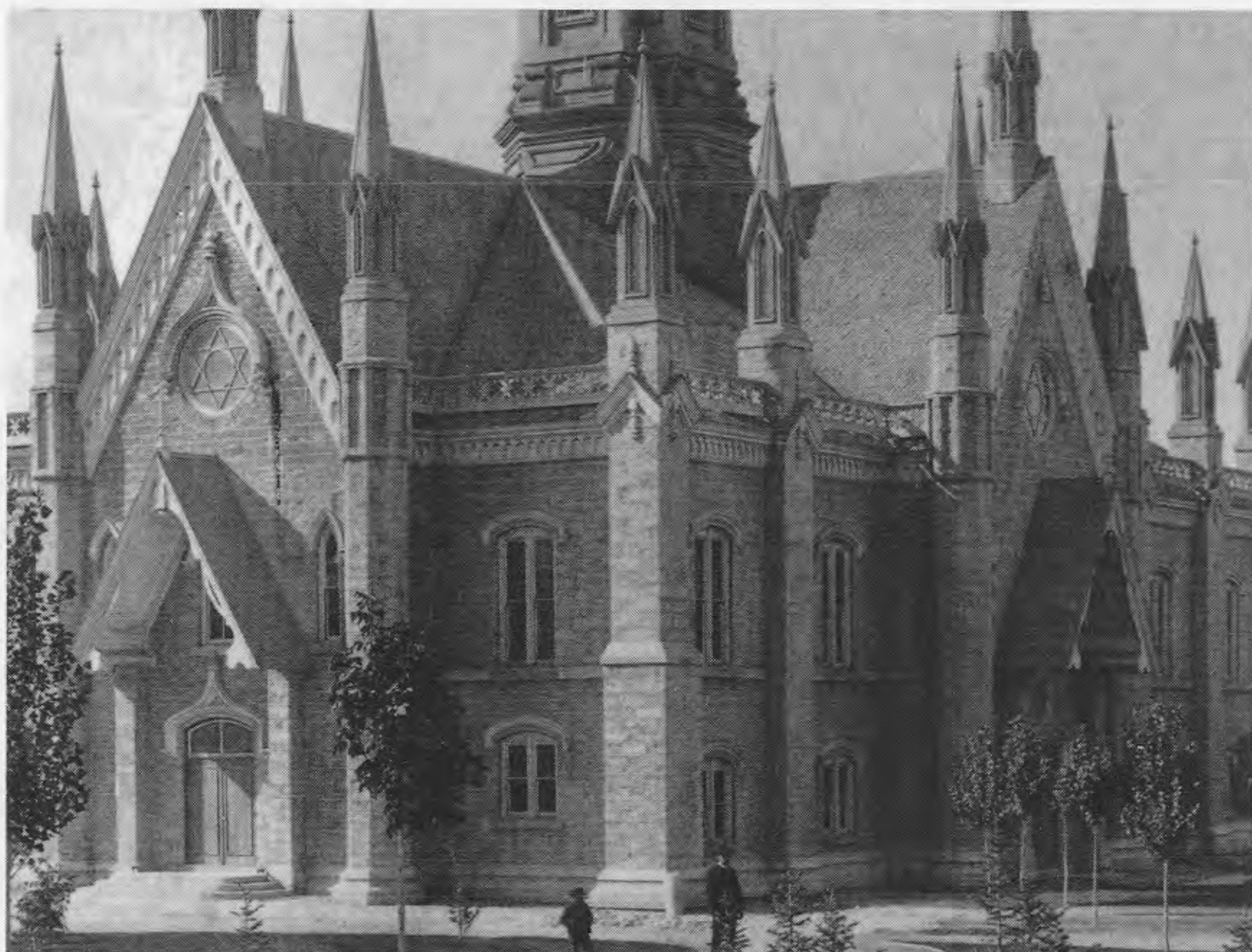
Orson Hyde (1805-1878) about 1853. Elder Hyde, who was ordained an Apostle in 1835, was called in 1840 to go to Jerusalem. On the Mount of Olives, October 24, 1841, he dedicated Palestine for the return of the Jews. Attributed to Marsena Cannon. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

the kingdom of God, into which you would do well to enter." Return to Jerusalem is implied as a benefit of conversion. As Orson Pratt explained, "The main part of [the Jews] will believe while yet scattered."²⁶

A third formula of JUDGMENT/LINEAGE/return/DELAYED conversion was articulated in 1866 by Brigham Young. "Let me here say a word to the Jews," he said. "We do not want you to believe our doctrine. If any professing to be Jews do so, it would prove they were not Jews. A Jew cannot now believe in Jesus Christ." "The decree has gone forth from the Almighty," he continued, "that they cannot have the benefit of the atonement until they gather to Jerusalem, for they said, 'Let his blood be upon us and our children.' Consequently, they cannot believe in him until his second coming."²⁷ John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff softened Brigham Young's position;²⁸ then all three endorsed the theme of return by sending George A. Smith in 1872 to rededicate Jerusalem to that end.²⁹ During the years 1841 to 1933, Palestine was dedicated by Latter-day Saints seven times only for the return of the Jews, not for the preaching of the gospel of Jesus Christ.³⁰

1881–1920. During the four decades straddling 1900, the Jews' legal status improved in North America and western Europe, where assimilation seemed likely, at least until the Dreyfus Affair (in which Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish French officer, was court-martialed for spying, even after the main evidence against him was proven to be forged). Meanwhile, the Jews' condition drastically worsened in Eastern Europe, the "great migration" to the West began, and new expressions of secular and religious Zionism materialized. These forces provoked the first two Zionist *aliyahs* (waves of Jewish emigration to Palestine) and swelled the previous trickle to a stream.³¹ These events, particularly the obvious movement of large numbers of Jews to the Holy Land, prompted additional LDS pronouncements that confirmed and expanded the Hyde, Pratt, and Young conceptions of the Jews' destiny.

As during the years 1840 to 1880, a frequently expressed position was Hyde's judgment/lineage/RETURN/delayed conversion formulation. For example, it appeared in the dedicatory prayers of the Manti Temple (1888) and the Salt Lake Temple (1893) offered by Lorenzo Snow and Wilford Woodruff respectively.³² In 1899,



Star of David motif. The Latter-day Saints used a Star of David motif in the round windows over the main entrances of the Assembly Hall. Dedicated in 1882, the Assembly Hall is among the buildings on Temple Square that architectually utilize symbols of the Mormon faith. C. R. Savage, 1888. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

J. M. Tanner contributed a flattering, academic description of Zionism. Five years later, J. M. Sjodahl placed a positive connotation on judgment—“Persecution has been the means of preserving their nationality”—then cited Old Testament return passages as a prelude to identifying Zionism as “exceedingly important.” This position was reiterated in 1917 by James E. Talmage: the scattering permits biblical Israel to bless the nations, and the prophesied return has begun. Subscribers to this trend considered General Allenby’s capture of Jerusalem in November 1917 to be particularly significant.³³

A version of Brigham Young’s view (JUDGMENT/LINEAGE/return/DELAYED conversion) appeared in 1918 when E. H. Lund enumerated cases of the Jews’ “unrighteousness and hypocrisy” per the Old

Testament and then interpreted 2 Nephi 10:3–5 as asserting that the Jews were the only nation having the “necessary mental qualities” to crucify Jesus. Yet, he observed, present developments suggest that “the Lord is gradually withdrawing the curse which he placed on that land anciently,” although “the innate skepticism and unbelief of the Jews will still possess them” until the Second Coming.³⁴

Pratt’s emphasis on judgment/lineage/CONVERSION/return also found new voices. For example, during 1901 the *Improvement Era* addressed a reader’s question: “When the Jews gather to Palestine, will they be in a condition of belief or unbelief in Jesus Christ?” The respondent, John Nicholson, dismissed what he called “the complete unbelief theory” and concluded, “Doubtless there will be a class of those who gather to Palestine who will be unbelievers, but it will probably be proportionally small.” Nicholson also made a novel observation. Citing Reform Jews who proposed sympathetic (revisionist) views of Jesus, he commented, “These statements are evidences that the Jews are ‘beginning to believe in Christ,’ and are therefore being prepared for complete conversion.” This idea was repeated in general conference in 1902 by B. H. Roberts and in 1918 by David O. McKay.³⁵

1921–1947. In 1920 the League of Nations entrusted a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain, which at first promised to sponsor the creation of a Jewish national home. The great migration, the relocation of over four million Russian Jews to the West from the 1880s to the 1920s, was accompanied by growing Judeophobia in western Europe and America—compounded after the 1917 Russian Revolution by a Communist, or “red,” scare. By the late 1930s, moreover, Britain completed its “decommitment,” announcing in 1939 an intent to transfer sovereignty over the Holy Land to the native Arab Palestinian majority. During that decade, Nazism arose in Germany and proceeded to attack the Jews’ economic interests, then their legal status, and ultimately the Jews’ very existence as individuals and as a people in both Germany and the lands it conquered during World War II. The third, fourth, and fifth *aliyahs* from Poland and Germany swelled the stream of immigrants to a flood.³⁶

During this period, Joseph Fielding Smith perpetuated the judgment-on-lineage formula associated with Brigham Young and

E. H. Lund.³⁷ Hyde's formula of lineage/RETURN/delayed conversion was continued by Heber J. Grant, Janne Sjodahl, and David O. McKay.³⁸ And Pratt's stress on lineage/CONVERSION/return was redefined by B. H. Roberts. President of the Eastern States Mission from 1922 to 1927, Roberts noted, "In greater New York, there are two millions of the House of Judah, and for the last several years I have been wondering how we could . . . have the material to present to them that would place in their hands the great message that God has for that branch of the House of Israel."³⁹ By 1927, Roberts had already created some "material"—several pamphlets formulating the LDS message especially for Jews. These were later consolidated into a book entitled *Rasha—the Jew: A Message to All Jews*.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, two new emphases emerged tentatively during this era. In response to the red scare and anti-Semitism, Heber J. Grant, while implying lineage, partnership, and return, articulated a position of Judeophilia. Speaking at the April 1921 general conference, he called attention to "the agitation that is going on at the present time . . . against the Jewish people"; recalled Orson Hyde's mission; cautioned, "Let no Latter-day Saint be guilty of taking any part in any crusade against these people"; and concluded, "I believe in no other part of the world is there as good a feeling in the hearts of mankind towards the Jewish people as among the Latter-day Saints."⁴¹

John A. Widtsoe, who visited Jerusalem for another rededication of the land in 1933, befriended a prominent Palestinian Arab, then articulated a position of conversion/return/UNIVERSALITY. In his autobiography, Widtsoe described meeting Shaykh Ya'qub al-Bukhari, who "became one of our loyal friends with whom we corresponded for years." This Muslim friend "gave us the Arab view of the colonization of Palestine." Widtsoe concluded, "It is my personal belief that the Jews will succeed in taking over Palestine fully only when they accept Christ. Until that time, bloody conflict, hate, jealousy, and fear will accompany the Jewish efforts to colonize Palestine." He then expressed a universalist stance:

The oft-asked question, "Who are the children of Abraham?" is well answered in light of the revealed gospel. . . . All who accept God's plan for his children on earth and who live it are the children of Abraham. Those who reject the gospel . . . forfeit the promises made to Abraham and are not children of Abraham.⁴²

The optimistic LDS outlook for the Jews' future expressed during the 1920s transmuted into pessimism with the onset of World War II. Attempts were made to understand events in traditional terms. For instance, Melvin J. Ballard depicted Hitler as "an instrument in the hands of God" to drive Europe's Jews back to Palestine, and Charles A. Callis interpreted Nazism's threat against Jews as a fulfillment of Zechariah's prophecy.⁴³ Such efforts underscored Latter-day Saints' interest in developments among Jews primarily as evidence that would validate their own current views or dogmas.⁴⁴

1948–1979. By the time the modern state of Israel was created in 1948, the Cold War had started. Until Stalin's death (1953) and the Suez Crisis (1955–56), the USSR supported Israel as did the United States, but thereafter, the Arab-Israeli conflict coincided more or less with the global East-West conflict. As antireligion became orthodoxy in the East bloc and received constitutional protection in the West, many faiths acted to mitigate ancient animosities between themselves to permit cooperation in maintaining common spiritual beliefs and values. Thus an ecumenical dialogue began. Not yet participating in that process directly, the LDS Church nevertheless grew beyond its traditional base in the Western United States, becoming more global and interacting with peoples in Africa and Asia as well as in Europe and the Americas.⁴⁵ These were among the factors that further shaped the attitudes of Latter-day Saints toward the Jewish people and the state of Israel.

Orson Hyde's emphasis on the return of the Jews expressed itself in some LDS officials welcoming the creation of Israel as a fulfillment of prophecy. In 1950, Ezra Taft Benson asserted, "In fulfillment of these ancient and modern promises, a great drama is being enacted in Palestine. The Jews are returning as one of the events of the last days." In his *Israel! Do You Know?*⁴⁶ LeGrand Richards included a section entitled "New Nation of Israel Fulfills Prophecy" and suggested that the Three Nephites fought on the Jewish side in the 1948 War. The next year, he stated that "what is going on over in the Holy Land today is a great miracle," an assertion seconded in 1958 by Lynn M. Hilton. A year later, Arthur V. Watkins, U.S. Senator from Utah, wrote, "Israel, as an independent nation, is an established fact and must be accepted. No one believing in the prophecies of God would contend otherwise."⁴⁷



Ezra Taft Benson and Flora A. Benson with David Ben-Gurion. The three met in 1963 in Dr. Ben-Gurion's Tel Aviv home. On several occasions, President Benson taught that "in fulfillment of . . . ancient and modern promises, a great drama is being enacted in Palestine." As a result, he believed that the LDS Church approaches Jews "in a different way than any other Christian church." Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

Partly fusing the Hyde and Pratt traditions, many advocates of the return of the Jews seemed to feel at this point that the time had arrived for conversion. Hilton indicated, "It is my sincere prayer that we will not be as reluctant to take the gospel from the Gentiles and give it to Israel as Peter was reluctant to do the converse in the meridian of time." Richards, whose *Marvelous Work and a Wonder*⁴⁸ anthologized his Southern States Mission presentations, wrote *Israel! Do You Know?* as a lesson plan to explain the LDS gospel to Jews. In it he declared, "God is calling the Jews. He invites them into the fold of Christ." During the late 1950s, Richards organized LDS "Jewish Missions" in Los Angeles; Salt Lake City; Ogden; San Francisco; Portland, Oregon; New York; and Washington, D.C., some of which produced their own "lesson plans."

Teddy Kollek presenting a token of appreciation to LeGrand Richards, 1979. Mayor Kollek wrote to Elder Richards, who was then president of the Orson Hyde Foundation, in “appreciation for the beautiful park you have helped us add to the ancient face of Jerusalem. The park is a permanent monument to your church’s faith, love and concern for our city” (Teddy Kollek to Mr. LeGrand Richards, November 12, 1979, LDS Church Archives). Elder Richards was also involved in missionary work to the Jews. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.



The First Presidency terminated these missions in 1958, but high-level interest in communicating with Jews continued. For example, in 1976 Ezra Taft Benson delivered a “Message to Judah from Joseph,” in which he indicated that the LDS Church approaches Jews “in a different way than any other Christian church because [Latter-day Saints] represent the restored covenant to the entire house of Israel.”⁴⁹ On the other hand, Bruce R. McConkie, although emphasizing the idea of “believing blood”—“the more of the blood of Israel that an individual has, the easier it is for him to believe the message of salvation” [Jews excepted?]-reiterated that “the conversion of the Jews as a people . . . will not take place until after the Second Coming.”⁵⁰

The dicta of Ezra Taft Benson and Arthur Watkins in the 1950s contained a political undercurrent. The idea that Israel not only fulfilled prophecy, but also figured in the Free World’s containment of Communism became explicit in W. Cleon Skousen’s *Fantastic Victory: Israel’s Rendezvous with Destiny*,⁵¹ which put Israel on the side of the angels and portrayed its Arab opponents as diabolic Soviet agents and clients. A reviewer observed, “The tragedy of this type of analysis lies in its inability to recognize that the Soviet

Union's success in the Middle East during the past decade is primarily due to an American foreign policy based upon this one-sided view of the Arab-Israeli crisis."⁵²

Meanwhile, Heber J. Grant's 1921 expression of Judeophilia was taken up by LDS scholars who were familiar with Jewish contributions to Jewish-Christian dialogue⁵³ and who, for the first time, directed their formulations to Jewish and academic audiences. So they downplayed judgment and Christianization while emphasizing JUDEOPHILIA/partnership/return. For example, Eldin Ricks's article published in the *Herzl Yearbook*⁵⁴ selectively reviewed "material bearing on Zionist themes" in the Book of Mormon (see endnotes 15–20 below), recounted Orson Hyde's mission, then selectively quoted from Sjodahl and other later adherents of the RETURN/delayed conversion formula. Like Ricks, Truman G. Madsen selected Book of Mormon return passages and then discussed Orson Hyde, but he also distanced Mormonism from traditional Christian trinitarianism and drew parallels with Judaism.⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Armand L. Mauss conducted a sociological study of "the unique Mormon doctrine of 'Semitic identification,' which holds that Mormons and Jews literally have the same ethnic origin," and concluded that "Mormons [are] less likely than any other denominations to hold secular anti-Jewish notions."⁵⁶

During the same period, LDS scholars participating in the Church's increased involvement in Africa and Asia echoed Widtsoe by articulating the theme of universalism. For example, in *Mormonism—A Message for All Nations*, Spencer J. Palmer criticized earlier formulations of "a narrow Mormonism," stressed the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, and asserted that the restored gospel "is not the peculiar property of any one people, any one age, or any one nation" and that "it is a proclamation for every ear that will hear and for every heart that humbly seeks the truth."⁵⁷

Since 1979. The LDS Church's accelerating global expansion, together with the 1978 revelation extending the priesthood to "all worthy male members of the Church . . . without regard for race or color" (OD—2), has put a stronger emphasis on the universalist thread. LDS scholars have expressed considerable interest in this trend,⁵⁸ as have General Authorities. The First Presidency issued a statement in 1978 "that all men and women are brothers



