OPENING THE MOSCOW MISSION

E. B. WELLS—INTERNATIONAL WOMAN

STORY OF THE TRUTH, THE WAY, THE LIFE

JOSEPH'S FINAL VISITORS IN NAUVOO

FEASTING IN THE BOOK OF MORMON
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**Emmeline B. Wells.** As a representative of the Relief Society, Wells was a member of the National and International Councils of Women. Photographer Charles W. Savage. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
“The Power of Combination”: Emmeline B. Wells and the National and International Councils of Women

After overcoming antipolygamy sentiment in the National Council of Women, Wells achieved international notice as a leader of women’s causes and enjoyed the best of London society.

Carol Cornwall Madsen

At a celebration of her eighty-second birthday in 1910, Emmeline B. Wells was eulogized as a woman whose sphere of influence extended well beyond the community in which she lived. “She has traveled tens of thousands of miles to render service in defense of her church and sex,” the tribute read, “and [she] enjoys the respect—in many instances the intimate acquaintance and affection—of the leading women, not only of America, but of the world.”¹ Emmeline Wells indeed moved well beyond the borders of Mormondom as she fulfilled her personal commitment to work for the betterment of women, especially Latter-day Saint women.² A high point of that work was the 1899 Congress of Women in London, called by the International Council of Women, which Emmeline attended as an officer of the National Council of Women.

Such an auspicious achievement seemed unlikely when, as a fourteen-year-old provincial daughter of New England, Emmeline Wells converted to Mormonism. It was a decision, her friends warned, certain to eclipse her precocious talents and lead her into ignominious obscurity. They were wrong. Her attendance at the women’s congress in London crowned her successful and highly visible role as an honored advocate for women and as a bridge builder for the often maligned and misunderstood women of her faith. Though she went on to become the first Utah woman to receive an honorary degree from a university, the first to be invited to

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dedicate a public monument in Utah, and the fifth general president of the LDS Relief Society, the London conference represented to her not only the triumph of the spirit of united womanhood—a long-held personal idea—but also an unexpected adventure into the elegant world of European nobility and accomplished women.

This great female gathering embodied a fundamental principle of her advocacy for women. "Woman's work in this day and age," she wrote in 1875, at the beginning of her public career, "is not only an individual work, but a universal work; a work for all her suffering sisterhood." For nearly thirty years, Emmeline Wells stretched the boundaries of her field of labor, envisioning a grand union of diverse women unitedly working for the elevation and liberation of women in all aspects of their lives. "We are engaged in a stupendous work," she told the readers of the Woman's Exponent, the newspaper she edited. "The seed we sow will assuredly spring up, blossom and bear fruit in the future; and having the same prize to obtain, the same goal to reach, aiming at the same great result, the regeneration of women."

Creation of the Councils of Women

Wells's odyssey into internationalism followed the development of a global outreach by suffrage leaders in late nineteenth-century America. The success of a worldwide association of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, organized by Frances Willard, prompted plans to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the first woman's rights convention, held in 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York, by calling an international convocation of women. Of the seventy-seven organizations invited, fifty-three sent representatives from seven countries; nearly a hundred women addressed this 1888 conference.

At the meeting, organizers created both a national and international council of women as permanent organizations. Hoping to instill in the assembly "a realizing sense of the power of combination," the Committee of Arrangements charged the international representatives to spread the "council idea" in their respective countries and organize national councils in preparation for the first meeting of the International Council of Women, planned for
London in 1893. Though “much is said of universal brotherhood,” the committee reported, “more subtle and more binding is universal sisterhood.”

Emmeline Wells did not attend the 1888 celebration in Washington, D.C.; however, the Relief Society, the Young Ladies’ Mutual Improvement Association (YLMIA), and the Primary, all member societies of the National Woman Suffrage Association, were represented by Utah women then living in the East.

Membership in the National Council

At the first meeting of the National Council of Women (NCW) in 1891 in Washington, D.C., the Relief Society and YLMIA applied for membership. The application was problematic, however. Though enfranchised for seventeen years, Mormon women had lost the vote in 1887, in large measure because of the fervent antipolygamy activism of many of the women’s groups which had already joined the national council. Despite the fact that the Woodruff Manifesto had been issued the year before the meeting of the national council, polygamy would remain a thorny issue among national women’s associations for at least two more decades.

Emmeline Wells, who attended the membership meeting with Jane Richards of the Relief Society and Carrie S. Thomas of the YLMIA, along with other Utah women, was apprehensive about the acceptance of their credentials. In a meeting with Wells, May Wright Sewall, the corresponding secretary, asked her to write a statement on the objectives and accomplishments of the Relief Society. Sewall then submitted the document to the membership committee for its consideration. “We were left in suspense,” Emmeline noted, but not for long. “Miss [Susan B.] Anthony was the first to bring me the good news that we were admitted without a dissenting vote.”

For nearly twenty years, Emmeline Wells served as either a delegate or a proxy for Relief Society presidents Zina D. H. Young and Bathsheba W. Smith. She was also elected a patron by the council, which gave her all rights of membership except the vote. At the 1891 meeting, Emmeline, already well known to national suffrage leaders, was singled out as “one of the most interesting women
at the council."\textsuperscript{11} Always supportive of the suffrage movement, Emmeline found that the national council offered her a wider range of social issues and a broader forum from which to address them than she had in Utah.

Given the financial and moral support of Church leaders for these national affiliations, the Church's decision to incorporate the Relief Society the following year was not unexpected. Incorporation would not only protect and regulate control of the Relief Society's considerable financial holdings, but would also bring it into conformity with the national council, which had also incorporated as a public, nonprofit entity. Emmeline was instrumental in explaining and implementing the changes that incorporation entailed, including a written constitution, the addition of "national" to the society's name, and reorganization with three vice-presidents and a board of twenty-three directors. Facing strong resistance from many Relief Society members, who felt the changes were contrary to the organizational pattern laid out by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, Apostle Franklin D. Richards, who orchestrated incorporation, attempted to reassure them: "How can it be wrong, the right to take your place among the charitable institutions of the whole world? . . . This society is of consequence now, it has a standing among other great organizations of the world."\textsuperscript{12} His argument was persuasive, and a long though tenuous affiliation was thus launched.

**Columbian Exposition: A Showcase for Women**

The showcase of women's cooperative enterprises and the springboard for launching the International Council of Women was the Columbian Exposition, which was held in Chicago in 1893. Though originally scheduled for London, the council's first meeting was held in the United States because of the international outreach of the exposition and the opportunity it afforded to engage the interest and support of international women leaders.\textsuperscript{13} The focal point for the council was the week-long World's Congress of Representative Women, where delegates from several countries presented papers on all aspects of "women's work and progress."\textsuperscript{14}

The idea for a congress of women came from members of the national council, who mounted a massive recruiting effort.
May Wright Sewall, corresponding secretary of the national council and vice-president of the international council, twice traveled to Europe to arouse interest, securing enthusiastic responses from women's leaders throughout Europe and Russia. She obtained the names of every national organization and extended invitations to attend the congress. At the time of the exposition, the only members of the international council besides the national council of the United States were fraternal representatives from nonfederated, independent women's organizations in other countries. The congress of women, council leaders hoped, would encourage organization of national councils in other countries.

While these hopes were swiftly realized and nine national councils affiliated with the International Council of Women (ICW) before the 1899 meeting in London, recruiting efforts before and after the Chicago exposition disclosed the problems of forming an international association. The cost, length of time, and difficulties of international travel, along with language barriers, deterred many otherwise interested women. Also formidable were the costs of sustaining both a national and international council in addition to a local organization. Nor did many women have legacies of their own or control of trusts or foundations to assist in establishing an endowment fund for the councils.

National politics also intruded in those countries which prohibited international alliances or women's political activism. Competitive states and provinces in countries such as Austria, Hungary, South Africa, and Australia complicated efforts to form a single national federation.

Some women's groups objected not only to the goals and personnel of the council, but also to the idea of formal alliance itself. These "violent [radical] feminists," as council secretary Teresa Wilson characterized them, "in their effort at independence, shook off all convention," being unwilling to collaborate with women whom they considered "aristocratic, orthodox, and 'devout doers of good works.'" Their assessment, actually, was not far off, since the movement clearly reflected the goals and values of middle-class social activists devoted to social betterment. The ideals and concerns of the Relief Society, however, meshed comfortably with many of the objectives of the councils, and its
highly effective network and long experience in fund raising relieved it of many of the financial impediments faced by some of the newer women’s groups.21

Despite the obstacles, the Chicago congress attracted representatives of 126 organizations from thirty-three countries. More than six hundred women participated at the congress, which drew thousands of visitors to its eighty-one sessions.22 Mormon women were enthusiastic supporters. Both the Relief Society and the YLMIA were invited to conduct their own sessions, and both received favorable notice. There was no small irony in the fact that some of the same leaders who had so recently patronized and even ridiculed LDS women as pawns of a religious hierarchy now gave them a platform from which to represent themselves to an international audience. For their part, LDS women were anxious to reconnect with the women’s world from which they had been separated for so many years.

For Emmeline Wells, the Chicago exposition and woman’s congress swelled her enthusiasm for expanding women’s networks and convinced her of the social power of female combination. The congress also gave her an opportunity to tout the literary skills of western women at one of the sessions and an unexpected invitation to preside at a general session, “an honor never before accorded to a Mormon woman,” she noted. “If one of our brethren had such a distinguished honor conferred upon them, it would have been heralded the country over and thought a great achievement,” she wryly added.23 At the many receptions, in small hotel-room gatherings, at private house parties, and at luncheon tables, Emmeline extended her web of contacts by meeting national and international women leaders, many of whom she would see again at the second woman’s congress six years later in London.24

The exposition mobilized women everywhere to public activism. In Utah it was instrumental in muting differences between Mormon and non-Mormon women as they worked together for the first time to make a creditable exhibit “from the women of Utah.”25 Emmeline was pleased to report to her Woman’s Exponent readers that “this work is bringing women into a nearness of contact that will increase confidence, and a more universal sisterhood will be established by the association and relation of this vast
The Woman’s Building of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In this building were exhibited the contributions of Utah women in literature, art, and silk handwork. (Illustration from C. Dean, *The World’s Fair City and Her Enterprising Sons* [n.p.: United Publishing, 1892].)
army of workers.” The exposition spurred the cooperative effort of women’s associations throughout the country, and its theme of unity effectively blurred the differences in goals and methods of the diverse groups represented. The contagious appeal of “women’s solidarity” also obscured the absence of working-class and minority women in the grand chorus of unified sisterhood.

For the women’s groups involved, however, especially those seeking validity for an international scope and agenda, the woman’s congress reinforced their faith in the power of union and their ability to transform society and effect social justice by the application of women’s values, methods, and objectives. Independent goals of constituent members could be subsumed in the transcendent realization of woman’s distinctive contribution to the “progress of civilization.” Through the Chicago exposition and the woman’s congress, women intended to capitalize on the solidarity that female association provided, to surmount the role of passive observer on the world scene, and to exploit the moral authority of women in order to implement their own social agendas and influence world affairs.

Disagreement in the National Council

As prelude to the 1899 London congress, a meeting of the NCW held in Washington in January 1899 drew ten Utah women. What began as a routine meeting, however, became a power contest between the Mormon delegation and the other council members; again, polygamy was the point of dissension. Four of the LDS women attended as official delegates, the others as members of committees or as speakers only. The disagreement arose over passage of a resolution against the seating of newly elected Utah Congressman B. H. Roberts, a polygamist. The constituent organizations of the NCW which had campaigned against polygamy now pressured the council to add their resolution to the growing number issued by a host of other national women’s groups.

Unable to dismiss or table this resolution, Emmeline Wells and Ann Cannon, members of the Resolutions Committee, were successful in obtaining a second, more moderately worded resolution. The new resolution was endorsed by the majority of the
committee and thus was known as the majority resolution. The two resolutions split the council. Could it afford to offend two of its charter members, the Relief Society and YLMIA? Could it risk losing the support of its most prestigious members, especially the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which supported the minority resolution?

The Mormon women faced a dilemma of their own. None had supported Roberts's bid for office, since he had almost derailed woman suffrage in the constitutional convention four years earlier. Yet he was a fellow Mormon, and all of them supported his constitutional right to take his seat in Congress. The day-long debate heard voices on both sides of the issue, including those of six of the Mormon women. Emmeline was last. Still ringing in her ears was the private conversation she had had with council president May Wright Sewall. Urging Emmeline not to miss this "golden opportunity" to secure a place among the major "organization women" of the nation, she counseled her to vote with them. She used "all her power of persuasion to convince me it was the only course to pursue," Emmeline confided to her diary. Whatever moral struggle she waged in deciding which course to follow, in the end she made a strong appeal for the majority resolution and the right of B. H. Roberts to represent the people of Utah in Congress.

The oratory of the LDS women, with the help of several influential, supportive council members, carried the majority resolution to victory. In a surprising voice of approval, the New York Journal noted that though the Mormon women clearly showed "the strain under which they suffered," never once "did they lose the thread of any argument and when, from time to time, they rose, and in response to the demand of the presiding officer, went upon the stage to speak, their bearing plainly showed they had the courage of their own convictions." While the confrontation did not isolate the Mormon members of the council, with Emmeline winning the post of assistant recording secretary immediately thereafter, it clearly polarized the association and forced the Mormons into a defensive posture, which later events only served to reinforce.
Participation in the London Congress of Women

Not until May of 1899, only a month before the congress was to convene in London, was Emmeline certain of attending. Always dependent on Church or Relief Society funds to subsidize her travels, she was seldom able to give much advance notice of her attendance, which was a constant embarrassment to her. Fortunately, after much discussion, the Relief Society board voted to raise six hundred dollars for her trip to London, three dollars from each ward. Any additional monies would assist Margaret A. Caine, who was to present a paper on sericulture at the meeting.35

Emmeline was the last of sixteen Utah women to arrive in England for the congress. Six of them were participants. As assistant recording secretary of the NCW, she attended the ICW meetings in the capacity of her office. Susa Young Gates and Margaret A. Caine were presenting papers at the congress; and Elizabeth C. McCune, Lucy B. Young (Susa's mother), and Jean Clara Holbrook were patrons of the NCW and therefore entitled to attend the ICW meetings.34

The intermingling of socials and sessions, of entertainment and education, inadvertently denied the congress a clear-cut identity. Its objectives were noble enough. Vying for the participants' favor, time, and attention were sixty-four sessions in which 268 papers on fifty subsections of six general topics were read in five different halls before a total audience of more than 2,500 people. The ICW meetings themselves brought two hundred delegates from twenty-four countries.35

For nine days, meetings of the ICW alternated with sessions of the congress; Emmeline dutifully attended both. She supported her two Mormon friends when they delivered their papers and perfunctorily noted that Susa Young Gates read hers on "The Scientific Treatment of Domestic Service" to "much applause" but that Margaret Caine "gave her address [on sericulture] and made a failure."36

Emmeline declined an invitation to speak at a session chaired by May Wright Sewall, vice-president of the ICW,37 but anticipated participating in the session addressing the work and importance of
benevolent societies. Drawing a large crowd, the session was held in Convocation Hall in the Dean's Yard of Westminster Abbey, "the most select and noted of all the places of meeting," Susa Gates noted.\textsuperscript{38} The session was chaired by Beatrice Webb, widely known in both Great Britain and America as a socialist reformer.\textsuperscript{39} "There," Emmeline recorded in her diary, "I had the opportunity to speak and to explain our Relief Society fully, its date of organization, its thorough practical work, its halls and buildings in this and other countries, [and] its practical work for those needing assistance."\textsuperscript{40} "She was listened to with marked attention," Susa Gates observed, "and the Chairman offered her an increase of the allotted time at the close of her remarks, which, however, was not accepted."\textsuperscript{41}

The plenary sessions on peace and woman suffrage introduced the Utah representatives to unfamiliar audience responses: cheering, hissing, and impatient clapping to silence lengthy speakers.\textsuperscript{42} Nothing short of a standing ovation, however, could reflect the respect and admiration the audience of three thousand showed for eighty-year-old Susan B. Anthony.\textsuperscript{43} Peace and woman suffrage were not negotiable issues for this assemblage of women, and no one symbolized the solidarity of the delegates on these questions more than Anthony.

The newspapers did not fail to notice that, even as this large gathering of women was making a claim for political equality, the British Parliament rejected a proposal permitting women to be elected as counselors or aldermen in the new borough councils.\textsuperscript{44} Nonetheless, Wells observed, the business meetings of the council demonstrated that women were not above adopting the political machinations commonly associated with male politics. While the officers recognized the formidable abilities and experience of ICW vice-president May Sewall, a logical successor to the presidency, she was not a unanimous choice to succeed the well-liked Countess of Aberdeen. Though Sewall was ultimately elected, an earlier closed-door session had revealed a competitive and aggressive spirit among the delegates and unpleasant wrangling over other candidates as well as Sewall. The whole procedure exposed Wells to the political realities of maintaining working relationships among highly nationalistic delegates in an international arena.\textsuperscript{45}
Feted by London Society

Interspersed among the business and educational sessions, however, were some of London society's most lavish receptions, given by British nobility and ICW officers. In addition, various British clubs and societies sponsored more than forty teas, luncheons, and receptions for individual groups of delegates and participants.

Journalists could hardly ignore the inordinate number of European nobility in attendance nor slight the splendor of the grand soirées held in some of London’s most elegant homes and finest establishments. Could discussions on “People’s Kitchens,” “The Ethics of Amusements,” or “Sericulture in Utah” really generate as much reader interest as a description of the opening reception at Stafford House, where a thousand guests were ushered up the grand marble stairway, lighted at every step by huge candelabra, to the greetings of not one but three countesses and the Duchess of Sutherland herself? The newspapers filled their reports with details such as these: The Duchess, the mistress of Stafford House, was dressed in “a lovely gown of white crepe de lisse [chiné], adorned with bands of blue and silver passementerie [beaded trim], with diamonds in her hair and on her neck.” She stood by the Countess of Aberdeen, president of the British Council of Women, equally elegant in a complementary “black [brocade] satin richly trimmed with jet, with pearl and diamond ornaments.”

Even the Deseret News succumbed to the splendor of the socials, placing an Associated Press interview with Susan B. Anthony and the Countess of Aberdeen under the headline “London Society for the Week.” The brief dispatch did manage, however, to convey how important these two leaders were to the congress.

The social events excited and overwhelmed the women from Utah. Emmeline, already moved by the collective intelligence, political savvy, and confidence demonstrated at the congress, came to acknowledge the power of wealth and social position. The pageantry of nobility, a stunning packaging for the London meeting, introduced Emmeline to another arena of female status and influence. Her usual aplomb in unfamiliar social settings deserted her in the face of such studied opulence and the deference it commanded. The great houses, the marble-and-gold interiors, the magnificent
View of Westminster Abbey from the Dean’s Yard. By special invitation, Emmeline Wells responded to a large session held in the Convocation Hall in the Dean’s Yard, the most prestigious of the meeting places for the Congress of Women. Wells’s comments on the Relief Society received “marked attention.” (Illustration by Herbert Railton. From W. J. Loftie, Westminster Abbey [New York: Macmillan, 1891].)
antiques and paintings, the elegant dinners and refreshments, the handsome clothing, and the exquisite jewels bedazzled them all. “It does seem remarkable,” Emmeline admitted, “that we should have such an opportunity given to us—from very far away but we feel the Lord has done it.”

The opening reception at Stafford House, with its splendid display of titled ladies—a duchess, three countesses, and a marchioness—and many women of lesser rank, overwhelmed the women from Utah. American author and lecturer Charlotte Perkins Stetson (Gilman), whose pathbreaking feminist treatise, *Women and Economics*, was the talk of the congress, arrived just after Emmeline and Susa Gates. Drawing near the grand stairway, she observed the two women “plainly dressed and looking timidly up at the array of tiaras on the landing.” Undaunted by the regal panoply herself, she offered to accompany them, having met all of the titled ladies previously. Emmeline had met Gilman two years earlier at a suffrage convention and considered her “one of the brightest women of the nineteenth century” and one who “really seemed to take extra pains for some of our Utah party.”

More receptions and socials followed, but none quite equaled that given by Lady Rothschild and her daughter-in-law Mrs. Leopold de Rothschild at Gunnersbury Park, their elegant residence and private park on the outskirts of London. The gathering was “the most magnificent . . . of all we have attended,” declared Emmeline. “Everything was on the grandest scale imaginable.” The newspapers agreed, describing the event in alluring detail, as did Emmeline and Susa in their respective publications. Four bands, strolling magicians, trained dogs, and a circus ring with “lady performers” entertained the twelve hundred guests, who enjoyed delicacies of every kind served under the large colored tents that dotted the grounds. It was all “beyond description,” Emmeline wrote, “in mind and brain and heart forever engrafted.”

The *pièce de résistance* was the unexpected invitation to visit Windsor Castle, where Queen Victoria had agreed to greet the guests from the congress. As the eager visitors excitedly rushed through the large gates leading to the square immediately fronting the castle, the queen’s carriage gradually emerged, slowly moving between the long lines of admiring women that bordered the drive
from the castle to the road beyond. Smiling, waving, and greeting the awestruck admirers, the queen left them to a marvelous repast of exquisite delicacies served in the elegant St. George’s Hall inside the castle. “It was a fitting close to the great International gathering of women,” Emmeline observed.53

Results of the Congress of Women

While the major London papers gave primary coverage to the closing days of Parliament, which coincided with the congress, such a gathering of women could not be entirely ignored. It particularly drew the attention of the numerous women’s and working-class newspapers, which covered the congress in detail. The *Humanitarian*, a monthly review of “sociological science,” gave its “Notes and Comments” column repeatedly to news of the congress, perhaps because of the personal interest of its editor, Victoria Woodhull Martin, a notorious figure in the American suffrage movement of some years earlier.54 “A quarter of a century ago it was hardly possible for a woman to be heard in public,” the *Humanitarian* noted, asserting that “the fact that such a Congress has been possible is an evidence of the ground gained by the woman’s movement . . . and a tribute to those early pioneers who suffered so much for the cause.”55

The *Englishwoman’s Review* characterized the congress as youthful, impatient, voluble, and perhaps too diverse and extensive to be as effective as it had hoped. As an organ for “social and industrial questions,” the *Review* focused on the political and legislative sessions.56 Most pressing for women from industrialized nations was the distinction between protective and restrictive legislation for women in the workplace. The *Review* praised the well-reasoned arguments of Alexandra Gripenberg of Germany, who elicited the strongest response from the audience for her “extremely powerful paper”57 on the rights of working women.

Though industrial workers did not represent themselves at the congress, issues relating to their employment had long been on the agenda of social reformers. Class and gender intersected as middle- and upper-class women in many countries used their money and position in the cause of their working-class sisters.
Back in Utah, the *Deseret News* rehearsed the wide range of topics under discussion, recognizing that women were now engaged in debating questions in the realm of science, emigration, the professions, and "even politics with the same enthusiasm with which they would take up questions pertaining to education and social affairs"—issues more traditionally within woman's province. The *News* worried about "women with pronounced views," who were obviously not representative of "womanhood in general" and who, if given "too much latitude," might hinder rather than advance woman's cause. The paper seemed more comfortable with the sessions on peace, a topic of universal concern and accord, where women's influence as women and mothers, it optimistically affirmed, would solve "all the problems connected with that question."58

To those women for whom the congress represented years of effort to obtain a voice and a place in the work of the world, the meetings could hardly have been seen as anything short of a triumph. As for those who claimed it to be less than truly international, who derided the unevenness and contradictions in the presentations or the lack of a consistent principle underlying the congress, or who felt its scope of issues unwomanly or its claims to "universal sisterhood" ephemeral and idealistic, let them have their say, its leaders conceded. Detractors could not dispel the euphoria of the congress's planners or the enlarged vision of its participants.59

Nevertheless, the meetings of the council revealed some of the inner conflicts that eluded easy resolution. Questions of "national autonomy" and "racial independence" or national rivalries and prejudice prompted the council to focus on cooperative action through personal acquaintance on subcommittees among member groups and to implement a policy of restraint in exercising power over auxiliary members and their individual agendas.60 As a result of this open policy, representation in both the national and international councils from the United States ranged from moral reform groups and religious auxiliaries to the highly politicized woman suffrage association, all seeking the prestige of international association.

Such a diverse membership challenged unified goals and policies. Balancing the interests of each affiliate while seeking consensus on procedure and objectives strained the most ecumenical vision,
and avoiding political entanglements with the affiliates' governments required the utmost diplomacy. As ICW officer May Wright Sewall discovered, adjudicating both personal and political differences among the affiliated groups "really forced the entire Executive, nay, the Council itself, to study large questions of the kind that engage statesmen." However sincere the hope of "universal sisterhood," internationalism would not be easy.

Despite the inherent problems, national and international affiliation gave many women's groups the benefits of association with larger, more highly organized, and more powerful organizations as well as contact with women of national and international stature. Objectives, methods, and procedures of their own organizations were focused and strengthened and their goals clarified through these national and international exchanges. Perspectives were sharpened, experience broadened, and knowledge extended beyond the narrow limits of state and national boundaries. Perhaps even more important was the psychological boost that international affiliation provided, as well as the sense of social power that came from collective action and support. Internationalism was a heady and unimagined experience for many of the international council's affiliates, including the LDS Relief Society and its representatives. Their contact with the major women's leaders of the century broadened their perspective of women's work, enhanced the vision of their own organization's possibilities, and introduced them to organizational methods of tremendous value.

Emmeline was sanguine about the results of the congress: "That greater love and charity will prevail among womankind cannot be doubted, when such a fraternal feeling is fostered and cherished as that which prevailed so largely during the entire sessions of the Council and Congress." She was convinced that "ultimately a great federation of the sisterhood of the world will come to pass," and the world would be the beneficiary.

**Emmeline as Tourist**

If the breadth and intensity of the congress stimulated and engaged Emmeline's mind and professional interests, England touched her cultural and aesthetic sensitivities. Though surrounded by her
Mormon sisters and council colleagues, she distanced herself when possible in order to experience this grand excursion as a solitary and adventurous fulfillment of her own romantic fancy. Occasionally with a companion, but more often alone, she wandered the streets of London, feeling the heartbeat of the city where its distant past intersected with a teeming and vibrant present. Its architectural dignity; its historic monuments, which any schoolchild would recognize; the Dickensian squalor that still blighted some of its streets; and the quaint tea shops that offered stimulating conversation with newly made friends—all entranced her. She wandered among crowds of thousands one afternoon at the renowned Crystal Palace, viewed the long picture galleries and flower stands, and marveled at the display of fireworks, which were beyond anything she had ever seen. The bookshops in London and Cambridge delighted her with their endless number of volumes.

A high point of Emmeline's London wanderings was her visit to Number One, Cheyne Walk in Chelsea, once the home of her favorite author, George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans). She was unable to see the famed garden at the back because of its high fencing, but the iron gate and brass knocker in the front yielded to her knocking. A maid answered, not allowing Emmeline entry, but throwing the door open far enough for a full view of the interior. Now she had seen the home of the brilliant British author. A long-held dream was realized. Then she was off to Stratford-upon-Avon, where she visited the Shakespeare sites. But she was most impressed by her visit with popular novelist Marie Corelli, who offered her coffee and macaroons and gave her a kiss, an autograph, and an hour's visit.

Before Emmeline returned home, she visited Edinburgh and Glasgow and spent several days in Paris visiting Latter-day Saint missionaries and Church members and attending or organizing Relief Societies. After an exhilarating two months abroad, her European sojourn came to an end. This overseas excursion had been both a private and professional venture of extraordinary meaning and value. "What stirring events have transpired during the last few years," she noted in her diary during the voyage home. "What further changes are yet to come, I know not."

Aftermath

Many changes were indeed before Emmeline, including two noteworthy conclusions to her association with the NCW and ICW. In 1913, May Wright Sewall complimented Emmeline Wells as one who “had done much to create the good feelings now existing” toward LDS women and suggested that a bust of her be placed in a proposed hall of statues of the great women of the United States. “President Wells,” she said, “was the connection between the women of the Council and the women of [the] Church.”66 The hall of statues did not materialize, but the women of Utah honored her posthumously in 1928, on the centenary of her birth, with a bust placed in the rotunda of the Utah State Capitol. It was inscribed simply, “A Fine Soul Who Served Us.”
George Eliot's house in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. This drawing shows Eliot's home as it appeared in 1885, five years after Eliot's death and fourteen years before Emmeline Wells made her pilgrimage to it. Eliot (Mary Ann Evans) was Emmeline Wells's favorite author. (Illustration from J. W. Cross, ed., *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals* [New York, Harper and Brothers, 1885].)
In 1916, when Lord and Lady Aberdeen visited Utah, Emmeline served as their escort to the social and civic functions given in their honor. Lady Aberdeen, who served as president of the International Council of Women for thirty-six of its first fifty years, concluded her visit by noting that "it is seldom that one has the honor of being introduced twice in one day by a queen, but that honor has come to me today. For in my brief visit here I have quickly observed that 'Aunt Em' is the Queen of Utah." That Salt Lake City was included in the itinerary of such distinguished travelers reflects the impact Emmeline Wells and her cohorts made on national and international leaders.