Reaching out. A scene from the Bay Area Jewish Open House, hosted by the Oakland California Stake, November 17–18, 1979, under the motto “Our gift to you.” Pictured are two of the two thousand guests, assisted at the buffet table by Jennifer Hudson and Nina Fraley. Other guests were President Ezra T. Benson; Mordekhai Artzieli, consul general of Israel; and Charles Stiener, executive director, Northwest Region Jewish National Fund. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

and sisters, not only by blood relationship from common mortal progenitors, but also as literal spirit children of an Eternal Father.”⁵⁹ In “All Are Alike unto God,” Howard W. Hunter affirms mankind’s common origin and brotherhood and states, “Our Father does not favor one people over another, but accepts all those of every nation who fear him and work righteousness.”⁶⁰ In “The Uttermost Parts of the Earth,” Spencer W. Kimball similarly expresses the need to preach the gospel in Africa, China, India, and Southeast Asia and behind the Iron Curtain.⁶¹

As applied by some General Authorities to the question of the Jews’ restoration, this recent high-level emphasis on universalism has, in effect, produced a restatement of the Pratt CONVERSION/return formula. For example, in a May 1981 conference address,

Marion G. Romney quoted most of the Book of Mormon's conversion/return passages, which he said "make it perfectly clear that the restoration of the house of Israel to the lands of their inheritance will signal their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their redeemer."⁶²

Perhaps because of this emphasis on conversion, by the time his *Millennial Messiah* was published,⁶³ Bruce R. McConkie had shifted his emphasis from Young's judgment-on-lineage position to Pratt's CONVERSION/return expression. McConkie stipulated that the modern state of Israel "is not the gathering promised by the prophets. It does not fulfill the ancient promises. Those who have thus assembled have not gathered into the true Church." It is rather a "gathering of the unconverted." He repeated this assessment in *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* under the heading "The Myth of the Jewish Gathering": "The present assembling of people of Jewish ancestry into the Palestinian nation of Israel is not the scriptural gathering of Israel or of Judah. It may be a prelude thereto. . . . But a political gathering is not a spiritual gathering." McConkie did, however, reaffirm the literal nature of the gathering within the tribes of Israel framework and the idea of "believing blood."⁶⁴

The universalist emphasis has also spawned among Church members a new discussion of the tribal-blood framework and the status of the Jewish people within it. One trend has sought to broaden the framework—either to include all possibly identifiable Abrahamic peoples or by defining the "scattering" as being so extensive that virtually no one could conceivably be excluded.⁶⁵

Spencer Palmer at first participated in this trend by arguing for possibilities of Asiatic descent from Abraham, but he later offered another solution that relied on Paul (Rom. 2:11, 28–29; Gal. 3:28–29) and on 2 Nephi 26:33—a purer universalism which in effect reduces the tribes of Israel to a metaphor.⁶⁶ Critical observers like Sterling McMurrin, while applauding such intentions, expressed doubt that the LDS Church can transcend its lineage-based theology; movement toward genuine universalism occurs "only if the missionaries are after all the souls that are out there in the wicked world and not just the lost sheep of the House of Israel."⁶⁷

On the other side of the discussion, some have come to the defense of the fundamental role of lineage in the Mormon doctrine

of gathering.⁶⁸ Robert Millet and Joseph McConkie's *Our Destiny: The Call and Election of the House of Israel*⁶⁹ represents an effort to introduce into this discussion Bruce R. McConkie's post-1979 position: the Church now constitutes the blood-based covenant Israel, but membership in the house of Israel is accessible to all through conversion. Without conversion even Jews cannot enjoy Abrahamic blessings [including covenant-related possession of the Holy Land?].

In this recent discussion, positions have emerged along a spectrum, the poles of which might be labeled "universalism" and "literal blood of Israel," with some voices toward one of the purist ends and some in the synthetic middle. Spokespersons for each position have tended to use scriptural and other texts selectively in their efforts to define what are—or ought to be—the "living" elements in Mormon gathering theology. On the one hand, Steven Epperson's *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel*,⁷⁰ by emphasizing Joseph Smith and limiting its coverage to the nineteenth century, functions in certain respects as an objectivist check on subjectivist tendencies, some of which minimize the prominent "Judah-consciousness" of early Mormonism. On the other hand, one of Epperson's main arguments—that Joseph Smith expressed a position of Judeophilia unsullied and unconditioned by such negative traditional Christian features as judgment and conversion—renders Epperson's work, too, open to inquiries into possibilities of selectivity.

Summary and Conclusions

As a review of an LDS textual tradition, this exercise leads to four conclusions. First, three interpretive traditions arose by the 1860s and survived for a century: Hyde's return emphasis (which passed through Wilford Woodruff, J. M. Sjodahl, and Ezra Taft Benson, among others); Pratt's conversion formula (John Nicholson, B. H. Roberts, LeGrand Richards); and Young's stress on judgment (E. H. Lund, Joseph Fielding Smith, Bruce R. McConkie).

Second, some of these traditions, along with variations on them, can be correlated with contemporaneous ideologies or developments: the tendency of the Civil War era to see things in

racial terms, the successes of the Zionist movement, the British conquest of Ottoman Palestine, an American Judeophobic red scare, the creation of the state of Israel, the Cold War, Mormonism's growth to global dimensions, and the 1978 priesthood revelation.

Third, after 1948 there occurred a partial merger of the Hyde and Pratt traditions, and after 1979 the leading earlier spokesman for the Young position endorsed that of Pratt.

Fourth, until the 1970s the discussion, assuming lineage as common ground, centered on the tension between the principles of judgment, conversion, and return. However, after 1979, by which time positions of universalism (John A. Widtsoe, Spencer Palmer, Howard W. Hunter) and Judeophilia (Heber J. Grant, Eldin Ricks, Truman G. Madsen) had reemerged, a further consensus arose on the basis of the Pratt formula, and the discussion shifted to consider the tension between lineage and universalism.

In this regard, surveying an issue's past also serves as a prelude to ongoing discussions. President Romney's 1981 conference address—the most recent pronouncement on this topic from the pulpit of the Tabernacle—may have been intended to settle the question once and for all. But at a nonauthoritative level, position takers are likely to continue taking stands. Most of these persons, despite a few objectivist antiquarians inquiring into the total record for its own sake, can be expected subjectively to cull the many texts for passages that support their efforts to shape the dynamic tradition in the direction they wish to see it go. This observation stems not from cynicism, but from the way a “living theology” functions. What this generation enlivens depends on what it selects to remember—or to forget.

Speaking personally, although it runs counter to my objectivist historical training, I would like to “forget out” nineteenth-century racism from our living theology, but I would like to “remember in” the courageous, outreaching efforts of Joseph Smith and Heber J. Grant, both of whom drew upon a special theological tradition in order to befriend the beleaguered Jews despite prevailing hostility. Someone is likely to ask, however, whether what I deem worth forgetting and worth remembering are related. While those on various sides of that question and others germane to it may subjectively approach the past in regard to their own

positions, as in trial law they will at least function objectively with regard to each other's, which may keep the relentless revision process honestly rooted to some extent.

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NOTES

¹Its belief in continuing revelation, along with the general aphorism that living prophets take precedence over dead prophets, in effect endows Mormonism with a mechanism to legitimize revisionism—as exemplified in the 1978 priesthood revelation, which rendered generations of speculation irrelevant. On the role of revelation in the gospel, see Harold B. Lee, “The Place of the Living Prophet, Seer and Revelator” (address to Seminary and Institute of Religion Faculty, Brigham Young University, July 8, 1964); Hugh W. Nibley, “The Expanding Gospel,” *BYU Studies* 7 (Autumn 1965): 3–27; James B. Allen, “Line upon Line,” *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 32–39; and Thomas G. Alexander, “The Reconstruction of Mormon Doctrine from Joseph Smith to Progressive Theology,” *Sunstone* 5 (July–August 1980): 24–33.

²See Karen J. Winkler, “How Should Scholars Respond to Assertions That the Holocaust Never Happened?” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 38 (December 11, 1991): A8–10; and B’nai B’rith, *Hitler’s Apologists: The Anti-Semitic Propaganda of Holocaust “Revisionism”* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1993).

³See David Boucher, *Texts in Context: Revisionist Methods for Studying the History of Ideas* (Boston: Nijhoff, 1985); John W. Jandora, *March from Medina: A Revisionist Study of the Arab Conquests* (Clifton: Kingston, 1990); Scott Heller, “‘Revisionist’ Art History Portrays Impressionists with New Brush Strokes,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 38 (April 8, 1992): A8–9; Geoffrey Roberts, “The Fall of Litvinov: A Revisionist View,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27 (October 1992): 639–57; Gaile McGregor, “Domestic Blitz: A Revisionist History of the Fifties,” *American Studies* 34 (Spring 1993): 5–33; Stephen G. Rabe, “Eisenhower Revisionism: A Decade of Scholarship,” *Diplomatic History* 17 (Winter 1993): 97–115; and Ronald H. Chilcote, “Revisionist Interpretations of the Brazilian Labor Movement,” *Latin American Perspectives* 2 (Winter 1994): 132–43.

⁴In *descriptive*-explanatory historical studies, revisionism is an expected, often praiseworthy, activity easily identified because historians tend to seek credit for their innovations. Reinterpretation also occurs in *prescriptive*-explanatory theology, where recognizing it is more problematic. Because novelty is seldom a religious virtue, innovators tend to package their formulations not as “modern reconsiderations” but as “original meanings,” at times disparaging as later deviations those prior teachings differing from theirs in substance or emphasis and thereby provoking “more-primal-than-thou” contests. Scholars who attempt to trace such contests’ history, particularly if exploring the primary texts’ initial

messages, are often seen as partisan contenders or worse. For example, the nineteenth-century German scholars who pioneered the methods of form and source criticism and applied these to Bible studies—*inter alia* Wilhelm Vatke, Karl Heinrich Graf, and Julius Wellhausen—asserted that the scribes and rabbis up to the time of the Council of Jamnia in the first century after Christ had fundamentally revised the Bible while compiling it and that the new German methods would help retrieve the original documents and their meanings. However, critics of the scholars have accused them of merely imposing modern secular-evolutionist views on the sacred texts. See also Leslie C. Allen, “The Structuring of Ezekiel’s Revisionist History Lesson,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 54 (July 1992): 448–62.

⁵Friedrich Meinecke, “Historicism and Its Problems,” in *The Varieties of History*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York: Meridian Books, 1956), 268.

⁶Carl L. Becker, *Everyman His Own Historian: Essays on History and Politics* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1935), 252. Becker derived his idea of “living history” from Croce, who characterized as “dead history” that which is promulgated by institutional authority and that which is undertaken as “a learned exercise.” Benedetto Croce, *History: Its Theory and Practice*, trans. Douglas Ainslie (1st Italian edition, 1916; New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), 19, 32–33. See also Benedetto Croce, “L’attitude subjective et l’attitude objective dans la composition historique,” *Revue de Synthèse Historique* 6 (June 1903): 261–65.

⁷Croce, *History*, 14. Becker stated that “the relevant facts must be clearly established by the testimony of independent witnesses not self-deceived” (Becker, *Everyman*, 243).

⁸Contrasting “Christianity’s relation to life” with “scholarly distance from life” in the 1840s, Kierkegaard suggested that Christians can personalize Abraham’s faith by living faithfully through their own Abrahamic predicaments and can implement Christianity by “upbuilding” fellow beings “the way a physician speaks . . . at the bedside of a sick person.” Søren Kierkegaard, *Fear and Trembling* (1st Danish edition, 1843; New York: Viking Penguin, 1985); and Søren Kierkegaard, *The Sickness unto Death*, trans. Howard V. Hong and Edna H. Hong (1st Danish edition, 1848; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 5. Kierkegaard’s subjectivism was utilized by theologians contemporary with Becker, including Karl Barth, who asserted that “we must think *in* our time *for* our time.” Originally published during 1923 in *Christliche Welt*, this phrase was quoted by H. Martin Rumscheidt, ed., *The Way of Theology in Karl Barth* (Allison Park, Pa.: Pickwick, 1986), vii.

⁹1 Nephi 19:23–24. Compare Spencer J. Condie, “And We Did Liken the Scriptures unto Our Marriage,” *Ensign* 14 (April 1984): 16–20.

¹⁰Neal A. Maxwell, “The Reality of the Living Scriptures,” in *Things as They Really Are* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), 83; and Russell M. Nelson, “Truth and More,” Annual University Conference, August 27, 1985, Brigham Young University.

¹¹While “liken” and “wrest” can differ in kind, they can also differ merely in degree or perspective—“*I liken, you wrest.*”

¹²By “judgment” is meant punishment on earth that is presumed to be divinely inflicted. See Patrick D. Miller Jr., *Sin and Judgment in the Prophets* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982).

¹³Compare 1 Nephi 1:19-20; 2:13; 3:17-18; 10:11; 17:44; 2 Nephi 6:9-11; 10:3-6; 25:2, 9-18; 27:1; Jacob 2:31; 4:14-15; Mosiah 13:27-30; 3 Nephi 10:4-7; 16:9; 17:14; 4 Nephi 1:31; Mormon 3:21; 7:5; and Doctrine and Covenants 45:21-24.

¹⁴See Paul's epistles to the Romans and the Galatians. Then compare Paul's substance, tone, and use of rhetorical devices, for example, to the approaches of John Chrysostom, *Discourses against Judaizing Christians*, trans. Paul Harkins (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1979), 354-407; and Augustine, "Les Juifs et les Donatistes" and "Aveuglement des Juifs," *Oeuvres complètes de Saint Augustin* (Bar-le-Duc: Guérin, 1867), 5:396-430, 531-34, 555-58. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Anti-Semitism," identifies in Matthew and John "the two cardinal themes appearing in Christian anti-Semitism": collective guilt for deicide (Matt. 27:25) and affiliation with evil forces (John 8:44; compare Rev. 2:9; 3:9).

¹⁵Compare 1 Nephi 10:2-3, 12-14; 15:14, 19-20; 22:6, 11-12; 2 Nephi 6:13-14; 9:1-2, 53; 10:7-8, 16-18, 22; 25:11, 17-18; 29:1-6, 14; 30:4; Jacob 5; 6:4; 3 Nephi 16:5; and Ether 13:7-11.

¹⁶"Ye are a light unto this people, who are a remnant of the house of Joseph. . . . Ye are they of whom I said: Other sheep I have which are not of this fold" (3 Ne. 15:12-21; compare D&C 98:17).

¹⁷"I shall speak unto the Jews and they shall write it; and I shall also speak unto the Nephites and they shall write it" (2 Ne. 29:12; compare 2 Ne. 3:12, 29).

¹⁸"The Jerusalem from whence Lehi should come . . . should be built up again, and become a holy city of the Lord . . . and that a New Jerusalem should be built up upon this land" (Eth. 13:3-6; compare 3 Ne. 20:22; 21:23; and D&C 42:9; 45:66; 84:2; 124:36).

¹⁹Compare 1 Nephi 15:19-20; 2 Nephi 6:9-11; 25:11; Mosiah 12:23; 15:30; 3 Nephi 16:19; 20:46; 21:1-4; 9; Mormon 5:14; and Doctrine and Covenants 77:15; 109:62-64. See also Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1994), 44, 65, 106, 108, 121, 133, 135, 159, 184; Grant Underwood, *The Millennial World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

²⁰Compare the Book of Mormon's frontispiece; 1 Nephi 10:12-14; 13:39; 15:14; 19:15-16; 22:11-12; 2 Nephi 6:13-14; 9:2, 23-24; 10:7; 25:16; 26:12; 30:2, 7; 3 Nephi 10:5; 16:4-5, 11-12; Mormon 3:21; Ether 4:15; and Doctrine and Covenants 20:9; 39:11; 77:15; 90:9; 107:33-35; 109:67; 112:4; 133:8.

²¹The issue of timing is related to that of lineage, for Mormons have interpreted Luke 21:24 to mean that, whereas in biblical times the gospel was preached first to the Israelites and then to the Gentiles, in the latter days the order is reversed, so that "when that day shall come, shall a remnant be scattered among all nations; but they shall be gathered again; but they shall remain until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled" (D&C 45:24-25). See LaMar E. Garrard, "The Last Shall Be First and the First Shall Be Last," in Carlos E. Asay and others, *The Old Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1986), 233-60.

²²Compare 2 Nephi 30:8.

²³See Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Sefton D. Temkin, *Isaac Meyer Wise: Shaping American Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties:*

A Study of the Efforts to Convert the Jews in Britain, up to the Middle Nineteenth Century (Leiden: Brill, 1978); R. H. Martin, "United Conversionist Activities among the Jews in Great Britain, 1795-1815: Pan-evangelism and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews," *Church History* 46 (December 1977): 437-52; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Christian Zionism"; Robert M. Healey, "The Jew in Seventeenth-Century Protestant Thought," *Church History* 46 (March 1977): 63-79; Mayir Vreté, "The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1790-1840," *Middle East Studies* 8 (January 1972): 3-50; George Gordon Noël Byron, *Hebrew Melodies* (London: John Murray, 1815); Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau, *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (Paris: Didot, 1853); Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem: A Study in Jewish Nationalism*, trans. Meyer Waxman (New York: Bloch, 1918); and Jacob Barnai, *The Jews in Palestine in the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Naomi Goldblum (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

²⁴"Prayer of Orson Hyde on the Mount of Olives," contained in a letter from Orson Hyde to Orson Pratt, dated Alexandria, Egypt, November 2, 1841; reproduced in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1908), 4:456-57.

²⁵Wilford Woodruff, *Proclamation of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to All the Kings of the World, to the President of the United States of America, to the Governors of the Several States, and to the Rulers and People of All Nations* (Liverpool: n.p., 1845) and appended to *Millennial Star* 6 (1845): 3.

²⁶Parley P. Pratt, "Proclamation to the People of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific (Ocean), of Every Nation, Kindred, and Tongue," *Millennial Star* 14 (September 18, 1852), 468; Orson Pratt, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855-86), 7:187; hereafter cited as *JD*.

²⁷"Remarks," December 23, 1866, *JD* 11:279. The principle of subordinating individuals' spiritual opportunities to their lineal descent from remote ancestors under ancient judgment had earlier been applied to blacks. See *JD* 2:179-91; 7:282-91. Brigham Young explained that Jesus will not appear initially in Jerusalem at his Second Coming, but "will appear first on the land where he commenced his work in the beginning," namely America. When he eventually appears in Jerusalem, the Jews will "see the wounds in his hands . . . and then they will acknowledge him, but not till then." *JD* 11:279.