However, prompted primarily by the persistent denigration of the Church by antipolygamists, Church and auxiliary leaders had previously begun a reassessment of the value of national and international affiliation. Though the decade following the Woodruff Manifesto in 1890 opened a period of conciliation and cooperation between Mormon and non-Mormon women, especially in Utah, residual grievances against polygamy continued to smolder and sometimes ignited into heated opposition from the women's groups that had always had reservations about the Mormon affiliation. The female crusade against B. H. Roberts in 1899, the acrimony of NCW and ICW members toward President Joseph F. Smith and the LDS Church during the Smoot hearings in 1904, the barring of LDS women from the National Congress of Mothers, and the continued petitioning of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the NCW for a constitutional amendment against polygamy eroded the trust and optimism of earlier years. While some Church members saw an educational advantage to retaining membership in national associations, others questioned its ultimate value.

In answer to a 1913 letter from the Relief Society requesting counsel in the matter, the First Presidency of the Church advised the Relief Society "to remain as it is for the present, at least," explaining that the First Presidency "did not want to interfere in its corporate life." Nevertheless, the letter described national affiliation as "a passing incident in the life of the Society, an incident which may be terminated at any time without affecting in any way the Society itself." Its conclusion reflected the preeminence
Church leaders at that time gave the Relief Society in relation to other women’s groups:

The Society must be regarded as paramount in importance to everything else now connected with it, or which may hereafter be connected with it; and its meetings must be conducted in the spirit of a religious organization, as though no affiliation at all with the National organization had been entered into.68

By the next year, the First Presidency was even more explicit. “You are the head and not the tail,” President Smith announced at a Relief Society anniversary celebration. “I want it distinctly emphasized that the Relief Societies of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints cannot afford to yield their prerogative to stand at the head of any other self-made, self-constituted female or male organization in the world.”69 The Relief Society was not to adjust its programs, its policies, or its focus to serve the interests of its national affiliations. While the LDS women’s organizations maintained their membership in both councils and contributed to the policy making and leadership of both, President Smith had made it clear that their integrity was never to be compromised by national or international affiliation.70 Always optimistic that women would allow gender loyalty and a commitment to common goals to transcend social or religious differences, Emmeline recognized the awkward position in which both the Church and the Relief Society had been placed. The laudatory words of Franklin D. Richards in 1892, at the time of incorporation, seemed less significant two decades later.

In creating coalitions of diverse membership and varied social goals, the international women’s movements hoped to utilize their numerical strength and visibility to take an influential role in international concerns. In the absence of formal political power, these movements were serious attempts to claim the power of a unified sisterhood significant enough to make a difference in world affairs.

The exposure of local women’s groups, like the Relief Society, to national and international coalitions and the prestige of affiliation both energized and educated local associations in effecting their own individual agendas. LDS women, long isolated geographically and ideologically from the center of national women’s movements,
enthusiastically joined the surge of collective, organized female effort that dominated women's public experience in turn-of-the-century America.

Most affected by these connections were the women who, like Wells, served as links between their own associations and their national affiliates. Wells's experience with internationalism underscored a heightened awareness of the power of female combination, which she brought to her tenure as general president of the Relief Society. At age eighty-two, when she was appointed to the position, she had had a lifetime of experience in women's organized social activism. Paradoxically, the greatest success of women's social activism was not global, but local. While national and international affiliation certainly added scope, visibility, and prestige to women's public work, the real measure of its effectiveness was found in its local achievements. To this end Emmeline Wells gave the final eleven years of her life, both a symbol and an advocate of the spirit of united womanhood.

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NOTES

1 "A Noble Woman," Deseret Evening News, March 5, 1910, 4.
2 Emmeline B. Wells, Diary, January 7, 1878, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. For additional information on Wells's work for women, see Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Emmeline B. Wells: 'Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?'" BYU Studies 22 (Spring 1982): 161-78.
4 She is using the term regeneration to mean the recognition of woman as man's equal by overcoming the subjugated status that resulted from the disobedience of Eve. For additional meanings, see “Bear Ye One Another's Burdens,” Woman's Exponent 2 (March 1, 1874): 146.
6 Marie-Hélène LeFaucheux and others, Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888 (London:

Robbins, History and Minutes of the National Council of Women, 4–7, 18. Emily Tanner Richards, wife of LDS Church attorney Franklin S. Richards, was one of them.

Robbins, History and Minutes of the National Council of Women, 3.

Representing the three women’s organizations of the LDS Church in Utah, all of which affiliated with the National Woman Suffrage Association, were Emily Richards and Margaret N. Caine, who with their husbands, Franklin S. Richards, Church attorney, and John T. Caine, Congressional delegate from Utah, lived in Washington, and Luella C. Young and Janet Young Easton, whose husbands worked in New York. Only the Relief Society and Young Women affiliated with the NCW. See Susa Young Gates, “The Recent Triennial in Washington,” Young Women’s Journal 10 (May 1899): 195.

Wells, Diary, February 21, 1891. See also “A Glimpse of Washington, the Woman’s National Council,” Woman’s Exponent 19 (March 1, 1891): 132.

Woman’s Tribune, February 28, 1891. The Woman’s Tribune, edited by Clara Bewick Colby, was a suffrage newspaper published in both Nebraska and Washington, D.C.

National Woman’s Relief Society Record, October 10, 1892, and October 4, 1893, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

See Fifth Resolution of the National Council of Women as reported in “National Council of Women,” Woman’s Exponent 19 (May 15, 1891): 170.


LeFaucheur and others, Women in a Changing World, 21. Sweden’s delegates, for instance, abstained from all votes since they were “not free to discuss political questions.”

Sewall, International Council of Women, 8, 9.


Minutes of the Executive Committee of the National Council of Women, Chicago, May 22, 1893, indicate that “two hundred dollars besides their regular dues came from our two members in Utah [Relief Society and YLMIA], sent most promptly as soon as the appeal went out.” See Robbins, History and Minutes of the National Council of Women of the United States, 88.
"The Power of Combination"


23 Wells, Diary, May 20, 1893.

24 Among the number she mentions in various diary entries were Bertha Honoré Palmer, president of the Board of Lady Managers of the Fair; Ellen M. Henrotin, president of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs; Isabella Beecher Hooker of the famous Beecher clan; and Julia Ward Howe. Several Europeans were among the number as well.

25 “Women and the World’s Fair,” Woman’s Exponent 21 (December 1, 1892): 84.

26 “Women and the World’s Fair,” 84.

27 Gayle Gullett examines some of the inconsistencies and schisms in this show of solidarity. The claim of universality, she writes, stemmed from the assumption of these middle- and upper-class reformers that they represented the interests of less advantaged women (working class and minorities), who were often the objects of their humanitarian efforts. “The Political Use of Public Space: The Women’s Movement and Women’s Participation at the Chicago Columbian Exposition, 1893” (Paper delivered at the Berkshire Conference on Women’s History, June 1987), copy in possession of the author.


30 Wells, Diary, February 11, 1899.


33 Special Meeting of the Board of Directors, May 17, 1899, Relief Society Record, 269–70.

34 The others were Priscilla Jennings and her daughter May Farlowe and granddaughter Lucille Jennings, Carrie Thomas and daughter Kate, Josephine Booth, Amanda Knight and daughter Inez, Lydia Alder, and Emma Lucy Gates, Susa Young Gates’s daughter. Susa Young Gates, “International Council of Women,” Young Woman’s Journal 10 (October 1899): 437.
36 Wells, Diary, July 3, 1899; June 28, 1899.
37 Wells, Diary, June 30, 1899. Wells was somewhat irritated with Sewall for not having invited her earlier to speak on a subject of her own choosing and also noted that, despite Sewall’s dedication to the work, she was not a favorite among the women of the national and international councils.
39 Beatrice and Sidney Webb had visited America, including Salt Lake City, the previous year, a visit which Beatrice recorded. Beatrice was particularly interested in meeting Utah state senator Martha Hughes Cannon and noted in her journal Cannon’s election victory over both her husband, Angus, and Emmeline Wells, who had opposed her. She was, therefore, acquainted at least with Emmeline’s name and with Mormonism before the London meeting. See David A. Shannon, ed., Beatrice Webb’s American Diary, 1889 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), 126–36.
45 Wells, Diary, June 29, July 4, 1899.
46 “The International Congress of Women,” 36; see also “Reception at Stafford House,” Daily Chronicle, reprinted in the Woman's Exponent 28 (August 1, 1899): 35.
47 Deseret News, July 8, 1899, 1.
48 Wells, Diary, June 28, 1899.
51 Wells, Diary, July 4, 1899; and “Home Again,” 45.
52 Wells, Diary, July 4, 1899; “Home Again,” 45; and Gates, “International Council of Women,” 446.
54 Her liberal and often shocking proposals in the name of women’s liberation, especially her advocacy of free love, quickly became a detriment to the suffrage cause in the United States. See Geoffrey Blodgett, “Victoria Claflin Woodhull” in


57 Englishwoman’s Review 30 (July 15, 1899):158. “Women cannot ask for equal rights,” the baroness argued, “and at the same time claim indulgence on the score of sex. Grown-up women ought to have the right to protect themselves.” At that time, protective legislation was a heatedly debated issue for working women and spawned two decades later an opposing movement in the United States, centered on an equal rights amendment which would eliminate any distinction between men and women workers.


60 Sewall, International Council of Women, xvii; and Constitution of National and International Councils, Preamble, Article II, as reprinted in the Woman’s Exponent 16 (May 1, 1888): 183.

61 Sewall, International Council of Women, xviii, xix.

62 “Home Again,” 46.

63 Susa Gates assumed leadership of the Utah contingent, having “plenty of difficulty in piloting the large party from meeting to meeting, reception to reception, sightseeing from one end of London to the other, and all the associated difficulties of pleasing women who each seemed to want something different from the other.” See Gates, “Biography of Lucy B. Young,” 198.

64 Marie Corelli was a popular romantic novelist at the end of the nineteenth century. She had burst upon the British literary scene with Romance of Two Worlds in 1886, thereafter writing a series of romantic novels to great public acclaim. Emmeline stayed in the inn at Stratford where Corelli wrote The Sorrows of Satan (1896), Emmeline’s favorite Corelli novel. See Wells, Diary, July 18, 1899.

65 Wells, Diary, August 8, 1899.

66 Relief Society Minutes, April 17, 1913, LDS Church Archives.

67 Salt Lake Tribune, January 9, 1916, 10.

68 Relief Society Minutes, October 3, 1913.

69 Relief Society Minutes, March 17, 1914.

70 His endorsement can be considered magnanimous considering the personal abuse he experienced from representatives of many of the women’s groups with which the Relief Society was associated and the calumny heaped on him as leader of a church that was publicly maligned as late as 1914 for its former practice of plural marriage. Subsequent Church leaders encouraged activity in the councils, not so much for the good they would do the Relief Society as for the good the Relief Society could do for the councils and for women generally. Relief Society president Belle Spafford’s presidency of the NCW and leadership in the ICW between 1945 and 1970 represented the climax of Mormon membership in these organizations. At present the Relief Society is no longer a member.
Francis M. Lyman. In 1903, Elder Lyman offered prayers in St. Petersburg and Moscow to dedicate Russia for missionary work. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Out of Obscurity: The Emergence of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in “That Vast Empire” of Russia

This BYU campus devotional, delivered November 2, 1993, reports some of the latest international experiences of the Church and its members in Russia.

Gary L. Browning

In June 1843, the Prophet Joseph Smith announced the appointment of Apostle Orson Hyde and Elder George J. Adams to serve as missionaries “to the people of that vast empire” of Russia, to which, he continued, “is attached some of the most important things concerning the advancement and building up of the kingdom of God in the last days, which cannot be explained at this time.” Although months of preparation followed this announcement, the two men never served in Russia.

Much later, in 1903, the land of Russia was dedicated for missionary work by another Apostle, Elder Francis M. Lyman, who offered dedicatory prayers in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Subsequently, many Church leaders and members, professional men and women, statesmen, educators, and, significantly, BYU performing groups helped prepare the way for the introduction of the restored gospel to Russia.

During Gorbachev’s era of glasnost, beginning in 1985, conditions gradually became favorable for establishing a mission in the country. At that time, Elder Russell M. Nelson, assisted by European Area president Hans B. Ringger and Austria Vienna East and Finland Helsinki mission presidents Dennis B. Neuenschwander and Steven R. Mecham, established vital contacts, opened doors long closed, and commenced the missionary effort.

By the time my wife and I—accompanied by our three youngest children, Betsy, Katie, and Jon—arrived to begin our missionary
service in what was originally named the Finland Helsinki East Mission, three young, but already flourishing, branches of the Church existed: the largest in Leningrad, with nearly a hundred members; then Tallinn, Estonia, with almost fifty members; and Vyborg (located between Helsinki and Leningrad), with approximately twenty-five members.

Many of the earliest Russian and Estonian members joined the Church while visiting abroad in Europe, especially in Finland. Finnish members of the Church, among them the Kemppainens, Jäkkös, Laitinens, Kirsis, Lammintauses, Rotos, and Forsmans, were particularly active in friendshipping, teaching, fellowshipping, and training Soviet members and their friends.

Soon, President Mecham in Finland received authorization to send the first full-time Finland Helsinki missionaries, mainly Americans who had previously studied Russian, for a few days at a time to hold home teaching and fellowshipping visits in the apartments of baptized members living in the USSR. While with members, these Finnish and American Church representatives answered questions for members and their nonmember friends and taught them about the Church and, if requested, gospel doctrine.

**Russell M. Nelson.** In 1987, Elder Nelson and other Church leaders commenced the missionary effort in Russia. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Among the factors which inhibited our missionary work was the millennium-long and very rich heritage of the Russian Orthodox Church, so tightly interwoven into the society’s cultural, educational, and political lives. On the other end of the spectrum are over seven decades of official atheism, which have left many with impaired spiritual receptivity. And finally, the current punishing economic conditions complicate missionary activity by forcing many Russians to work longer hours, often at more than one job, and depriving them of much of the energy and leisure required for religious reflection and pursuits. Nevertheless, a golden layer of Russians remains, prepared by the Spirit and receptive to the gospel message.

Our mission began in July 1990 with sixteen missionaries transferred from the Finland Helsinki Mission and upwards of 175 Russian and Estonian members. By the time of the first division of our mission in February 1992 into the Russia St. Petersburg and Russia Moscow Missions, there were approximately seventy missionaries and over 750 members. Our family moved to Moscow with twenty-eight of these seventy missionaries to serve with nearly 200 of the 750-plus members.

By the time of our release almost a year and a half later in July 1993, the Moscow Mission included Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, Samara, Saratov, and Voronezh; the missionary force had grown to nearly 140; and the membership was approximately 750. The St. Petersburg Mission and the Ukraine Kiev (Russian-speaking) Mission had experienced comparable or greater growth.

Factors that have contributed to the growth of the Church in Russia include a dissatisfaction with ancient dogmas and with rigid ideologies that for bade open inquiry. Further, favorable, though limited, press and TV coverage, the visits of the Tabernacle Choir and several Brigham Young University performing groups, General Authority meetings with members and friends of the Church, and superb missionaries, dedicated and competent, have been crucially important.

As all who have served a mission know, hardships and disappointments are a prominent part of the experience. Chief among ours was the dearth of Church materials and our own meetinghouses, although progress is being made in these and other areas.
Interview of Tabernacle Choir members for Russian television. Linda Braithwaite and Dennis Mead were interviewed in Moscow. Media coverage of the choir's 1991 Russian tour helped prepare Russians for the gospel. Photographer Gerry Avant. Courtesy Church News.

On the other hand, the missionary visa obstacle, one of our most vexing and persistent problems during the first half of our mission, was addressed and solved. The first missionaries entered the USSR only on expensive tourist visas for short periods of time, returning often to Finland for renewals. Later, members, at tremendous cost to themselves in terms of long hours lost while standing in lines, secured private invitation visas for missionaries for longer periods of time—months rather than weeks. In March 1991, Church attorney David Farnsworth completed arrangements to establish a Russian Religious Association with Russian leadership. This association eventually was granted the authority to issue invitations to missionaries, resulting in visas for the full time of their residence in the country.

Similarly, severe problems with arranging for adequate health care, missionary living quarters, telephone and mail communications, banking services, and office procedures were lessened or overcome through time and, particularly, through the efforts of
two heroes in the mission, our Moscow office couple, Elder and Sister Dewey of Logan, and their predecessors in Helsinki, Elder and Sister Warner, now presiding over the Bulgaria Sofia Mission.

In Moscow the first group of members became a branch with a Russian branch president in March 1991, nearly five months after full-time missionaries arrived. One year later, in March 1992, the Moscow branch was divided into six small branches. Not quite a full year following, fifteen Russian-speaking branches were organized in Moscow, with a branch conveniently located along each subway line radiating from the center.

Tabernacle Choir fireside in a concert hall in Leningrad. Most of this large congregation was composed of choir members, members of the Church in Russia, and investigators. In the front row of this photograph are seven of the missionaries then serving in Russia: (left to right) Carrie Lynn Madsen, Ilene Murray, Cameron Wayne Poole, Kyle Edward Dugger, Erik Brian Sjolseth, Michael John Layne, and Layne Andrew Rousseau. Photographer Gerry Avant. Courtesy Church News.
Rapid growth and relatively inexperienced members meant that timely and intensive leadership training was essential. Initially, that was accomplished through monthly branch leadership meetings, which I conducted, and one-on-one contact with the more experienced missionaries. In some branches, young missionaries served with astonishing skill and wisdom as branch and Relief Society presidents and as other leaders.

Eventually, a mission training council was formed, led by Americans working in Moscow embassies and businesses. Regular training meetings were held for branch presidents; clerks; leaders of priesthood quorums, Relief Societies, Primaries, and Young Women; teachers of all organizations; members preparing for the temple or missionary service; and members of branch social and cultural committees. Now the Moscow member districts are gradually assuming more of the training function, with relatively experienced and remarkably successful Russian leaders training others.

Challenges abounded in the mission, but so did treasured moments of spiritual refreshment and affirmation. For example, I was deeply moved as I attended church meetings in Vyborg on the first Sunday of my mission. Since 1963, I had visited Russia fairly frequently. In my heart I had felt that the restored gospel would be shared with this deserving people whom I had come to love dearly, but in my mind I could not imagine how our Church could ever be established with that country’s government and ruling party so opposed to religion. On that day early in July 1990, I walked into a small music school and was greeted by two legendary missionaries and by nearly two dozen recently baptized members of the Church. Before my sacrament meeting talk, six little girls, ranging from about three to nine years of age, sang, in Russian, “I Am a Child of God.” The singing was angelic, as were their radiant, broadly smiling faces. As I watched and listened in awe, my heart filled with “hosannas” for the blessing of this long-awaited day.

Further, I recall with delight the words of a relatively new Saratov member teaching a priesthood lesson on the importance of the family. The lesson was fairly standard, except for a few moments when he soared in spirit as he related experiences from his own family. He spoke of his young grade-school-age son who
had returned from school one day with a bruised face. His son had objected when a bully was tormenting a girl classmate. For his trouble, the young member of the Church had been hit very hard. His classmates saw what happened and ran up to him, offering to join him in teaching the tormentor a lesson. But the boy replied that he had been reading the Bible and attending a church where he was taught not to do mean things, even to those who do mean things to you. His friends were dumbfounded, as was the father, who generally had followed a different, far harsher ethic all his life and who that day personally experienced Jesus' teachings powerfully and deeply for the first time.

May I tell you of a few of the leaders of our Church in Russia in order for you to appreciate the strength they represent to members and missionaries? Boris Mokhov, now one of Moscow's district presidents, came to the Church along a path many have followed. Growing up in an avowedly atheistic society and home, and, after the 1985 institution of Gorbachev's glasnost, unable to respond to the appeal of the Russian Orthodox Church, he was surprised when his oldest daughter met LDS missionaries. Two young elders had visited her high-school class and made a presentation about the Church, inviting any interested to attend church services with them the following Sunday. Several of the young students did visit the church—among them, Natasha Mokhov.

Natasha told her older brother about this church, and he agreed to attend meetings with her. In time the missionaries taught them the missionary discussions, secured permission from the Mokhov parents, and baptized the two oldest children. Eventually, the two younger sisters in the family also began going each Sunday to the meetings and were baptized. The parents were pleased to note a very positive change in the children's attitudes and behavior. They had worried earlier about some of their older children's choices of friends and activities. Now they felt increasing admiration for their resolution and integrity.

On occasion, the Mokhov father and mother also attended church services. The children, many missionaries, and Church members helped the parents gain an assurance that they belonged with the children in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Finally, their baptismal day arrived, and church service and growth
followed. Approximately two months ago, the Mokhov parents and their four children were among thirty-one Moscow members of the Church to visit the Stockholm Temple, where they were sealed as a family for time and for eternity.

The first family in Russia to receive the temple endowment and sealing ordinance were the Semionovs, a father, mother, and son from Vyborg. Two years earlier the father, Andrei, a young medical doctor of surgery, had met a devoted and generous Finnish family, the Jäkköses, on a canoe trip. The Jäkköses gently but persistently explained Church values and teachings to Andrei and, sensing his genuine interest, maintained contact with him over a period of months. Eventually, missionaries were able to present the discussions to the Semionovs and baptize them. The Semionovs were especially active in sharing the gospel with their neighbors, a considerable number of whom made the same decision that the Semionovs had made to affiliate with the LDS Church.

One of Andrei's friends told a former classmate, Yelena Petrov, about his positive impressions of Church teachings, especially about the emphasis on family ideals. Yelena and her small daughter were then visiting Yelena's mother in Vyborg for the summer, seeking relief from the heat, pollution, and bustle of Moscow and from her tiny, one-room communal apartment, where bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared with two other families. When her husband, Andrei Petrov, then a Ph.D. student completing his degree in radio telecommunication engineering, came for a visit, they attended the Vyborg branch of the Church.

The Petrovs, too, were favorably impressed by the spirit and liberating teachings of this new and, as yet, largely unfamiliar church. Missionaries offered to help them learn more. Following weeks of meetings, the Petrovs were baptized. When they returned to Moscow, the embryonic church was meeting in the none-too-spacious but spiritually expansive home of the Thorntons. The year was 1990 and Dohn Thornton was employed at the American embassy. In his free time, he shared his knowledge and testimony with Russians, several of whom were to form the nucleus of the first Moscow branch in 1991. Having accepted various opportunities for growth through Church service, Andrei Petrov became the first Russian president of that branch and, in 1992, the first district president in Moscow.
Early Russian converts. In this 1993 photograph are (from left to right) the five members of the Mokhov family, Galina Goncharova, the four members of the Petrov family, and the three members of the Martynov family. All three of the fathers served as district presidents of the Church in Moscow. Courtesy Sergei Martynov.

President Petrov, his wife, and two children are currently living in Wymount Terrace while Andrei attends the Marriott School of Management, studying in the MBA program, thanks to the vision and generosity of Professors Scott Smith and Heikki Rinne, their colleagues, and several donors. After two years, the Petrovs will return to Moscow to continue their ground-breaking work in establishing the Kingdom in that choice land of Russia.

The Moscow Mission is blessed immensely by Americans living in Moscow, who virtually all told me at one time or another that they had set aside other appealing professional opportunities to come to Moscow and help build up a new Zion.

Dan Souders moved from employment at the American embassy to Aeromar, taking a position of administrative leadership in a joint venture between Aeroflot and Marriott to provide meals
on international Aeroflot flights. President Souders served as the original Moscow group leader as Russians began to attend meetings and become interested in the Church. He currently is again a branch president, living in Moscow with his fine Russian wife and daughter. Albert Walling, recently deceased, headed Huntsman Chemical in Moscow and served with unparalleled devotion and sensitivity as second group leader of the Moscow Russian Saints and as one of the first two Moscow district presidents. Through his example and teachings, he prepared a very substantial number of Russians for success in their Church service. Now, the Matthews and Bennett families ably continue the work of the Wallings.

The Gibbs family played a starring supporting role in strengthening the Moscow branch while Daryl, a computer specialist, helped colleagues at Moscow's leading language university master state-of-the-art computer technology and language-learning applications. William Atkin is a leading international attorney with Baker-McKenzie. He and BYU law professor Cole Durham have been centrally important in steering the Church's fragile frigate through rough waters of discriminatory legislation and unresponsive bureaucracies. The Neuberts, American embassy employees, provided successful youth conferences and Primary leadership training.

Here I would mention BYU professor Trevor McKee, who brought dozens of BYU and University of Utah students to Russia to teach English in kindergartens. Their sterling example stands in stark contrast to the pornography, violence, and vulgarity entering Russia from the West through tawdry films and television. These students and their leaders helped a considerable number of Russians form positive impressions about the United States, Utah, and the Church, promoting, consequently, missionary success.

Dedicated Russian Church members and those who strengthened them paved the way for what I consider the highlight of the Moscow Mission through July of 1993. The event occurred on February 21 of that year.

It had been a considerable trek from Moscow member-missionary work by Americans in early 1990, to the arrival of the first six full-time missionaries in October of 1990, to the organization of the first official Russian Moscow branch in March of 1991, to the establishment of fifteen Russian-speaking branches that
February. On February 21, 1993, over five hundred members and friends were seated comfortably in the newspaper-publishing house Izvestia Building in downtown Moscow, across the street on one side from the famous statue of Pushkin, Russia's most beloved poet, and on the other from McDonald's, a must-visit cultural mecca for Western tourists.

The fifteen branches had just been organized and their presidents sustained. Now, the ten new branch presidents were bearing brief testimonies. Most of us were enjoying a particularly delectable spiritual feast. When the eighth or ninth president began speaking, I started to review in my mind the main points of my talk, which would conclude the conference.

I was prepared to speak on the blessings of attending a large, established ward of the Church, as I had done as a preteenager living in what was for me the comparative metropolis of Pocatello, Idaho. I would recall our full Church program and lovely meeting-house facilities, like our Pocatello building with that inspiring mural on the wall behind the podium. The mural depicted heroic pioneers crossing the plains, struggling and, on occasion, disheartened but attended always on the journey by unseen angels. Maybe these pioneers could not see the angels, but every week I and others saw them plainly above the pioneers' heads, and I learned well the lesson that a loving Heavenly Father is aware of our burdens and strengthens us just enough to bear them. And I would draw a parallel to the Moscow pioneers crossing to their eagerly anticipated spiritual Zion.

Then I wanted to emphasize how much I learned and benefited in other ways from living during my junior and senior high school years in the small northern Idaho town of St. Maries, where our fledgling branch of the Church met in a humble, two-room Grange Hall, similar to the facilities of many of the new Moscow branches. As a teenager there, I had the opportunity to serve with Weldon and David Tovey, two other very young men, in the Sunday School presidency and to grow through the warm encouragement of humble, generous Saints who overlooked our inadequacies and loved us for what we were and what they believed we could become.

As I was mentally reviewing these and other points, suddenly and unexpectedly an intimation, a thought, a sensation filled my
consciousness and in an instant encompassed my whole being. I no longer thought about my talk or listened to the speaker. I had felt a distinct and powerful impression that the spirit of the Prophet Joseph Smith was rejoicing with us in this historic meeting. I believe for a moment my spirit felt his spirit of youthful buoyancy, joyful enthusiasm, and expansive vision. As I reflected on this feeling, I realized that, in 1993, 150 years had passed from the 1843 appointment of the first missionaries to Russia and that this day of fulfillment must be an occasion for heavenly rejoicing and grateful recognition of the efforts of so many who, over fifteen decades, made the emergence of the Church out of obscurity a reality in Russia.

I close with a more personal experience that, I hope, will contain lessons of benefit to you. Like you, I too have observed that life presents challenges to every one of us. Some struggle in certain areas, others in different ones, but we all face difficulties. In my case, for example, I have experienced problems with my eyes for years. Progressive myopia has caused strain on my eyes' tissue-thin retinas. My vision continued to deteriorate while I was on my mission, especially during my final year. In March 1993, I was referred by a local Moscow doctor to the highly regarded Fiodorov Eye Institute of Microsurgery in Moscow.

Following a thorough examination, the doctors there recommended a surgical procedure called scleroplasty, which is common in Moscow, although not well known or accepted in the West. The procedure was intended to stabilize my eyes and forestall further irreparable damage to my retinas. After receiving somewhat differing opinions from consulting specialists whom the Missionary Department and area presidency recommended and after studying as much of the professional literature as the institute could make available to me, my wife and I prayed earnestly for inspiration to know whether I should have this operation. We prayed with all our hearts and often to know the Lord's will.