On several occasions, Brigham Young distinguished between the kingdom of God (by which he meant all the people on the earth during the Millennium) and the Church of Jesus Christ or Zion. *JD* 2:316-17; 11:275; 12:274. The kingdom of God will house "every sort of sect and party, and every individual following what he supposes to be the best in religion, and in everything else, similar to what it is now" (*JD* 2:316), including "Infidels" and those who "know nothing of Him from whom all good comes" (*JD* 12:274), so long as they bow the knee to God and Jesus Christ, however reluctantly (*JD* 2:316-17). In that day, all except the sons of perdition will be "gathered into kingdoms where there will be a certain amount of peace and glory." *JD* 12:274. Thus Brigham Young declared that the Presbyterians, the Quakers, and the Jews would remain free to live under the aegis of the kingdom of God, to have their own kingdoms, and to believe as they wished, not being "obliged to belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." *JD* 11:275. He did not mean, however, that they will be Saints or

enjoy celestial happiness and glory. *JD* 12:274. In individual cases, even one who thought of himself as a Jew, did not have “any of the blood of Judah in his veins” if he had become “a good Latter-day Saint.” *JD* 11:279.

²⁸*JD* 2:200; 4:232; 18:199–200; 18:220–21.

²⁹Letters written during the journey by George A. Smith and his traveling companions—Lorenzo Snow, Eliza Snow, and Paul A. Schettler—were compiled and published in George A. Smith and others, *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1875).

³⁰Steven W. Baldridge and Marilyn Rona, *Grafting In: The History of the Latter-day Saints in the Holy Land* (Murray, Utah: Roylance, 1980), 1–4.

³¹Jonathan Frankel and Steven Zipperstein, eds., *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Naomi W. Cohen, *The Jews in Christian America: The Pursuit of Religious Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Richard Griffiths, *The Use of Abuse: The Polemics of the Dreyfus Affair and Its Aftermath* (New York: Berg, 1991); Wladimir Kaplun-Kogan, *Die jüdischen Wanderbewegungen in der neuesten Zeit* (Bonn: Marcus and Weber, 1919); Jack Wertheimer, *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (1st German edition, 1896; London: Pordes, 1972); Israel Cohen, *Theodor Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism* (New York: T. Yoseloff, 1959); and S. Levenberg, *The Jews and Palestine: A Study in Labour Zionism* (Westport: Hyperion, 1976).

³²*Millennial Star* 50 (June 18, 1888): 385–92; and *Contributor* 14 (April 1893): 298–99.

³³J. M. Tanner, “The Zionist Movement,” *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899): 1–8; Jan M. Sjodahl, “The Jew, His Past, Present and Future,” *Improvement Era* 7 (March 1904): 350–63; James E. Talmage, “The Tragedy of Israel,” *Improvement Era* 21 (November 1917): 12–15; James E. Talmage, “The Last Dispensation,” *Juvenile Instructor* 53 (February 1918): 76–78; “The Fall of Jerusalem,” *Improvement Era* 21 (January 1918): 259–61; Jan M. Sjodahl, “Concerning Palestine,” *Millennial Star* 80 (March 7, 1918): 152–54; and “Gathering of the Jews,” *Millennial Star* 80 (August 15, 1918): 520–22; James H. Anderson, “Jerusalem Restored,” *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (August 1918): 425–26; “The Return of the Jews,” *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (August 1918): 469–70; and “A People of Promise, the Jews,” *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (August 1918): 471–74.

³⁴E. H. Lund, “The Return of the Jews,” *Improvement Era* 21 (July 1918): 774; and 21 (August 1918): 774–75, 883.

³⁵John Nicholson, “Gathering of the Jews,” *Improvement Era* 5 (June 1902): 632–33; B. H. Roberts, *Conference Reports* (April 1902): 13–16; David O. McKay, *Conference Reports* (October 1918): 44–49.

³⁶Ronald Sanders, *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A History of the Balfour Declaration and the Birth of the British Mandate for Palestine* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1983); Gisela C. Lebzelter, *Political Anti-Semitism in England, 1918–1939* (London: Macmillan, 1978); David A. Gerber, ed., *Anti-Semitism in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Jerry Z. Muller, “Communism, Anti-Semitism and the Jews,” *Commentary* 86 (August 1988): 28–39; Daphne Trevor, *Under the White Paper: Some Aspects of British Administration in Palestine from 1939 to 1947* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Press,

1948; reprint, Munich: Kraus, 1980); Hermann Graml, *Antisemitism in the Third Reich*, trans. Tim Kirk (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985); and Robert Jutte, *Die Emigration der deutschsprachigen "Wissenschaft des Judentums": die Auswanderung jüdischer historiker nach Palästina, 1933-1945* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991).

³⁷See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1956), 3:47-48. Compare Joseph Fielding Smith, "The Negro and the Priesthood," *Improvement Era* 27 (April 1924): 564-65, where the constraint on Blacks is restated while cautioning against speculating about the reasons for it. At the popular level, however, expressions of judgment-on-lineage have sounded more like racism, pure and simple. For example, James H. Anderson, *God's Covenant Race from Patriarchal Times to the Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1944), defined "covenant race" partly in terms of "racial purity" (91-92), and Earnest L. Whitehead, *The House of Israel* (Independence: Zion's Printing, 1947), published Robert E. Lee's pedigree back to King David (575-77), and Albert W. Bell, *The Mighty Drama of Israel and the Jew* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallace, 1949), asserted:

The fact is, circumcision does not even make a Jew—a Jew. There is something in the blood. Circumcision is merely an index to their faith *in God*. The Jews just can't get away from it. Like the posterity of Cain, the black kinky hair, the dark skin and the breath and other marks count; but the most common expression among us, and the most sacred withal, is "The Blood of Israel." That seems to count most. (169)

³⁸See Grant's dedicatory prayers for the temples in Hawaii, *Improvement Era* 23 (February 1920): 281-88; Cardston, Alberta, *Improvement Era* 26 (October 1923): 1075-81; and Mesa, Arizona, *Liabona* 25 (November 1927): 245-49; Jan M. Sjodahl, "England and the Jews," *Improvement Era* 30 (November 1926): 21-23; and David O. McKay, *Conference Reports* (April 1922): 62-69. Compare H. C. Singer, "The Jewish State in Palestine," *Improvement Era* 32 (January 1929): 202-9.

³⁹B. H. Roberts, *Conference Reports* (April 1927): 34.

⁴⁰B. H. Roberts, *Rasha—the Jew: A Message to All Jews* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932).

⁴¹Heber J. Grant, *Conference Reports* (April 1921): 124.

⁴²John A. Widtsoe, *In a Sunlit Land: The Autobiography of John A. Widtsoe* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1952), 214-15; and John A. Widtsoe, "Who Are the Children of Abraham?" in *Evidences and Reconciliations* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1960), 398-400.

⁴³Melvin J. Ballard, *Conference Reports* (April 1938): 42-46; and Charles A. Callis, *Conference Reports* (October 1945): 80-83.

⁴⁴See Douglas F. Tobler, "The Jews, the Mormons, and the Holocaust," *Journal of Mormon History* 18 (Spring 1992): 59-92.

⁴⁵Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel*, 2 vols. (New York: Knopf, 1976, 1987); Hugh Higgins, *The Cold War* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974); Arthur J. Klinghoffer, *Israel and the Soviet Union: Alienation or Reconciliation?* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985); John Rousmaniere, *A Bridge to Dialogue: The Story*

of *Jewish-Christian Relations* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991); and James B. Allen and Richard O. Cowan, *Mormonism in the Twentieth Century*, 2d ed. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1967).

⁴⁶LeGrand Richards, *Israel! Do You Know?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954). According to Rose Marie Reid, at her suggestion Richards changed the key word in the title of his book from "Judah" to "Israel."

⁴⁷Ezra Taft Benson, *Conference Reports* (April 1950): 75; Richards, *Israel Do You Know?* 206–9, 229–33; LeGrand Richards, *The Dawning of Israel's Day* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Extension Publications, 1955); Lynn M. Hilton, *The Jews: A Promised People* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Extension Publications, 1958); and Arthur V. Watkins, "When Applied Christianity Comes to Palestine," *Instructor* 94 (November 1959): 359. Compare Dale T. Tingey, "Recent Jewish Movements in Israel in Light of the Teaching of the Latter-day Saint Prophets" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955); Levi Edgar Young, "A Sorrowing People," *Improvement Era* 60 (June 1957): 409–10; Daniel H. Ludlow, "Israel—Prophecies Being Fulfilled" (devotional address, Brigham Young University, August 8, 1967); and Daniel H. Ludlow, "Prophecy and Modern Israel" (devotional address, Brigham Young University, January 16, 1968). See also Michael T. Benson, "Harry S. Truman as a Modern Cyrus," *BYU Studies* 34 (1994): 6–27.

⁴⁸LeGrand Richards, *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Sunday School Union Board, 1951).

⁴⁹Hilton, *The Jews*, 62; Richards, *Israel Do You Know?* 209. A missionary lesson plan for Jews was published for the Los Angeles Mission by Rose Marie Reid, *Suggested Plan for Teaching the Gospel to the Jewish People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1958), who also prepared a self-published booklet entitled "Do's and Don't's before Teaching the Jewish People" (1957). Other self-published plans were written about the same time by Farrel Miles and Albert Ostraff (Los Angeles), Bruce Gibb (Ogden), Irving Cohen (New York), and Artel Ricks (Washington, D.C.). A committee of BYU religion professors (Daniel H. Ludlow, Ellis T. Rasmussen, Eldin Ricks, and Sydney B. Sperry) completed another lesson manual in 1960. See Arnold H. Green, "A Survey of Latter-day Saint Proselyting Efforts to the Jewish People" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1967); Arnold H. Green, "A Survey of LDS Proselyting Efforts to the Jewish People," *BYU Studies* 8 (Summer 1968): 427–43; and Ezra Taft Benson, "A Message to Judah from Joseph," *Ensign* 6 (December 1976): 72. Compare "Missionary Discussions for the Jewish People," *Ensign* 9 (April 1979): 72–73; and Howard H. Barron, *Judah, Past and Future: LDS Teachings Concerning God's Covenant People* (Bountiful: Horizon, 1979). Also noteworthy are an eloquent, honest convert memoir by Herbert Rona, *Peace to a Jew* (New York: n.p., 1952), and a Mormon-boy-converts-and-gets-Jewish-girl novel by Gerald L. Lund, *One in Thine Hand* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982).

⁵⁰Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1958), 77–78, 359–60. Compare Alvin R. Dyer, "The Redemption of Judah" (devotional address, Brigham Young University, June 13, 1967); Rodney Turner, "The Quest for a Peculiar People," *Ensign* 2 (May 1972): 6–11. Several other articles in this "Holy Land Issue" of the *Ensign*—especially those by W. Cleon Skousen, Eldin

Ricks, Daniel H. Ludlow, and William E. Berrett—supported the idea of the state of Israel fulfilling scriptural prophecy.

⁵¹W. Cleon Skousen, *Fantastic Victory: Israel's Rendezvous with Destiny* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1967).

⁵²James B. Mayfield, "Whose Victory?" *Dialogue* 3 (Autumn 1968): 135-37.

⁵³In addition to concern about Christian accusations of deicide and association with evil (see note 14 above), these included first, objections to Christian portrayals of Judaism as having completed its preparatory function and so being at once superfluous and unable to provide salvation to its adherents, and second, charges that Christian missionary work targeting Jews in effect constitutes "spiritual holocaust."

⁵⁴Eldin Ricks, "Zionism and the Mormon Church," *Herzl Yearbook* 5 (1963): 147-74.

⁵⁵Truman G. Madsen, "The Mormon Attitude toward Zionism" (series of Lectures on Zionism, Haifa University, May 1981). Compare Truman G. Madsen, ed., *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1978).

⁵⁶Armand L. Mauss, "Mormon Semitism and Anti-Semitism," *Sociological Analysis* 29 (Spring 1968): 11.

⁵⁷Spencer J. Palmer, *Mormonism—a Message for All Nations* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 3, 14.

⁵⁸LaMond Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978); Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978); Garth N. Jones, "Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded," *Dialogue* 13 (Spring 1980): 8-22; Candadai Seshachari, "Revelation: The Cohesive Element in International Mormonism," *Dialogue* 13 (Winter 1980): 38-46; and Lee Copeland, "From Calcutta to Kaysville: Is Righteousness Color-Coded?" *Dialogue* 21 (Autumn 1988): 89-99.

⁵⁹"Statement of the First Presidency," February 15, 1978, frontispiece in Palmer, *Expanding Church*.

⁶⁰Howard W. Hunter, "All Are Alike unto God," *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 72.

⁶¹Spencer W. Kimball, "The Uttermost Parts of the Earth," *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 2-9. Compare Carlos E. Asay, "God's Love for Mankind," in *Mormons and Muslims*, ed. Spencer J. Palmer (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1983), 205-15; Rendell N. Mabey and Gordon T. Allred, *Brother to Brother: The Story of the Latter-day Saint Missionaries Who Took the Gospel to Black Africa* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1984); Alexander B. Morrison, "The Dawning of a New Day in Africa," *Ensign* 17 (November 1987), 25-26; and Dallin H. Oaks, "Getting to Know China" (devotional address, Brigham Young University, March 12, 1991).

⁶²Marion G. Romney, "The Restoration of Israel to the Lands of Their Inheritance," *Ensign* 11 (May 1981): 17.

⁶³Bruce R. McConkie, *The Millennial Messiah* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982).

⁶⁴Marion G. Romney, "The Restoration of Israel to the Lands of Their Inheritance," *Ensign* 11 (May 1981): 17; McConkie, *Millennial Messiah*, 228-31; and Bruce R. McConkie, *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), especially chs. 52-65, pp. 503-652, on the tenth Article of Faith.

⁶⁵See James B. Mayfield, "Ishmael, Our Brother," *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 24-32; and Bruce Van Orden, "The Seed of Abraham in the Latter Days," in Carlos E. Asay and others, *The Old Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1986), 51-67.

⁶⁶In *Mormonism—a Message for All Nations* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 12, 16, Palmer quoted Matthew Cowley and Joseph Fielding Smith to the effect that "the Lord has scattered Israel throughout the world, even to the farthest reaches of Asia." Five years later, he published "Did Christ Visit Japan?" *BYU Studies* 10 (Winter 1970): 135-58. Yet *The Expanding Church* in effect ignores the tribes of Israel framework, declaring that "latter-day Israel is not a community of blood; it is a community of faith" (28). Compare Denny Roy, "Spencer Palmer: A Man of the World," *This People* 7 (May 1986): 46-53.

⁶⁷Sterling M. McMurrin, "Problems in Universalizing Mormonism," *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 9-17; and Truman G. Madsen, "A Response," *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 18-20.

⁶⁸For example, see Daniel H. Ludlow, "Of the House of Israel," *Ensign* 21 (January 1991): 51-55.

⁶⁹Robert L. Millet and Joseph F. McConkie, *Our Destiny: The Call and Election of the House of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993), reviewed by Steven Epperson, above.

⁷⁰Steven Epperson, *Mormons and Jews: Early Mormon Theologies of Israel* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992), reviewed by Grant Underwood, above.

Editor's Preface

Two Reviews: Mormonism and the Hermetic World View

John Brooke's *The Refiner's Fire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) will likely evoke strong emotions among Latter-day Saints. Brooke's genuine curiosity has presented the strongest case yet for seeing Mormonism as a radically mystical, hermetic, and alchemical movement, but the case is still not very compelling. The first two book reviews that follow find Brooke's evidence unpersuasive. The review by William Hamblin, Daniel Peterson, and George Mitton exposes factual errors and logical fallacies found in this book—the normal task of any careful reviewer. Davis Bitton's reactions should be understood as sincere responses from a dismayed reader. Hopefully, these reviews will communicate to non-Mormon readers how this book sounds to Latter-day Saints.

Many readers and scholars outside the Latter-day Saint tradition have had a markedly different response to Brooke. As we were going to press, *The Refiner's Fire* won this year's Bancroft award in history (vindicating Bitton's prediction, page 182 below). Like Fawn Brodie's *No Man Knows My History* fifty years ago, Brooke's book may well become one of the dominant external icons about Mormonism for the next few years. Juggernauts like this are not easily forgotten.

However, people who accept Brooke's particular explanation need to reflect on its shortcomings. As has recently been observed regarding a similar use of terms such as Neoplatonism, Humanism, and Hermeticism in Yatesian historiography, each of these terms has been given "an explanatory function far beyond what it can deliver. 'Hermeticism' is a notoriously slippery concept. . . . It still remains to show that Hermeticism ever functioned as an important, independent worldview" (William H. Sherman, *John Dee*:

The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance [Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995], 20, commenting on the works of Frances Yates on the Hermetic tradition and occult philosophy in the Elizabethan age). Imagine what would happen if a writer tried to argue that the U.S. Constitution is best viewed as hermetic and alchemical. Seemingly a strong case could be made, as Bitton suggests somewhat tongue in cheek (page 185 below). Presumably, historians would react as negatively to such problematical methodology should it be applied to U.S. history as they did when Fawn Brodie turned her psychological methods from Joseph Smith to Thomas Jefferson (see Louis Midgley, "The Brodie Connection: Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 20 [Fall 1979]: 59-67). The picture of the salamander (303) shows how long a largely irrelevant image can remain prevalent in the mind of the jury of history. But then, as Brooke states, "authenticity may not matter for some" (301).

In 1930, Reed Smoot confidently stated: "The cry for 'Mormon' sensation is now happily a thing of the past. The world is recognising [*sic*] that 'Mormonism,' instead of being a debasing system, has much to teach this perplexed and harassed age" (in the foreword to Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young* [New York: Macmillan, 1930], vii). Unfortunately, Brooke's book shows that Smoot was overly optimistic about the world's understanding of LDS revelation, doctrine, and religious experience.

—John W. Welch

Book Reviews

JOHN L. BROOKE. *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xix; 421 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index. \$34.95.

Reviewed by William J. Hamblin, Associate Professor of History at Brigham Young University; Daniel C. Peterson, Associate Professor of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University; and George L. Mitton, retired now from a career in education and public administration.¹

John L. Brooke, an associate professor of history at Tufts University, is, by his own description, "not a Mormon historian" (xvi); his earlier work has centered on the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century social history of Massachusetts and New England. His new book does not claim to be "necessarily a well-rounded approach to early Mormonism" (xvii) or "a balanced history" (xvii), but is rather a "selective reinterpretation" (xvi) which is conceptually allied to D. Michael Quinn's *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (xvii). Brooke acknowledges that he "share[s] some of the agnostic skepticism of Fawn Brodie" (xiv), and this position is clearly manifest throughout his book. But his claim that his "study is not intended to advance a cause or a polemic" (xiv) rings rather hollow in light of his frequent denunciations of LDS Church doctrines, policies, and activities.