In my life, I have found that it is best for me after prayer to remain on my knees with my eyes closed and my mind and heart as open to inspiration as I can make them and to wait on the Lord. During these moments, as we sought answers regarding my eyes, I felt only the tiniest kernel of tender confidence that I should have
the operation. We continued to pray and I continued to feel only barely assured.

Finally, I decided to act on this faint confirmation and scheduled the operation. From that time, my confidence grew quickly and held firm. I asked my wife how she was feeling and learned that her experience closely paralleled mine. As we made our decision, we did not know in every fiber of our beings; some of our fibers still had questions. We did not receive the specific assurance that the operation would end my eye problems, but we felt confident that it was in accordance with the Lord's purposes for me to proceed.

This process of perceiving spiritual communication is beyond my ability to define in certain, unchanging terms. But I do feel that, while we should never disavow the possibility of angelic appearances or heavenly voices, neither should we remain insensitive to gentle enlightenment to the mind and quiet assurance to the heart. This experience was another confirmation to us to trust the deep, calm feelings in our souls.

I desired a priesthood blessing before the surgery. I was surrounded by many men of surpassing spiritual plenitude. I would have been honored to have any two of dozens bless me. As I continued my work in the mission, I felt certain that I would recognize the opportunity at the appropriate time to invite someone to provide the blessing as a complement to the moving and effectual prayers of my faithful wife. At length, when I was meeting with two members of the two Moscow district presidencies, I recognized I should ask these brethren to be the participants in this ordinance of blessing. After our meeting, I invited the two men present, Presidents Martynov from the north and Petrov from the south, to give me a priesthood blessing.

As these men laid their hands on my head and President Petrov spoke, with humility and power, beautiful words of comfort and blessing, I understood a remarkable truth: in my moment of need I had come to two worthy Moscow priesthood holders, neither of whom had been a member of the Church when our mission was begun in 1990. Further, I had been among those who had had the opportunity to teach them to anoint and bless the sick and disconsolate.
The operation itself was quite simple. The virtually painless procedure involved rotating the eyeball downward to expose the back of the eye. Small rectangular strips of human donor sclera, the white part of the eye, were carefully placed on the thinned back wall of my eyes.

Much of my life I have felt or wanted to believe—romantic that I am—that part of my soul, my aspirations and dreams, my cultural preferences was Russian. Now I can proudly acknowledge that a portion of my physical being is Russian. Someone gave part of her- or himself that I might have the possibility of better health.

That gift represents what we missionaries around the world hope to do—share something of ourselves, of our faith and conviction, that part of us which is most needed by others to affirm heartening meaning in this often perplexing life, in which we all see as though "through a glass darkly." For the sufficient light I do receive and can impart, and for my inestimable opportunity of laboring with beloved Russians and Estonians, and with splendid missionaries from the United States, Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Finland, Sweden, and Nicaragua, I express my deep appreciation.

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NOTE

Facing Mirrors

I bend toward her
as if to receive a lei—
a brief encircling
of arms of snow-white silk—
a tiptoeing to my ear—
a whisper
of the majesty of mirrors.

A chandelier crystalized
the moment,
silencing voices
when he appears
dressed all in white—
in suit and tie and shoes.

He tells us a story
of a peregrine falcon
gyring in the pineless blue—
hovering—
its fanning feathers palming the air—
its eyes scoping for ripples or partings—
its wings shouldering the sun—
waiting—
until it jackknifes into a pool of green.

Then she and I kneel,
holding hands
across a lace-covered altar—
reflecting—
looking at and beyond—
listening (“Yes!”)
while he speaks (“Yes!”)
the sacred words.

—Robert M. Hogge
B. H. Roberts ca. 1927. After his release as mission president in 1927, Roberts devoted himself almost exclusively for six months in New York to working on *The Truth, The Way, The Life*. His conception of the work expanded, and he was still composing and revising this *Elementary Treatise on Theology* a year later. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
The Story of

*The Truth, The Way, The Life*

*New facts tell the full history of B. H. Roberts's 1927–28 doctrinal treatise as Church authorities labored responsibly to resolve some difficult issues.*

James B. Allen

B. H. Roberts was a highly complex person, impossible to characterize fully in any simple terms.\(^1\) With respect to his mental capacity and scholarly activities, however, he has frequently been identified as perhaps the most eminent intellectual in the history of the Church.\(^2\) Roberts himself probably would not have flaunted such a distinction,\(^3\) but it is one he may have appreciated hearing. As a young, illiterate British immigrant to Utah, he was bright, eager to learn, and anxious to master all the knowledge he could. He attended Deseret University (predecessor to the University of Utah), where he learned something from John R. Park about the value of independent thought. He also graduated at the top of his class. Mainly, however, he was self-taught, reading everything he could get his hands on and eventually becoming one of the most learned men in Utah. As a scholar, writer, and Church leader, he showed all the characteristics of one who loved the life of the mind, thirsted for both secular and spiritual knowledge, and was willing to discuss all the implications of anything he learned. His personal library, now housed in the LDS Church Archives, comprised 1,385 books, a substantial portion of which dealt with some aspect of theology, history (including Christian history and American antiquities), and philosophy.\(^4\)

Roberts was the epitome of what one might call the “faithful intellectual.” He believed that the quest for knowledge involved both the life of the mind and the life of the spirit—that intellectuality

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and faith must go hand-in-hand in their search for truth. As his leading biographer has written:

He loved simple faith if simple meant uncluttered and strong. But he was troubled that the phrase is sometimes used as a synonym for "simpering acquiescence." And he could find nothing in the scriptures, ancient or modern, to excuse anyone from brain sweat and from the arduous lifetime burden of seeking "revelation upon revelation, knowledge upon knowledge," the expansion of truth and light until one is "glorified in truth and knoweth all things."5

During his lifetime, Roberts produced a library of books and articles on history, theology, and defenses of the faith that outstrips, in sheer volume, anything produced by any other General Authority of the Church: over thirty books, three hundred articles, numerous tracts and pamphlets, and over a thousand sermons and discourses (many of which were published in newspapers and magazines).6 His forensic talents, moreover, fully matched his intellectual prowess, a fact which helps explain why he was frequently called upon to represent the Church in highly visible public appearances.

Sometime early in his career, Roberts began to read the works of John Fiske. Indeed, Roberts quoted extensively from two of these works in The Truth, The Way, The Life.7 Fiske, a philosopher

John R. Park. As head of the Deseret University and as Roberts's language and literature instructor, Park impressed upon Roberts the value of independent thought. Photographed by Fox and Symons. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
and historian, was a popular lecturer and writer who became known as the United States' chief proponent of the theory of evolution. Though it is apparent from TWL that Roberts did not accept evolution as the explanation for the origin of Adam and his descendants, Roberts nevertheless admired Fiske and his way of thinking. No doubt because of this admiration and his own proclivities toward intellectualism, Roberts was profoundly impressed by the characterization of religious discipleship in Josiah Royce's introduction to Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*. The use Roberts later made of Royce's words suggest that they epitomize as well as anything could how Roberts viewed his own role in promoting the truths of Mormonism. There are, said Royce, two sorts of religious disciples:

There are, first, the disciples pure and simple,—people who fall under the spell of a person or of a doctrine, and whose whole intellectual life thenceforth consists in their partisanship. They expound, and defend, and ward off foes, and live and die faithful to the one formula. Such disciples may be indispensable at first in helping a new teaching to get a popular hearing, but in the long run they rather hinder than help the wholesome growth of the very ideas that they defend: for great ideas live by growing, and a doctrine that has merely to be preached, over and over, in the same terms, cannot possibly be the whole truth. No man ought to be merely a faithful disciple of any other man. Yes, no man ought to be a mere disciple even of himself. We live spiritually by outliving our formulas, and by thus enriching our sense of their deeper meaning. Now the disciples of the first sort do not live in this larger and more spiritual sense. They repeat. And true life is never mere repetition.⁸

In one sense Roberts may have been this "first sort" of disciple. No one can read his sermons or his life story without seeing him repeat, time and time again, his faith in what he considered the essentials of the gospel. These included the "first principles" defined in the fourth Article of Faith, the atonement of Christ, the restoration of the priesthood through Joseph Smith, and the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon. His great personal goal, expressed repeatedly throughout his life, was to be a powerful witness of these things. On the other hand, he hardly kept himself tethered to a single formula or angle in presenting those truths or exploring their depths. Many of his theological writings were examples of his willingness to explore new ways to

B. H. Roberts before 1895. About the time this photograph was taken, Roberts published his *Outlines of Ecclesiastical History*. He was also serving as a member of the First Council of the Seventy. Courtesy Richard Roberts.

B. H. Roberts between 1895 and 1900. During these years, Roberts's main writing projects were *New Witnesses for God* and several works in Church history. As a delegate to the Utah state constitutional convention in 1895, he stood out as one opposed to woman suffrage. Photographer C. R. Savage. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
present old truths, casting them in imaginative new formulas. TWL
was, in large part, a summary of much of what he had done
before—his synthesis of his life’s study and his effort to cast the
truths he felt so deeply in new, more advanced, and more well-inte-
grated formulas. In that sense, he was much more like Royce’s
disciples of a “second sort.” Such disciples, said Royce,

are men who have been attracted to a new doctrine by the fact that
it gave expression, in a novel way, to some large and deep interest
which had already grown up in themselves, and which had already
come, more or less independently, to their own consciousness. They
thus bring to the new teaching, from the first, their own personal
contribution. The truth that they gain is changed as it enters their
souls. The seed that the sower strews upon their fields springs up in
their soil, and bears fruit,—thirty, sixty, an hundred fold. They return
to their master his own with usury. Such men are the disciples that
it is worth while for a master to have. Disciples of the first sort often
become, as Schopenhauer said, mere magnifying mirrors wherein
one sees enlarged, all the defects of a doctrine. Disciples of the
second sort co-operate in the works of the Spirit; and even if they
always remain rather disciples than originators, they help to lead the
thought that they accept to a truer expression. They force it beyond
its earlier and cruder stages of development.9

In 1906, paraphrasing much of what Royce had to say about
such disciples, Roberts seemed to spell out what he hoped would
be his own intellectual and spiritual contributions to Mormonism:

I believe “Mormonism” affords opportunity for disciples of the
second sort; nay, that its crying need is for such disciples. It calls for
thoughtful disciples who will not be content with merely re-
peating some of its truths but will develop its truths; and enlarge it
by that development. Not half—not one-hundredth part—not a
thousandth part of that which Joseph Smith revealed to the Church
has yet been unfolded, either to the Church or to the world. . . . The
Prophet planted by teaching the germ-truths of the great dispen-
sation of the fulness of times. The watering and the weeding is
going on, and God is giving the increase, and will give it more abun-
dantly in the future as more intelligent discipleship shall obtain. The
disciples of “Mormonism,” growing discontented with the neces-
sarily primitive methods which have hitherto prevailed in sustaining
the doctrine, will yet take profounder and broader views of the great
doctrines committed to the Church; and, departing from mere repet-
tion, will cast them in new formulas; co-operating in the works of
the Spirit, until they help to give to the truths received a more
forceful expression, and carry it beyond the earlier and cruder stages
of its development.19
The intellectual milieu of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided the broad historical backdrop for the work that Roberts would consider his *magnum opus*. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., has depicted the last quarter of the nineteenth century, when Roberts was in the midst of his early studies, as a "critical" period in American religion.\(^{11}\) Orthodox American Christianity faced crucial challenges both to its fundamental system of thought and to its social programs. Perhaps most serious was the challenge of biological evolution, which most scientists solidly supported by the 1870s and to which many of the "thoughtful public" had been converted by such intellectual lights as Herbert Spencer, Thomas H. Huxley, and John Fiske. The famous 1925 Scopes trial in Tennessee was only one manifestation of a long-time tension that, in some way, affected nearly all church-going Americans.

Another bone of contention in the ongoing contest over religious modernism was higher criticism of the Bible, for such scholarly activity seemed to call into question the very divinity of the sacred work itself. Likewise, the growing study of comparative religion became a scholarly preoccupation that also seemed to threaten Christian orthodoxy as scholars looked at all religions, finding similar patterns from the standpoint of mythology, folklore, psychology, and anthropology. Schlesinger observes that these intellectual movements may not have affected the "average mind," but "they deeply affected the thinking of more intelligent readers."\(^{12}\)

The practically inevitable result of all this scholarly activity was internal dissent and schism in American religions. Some ministers embraced the new scientific dogma, believing they could find a way to reconcile it with the essentials of Christianity. Others entrenched themselves against the dogma even more tenaciously than earlier, while churches sometimes split and professors at schools controlled by various denominations were dismissed for espousing the new, seemingly more rational, theological ideology. Modernism also affected the social and political programs of many churches.

The theological tensions created by these issues in other churches in the latter nineteenth century reached their peak a bit later within Mormonism. At Brigham Young University, for example, three professors were dismissed in 1911, not because they believed
in evolution, but because they would not refrain from zealously and defiantly advocating it and antireligious dicta in the classroom.\textsuperscript{13} At the same time, some Church leaders recognized that religion teachers needed greater intellectual training and more awareness of modern scholarship. A few of those teachers were assigned by the Church to study at the University of Chicago under some of the most important biblical scholars and higher critics in the country. In addition, during two summers in the early 1930s, schools for religion teachers were held at BYU’s Aspen Grove camp. Edgar J. Goodspeed of the University of Chicago was invited to provide some of the instruction.

Between 1920 and the time of his death in 1933, Roberts met his greatest intellectual and spiritual challenges and prepared for publication the two items that he believed would become his most important contributions to the literature of the Church: \textit{A Comprehensive History of the Church}, published in 1930, and \textit{TWL}. When judged by the standards of its time, the \textit{Comprehensive History} comes off well. Roberts wrote with the eye of faith, but he was willing to discuss important weaknesses and failings when he saw them. Compared with other LDS Church histories of the time, it was a model of balance. Davis Bitton wrote in 1978 that it was still "far superior to any history of Mormonism which has yet appeared; even today it is a work which no serious student of the subject can afford to ignore."\textsuperscript{14} Though considerable subsequent scholarship has provided new insight into many aspects of Mormon history, the \textit{Comprehensive History} remains essential for students of the Mormon past, and much of the material is far from outdated.

\textit{TWL}, on the other hand, even if it had been published during Roberts’s lifetime, might have suffered a different fate. Whatever Church history \textit{TWL} contained was cursory in nature, for the major focus was on philosophy, the universe, and theological understanding. Though it represented the culmination of Roberts’s thinking about theological matters, some of its theology was not acceptable to his colleagues among the General Authorities and probably would be no more acceptable today. It is doubtful that \textit{TWL} would have had a life anything like that of the \textit{Comprehensive History} or remained in the collective memory of the
Saints any longer than Roberts's other theological works, most of which are remembered only by scholars and other highly committed students of Church history. For understanding Roberts himself, however, TWL is of prime importance. There he attempted to present to the Church the most important conclusions from his lifetime of study. But he also made a statement, in one way or another, on most of the major theological issues that were causing so much friction within other churches. He considered biological evolution, for example, and did not specifically reject it within "kinds" (239), but he rejected all three of the usually recognized varieties of evolution and proposed a "developmental theory" that started with "the eternity of life" to explain the ultimate development of life on earth, "save as to man" (240). He did not accept evolution as the way in which Adam and his descendants came into being. Rather, Roberts believed that God brought Adam from another world after a monstrous cataclysm had destroyed all pre-Adamic life on the earth. Roberts also demonstrated his awareness of higher criticism, even though he rejected most of its methodology. His fundamental acceptance of the Bible as authentic history and revelation was clear. He showed his acquaintance with the study of comparative religions. He did much of that in the first part of TWL but in such a way that the comparisons fit into the grand scheme of things that he saw being worked out by Deity. TWL was Roberts's ultimate statement of his own beliefs.  

The Book of Mormon and Its Relationship to TWL

Clearly, the scientific, theological, and philosophical currents of his day helped form the intellectual backdrop for TWL and for many of B. H. Roberts's other writings. This was true of his works on the Book of Mormon, including three manuscripts compiled in 1921, 1922, and 1927 that were not intended for publication but represented his continuing efforts to recognize and seek responses to the challenges presented by some forms of higher criticism. Despite whatever questions he may have considered, he retained his faith in the authenticity of the Book of Mormon and he let it guide much of what he said in TWL, which he completed after
those three manuscripts. He also concluded his final testimony to the world, given in his last discourse in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, by reminding his listeners that God gave to Joseph Smith "power from on high to translate the Book of Mormon, and thence followed all which brought forth the New and Last Dispensation." He listed the translation of the Book of Mormon among the many events "and numerous revelations to the Prophet which brought forth a development of the truth, that surpasses all revealed truth of former dispensations."  

On the morning of August 7, 1933, less than two months before his death, Roberts received a visit from Wesley P. Lloyd, a seminary teacher and one of Roberts's former New England States missionaries. During the conversation, Roberts said some things that seemed surprising to Lloyd, who recorded them in his journal. Partly on the basis of that journal entry, Roberts's continuing faith in the Book of Mormon has sometimes been questioned. This issue has been thoroughly examined elsewhere, but because the Book of Mormon is so important to the spiritual and intellectual integrity of TWL itself, it seems essential to comment briefly here about Roberts's lifelong work on the Book of Mormon as part of the story of TWL.

Long before he began work on TWL, Roberts was pursuing all the intellectual problems relating to the origins of the Book of Mormon. He began his intensive studies as early as the 1880s, partly in response to the numerous challenges to that volume's authenticity based on secular scholarship and higher criticism. The result was his New Witnesses for God, largely a defense of the Book of Mormon, published in 1903. Later (1909–11) it appeared as a three-volume work. In August 1921, Elder James E. Talmage of the Council of the Twelve received a letter from William E. Riter, who asked some very searching questions about a few of the apparent inconsistencies and anachronisms in the Book of Mormon. Elder Talmage, in turn, asked Elder Roberts to prepare a response.

Roberts's work on this assignment raised issues he had not considered before. By the end of December, he had put together a 141-page manuscript entitled "Book of Mormon Difficulties: A Study." He asked for an opportunity to present his findings at a meeting of all the General Authorities, hoping that through their collective
wisdom and the inspiration of the Lord they could find solutions that would “maintain the reasonableness for the faith of all in the Nephite scriptures.” He was given that opportunity in two long days of meetings, January 4–5, 1922. At the end of the manuscript he expressed his major concern: “how shall we answer the questions that arise from these considerations of American archeology?” Silence, he pleaded, was not the answer, for it would be an acknowledgment of defeat. “Most humbly,” he said, “but also most anxiously, I await the further development of knowledge that will make it possible for us to give a reasonable answer to those who question us concerning the matters herein discussed.”

The Brethren did not think it was time to pursue the matter further, even though they allowed Roberts another meeting on January 26 and formed a short-lived committee to pursue the matter with him. In that connection, Roberts completed a 450-page manuscript, “A Book of Mormon Study,” which he also planned to present to the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve. In the cover letter he intended to send with it he made a significant comment:

Let me say once [and] for all, so as to avoid what might otherwise call for repeated explanation, that what is herein set forth does not represent any conclusions of mine. This report . . . is what it purports to be, namely a “study of Book of Mormon origins,” for the information of those who ought to know everything about it pro et con, as well [as] that which has been produced against it, and that which may be produced against it. I am taking the position that our faith is not only unshaken but unshakable in the Book of Mormon, and therefore we can look without fear upon all that can be said against it.

In April 1922, however, Roberts was called to be a mission president. Given the choice as to where in the United States he wanted to go, he chose the Eastern States Mission, which encompassed all the area relating to the origin of the Book of Mormon and the Church. He was set apart on May 29 and promptly dropped the matter of the manuscript.

Roberts was an ardent, hard-working mission president. Despite the still-not-answered intellectual questions relating to its origins, he had complete faith in the Book of Mormon and used it as his most important missionary tool. “It has survived all the
B. H. Roberts ca. 1922. Around the time of this portrait, Roberts had been appointed president of the Eastern States Mission. He was sixty-five. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
ridicule and mockery of those who have scorned it,” he wrote to his missionaries. “Its voice is testimony of the Christ as Eternal God.”21 He also spent a little time in 1922 in libraries doing some additional research on how much was known about American antiquity prior to the time the Book of Mormon was published. This research eventually resulted in a few changes, minor in nature, in the 450-page manuscript he had prepared before he left on his mission.22

After his five-year mission, Roberts made another attempt to bring about a discussion among the General Authorities of the problems relating to the Book of Mormon. He never delivered “A Study of the Book of Mormon,” but in October 1927 he sent to Elder Richard R. Lyman an eighteen-part “Parallel” between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith’s View of the Hebrews. He wrote to his daughter in 1932 that he had made “one feeble effort” to get the larger manuscript considered. He called it an “‘awful’ book” but said it contained facts the General Authorities ought to know.23

Roberts had thus produced three manuscripts,24 none of which were intended for publication. He hoped, rather, that they would be the means of helping prepare the Church to address the

Richard R. Lyman. Roberts corresponded with Elder Lyman, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, about the purpose and results of Roberts’s Book of Mormon studies.
problems he believed defenders of the faith eventually would face as scholars examined the Book of Mormon more critically. As he wrote to Richard R. Lyman in 1927, "Such a question as that [that is, whether Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* might have provided a structural outline for the Book of Mormon] may possibly arise some day, and if it does, it would be greatly to the advantage of our future Defenders of the Faith, if they had in hand a thorough digest of the subject matter."25

The teachings of the Book of Mormon were still central to Roberts's theological understanding and remained so throughout his writing of *TWL*. Nevertheless, his determination to leave no stone unturned in his quest for truth allowed him to raise the kinds of questions he did and to seek solutions for the problems. He realized that the Book of Mormon could not be held up to the world as the "strongest evidence we have of Church Divinity." Instead, he told Wesley P. Lloyd in 1933, it was "the one which needs the most bolstering."26 This statement hardly meant that he had lost faith in the book. Rather, his scholarly proclivities suggest that he meant exactly what he said: the Book of Mormon needed more "bolstering," more scholarly efforts to answer the questions he or others raised. Roberts also told Lloyd that "his greatest claim for the divinity of the Prophet Joseph lies in the Doctrine and Covenants." If that is true, then there is just that much more evidence for the Book of Mormon itself, for the Doctrine and Covenants is replete with affirmations of the Book of Mormon.27

That Roberts maintained his faith in the Book of Mormon, even while exploring in depth all the possible problems, is consistent with his personality. He was firmly convinced of the truth of all the principles of the restored Church, especially as he presented them in *TWL*, his *magnum opus*. There he frequently and unequivocally referred to the Book of Mormon in terms such as an "ancient" volume of American scripture (21, 152, 259) or as a book that "contains the revelations of God to the ancient inhabitants of America" (275). At the same time, Roberts's deeply ingrained commitment to scholarship made him a "disciple of the second sort" who was always open to new information and willing at least to entertain new ideas and suggestions. This did not mean that Book of Mormon "problems" convinced him that the book
was not what Joseph Smith said it was. It only meant that he was willing to look at every possible challenge while maintaining his long-time convictions.

The statements recorded by Lloyd can easily be interpreted as reflecting Roberts-as-intellectual, raising questions and recognizing the hard realities of scholarly studies. Clearly, some of the statements in Lloyd’s journal do not portray the events of the 1920s quite accurately, though one cannot know whether this was the result of Roberts’s memory being unclear or Lloyd’s misunderstanding of what was said. Nevertheless, it is the nature of people like Roberts to maintain faith even while being willing to seriously investigate questions that could alter some implications of that faith. Roberts’s greatest disappointment was in the fact that he could not get his brethren to take his concerns more seriously, a fate that would also befall some of his doctrinal expositions in TWL.

The Manuscript of TWL and the Disagreement: An Interpretive Chronology

Roberts’s disappointment over not getting his brethren to consider Book of Mormon problems was minor compared with his frustration over not getting his last manuscript published. Following is a chronological narrative concerning the events that related more directly to the production and review of TWL. I will attempt here to sort out the available facts relating to that effort, although I will not deal in detail with the doctrinal differences that arose as a result. Those differences are analyzed elsewhere.

Roberts’s term as mission president lasted from May 1922 to April 1927. During that time—in 1924—he became the senior member of the First Council of the Seventy. Also during that time, Roberts began thinking about TWL. His “second sort” discipleship was compelling him to begin to crystallize and condense his lifetime of study into one grand, comprehensive statement of belief. As his mission drew to a close, he concluded that it was essential for him to remain in New York to begin this work.

On Friday, April 8, 1927, Roberts contacted President Heber J. Grant and asked permission to stay in New York to write a book. The First Presidency approved Roberts’s request and authorized
his hiring a stenographer. Roberts planned at first to devote his time to "evidences regarding the authenticity of the Book of Mormon," but soon his attention broadened, and the excitement of writing TWL became vastly more fulfilling. As he wrote to President Rudger Clawson of the Council of the Twelve on September 17, 1928, "I have been working [on it] definitely for over one year, and I might say for many years."

Living alone in an apartment overlooking the Hudson River, Roberts worked tirelessly for the six-month leave of absence he had been granted. He collected notes, made outlines, and dictated, often for four hours at a time, to his secretary, Elsie Cook. In some ways, perhaps, these were the most spiritually exhilarating months of Roberts's life. He was working on his crowning achievement—the work he hoped would have the most important impact on the Saints of anything he had written. Often, his biographer observes, he engaged in "faithful vigils of the night," kneeling in prayer, analyzing the scriptures, and conducting deep personal introspection. Such vigils sometimes lasted for as long as three hours. His intellectual methodology, if you will, combined ardent study of history, science, and philosophy with intensive scripture study, fervent prayer, and deep introspection. He wanted his *magnum opus* to combine all important knowledge into one orderly system,

**Elsie Cook ca. 1924.** Cook served as Roberts's secretary not only in transcribing *The Truth, The Way, The Life*, but also in preparing his *Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* and his autobiography. At the time the group photograph was taken from which this image was enlarged, Cook was a missionary serving under Roberts. Courtesy Truman G. Madsen.
thus carrying the exposition of Mormonism a step beyond anything his predecessors had done.

But he had interruptions. Diabetes plagued him, and its complications sometimes kept him in bed. He also had other responsibilities. At the end of May 1927, for example, he went back to Salt Lake City to dedicate the new Mormon Battalion monument. Nevertheless, he could report to President Grant in a letter of June 15 that he had been making favorable progress and that about four chapters were in rough draft. He finished dictating a draft by the time he left New York in the fall; he revised and rewrote it in the summer of 1928.

Roberts initially anticipated fifty-three chapters. By mid-September 1928, he had forty-three chapters ready to go to press. At that point, he saw a golden opportunity to have them published. As yet, no course of study had been approved for the Melchizedek Priesthood quorums for 1929. In his September 17, 1928, letter to Rudger Clawson, Roberts observed that the First Council of the Seventy had received many inquiries from seventies quorums around the Church about their course of study for the coming year but that the requests could not be answered because no decision had been made. In view of that indecision, Roberts enclosed two chapter outlines and asked permission to submit his manuscript for consideration. He had designed it from the beginning to be a course of study for the seventies quorums, but it would be suitable also for the high priests and the elders. It might even provide study material for two or three years. He then reiterated what the work meant to him: "I hope to incorporate within its pages a full harvest of all that I have thought, and felt and written through the nearly fifty years of my ministry, that is, on the theme of the title."

Roberts considered this work to be something that the seventies, especially, should have. Twenty-one years earlier, from 1907 to 1911, he had published his five-volume Seventy's Course in Theology. The outline approach to the material used in that work was adopted and expanded in TWL. The First Council of the Seventy, he said, believed that this method would be "as successful as in our former experience." He then told Elder Clawson that TWL was "an offering on the part of the First Council of the
Seventy for a course of study . . . and we feel that in this book we are following a line of subject-matter that will give to them [all Melchizedek Priesthood quorums] the proper comprehensive outline upon the Gospel as a whole and prepare them for presenting more intelligently the simple, specific message that we have to offer the world.” This, indeed, was an ambitious goal.

Roberts was also ambitious, and probably unrealistic, in his plans for quick publication. He told Elder Clawson that he could put the forty-three completed chapters in the hands of the printer immediately and that the remaining chapters would be rewritten and ready for the press by the middle of October 1928. The Deseret News Book Printing Department, he said, had informed him that they could produce the book within four or five weeks after the manuscript was in their hands. By the middle of November, the book could be off the press.

By modern publication standards, at least, it is difficult to believe that an 847-page manuscript could be turned over to the printer and be ready for distribution within thirty days. More interesting, however, is the question of whether Roberts was realistic in his expectation that the Council of the Twelve could approve a book like this in such a short time. He must have sensed that it would evoke some disagreement, and one wonders how he expected a committee of extremely busy General Authorities to read, discuss, and approve such a momentous manuscript in thirty days. On the other hand, perhaps Roberts was so confident of the soundness of his doctrine and the persuasiveness of his reasoning that he really expected little difficulty.

In any case, the President of the Council of the Twelve appointed a committee, chaired by Elder George Albert Smith, to consider Elder Roberts’s suggestions, though not necessarily to read and evaluate the manuscript. On September 26, 1928, Elder David O. McKay, a member of that committee, wrote to Elder Smith and his committee and expressed reservations about the procedure. Although Elder McKay had seen nothing of the book, not even its prospectus, he had no doubt that TWL would “deserve a meritorious place in the library of the Church.” There were several reasons, however, why he did not believe it practical to consider adopting the book as a text for 1929. First, he said, TWL was not even

George Albert Smith—Chair

Joseph Fielding Smith  
David O. McKay

Stephen L. Richards  
Melvin J. Ballard

Individual photographs courtesy LDS Church Archives.
completed and had not been approved. Next, he cautioned that the committee appointed to review the book should take time enough to do its work thoroughly. He did not see how this review plus the revision could possibly be done before November; hence, publication "with all its attendant difficulties" must come after November. This publication difficulty precluded *TWL* from consideration because a post-November publication would not provide time for January lessons to be in the hands of teachers. Elder McKay then noted that the 1929 Melchizedek Priesthood course of study was already prescribed, and lessons for January were already prepared. For all these reasons, Elder McKay believed that using *TWL* as a text in 1929 was "wholly inadvisable," though it might be considered for 1930.

The committee adopted Elder McKay's reasoning *in toto*. The next day, George Albert Smith wrote a letter to Rudger Clawson on behalf of the committee, listing exactly the same concerns as Elder McKay in almost exactly the same words. Smith added the committee's recommendation that another committee be appointed "to read carefully Elder B. H. Roberts' manuscript and make report of their findings."

At that point, the Sunday School became a more realistic outlet for the manuscript. In his letter, George Albert Smith raised the possibility that this new committee might recommend to the First Presidency that the manuscript be published for use in the Sunday School as a Gospel Doctrine manual. That suggestion may have come from David O. McKay, who was General Superintendent of the Church's Sunday Schools. On October 2, 1928, at the quarterly meeting of the Council of the Twelve, Rudger Clawson reported that the First Presidency had suggested that the manuscript be submitted to a committee of the Twelve, who should read it carefully with the thought in mind that if it were found suitable it should be used as a text, "presumably in the gospel doctrine department of the Sunday School." There was hardly time, he said, to get a proper reaction from the priesthood quorums in connection with the plans already in operation.

Roberts, meanwhile, was becoming impatient. On October 18, Elder Clawson reported to the Council of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve that Roberts had come to his office wanting
to know if the book was being adopted as a priesthood course of study in 1929. Clawson explained to him that a committee had been appointed to "properly consider" the manuscript, but there had not been time to go over the book and if it were to be used at all it would not be before 1930. In that event, Roberts answered, he would have the work published privately and then, if it were found suitable, it could be adopted as a priesthood text. The First Presidency and the Twelve asked Elder Clawson to inform Roberts of their desire that he not publish it until it had been studied by a committee appointed by the Twelve and permission given for its publication. There was no hint that anyone, as yet, had serious objections. There was, however, a clear consensus that nothing of this nature should go out as an official Church text until it had been fully approved by the leading authorities.

Roberts nevertheless continued to press for quick action. On October 20, he wrote a note to the committee saying again that he had been assured by Deseret News Publishers that the book could be printed and bound within thirty days after the manuscript was in their hands. He added that the manuscript was now "perfected." On October 25, Elder Clawson informed the Council of the First Presidency and the Twelve that he had notified Roberts of their desire that the manuscript not be published without approval by the committee, and Roberts, in turn, handed it to Elder Clawson. President Grant, apparently trying to smooth Roberts's impatience, asked that it be considered as soon as possible.

The committee appointed to read the manuscript consisted of George Albert Smith, chair, David O. McKay, Joseph Fielding Smith, Stephen L. Richards, and Melvin J. Ballard. They took their time because they were extremely busy and they were determined to do a thorough job. Perhaps Roberts should have realized that five members of the Quorum of the Twelve did not have the luxury of a great deal of time to spend just reading his manuscript. On February 26, 1929, George Albert Smith wrote to Elder John A. Widtsoe, who was living in London and presiding over the European Mission. Elder Smith's letter reflected some of the time-consuming work in which the Twelve were involved. In addition to all their regular duties, which included ten to twelve stake conferences every week, there were several committees functioning.
Interestingly, the three committees he mentioned all involved works of Roberts. One committee was studying the matter of celebrating the Church's centennial in 1930. Another was reading the historical material Roberts had previously published in Americana, with a view toward having it updated and published by the Church during the centennial. Another, Elder George Albert Smith's committee, was reading TWL. Elder Smith was impressed with what he had read so far. TWL "will be the most comprehensive treatise of the Gospel that has yet been published," he reported to Elder Widtsoe. Elder Smith also gave some indication of how methodically the committee was proceeding. They had been reading it together twice a week, two hours at a time, for two months. They were hoping to be finished by the end of the month.

On the same day, Elder Joseph Fielding Smith also wrote to Elder Widtsoe. Like George Albert Smith, he commented on how extremely busy the Twelve were, noting that "it has fallen to my lot to draw a place on most of the committees." He also commented on Roberts's "very voluminous manuscript," hinting at a bit of concern for the author's ambitious desire to publish it "as a text book for the Priesthood, Church Schools and everybody in general." He also suggested that the committee was beginning to have some apprehension, for, he said, the manuscript "contains many very excellent things, but also has in it some things which cause us considerable worry." He did not say what those things were, or who was worried about them.

Meanwhile, Roberts's own patience was wearing thin. With hindsight, one can see that the Twelve were acting responsibly, and probably as rapidly as could be expected. But one can also understand what was happening to Roberts, and why, at least in private, he was growing restless and not a little gruff. He was having increasingly serious health problems connected with the diabetes that had begun to afflict him while on his mission; he was deeply involved in various administrative duties connected with his position as President of the First Quorum of the Seventy; he was on the committee planning the Church's centennial; and he was beginning to pull together his Americana material for what would become, the following year, his six-volume Comprehensive History of the Church. In addition, he was deeply annoyed
that his career-long struggle to more clearly define the role of the seventies was getting nowhere, and he was becoming increasingly discouraged at what he considered an all-too-slow process of approving his life's greatest work. The death of a beloved grandson in a violent automobile accident early in January 1929 only added to his despondency.

The foregoing challenges explain the gloom he shared privately with his friend, Howard R. Driggs, in a letter of January 8, 1929. They may also explain why, during the next few years, Roberts sometimes seemed so stubborn and crotchety. His manuscript, he told Driggs, had been in the hands of the committee for nearly three months and they were only halfway through it. "Oh the slowness of large bodies!" he complained. He had no idea what the committee was thinking, though individual members had given him private words of commendation. But, he complained,

this long wait for a reading is taking all the joy out of the initiative and spontaneity that I hoped to impart to the work, and I find myself a good deal depressed over our cumbersome and slow methods, much of which I have found in the past to be so unimportant—I am tired of it and I feel myself growing a bit restive under the formalities and waiting one upon another.

Then, after a complaint about his dissatisfaction in connection with his efforts to more clearly define the role of the seventies, he commented on his own apparent petulance: "Grouchy! Well, maybe a little. The effect of old age! Perhaps. What will come of it? I don't know. . . . You will see I am a bit depressed."35

It is important to observe here that in this and most other available documents, Roberts did not castigate or demean individuals among his brethren. His concern was more with the process, which he considered too cumbersome to allow things to happen as quickly as he desired.

By March 9, Roberts was more optimistic. He reported in a letter to F. T. Pomeroy, editor of the Genealogical and Historical Magazine of the Arizona Temple District, that the committee had finished reading his manuscript and was preparing its report. He hoped that the book would now be published very soon.36

Again, Roberts was too optimistic. He may not have been aware, at this point, of Joseph Fielding Smith's concerns, but Elder Smith
had serious reservations over a few particular points of doctrine. On April 1, Elder Smith prepared an eleven-page document explaining and supporting with scriptures his views that humans were the last of God’s creations, that Adam was the “first man of all men on the earth,” that Adam was not a translated being brought to the earth from some other world, and that Adam was not subject to death before the Fall. Elder Smith did not specifically mention either Roberts or the manuscript, but his document is clearly a direct refutation of the points that bothered him most as a member of the committee reading TWL. Presumably, Elder Smith’s document was read, at least by the committee.

Apparently, members of the Twelve began working with Roberts at about this time, attempting to persuade him either to change his views or to eliminate the controversial pre-Adamite material. But Roberts was not about to cut away a theory that he had arrived at so painstakingly and that, he believed, helped reconcile the conflicts between the biblical account of the Creation—which seemed to place Adam on the earth around 4,000 B.C.—and evidence that was, to him, incontrovertible that human and numerous other forms of life lived and died on this earth for eons prior to the appearance of Adam. According to Roberts, the pre-Adamites, along with all other life, had been wiped off the earth in a great cataclysm, after which Adam, a “translated being,” was brought from another world and told to “replenish” (“refill,” as Roberts interpreted the word) the earth.

Such doctrine flew in the face of Joseph Fielding Smith’s interpretation of scripture, and the two views as stated were simply irreconcilable. The reader of TWL should find Roberts’s reasoning interesting. While Roberts did not use TWL to support the theory of evolution with respect to humans, he skirted close to evolution of plants and animals with his “development theory.” Thus, TWL could have raised further alarms in the mind of Elder Smith, who was determined, above all, to protect what he perceived as the traditional truths of the gospel from any corruption by modernism.37

In May 1929, Roberts expressed his unyielding attitude on the matter when he wrote that “some learned men don’t see some of
its chapters so I am letting it ride until I have more time. Will not change it if it has to sleep.”

Clearly, the Twelve were unable to make a favorable publication decision until Roberts was willing to eliminate the sections to which Elder Smith objected, or until Elder Smith was willing to let TWL be published anyway. Neither was very likely. An impasse was in the making, and it caused problems in connection with plans for course material in 1930. In a quarterly meeting of the Council of the Twelve on July 2, 1929, Elder Smith noted David O. McKay’s concerns over what the Sunday School was going to use as a gospel doctrine manual. The Sunday School had hoped to use Roberts’s manuscript, Elder McKay said, but unless Brother Roberts would consent to eliminate “some of the personal opinions which do not conform to the revelations of the Lord,” TWL could not be used as a manual.

At a similar meeting three months later on October 1, Elder McKay’s recommendation that the Sunday School study Church history the following year was approved. At the same meeting, the Roberts manuscript was again discussed, and again it was reported that Roberts had refused to eliminate the “objectionable teachings.” There were several objections, but none so serious as the “pre-Adamite” theory and the interpretation of Adam as a “translated being subject to death.”

Members of the committee, meanwhile, worked with Elder Roberts, but failed to persuade him to eliminate these “objectionable features.” Finally, on October 10, 1929, the committee sent their report to the Council of the Twelve. In a cover letter of that date, George Albert Smith graciously affirmed the committee’s feeling that for the most part Roberts’s work was “very worthy” in its treatment of the mission of Jesus Christ and gospel principles, though “the manuscript could be greatly reduced without injury to the thoughts expressed.” There were, however, objectionable doctrines of a “speculative nature” that, the committee said, “appear to be out of harmony with the revelations of the Lord and the fundamental teachings of the Church.” A three-page discussion of twenty-seven points questioned by the committee was given to Roberts, apparently in preparation for this meeting, but he was both dismayed and irritated—not just at the year-long ordeal of
waiting, but also at some of the objections. His personal copy of the list is covered with his underlining and handwritten reactions to nearly every point. Already he was preparing his thoughts for the more extensive discussions that would come in January 1930. Indeed, Roberts had informed them that if he could not obtain their approval he would, perhaps, publish it on his own at some future time. This, of course, was only a reiteration of what he had said a year earlier. The committee then recommended “that in its present form, the manuscript not be published.”

Several events over the next few months suggest that the differences were about to become more intense and more public, even as most of the actors in this interesting drama wanted to maintain a harmonious spirit despite their differences of opinion. Elder Roberts, perhaps unwisely, became more bold and began preaching his theories in various Church meetings and on the air. Alarmed, Elder Joseph Fielding Smith reported at the November 26 meeting of the Council of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve that Roberts had been doing this for months, “thereby causing a great deal of commotion among our young people.” He thought Roberts should be enjoined from such preaching. He also reported that in a meeting of the Twelve that morning, Elder Roberts said that he would gladly review his manuscript and make modifications if he could find his way clear to do so. Failing that, Roberts would publish it on his own.

In a meeting of the Twelve held approximately one month later (January 7, 1930), Elder Smith expressed his dismay at the “dangers lurking in modern thought.” James E. Talmage voiced his concern that any literature sent out by the Church should be “accurate,” saying that his experience in reading manuscripts convinced him that many people are careless in what they say and in how it appears in print. The minutes do not suggest that these statements were aimed directly at Roberts, but given the climate of the time and the fact that the issue clearly was coming to a head, the Roberts manuscript could not have been far back in the minds of the apostles. Elder Rudger Clawson, who found the spirit of the meeting attractive, noted what must have been the sense of unity they all were striving for: “We are all different,” he said, “but have the same spirit and testimony.”
Four months later, however, Joseph Fielding Smith felt it was his responsibility to bring his own understanding of the doctrines in question more clearly to the attention of the public. On Saturday, April 5, 1930, he gave an address at a conference of the Genealogical Society of Utah. There, without mentioning Elder Roberts or his manuscript by name, Smith addressed directly the doctrines in TWL that he objected to, which doctrines were apparently being taught by Roberts in some of the wards and stakes. "I denounce as absolutely false the opinions of some," he said, "that this earth was peopled with a race before Adam." Smith also complained that this and other doctrines were being preached by "elders" in an attempt to reconcile some of the beliefs of the Church with those of some scientists. The address was reported briefly in that evening's edition of the Deseret News, but Roberts's immediate reaction is not available.

Roberts, meanwhile, was finding enough time in his busy schedule to follow through on the request of the committee that he go over the chapters in question and report by May 1 on the likelihood of changing them so they could be used as a priesthood text for 1930-31. In a letter dated April 28, 1930, he reported to Elder George Albert Smith and the committee. "[I] have again come to my former conclusion (and more firmly)," Roberts declared, "that it cannot be changed or given up without destroying the very genius and purpose of my work." Even minor concessions, Roberts felt, would undermine the whole. The impasse was clear: the uncertain doctrines were simply too central to Elder Roberts's thinking to be abandoned; Elder Smith's opposing views were the same for him.

Roberts tried, however, to show that he was not intransigent. "I do not put forth my work as absolutely accurate or beyond fault," he wrote, "that can only be said of the scriptures." He was still willing to be shown where his book was wrong or at variance with the scriptures, but, he said, "I cannot convince myself in this case that I am wrong." He also noted (as he had with respect to his Book of Mormon studies) that one of his main concerns was with the youth of the Church. He hoped his text would be helpful to many of them in "solving their intellectual problems." That was a high expectation, but it suggests how devoutly Roberts believed
he had reconciled the major scientific problems of the day with the scriptures.

Roberts concluded his letter by conceding the right of the committee to examine his work as to its fitness for a priesthood text and to decide against it. Therefore, he said, "I withdraw it from further consideration by your Committee for such uses." However, he declared his continuing independence when he said that he did not concede the right of the committee to determine what he should write or say personally, on his own responsibility, "not of text book standard, but as a contribution to Mormon literature dealing with doctrine and other subjects." Clearly, he was still thinking of private publication.

On May 15, Elder Clawson reported Roberts's response at a meeting of the Council of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve. He also gave to the First Presidency a copy of Roberts's April 28 letter, along with a one-page summary of the points in question. A week later, Elder Roberts had a lengthy interview with the First Presidency in which the contents of the book were discussed. After being told again that the First Presidency and the Twelve could not approve some parts, Roberts reiterated his determination to make no changes.

President Grant later reflected in his journal his sorrow that Elder Roberts was determined to include "some things that I think problematical and cannot be demonstrated." But, he noted, the Church had furnished Elder Roberts a stenographer, both in New York and since his return to Salt Lake City, for the purpose of completing the book. President Grant clearly felt the Church therefore had the right to determine what went in it, if it were to be used as a Church manual. He thought that before publication they must come to an understanding on its content, "and we object emphatically to his putting anything in it that the Presidency and the Apostles cannot approve."

The matter was not closed. Joseph Fielding Smith continued to be troubled over the "worldly philosophies" and "theories of men" that were "creeping in among the Latter-day Saints" and, he believed, injuring their faith. He urged repentance and more humility among the people. He also saw too many "modernistic tendencies" among the instructors in the priesthood and other
Heber J. Grant. President Grant and his counselors authorized Roberts's stay in New York and provided him a stenographer. Because *The Truth, The Way, The Life* was considered an excellent work in many respects, President Grant sorrowed that Roberts insisted on including in it “some things that I think [are] problematical and cannot be demonstrated.” Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
organizations. These were "a grave danger" to the Church, and something should be done to remedy the situation. Then, in October, he allowed his April 5 speech to be published in the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*. There he sketched the plan of salvation and declared that the doctrine of "pre-Adamites" was not a doctrine of the Church and that there was no death on the earth before the fall of Adam. He stressed the incompleteness of our knowledge about the Creation, the need for faith, and the importance of patiently placing more confidence in the work of God and less in the passing theories of men. This publication became the catalyst for a chain of events that led to a series of crucial discussions in the meetings of the Council of the Twelve. These discussions also constituted a major element in the saga of *TWL*.

Elder Roberts was beside himself at the publication of Elder Smith's speech, but he did not make a public reply or show any public rancor toward Elder Smith or any of the General Authorities. Privately, however, this was the one time in the history of *TWL* that Roberts came close to criticizing one of his colleagues personally.

With hindsight, one can view the unique *TWL* story as one of the major historic conflicts of perspective among honest, dedicated Church leaders who were unified in their commitment to the essentials but disagreed on things that the Church had not officially defined. On the one hand, Elder Roberts believed that one must accept the findings of modern science and find a way to reconcile them with the scriptures. On the other, Elder Smith feared such methodology as the path toward undermining the scriptural foundations of faith in the Lord. These views were at an impasse. The most significant thing about the eventual outcome, however, was the fact that in the end, the leaders of the Church officially declared that neither view was the doctrine of the Church. The final answer was not essential to salvation. It was therefore better, in the long run, for ambiguity to remain than for a mistake to be enshrined.

On December 15, 1930, Roberts wrote to the First Presidency about Elder Smith's Genealogical Society address. Roberts wanted to know if the address had been submitted to and approved by the First Presidency or Quorum of the Twelve before it was published. Was the address an official declaration or merely "the unofficial
and personal declaration” of the opinions of Elder Smith? If it was unofficial, Roberts said, that fact should have been made clear in the discourse. It is understandable, of course, after the seemingly interminable reading of the TWZ manuscript and its final rejection, that Roberts should have been upset when the opposite view got into print with no review at all (even if in an unofficial journal). One wonders, however, if Roberts would have been willing to state clearly in his own book that it reflected merely his own opinions and not the doctrine of the Church. Perhaps, if he had published it on his own, he would have made this qualification. Nothing in the documents, however, suggests that this occurred to anyone as a possible solution.

Roberts went further in his letter. He objected to the “dogmatic” spirit of the speech and its “finality,” as if “speaking with final authority.” He also challenged Elder Smith’s “competence,” if the address was his own and not an official pronouncement, to speak with authority on such subjects. He also declared that Elder Smith’s views were in conflict with a statement by an “earlier Apostle” that had been endorsed by none other than Brigham Young, a statement that therefore carried more weight than the “dictum” of Elder Smith.

At the same time, on December 16, Elder Smith felt greater concern and anxiety than ever before about certain books that were being published on the Bible for use in Church schools. Those publications appeared to have Church approval, but they had not been reviewed by any of the Brethren.

The First Presidency gave Elder Smith’s article and Elder Roberts’s letter to the Council of the Twelve, asking them to investigate the matter and try to reconcile the differences of opinion. On December 30, in a telephone conversation, Rudger Clawson asked Elder Roberts for a more definite statement regarding his objections to Elder Smith’s treatise. Roberts wrote to Clawson the next day, stating his position in practically the same terms as before. He also added a statement of belief that Elder Smith’s remarks were contrary to the scriptures and would tend “to reduce the Church of the New Dispensation to the character of a narrow, bigoted sect.” He also asked for an opportunity to defend his statements, a request that he repeated in person in an extemporaneous address at the meeting of the Council of the Twelve on January 2, 1931.
Elder Roberts was granted his request. On January 7, 1931, he appeared before the Council of the Twelve (with Elder Smith present), armed with Draft 2 of chapter 31 of TWL, constituting a fifty-page statement of his position. He quoted extensively from leading scientists, and in support of his position that the earth was peopled before Adam and that Adam was commanded to "replenish" (refill) it, Roberts quoted a sermon by Orson Hyde of October 9, 1854, which, Roberts said, had been endorsed by Brigham Young. On January 16, Elder Clawson told the First Presidency of the discussion but did not give a full report. Rather, the Presidency decided that the Twelve should hear the entire case before reporting to them; since Elder Roberts had stated his position before the Twelve, it was only fair that Elder Smith be given the same opportunity.

On January 21, Joseph Fielding Smith had his turn. He appeared before the Council, with Elder Roberts also present, carrying a fifty-eight-page paper.\textsuperscript{44} He answered all of Roberts's arguments with obvious mastery of both the scriptures and the sermons of earlier leaders of the Church. In this meeting, as well as in the meeting two weeks earlier, there was little discussion. In both instances, the Apostles simply listened as the brethren read their papers.\textsuperscript{45}

While it is hardly fair to judge who "got the best" of these proceedings, it is interesting to note that Elder Smith seemed to be on somewhat firmer ground than Roberts as to Roberts's assertion that Brigham Young had endorsed Orson Hyde's doctrine of pre-Adamic men. Elder Smith observed that in the sermon in question Orson Hyde was not really preaching on pre-Adamites. Rather, Hyde was preaching about marriage and referred to pre-Adamites only incidentally. Indeed, he noted, President Young never at any time talked about pre-Adamites. When President Young said, "We have had a splendid address from brother Hyde, for which I am grateful," he was not necessarily endorsing the pre-Adamite theory.\textsuperscript{46} Elder Smith was also on more solid ground concerning the Hebrew behind the word \textit{replenish} in Genesis 1:28.

Between these two meetings, Elder James E. Talmage, who was clearly aware of the opposing viewpoints, delivered a Sunday sermon from the Tabernacle. This January 18 address was reported
in the *Deseret News*. He spoke of revelation as "the source of all true knowledge and genuine wisdom." Retracing many themes in *TWL*, he covered spirit life before mortal birth, "the Adamic Dispensation," and the subsequent dispensations of the gospel; he used science and scriptures to demonstrate the orderliness of God's ways, the purposefulness of earth life, and the directive intelligence behind all phenomena of nature. He affirmed that he had found nothing in the gospel "contrary to reason and common sense," and he cast aspersions on "higher critics" who did not accept the simple scriptural account. Prescient of the eventual outcome of the discussions about *TWL*, Talmage struck a middle ground and ventured no opinion on the areas in controversy.

Three days later, on January 21, 1931, Rudger Clawson, on behalf of the Council of the Twelve, sent a report to the First Presidency about the presentations of Roberts and Smith. Elder Clawson briefly reviewed the arguments, then indicated that Elder Roberts's language about Elder Smith's competence was "very offensive" because it failed to show brotherly deference to one of higher priesthood rank. However, at the close of the meeting, Clawson said, the two brethren had affirmed "that they entertained no ill feeling, one toward the other."47 This point should be emphasized, for it reflects the fact that both men, despite their deep differences, respected each other as fellow servants in the Kingdom. In the end, the Council of the Twelve made no recommendation; they simply awaited instructions from the First Presidency, who wanted all of the General Authorities to be present when the matter was discussed "so that all might become united."

Meanwhile, the discussion was expanding, for other General Authorities were also concerned about the implications of modern science and their views were sought. On January 13, Elder Melvin J. Ballard wrote to Elder John A. Widtsoe (who was still on assignment in England). Ballard mentioned that the General Authorities were giving "great attention" to important doctrinal matters, and particularly the question of pre-Adamites that had been suggested in Elder Roberts's book. "If you have any views on the subject," he wrote, "I am sure the brethren would be glad to hear from you." Elder Widtsoe's reply, written on January 27, provides a very important statement about his own attempt to find the kind of
balance that would not fly in the face of either well-documented scientific fact or revealed religious truth. The wisest plan, Widtsoe thought, was to do what they had been doing for years:

Accept all well-established and authenticated facts; and refuse to base our faith on theories whether scientific or theological. One may be led into all manner of absurdities if he clings strictly to the changing theories of science; and one may quite as easily find himself in mistaken notions if he attempts the interpretation of the scriptures without getting a full perspective of the subject and adequate knowledge of human events that led to the giving of the scriptures, including origins and translations.

He did not comment directly on pre-Adamites, but his attitude toward science and religion was clearly akin to that of Roberts. He appealed to “reasonable wisdom in guiding the [new] generation brought up under the domination of new ideas, modern ideas.”

One of the impressive realities that pervades this entire story is the seriousness, concern, and goodwill toward the participants demonstrated by the First Presidency and the Twelve in these discussions. Few people understood or appreciated how hard these leaders worked on the task. The General Authorities were deeply concerned to avoid making statements or endorsing positions that

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Rudger Clawson. Elder Clawson served as President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles during the time The Truth, The Way, The Life was being considered by the Twelve as a possible lesson manual. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
were not clearly in accord with revealed truth. None seemed to lean as far one way or the other as either Elder Roberts or Elder Smith, but there is no evidence that anyone criticized either of them for their positions. The General Authorities were searching for truth, but they also knew that whatever public statement they authorized would be accepted by the Saints as final truth. They wanted to be sure that no private opinion was so dignified.

After receiving the Twelve’s report about Roberts and Smith, the First Presidency took the matter under advisement and began to read all the relevant documents themselves. On Sunday, January 25, 1931, President Grant spent the morning in the office with his first counselor, Anthony W. Ivins, reading the material. At noon they decided that since President Ivins had read all the material the day before, President Grant should finish it at home. They would not make a decision, however, until the other counselor, Charles W. Nibley (who was out of town) had also seen the documents. President Grant spent part of the afternoon and evening finishing his reading. He later recorded in his journal a marvelously well-balanced statement that set the tone for the final disposition of the case. “After reading the articles by Brothers Roberts and Smith,” he wrote,

I feel that sermons such as Brother Joseph preached and criticisms such as Brother Roberts makes of the sermon are the finest kind of things to let alone entirely. I think no good can be accomplished by dealing in mysteries, and that is what I feel in my heart of hearts these brethren are both doing.

Roberts, meanwhile, brooded about the possible outcome of the hearings and finally, on February 9, wrote a letter to the First Presidency. The letter brought the issue right back to the matter of his book. He complained again about what he considered the weaknesses of Elder Smith’s arguments, then declared, perhaps intemperately, that it was on the basis of “such pabulum” that the publication of TWL was suspended. The book, he declared again, “is the most important work that I have yet contributed to the Church, the six-volumed Comprehensive History of the Church not omitted.” He asked for a chance to respond to Elder Smith’s reply to his paper before a final decision was made, for he now had much more to present. If he could have the chance, he believed, the principal cause of suspending his work would be removed.
Elder Roberts got a second chance on February 25, when he met for over two hours with the First Presidency.

The First Presidency was fully aware of and undoubtedly impressed by the fact that both James E. Talmage and John A. Widtsoe were finding a common middle ground of agreement and belief. They also continued prayerfully to consider the matter. Finally, sometime before April 5, the First Presidency reached a decision. It was incorporated into an eight-page report (dated April 5) that was addressed to the Council of the Twelve, the First Council of the Seventy, and the Presiding Bishopric. The report thoroughly and thoughtfully reviewed the entire matter, beginning with Elder Smith’s address to the Genealogical and Historical Society a year earlier. Then, on April 7, in a four-hour meeting of all the General Authorities, who were happy finally to be all together, the First Presidency announced and discussed in detail their decision. “After prayerful consideration,” they said, they had “decided that nothing would be gained by a continuation of the discussion of the subject under consideration.”

The First Presidency included in their report several statements that should have special importance to Latter-day Saints, for these statements are powerful cautions against doctrinal extremes. Speaking specifically to the issues in the controversy, the First Presidency declared: “The statement made by Elder Smith that the existence of pre-Adamites is not a doctrine of the Church is true. It is just as true that the statement: ‘There were not pre-Adamites upon the earth,’ is not a doctrine of the Church. Neither side of the controversy has been accepted as a doctrine at all.”