The central thesis of *Refiner's Fire* is that "there are striking parallels between the Mormon concepts of the coequality of matter and spirit, of the covenant of celestial marriage, and of an ultimate goal of human godhood and the philosophical traditions of alchemy and hermeticism, drawn from the ancient world and fused with Christianity in the Italian Renaissance" (xiii). Brooke maintains that

[Joseph] Smith's Mormon cosmology is best understood when situated on an intellectual and theological *conjuncture* that reaches back not simply to a disorderly antebellum democracy or even to

early New England but to the extreme perfectionism forged in the Radical Reformation [of sixteenth century Europe] from the fusion of Christianity with the ancient occult hermetic philosophy. (xvi)

Indeed, typical secularist environmental explanations for the origin of the Church “cannot explain the theologically distinct message of the Mormon church” (xvi). Rather, it is “hermeticism [that] explains the more exotic features of the inner logic of Mormon theology” (xvii). While we quite agree with Brooke on the failure of environmentalist models to adequately explain the origins of the Church, we find Brooke’s counter explanation even more unsatisfactory.

Refiner’s Fire is divided into twelve chapters totaling some three hundred pages. Brooke first presents a brief summary of the origins of hermeticism and alchemy and the possible influence of those ideas on various groups of the Radical Reformation (3–29). He then attempts to demonstrate how some of these ideas made their way to North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (30–58). His third chapter focuses on the ancestors of some early Mormons and their (usually very tenuous) ties to various occultists and radical religious groups in eighteenth-century New England (59–88). His basic thesis here is that the family background of some early Mormon converts represents “predispositions of prepared peoples, traditions and predispositions shaped in great measure by familial connections and oral culture” (91). Apparently, since there is no hard textual evidence of hermetic connections, Brooke assumes oral transmission of those ideas.

He then presents a range of groups or ideas that existed in the United States around 1800 and that, he claims, *could* have influenced Joseph Smith and other early Mormons. These influences include hermeticism, alchemy, Freemasonry, Swedenborgianism, Mesmerism, Rosicrucianism, and the speculations of Luman Walter, the magician (91–104). Chapter five, “Alchymical Experiments,” focuses on treasure “divining, alchemy, and counterfeiting” which “formed a hermetic triad in popular culture” (121). The connection is that each was a different avenue to “the search for easy wealth” (128) through finding buried treasure, transmuting base metals into gold, or counterfeiting coins and bills.

In chapter six, Brooke attempts to associate Joseph Smith's immediate ancestors with mining, alchemy, treasure divining, Freemasonry, and counterfeiting (129–46). Brooke's book is thus half over before he discusses Joseph's first vision. In chapter seven, Brooke attempts to find hermeticism, Freemasonry, and alchemy in the translation process and text of the Book of Mormon (149–83). Although chronologically presented, the subsequent chapters do not offer a coherent history of early Mormonism. Rather, Brooke searches for any and every thought or act of Joseph Smith and other early Mormons that can possibly be seen as related—however vaguely—to hermetic, Masonic, alchemical, or other occultic ideas. Brooke first focuses on ideas of priesthood, mysteries, temples, cosmology, and preexistence (184–212). Joseph's marriage, sex life, and plural marriages are seen as “replicat[ing] the hermetic concept of divinization through the *coniunctio*, the alchemical marriage” (214, compare 212–18). The Kirtland Bank crisis is seen as quasi counterfeiting, which is therefore quasi alchemy—creating gold out of nothing—all of which is said to somehow demonstrate that Joseph was a hermeticist (222–32).

Brooke then focuses on the Nauvoo period, baptism for the dead, and the temple endowment. For him, the temple endowment is the ultimate manifestation of hermetic influences on Joseph, allegedly representing a fundamental departure from the biblical primitivism of the Book of Mormon and early Mormonism. All of these supposed hermetic practices culminate in Joseph's reformulation of “the dual gendered divinity that lay at the heart of the hermetic theology,” which is the supposed Mormon “androgynous God” (258, compare 235–61). Polygamy, the Kingdom of God, the murder of Joseph, and the fall of Nauvoo are the focus of chapter eleven (262–77), with another healthy dose of alleged counterfeiting (269–74).

In the final chapter, “Let Mysteries Alone” (278–305), Brooke attempts to demonstrate that Joseph's original hermetic Mormonism was systematically dismantled by Brigham Young and other later prophets, who “deemphasiz[ed] the distinct doctrines of the church” (305) such as blood atonement, polygamy, the gifts of the Spirit, and Adam-God. Temple ordinances were neglected to the point where, Brooke claims, “only the dead who

had died outside the faith explicitly required the saving powers of temple ordinance" (292). This shift in focus allegedly results in the modern authoritarian Church, which "may well soon become essentially indistinguishable from conservative Christian fundamentalism" (282) and which has recently clashed with dissenting intellectuals who have "advanced a hermetic interpretation of Mormon cosmology, most centrally the hermetic thesis of a dual-gendered divinity" (305). Brooke concludes with his advice that Mormonism would do well to return to its hermetic origins (302-5).

In part, Brooke is simply taking the basic thesis of Quinn's *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* and attempting to extend the range of alleged occult influences on Mormonism backward in time and space. This attempt simply belabors the obvious: the alchemical and occult ideas found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America undeniably had antecedents in Europe. But, indeed, why should we stop at the Renaissance? Why not take hermeticism and alchemy back to their origins in Hellenistic Egypt? (The subtitle could then read: "The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 44 B.C. to A.D. 1844.") The real question, of course, is whether or not such ideas had any formative influence on Joseph Smith and early Mormonism. Here Brooke has utterly failed to make his case.

A fundamental flaw in *Refiner's Fire* is the author's failure to define his key terms, especially *magic*, *hermeticism*, and *alchemy*. Magic in particular is seen by many modern scholars as a highly problematic concept that has yet to receive a universally accepted scholarly definition. (Some, indeed, feel that *magic* should be altogether abandoned in academic discourse.) The basic problem is the lack of firm boundaries between magical activities and beliefs and religious activities and beliefs. From this perspective, the term *magic* is simply a subjective and generally pejorative word used to describe unpopular forms of religious expression. Brooke makes no serious attempt to define the term, let alone to deal with the intricacies of its meaning.

A careful reading of *Refiner's Fire* does, however, reveal an implied definition. For Brooke, "the role of magicians [is] manipulating and coercing supernatural forces" (xiv), and "magical practice of any sort [is] an effort to manipulate the spiritual, invisible

world" (7). But this crudely Frazerian approach—magic is coercive, while religion is supplicative—has been rejected by most anthropologists and historians of "magic" for decades, since it fails to do justice to the often interchangeable phenomena of religion and "magic" in the real world. Brooke himself will illustrate the point: "Mormon priests of the restored Melchizedek order," he tells us, "were to have miraculous powers analogous to white magic. They could withstand poisons, make the blind see, the dumb speak, and the deaf hear; they were to 'heal the sick' and to 'cast out devils'" (72, alluding to D&C 84:65–72). Not only does Brooke here ignore the biblical antecedent to this passage in Mark 16, but, more importantly, he fails to explain why these powers, which all Christians would recognize as religious, are suddenly "white magic" when claimed by the Mormons. Before Brooke can expect anyone to entertain his assertion that Mormon priesthood is magical, he must define precisely what *magic* is and demonstrate how Mormon priesthood is uniquely, or even partially, magical.

Brooke likewise makes no attempt to define a second key term, *hermeticism*. Technically, hermeticism describes a set of ideas that are based on, or strongly influenced by, the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a body of pseudepigraphic writings supposedly authored by "Hermes Trismegistus." This group of documents originated in Hellenistic Egypt but was made available to Renaissance scholars only in the late fifteenth century.² Brooke makes no pretense of following this technical definition, admitting that Joseph "did not have a copy of the *Corpus Hermeticum* at hand" (204) and therefore was not technically a hermeticist. His usage implies a definition that is much looser, even metaphorical.

Brooke's use of the term *alchemy* is equally problematic. Here again he openly abandons the technical definition in favor of a metaphorical one. "If we widen our definition of alchemy to include counterfeiting," Brooke writes, "the ranks and the chronology of the alchemical tradition are extended mightily" (108). Of course, if we were to widen our definition of alchemy to include, say, cooking, "the ranks and the chronology of the alchemical tradition" would be extended even more spectacularly. But could such arbitrary redefinition be justified? Considering the implications of Brooke's revisionist thesis both for believing

Latter-day Saints and for non-Mormon historians, we have every right to demand terminological precision and clarity.

Another weakness in Brooke's study is the utter lack of primary sources written by early Latter-day Saints that manifest any clear connection to alchemy, hermeticism, or magic. To test Brooke's propositions, we undertook a computer search of early LDS historical writings, including the so-called documentary *History of the Church*, the *Journal of Discourses*, *Times and Seasons*, *Messenger and Advocate*, *The Evening and Morning Star*, and the *Elder's Journal*.³ The terms *hermetic*, *hermeticism*, *hermetism*, *Pimander*, and *Trismegistus* never occur in any of these texts. The term *Hermes* occurs twice: once from Romans 16:14 and once apparently in reference to a Mormon "Elder Hermes."⁴ Neither has anything to do with Thrice-great Hermes of the hermetic tradition. *Alchemy* and *alchimy* do not occur. However, *alchymist* occurs twice: once referring to ordinary geologists and assayers, and, again, when Orson Pratt speaks of "alchymists [who] tried for generations to transmute the coarser materials into gold, and hundreds of individuals [who] have spent all their time in the pursuit of that vain phantom."⁵ Thus, the only mention of alchemy in this entire corpus is a negative one.

Cabala occurs once, when an Elder Ewald, on a mission to England, had a discussion with a rabbi who mentions cabala and the Sohar (*Zohar*).⁶ Elsewhere, John Taylor speaks metaphorically of things "mysterious or cabalistic."⁷ The word *occult* never occurs in any of these texts. *Magic* is more frequently mentioned, occurring twenty-two times, of which fifteen are figurative: "as if by magic" or "the magic wand of industry."⁸ Two references appear to identify props used in theatrical magic tricks or shows.⁹ The other five are uniformly negative.¹⁰ *Witch* occurs thirteen times, nine referring to the story of the witch of Endor in the Bible¹¹ and four referring, unfavorably, to the Salem witch trials.¹² *Sorcery* is never mentioned, while the one example of a sorcerer has reference to the Simon Magus account from Acts.¹³ Explicit positive references to the distinctively hermetic and alchemical ideas that Brooke maintains played an absolutely formative role in early Mormonism are noticeable in these early LDS texts only for their absence.

On the other hand, numerous texts and incidents from Mormon history indicate a basically negative attitude toward the occult on the part of early Mormons. The Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants, for instance, contain several explicit condemnations of sorcery, witchcraft, and magic. The Book of Mormon maintains that Christ “will cut off witchcrafts out of thy land” (3 Ne. 21:16), and sorcery, witchcraft, and “the magic art” are featured in lists of sins (Alma 1:32; Morm. 2:10) and attributed to “the power of the evil one” (Morm. 1:19). In the Doctrine and Covenants, sorcerers are among those who will be “cast down to hell” (D&C 76:103, 106) and who “shall have their part in . . . the second death” (D&C 63:17). These are the *only* references to magical or occult powers in LDS scripture, and they are uniformly and emphatically negative. Most of Brooke’s key terms, such as *alchemy*, *astrology*, *hermeticism*, *androgyny*, and *cabala*, are never mentioned in LDS scripture. Based on this extensive (but admittedly incomplete) survey of basic early Mormon writings, we can arrive at three plausible conclusions: first, the unique ideas that Brooke claims were central to the origins of Mormonism do not occur in early LDS primary texts; second, early Mormons seldom concerned themselves with things occult; but, third, on the infrequent occasions when they mention the occult, it is always viewed negatively.

Furthermore, the earliest LDS missionary journals available, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, show that early Mormonism was deeply rooted in biblical texts and theology, rather than occultism. These extensive firsthand accounts of LDS teachings and religious experiences from 1831 to 1836 demonstrate that the message of the Restoration was to proclaim the revealed gospel of Jesus Christ, pure and simple. As one of the editors, Jan Shipps, notes in her introductory essay:

Many . . . expected—and some feared—that any contemporaneous documents in a collection of McLellin’s papers would be filled with information that would add to a perception of early Mormonism as a hotbed of occultism and hermetic hocus-pocus. Instead, what these narratives . . . depict is a struggling missionary band preaching not only a millennialist message that, to be sure, reflected the importance of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon as a signal that the end was near, but also a message whose true anchor was nonetheless the Christian scriptures.¹⁴

Brooke has not read Mormon scriptural texts with sufficient care. Many of his examples of alleged hermetic influence are plagued by tendentious misreadings of LDS texts and history, which undermine his thesis. For instance, according to Brooke the “lone Nephite survivor [was] Mormon” (159), which explains why “the [golden] plates were hidden by the hero Mormon for Joseph Smith to recover” (156). But this statement is not true, as even most superficial students of Mormonism can easily spot. And when discussing the well-worn, though somewhat dubious, distinction between “Iron Rod Saints and Liahona Saints,” Brooke derives the former symbol from “rods . . . given the Nephites in the *Book of Mormon*, by which God . . . pulled the rod holder to the Tree of Life” (296). But the Book of Mormon never describes God as using a rod to “pull” anybody anywhere.

Over and over again, Brooke misreads Latter-day Saint doctrines, and his misreadings fatally weaken the parallels he claims to find with hermeticism. For example, his insistence on an “androgynous,” “dual-gendered divinity” in Mormonism (28, 258, 283, 302, 305) fundamentally distorts Latter-day Saint doctrine on the subject. And, though Brooke consistently maintains that Joseph Smith thought he was establishing the “third dispensation” (xv, 3, 22, 45–46), Joseph spoke of the *seven* dispensations familiar to modern Latter-day Saints (though even this number should not be limited too rigidly).¹⁵ Furthermore, anyone aware of the Church’s teachings on suffering, mortality, and the estrangement from God that Mormons call spiritual death will be perplexed by Brooke’s claim that, in Mormon doctrine, “the consequences of Adam’s Fall did not extend to his seed” (260).

Unfortunately, Brooke’s understanding of contemporary Mormonism fares no better. Many endowed Latter-day Saints will no doubt be puzzled to learn that, since the early twentieth-century, “only the dead who had died outside the faith explicitly required the saving powers of temple ordinance” (292). Even the cold fusion claims made at the University of Utah a few years ago are pressed into service as illustrations of Mormon hermeticism: They are “interesting,” Brooke declares, “. . . given Mormon doctrines on the nature of matter” (299). He never troubles himself, though, to explain how the experiments of the non-Mormon

chemists Stanley Pons and Martin Fleischman are even remotely helpful as indicators of Latter-day Saint attitudes.

Brooke's presentation of early Mormon history is likewise marred by repeated blunders. Contrary to Brooke's claims, Joseph Smith never "announced in 1832 that he himself was the prophet Enoch" (166). Nor did he present "himself as the Nephite, the prophet of the coming Kingdom" (181). Nor did he ever claim that "rebuilding the temple of Nephi . . . would fulfill prophecy and advance the Second Coming" (198).

These are not minor errors involving marginal characters or events in LDS scripture and history; nor are they mere matters of interpretation. Rather, for the most part, they are fundamental errors, clearly demonstrating Brooke's faulty knowledge of primary Mormon texts. By analogy, if a biblical scholar were to discuss John's vision on the road to Damascus or Peter's revelation on the isle of Patmos, he would be laughed out of the American Academy of Religion; such work would certainly not be published by Cambridge University Press (even if only by its New York operation). It is a sad reflection on the state of knowledge of Mormonism among some non-Mormon scholars that errors of such magnitude could pass undetected or uncorrected in the writing, reviewing, and editing process of this book.

For his thesis to be established, Brooke must show not only that his alleged hermetic or alchemical ideas exist in Mormonism, but also that they are not paralleled in the Bible. Ignoring this principle, Brooke consistently downplays or ignores the obvious and explicit biblical antecedents of Mormon thought in favor of obscure and vague parallels to hermetic, alchemical, Masonic, and occult texts and ideas, which themselves often derive from the Bible. A few examples (from many) will demonstrate this problem.

- "Mormon baptism for the dead" is based on "spiritualist doctrine" (28) and on the "radical heritage" of "the German pietist mystics at Ephrata" (243). No mention whatsoever is made of 1 Corinthians 15:29 as the unquestionable source for this idea in all of these movements.
- "In word[s] . . . replicated in Mormon doctrine, the high priest in the Royal Arch [Masonry] was to be 'a priest forever after

the order of Melchizedec” (101). No mention is made of Psalms 110:4 or Hebrews 5:6 as the unquestionable sources for this precise quotation. Although he is elsewhere aware of Hebrews as the source for the Masonic material (194), Brooke still argues that Mormons took the idea from Masonry.

- Brooke informs us that “*The Pearl of Great Price*, the title of a collection of Smith’s writings from the 1830s, . . . had ancient mystical and alchemical connotations” (161). He overlooks Matthew 13:46, which is the obvious source for the title.
- Brooke would have us believe that the idea of “treasure in heaven” in the Book of Mormon is derived from “a theme that [Joseph’s] grandfather Solomon Mack had developed in his *Narrative*” (175, compare 176, 274). He seems unaware of its biblical parallels (for example, Matt. 6:20).
- “This idea of an earthly sealing [power],” says Brooke, “was first introduced in the *Book of Mormon*, when Nephi was granted powers of salvation and damnation: ‘Whatsoever ye shall seal on earth shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven’” (194, citing Hel. 10:7). He fails to mention Matthew 16:19, where the same power was granted to Christ’s apostles.
- “Emma Smith had long been called the ‘Elect Lady,’ a title in at least one branch of high-degree French Masonry that admitted women into special lodges” (247). Brooke not only gives no evidence that this branch of French Masonry was practiced in North America at the time of Joseph Smith (it wasn’t), but he ignores the words “elect lady” in 2 John 1:1.
- Brooke helpfully suggests that, “for a description of the biblical tabernacle and temple probably available to Smith,” readers should “see *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus* . . . (New York, 1821)” (376 n. 49). But Brooke has overlooked a far more convenient source—the Bible, in Exodus 25–36, 1 Kings 6–8, and 1 Chronicles 21–28.