Later in the document, the First Presidency quoted from Joseph Smith, who on April 8, 1843, declared:

Oh ye Elders of Israel, harken to my voice; and when you are sent into the world to preach, tell those things you are sent to tell; preach and cry aloud, “Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand; repent and believe the Gospel.” Declare the first principles, and let mysteries alone, lest ye be overthrown. . . . Elder Brown, when you go to Palmyra, say nothing about the four beasts, but preach those things the Lord has told you to preach about—repentance and baptism for the remission of sins.

Interestingly, this quotation is from the same sermon in which Joseph Smith made his oft-quoted statement that he did not like
the fact that Pelatiah Brown had been called before the High Council for "erring in doctrine." Nor did he like "creeds," Joseph said, but, rather, wanted "the liberty of thinking and believing" as he pleased. Furthermore, "it does not prove that a man is not a good man because he errs in doctrine." These words should not be construed as pleading for "freedom of thought" in the sense of teaching false doctrine after being cautioned by Church leaders not to do so. The Prophet was pleading with Elder Brown (who was going on a mission) and others to preach first principles, not the mysteries. This was indeed an appropriate background for using the quotation in the setting of the 1931 deliberations. "We believe," said the First Presidency, "this admonition to be as applicable to us as to those to whom the Prophet addressed it." The First Presidency continued by suggesting how all could be agreed:

Upon the fundamental doctrines of the Church we are all agreed. Our mission is to bear the message of the restored gospel to the people of the world. Leave Geology, Biology, Archeology and Anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research, while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church.

They then reaffirmed that "we can see no advantage to be gained by a continuation of the discussion to which reference is here made, but on the contrary are certain that it would lead to confusion, division and misunderstanding if carried further." They ended with one doctrinal pronouncement upon which they felt all must agree. It came from a 1909 statement by the First Presidency: "Adam is the primal parent of our race." Anything more or less than that was not official Church doctrine.

The First Presidency's decision was neither a refutation nor an affirmation of Roberts's position, but the decision meant that his speculative work could not be published by the Church nor could Elder Smith's heartfelt responses be preached as official doctrine. James E. Talmage recorded in his journal (April 7) his satisfaction with the decision: "I think the decision of the First Presidency is a wise one in the premises. This is one of the many things upon which we cannot preach with assurance and dogmatic assertions on either side are likely to do harm rather than good."52

The leaders of the Church could have let the matter drop at that point, but they were too deeply concerned about the feelings
of Elder Roberts and too impressed with the noncontroversial parts of his manuscript not to make another attempt at reconciliation. In a meeting of the Council of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve on April 9, Elder Stephen L. Richards proposed that it would be a “splendid thing” if the First Presidency would once more refer to the Twelve the matter of considering TWL\textsuperscript{53} so that “a further attempt might be made to effect some reconciliation with Brother Roberts which would make possible the publication of his book.” President Grant called the suggestion commendable, a motion was made and approved, and the matter went back to the Twelve. The following day the same people who had served on the initial committee were appointed by Rudger Clawson to serve on a new one. They were to call on Roberts, making an “earnest effort to compose matters and induce him, if possible, to consent to the elimination from his manuscript of any illusion [sic] to the theory of a pre-Adamic race or races,” as well as other minor objections. In the letter of appointment, Elder Clawson again affirmed the general feeling that this was an “excellent work” that should not be lost to the Church by going unpublished. Unless Roberts made the changes, however, TWL could not be used by the priesthood quorums.

There is no record of what happened with this committee, but it is apparent that Elder Roberts still declined to make the changes. Meanwhile, he sought some comfort in what certain other General Authorities, particularly Elder James E. Talmage, were doing.

On August 9, 1931, at the request of the First Presidency, Elder Talmage delivered an address entitled “The Earth and Man” that was soon made available by the Church in pamphlet form and published in several periodicals. In his address, Elder Talmage recognized not only that the earth was extremely ancient, but also that life and death occurred on the earth long before the advent of humans. This teaching was clearly contrary to what Joseph Fielding Smith believed. The address included more, but the most significant thing in connection with this discussion is Elder Talmage’s explanation as to why he gave the talk.

The conclusion of the hearings and discussions in relation to the disagreement between Elders Roberts and Smith did not bring to an end the need for Church leaders to consider the issues
related to modern scientific knowledge. In his lengthy journal entry for November 21, 1931, Elder Talmage briefly reviewed all the recent discussions, then noted that many LDS students had inferred from Elder Smith’s 1930 address that the Church refused to recognize the findings of science if there was even a seeming conflict with scripture and that therefore the policy of the Church was opposed to scientific research. In other words, because Elder Smith’s statement had been published and Elder Roberts’s had not, Elder Smith’s view was catching on among the youth of the Church. Elder Talmage knew that the April 7, 1931, decision meant that General Authorities were not supposed to discuss such things in public any more. He had also been present at a later discussion, however, in which the First Presidency had commented favorably on the suggestion that “sometime, somewhere, something should be said by one or more of us to make plain that the Church does not refuse to recognize the discoveries and demonstrations of science, especially in relation to the subject at issue.”

Talmage noted that President Anthony W. Ivins presided and three other members of the Council of the Twelve, including Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, had been present at his August 9 address. He also observed that Elder Smith and all the others recognized that his address was “in some important respects opposed to [Elder Smith’s] published remarks,” but the other brethren nevertheless expressed their “tentative approval” of what he said. Then, in a tender expression of his deep concern for harmonious relationships even in the midst of some difference of opinion, he expressed his gratitude that on November 16 his address had been very thoroughly considered by the First Presidency, who approved its publication, with slight changes. It appeared in the Church Section of the Deseret News on November 17 and in the Millennial Star on December 31, 1931. Talmage’s journal entry concludes:

The discussions throughout . . . have been forceful but in every respect friendly, and the majority of the Twelve have been in favor of the publication of the address. . . . I have hoped and fervently prayed that the brethren would be rightly guided in reaching a decision, and, as the Lord knows my heart, I have no personal desire for a triumph or victory in the matter, but have hoped that the address would be published or suppressed as would do for the best. The issue is now closed; the address is in print.
James E. Talmage. Talmage's August 9, 1931, speech, "The Earth and Man," about the age of the earth and the origin and nature of Adam's race won approval from the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve. This speech emphasized that geology and scripture "cannot be fundamentally opposed, . . . though man's interpretation of either may be seriously at fault." Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

One result of the publication of "The Earth and Man" was another brief discussion about the possibility of publishing TWL. The impact of the address on Roberts must have been exhilarating, for here, at last, was a public statement by a member of the Quorum of the Twelve that opened a door for some of Roberts's own most cherished attitudes. Talmage had not really clarified the question of pre-Adamic man, but he had said enough that Roberts was led to renew his request to the First Presidency to have his book reconsidered. As Elder Talmage wrote to John A. Widtsoe on February 5, 1932, Roberts's request was based on his claim that Talmage's address went "beyond what he [Roberts] had ventured to say in his book concerning our recognition of the facts in science relating to the age of the earth and of the human race thereon." On March 18, Elder Roberts sent a chapter from his manuscript (probably chapter 31) to Elder Talmage. After it had been returned from the Twelve, Roberts wrote, he had added a few more pages of evidence relating to the antiquity of humanity. He emphasized that "the spirit and facts of the chapter, however, are in no way changed, but the evidence has been a little increased." He did not want it copied by anyone.
Less than a week later, on March 24, President Grant reported to the Council of the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve that the Young Men’s and Young Women’s Mutual Improvement Associations had requested permission to use TWL in their adult classes the following year. Roberts himself was no doubt one of the instigators of this request, for he was the first assistant to George Albert Smith, the president of the Young Men’s association. The leaders discussed the matter at length, some emphasizing again their belief that TWL was the best work Roberts had ever written and that the material was “very timely and will appeal to young people.” But the First Presidency and the Twelve were also convinced that chapters 30 and 31 would lead to contention and “no end of trouble.” As in the case of all the earlier discussions, the leaders agreed again that TWL should not be published without the recommended modifications nor should it be used as a course of study in the Mutual Improvement Associations.

President Grant agreed to inform Elder Roberts of the council’s decision. He did not do so immediately, however, but waited until after the forthcoming general conference. Again, President Grant waited because he wanted to hold a meeting of all the General Authorities and explain the attitude of the First Presidency and the Twelve toward matters of this kind, so there could be “perfect harmony” among them. This was apparently the last time the issue was taken up during Roberts’s lifetime.

The final decision grated on Roberts as deeply as had each of the others. Roberts continued in his tireless, steadfast way to carry out his ministry as a Church leader, and he did all he could, publicly, to bear witness of the divinity of the restored gospel. Privately, however, he was sometimes discouraged and despondent, showing signs of impatience and, perhaps, depression. One reason for this depression was connected with his failure to achieve all he hoped for with respect to the organization of the seventies. Another was the dashing of his hopes for TWL. His despondency must also be seen in terms of all the other things that were happening in his personal life.

During his last few years, Roberts recognized that his health was going fast, and he was not sure how long he would remain alive. In May 1931, he was released from the hospital, where he
had had part of a foot removed as a result of circulatory problems related to diabetes. According to his biographer, Roberts was beginning to shift his priorities in order to end his life exercising "my duty as a special witness for the Lord Jesus Christ." But he also longed to lay the doctrines of TWL before the Saints and continued to present themes from TWL in his sermons.55 His magnum opus, which was also one of his most eloquent testimonies of Christ, was very much on his mind as part of what he wanted to leave as his religious heritage.

Sometime in January 1931, about the time Roberts and Elder Joseph Fielding Smith were making their presentations before the Council of the Twelve, Roberts wrote: "I have been passing through the severest mental and spiritual strain of my life during the past two months—Doctrinal questions before the Twelve and the First Presidency in connection with my book The Truth, the Way, the Life, respecting which there seems to be little prospect of settlement."56 In his February 9, 1931, letter to President Heber J. Grant he again showed his anxiety: "Life at my years and with an incurable ailment is very precarious, and I should dislike very much to pass on without completing and publishing this work." Sometime in 1932, after the final rejection of his manuscript, he wrote with resignation to President Grant: "That book may not likely be printed in my lifetime. Comment will not be necessary."57 Elder Roberts died on September 27, 1933, of complications related to diabetes.

Two months after Roberts's death, Elsie Cook looked back on the time she spent working with Elder Roberts. "He was inspiring in everything he did," she wrote, "in his speaking as well as in his dictating the several volumes [10] of books I helped him with." Cook's work included TWL. She remembered that her patriarchal blessing promised her that she would find "hidden treasures." "What I have learned from this wonderfully intellectual, and spiritually powerful [man], President, are the 'hidden treasures,' which perhaps I could not have had otherwise."58 Roberts himself could have asked for no better tribute. It was his dream that TWL would provide such spiritual strength for all the Saints.

Modern scholars may say that TWL fell short of Roberts's dream,59 but it nevertheless represented Roberts's long-held aspiration to be a "disciple of the second sort." Most of his theological
discussion was not unique to this manuscript—much, indeed, was taken from earlier works. But that is just the point. He considered all he had done previously to be only a prelude to this work. "I am trying to summarize and reconcile all truth—all truth," he told a former missionary after his return from New York. "But it is so hard. So hard!" This, too, was part of both his life as a faithful intellectual and his effort to become a disciple of the second sort.

The question remained as to what to do with the manuscript of TWL. On October 12, 1933, just sixteen days after Elder Roberts's death, the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve discussed it once again. Rudger Clawson said that the Twelve were anxious to use it as a course of study for the priesthood the coming year, after making whatever changes the Council approved. An important question, of course, was whether the Church had the right to make such changes, now that Roberts was dead. President Grant, however, had been in contact with the family, who "acknowledged that the manuscript belongs to the Church." The only thing family members wanted was the right to file their protest if they did not agree with whatever changes were made. It was noted, too, that the seventies had furnished over five hundred dollars to assist in the cost of preparing the work. All this was sufficient to insure that the Church owned the manuscript and could do with it as it wished. In the end, however, the Council decided not to publish TWL at that time. Perhaps their continuing high esteem of Roberts made them hesitant to make the changes they knew he would so much oppose. In any case, it is propitious for modern readers, especially those who are anxious to explore more deeply the mind of this dynamic LDS scholar and Church leader, that such a decision was made. Otherwise, little incentive would likely have existed to make TWL available today in its uncut form.

In the years since 1933, the question of publication has periodically reappeared. In the mid-1970s, for example, Assistant Church Historian Davis Bitton was asked to evaluate the manuscript for possible publication. His recommendation was that it should not be published by the Church, but that it should be made available for study at the archives. As late as 1982, another committee was formed to consider TWL again, but the committee was soon dissolved. The First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve
had reviewed the 1931 decision and were impressed with the wisdom of the admonition given then that the Church's mission was "to bear the message of the restored gospel to the people of the world. Leave Geology, Biology, Archeology and Anthropology, no one of which has to do with the salvation of the souls of mankind, to scientific research, while we magnify our calling in the realm of the Church."

The publication of TWL, therefore, is by no means an official publication of the Church. Nevertheless, for those admirers of B. H. Roberts and for others who are interested in the rich intellectual and spiritual history of the Church, TWL should be a valuable addition to their libraries. Roberts did not succeed in having TWL published during his lifetime; those of us who have been involved in this project are pleased to now make it available, along with commentary on its historical standing and intellectual contexts.

**THE TRUTH, THE WAY, THE LIFE**

An Elementary Treatise On Theology

BY

ELDER B. H. ROBERTS

Senior President of the First Council of the Seven

Author of

*New Witness for God* (2 vols)

Outlines of Biblical Antiquity

Mormon Doctrine of the Priesthood

In One Volume

and

Three Parts

Editorial Postscript

On May 19, 1994, BYU Studies released its edition of B. H. Roberts's The Truth, The Way, The Life, together with a three-volume facsimile edition of the 2,476 pages that comprise Roberts's three drafts (1927–28) of this work. The originals of all three drafts are owned by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and BYU Studies published them with permission of the Church. This work of study and faith invites the modern reader to step back several decades in time, take out the scriptures, think about the world and the gospel of Jesus Christ, ask the age-old questions about the purposes of life, and pay close attention as Elder B. H. Roberts discloses the crisscrossing paths of his most cherished doctrinal truths and most treasured philosophical thoughts. His topics include philosophy, cosmology, astronomy, natural law, metaphysics, intelligence, pluralism, intergalactic communication, ethics, theology, revelation, prophecies about Jesus Christ, world religions, ancient civilizations, the Creation, paleontology, prehistoric man, the origin of Adam and Eve, the Fall, biblical history, the atonement and resurrection of Jesus Christ, baptism, the sacrament, the Sermon on the Mount, and the commandments of God. This work is significant as a formative effort to synthesize into one coherent whole all that Roberts considered to be main Latter-day Saint gospel doctrines, together with related implications drawn from anything else that was known about the cosmos, where we came from, why we are here, how God reveals truth to people on this earth, how people have fallen away from God’s light, and how the atonement of Jesus offers the way back to eternal life and exaltation.

All interested readers can be glad that this historical document is now available. BYU Studies trusts that readers will find its edition of TWL to be complete, easy to use, and full of useful information and that this manuscript has been given the care and attention it deserves. Among its main features are the following:

The BYU Studies edition offers two hundred pages of substantive introductory analysis by a variety of scholars specializing in philosophy, theology, science, scripture, history, and other main topics of TWL. These essays—including James Allen’s treatment printed above of the official Church correspondence relating to this work—present a broad range of facts showing the religious content and significance of TWL.

The 816-page book presents the entire text of TWL, down to minute details. Most pages are printed as Roberts left them in Draft 3. Significant additions, present only here, come from Drafts 1 and 2. The most important addition is found at the end of the most problematic chapter in the book, chapter 31. Those pages are from Draft 2 and constitute the text of Roberts’s closing remarks to the Council of the Twelve
on January 7, 1931. For complete access to Roberts's additions and deletions in his drafts, one may consult the BYU Studies three-volume facsimile edition of the three drafts.

In typesetting this book, BYU Studies used typographical symbols in the text to show words Roberts added by hand to the typescript or words he crossed out when he did his final editing. These symbols make this information easily and accurately accessible. Roberts's errors in spelling, grammar, punctuation, abbreviations, scripture references, and other such details have been corrected, but the style and meaning of the original have been conserved as far as possible. The editors and assistants have carefully checked Roberts's scripture references and have marked in the text the differences between the scriptural texts and Roberts's readings of them. Some of the differences are minor, but several are significant.

Several footnotes help explain the context in which Roberts wrote. Footnotes added by the editors are marked with letters, whereas footnotes originally given by Roberts are numbered. The comments by the committee of the Quorum of the Twelve, along with Roberts's reactions to those comments, are given in footnotes at the relevant places in TWL.

The BYU Studies edition lists the main doctrinal works written by Roberts during his lifetime and identifies the pages in those works where Roberts addresses topics similar to those he treats in TWL. This unique appendix demonstrates how comprehensively this work synthesizes Roberts's lifetime work on Church doctrines. In addition, a bibliography is given of all of the sources used in TWL by Roberts. BYU Studies checked these references against Roberts's personal copies of these books, which were given to the Church by his family in October 1933 and are still held by the Church as the B. H. Roberts Memorial Library.

Because this edition is based on the original manuscripts, its illustrations are diagrams from Roberts's hand. Several pages in Roberts's handwriting or from his typed manuscripts also appear as illustrations in the BYU Studies edition, along with photographs of many people, including B. H. Roberts at different periods in his life. Several of these photographs have been provided by Roberts's family members.

The book also features a complete chapter analysis of the fifty-five chapters in TWL. All of the chapter headings and subheadings have been combined into this section, providing a convenient overview of this extensive work. In doing this, BYU Studies followed an instruction of B. H. Roberts, who left a note that the chapter analyses should be combined into a single appendix.

The volume is presented as an historical artifact. The cover design is similar to the cover of Roberts's Comprehensive History of the Church, and some of the graphics come from a special 1927 printing of
one of Roberts's books about Joseph Smith. The green color of the cover is reminiscent of the later editions of his book *The Gospel*. Finally, the new book is printed on thin paper, which allows this substantial volume and its extensive essays to be handled very conveniently.

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NOTES

1 The leading biography of Roberts is Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980). See his epilogue for some apt and interesting characterizations.


3 Roberts was, in fact, reluctant even to consider publishing an autobiography. In 1928, he declined an invitation to write a biographical sketch for the *National Encyclopedia* because, he said, "my biography is of such little consequence, my station in life so unimportant and my obscurity so complete." He also wrote to a former missionary in 1933 that "my life is not of sufficient importance for biography." T. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 438 n. 25; 376.


6 See a list of some of his most important publications in T. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 441–43.

7 Fiske, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* (1874) and *Studies in Religion* (1902).


10 Roberts, "The Book of Mormon Translated," 713.


17 B. H. Roberts to Heber J. Grant and Counselors, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the First Council of the Seventy, Salt Lake City, December 29, 1921, in Roberts, Studies of the Book of Mormon, 46.


19 B. H. Roberts to President Heber J. Grant, Council, and Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, dated March 15, 1923, in Roberts, Studies of the Book of Mormon, 57–58. This typewritten letter was not originally dated but later Roberts added a handwritten date, “March, 15th 1923.” Truman Madsen and John Welch argue that Roberts typed the letter hurriedly just before he left Salt Lake City in 1922, then took it and the manuscript with him to New York. The following year he considered again the possibility of submitting the manuscript, at which time he wrote the date on the letter. In the end, however, he never submitted either the letter or the manuscript. In a letter to his daughter Elizabeth, dated March 14, 1932, Roberts clarifies that the letter above was written before he left on his mission. He also says that he had “made one feeble effort to get it before them since returning home, but they are not in a studious mood.” Letter is Exhibit 8 in T. Madsen and Welch, “Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?”


22 T. Madsen and Welch, “Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?” discusses the changes, when they were made, and why.

23 B. H. Roberts to Elizabeth, March 14, 1932, copy included in T. Madsen and Welch, “Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?”

24 For reproductions of those manuscripts, see Roberts, Studies of the Book of Mormon.

25 Roberts to Richard R. Lyman, October 24, 1927, in Roberts, Studies of the Book of Mormon, 60.

26 Wesley P. Lloyd, personal journal, August 7, 1933, copy in Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Lloyd dictated his lengthy report of that meeting to his wife, who wrote it in his journal.

28 Many statements from Roberts illustrating the fact that even to the end of his life he bore witness of the Book of Mormon are compiled in T. Madsen, "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon"; and T. Madsen and Welch, "Did B. H. Roberts Lose Faith in the Book of Mormon?"

29 The most glaring mistake in Lloyd's entry is in the statement that the study was commenced while Roberts was president of the Eastern States Mission. Actually, it was finished (except for a few minor changes) before he ever left on his mission. Lloyd says that Roberts sent the "400 type written pages thesis" (it was actually 450 pages) to President Grant. There is no evidence that he ever did so. Lloyd indicates that Roberts called his manuscript "a contribution to assist in explaining Mormonism." When he prepared it for submission in 1922, Roberts wrote that it "does not represent any conclusions of mine," but was presented "for the information of those who ought to know everything about it pro et con, as well that which was produced against it, and that which may be produced against it." In addition, he said, he wrote it "for those who should be its students and know on what ground the Book of Mormon may be questioned, as well as that which supports its authenticity and its truth." Roberts to Grant, and others, March 15, 1923 [1922]. Lloyd's journal says that Roberts turned to "a psychological explanation of the Book of Mormon and shows that the plates were not objective but subjective with Joseph Smith, that his exceptional imagination qualified him psychologically for the experience which he had in presenting to the world the Book of Mormon and that the plates with the Urim and Thummim were not objective." Whether this is an accurate reflection of what Roberts said in 1933 is not clear, but if it is intended as a reflection of what Roberts put in his 1922 manuscript it is a distortion. The ninth section of Part I discusses the possibility that Joseph Smith got the idea of the Urim and Thummim from Ethan Smith, but does not propose this as a final explanation. The fourteenth section discusses the imaginative mind of Joseph Smith, and concludes that it was, indeed, possible for Joseph Smith to have written a manuscript, but it does not say that this is a valid alternative to Joseph Smith's own story. The idea that the plates were subjective rather than objective is not there, except, perhaps, by inference. It is certainly possible, however, that Roberts saw the implications of what he had written and spelled them out more clearly to Lloyd in 1933. But that is still not evidence that he accepted such conclusions.

30 Several previous articles have dealt with this controversy. The most detailed is Richard Sherlock, "We Can See No Advantage To a Continuation of the Discussion: The Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," Dialogue 13 (Fall 1980): 63–78. Sherlock's well-researched article covers much of the material contained in the rest of the present essay. I have been pleased, however, with the opportunity to examine the relevant documents and gain some significant new understandings of the period. See also Truman G. Madsen, "The Truth, the Way, the Life," in Defender of the Faith, 338–45. Other articles dealing directly with this matter but also going beyond it include Jeffrey E. Keller, "Discussion Continued: The Sequel to the Roberts/Smith/Talmage Affair," Dialogue 15 (Spring 1982): 79–98; and Richard Sherlock, "A Turbulent Spectrum: Mormon Reactions to the Darwinist Legacy," Journal of Mormon History 5 (1978): 33–59. Thomas G. Alexander puts the controversy in its larger theological setting in Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930.
31 Many of the sources for what follows are generally restricted. They include extracts from the minutes of the Council of the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve; excerpts from the minutes of the Quorum of the Twelve; the journal of President Heber J. Grant; B. H. Roberts papers; committee reports of the Council of the Twelve; miscellaneous correspondence in the papers of the First Presidency; and the Rudger Clawson collection. With the permission and cooperation of the LDS Church Archives and its advisors in the Quorum of the Twelve who recognized the unusual need for accuracy in writing this history, BYU Studies had special access to these restricted documents. They are simply identified as "TWL collection." It contains about sixty records, letters, minutes, memoranda, or journal entries. Unless otherwise noted, anything cited below derives from these sources. I gratefully acknowledge the collaboration of John W. Welch in this research.

32 For detailed comments on these doctrinal discussions, see the foregoing essays and several of the secondary sources cited in the notes to this article.

33 On Friday, April 1, 1927, Roberts was in Salt Lake City, where he wrote a letter to his wife Celia. He was leaving on Saturday, he said, to go back to New York, and he had been excused from attending the forthcoming general conference. See T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 332. Whether he meant Saturday, April 2, or the following Saturday is not clear. President Grant's personal journal simply states that Roberts "called." This phrasing could mean either that Roberts had telephoned or that he had not yet left Salt Lake City and actually called at President's Grant's office.

34 T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 340.

35 Roberts to Howard R. Driggs, January 8, 1929, TWL collection.

36 Pomeroy had written to Roberts questioning his views on the "eternity of intelligent entities." Roberts answered emphatically that his convictions had undergone no change in late years, and that the eternity of uncreated intelligence was the noblest thing connected with humanity, as several of his publications demonstrated. He expressed impatience with people who "hold to partial truths and seek to demonstrate them to no good purpose on earth."

37 For a fully developed exposition of Elder Smith's views on creation, evolution, the Fall, and related points, see his Man, His Origin and Destiny (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954). This volume was used as a text in the 1954 summer school at BYU for all the Church's seminary and institute teachers.

38 Roberts to Elizabeth Hinckley, May 1929, as quoted in T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 343–44.

39 Though the most serious objections centered around Roberts's treatment of the creation, pre-Adamites, and the nature of Adam, there were several others. The committee, for example, raised questions about Roberts's interpretation of "intelligence." Roberts wrote "misapprehension" (i.e., "misunderstanding") in the column, scribbled a note of explanation, then wrote "clarify" at the end of the paragraph. He was evidently willing to make clarifications in the manuscript. The committee said that his use of the phrase "mind, spirit, and soul" appeared confusing. Again Roberts wrote "clarify." On other points, Roberts apparently questioned the reasoning of the committee and just wrote "meaningless" in the margin.
40 Deseret News, April 5, 1930, 8. Interestingly enough, these statements did not appear in the published version of Elder Smith’s talk.

41 He made such remarks, for example, at the quarterly meetings of the Council of the Twelve Apostles on June 24, 1930, and September 30, 1930. Later, in a meeting on December 16, he warned his brethren that the “great danger” confronting the Church was “the fact that we have wolves in sheep’s clothing within the fold wounding and destroying some of the flock.” He referred more pointedly to “certain textbooks” published for use in Church schools that, he believed, carried such dangers.

42 “Faith Leads to a Fulness of Truth and Righteousness,” Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine 21 (October 1930): 145–58. Joseph Fielding Smith was vice president of the Utah Genealogical and Historical Society at this time.

43 The following events are well summarized in a manner eminently fair to both sides in a communication from the First Presidency to the Council of the Twelve, the First Council of the Seventy, and the Presiding Bishopric, dated April 7, 1931.


45 Roberts to President Heber J. Grant and Counselors, February 9, 1931, TWL collection.

46 For Orson Hyde’s sermon, see Journal of Discourses 2:75–87. For Brigham Young’s, see Journal of Discourses 2:88–90.

47 TWL collection; italics added.

48 Significantly, several years later Elder Widtsoe wrote his own answer to the question of pre-Adamites, concluding that there were “human like beings” before Adam but recognizing that he was unable to explain either them or the creation of Adam. John A. Widtsoe, “Were There Pre-Adamites?” Improvement Era 51 (May 1948): 305.

49 Talmage’s January 18 speech was published at this time in England, where Elder Widtsoe was serving as mission president and editor of the Millennial Star. James E. Talmage, “The Divine Purpose,” Millennial Star 13 (March 26, 1931): 193–205. Widtsoe returned to Utah for meetings at the end of March and early April.

50 This quotation is found in Joseph Smith, Jr., The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 5:344. The spelling and punctuation above conform to this source, rather than to the minor differences in the First Presidency’s report.

51 Smith, History of the Church 5:340.

52 Personal Journal of James Edward Talmage, April 7, 1931, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

53 In the minutes, the name was transposed to “The Way, The Truth, The Life,” which was probably a common mistake since the phrase appears that way in the New Testament.
54 James E. Talmage, “Earth and Man,” Millennial Star 93 (December 31, 1931): 849. The Deseret News article indicated that “this address may be obtained in pamphlet form from the office of the LDS Church.” The First Presidency reviewed the speech on November 16 and 17, 1931, making slight changes and authorizing its publication; see James E. Talmage’s journal and Heber J. Grant’s diary. In addition to its further publication in Millennial Star, the speech was also reprinted in Instructor 100 (December 1965): 474–77 and 101 (January 1966): 9–11, 15. For further discussions of subsequent developments and Elder Smith’s views on Talmage’s speech, see Keller, “Discussion Continued,” and Steven H. Heath, “The Reconciliation of Faith and Science: Henry Eyring’s Achievement,” Dialogue 15 (Autumn 1982): 87–99.

55 T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 373.
56 As quoted in T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 344.
57 As quoted in T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 345.
58 Elsie Cook to President Heber J. Grant, November 23, 1933, TWL collection.
59 For comments on this conclusion, see T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 342.
60 As quoted in T. Madsen, Defender of the Faith, 342.
Reflections of Stellar Ecology

At ten thousand feet we'd watch
the satellites trace their quiet
gedometries across a sky as black

as a bird's eye. What was I, ten?
eleven? Mom said some were UFOs.
We'd see them first as they

rose above aspens silhouetted
darkly along the horizon on one side of
the beaver pond and watch

them disappear in pine shadow on
the other. The pond was like a hole
of universe punched through the thin

plate of flat earth. In still waters you could
see the milky-way burn from one
bank to the other. A fish would set

a ring of ripples spreading across
the stars. Were those galaxies
gently rocked by the trout rising

to take a caddisfly laying eggs
on the Pleiades?

—Steve Peck
Taste and Feast:
Images of Eating and Drinking in the Book of Mormon

Interwoven throughout the Book of Mormon are images of eating and drinking that serve as symbols and metaphors inspiring readers to flee degradation and partake of eternal life.

Richard Dilworth Rust

“You are what you eat,” the adage goes. Turning that around, Jean Brillat-Savarin in his treatise on eating, The Physiology of Taste, says: “Tell me what you eat, and I shall tell you what you are.”¹ This observation holds true for the Book of Mormon, in which literal and metaphorical references to eating and drinking (or the lack thereof) define the essential nature of people, emphasize problems of survival, illustrate degradation, characterize social relationships, reinforce covenants, poetically define a hope for eternal life, and suggest a response to the book as a whole. These images support a point made by Peter Farb and George Armelagos in Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating: “Because of values that go far beyond filling the stomach, eating becomes associated, if only at an unconscious level, with deep-rooted sentiments and assumptions about oneself and the world one lives in.”²

Filling the stomach is an immediate concern in the Book of Mormon, with symbolic meanings arising from literal images of eating and drinking. Initially, food and drink are significant as they help determine survival or death in the wilderness. Lehi discovers in the brass plates that he is descended from Joseph, who preserved his family from starvation (1 Ne. 5:14); likewise, in the wilderness he and Nephi have primary responsibility for preserving their own family— with correspondences to the children of Israel in the wilderness (1 Ne. 17:28-29; Mosiah 7:19). As is frequently affirmed,
this preservation ultimately comes from the Lord and depends on the people's righteousness (cf. 1 Ne. 16:39; 17:3). "Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?" the Psalmist asks (Ps. 78:19), and the answer is yes—on the condition of obedience. Through disobedience, Lehi's family comes close to perishing; ironically, the same brothers who contemplate leaving Nephi in the wilderness "to be devoured by wild beasts" (1 Ne. 7:16) are saved by him (2 Ne. 1:24).

The drastically different responses of Nephi and Laman to the invitation to partake of spiritual food are foretold in Lehi's vision of the tree of life, which Bruce Jorgensen appropriately considers a controlling image in the Book of Mormon. This dream occurs in the context of the family gathering "together all manner of seeds of every kind, both of grain of every kind, and also of the seeds of fruit of every kind." This information is followed by Nephi's statement that "it came to pass that while my father tarried in the wilderness he spake unto us, saying: Behold, I have dreamed a dream; or, in other words, I have seen a vision" (1 Ne. 8:1–2). While on the surface not related (although they are part of the same paragraph in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon), these verses exemplify how the Book of Mormon understates matters and lets the reader discover connections between important points. Lehi and his family have been gathering "seeds of fruit of every kind." Presumably, to get the seeds, they would have first eaten the fruit (or sampled it, at least), all the while thinking of physical survival. Like Robert Frost's orchardist in "After Apple-Picking," who dreams of magnified apples, it would be natural for Lehi, the fruit picker, to dream of fruit—as an archetypal symbol. Reporting his dream, Lehi says the fruit of the tree of life "was most sweet, above all that I ever before tasted" (1 Ne. 8:11). Because the family have all been tasting fruit, the comparison is probably rooted in their immediate experience. Lehi affirms that the fruit "was desirable above all other fruit" (1 Ne. 8:12), and in the account of his dream, he repeats that phrase when he beckons his family to "partake of the fruit" (1 Ne. 8:15). He would know the superiority of this fruit since he has tasted the "fruit of every kind" in order to gather seeds. The fruit of the tree of life is a spiritual fruit—the love of Christ—and exceeds in value any physical fruit.
This is a lesson Nephi tests and accepts; Laman and Lemuel, however, cannot get beyond physicalities.

Subsequently, Nephi and his followers are described as agriculturalists; conversely, in their degradation, the Lamanites feed “upon beasts of prey” and many of them eat nothing save raw meat (Enos 1:4, 20). Jarom says of the Lamanites of his time, “They loved murder and would drink the blood of beasts” (Jarom 1:6). Although eating raw meat is generally deplored, there are exceptions. In their necessity in the wilderness, Lehi and his family eat uncooked meat which is made sweet unto them. Indeed, such a provision is evidence of God’s approval: “If it so be that the children of men keep the commandments of God he doth nourish them, and strengthen them, and provide means whereby they can accomplish the thing which he has commanded them” (1 Ne. 17:3).

In the Book of Mormon, excessive eating and drinking indicate spiritual weakness. Zeniff describes the people of King Laman as “a lazy and an idolatrous people” who want to bring Zeniff’s people into bondage so as to “glut themselves with the labors of our hands,” to “feast themselves upon the flocks of our fields” (Mosiah 9:12). Winebibbing sets up Laban’s execution (1 Ne. 3–4) and provides a stratagem for the Nephite ally Laman to overpower the Lamanite guards (Alma 55).

The extreme of spiritual corruption in eating and drinking is anthropophagy, or cannibalism. While only a small window is opened on cannibalism in the Book of Mormon, it is sufficient to signal the degradation of the Lamanites and the even more extreme degradation of the Nephites. Eating human flesh is introduced in passages quoted from Isaiah: “I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; they shall be drunken with their own blood as with sweet wine” (1 Ne. 21:26). The evil Amalickiah swears with an oath that he will drink Captain Moroni’s blood (Alma 49:27). While he fails to carry out this vow, in the last destructive battles Lamanites actually feed the Nephite women upon the flesh of their husbands and the children upon the flesh of their fathers (Moro. 9:8). The most horrifying cannibalism is that of the perverted Nephites who raped the Lamanite women and then, according to Mormon’s report to Moroni, “did
malign them in a most cruel manner, torturing their bodies even unto death; and after they have done this, they devour their flesh like unto wild beasts, because of the hardness of their hearts; and they do it for a token of bravery” (Moro. 9:10). In the perspective of the whole Book of Mormon, such violated flesh of death is a complete perversion of the sacramental fruit of the tree of life.

Social relations among the Nephites and Lamanites are in part defined through offering or denying food and drink. “In all societies,” anthropologists Farb and Armelagos say, “eating is the primary way of initiating and maintaining human relationships. In fact, the English word companion is derived from French and Latin words that mean ‘one who eats bread with another.’” In the Eastern world out of which the Book of Mormon peoples came, “to admit [a stranger] to the table was always a sign of friendship” as well as an implied offer of protection. A poignant Book of Mormon example of this kind of offer is Amulek’s willing response to the hungry Alma’s plea, “Will ye give to an humble servant of God something to eat?” (Alma 8:19). At the end of their missionary service together, Alma reciprocates this generosity (Alma 15:18). Conversely, the hard-hearted people of Ammonihah throw Alma and Amulek into prison and deprive them of food and water (Alma 14:22). The Lamanites do the same to Nephi and Lehi (Hel. 5:22), although their hearts are subsequently softened by a conversion experience. Likewise, the sons of Mosiah initially suffer hunger, thirst, and fatigue during their mission (Alma 17:5). The cruelest deprivation is that of the Jaredite Akish, who imprisons his son and starves him to death (Ether 9:7).

The opposite of Akish’s behavior is living the law of consecration. The Church in the early years of Alma’s reign, we are told, “did not send away any who were naked, or that were hungry, or that were athirst, . . . having no respect to persons as to those who stood in need” (Alma 1:30). Sadly, however, they soon become proud to the point of “turning their backs upon the needy and the naked and those who were hungry, and those who were athirst” (Alma 4:12). The plight of the deprived people reminds one of Christ’s words from the cross: “I thirst” (John 19:28).

A temporary deprivation of food and water in the form of a fast is the sign of a disciple who, having taken no thought what he
should eat or drink, is then provided for by the Lord (Alma 31:37; 3 Ne. 13:25, 31). However, long-term deprivation in the form of famine is usually a major result of war and is often described as a punishment for wickedness (cf. Mosiah 9:3; 12:4; Alma 10:22; Ether 9:28). A striking example is that of Nephi calling on divine power to smite the earth with famine (Hel. 10:6).

Discipleship as it relates to eating and drinking is most profoundly developed in the Book of Mormon in respect to the sacrament. The word **sacrament** has “sacredness” as part of its root meaning and implies sacrifice—an offering to God paradoxically made by acceptance of the bread and wine God offers. The word **Eucharist** comes from a Greek word meaning thanksgiving, and the word **communion** implies sharing, even of one’s possessions. These meanings are all contained in the Lord’s sacrament and feasts described in Third Nephi. There we find communion of the faithful, a representation of the Savior’s atonement, a meal of the kingdom, and an invocation of the Spirit.

Partaking of the sacrament is central to the event anticipated from the Book of Mormon’s first pages: the visit of the resurrected Christ to the “more righteous part” of the people in the New World. The Savior twice administers the sacrament through his disciples to the gathered multitude, the second time providing bread and wine miraculously. These people, defined by Jesus as those “with whom the Father hath covenanted” (3 Ne. 20:19), have come unto Christ literally and then symbolically. They act in his place as they imitate his actions: “That which ye have seen me do even that shall ye do,” Jesus says (3 Ne. 27:21). Partaking the emblems of Christ, the people have the potential to become what they eat: “Therefore, what manner of men ought ye to be? Verily I say unto you, even as I am” (3 Ne. 27:27).

As the divine host at the feast, Christ shows there is enough and to spare both of the bounties of the earth and of God’s inexhaustible love. When the disciples partake of the bread and wine, they are physically filled but, more importantly, are also “filled with the Spirit” according to the Savior’s promise that their souls would “never hunger nor thirst, but shall be filled” (3 Ne. 20:9, 8). Then they signify discipleship in meeting together often “to partake of bread and wine, in remembrance of the Lord Jesus”
(Moro. 6:6). Several generations of Nephites keep the sacramental covenant of sharing by having all things in common (3 Ne. 26:19; 4 Ne. 1:3). Thus this sacred covenant of thanksgiving and remembrance at the table of the Lord culminates in full consecration.

In many parts of the Book of Mormon, the sacrament is presented figuratively through references to the metaphor of the tree of life introduced in Lehi’s dream and developed so beautifully by Alma. Alma beckons his listeners, for example, to come and be baptized and thus “partake of the fruit of the tree of life; yea, ye shall eat and drink of the bread and the waters of life freely” (Alma 5:34, 62). A person’s willing acceptance of the baptismal covenant opens access to God’s gift of eternal life, symbolized as bread and water.

Alluding to the fountain or “waters of life,” Moroni uses richly poetic language in his anticipation of a millennial time when humankind “may be persuaded to do good continually, that they may come unto the fountain of all righteousness and be saved” (Ether 8:26). He echoes earlier poetic appeals which draw on the imagery of eating and drinking. “Come, my brethren,” Jacob pleads, “every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price” (2 Ne. 9:50). “Receive the pleasing word of God,” he urges, “and feast upon his love” (Jacob 3:2). Alma says,

Because of your diligence and your faith and your patience with the word in nourishing it, that it may take root in you, behold, by and by ye shall pluck the fruit thereof, which is most precious, which is sweet above all that is sweet, and which is white above all that is white, yea, and pure above all that is pure; and ye shall feast upon this fruit even until ye are filled, that ye hunger not, neither shall ye thirst. (Alma 32:42)

Metaphorically, drinking can also be negative. Wicked Nephites “thirst after blood and revenge continually” (Moro. 9:5). Carnal people, King Benjamin preaches, “drink damnation to their own souls except they humble themselves and become as little children” (Mosiah 3:18). Those whose works have been evil, Alma says, will “drink the dregs of a bitter cup” (Alma 40:26). The unrepentant who partake of the sacrament unworthily “eateth and drunketh damnation” to their souls (3 Ne. 18:29).
Such metaphors exemplify the richness of the imagery of eating and drinking in the Book of Mormon. King Benjamin’s people taste of God’s love (Mosiah 4:11), Alma tastes light and joy (Alma 32:35; 36:24), eight Mormon tastes and knows of the goodness of Jesus (Morm. 1:15), and those who “hunger and thirst after righteousness” shall “be filled with the Holy Ghost” (3 Ne. 12:6) and feast upon the word of Christ (2 Ne. 31:20; 32:3). (In respect to the last reference, the Book of Mormon is rich in its direct quotation of Christ—indeed, there are nearly 26,000 of the Lord’s words.⁹) As the provider of the feast, Jesus says, “How oft have I gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and have nourished you” (3 Ne. 10:4).

Granted that the iron rod is the word of God, the fruit of the tree of life is also the word of God—delicious to the taste. As the Psalmist says, “How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!” (Ps. 119:103). For those who accept “the Book of Mormon to be the word of God” (A of F 8), who savor the words of the book and are nourished by them (compare Moro. 6:4), the Book of Mormon itself could be considered a tree of life—a work of beauty and purity, with its words to be feasted upon. (It could also be metaphorically a tree of knowledge, containing bitter as well as sweet fruit—see 2 Ne. 2:15).

In significant ways, then, the Book of Mormon employs images of eating and drinking or the absence of them to develop implications of survival, social relations, and covenants. Its metaphorical use of these images is especially rich. It calls to those who approach it, “Taste and feast.”

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NOTES


Peter Gzowski’s book, *The Sacrament: A True Story of Survival* (New York: Atheneum, 1980), and the film *Alive*, both about survival after a plane crash, argue that eating human flesh can be sacramental. Nowhere does the Book of Mormon accept such an argument.

Farb and Armelagos, *Consuming Passions*, 4.

William Barclay, *The Lord’s Supper* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1967), 95. Barclay also writes of the Eastern custom of ratifying a treaty or covenant with a common meal (see Ex. 24:11).

This concept is developed at length by John Frederick Jansen in *Guests of God: Meditations for the Lord’s Supper* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1956). The linked sharing of bread and hospitality is developed by Joseph A. Grassi in *Broken Bread and Broken Bodies: The Lord’s Supper and World Hunger* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1985).

According to Gordon C. Thomasson and John W. Welch, “The Sons of the Passover,” in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1992), 198, Alma’s testimony to his son Helaman about tasting joy is in the context of “a Nephite observance of the feast of the Passover.” For Alma, tasting of joy leads to being born of God: “I have labored . . . that I might bring them to taste of the exceeding joy of which I did taste; that they might also be born of God”; in turn, Alma sees this rebirth as a promise of being raised up “at the last day” and a deliverance akin to God’s bringing “our fathers out of Egypt” (Alma 36:24, 27–28). The symbolism of Alma’s deprivation (“I could not open my mouth” [Alma 36:101]) and subsequent joyful tasting may be related as well to what Jacob Neusner in *An Introduction to Judaism* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), 4, infers from “the individual’s experience of hunger and satiation” about “the encounter with calamity and renewal, today and the Sabbath, this life and the coming age.” Neusner also says that “in classical Judaism the table at which meals were eaten was regarded as the equivalent of the sacred altar in the Temple.”

Just as a red-letter edition of the Bible highlights the direct words of Christ, so one could be made of “Another Testament of Jesus Christ.” See the appendix for a guide to markings. This guide evolved over several years. I first noted the words most clearly attributable to the Lord (Jehovah, Jesus, Christ, etc.) that I found in my own readings, relying as well on the identification of speakers set forth in the three-volume *Book of Mormon Critical Text: A Tool for Scholarly References* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1984–87). Then, thanks to the F.A.R.M.S. preliminary report by John Hilton and Ken Jenkins on narrators and speakers in the Book of Mormon (“The King James Bible Referenced to the Book of Mormon,” November 6, 1982, F.A.R.M.S.), I compared my findings with theirs. In its unpublished format, the guide has been used by families helping their children more clearly find Christ in the Book of Mormon; for others, it is a missionary tool, allowing for the creation of a red-letter edition of the Book of Mormon comparable to a red-letter edition of the Bible. It highlights a point the psalmist makes: “The words of the Lord are
pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times” (Ps. 12:6). The new subtitle of the Book of Mormon is highly appropriate in this regard: “Another Testament of Jesus Christ” is not only a testament with and about Jesus Christ, but, with the double meaning possible in “of,” it is a testament by him.

Appendix

“Feast on the Words of Christ”:
A Red-Letter Edition of the Book of Mormon
Markings Suggested by Richard Dilworth Rust

1 Nephi 2:1 26:17–22, 25
   4:14 28:17, 30–32
   13:33–37 29
   14:7 31:10–12, 14–15
   15:11 Jacob 2:11, 23–33
   16:26 5:3, 7–9, 11–13, 15, 18–20,
   17:7, 8, 12–14, 53 22–26, 29, 31–33, 35–38,
   19:16 41–47, 49, 51–54, 57–69,
   20 71, 75–77
   21:6–26 Enos 1:5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 27
   22:9, 20 Jarom 1:9
   2 Nephi 1:20
   3:7–13, 16–21 Omni 1:6
   4:4 Mosiah 3:24–27
   5:20, 22–23, 25, 30 7:29–31
   7:1–3 12:1–8, 34–36
   8:1–25 13:12–14
   10:7–19 24:13–14, 16–17, 23
   11:3 26:15–32
   15:1–15 28:7
   16:8–10, 11–13 Alma 3:14–17
   17:3–9, 11 5:33–36, 57–58
   18:1, 3, 6, 12–16 7:9–12
   20 8:29
   21:1–10 9:13
   23:2–22 10:20–21
   25:17–20 17:10–11
Alma, cont.
19:23
20:2
26:27
27:12
37:23, 25
43:46–47
45:16
50:20
60:33
Helaman 5:29, 32, 47
7:23
10:4–11, 14
11:14
13:8–20
14:9
15:16–17
3 Nephi 1:13–14
9:2–22
10:4–7
11:7, 10–11, 14, 21–41
12–16
17:1–4, 6–8, 14, 20, 23
18:5–7, 10–16, 18–25, 27–35
19:20–23, 26, 28–29, 35–36
20:8, 10–46
21–22
23:1–7, 9, 11
24–25
26:2, 11
27:2, 4–33
28:1, 3, 4, 6–11
30:2
Mormon 3:2, 15
8:20
9:22–25
Ether 1:41–43
2:15–16, 20, 23–25
3:7, 9, 11, 13–16, 21–24, 27
4:6–19
9:20
12:26–28, 37
15:33
Moroni 2:2
7:26, 33–34
8:8
10:23
Walking Home from School

Cold black asphalt
hits each step
as I stretch upward,
away from sunset
to mountains alternating
shadows and light
among pines.

Each day the same,
or part of one long day
leading home above
the Salt Lake Temple.
It’s late.
From our chimney rises
a streak of gray smoke,
a string from which our home
suspends in darkness.
My mother moves rhythmically
against the blurred window
in our kitchen,
baking wheat bread.

Her hand reaching up,
wiping away steam,
frees light from the window,
to speak again
in our street.

—William Powley
Harwood and Haag Paint Paris

Doris R. Dant and Linda Jones Gibbs

Among the thousands of American artists who journeyed to Paris in the late 1800s were two Utah men, James Taylor Harwood (1860–1940) and Herman Haag (1871–1895). Paris offered many advantages not available in the relatively young and predominantly rural Utah—superior training, honors regularly given to artists, art galleries, cosmopolitan attitudes, and artistic experimentation. And the scenery itself was inspiring. Harwood described its potential in an 1888 letter: “We passed through some very lovely sketching country here. The harvest fields were very interesting in color and composition pictures [are] everywhere. This is truly a great city.”

Harwood’s desire for training took him first from his hometown of Lehi, Utah, to the California School of Design in San Francisco. The gold medal for drawing that he won for his work there encouraged in him a desire to study in Europe. He obtained funds for his first journey to Paris by teaching art in Salt Lake City for two years, auctioning over one hundred paintings and drawings, and, for his second year, borrowing money from Dr. Heber J. Richards, his future father-in-law. On September 8, 1888, he arrived in Paris and enrolled in the Julian Academy. He was eventually joined by nine other Utahns. In 1890, Harwood left Paris for Utah, where he again taught art, this time to earn money to get married. A year later, he returned to Paris, married Harriett Richards, and continued his studies. In 1892, he had two paintings accepted by the French Salon, the first Utahn to receive this prestigious honor. The painting reproduced on the front cover of this issue was painted during Harwood’s third (1903) trip to Paris.

When Harwood made his second trip to Paris, he was accompanied by his student Herman Haag, a German emigrant whom he had convinced to study in Europe. Haag’s study was financed by
the LDS Church, which had already sent four other "art missionaries" from Utah to Paris to develop their talents in preparation for decorating the Salt Lake Temple and otherwise serving their church. Haag, too, reveled in Paris:

I don't know of any other city which loves the beautiful and admires art more than Paris does. . . . It is a great contrast to come from such a quiet place as Utah into such a city as Paris is to-day [sic]. . . . I am glad to have the privilege of thus getting acquainted with the world, it enlarges your mind and you see and learn more than you ever thought of, of course only my spare moments I spent for this kind of observation, I know what I have come here for, and have it on my mind continually to make the best use of my time.  

When Haag was twelve, he had suffered from a serious illness and never fully recovered. Nevertheless, he kept up with the rigorous Julian Academy routine of studio drawing and classes from 8 A.M. to 10 P.M. He also found time to sketch scenery, including the view of Notre Dame preceding this article. His fellow art missionary, John B. Fairbanks, noted that, in spite of being a cripple, Haag was progressing. That improvement eventually garnered Haag an award from the Julian Academy for his drawing John the Baptist Presents Christ before the People. Three years later, he died. He was only twenty-four.

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NOTES


2The others were Cyrus Dallin; John Willard Clawson; Harwood's wife, Harriett Richards; and the art missionaries John Hafen, Lorus Pratt, John B. Fairbanks, Edwin Evans, and Herman Haag.

3Letter from Herman Haag to his sister Louise, June 15, 1891, cited in Gibbs, 28.
The Improvisor

A. H. Watkins

Dr. Thomas walked slowly through the Luxembourg Gardens. Though he wore no hat, he didn’t mind the rain. It was French rain. Approaching the old aristocratic statues, stepping on the wet brownish leaves wreathed around their pedestals, he leaned forward to look for names or dates. He wandered down path after path, considering the fountains, now full of more litter and leaf pieces than water, and the trees, identified in French and Latin by name plaques fastened on their trunks. When he noticed the gazebo just off the pond, he rubbed his chin and turned toward it.

The green chairs were jumbled randomly under the wrought-iron canopy, pushed together in the middle of the cement floor. The wind picked up. He consulted his watch and decided to linger for a moment. A group of Japanese tourists had come to the gardens in spite of the weather. Dr. Thomas watched them. Their jackets varied in color, most of them neon hues—pink, orange, yellow, and blue—bright colors against the gray weather and the accent of black hair, black cameras, and black camera straps. A few brave, wet joggers huffed into, and then out of, view.

“Just how does one live?” He whispered the words in a low voice and immediately shook his head. “Where do these thoughts come from?”

The tourists gathered around their guide, a Japanese girl waving a red umbrella.

“Is there a right way or a wrong one? A wiser approach? Or are we all just floundering?”

Dr. Thomas felt himself falling through time, further and further from the images he had once held out for himself. Each passing day removed him further from the destiny he once thought possible. And it was such a simple destiny really. Nothing grandiose. Nothing along the lines of political ascension, artistic

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accomplishment, or wealth that comes in automatically, dollars washing into his bank account every day on a steady tide. Nothing like that. As a young man, Dr. Thomas had assumed he might meet a woman somewhere along the corridor of days, a woman who would enjoy sitting next to him at movies and then maybe next to him at meals around a table or on a couch watching television. He had spent considerable time imagining the sparks and anticipation that would fill his mind and heart as he wove something romantic and true, an invisible but palpable bond between himself, the world, and a woman who would smile when she talked to him on the telephone.

“How many years has it been?” he asked himself as he sat down, stretched his legs, and placed them on a nearby chair. “For how many years have I been coming home to an empty apartment?”

Too many. Most of his adult life had been spent alone, and now he was well into his forties. His was a problem of connection, of establishing proper contact. At first there was high school, where he had cracked a few jokes and made what he called friends in the chess club. But during those years, he never went to a dance, never asked anyone out. He never really broke through an inner wall which he was aware of but believed he would one day tear down or clamber over. Once someone asked him what he liked to do, and before he could edit his reply, it just popped out, “I like to get A’s on tests.”

He did get A’s on tests, and they got him into a good university, where, for lack of anything else to do, he spent most of his waking hours in the library. He found distinction academically, winning a Fulbright scholarship at the end of his senior year.

“Was it six or seven years in England?”

The rain had almost stopped. Dr. Thomas hadn’t noticed. He was trying to reconstruct the patterns he had lived in and thought in twenty years earlier, wondering why he had thought a Ph.D. in linguistics was what he wanted more than anything else in the world. Why had every decision, every effort been directed toward that end? How could he have passed all the written tests and still miss the more fundamental, human lessons? Lessons like how to forge links with other souls and how to establish a rapport with others, a rapport that might lead to unfeigned friendship,
honest companionship, and conversations that would spark, kindle, and burn of themselves. Watching the drops fall from the roof of the gazebo, Dr. Thomas imagined communications that were not premeditated or weighted with concerns about wording or worry over how one might appear in the eyes of a partner.

He kicked a chair, knocking it over and scattering a congregation of pigeons which had gathered hopefully at the opposite end of the pavilion. "I've got to get out of here."

He headed for the gate on the Rue d'Assas side, but walking around the pond, he was slowed by memories of the gardens in midsummer, when children played with toy sailboats, setting their sails with sticks; when the gardeners rolled palm trees out of the greenhouse; when old men played at boules; and chess tournaments raged near the red-clay tennis courts.

His plane would leave at 2:00 that afternoon. That morning he had purchased a few antique books at the booksellers' stands along the Seine and now was taking a last walk in the gardens before retrieving his bags at the hotel and hailing a taxi for a dash to the airport. He had come to Paris to deliver a paper. The organizers of a linguistic conference had invited him to present his work on computational linguistics, an analysis of his new algorithms for conjugating irregular verbs.

Like everyone familiar with the charms of the City of Light, he was delighted to return to Paris. But the depth of his response to the narrow streets, the tree-lined boulevards, the smells and sounds, had taken him by surprise, had shaken him and dealt him something of a blow. For it was Paris he had mentally selected (was it twenty years ago?) to be the background for the romantic adventures he had once believed would eventually come to him.

He tried to hurry along the old paths, but at every turn he paused, noticing how the elegant faces of the statues were fading, noses and eyes melting away. He saw the thin rain and the old chestnut leaves fluttering down through it, falling on the paths where kings and countesses once walked, but he also envisioned the summer beauty to come—the impressionist sky and clouds and the subtle French forms of enchantment he had once hoped to share with a good, laughing, feminine heart.
Had an outsider the ability to read his thoughts, he would exclaim, "Well, the game isn't up yet, Dr. Thomas. Shake yourself! There is nothing on earth the matter with you. Your hands have five fingers, your feet five toes. Your legs are strong. You have a job, an income, education, health, reasonably straight teeth." And to such comments he would have nodded his assent sadly, for they were true, but they missed the point.

Loneliness is a narrowing corridor, the soul a delicate thing. For unarticulated reasons of its own, the soul might withdraw from contact with the world, with others, might contract into itself so completely that nothing, almost nothing, can call it forth, bring it to the surface, draw it out into the light, put it into eyes, words, and actions where others can sense it, get a feel for it, and grow attached to it. For Dr. Thomas, now reading the inscription under the black marble bust of Eugène Delacroix, the movements of his own soul were a source of embarrassment and frustration. So much out of control.

His nieces and nephews would certainly give a different report of him than the people who knew him at work. And his colleagues' reports would be less alarming than those offered by people he approached socially. When he played Christmas carols on the saxophone, making it honk like a goose, his sister's children laughed and jumped wildly about, and he himself smiled without thinking about it. He sensed the performances were successful, that some important part of him was getting out from under a shadow. But later, when adult guests arrived for the Christmas open house, they would find a polite, but distant, dinner companion, stern of mood, whose tendency toward long silences and erudite observations they would wrongly attribute to arrogance.