Brooke’s failure to demonstrate the superiority of his hermetic model over biblical precedent is by no means his only methodological failure. Time and again, he asserts conclusions that

do not follow from the evidence and analysis he presents. His argument occasionally degenerates into the wildest of word associations. Susannah Goddard Howe, for example, was descended from a family that Brooke links with “occult warfare” in early eighteenth-century New England (67). Susannah Howe’s daughter married a Mormon, John Haven (uncle of Brigham Young), who remembered that she “believ[e]d that Jacob’s ladder was not yet broken and that angels still continued to ascend and descend” (70). Brooke therefore infers that “this seems to have been the residual influence of the bewitchment of the Goddards, apparently by Nat Smith, the Immortalist god,” and that her statement indicates that she was “convinced that spirit and matter were inseparably connected, the central tenet of the Mormon cosmology” (70). This whole line of reasoning he derives from a secondhand allusion to Genesis 28:10–15.

Much of Brooke’s argument rests on flimsy circumstantial evidence, especially tenuous genealogical and geographical relationships (25, 50–51, 59–60, 63, 70–71, 73, 95, 266, 270, 359). What significance is there, really, in the datum that the counterfeiter Joseph Bill was “a second cousin once removed of Samuel Bill, who would marry Joseph Smith’s aunt Lydia Mack in 1786” (108)? How many readers of this review can name, let alone have been deeply influenced by, a second cousin once removed of a maternal aunt’s husband? Brooke spends several pages (50–53) detailing the occultic religiosity of Joseph Stafford in the early 1700s and describing the “magical and medical” documents his family preserved from him after his death (51), only to admit, in passing (53), that it was a different branch of the family—his brother David’s descendants, who did not have those documents—with which the Smiths had contact a century afterwards.

On pages 214–16, Brooke proffers the existence of certain pseudo-Aristotelian sex manuals on the American frontier as evidence that Joseph Smith not only read them, but that they also influenced the plot of the Book of Mormon: the “white race of Nephites” are, he claims, linked to “the white male seed of *Aristotle’s Book of Problems*.” But, he confesses, “these links . . . can only be speculative” (216). Indeed.

The one point where Brooke's argument has any semblance of substance is in his claim that Joseph was a Mason and therefore could have been influenced by Masonic lore and symbolism. Repeating an old anti-Mormon claim, Brooke asserts that the source for the account of the discovery of the golden plates is the tale of Enoch's pillars in Royal Arch Freemasonry (157-59). In fact, the differences between the two accounts are far greater than the similarities. Enoch is not mentioned in connection with the coming forth of the Book of Mormon. The Enochian text is inscribed on a stone pillar, not on golden plates—the one gold plate in the Enoch story was large and triangular, not a book, and had only the ineffable name of God on it. Whereas the Book of Mormon is composed of history and sermons, Enoch's pillar contained "principles of the liberal arts, particularly of masonry." Brooke concludes that "Joseph Smith claim[ed] to find golden plates and Masonic artifacts in a stone vault atop the Hill Cumorah" (159). But Joseph most emphatically did not! Brooke alone puts these words in Joseph's mouth in order to make them seem similar to the Masonic sources he quotes.

Brooke maintains that "there is overwhelming evidence of the continuity between Masonic and Mormon [temple] symbolism" (249). In fact, we find the similarities are limited to a few motifs which are understood in quite different ways in the endowment and in Masonry. But neither Brooke nor any other environmentalist has ever attempted to account for these and other striking differences. For example, Webb's *Freemason's Monitor*—a source Brooke claims influenced Joseph—mentions a vast number of ideas and symbols that have absolutely no parallel in Mormonism: ashlar; Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian architectural styles; the five senses; the Royal Arch; the seven liberal arts and sciences; a sword pointing to a naked heart; the anchor; the forty-seventh problem of Euclid; the hourglass, scythe, chisel, and mallet; lodge; and Grand Master.¹⁶ If Joseph borrowed his ideas from Masonry, it seems odd that the similarities are limited to a few items, most of which have known parallels to more ancient mysteries. Likewise, considering Webb's citations and frequent use of quotations from many parts of the Bible in early Masonic ceremonies, should one presume with Brooke that Joseph was decisively influenced in the

development of the LDS temple creation drama by three verses from Genesis in a Masonic manual (249), verses that he had read many times in the Bible?

What, then, is the significance of alleged similarities between Masonry and LDS doctrine and the temple endowment? Does the idea that early Latter-day Saints might have borrowed and transformed a few symbols from the Masons explain Mormon origins anymore than the fact that early Christians borrowed the *crux ansata* from the pagan Egyptian *ankh* explains the origins of early Christianity? Symbols, like words, are readily transferred between cultures or religions. When this transference occurs, we usually find that although the symbols or words may be recognizably similar, their meaning in two cultures can be vastly different. (Contrast, for instance, the symbolic meaning of the swastika in the late twentieth century, with its original Indo-European meaning as a symbol of the Sun-god, which it retains today in Hinduism.)

An adequate explanation of the relationship between Mormonism and Masonry must also explain the even more extensive parallels between LDS doctrines and the religious ideas of antiquity. Brooke's claim that it is in "Reformation Europe and revolutionary England . . . [that] we will find the *closest* analogues, indeed critical antecedents" (5, emphasis added), to LDS esoteric doctrines is demonstrably wrong. Closer analogues can be found in the rituals and esoteric doctrines of early Christianity and Judaism in the eastern Mediterranean in the centuries before and after Christ.¹⁷

Unless Brooke can demonstrate that his body of analogues is superior both in quality and quantity to those adduced to Joseph's revelations from ancient sources, his thesis will unfortunately remain unproven. But however the question of the relationship between Mormonism and antiquity is resolved, the fact remains that whatever legitimate parallels Brooke may have discovered between Mormonism and the hermetic or alchemical traditions can best be explained by the fact that both traditions drew on the same biblical and ancient antecedents.

NOTES

¹A much more extensive version of this review appears in *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 2 (1994): 3-58.

²Hermeticism is an esoteric and eclectic blend of ancient Egyptian ideas with Neoplatonic and Neopythagorean philosophy. It focuses on the myth of the fall and return of the soul through the seven planetary spheres of the celestial realm. This return and deification is facilitated by obtaining an inner *gnosis* (knowledge) of God through study of esoteric texts (the *Corpus Hermeticum*), instruction by an initiated master, the contemplation of cosmology, and theurgical ritual. For a basic introduction to the *Corpus Hermeticum*, see Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For an introduction to the Egyptian background of the *Hermetica*, see Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). The traditional Renaissance corpus has been expanded by new texts which have been classified by modern scholars as Hermetic; see Fowden, *Egyptian Hermes*, 3-11. On Hermeticism in the Renaissance, the classical study is Frances Amelia Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). See also Elizabeth Ann Ambrose, *The Hermetica: An Annotated Bibliography*, Sixteenth Century Bibliography 30 (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1992).

³We used Folio Infobase, *LDS Collector's Edition*, 1993.

⁴*Times and Seasons* 5 (May 1, 1844): 526.

⁵Brigham Young and others, *Journal of Discourses*, vol. 3 (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855-86), 168, 295 (1856); (hereafter cited as *Journal of Discourses*).

⁶*Times and Seasons* 3 (November 15, 1841): 780; the Sohar/Zohar is also mentioned in *Times and Seasons* 4 (June 1, 1843): 222, by Alexander Neibaur. Zohar is found seven times, always in reference to a proper name in the Old Testament.

⁷*Journal of Discourses* 5 (September 20, 1857): 260.

⁸Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., vol. 4 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 381 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*); *Messenger and Advocate* (June 1837): 520; (September 1837): 570; *Times and Seasons* 2 (August 2, 1841): 498; (September 15, 1841): 545; 4 (September 1, 1843): 309; 5 (December 1, 1844): 734; *Journal of Discourses* 1:48, 145; 7:223; 10:28; 12:25; 13:332; 14:218; 17:155.

⁹*History of the Church* 5:384; *Times and Seasons* 4 (May 15, 1843): 203.

¹⁰*Times and Seasons* 2 (June 1, 1841): 434; 5 (February 1, 1844): 427; 6 (June 1, 1845): 916; *Journal of Discourses* 2:46; 13:135.

¹¹*History of the Church* 4:571; *Times and Seasons* 3 (April 1, 1842): 743; 3 (May 16, 1842): 794; *Journal of Discourses* 1:275; 2:15; 3:158; 9:2; 10:193; 14:203.

¹²*Messenger and Advocate* 3 (October 1836): 388-90; *Times and Seasons* 3 (November 15, 1841): 600; *Journal of Discourses* 6 (July 24, 1859): 360-61; 14:203.

¹³*Times and Seasons* 3 (May 16, 1842): 794.

¹⁴Jan Shipps and John W. Welch, eds., *The Journals of William E. McLellin, 1831-1836* (Provo: BYU Studies, 1994), 3.

¹⁵Courtney J. Lassetter, "Dispensations of the Gospel," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 389.

¹⁶Thomas Smith Webb, *The Freemason's Monitor; or Illustrations of Masonry*, 2d ed. (New York: Southwick and Crooker, 1802), 246-47, 254-55.

¹⁷See also Truman G. Madsen, ed., *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984); Hugh Nibley, *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1975); Nibley, *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1992); Donald W. Parry, ed., *Temples of the Ancient World: Ritual and Symbolism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1994). Compare such items (chosen from among many) as Todd M. Compton, "The Hand-clasp and Embrace as Tokens of Recognition," in *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, 27 March 1990*, ed. John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1990), 1:611-42; Todd M. Compton, "The Whole Token: Mystery Symbolism in Classical Recognition Drama," *Epoché* 13 (1985): 1-81; William J. Hamblin, "Aspects of an Early Christian Initiation Ritual," in *By Study and Also by Faith* 1:202-21. Interesting references to ancient ritual hand gestures can be found in Edward F. Campbell Jr., *Ruth*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 74; Gordon Paul Hugenberg, *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perspective of Malachi* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), 211-13, 266. For a brief, wonderfully illustrated overview of the subject, see John M. Lundquist, *The Temple: Meeting Place of Heaven and Earth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993).

JOHN L. BROOKE. *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994.

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This ambitious treatment of Mormon origins and Mormon history will likely win plaudits. After all, how can you lose by combining two subjects of interest—hermeticism and Mormonism—both tinged with controversy? Add magic and folk culture, mix in a bit of quantification, get advance recommendations from scholars who should know their subject, land a respected press to publish your work, and then have it reviewed by people whose mastery of the whole range of subject matter is lacking, and a prize should be in sight. But is this fire, or only smoke?

With a range of apparent erudition that will overwhelm the general reader, Brooke weaves a fascinating tale of influences that allegedly converged and combined in the fertile, megalomaniacal mind of Joseph Smith to produce a vicious religious system. The person who reads only this book on the subject of Mormonism will conclude that Mormonism is rotten at the core, combining superstition and pseudoscience in an unholy synthesis and that its early followers were, quite simply, dunces. In fact, in an audacious final summary of the history of the past century, Brooke tars modern Mormons with the same brush: only a dimwit, ignorant and devoid of character, could believe this religion. That *The Refiner's Fire* has serious methodological flaws—that its central thesis remains unproved—will predictably be overlooked by those who have neither the time nor the ability to do a close reading or by those whose predisposition assures a welcome to any book that disparages Mormons.

It is important to understand clearly what is at issue. No informed Mormon would deny similarities between Mormonism and other religions or other thinkers. The explanation for these has been twofold: (1) on repeated occasions in the past when apostasy from the true gospel occurred, individual practices or teachings remained as fragments, and (2) the gospel includes all truth and is therefore receptive to true statements or principles from any source. In general, therefore, the discovery of similarities or parallels

does not threaten Mormonism, for it is in the restored gospel that these are all fully integrated and properly understood. But this comfortable recognition hardly requires Mormons to accept any and all assertions of similarity, especially when coupled with a charge or claim of influence that precludes revelation.

Mormonism has of course been the subject of examination from its inception. What, we ask, has Brooke contributed? What new explanations of Joseph Smith and Mormonism does he advance? That some notions from the world of popular magic and divining were believed by members of the Smith family and some other early converts? Not new. That ideas of a graded system of salvation might have been derived from writings such as those of Thomas Dick? Old hat. That Smith ever read Dick remains unproven, but the similarity, such as it is, is there for all to consider and has been well known to any serious student since at least 1945.

What about the similarities between Masonic rituals and the temple ceremonies? Excited anti-Mormons raised that charge in the 1840s, and it has recurred as a predictable refrain ever since. Mervin Hogan¹ and others familiar with both have calmly explained their basic differences. More importantly, early Mormons who had been Masons experienced no cognitive dissonance when they participated in the temple ceremonies. External or superficial similarities did not mean that the holy endowment, a Christ-centered ordinance, was merely warmed-over Masonry. We could go on and on. John Brooke has pulled into his work many stale allegations that have been around for a long time.

With the dizzying pace of Brooke's study (names and terms are thrown around furiously and chronological grounding is made difficult by repeated jumps across time) and its ponderous scholarly apparatus (at the back of the book, in numbered endnotes, each usually containing several references), the general reader, will be swept away, understanding or retaining few of the details. But Brooke's large, simple, distorted conclusions will stick: Joseph Smith, a moronic, superstitious knave, a lecher, a would-be dictator, was somehow the outlet for mysterious influences from the past that reached him, not exactly through subterranean channels, but through a process of dilution and cultural transmission that eventuated in the folk beliefs of his progenitors. Never mind

that Brooke's approach fails to consider or account for dozens of the most basic claims and teachings of the restored gospel.

What, then, is the Brooke thesis? First of all, it is thoroughly naturalistic. No openings for any divine influences here. One requires little imagination to realize what the same approach would do with the New Testament gospels and early Christianity. But instead of merely rehashing the old charges (although there is rehashing aplenty), the author lumps them together into a large interpretation on which he places his signature: the primary shaping influence on Joseph Smith and Mormonism was—here it comes—*hermeticism*.

The body of ancient writings collectively termed *hermetic* was revived in Renaissance Florence at the instigation of Cosimo de Medici. He funded and encouraged Marsilio Ficino to complete and publish the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a compilation of some nineteen treatises. This project was completed even before his massive edition of Plato's dialogues and the subsequent *Theologica Platonica*. These works are heavy going, to say the least. They provide a basis for mysticism (using the word in its narrow sense) and stimulated a series of intellectuals in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Along with revived Platonism, the hermetical teachings have been credited with influencing even early modern science.

Brooke's theory is that hermeticism was also the looming presence behind Mormonism. However, after all of the hoopla, Brooke concedes that Joseph Smith did not consult the *Corpus Hermeticum*. In fact, the total number of alleged parallels between Mormonism and hermeticism is only two: divinization and the *coniunctio*. (On occasion he adds the preexistence and materiality of spirit.)

How, then, does Brooke make a book out of this? How does he try to make his case? Answer: he creates a new entity. This construct is fabricated out of hermeticism, or selected particles thereof, but it is also much more. It is hermeticism-radical Protestant restorationism-millennialism-Rosicrucianism-Freemasonry-witchcraft-popular religion-divining-counterfeiting-communitarianism. Brooke's mind breezily glides from one to another of these, but instead of making proper distinctions, he treats them as

a single coherent, concrete phenomenon. Over and over again, whatever the specific topic, the adjective “hermetical” will crop up. In a magical act of which the illusionist David Copperfield would be proud, the author reifies into a single entity the variety of “influences” that for him explain the otherwise “unique and inexplicable” (279) aspects of Mormonism.

The hermetic presence is amorphous, shifting, and wonderfully adaptable. With a wave of the wand, Brooke has performed an alchemical trick of his own. I do not accuse him of creating this loaf *ex nihilo* but of mixing together a variety of ingredients, tossing it into the oven, overbaking, and then assuming that the resulting crust actually once existed in historical time.

It is unbelievable to me that other scholars of early national America would find this methodology acceptable. One wonders how often this explanatory principle—hermetic subculture as a unified, if ill-defined, concept, not unlike the once-fashionable *Zeitgeist*—will be applied to other historical problems in the early national period. After all, count the mystical symbols on the back of a one-dollar bill or the number of early United States presidents who were Masons. Does this justify a hermetical theory for the origins of the U.S. Constitution? I think I now understand one criticism of Brooke’s earlier book: “His model postulates a dichotomy that forces him to strap his complex arguments to a rather procrustean intellectual bed.”²

It is child’s play to point out inaccuracies in this pretentious work. “Thomsonian” medicine is consistently misspelled as “Thompsonian” (32, 73). Joseph Smith did not claim “ritual identity” with ancient Enoch (198). Mormons do not consider Peter, James, and John to be “archangels” (192). References to the Firstborn and the Only Begotten as the same person do not mean a melding of Adam and Christ (199); both terms refer to Jesus Christ, who was the Firstborn in the spirit and the Only Begotten in the flesh. Are these minor details to be shrugged off? Perhaps, but a scholar so careless of such details might be suspected of playing fast and loose with other matters, including his general interpretation.

The adequacy of the hermeticism-Mormonism interpretation—the Brooke thesis—depends on establishing the connection. It is not enough, in other words, to find bits and pieces here and there

or to advance a series of *could haves* or *might haves*. To be conclusive, the interpretation must demonstrate the connections and prove them by providing specific documentation. Alert to this question, anxious to see precisely what Brooke claims, I have recreated the thesaurus from which he selected his key terminology. In hermeticism he claims to find *parallels, analogues, antecedents, affinities, anticipations, and resonances*. Hermeticism, in one or another of its disguises, provided the *predisposition, precondition, framework, and groundwork* for Mormonism. But for Brooke, these are not just interesting similarities; causal influence is repeatedly suggested if not stated. Mormonism *rested on, was rooted in, and was shaped by* none other than the omnipresent, amorphous hermeticism. Brooke is cagey. He sometimes chooses verbs that claim less. In its popular persona, as popularized and diluted in backwoods New England, for example, his hermeticism was “much entangled with the formative origins of Mormonism” (58).

But where are the connections? Let the historian show us the transmission. “Exactly how [Joseph Smith] arrived there, the central problem of this study, is not quite so clear,” we read (204). Indeed. But this honest admission does not prevent our sleuth from immediately explaining just how the Prophet did it. Although Joseph Smith did not have a copy of the *Corpus Hermeticum* at hand, he “arrived at an approximation [?] of many [?] of its fundamental [?] points by a process of reassembling [?] scattered doctrines available in dissenting [?] and hermetic sources [?], fused and extended [?] by what Mormons would call revelation—and by what others would call a very powerful imagination” (204). Some might suggest that John Brooke is not lacking in imagination. Are intelligent readers and reviewers really going to let Brooke get away with such slovenliness? In their delight at a general interpretation that disposes of Mormonism while regaling the reader with everything from a dizzy tour of the intellectual history of early modern Europe to the varieties of counterfeiting in the backwoods of early national America to a partridge in a pear tree, will readers forget the elementary canons of logic and proof?

“Groundwork” and “framework,” if I am not mistaken, usually refer to a set of conditions that provide the basis or the matrix for

something. At one point, in Brooke's usage, these become active forces. Perhaps, he writes, "fused with a comprehensive command of the biblical Scriptures, this groundwork in popular hermeticism provided a sufficient framework to shape the new theology as conceived in May 1833" (205). Notice the term "sufficient." No multiple causation for Brooke.

"Fused with a comprehensive command of the biblical Scriptures"—this recognition seems to come grudgingly. At one point (72), after Jan Shipps called it to his attention, Brooke admits the Bible as a possible source. At another point (159), the Bible is mentioned as an afterthought. Which raises a general question: Are any of the major doctrines and practices of Mormonism found in the Bible? Faith? Repentance? A church organization with twelve Apostles? If this is too easy and obvious, let us try Enoch and Melchizedek. Or how about the return of Elijah? Or baptism for the dead? Having no poor among them for they had all things in common—could this be found somewhere in the book of Acts? The "restitution of all things"—was this made up out of whole cloth by the wily Joseph Smith, or did he find it in a secret manual during a nocturnal treasure hunt?

To find that plural marriage might be divinely authorized under certain circumstances, Joseph Smith had no need to run around looking for contemporary communities whose gender relationships were nontraditional. And seventeenth-century sexual manuals, reprinted in early America, which Joseph Smith *might* have read because he and Emma *might* have been experiencing fertility problems, are unneeded as an explanation for the introduction of polygyny. The Bible itself provides ample precedent, and the Book of Mormon, which Brooke must have read hurriedly, suggests that under certain circumstances the Lord would command it. If we are looking for a single major shaping influence on Joseph Smith, if we have ruled out multiple influences and divine revelation, then assuredly it must be, not hermeticism, but the Bible.

Two related Mormon doctrines are particularly hard for Brooke to countenance. The first of these is divinization and the second is having one's calling and election made sure through a second anointing. Mormons of course have never heard of divinization; they never use the term. They do think that all humans

have the potential of becoming divine during the eons ahead. Most may not make it, for “strait is the gate and narrow the way.” But the potential is there. Humans, children of God, are of a divine race; they are gods in embryo. It is this scandalous doctrine that, for Brooke, “must have” come from the hermetic literature. Having read quite extensively in the hermetic literature, I find this ludicrous. To be sure, passages in the writings of both Ficino and Pico, as of their ancient predecessors, speak of the divine potential of humans granted to them by their Creator. But if historians want to find a groundwork for such a doctrine, all they have to do is open the Bible. Is God holy and perfect? Are humans commanded to be holy and perfect? Is Jesus divine? Are Christians asked to follow him? Is “the imitation of Christ” a concept that modern secular professors have never heard of? What reward did Jesus Christ hold out for his faithful disciples? Did Brooke consider the implications of their being “joint-heirs” (Rom. 8:17)? Of course such ideas were foolishness to the Jews and a scandal to the Gentiles. And they may evoke embarrassed giggles from modern intellectuals. But when Joseph Smith restored the ancient understanding, he did not have to pore over hermetic lore.

With reference to second anointings, Brooke seems to think of Mormons, or at least some of them, as insufferable prigs who strut around thinking of themselves as gods. Brooke draws here from the work of other scholars. A little fieldwork among living, breathing Mormons would lead to the surprising discovery that they are much like anyone else. Second anointings are not part of their usual vocabulary. Those who are regular temple goers are the least likely to be self-satisfied or pompous; instead they tend to be humble disciples engaged in unselfish Christian service. Of course that is a judgment, but it is based on more extensive field work on this particular population than I think Brooke performed.

Having read the anti-Mormon literature, Brooke is anxious to expel Mormons from the ranks of Christians. No ecumenical welcome mats here. But having also read the Book of Mormon, or at least parts of it, he must be aware of its powerful message that Jesus is the Christ, a message that thumps like a refrain through page after page, chapter after chapter. To counter that inescapable fact, he selectively points his historian’s camera to sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and

eighteenth-century thinkers and movements; to popular beliefs and possible family connections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and finally to episodes in Mormon history that, seen through the eyes of the enemies and persecutors, proved mendacity, immorality, lawlessness, and imperial ambitions. Those beliefs that he considers decidedly outside the pale—divinization, eternal marriage, the temple ceremonies—are presented in the most negative possible light. This is not neutral exposition. Not much chance that people thus portrayed could be taken for Christians.

On a more serious theological level, Brooke, following earlier writers, sees the Mormons as modern Pelagians who deny divine grace, which of course is consistent with the portrayal of Mormons as people who on their own claim to become gods and goddesses. The subject of Pelagianism and its surrounding concepts is a complex one, and theologians are not in agreement on all of the specifics. Not all Christians have joined the magisterial reformers in denying free will to humans, and more than a few, especially among Catholic theologians, allow for individual responsibility and repentance, all of course through the grace of God. Rather than acknowledging this complexity and the substantial agreement between Mormons and many other Christians on such issues, Brooke wishes to brand Mormons with the mark of a classical heresy. But Mormons believe more about Christ than many late-twentieth-century individuals and groups whose Christianity is never called into question.

One of the most interesting sections of *The Refiner's Fire* explores the background of those who embraced Mormonism. Brooke inventively employs a methodology that, I suspect, will be praised. I praise the effort but must point out the meager results. In fact, the argument is fundamentally flawed. He (or his researcher) used genealogical records to trace fifty-three early Mormon families to their "point of immigration." In quite a few cases, it was discovered that ancestors were engaged in divining, witchcraft, Masonry, anti-Masonry, or some kind of popular religion; or, alternatively, that they lived in localities where these kinds of things were known to exist. Brooke's search also uncovered some instances of treasure seeking and counterfeiting. The reader staggers away from the catalogue of horrors thoroughly convinced of

a nefarious conspiracy or at least an intricate spider web of dark practices that converged on Joseph Smith and predisposed certain people to accept his message.

Why object to such an analysis? Consider the mathematics. Each person has many ancestors. We go back geometrically: 2 parents, 4 grandparents, 8 great-grandparents, 16, 32, 64, 128, and so on. At each generation one can add uncles, aunts, cousins, friends, and neighbors. A fishing expedition into anyone's ancestry is likely to turn up examples of superstition or eccentricity. Looking at the Brooke ancestral analysis in this light, I am impressed by the paucity of hard data and the virtual absence of demonstrated connection across time. Other readers may find his argument convincing, but let his approach be used on the ancestors of a Lutheran congregation or a ladies literary guild as a control group, and if the results are not about the same, we shall better know how to assess this methodology.

In a way, the ancestral analysis catches Brooke in a trap. If it was their superstition and heterodoxy that predisposed early converts to accept the Mormon preaching, how do we explain the fact that the missionaries had continued success in many locations among various peoples? For the dramatic conversions in England, Brooke has a ready explanation: they came from the Midlands and were part of the dissenting subculture. There is some truth to this statement, of course, as we have long known in the case of Wilford Woodruff and the Irvingites. But I do not see a serious quantitative study here (such as Malcolm R. Thorp has produced) or one that thoroughly explores motives decade by decade in different geographical locations, such as Prussia, Tonga, or Mexico. That there was some predisposition on the part of some converts is an unhelpful truism.

The statement most often repeated by the early converts themselves was that they were unhappy with contemporary Christianity and were looking for something better, something purer, something closer to the New Testament pattern. They were "seekers."³ If I have read him correctly, Brooke quite conveniently buries this fact in that large ball of wax that he labels "popular hermeticism." I also have to wonder how current conversions fit into his framework. Are converts in Brazil and Thailand, in New York and Haiti, in Nigeria and the Czech Republic predisposed by hermeticism?

One would think, if Brooke's interpretation is sound, that somewhere a Mormon convert would say something like this: "I used to enjoy that money digging. And alchemy—oh, it was fun to get together with the boys and talk about making gold and silver and even trying experiments. And we used to think much about divinization, how we poor folks were really gods. And, oh, that *coniunctio* really turned us on. How we wished to find a religion that had all this stuff! When the Mormon missionaries came and proclaimed these as doctrines the new religion offered—why, who could resist such a pitch? Now that we are in the true faith, how thankful we are to carry on our belief in and practice of all these things we considered precious." All right, all right; I exaggerate. But while many converts spoke of seeking the primitive Church and the "restitution of all things," why did no one ever say *anything* remotely like this?

At times, Brooke seems to know that his book is wildly out of control, that he is not methodically establishing anything. All of these points, he concedes in chapter 3, are "perforce speculative in places" (87)—the understatement of the century that should stand as a disclaimer at the head of every chapter. He may claim that he is just exploring (278), but he wishes to leave the impression he is proving and demonstrating. His cries of "Fire" are false alarms.

I wish I could give *The Refiner's Fire* high marks, for it would be a pleasure to welcome another researcher into the inexhaustible and rich fields of Mormon history. But Brooke, for all his bravado, fails to make his case, fails to prove the nexus between his ill-defined hermeticism and Mormonism, fails to preclude other possible sources, fails to demonstrate that his hermetic underworld impinged significantly on the restored gospel or on the religious experience of Latter-day Saints. For the general reader wishing to learn about Mormons and their history, his book creates an interpretation that is unduly dark and fundamentally misleading. It will of course be greeted enthusiastically by anti-Mormons—now *there's* a "prepared" audience for you. But if the author meant to describe real Latter-day Saints and what it was that led thousands of them to sacrifice their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor, he misses the target.

NOTES

¹See Mervin B. Hogan, *Documenting and Publishing the Historical Relationship of Mormonism and Freemasonry* (Salt Lake City: M. B. Hogan, 1982).

²Van Beck Hall, book review of John L. Brooke's *The Heart of the Commonwealth: Political Culture in Worcester County, Massachusetts*, in *The Journal of American History* 78 (June 1991): 297-98.

³Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968); and Dan Vogel, *Religious Seekers and the Advent of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988).

LYNDON W. COOK. *William Law: Biographical Essay, Nauvoo Diary, Correspondence, Interview*. Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994. xiii; 164 pp. Index. \$16.95.

Reviewed by Scott H. Faulring, Assistant Professor of Aerospace Studies at Brigham Young University.

I have long admired Lyndon Cook's persistent, painstaking efforts in writing enlightening historical-biographical commentaries and editing important historical documents crucial to the study of Joseph Smith and early Mormon history.¹ His most recent contribution, *William Law*, principally a primary source monograph, surveys the thoughts and actions of this apostate, who was a member of the First Presidency during the final year of the Prophet Joseph Smith's life. The reader of this book will gain a deeper understanding of the tensions and emotions of this turbulent period of Mormon history. Cook is to be commended for researching and documenting the early faith and later struggles of William Law; modern students of Mormon history now have a closer, more personal, glimpse of this controversial Church leader's life.

William Law (1809–1892), assisted by his older brother Wilson, along with the Foster and Higbee brothers and several other active Nauvoo dissenters, published the first and only issue of the antagonistic *Nauvoo Expositor*, which included among other things a scandalous and hostile exposé of Joseph Smith's polygamous activities. Law's *Expositor* fanned the already hot flames of conflict between him and leading Mormon elders. Through the auspices of the Nauvoo City Council, Joseph Smith, acting as mayor, condemned the *Expositor* press as a public nuisance and ordered it destroyed. When Nauvoo citizens acted on the Prophet's request, he and his brother Hyrum were arrested for promoting a riot, incarcerated at Carthage, Illinois, and killed by a vigilante mob who stormed the jail. That tragedy was the capstone of an emotionally tempestuous religious conflict that had existed for at least half a year between the Mormon prophet-leader and his second counselor. In William Law's view, their differences were monumental; from late 1843 until early 1844, Joseph Smith's hopes for reconciliation with his counselor in the First Presidency dimmed while the animosity between them deepened.

The greatest practical and theological difference between William Law and Joseph Smith involved the morality of polygamy. Cook's monograph fills a conspicuous void by providing modern researchers with Law's negative views on the introduction and early practice of celestial marriage. Few Church members knew of the private teachings and guarded activities of Joseph Smith and his confidants; Church leaders in Nauvoo publicly denied any involvement in polygamous relationships. As Cook points out, William Law, although an endowed member of the "Anointed Quorum," was unaware for some time that Joseph Smith and others had been sealed to additional wives (23-24). Ironically, in the summer of 1842, Law defended the Prophet against the vicious "spiritual wife" accusations leveled by another disgruntled counselor in the First Presidency, John C. Bennett. This book describes, in detail, Law's reaction to Nauvoo's clandestine plural marriages and his subsequent alienation from Smith and the other leaders over this and other religious and political issues.

Although the first section of Cook's monograph is a biographical essay providing an overview of William Law and his life, the parts of the book are disconnected. The book has no introduction. Cook could have helped the reader by writing a general overview explaining the relationship of the essay with the various documents in the rest of the book. Also, Cook might have described his documentary editorial procedures, included a William Law chronology, and transcribed other relevant documents, for example, the prospectus for the *Nauvoo Expositor* and Law's own contributions to the *Expositor*.

The biographical essay is a near-verbatim reproduction of Cook's 1982 William Law article.² Comprising more than twenty percent of the book, the essay is still the most complete synopsis on William Law, and from that standpoint alone it is an important offering. Cook details five "points of contention" (13-27) that in William Law's mind, justified his apostasy. Law believed that the Prophet Joseph Smith: (1) defied Illinois state law, (2) manipulated politicians for selfish purposes, (3) ignored the established order of the Church during his (Law's) excommunication trial, (4) used ecclesiastical authority to control the financial affairs of the Saints, and (5) introduced false doctrines and corrupt clandestine practices, thereby corrupting his priesthood authority. This article

explores all five points objectively with substantial support from relevant primary sources.

Except for some minor adjustments, Cook has not expanded or updated the biographical article. He does reverse the spin of his opening paragraph. In 1982, it read, "Dissent is not a novel topic in Mormon history. *Nor is it* the most urgent issue confronting The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today." Twelve years later, it reads, "Dissent is not a novel topic in Mormon history. *Yet, it is* an urgent issue confronting The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints today" (1, emphasis added). In 1994, Cook's references show signs of age and scholarly neglect. All the secondary sources in the footnotes are dated before 1982. For instance, he cites an earlier, less accurate, version of his *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*.³ Cook does not cross-reference manuscript sources used or cited in the footnotes which have, since 1982, been published, thus making these documents more accessible to the general reader. For instance, Cook refers to the 1974 published version of William Clayton's 1840-1842 journal but not to the printed Wilford Woodruff journal, published in 1983,⁴ nor to either of the published versions of Joseph Smith's diary. Thus footnote 51 directs the reader to an unpublished revelation in Joseph Smith's "Scriptory Book," a document which has been printed twice since 1982.⁵

Undoubtedly the book's most significant addition to the corpus of Mormon-Nauvoo history is William Law's 1844 diary. Published in its entirety for the first time, the "Record of Doings at Nauvoo" covers, in sporadic entries, the period of January 1 through the latter part of June 1844. This remarkable personal record captures the spiritual and emotional pain Law felt as he was tried and tested by the doctrinal and moral issues that confronted him in Nauvoo.

For unexplained reasons, Cook does not, in this section, identify the location of the original diary, though an obscure footnote midway through the biographical essay reveals that the diary is "in private custody" (18 n. 53). Readers deserve to know the provenance of a previously unpublished diary, particularly in the wake of Mark Hofmann's nefarious activities forging manuscripts in the 1980s. At a minimum, the diary's physical characteristics should have been described and bracketed page numbers inserted to designate the division of the original text. While the procedures used

for editing the diary and other historical documents in *William Law* are never explicitly described, Cook seems to have taken a minimalist approach, supplying a literal transcription without any editorial apparatus to expand or clarify the text.

Law's Nauvoo diary is annotated with a judicious number of footnotes—adequate yet not interfering with the strength of the primary text. However, in two instances, the footnotes are too lengthy and hence are typographical eyesores. Footnotes 7 and 11, each over two-and-a-half-pages long, include extensive extracts from supporting documents. These sources, if so important, should have been included in the book's appendix. In spite of these deficiencies in annotation, Law's diary is a vivid testament to his heartrending challenges in faith and devotion to the Mormon Church and its leaders.

As is the biographical article, the "Correspondence" section (including the first six letters, ranging in date from 1837 to 1840, and their accompanying footnotes) is reprinted from another of Cook's *BYU Studies* articles with only slight modification.⁶ To these pre-1841 writings, Cook has added three documents from the *Times and Seasons* that were written by Law, eight letters from Law, and one affidavit. These documents provide interesting details that continue to challenge those who study the subject of Mormon polygamy in Nauvoo. Basic bibliographic information is given at the beginning of each document, but no page references are given for the previously published material.

The lengthy Wilhelm Wyl-William Law interview, conducted in March 1887, is included as the fourth section.⁷ Because Law was Joseph Smith's close associate, this reminiscence of his time with the Mormons is revealing. Without an introduction or overview, however, the reader knows little of the context or background of the interview. Given the strong antipolygamy sentiment in America, the anti-Mormon bent of interviewer Wilhelm Wyl, Law's bitter opposition to the Prophet Joseph Smith, and publication of the interview in an openly anti-Mormon Salt Lake newspaper, it comes as no surprise that Law's recollections were predominately negative.

The last section of the book contains miscellaneous documents: Joseph Smith's positive 1842 "characterization" of William and Wilson Law and an exchange of six letters from Mayor Joseph Smith to Nauvoo Legion Major General Wilson Law. (Cook does

not indicate whether he had access to the originals of these items in Joseph Smith's 1842 journal—"Book of the Law of the Lord"—or used Dean C. Jessee's transcription of the letters in *Papers of Joseph Smith* 2:407-17.)

Generally, this book's index is comprehensive. Cook provides detailed biographical-topical subdescriptions to guide the reader to specifics. However, a few omissions and mistakes detract from the index's utility. For instance, there is a contradiction in the index entry for "Revelation, on plural marriage" (see entry on p. 160). The index asserts, "W[ilson] L[aw] claims original [1843] revelation was much *longer*" (emphasis added). On pages 128-29 the reader finds the exact opposite: "I remember DISTINCTLY that the original [1843 revelation] given me by Hyrum was MUCH SHORTER" (emphasis in original).