He looked at his watch again. "I should hurry." But he didn't. These last few minutes in Paris were stirring something deep within him that hadn't been moved for years.

"How do people meet each other?" he wondered. "It must start from almost nothing, a chance encounter—a woman sitting on a park bench, a waitress bringing soup to the table."

But no sooner had he imagined these scenes than other details altered them. "The woman on the bench, if attractive, is probably married or attached to someone else, and initiating a
conversation with her could prove embarrassing, inappropriate. The waitress, young, charming, and efficient, already has many suitors, one perhaps waiting for her after she finishes work, and he is probably better at talking, at getting through and making her eyes flash. And he is probably not forty-six—no, forty-seven."

It is said that those who take their own lives feel boxed in, shut up in a tight room with no exit. And yet others looking at the same room can see doors and windows behind the curtains and even places where the walls are poorly constructed, flimsy. A kick or a determined shove could push through them. But Dr. Thomas's views were his own and those of others could not reach him. To him, the walls stood eighty feet tall, stonework as sturdy as the walls of the Louvre.

Looking at other people's eyes, he knew the reaction his inner pressures caused at a party, at a business lunch, or at a dinner. And his attempts to explain, to get words out from under the suffocating tightness, only made matters worse, increasing the tension within and without him, driving people further and further away. Many times he had considered approaching a woman only to slow his steps as thoughts of previous attempts replayed themselves on his imagination's central screen.

"Yes, but this time will be different. This time will be different."

Will it? How will it be different? Experience suggested that old patterns would reassert themselves, fear slowing the eager steps to a standstill, turning them around, and finally, after a long pause and an inward struggle, directing them homeward. Each time he went to the end of an invisible chain, then came back. Once at the apartment, mirrors were avoided and so was the voice that murmured, "This time maybe it would have been different. This time maybe . . ." Stop!

"Stop!"

He had actually shouted the word. Suddenly his cheeks were hot. He winced and glanced about. But there were few people in the park, no one close enough to hear. Shaking his head with relief and amazement, he moved away from the old trees and the bust of the romantic painter and continued along the path.

Two nights ago, a ballroom full of linguists—many of them bearded, many of them bald—had erupted with applause when
he finished reading a paper that had kept him busy through the evenings of the last eight months. Verbs? He didn’t really care about verbs that much. They represented problems to be solved. He rarely thought of them as they are explained to elementary school children: action words, words referring to actions that people might take in or upon the world. For Dr. Thomas, they were just problems to be programmed away, a reason to get up in the morning, a reason to go to work, the compelling reason for turning the computer on and sitting in front of it day after day after day. On paper it all looked good, but alone under the wet, gray Paris sky with nothing to do but walk and ponder, it was not enough.

He was ashamed of the life he led, ashamed of his loneliness, ashamed of himself for not learning the basic lessons when he was younger. As it was now, each night after work he headed straight to his apartment, where he put a few John Coltrane records on the turntable and plopped himself on the couch, sometimes with a saxophone in his hands. As he listened to his jazz records, he marveled at the players’ apparently endless capacity for invention, for improvisation, for hearing possibilities and rendering them in music. Improvising was difficult for Dr. Thomas. His own saxophone playing was good as long as he was reading the notes—anything else, impossible. Why should that be?

By this time he was back at the gazebo, wet and almost uncomfortably cold but not yet ready to leave. He was thinking of all the pretty bridges crossing the Seine, wondering which one Inspector Javert had jumped from. After toying with self-pitying thoughts about who might come to his funeral and what might be said of him during the service and whether he would prefer to be buried in France or in America, he laughed sadly, chastising himself for such pathetic meditations, and turned to leave, heading now for the gate on the St. Michel side.

Walking down the crowded, leaf-littered boulevard, he decided that there was no compelling reason to leave Paris that day. He would lose a few hundred dollars when he rebooked his flight. So what; better to lose them in Paris than home in California. He could buy a few grooming items and a few new shirts. At work, life would go on if he showed up a few days later. If they didn’t like it, he could invent a few convenient lies. He had a head cold and
was afraid that changing air pressures might damage his eardrums. That was a good excuse, good enough if one were needed.

Dr. Thomas returned to his hotel room, rubbed his hair with a white towel, and changed into drier clothing. Sitting on the bed and looking through his antique books, he decided he was pleased with his purchases and might try to buy some more volumes.

For the next four days, he walked from early in the morning until late in the afternoon just observing things—reading signs and menus, browsing through shops, watching people move in the streets, trying to understand other people's conversations in cafés. In the evenings, he prowled the nightclubs looking for jazz bands with good saxophone players. He always sat at the back, watching through the blue smoke, tapping his right foot. They all just played, threw their heads back and blew; no music stands, no charts, everything in their heads, in their lungs, and in their fingers. Amazing. They stood melodies on their heads, turned them inside out and upside down, played on the beat, between the beats, a little before the beat, and a little after. All the different players playing loose, yet together in that sweet swing groove.

A cloud of nameless longing had been roiling and darkening above Dr. Thomas for several days. In a small woodwind shop near the Opéra, a used soprano saxophone became a lightning rod of sorts. He bought it. In another shop, he purchased some music—a collection of Edith Piaf songs—and some reeds. Putting a reed in his mouth, he ran to the Auber métro station. On the platform, a woman asked him what he had in his mouth. He tried to explain, gesturing to the horn in his hand and to the mouthpiece.

Back at the hotel, Dr. Thomas practiced all afternoon in the tile bathroom, setting the music in the bidet. He enjoyed the slight echo as he blew and filled the narrow space with fat, shimmering notes. For a while, he played directly into the bathtub, pleased with the amplifying effect. He played the melodies as they were written and then began experimenting, holding some notes longer and then playing the rest of the phrase faster to make up for the lost time, adding little descending runs to some of the notes. None of his inventions sounded natural; they sounded much too obvious, too mechanical, too stiff. Nevertheless, he continued, trying everything he could think of to avoid playing the melodies straight.
Considering each variation to be progress, he worked through all of the songs with a growing sense of ease, of communion.

His mouth started hurting. His embouchure would have to rest, at least for awhile. Dr. Thomas stretched on the bed and drifted to sleep.

Three hours later, he awoke with a shiver. He checked his watch. 10:10. “Must hurry,” he thought, “before it’s too late for dinner.” A few minutes later, Jean-François, the night clerk, who had come to expect a few clumsy, but well-intentioned, French phrases or an attempt to discuss jazz clubs in Paris, looked up from a magazine to see a blurred smudge of a linguist dash through the lobby door.

Dr. Thomas headed for Boulevard Montparnasse, where he knew he would find many suitable restaurants, some of which might still be serving. Some had been around for a long time, mentioned fondly in books by Simone de Beauvoir and Ernest Hemingway. He lingered over his dinner: an assiette de crudités, fresh salmon in a delicate dill sauce, dauphiné potatoes, petits pois, and, after the wonder and variety of the cheese plate, lemon and apricot sorbets. Raising a hand in salute to the maître d’, Dr. Thomas left the restaurant.

“Taxi!”

He was searching for loose-souled jazz. He hoped to find a smoky oasis where fountains of notes gushed from the horns, where for an hour or two he could bask in the inexhaustible flow of harmonized invention, where, musically speaking, almost anything could happen.

Near Montmartre, on the back side of the hill, he found something close to what he was looking for. Again he sat in the back, tapping his foot against the leg of the table and watching the players move, jerk their horns around, snap their fingers. The players smiled and pointed at each other, thumbs up, laughing sometimes. They honked and squawked, producing intricate squiggles of notes, strands of confetti, and showered them over the clacking train of the rhythm section. After several runs through the chorus, verse, and bridge, each player taking a surgical brass blade to the chord changes, a sudden rhythmic jolt stopped the song, and in a shimmer of cymbals and flickering horn lines, they put it away, impaled on a jagged ninth chord.
People clapped. The musicians nodded. Now, suddenly, the air was drained of music. The silence was almost startling, impressive in its own mute way after the wildly spinning lines and waterfall solos. The smoke remained and other noises were there—the clink of glasses, the low, murmuring rumble of conversations—but the shining notes were gone.

After a brief discussion between the players, some rearranging of mouthpieces, and the moving of horn stands, the drummer clicked his sticks together. “Two, three, and . . .” Dr. Thomas saw him whisper those words, setting the rhythm, establishing where the beats would fall in space and the length of the intervals between.

And the song began. If it were a structure, the drums would be the foundation and the bass notes the pillars or beams the other materials could be laid upon; the piano and the guitar, good sturdy walls and roof. But the horns—the horns were what turned it from a tract house into a palace or a cathedral, the liquid improvisation, running all over the chord changes like the intricate gothic filigree covering the walls of Notre Dame.

“Hey, there’s nothing there.” Dr. Thomas hunched forward in his seat. Actually, a lot was there. The song was there, the notes were there, the players were there, drinks were on the tables. People with all sorts of baggage and memories; parents, cousins, and vague, unarticulated desires listened and talked at every table. Dr. Thomas pondered his foot, tapping in time against the table leg. What was the connection? From sound to soul, from soul to body. His foot shaking the table in time. The idea began to spin outward, like the trumpet notes reworking the melody. The walls of the club connected to a larger building, and that building, like most buildings in Paris, touched other buildings, together forming a quartier and eventually a city. Something had flipped a switch in his head. Dr. Thomas checked his foot again, stopped it, and smiled when a few moments later it started moving again.

“There is nothing there,” Dr. Thomas murmured. He sprang up from the table, burst out of the nightclub, and ran into the wet street, where with flailing arms he hailed a cab, directing the driver toward the Latin Quarter, rue St. Jacques.

As the cab negotiated the narrow streets, Dr. Thomas leaned his head back, breathing heavily. “There is nothing there.” This chant,
quickly becoming a mantra, referred to the moments just before the last song had commenced, the very moment when the drummer clicked off a rhythm, just pulled the cadence out of thin air, out of the eternal void. "Two, three, and . . . BANG!" The song started.

Dr. Thomas handed two twenty-franc notes to the driver. Arbitrary rhythms and arrays of notes filled his head as he pushed open the rain-streaked hotel door and walked through the lobby. "Two, three, and . . . two, three, and . . ." he mumbled, snapping his fingers on the fourth, unarticulated beat.

At three in the morning, there is not much activity in a hotel lobby, so Dr. Thomas was surprised to see a pretty woman, actually a very attractive young woman, leaning on the reception counter and talking quietly to Jean-François. Her hair was dark and longish, falling to her shoulders and a little beyond. She wore boots of soft, supple gray leather and a dark skirt which came down to the top of them. She had on a black velvet jacket which looked modern and expensive. On one lapel, an art-deco brooch, silver and onyx, gleamed as she moved into the direct line of the overhead lights. Her face was at the same time exquisite and bohemian—large gray-blue eyes, an invitational mouth, sharply defined features.

Dr. Thomas approached the counter, thinking Jean-François was a lucky man. "Jean-François, if you could prepare the bill tonight, I can check out first thing in the morning."

"How was the jazz this evening, Dr. Thomas?"

"Great. Really great. I found a nice place near Montmartre. On the back of the hill."

The woman leaned toward him and asked in delicately accented English, "What was zhee name of zhee club?"

"Le Lapin Agile," Dr. Thomas replied, not quite sure how to go about looking directly at such a pretty woman. He glanced at her eyes, and then focused on her brooch.

"I like jazz," she said brightly.

Her English was charming, with a soft accent, the "th" sound resolved to a whiskery "zhh." Dr. Thomas wondered what the next sentence should be, and finding nothing within easy grasp, he nodded his head. A few moments of silence passed.

"Was zhere a singer?" the woman asked.

Dr. Thomas did not understand her pronunciation of singer.
Jean-François leaned forward to help out. "She asked if there was a singer. Sophie thinks she's a singer." He looked at Sophie for a moment and added, "But she is not a singer."

Dr. Thomas did not catch this last, softer comment or Sophie's quick reply in machine-gun syllables. She whispered a few sharp words to Jean-François and disappeared down a hallway. Had Dr. Thomas a firmer control of conversational French, he would have noticed a defiant tone in Sophie's comments and an affirmation that indeed she did consider herself something of a singer.

Dr. Thomas thought he should leave and began pushing away from the counter, but Jean-François spoke up.

"What do you think of Sophie?" he asked.

"Well, well..." Dr. Thomas stammered. "She's very pretty. Is she your wife?"

Jean-François raised a hand to his mouth and coughed. "No," he said, "just a friend."

More moments of silence passed. Dr. Thomas tapped his key on the counter. He considered leaving, but out of the corner of his eye he saw some movement, a dark flutter of skirt. He decided to stay.

Sophie returned to the reception counter; it seemed to Dr. Thomas that she took a position a little closer to him than before. Earlier he had not noticed her perfume, but it seemed fairly strong now, purplish and flowery, something like lilacs in April.

Sophie was looking at the toe of her boot. After a moment or two, Dr. Thomas glanced down to see what she might be looking at. Jean-François asked Dr. Thomas how long he had been playing saxophone.

"For more than ten years," Dr. Thomas replied. The familiar tightness constricted his chest, and he took a deep breath to shake off the heaviness closing in upon him.

A car passed outside. Dr. Thomas knew this because he was looking away, toward the glass door. He decided to make a conversational lunge; after all, he was in a foreign country. Whatever degree of embarrassment he might bring upon himself in Paris tonight, he would leave behind him tomorrow. He took a deep breath.

"You know," he began, looking more toward Jean-François, "I thought of something tonight as I was listening to the music. They
start, well, the drummer starts the song by establishing the tempo. Like this.” Dr. Thomas demonstrated the procedure by snapping his fingers, “two, three and . . . on the fourth beat the song begins.”

Sophie and Jean-François absorbed this information politely, eyebrows arching slightly.

“There is nothing there, no real beats in the air, no platonic tempo, just emptiness. The drummer just pretends there is something there.”

“Excusez-moi,” said Sophie, “what means platonic?”

Dr. Thomas began to explain and then shook his hands and his head, realizing the conversation was going backwards. “Nothing, really, at least not for the meaning of the sentence.”

Sophie had the look that comes on the faces of people who have inadvertently entered rooms they had not expected to enter. She glanced at Jean-François for guidance. He was too diplomatic to do much more than shrug.

Dr. Thomas was beginning to wonder not only about what he should say next, but also about his French deodorant, which he had purchased a few days ago. A film of sweat formed on his forehead, and a few quick drops streaked down his back.

“What I’m trying to say is that the drummer pretends there is a beat there, a rhythm, and then the others pretend, and because they all work together, some playing on the imaginary beat, some playing around it, but everyone playing with respect to it, to something that doesn’t really exist, after a while the rhythm actually does exist, and the song exists, and we tap our feet. People dance. The musicians build a structure that moves us, but at the beginning there was nothing there.”

Dr. Thomas shuddered. What a stupid thing to say at 3:48 in the morning—to French people. He summoned the courage to look at Sophie’s face. She was gazing back, puzzled, her head at an angle.

“I was thinking that maybe love and religion are like that, that people make a leap of faith. They pick something out of the air, out of nothingness and act upon it, like . . . like counting out a rhythm and paying respect to it, by pretending like something is there, and soon something really is there.”
At this point, Jean-François took matters into his own hands. “Maybe you could demonstrate this principle to Sophie.”

At first Dr. Thomas was confused, but Jean-François pointed with his head and rolled his eyes toward the stairs. Dr. Thomas looked at Sophie and for the first time established eye contact that lasted longer than a few seconds. “Would you like to see how it works? I mean, I could explain it easily with my horn.” Sophie made her eyes open wide. She softened them as she nodded her head.

Dr. Thomas led her up the stairs where they could get into the miniature elevator. On the way to the fourth floor, having nothing else to say, he asked her what her favorite color was. She said blue and she asked him what his was and about that time the door opened and they went to his room.

His saxophone was on the bed. He unfastened the bamboo reed, put it in his mouth, and went into the bathroom to retrieve the music.

“Why do you have zhat . . .” she did not know the word for reed, “zhat zhing in your mouth?” She was sitting on the bed, leaning back on one arm.

He took the reed out of his mouth and waved it at her. “It has to be soft. Everyone has to do this first. You can’t just play, not the saxophone anyway, until the reed is ready.”

She was a picture. The brooch reflected a little light from the dim lamp on the table. A small reflection glimmered on her lip. Her hair fell like a dark wing over one shoulder. A heavy silence hovered in the air long enough to scare Dr. Thomas.

Sophie looked through the songbook and picked out one: “Les amants de Paris.”

Dr. Thomas nodded and fastened the reed back onto the mouthpiece, showing Sophie how to get it properly lined up. He also checked a loose pad which had been giving him trouble and showed the problem to Sophie, who appeared interested.

“Oh, Sophie—is it all right if I call you Sophie?” She nodded.

“You hold the music. This is what I was talking about.”

He began snapping his fingers. “Two, three, and . . .” He put the mouthpiece to his mouth and prepared to play the opening phrase. But he didn’t blow. Sophie drew back, surprised.
“It might be too loud. We’ll wake people up. Let’s go downstairs to the reception area, to those chairs by the door. They won’t hear us there. C’mon.”

“Non, non,” she said, shaking her head emphatically, making her hair move back and forth. “Non, just play softly.”

Dr. Thomas stared toward her for a moment, thinking she looked even prettier in his room than she had downstairs. In the thin yellow light from the bedside lamp, her lips looked soft and appealing. He shook his head and focused on his horn. He fingered the keys, making mechanical, valve-like sounds, uncertain about the next step.

“Play, Monsieur, and I’ll sing. I like zhis one.”

“Okay, Sophie, but let’s keep it quiet. I’ll try to play soft.” He snapped his fingers, establishing a cadence. “Look, here it is. Two, three, and . . .”

Faced with an audience, he decided against any improvisation and just played the song straight. Sophie sang. On the second verse, he decided to play some of the notes in the piano accompaniment, letting Sophie concentrate on the melody. This sounded better and afterwards they looked at each other, surprised.

“Sophie, you’re pretty good.”

Sophie blushed and looked down. “Encore, one more time, Monsieur.” The second time through they made fewer mistakes.

“One more time,” Sophie said, “will make perfect.” They played it again.


Shortly after six that morning, Jean-François heard steps in the hallway and then saw Sophie—boots, brooch, and velvet jacket. She glanced toward him. Normally she approached the counter. Jean-François straightened up, expecting a short conference. But she waved cheerfully and only said good morning, continuing toward the door.

Jean-François dashed from behind the counter and tried to catch her before she gained the entry, but he stumbled over some luggage near the counter. She was ten meters down the sidewalk when he caught up with her. He grabbed her arm. “And my commission?” he growled.
She looked at him with flashing eyes. "Jean-François, today I owe you nothing." With a quick tug she pulled her arm away and continued walking.

He stood in the doorway, watching her walk away. Jean-François rubbed his eyebrows. The early cars rolled in the wet street and small drops fell through the almost bare branches of the horse chestnut trees. He watched her back until she disappeared in the crowd of workers hurrying down the stairs to the métro entrance.

Thirty minutes later Sophie walked up the stairs to her small fifth-floor apartment near Place Clichy. She pushed open the door and went straight to a closet, where she took out three dusty suitcases, the same suitcases she had brought with her from Aix-en-Provence when she first came to Paris. She opened them, and suddenly, to make sure she hadn't lost it or imagined it, she took from her jacket pocket a card on which Dr. Thomas had written his address and a credit card number.

She sat for a moment on her bed, staring at the card. Then with a sudden shake of her shoulders, she reached for the telephone.

"Two, zhree, and . . ."

She began to dial.

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Mansion House, Nauvoo, Illinois. John C. Calhoun, Jr., Patrick Calhoun, and others visited Joseph Smith, Jr., in the Mansion House, June 22, 1844, two days before Joseph left for Carthage. According to the visitors, the Mansion House was guarded by three hundred men. Photographed in 1930s. Courtesy of LDS Church Archives.
John C. Calhoun, Jr., Meets the Prophet Joseph Smith Shortly before the Departure for Carthage

One hundred fifty years ago, the Prophet Joseph Smith was martyred. A newly discovered letter tells of a visit with Joseph only hours before he left Nauvoo.

Brian Q. Cannon

During his visit to Washington, D.C., in February 1840, Joseph Smith met with Senator John C. Calhoun, one of the nation’s foremost statesmen. Smith was unimpressed with Calhoun, “whose conduct towards me very ill became his station.” Nevertheless, following Calhoun’s decision to resign from the Senate in 1843 to contend for the Democratic presidential nomination, the Prophet wrote to the South Carolinian as well as to other contenders for the presidency, inquiring about each man’s views regarding the government’s responsibility toward the Mormons. Calhoun responded on December 2, and on January 2, 1844, Joseph Smith wrote a lengthy rejoinder to Calhoun’s reply, exhorting him to “raise your mind above the narrow notion that the General Government ha[d] no power” to intervene in behalf of the Latter-day Saints. This string of missives hardly endeared the senator and the Prophet to each other. It was the last time that the two corresponded, but it was not to be Joseph Smith’s last contact with the Calhoun family.

On Saturday, June 22, 1844, the day that Governor Thomas Ford sent a dispatch to Nauvoo ordering Joseph and his colleagues to “submit yourselves to be arrested,” the steamboat Lancet approached Nauvoo. Its passengers included two of John C. Calhoun’s sons, Patrick, aged twenty-three, and John Caldwell Calhoun, Jr., aged twenty-one. An army officer and graduate of West Point who spent money freely, Patrick was en route to an assignment at
Fort Bent, seven hundred miles west of St. Louis, when he stopped in Nauvoo. He was accompanied by his younger brother, John, who had been forced to withdraw from his studies at the University of Virginia several months earlier because of a severe bout with consumption. Both hoped that the fresh air, sunshine, and a hearty diet of wild game would speed John’s recovery. The Calhoun brothers prevailed upon the captain of the boat to let them land that evening at Nauvoo, for they were “anxious to see the Prophet.”

After a brief carriage ride around the wharf area of the young river town, the brothers arrived at the Mansion House, where Joseph was meeting in an upper room with trusted associates—including Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards, John Taylor, and John M. Bernhisel—to consider Joseph’s options in the face of Governor Ford’s demand for his surrender. The Prophet had ordered Reynolds Cahoon and Alpheus Cutler “to stand guard at the Mansion, and not to admit any stranger inside the house.” Notwithstanding this order, the Calhouns finally convinced the marshal that they were not spies and were allowed walk past three hundred armed guards and enter the Mansion House. There they sought and obtained an audience with Joseph Smith, who interrupted his tense meeting for the occasion.

Joseph described to them his troubles and gave “an exposition of his faith,” frequently calling himself “the Prophet.” Joseph was absent long enough that John Taylor, exhausted after his visit to Carthage that day to speak with Governor Ford, retired to his home for the night. After his interview, Joseph returned to the council room and completed a letter to Governor Ford which contained an oblique reference to his conversation with the Calhouns. Wrote Joseph, “We have been advised by legal and high-minded gentlemen from abroad, who came on the boat this evening, to lay our grievances before the Federal Government. . . . We shall leave the city forthwith to lay the facts before the General Government.” Joseph slipped out of Nauvoo before daybreak on June 23, bound for Iowa, but he returned to Nauvoo later in the day at the behest of Emma and others and traveled to Carthage on Monday, June 24, never to return.

A brief report of the Calhouns’ interview with Joseph Smith is contained in the following letter from John to his younger
brother. It casts fresh light upon Joseph Smith's final hours in Nauvoo and his letter to Governor Ford. John Calhoun's letter, noticed by Professor Lynn D. Wardle of the J. Reuben Clark Law School, was published in 1990 by the University of South Carolina Press in volume 19 (1844) of The Papers of John C. Calhoun and is reprinted here by permission.

This letter contains several interesting, new, or confirming details. It gives a vivid glimpse into life on the Mississippi River in 1844. The river was running very high, and steamboat captains were vengefully ramming each others' boats. Nauvoo, here praised as "the most beautiful [site] in the Western World," was a known attraction; and Joseph Smith was called "the Prophet," even by casual visitors. Three hundred armed men protected the Mansion House, where Joseph Smith lived and operated a hotel. Although suspicious at first that they were involved in espionage, Joseph admitted the visitors into his drawing room and openly explained his situation to them. Most impressive, in his final hours of extreme difficulty, Joseph preached the gospel and testified of his prophetic calling.

Following the martyrdom, Governor Ford asked U.S. secretary of war, William Wilkins, for military support. Calhoun's letter gives the specific number of troops that were requested and eventually denied—seven hundred. The letter also goes on to describe conditions among the Native Americans who lived in the area northwest of Nauvoo, and it particularly mentions the large fish and game that abounded in the region. These conditions characterized the pristine world that the Mormon pioneers would enter two years later as they began the exodus from Nauvoo and trekked across the plains to the Intermountain West.
John C. Calhoun, Jr. to [James Edward Calhoun, Pendleton]

Fort Des Moines July 19th 1844
Sacks & Fox nation[,] Iowa Te[rito]ry

My dear brother, We arrived here a few days ago, after a long journey of more than 2,500 miles by the route from Washington, during which time, we have seen every variety of climate, soil, vegetation, and society. I have not more than recovered from the fatigues of the journey, but still feel, that it would not be acting properly to delay longer, as I know, that you are all anxious to hear from us. Just before starting from St. Louis, I wrote to Sissy [Martha Cornelia Calhoun], and gave her a brief description of our trip up to that time, and therefore will not make a recapitulation, but will commence where I left off.

We left Saint Louis on the 21st of last month, after purchasing, ammunition, guns, two double barrels, two brace pistols, two bowie knives, three horses, & a servant.

The steamboat we left Saint Louis in, was the Lancet, a pleasure boat bound for St. Anthonys falls, we had a fine band of music on board, and a great many Creole ladies, some of whom were very beautiful, they danced once or twice, but we were so much fatigued that we could not take a part. The Mississippi was very full, higher by several feet than it was ever known before, by the oldest inhabitants, it was ten miles broad at St. Louis, which is situated 1,750 miles above the mouth, thus giving you some idea of the magnitude of the river.

The scenery on the upper Mississippi is truly picturesque, the part of the river called upper, begins above the mouth of the Missouri, where the river entirely changes its character, from a mud[d]y, it becomes a beautiful limpid stream, at this place, the shore rises to a great height, it is one solid wall of limestone, ranging from 3 to 4, and sometimes 500 feet high, the shore is the most beautiful on the Illinois side, in the ["County" interlined] of Calhoun. From this place, nothing of interest happened [sic] until we got to Quincy on the Illinois side, here, just a[s] we were going to land, a steamboat the El Dorado coming down the river, ran against us, breaking in the side of the vessel, and so disabling her. as to cause considerable delay, which gave us time to walk about the city, which is one of the neatest on the river, we found after our return to the boat, that the other boat, had purposely struck our boat, there being some bad feeling between the two Captains. From Quincy we started for Nauvoo, and arrived there after dark, it was the evening after the Governor [Thomas Ford] had sent to ar[r]est Joe Smith, and the City in consequence in a great state of excitement, a large number of us
being anxious to see the Prophet, begged the Captain of the boat to wait two or three hours for us, and in a few minutes after, found ourselves in an omnibus,¹⁰ rowling rapidly through water street,¹¹ and soon our horses were drawn up before the door of the Hotel,¹² kept by the Prophet himself, at first he thought we were spies sent by the Governor, so he kept 300 men armed round the house, and sent his Marshall to disperse us,¹³ but upon telling him the purpose of our visit, he invited us to the drawingroom, where he soon joined us, he gave us a full description of his difficulties, and also an exposition of his faith, frequently calling himself the Prophet, in the course of conversation.