The cloth cover is handsome, but the dust jacket design has a serious weakness: a backdrop photograph of Law not included anywhere else in the book is obscured by a dark purple background with gold lettering.⁸

Still, I highly recommend this book. *William Law* is a worthwhile presentation of the "opposition's" rationale for opposing the critical doctrinal developments of the Prophet's last years. The variety of William Law-related documents brought together in this book provides substantial historical "meat" useful in understanding the mindset of these dissenters in Nauvoo.

NOTES

¹His most noteworthy works include the following: with Andrew F. Ehat, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1991); with Donald Q. Cannon, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983); *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); *Joseph Smith and the Law of Consecration* (Orem, Utah: Keepsake Paperbacks, 1991); *Joseph C. Kingsbury: A Biography* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985); with Milton V. Backman Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1836-1841* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985); and *Aaron Johnson Correspondence* (Orem, Utah: Center for Research of Mormon Origins, 1990).

²See Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22 (Winter 1982): 47-72.

³This book was originally published in 1981 by Seventy's Mission Book Store. Four years later, in April 1985, Deseret Book republished, in a corrected edition, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*.

⁴See Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal*, 9 vols. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1983-85), 2:169.

⁵See Scott H. Faulring, ed., *An American Prophet's Record: The Diaries and Journals of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 191-92; and Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 2:253-54.

⁶See Lyndon W. Cook, "'Brother Joseph Is Truly a Wonderful Man, He Is All We Could Wish a Prophet to Be': Pre-1844 Letters of William Law," *BYU Studies* 20 (Winter 1980): 207-18. The subtitle of this article is curious since all of the letters are pre-1841, versus pre-1844. These letters are reproduced from manuscripts in the Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

⁷The interview was published in the July 31, 1887, issue of the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*.

⁸An unobstructed copy of the photograph is found in Cook's "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22 (Winter 1982): 50.

N. B. LUNDWALL, comp. *Temples of the Most High*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993. Originally published 1941. Revised 1966. x; 427 pp. 46 illustrations, index. \$11.95.

RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL. *Every Stone a Sermon*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992. xi; 126 pp. 54 illustrations, appendix, index. \$15.95.

NELSON B. WADSWORTH. *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992. xi; 388 pp. 350+ illustrations, index. \$39.95.

C. MARK HAMILTON with C. NINA CUTRUBUS. *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People*. Salt Lake City: University Services, 1983; reprinted 1993. 208 pp. 99 illustrations. \$50.00.

J. FREDERIC VOROS JR. and KATHLEEN B. PETERSON, illustrator. *The Stones of the Temple*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and Primary Press, 1993. 32 pp. 21 illustrations. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, Professor of English, Brigham Young University.

The year-long celebration of the centennial of the April 6, 1893, dedication of the Salt Lake Temple sparked the publication and republication of a variety of books celebrating this landmark event in the history of the Church and Utah. Editor Annie Wells Cannon spoke for the Mormon people when she wrote in the May 1893 issue of *Woman's Exponent* that the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple was "to the Saints the greatest event for many years." She added the understatement that "now that it is so handsomely completed well may we feel proud and happy" (in Holzapfel, 93). Today, a century later, the Salt Lake Temple remains for many "*The Temple*," the proud and venerable flagship of the fleet, and arguably one of the most remarkable edifices built during the nineteenth century.

The sacred nature of temple ceremonies prevented Latter-day Saints from writing about their temples until Elder James E. Talmage, then newly called to the Quorum of the Twelve, was

commissioned by the First Presidency to write *The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern* (1912; reprint, 1962, 1976), which remained for several decades the “definitive” treatment of Mormon temples and rites. Then in 1965, W. A. Raynor published *The Everlasting Spires: A Story of the Salt Lake Temple*, followed by John K. Edmunds’s *Through Temple Doors* (1978), Elder Boyd K. Packer’s *The Holy Temple* (1980), Elder Royden G. Derrick’s *Temples in the Last Days* (1987), and Richard O. Cowan’s *Temples to Dot the Earth* (1989). Now the Salt Lake Temple dedicatory centennial has evoked several valuable additions to the short shelf of books about Latter-day Saint temples and, in particular, the Salt Lake Temple itself.

A notable reissue for the centennial, in Bookcraft’s attractive Collectors’ Edition series, is N. B. Lundwall’s *Temples of the Most High*. Lundwall, that father-of-all-LDS-compilers, scrapbooked “rare and invaluable writings by Authorities of the Church” into *The Vision or the Degrees of Glory* (1939). He later assembled, in *The Fate of the Persecutors of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (1952), a similar pastiche of undigested, variously sound and occasionally dubious “historical data” about Joseph Smith Jr.—his life, death, burial, family, and the trial and eventual fates of his murderers. For seasoned Saints (those over age fifty), the reissue of *Temples of the Most High* is a sentimental return to earlier apologias (such as Hugh Nibley’s *Lehi in the Desert*, 1952), which revealed to many the rich store in journals, diaries, letters, narratives, sermons, newspaper accounts, and other lore beyond B. H. Roberts’s wonderful *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (1902) and Joseph Fielding Smith’s very serviceable *Essentials in Church History* (1922).

Under the capstone of each of the Latter-day Saint temples, Lundwall brought together a curious, haphazard documentary history of the temples, from the dedicatory prayers and services and the physical dimensions and construction history to long-buried accounts of events centering in the various temples. He originally wrote about the temples constructed from Kirtland days through the 1930s. In the revision, Lundwall added chapters for succeeding temples through the Oakland Temple (1964). The reissue makes no attempt to update information about the temples built

since 1964, even though several ill-organized addenda to the 1968 revision provide additional information regarding the now long-superseded temple renovations of the 1960s. Reading this paste-and-scissors scrapbook with its oh-by-the-way addenda is much like trying to make sense of a refrigeration manual which has been irregularly and haphazardly updated for twenty years after its initial issue.

Still, *Temples of the Most High* provides the only ready access to some of the great spiritual and visionary experiences associated with the various temples. For example, this volume is where most of us first read of the appearance of the Savior to Lorenzo Snow in the Salt Lake Temple, of Brigham Young's statement that the Manti Temple site had been previously dedicated by Moroni, or of other little-known, but remarkable, manifestations of the Lord's acceptance of the various latter-day temples. Lundwall has made these spiritual events accessible to several generations of Latter-day Saints, and this timely and interesting reissue of a rough-hewn, but often moving, classic makes the physical and spiritual history of a century of LDS temples available to current believing generations.

A far different kind of book, but every bit as valuable to the Latter-day Saints, is *Every Stone a Sermon*, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel. Holzapfel centers his thorough, well-balanced, and well-written historical account of the construction of the Salt Lake Temple on intriguing and often overlooked aspects of the more than forty eventful years it took to build the edifice. He keeps his focus fixed on the impressions of men and women who recorded in letters, journals, and diaries their accounts of events taking place on and about Temple Square. He includes Emma Bennett's giving birth to a baby boy in one of the smaller rooms of the temple after one of the dedicatory sessions (82). (Incidentally, Brother and Sister Bennett returned to the temple on April 15, eight days later, so the baby could receive a special blessing from Elder Joseph F. Smith, who named the child Joseph Temple Bennett.)

Holzapfel carefully sets individual Mormon responses to the construction, painting, decorating, furnishing, rush to completion, and the memorable dedication of the temple in the contexts of the shifting social and political climates of the late nineteenth century. For example, he points out that, within a few months after the dedication, the Mormon Tabernacle Choir won second

place in an international choir competition at the Chicago world's fair at the same time that the U.S. government was finally beginning the process of returning confiscated Church property (84). *Every Stone a Sermon* is a fascinating book, a worthwhile reading experience.

Very different in its focus, centered as it is on the temple's architecture, artistry, and symbolism, is the graphically stunning reissue of *The Salt Lake Temple: A Monument to a People*, by C. Mark Hamilton, professor of art at BYU, in collaboration with C. Nina Cutrubus. Of special interest is the beautifully illustrated section tracing the influence of British architecture on Brigham Young and temple architects William Ward Jr., both Truman O. Angell Sr. and Jr., and Joseph Don Carlos Young. Also fascinating are hitherto generally unavailable architectural plans and studies for the temple, as well as Ralph Savage's 1911 photographs of the temple interior, published in their entirety for the first time. Hamilton's incisive chapter on "The Symbolism of the Exterior" is a major contribution to LDS architectural history.

Another remarkable treat has been offered *aficionados* of the Salt Lake Temple and early Salt Lake history in Nelson B. Wadsworth's *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*. Wadsworth recounts the outlines of the history of the Salt Lake Temple through the camera eye of eleven pioneer photographers who documented not only the temple's construction, but much of the community life and progress of Salt Lake City.

This impressive volume contains 366 rare photographs, including some "forbidden" photos by Gisbert Bossard, a disaffected Swiss convert bankrolled by Max Florence, a gentile Salt Lake businessman (who later did time for bootlegging). Armed with a rapid-lens camera and magnesium flashlight, Bossard persuaded a gardener in 1911 to allow him to enter the temple. President Joseph F. Smith defused Bossard's extortion attempt and obviated the value of his illicitly obtained photographs by commissioning James E. Talmage, a University of Utah professor and not-yet-member of the Quorum of the Twelve—though that calling would come before the book was finished—to write a book about the Salt Lake Temple, a book which would also include interior

photographs by Ralph Savage, son of Charles R. Savage. Also included in Talmage's volume are the photography of Marsena Cannon, Edward Martin, C. W. Carter, C. W. Symons, George Edward Anderson, James H. Crockwell, Charles Ellis Johnson, James William Shipler, and Harry Shipler.

Concluding this review of recent books about the Salt Lake Temple is a very different perspective of the temple: an adult describing the temple and its history to a child. *The Stones of the Temple*, written by J. Frederic Voros Jr. and illustrated by Kathleen B. Peterson, is a lovingly simple and simply lovely illustrated children's book which speaks to all ages, evoking the rich spiritual meaning of the edifice through the history and architecture of the building. Speaking in Voros's simple but richly imaged language of faith and works that are made graphic by Peterson's luminous and vivid art, this little book has *soul* appropriate to the loftiness of its subject. Voros concludes his lyrical text thus: "It is His house. The walls are His; the towers and spires are His; . . . the laughing children, the golden trumpeter, the praying prophet and the shouting people—all these are His; and you too are His" (28).

The New York *Times* noted in its April 7, 1893, edition, "The Mormon Temple is a significant monument in enduring stone to the power and resistless growth of the Mormon Church" (in Holzapfel, 97). Shortly before his death, Elder B. H. Roberts, writing about the Salt Lake Temple, expressed an expanded meaning of this "monument in enduring stone":

I hold [this Temple] sacred in my heart; . . . it is a mass testimony of a whole people, a testimony to the world that God has spoken, and that he has revealed his truths once more for the salvation of men and has ushered in the dispensation of the fullness of times. [The Salt Lake Temple] is . . . a community testimony of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and becomes a witness wherever . . . its architectural beauty is published to the world. (Holzapfel, 105)

The several books honoring the Salt Lake Temple in its centenary have lasting value and affirm that impressive testimony in imposing stone.

NELSON B. WADSWORTH. *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1992. xi; 388 pp. Photographs and index. \$39.95.

RICHARD NEITZEL HOLZAPFEL and T. JEFFERY COTTLE. *A Window to the Past: A Photographic Panorama of Early Church History and the Doctrine and Covenants*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993. ix; 106 pp. Photographs, selected bibliography and sources. \$15.95.

Reviewed by Marjorie Draper Conder, Curator, Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

Each of these pictorial books was apparently published to take advantage of a ready-made 1993 Mormon audience. The publication of *A Window to the Past* coincided with the Church curriculum emphasis on Church history and the Doctrine and Covenants. *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass* capitalized on the interest and market created by the centennial anniversary of the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple. Both books reflect ambitious research, the culling of many and diverse collections, and the bringing together of photos, objects, and informative items, many of which have never before been readily accessible to the average reader. However, these books do not work equally well.

It is generally unfair for a reviewer to review the book she or he wanted written, rather than the book which exists. However, when the author and the publisher themselves lead prospective readers to believe a book is other than it turns out to be, comparing the appearance with the reality may be a service to an unsuspecting public. Such is the case with *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Great Mormon Temple and Its Photographers*. The title, cover photograph, design, and author's introduction all set expectations, summarized in the first paragraph of the inside cover flap: "To celebrate the centennial of the [Salt Lake Temple] dedication, Nelson Wadsworth has assembled nearly 400 rare turn-of-the-century glass, copper, and dry-plate exposures which place the temple in historical and aesthetic perspective."

However, even randomly fanning through the book immediately suggests that much besides a "historical and aesthetic

perspective” of the Salt Lake Temple is contained between the covers. Only when one sits down to read and looks seriously at the pictures does the discrepancy become glaring. Of the approximately three hundred photographs in the book, only about one-fifth could generously be said to be about the temple. The text seems even more skewed. A better title for this book may have been “Utah’s Photographers and Photographs of Utah,” but even that would not reflect the wide-ranging and sometimes bizarre (James Talmage dressed as a monk at Santa Barbara, p. 103) photographs presented with little or no context to help readers make sense of what is going on.

The book’s introduction contains an account of the capstone laying of the Salt Lake Temple, and its epilogue recounts the strange “Max Florence Affair” of 1911, in which a former Salt Lake City theater owner tried “to sell ‘to the highest bidder’ sixty-eight pictures taken clandestinely inside the temple” (355). Each of the book’s eight chapters, however, treats a photographer or team of photographers. Throughout these chapters—filled with intriguing photographs of Salt Lake City, the Great Salt Lake, actresses, plain folk, photographers’ studios, baseball, football, mine rescue teams, and even Mormon missionaries in Jerusalem in 1903—references to the Salt Lake Temple often seem contrived, as if to say, “Oh, yes, this book is about the Salt Lake Temple; let’s say something here.”

The fact that this book is not primarily about the Salt Lake Temple is ironic since such a book could have been produced with no more (and perhaps less) effort and resources than the one published. The author has access to more photographs of just the Salt Lake Temple and its construction than the total number of photos in this book. Maybe this book was not intended to be about the Salt Lake Temple at all, but rather, as its subtitle suggests, about the *photographers* of the temple.

However, this is not really a book about photographers of the Salt Lake Temple either. While photographers with relatively tangential interest in the temple (James H. Crockwell or James and Harry Shipler, for example) have whole chapters to themselves in this book, Charles William Carter—the most prodigious photographer of the temple—and Charles W. Symons share a chapter.

Only one sentence on page 165 acknowledges Carter's substantial, systematic, thirty-year effort to document the construction of the Salt Lake Temple: "Carter took numerous photographs of the temple as it rose from its foundations."

Unfortunately, many photographs in the book are not attributed. Since credits are not generally given, the reader might assume that all photos within a particular chapter are representative work of the person highlighted in the text, but this assumption should not be made. For example, Carter photographs of Salt Lake City (50) and the Beehive house (53) appear unattributed in the chapter on Edward Martin. A Carter photograph of workmen quarrying granite is in the chapter about C. R. Savage (81), and a Savage photograph of a boy sitting on a bridge in Salt Lake City (140) appears in the Carter and Symons chapter. Such errors seem too common. This deficiency is especially puzzling since many of these same photographs are correctly attributed in other Wadsworth books. Some errors of identification also occur. The photograph on page 310, identified as the construction of the present Church Administration Building, could not possibly be of that building since it is in the wrong place! It is probably of the old Deseret Gym.

This book is not without merit, however. When I got beyond its opportunistic framing and my own unmet expectations as a reader, I decided Nelson Wadsworth has in fact treated the real subject of his book adequately. This is not a book about the temple, nor is it focused on the photographers of the temple. It is a history of photography in a part of the American West, principally Utah. Considered on these grounds, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass* provides much interesting information. The details about various photographic processes, such as daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, wet plates, dry plates, and enlarging, answer some basic questions for this reviewer, who had often heard these terms bandied about without really knowing what they meant. The social history—often read between the lines—and personal vignettes are interesting and enjoyable. Nineteenth-century photography in Utah is placed within the wider context of an evolving art form.

A more cohesive framework in the text or an afterword tying together the diversity of information presented would help readers better appreciate the book's unique strengths. Perhaps the

book should have been two books, one about all the wonderful Salt Lake Temple photographs which are available and the other about the history of photography in Utah and its early practitioners.

A Window to the Past actually does what it says it is going to do: it provides a “Photographic Panorama of Early Church History and the Doctrine and Covenants.” People who work in museums often remind each other that “museum exhibits should not be books on the wall.” This book, however, seems to be a museum exhibit in a book. The section headings are very much like section headings in a museum, and the artifact captions are similar to museum artifact captions.

Virtually all the section headings refer to the Doctrine and Covenants, most of them quoting directly from the revelations. This framework ties together objects and ideas that might otherwise be viewed as simply an odd, if interesting, assortment of “things.” Artifacts can become vehicles to touch the past, but the stories of the objects are what gives them life. Even the sketchiest sort of story—“this belonged to your second-great-grandmother”—makes many an item a treasured family heirloom. The objects featured in this book, whether actually part of Church history (such as Joseph Smith’s office sign from the Red Brick Store [52]) or simply representational (such as Native American artifacts illustrating early Church efforts to preach to the Lamanites [47]), make early Church history visual and real by placing it in a context of actual people and events.

In a year of renewed interest in latter-day temples, I enjoyed seeing the temples and hoped-for temples of the Joseph Smith era highlighted. Both the familiar and famous and the unfamiliar and relatively unknown are featured here (as well as throughout the book). Thus the plat of Zion with the temple complex at the center and John Taylor’s watch from Carthage share space with the drawing for the temple in Independence, a Carthage mob member’s powder horn, and a sacrament goblet from the Nauvoo Temple.

I liked this book. Were there any things not to like? I would have preferred colored pictures. Of course the cost of the book would have increased, but I think the price would have been worthwhile. A few factual errors and typos were scattered throughout. The Book of Mormon featured on page 17 belonged to Emer, not

Martin, Harris, and the First Presidency's Official Declaration—2 was announced on June 8, 1978, not June 28 (79).

Just as documents are generally perceived as less interesting than artifacts in a museum exhibit, so the second half of this book is less visually interesting to the casual observer than the first part. The second half, however, contains a good general overview of the historical development of the Doctrine and Covenants. It is not (nor does it pretend to be) the final scholarly word on the subject. Many of the finest scholarly works to date on the Doctrine and Covenants are cited, a boon to beginning scholars who want to probe deeper. But for the general reader, the book presents usable information in straightforward and readable fashion. The book should appeal to a wide variety of readers, from a young child poring over the pictures to the serious student of Church history. All artifacts, photographs, and documents are credited in the back of the book. The numerous credit lines therefore do not intrude into the body of the text yet are readily accessible to those interested.

Both these books bring us closer to our material culture—artifacts, documents, and photographs in these instances. The exercise in reading material culture to gain important knowledge about the past is an especially useful exercise for members of a Church grounded in actual historical time and space. To consider real things owned by real people who are in many ways like us helps our eyes and hearts touch the foundations of history and belief.

SCOT FACER PROCTOR. *Witness of the Light: A Photographic Journey in the Footsteps of the American Prophet Joseph Smith*. Edited by Maurine Jensen Proctor. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991. 208 pp. \$39.95.

SCOT FACER PROCTOR and MAURINE JENSEN PROCTOR. *Source of the Light: A Witness and Testimony of Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of All*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992. 208 pp. \$39.95.

SCOT FACER PROCTOR and MAURINE JENSEN PROCTOR. *Light from the Dust: A Photographic Exploration into the Ancient World of the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993. 208 pp. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, Professor of English, Brigham Young University.

Abraham clearly points out that his family's literal and spiritual exodus from Haran to Canaan was fraught with larger meaning: "Therefore, eternity was our covering and our rock and our salvation, as we journeyed from Haran . . . to the land of Canaan" (Abr. 2:16). As everyone from Moses to Lehi and from Brigham Young to Mircea Eliade and Joseph Campbell has pointed out, something about the journey motif resonates in the human soul and suggests particular and universal meanings for us all. We are, after all, a bunch of pilgrims, strangers, and wanderers—and the journey motif replicates not only our individual and collective treks through mortality as, with E.T., we cry out and long for "home"; it traces, as well, our individual journeyings unto Christ, our learning to sing "Babylon, Babylon, we bid thee farewell."¹

Perhaps that is why this remarkable trilogy (or triptych) of photographic essays by Maurine Jensen Proctor and Scot Facer Proctor depicting three remarkable journeys has so moved this reviewer, who is usually content to leave Pero table books casually admired and generally undisturbed. In fact, I have been aesthetically and spiritually moved, and I believe most Latter-day Saint readers will likewise be moved by these felicitous combinations of truth and beauty, instruction, and delight.

The first journey, *Witness of the Light: A Photographic Journey in the Footsteps of the American Prophet Joseph Smith*,

presents “an oratorio of light on the Restoration and the life of this marvelous man, Joseph Smith” (6). Orchestrating through splendid photography and trenchant text, the Proctors recollect and replay the literal and spiritual life-journeys of the Prophet Joseph Smith Jr. They trace him from Sharon, Vermont, to Kirtland, Ohio, to the various settlements in Missouri, back to Nauvoo, and finally, Carthage, Illinois.

Scot Proctor confesses that “I don’t just research history; I try to feel it and hear it and taste it” (6) and to re-create such for a generation who did not know Joseph. Through the Proctors, “millions shall know Brother Joseph again,”² as fine photographs and text that draws upon letters, journals, diaries, and scriptural accounts place the reader on location among the Prophet’s lifelong surroundings. The Proctors thereby recollect and render, in just the right tone, the essence and larger meaning of Joseph Smith Jr.’s literal and spiritual mortal journey. They make Joseph a presence in our lives and journeyings.

The second volume in the trilogy, *Source of the Light: A Witness and Testimony of Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of All*, retraces, via photographs and prose, the journey and ministry of the most remarkable man ever—Jesus of Nazareth. Maurine Proctor’s restrained and powerful text follows Jesus’ spiritual journey by means of passages drawn from the Pearl of Great Price, the Holy Bible, the Doctrine and Covenants, the Book of Mormon, the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, as well as ancient texts and traditions. Textually, we follow our Lord’s spiritual journey from his premortal preeminence through his prophesied annunciation, his condescension, ministry, passion, resurrection, and glorification. Photographically, we visit, in a fresh and moving way, the land made holy by his life. Scot Proctor’s lovely photographs of Israel, taken during the wettest spring in many years, are refreshingly green; and the photographs of Bethlehem are all the more intriguing because they were taken on April 6, the birthday of the Savior. In this tasteful and lovely volume, the Proctors have made the familiar and the holy somehow even more familiar and holier.

The final volume in the trilogy, *Light from the Dust: A Photographic Exploration into the Ancient World of the Book of*

Mormon, is an apparent first for Book of Mormon photobooks, which generally focus on photographic anthropological and archaeological evidence for the divine origins of the Book of Mormon. This book does not propound a thesis but assumes the divinity of the book's origins and focuses on the universality of its various messages. Furthermore, it begins its photographic odyssey in Jerusalem and the Kidron Valley, follows the ancient King's Highway through modern Jordan to the Gulf of Aquaba ("the fountain of the Red Sea" [1 Ne. 2:9]), along the Empty Quarter of the Arabian Desert to the Wadi Sayq in modern Oman, where it explores in a series of striking photographs the likely sites of Lehi's long hiatus, shipbuilding, and embarkation. From there the journey follows the Nephites and Lamanites along the western shores and inlands of Central America—principally the Mixco Viejo, Cobán, Playa Grande, and Lake Atitlán areas of Guatemala and the coastal region and Tuxtla Mountains of Southern Mexico.

Here, as in all three books, the Proctors caption the photographs by identifying the scene and by conjecturing, always with subjunctive restraint, about the role which the site, landscape feature, or artifact may have had in Book of Mormon antiquity. In identifying these prospective sites, the Proctors rely on the scholarly labors of others.

The accompanying texts are grouped in tightly written, approximately 350-word-per-page commentaries—brief essay-reflections chronicling and interpreting events occurring over four periods: "This Precious Land of Promise," "To Sing the Song of Redeeming Love," "Arise and Come Forth unto Me," and "O Ye Fair Ones, How Is It That Ye Could Have Fallen!" As in the other volumes, the text is unrelated to the accompanying photograph but explicates and teaches independently.

In this remarkable union of stunning photography and well-crafted prose, the Proctors succeed in bringing up close the distant and the ancient, in making vivid and tangible many of the events recounted in sacred history. All three of these books about remarkable literal and spiritual journeys will succeed, in fact, in evoking in the attentive fellow pilgrim a moving personal, visual, and spiritual experience.

NOTES

¹"Ye Elders of Israel," in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 319.

²"Praise to the Man," in *Hymns*, 27.

HUGH NIBLEY. *Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints*. Edited by Don E. Norton and Shirley S. Ricks. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1994. xv; 541 pp. Bibliography, index. \$23.95.

Reviewed by Clarence F. Schramm, Zone Administrator and Executive Assistant to the Administrator of the Church Educational System.

Since 1946, Hugh Nibley has been associated with Brigham Young University and has been prolific as a writer and lecturer. His candor, scholarship, and defense of the restored gospel mark his years as a teacher and researcher. His dry humor and keen insights are legendary to several generations of Church students and readers. All of these characteristics are apparent in this book.

This work is volume thirteen in the *Collected Works of Hugh Nibley*. It contains nineteen chapters comprised of lectures, addresses, and previously published articles and responses from 1967 to 1992. The editors selected and classified the works into four parts under the headings of environment, politics, education, and leadership.

The chapters are classic "Nibley" in style, quotation, documentation, and reasoning. The chapters have a cumulative total of 1,280 endnotes and over 250 scripture citations. Comprehensive citations of texts and historical background are stock in trade for this scholar.

A difficulty for some readers that study *Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints* will be the same one found in most books of this genre. Works that are compiled from an author's sermons, lectures, or other writings are often not specifically joined or unified. Some readers will note that this book is not a coherent presentation of a singular theme as suggested by the title. While the editors have used appropriate groupings of Nibley's presentations, some problems of redundancy occur as anecdotes or quotations are repeated in several chapters.¹

The title of the book may also misinform those not acquainted with the Nibley series. This volume could be more aptly titled "Brother Nibley Challenges the Saints" with a subtitle to reflect his extensive use of Brigham Young's teachings along with Joseph Smith's. If this volume is an accurate measuring stick, Nibley undoubtedly views Brigham and Joseph as the epitome of

modern prophetic leadership. Nevertheless, Nibley expresses what he views as the challenges facing a new century and uses the principles taught by these two giants only to buttress his opinions. As an illustration, chapter fifteen, “Mediocre Meditations on the Media,” contains no reference to the teachings of the second president of the Church. Likewise, chapter twelve, “The Day of the Amateur,” is a modern critique of the state of education primarily in the United States. In this analysis, Nibley notes the sad disarray of academia’s (and much of society’s) reliance on diplomas and certification:

Someone (this writer, in fact) has said that anyone can become a dean, a professor, a department head, a chancellor, or a custodian by appointment—it has happened thousands of times; but since the world began, no one has ever become an artist, a scientist, or a scholar by appointment. The professional may be a dud, but to get any recognition, the amateur has to be good. To maintain his amateur status, moreover, he has to be dedicated, honest, and incorruptible—from which irksome necessity the professional, unless he cares otherwise, is freed by an official certificate. (303)

This frame of reference will not disappoint Nibley fans but may be a concern for those hoping for a cohesive view of the teachings of Brigham Young.

Perhaps this volume’s greatest contribution will be that of casting the personality and teachings of Brigham Young in a more accurate and favorable light for twentieth-century readers. With a confidence born of a scholar’s lifelong study, Nibley characterizes President Young as

the one thing we have to be proud of at BYU, and he certainly is, in my opinion, the greatest leader of modern times. It would be hard to imagine any leader who faced more terrible obstacles and more hopeless odds than Brigham Young, or any leader who overcame them more brilliantly. What he did was marvelous, and it is also very relevant to our times. (449)

Thus Nibley commences “Brigham Young as Leader,” employing 163 quotations from “one of the most discursive and lucid of men” to give a sense of Brigham Young’s “running commentary” (450) and to highlight the principles with which he challenged and led the Saints: Leadership is the antithesis of compulsion. “God intends variety in all spheres of life” (457). Latter-day Saints should be self-directed, inner-directed, not other-directed. God, not man,

is in charge. “The Lord dictates, governs, and controls: I do not, neither do I wish to” (465).

Aspire to self-mastery and let contention cease are two themes developed at greater length in “Brigham Young and the Enemy” and epitomized by one of President Young’s wry comments: “Some of the Elders would much rather fight for their religion than live it” (474). He also taught do not be in a hurry. Do not steady the ark. (An adjacent article entitled “Criticizing the Brethren” is drawn from the teachings of Joseph Smith). Finally, and most importantly according to Nibley, Brigham Young taught that “the living oracles of God, or the Spirit of revelation must be in each and every individual” (484). This point Nibley underscores in another article—“From Leaders to Managers: The Fatal Shift.”

To Nibley, it is “plain enough” that Brigham Young’s principles worked. He concludes:

How people flocked to him as a leader! In times of great danger and stress, he was the Rock of Gibraltar. This was a man you could trust: nothing would throw him off the track. . . . [H]e couldn’t be moved at all, because he knew exactly where he stood, and he’s told us why he couldn’t be bought or intimidated. He simply wasn’t impressed with anything else. Man didn’t move him. (486)

This work will be a welcome addition to the collection of the reader interested in Nibley’s thought and a valuable reference book to those seriously interested in the teachings of Brigham Young. It is readable and valuable because of Nibley’s reflection on Brother Brigham’s teachings as applied to dominant concerns of the last half of this century. The expectations of most readers of the Nibley series by F.A.R.M.S. will be amply fulfilled in this volume.

NOTES

¹Speakers often use the same stories to illustrate different topics. Nibley uses the following anecdotes in differing circumstances in this volume: Brigham Young dancing (181, 520), the burning of the Nauvoo Temple (142, 310, 485), and a New York reporter observing Brigham Young dousing a campfire (140, 181, 519).

Brief Notices

The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860 by John D. Unruh Jr. (University of Illinois Press, 1979; first unabridged paperback edition, 1993)

The Plains Across became an instant standard work in western-trail literature after it first appeared in 1979. It won seven awards, including the John H. Dunning Prize from the American Historical Association and the Billington Book Award from the Organization of American Historians. Reviewers termed it “majesterial,” “rich in anecdote,” “sparklingly written,” “best book yet written on the overland journey,” and “a milestone in western historical scholarship.” Unruh died at age thirty-nine, three years before the book was published. Because of popular demand, a paperback edition was produced in 1982, which, unfortunately, excluded Unruh’s endnotes. The new “unabridged” paperback version restores those rich and voluminous endnotes.

Unruh deals with the overlanding experience thematically but in semichronological order. He looks at the climates of public opinion that developed regarding overlanding, first for the 1840-48 period and then for the 1849-60 era. Then, he assesses migrants’ motivations. Significant chapters deal with interaction between emigrants and

Indians and interaction between wagon trains. He also discusses the private enterprisers who helped service the overland travel—including Mormon ferry operations.

The book focuses mainly on travelers to the West Coast (an estimated 300,000 people), so Mormon Trail travel (with an estimated 70,000 people) is of minor concern here. Nevertheless, those of us concerned with Mormons “crossing the plains” in either direction should become familiar with this essential study of overland travel.

Unruh does give us a lengthy, thoroughly researched chapter about “the Mormon ‘Halfway House’”—Great Salt Lake City. Here he explains in detail the importance of Great Salt Lake City as a place for overlanders to rest, re-outfit, and recruit livestock; the Latter-day Saint efforts to minimize contacts with overlanders; the gold seekers’ “paying dearly” for goods bought in Utah; the growth of traveler-related businesses in Utah to meet demands for goods and services; the Deseret judiciary’s handling of litigation and grievances for the emigrating companies; the emigrants’ drawing on LDS information and guides regarding routes west; and the emigrants’ experiences while wintering in Utah.

Unruh evenhandedly treats the Mountain Meadows Massacre in two paragraphs. He judges that it fits somewhere between being an

example of the "unjust and cruel treatment" of all emigrants by Saints, as some anti-Mormons claim, and being "a bizarre and inexplicable aberration," as most emigrants would have judged it. "Given the prevailing prejudices," Unruh observes, "it is surprising that so much beneficial interaction between Saints and Gentiles did occur." He notes at the chapter's end that "irrational prejudices of the time" prevented Saints and Gentiles from fully appreciating "how much they both were profiting" from the overland stopovers at the Mormon halfway house.

The Plains Across has become one of the standard works that must be consulted by anyone who seriously studies the California, Oregon, and Mormon trail experiences; U.S. nineteenth-century migration patterns; and the prairie period of the American West. Its approachable style makes it useful to those who need reference material for family histories.

—William G. Hartley

Women's Leadership in Marginal Religions: Explorations outside the Mainstream, edited by Catherine Wessinger (University of Illinois Press, 1993)

Catherine Wessinger has collected essays on women's leadership roles (theoretical and actual) in a handful of American groups outside the religious mainstream. The chapters, written by historians, folklorists, and theologians, take a 1980 article by Mary Farrell Bednarowski as their starting point.

Bednarowski had looked at nineteenth-century religious groups for common elements contributing to expanded leadership roles for women. These elements, she found, included (1) the denial of an exclusively male anthropomorphic deity; (2) a reinterpretation or denial of the Fall; (3) the lack of a traditional, ordained clergy; and (4) a reexamination of marriage and motherhood as the only proper and fulfilling spheres for women.

For the most part, the essays in Wessinger's collection revolve around religious groups meeting Bednarowski's four criteria. The groups include Shakerism, Theosophy, African-American Spiritualism, Christian Science, New Thought, and feminist spirituality. The collection also offers some analysis of three groups that do not otherwise fit Bednarowski's model: Catholicism, Pentecostalism, and Mormonism. Seventh-Day Adventists are excluded even though their prophetess, Ellen G. White, is mentioned twice in passing.

The six-page discussion of Mormonism confines itself to some women's current attempts to reconcile gender roles and theology from within the Church. Unfortunately, no historical overview of women's roles in Mormonism is given, as is often provided in the essays examining other groups.

All essays accept insiders' theological explanations without question. No attempts are made to discredit any group's religious claims. Generally, the authors believe that marginal religious groups are more supportive of the idea of

female leadership than are the mainstream traditions. This characterization holds true even for many of the groups where leadership, in actual practice, changed from reliance on a few charismatic founding mothers into a male hierarchy.

—Julie Hartley-Moore

Sisters at the Well: Women and the Life and Teachings of Jesus, by Jeni Broberg Holzapfel and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993)

Sisters at the Well tells the story of each woman in the four Gospels who came to Christ's well. Through these stories, the book allows us to see how Christ regarded women then and now.

With no claim to offer the "definitive or final word" (3), the Holzapfels offer lay readers a fresh perspective on what it meant to be a female and, especially, a disciple at the time of Christ. They make a welcome contribution to a general reader's insight. For example, the story of the woman with an issue of blood who is healed by Christ (Mark 5:25-34) is enhanced by the authors' explanation of the strictures regarding ritual impurity, the probable economic impoverishment of the chronically ill, the garments Jesus might have been wearing, the social code regarding male/female touching or speaking in public, and a linguistic analysis of the Hebrew word *shalom* (100-103). Multiply this incident by the many miracles, encounters, and teachings involving or directed at women in the Gospels, and

you have an idea of what the Holzapfels offer in this volume.

An interesting chapter discusses Jesus' "atypical" female progenitors. Other chapters consider women in the parables; women Jesus met "along the way"; and women in their roles as wives, mothers, and daughters. Three chapters feature women as disciples and allow us to see the Lord's equal acceptance of women and men in this regard. The chapter on women as witnesses of the Passion is revealing and insightful. Initial chapters attempt to place the women of Palestine in the context of the Greco-Roman-Judaic world of their time.

Interested readers will appreciate the bibliography of sources which lists ancient and modern editions of the Bible and other texts, standard reference works, recent feminist volumes, periodicals, and many LDS contributions. The extensive footnoting, however, is sometimes distracting and not always useful. Photos of ancient artifacts add credibility, but the line drawings are less helpful.

Because of Jesus' teachings and example, the Saints of the early days learned that a woman was "not less because she was female and not meritorious only if she was married and biologically capable of bearing children" (153). The Holzapfels have no axe to grind and incite no gender-based animosity. They conclude that men and women must be one in Christ, but they insist on our recognition that women were demonstrably among the first and most faithful disciples to drink from the well of living water.

—Sydney S. Reynolds

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