Nauvoo in Hebrew signifies the beautiful,¹⁴ & in this case I think fully deserves the name, for its site is said to be the most beautiful in the Western World, it is on a level plain, extending back for 3 miles, and then rises into high bluffs. A few days after leaving Nauvoo, we arrived at Fort Madison Iowa Territory, where we remained 8 days, and spent a pleasant time, while there we received several invitations to parties, at one time we received a note signed the ladies of Fort Madison inviting us to a large Fair and party given by them. On the 3d of July we mounted our horses and started for this place, the distance from Madison here is 200 miles, which is all one Pra[i]rie, there being all together not more than 20 miles of timber, you cannot imagine how much the first pra[i]rie struck me, one has not an idea of the immensity of the Earth[']s surface until he sees one; from F[or]t Madison to this place there is a continual rise, at first gradual, then becoming very rowling. Soon after you ascend the sum[m]it of the bluffs of the river, you strike the timber, which after passing through a very narrow strip of timber you come to the edge of the first pra[i]rie which is generally flat, and extends for 30 miles without a rise, covered with grass about knee high, the effect is very singular at ["or over" interlined] the line of vision it looks like water and I frequently immagined I was approaching the ocean. We would have started for the far west before this, but after Joe was killed, the Governor made a requisition to the Gover[n]ment for 700 Dragoons, so we have to remain to see what orders come from the ["Sectary" altered to "Secatary"; of War¹⁵], in that case we will not start until 2 weeks at the lowest calculation. A day or two ago a boat arrived from below, which is the second ever been here, we took a sail up as far as the mouth of Beaver river, 8 miles above this, it is the first boat that has ever been above this. There are three tribes of Indians here, the Fox and Sacks & Ioways, the two former are very powerful, but the latter though now small, was once a very formidable tribe, the whole amount of the three tribes are 3,800, their boundary extends 30 miles below, and on the east, while on the west are the Sioux or Dahcotah's, the most powerful tribe as far as numbers are concerned in the United States. The Indians here are quite wild, and not one of them can speak English, except good morning, which they say whether you meet them in the morning or
at night, when they drink each others health, they say How, they are in our rooms almost every day. I went with [Lt.] Pat[rick] Noble [Jr.] a few days ago to some of their vil[l]ages, we visited the village of Appenense, Kirkirk, Hardfish, and Kish-Kiikosh, the latter is a great brave & chief and his likeness you can see, among the celebrated ["Fox" interlined] Indians, he is successor of Black-Hawk, there are two sons of the latter chief here, they are very fine looking men, and considered brave. There is a great deal of game about 50 miles above, such as, bear, deer, Antelope, Bison, Elk, and a few wild horses, the Indians are daily coming in loaded down with meat, I saw an Elks horn a few days ago, measuring 7 ft. some inches in length; & before I forget it, I must tell you a big but true fish story—while at Madison, I saw a boy about your size, catch a blue-cat with a hook and line, weighing 65 pounds, and measuring 6 ft. in length, this is what I saw, now I will tell you what I heard, it was that cats are frequently caught in the Mississippi, in weight 200 lbs., jacks are also caught in length from 12 to 15 ft. Pat says you must remember him to his brothers and sisters, & tell them to write to him. I must conclude as my pen is bad and it is getting late.

Pady [Patrick Calhoun] & Pat send their love to you and Willy [William Lowndes Calhoun]. Give my love to Kate [Catherine Floride Townes] & Eugenia [Calhoun] & tell them, they must write to me. Direct your letters to St. Louis. I remain, your ever devoted brother, John C. Calhoun, Jr.

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NOTES

1Joseph Smith, Jr., The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1949–50), 4:80 (hereafter cited as History of the Church). The descendent of Scotch-Irish settlers in South Carolina, Calhoun was one of the nation’s foremost statesmen from his election to the Senate in 1810 until his death in 1850. Along with Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, Calhoun dominated the Senate. A member of the influential Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs during the War of 1812, Calhoun later served for eight years as secretary of war under James Monroe, as vice president from 1824 to 1832 under John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, and again as senator from 1832 to 1843, when he resigned to campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. It was in this season that Joseph Smith wrote to Calhoun regarding Calhoun’s views of the Mormons. When it became clear that Calhoun would not win the Democratic nomination, he withdrew from the race and retired to his plantation in South Carolina, only to be appointed as secretary of state under John Tyler in 1844 and to return to the


5 *History of the Church* 6:545 mentions only those two guards by name. Both men were guards in the Nauvoo Legion.

6 B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor: Third President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), 125, indicates, “At this juncture the council was interrupted by the withdrawal of President Smith to give an interview to two gentlemen—one of whom was a son of John C. Calhoun—who had arrived at the Mansion and were anxious to meet with the Prophet.” Samuel W. Taylor and Raymond W. Taylor, *The John Taylor Papers: Records of the Last Utah Pioneer*, 2 vols. (Redwood City, Calif.: Taylor Trust, 1984), 77, omit the names of the visitors but do quote part of John Taylor’s account of the visit: “In the interim two gentlemen arrived . . . very anxious for an interview with Brother Joseph. They detained him for some time.”

7 *History of the Church* 6:540.


9 Ford’s letter was actually written on the afternoon of June 22, and Joseph Smith had received it on the evening of the twenty-second, shortly before the Calhouns arrived. John Taylor’s account of the evening’s events, as well as Joseph Smith’s letter written at midnight on the twenty-second, confirm that Smith conversed with the Calhouns on June 22. See *History of the Church* 6:540, as well as Taylor and Taylor, *John Taylor Papers* 1:77, and Roberts, *Life of John Taylor*, 125.


12 The hotel that Calhoun visited was the Mansion House. While waiting for the Nauvoo House to be completed, Joseph Smith added a wing to his home and opened the Mansion House as an inn in 1843. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo, Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1965), 177, 190, 322.

13 The city marshal was John Porticus Greene. *History of the Church* 6:448.
14 Nauvoo was named "the beautiful" by Joseph Smith. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), 182.

Lonetree

In Lonetree, there is more than one, though so sparse on the hill—
these crags of broken-armed pines—
they never quite span the lighted spaces
amok with bluebells and mountain grass.
Their forward lean
suggests they meant to be a forest, once,
and hold this ridge against the seasons.
The snowline comes six feet up each trunk,
higher toward King’s Peak,
where winter wind shoves isolated drifts.
The northern face is turned this way,
clearly seen from here,
though perhaps a million miles—
fewer as the crow flies—lie between.

—C. Wade Bentley

Reviewed by Dean L. May, Professor of History at University of Utah.

Edward Geary is noted for the power and warmth of his writing about Utah country. *The Proper Edge of the Sky* will do much to enhance that reputation. It mixes geology, geography, biology, history, and folklore into an engaging narrative that draws the reader through the complex patchwork of geological and human mountains, canyons, faults, and monoclines that makes up Utah's High Plateaus.

Properly speaking, the High Plateaus, as Geary points out, are "a group of elevated tablelands that form the boundary between the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin" (2). To those whose spatial sense is informed more by highway tourist maps than geological charts, the High Plateaus stretch south from Nephi, Utah, to the Colorado River and east from Sevier Lake to the Green River. They include chains of mountains built of uplifted horizontal strata. Because the strata are more or less flat, they are often not sharp and jagged at their higher elevations, but rather stretch into expansive "parks" and tablelands. As the late Wallace Stegner put it, these "'are not mountains at all but greatly elevated rolling plains'" (8). The Gunnison and Wasatch Plateaus stretch south to nose into the Pavant, Fishlake, and Thousand Lake Plateaus. The Sevier, Aquarius, and Hurricane Cliffs Plateaus continue to where they begin to break into the Pink, White, and Vermilion Cliffs that drop past the Kanab, Kaibab, and Kaiparowits Plateaus to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. There is, simply stated, not a more "strange and beautiful country" on earth.
The terms *High Plateau* and *Colorado Plateau* were coined by geographers to type the landforms that stretch across the greater part of Utah. But, as Geary so memorably relates, the region is much more than a maze of ancient bunions on the planet’s integument. The region was witness some twelve thousand years ago to an aged Columbian mammoth, stricken with arthritis, who wandered up into a plateau far above his normal habitat and then, wearied by his exertions, lay down to die. His bones remained virtually intact until the eighth day of the eighth month in 1988, when a backhoe operator working on a reservoir dam dug into them (5).

During the millennia since the mammoth died, a procession of human adventurers and explorers tracked the same country, finding the grace to forgive the region its hardness because they were touched by its beauty. There were Spanish traders, trappers such as Jedediah Smith, government explorers John C. Frémont and C. E. Dutton, writers like Wallace Stegner, and ordinary people—Mormons, Italians, Greeks, South Slavs, and Finns—who made the place their home. The voices of all are part of Geary’s High Plateaus.

Settlers include folks from the Sanpete bursting their buttons at their hundredth hearing of the prayer of “Brother Petersen,” a Dane, who explained to God in time of drought, “Ve vant a nice, yentle rain dat soaks down to de roots, not like dat tunderbumper you sent last summer. . . . And if you tink about it, Lord, you vil see dat it is a good ting for you as vell as us. If ve don’t get no crops, you don’t get no tithings” (127).

Among the stories are those from Carbon County mining camps of the perils faced by picture brides. A young Greek woman, after making her way painfully to the railroad siding of a Utah mining town, was shocked to realize “that the thin, hook-nosed man approaching her was not the man whose picture she held in her hand. Papakostis [her husband-to-be] had sent his handsome brother’s picture instead of his own” (229).

Perhaps not surprisingly, the most powerful stories Edward Geary spins from the High Plateaus are those that come from his own youth. He remembers that during a visit to his Grandma Ungerman, “I first developed a conscious admiration for country women. Not Grandma, whose strength I took for granted, but the
handsome Johansen girls,” whose father “had discovered that farm-bred women can do anything men can do and had made ranchers of his daughters” (133–34).

To Geary, country women were no less women for doing farm work. He thought they looked “plenty feminine” in the pastel summer dresses they wore to church, and when he “peeked through the currant bushes and caught sight of them in their blue jeans later in the day, they still looked just fine. The tart, pulpy taste of wild currants still brings back the sensation of peering through the thick bushes, hoping for a glimpse of the Johansen girls” (134).

Geary remembers that the vitality of these and other girls was so intense “that I occasionally find myself fantasizing that they still exist just as they were then, still riding horseback down farm lanes or making fudge on the coal range on winter evenings or strolling in their Sunday dresses along dusty summer roads lined with Lombardy poplars in some country of the young from which I alone have been exiled” (135).

Though filled with history and lore, The Proper Edge of the Sky is, quite properly, not a narrative history of the High Plateau country. One sees little in this book of ethnic rivalry, conflict between miners and operators, or misunderstandings between the Mormons and others who peopled the region. Though wonderfully informative and replete with carefully chosen observations of a broad range of the people who crossed here or settled down, the parts of this narrative that sing are the rosy memories of a sensitive and intelligent Mormon man recalling his youth in Huntington, Utah.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander, Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Professor of Western American History at Brigham Young University.

If nothing else, the publication of *The Mormons’ War on Poverty* should lay to rest the erroneous notion that in its present form the welfare program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints began in 1936. Actually, Joseph Smith laid out the basic principles of the program—equality, self-reliance, and charity—in revelations he received as early as December 1830, and the basic features of the current welfare system took shape in Salt Lake County during the 1890s.

Bruce Blumell began *The Mormons’ War on Poverty* during the Arrington administration—the Arrington Spring—of the Church’s History Department. After completing a book-length manuscript, which interpreted the history of welfare in the Church from 1830-1980, Blumell left to become an attorney in Canada. University of Utah professor Garth Mangum picked up the project in 1987, revising and updating the manuscript, adding a broader economic context, and interpreting current welfare challenges. The result is an excellent study which should help the Church’s lay public, interested outside parties, and employees to understand the development of the historic and current welfare systems.

The welfare program of the Church originated in revelations to Joseph Smith during the 1830s and in their implementation in the law of consecration and stewardship and its later modifications. After the Saints failed to live the law in Ohio and Missouri, section 44 verse 26 of the 1833 Book of Commandments was revised in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants to include an admonition to “remember the poor, and consecrate of thy properties for their support.”

After settling in Nauvoo, the Church implemented much of the structure of welfare work that still exists. Joseph Smith organized wards and called bishops to coordinate welfare work, and he set up the Relief Society, which played a central administrative role in the system until the transfer of administrative responsibility to
priesthood line authority in the 1930s. Since then, the Relief Society has been increasingly relegated to a staff role.

In Utah, the Latter-day Saint leadership expanded its efforts to promote the welfare of the Church’s members. Measures included a public-works department and, in every ward, administration of welfare by the bishop and Relief Society. The authors seem unaware of how early the Relief Society became involved, since they mention neither the Indian Relief Societies of the early 1850s nor the reorganization of the Relief Society in Salt Lake City wards during the Reformation of 1856–57 and they omit the work of Relief Society sisters in organizing assistance for migrating Saints. 2

During the 1870s, Brigham Young organized the united orders in an attempt to promote economic equality, a major goal of the early welfare system. Although the authors believe “Young himself did not join” (71) a united order, actually he and a group of leaders in Salt Lake City organized United Order Number One in August 1875. Like most of the other United Orders, it did not function well. In fact, all but a handful of united orders failed within a year. 3

During John Taylor’s administration, the Church abandoned attempts to promote equality and relied instead on economic development and coordination under Zion’s Central Board of Trade. Although the board had a rather ambitious agenda, in practice it carried out only a somewhat more extensive program than the combined efforts of commercial clubs (often called chambers of commerce) and the monopoly movement in business enterprises. Here, the authors could have helped us better understand Zion’s Central Board through a specific comparison with the larger pattern.

The system of welfare codified in the plan adopted in 1936 (with exceptions noted below) was actually an extension of the role played by the bishops and Relief Society presidents, especially in the Salt Lake Stake, during the depression of the 1890s. At that time the Church organized an employment bureau, provided assistance to the needy and unemployed, promoted economic development and employment, and tried to move people back to the land.

Mangum and Blumell rightly point out that “contrary to a common misconception, the Church . . . operated a systematic welfare program during the first thirty years of this century” (75). In 1899, the Presiding Bishopric issued the first handbook of
instructions, a substantial portion of which outlined welfare programs. The Relief Society played a central role in these developments. Moreover, through the efforts of Amy Brown Lyman and Stephen L. Richards, the Relief Society inaugurated a system of professional social work which predated Utah’s program. The Relief Society also promoted many forms of cooperation—including assistance to women with small children—between the Church and federal, state, and local governments.

Contrary to conventional wisdom, a coordinated welfare system during the Great Depression did not begin in Harold B. Lee’s Pioneer Stake. Early in the depression, all six of the Salt Lake area stakes coordinated welfare in a manner similar to that of the later welfare regions. The difference between the Pioneer Stake and the other stakes was one of degree, not kind—the Pioneer Stake experienced problems much worse than those of the others.

A major way the program of 1890–1935 differed from the later program is that Church leadership on the ward, stake, and general level cooperated extensively with government officials. The Relief Society’s social services department coordinated its efforts with county charities. Each charity, in turn, worked with the Community Chest and other local philanthropies. Presiding Bishop Sylvester Q. Cannon emphasized that the family had first responsibility to care for its members; second responsibility rested with local government, and third responsibility fell on the Church. In practice, however, the comprehensive cooperation between the public and private organizations and the Church provided for an ad hoc division of labor that worked extremely well to husband all the resources available.

The major changes in the welfare program originated with the ideological proclivities—particularly the distrust of government—of J. Reuben Clark, Jr., who was called to the First Presidency in 1933. Soon after his call, President Clark pressed the Church to end its cooperation with governments. Formal and informal cooperation among church, private, and public agencies had given bishops and Relief Societies primary responsibility for organizing welfare assistance. But President Clark wanted to centralize welfare work under general Church priesthood direction by eliminating the Relief Society as a line authority in welfare work and by severing cooperation with local governments.
Bishop Cannon and Amy Brown Lyman, then serving as a counselor in the general Relief Society, opposed this radical departure. Their opposition temporarily prevented President Clark from achieving his goal of centralization. Nevertheless, President Clark’s position prevailed in 1935, but contrary to public perceptions, the Church did not have the resources to care for all of its destitute and unemployed members.5

Mangum and Blumell assume that the other members of the First Presidency—Heber J. Grant and Anthony W. Ivins—agreed with President Clark’s position. They have not, however, explored the possibility that Ivins may have supported Cannon and Lyman in sidetracking President Clark’s opposition to continued cooperation with governments. At this point, we do not know President Ivins’s role, but it ought to be a fruitful area of research. We do know, however, that after his call to the First Presidency in 1921, Ivins—an ideologically committed Democrat—consistently pressed the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles to alter its pro-Republican stance. Moreover, he and B. H. Roberts were the major early supporters of the New Deal among the General Authorities until Roberts’s death in September 1933. By 1934, however, Heber J. Grant, previously a committed Democrat, had become lukewarm, eventually breaking with the Democratic Party and opposing Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Ivins’s death in 1934 might have removed another obstacle to President Clark’s program.

At any rate, President Clark’s views carried the day and in the process sent antigovernment signals to the Church membership until at least 1991, when a revision of the welfare handbook included a provision listing “other sources, including government” (202) as fountains of welfare help. The antigovernment stance seems to have waned considerably during the 1980s because of President Spencer W. Kimball’s well-known compassion and President Gordon B. Hinckley’s nonideological approach, which was “‘not [to] let political considerations dull my sense of mercy or thwart my responsibility to the sons and daughters of God’” (248). As Mangum and Blumell document it, President Clark’s approach proved extremely divisive in the Mormon community; his stance led local leaders and members more orthodox than the Church leadership to attack individual members for cooperating
with the government in alleviating suffering and offering gainful work to the unemployed.

The story since 1936 is generally quite familiar to most members. Mangum and Blumell, however, fill in the detail and interpret these developments. The addition of employment services, social services, and other welfare services has expanded welfare activities, especially since World War II. However, other changes have taken place. Welfare farms, an important feature of the welfare system until the 1980s, have declined in importance, and many have been sold or taken over by professionals.

In a major contribution, the authors discuss the extensive welfare activities outside the United States and Canada, activities which are generally not well known to most North American members. These contributions include educational institutions (recently curtailed), welfare services missionaries, employment services, humanitarian relief, instruction to promote self-sufficiency, and enterprise developments.

Throughout all of these changes in the welfare program, several principles have remained. The original goal of the program was to assist members in achieving a relative degree of equality and, if that proved impossible, to promote self-sufficiency. As the authors point out, challenges in achieving these goals remain. The goal of self-sufficiency seems especially formidable in third-world countries and in inner-city families consisting of divorced and largely unskilled women with small children. Many compassionate Church members continue to believe in equality as a goal, but the Church has no active programs for promoting it. At the same time, welfare work remains a significant feature of the Church’s mission to perfect the Saints and care for God’s children.

NOTES


5For a further discussion of this matter, see David Roy Hall, “Amy Brown Lyman and Social Service Work in the Relief Society” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1992).


Reviewed by Mary Stovall Richards, Associate Professor of History at Brigham Young University.

In the waning years of the twentieth century, many historians of women are evaluating what the past hundred years—and previous centuries—have meant for women's lives. Gone from most recent analyses are the simplistic paradigms of the rise and fall of women's status that characterized much early work in the field (and that judged progress by how well women's lives approximated those of successful men). Instead, historians increasingly attempt to understand the lives of women on their own terms, rather than either criticizing earlier women for their supposed lack of enlightenment or, even worse, reconstructing their lives to fit contemporary sensibilities, either liberal or conservative. These historians argue that individuals must be understood for the lives they actually lived, not the ones we may wish they had.

While asserting that a person's life should not be reduced to a political tract, women's history of the past two decades, just like recent African-American history, nevertheless remains inherently political because both types of history examine, among other things, the way relations of social, political, and economic power have been defined, explicated, and maintained; further, both implicitly or explicitly argue that such power relations of gender or race are socially constructed, not divinely mandated, and are thus subject to alteration. It is little wonder, then, that some people find almost any history of women's experiences profoundly unsettling since
such a history may call into question the patterns that have governed the readers' lives and given order to their world.

The three volumes under consideration here, two of which focus on Mormon women, are indeed unsettling, though for very different reasons. One book is a history of American women's voluntary associations; another is the history of one such organization (the Relief Society of the LDS Church); and the third is a collection of Mormon feminist essays. All achieve varying degrees of success in capturing the lives of women on their own terms.

The most balanced and fully realized work, not surprisingly, is the one that does not find itself in the middle of ideological pressures. Anne Firor Scott's *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* examines white and black women's voluntary organizations from the Revolution through the 1920s. Scott, W. K. Boyd Professor of History Emerita at Duke University, argues that women's societies arose in the 1790s as women saw unaddressed needs in their communities, yet, because women were viewed as simply exercising those attributes of charity and compassion with which they were believed to be naturally gifted, their efforts elicited praise, not censure. Few saw the inherent challenge such societies posed for then-current notions of woman's role. Not only did women use their associations to reform American society (everything from missionary societies to abolition, temperance, education, public health, housing, and politics) but to transform themselves. They defined problems, designed programs to answer them, raised money, balanced budgets, learned administrative skills, and increased in competence and self-confidence. Indeed, Scott contends, societies, especially on the national level, provided many women a public career and an independent identity in the days during which those possibilities were largely closed to them. Further, many women eventually saw that traditional benevolence was not sufficient to solve problems whose roots were societal; only a restructuring of the economy and improvement of working conditions, especially for employed women, could finally alleviate inequities and achieve social justice.

Scott evidences a masterful blend of involvement in and detachment from her subjects' lives. Although she obviously admires many of the women about whom she writes and exults in their
accomplishments as they reformed much of American life, she is not blind to their foibles and even their silliness. She freely admits that clubs often attracted women more interested in social climbing than doing anything of substance and that class pretensions often blinded middle-class women to the real problems faced by those of the working class. Scott’s consummate discernment, good sense, and humanity inform her writing and present the reader with whole people in all their difficult and maddening complexity.

While Scott mentions the LDS Relief Society only briefly (21), her analysis of the growth of women’s associations is helpful in revealing both parallels to and deviations from the national patterns by that organization. Like many church women’s groups, the Relief Society was originally founded for benevolent purposes by women, not by members of the male hierarchy. Like other women’s associations, it provided women numerous opportunities for acquisition of administrative skills and intellectual growth, for a growing sense of themselves as persons. Further, the Relief Society offered women a relatively “safe” public role that did not overtly challenge notions of women’s proper place within society.

Even the possession of some autonomy, however, could be threatening. Scott found that almost all women’s societies affiliated with a larger organization run by men experienced men’s discomfort with women’s challenges to their authority. Many Protestant women turned from churches to their own independent associations so that they would get out from under men’s thumbs. While it is not clear to what extent members of the Relief Society may have followed such a course, the Relief Society did experience the progressive loss of autonomy within the church as the organization moved from a “partner to priesthood quorums” to “one of five auxiliaries” by the beginning of the twentieth century (Women of Covenant, 154).

One striking difference between the Relief Society and many other women’s church organizations was the latter’s moving from benevolence to what Scott calls municipal housekeeping and then to social justice. The Relief Society did, indeed, build hospitals, store grain that they sent to disaster victims; work for suffrage, and establish in 1919 under Amy Brown Lyman a Social Service Department, which included an employment bureau, adoption services,
and a program of loans and grants to women. But after 1922 most of these measures were aimed primarily at other Mormons, and to a lesser extent their neighbors (Women of Covenant, 233-35), not the larger community outside Utah. Nor did Relief Society women become politicized to address the structural reasons in society for the secular problems they tried to solve. Rather, as the twentieth century progressed, the Relief Society gradually lost its progressive community functions and espoused an all-consuming domesticity.

This comparison introduces the second and third books under consideration here: Women of Covenant: The Story of Relief Society by Jill Mulvay Derr, Janath Russell Cannon, and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher; and Maxine Hanks's edited volume, Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism. Given the current atmosphere surrounding the place of women in the LDS Church, one does not realistically expect (though one still hopes for) the same nuanced portrayals, as evidenced in Scott's work, of women's experience in Mormonism. Indeed, both these volumes on Mormon women advise the reader early on that contemporary sensibilities are considerations in the authors' approaches. While disclaiming their book as an official history of the Relief Society, the authors of Women of Covenant nevertheless state that their work was vetted prior to publication by the general president of the Relief Society and by members of the Quorums of the Twelve and the Seventy, who provided "wise counsel, [so] that Relief Society and priesthood leaders might all 'speak the same thing,'" and whose work aided the "final completion of this history . . . in this form" (xii). Similarly, although the point of view of her volume differs dramatically from that of Women of Covenant, Maxine Hanks is up front in proclaiming her book a validation of the place of another type of feminism within Mormon theology and history. The books thus serve as illuminating foils for each other in locating the place of women within Mormonism both historically and currently.

Women of Covenant, the first scholarly history of the Relief Society, was originally commissioned in 1979 by then-president Barbara Smith (xi). Janath Russell Cannon, first counselor to President Smith, and Jill Mulvay Derr, of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at Brigham Young University, were the original authors; they were joined near the completion of the book
by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, also of the Smith Institute. Both Derr and Beecher are accomplished historians, with numerous path-breaking publications to their credit. Indeed, they, along with a handful of other scholars, have over the past two decades defined the field of Mormon women's history. Cannon brought the personal experience of working within the female hierarchy of the Church. With such a team, expectations for the completed volume were high. The book contract, however, was with Deseret Book, a semi-official Church publisher, which garnered for their work not only a large Mormon audience but also increased scrutiny for their words. The good news is that the authors provide many important insights into the workings of Relief Society and the spiritual life of Mormon women; the bad news is that many of the authors' interpretations of currently sensitive historical events are compromised in the process.

The authors sought to recreate "the story of imperfect Saints seeking holiness, changing responsibilities, and eternal covenants" (x). Many readers will find this book to be informative, positive, reassuring, and uplifting;¹ but for this reviewer, Women of Covenant was also, in many ways, depressing. Near the end of the book, the authors discuss Elder Bruce R. McConkie's 1978 address at the dedication of the Nauvoo Monument to Women, during which he corrected a notion then extant among some Church members that women "could not receive counsel from the Lord except through a priesthood holder" (363); in fact, Elder McConkie assured women, they could pray and receive answers. The reader cries with frustration: how could the Nauvoo society of priestesses have come to such a point? As the tale unfolds, one discovers that after more than a century of numerous small and large losses and equivocations, some women were unsure even of their right to receive counsel directly from God.

The beginnings were very different. The Relief Society, founded in March, 1842, in Nauvoo, Illinois, was a spiritually powerful counterpart to priesthood quorums. The authors describe mighty women, many of whom had been recipients of stirring spiritual manifestations of the restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ and of the divine origins of the Book of Mormon, who had been promised in patriarchal blessings gifts of prophecy and revelation,
and who had administered blessings of healing upon the sick. The Relief Society invited further development of such powers as it prepared women to receive the temple endowment.

That moment in Church history is of profound significance and has been subjected to much scrutiny by LDS historians. Many have wondered about the implications of Joseph Smith’s lectures to the Society that were designed to prepare women to receive the temple endowment in 1843. This volume argues against bestowal of priesthood on women but does allow the conferral of some kind of rather nebulous authority (49). Because common parlance in the Church often conflates the terms *priesthood* and *authority* (witness a popular definition of priesthood as the power and authority of God), clarifications of both concepts would have aided the authors’ discussion. Further, since much of Derr’s and Beecher’s previous work is less categorical and more nuanced, the reader is advised to read carefully all the text, not just the portions that address a particular topic, and especially all footnotes, which contain important clarifications of ideas presented in the body. For example, in the text of their history, the authors meticulously explain almost every use of the word *ordain* in connection with women as meaning “set apart”; only in a footnote do they explain that there was no such verbal distinction made during the midnineteenth century, when the words were apparently used interchangeably and men were “set apart” for priesthood offices (444, 446).

This discussion does not explore the variety of possible interpretations of Joseph’s words regarding women and priesthood or authority. Unfortunately, Joseph’s statement (“I now turn the key to you in the name of God” [47]) does not have a simple or clear historical meaning. The authors acknowledge alternate readings of Joseph’s words in their conclusion (50), but no footnotes steer the reader to fuller discussions of those interpretations. Significantly, in their argument the authors quote only the first portion of one of Joseph’s most important statements regarding women and the priesthood: “The Society should move according to the ancient Priesthood’” (43), but in this discussion they omit the promise that “he was going to make of this Society a kingdom of priests as in Enoch’s day—as in Paul’s day.” (The statement does appear in full
on page 53 in a different context.) One wonders why the authors did not include in an appendix the minutes of the Relief Society, from which Joseph’s statements were taken, so that readers could view everything in context.

Although a thoughtful, but abbreviated, discussion of priesthood and the temple follows (50-58), some of the blessings bestowed there on women are understood in a limited way. The authors state on three occasions that healing blessings performed by women, by definition, are not performed through the priesthood, but as a gift of the spirit by the power of faith (114, 220, 429). One is left to wonder, then, what is the relationship between conferred priesthood, the blessings of the temple endowment, and the gifts of the spirit.5

As suggested previously, reading just this chapter in isolation perhaps does not give a full appreciation of the authors’ feelings. Quotations later in the text offer a more expansive view: in 1901 newly-called general president Bathsheba Smith and her counselors assured the Church, “We have not taken these responsibilities upon ourselves, but have been called in the order of the holy Priesthood” (151). Also in that same year Lydia D. Alder, evaluating women’s progress during the previous century in an article entitled “Thoughts on Missionary Work”4 in the Woman’s Exponent, concluded that the restoration of the gospel had revolutionized women’s status. Indeed, Joseph Smith had given women “instructions so far in advance of his day that they are not all carried out even now” (178).

After leaving the minefields of the 1840s, the book begins to hit its stride. The authors are conversant with American women’s history and successfully place Mormon women into that larger historical context; further, their knowledge of both the primary and secondary literature is apparent in their extensive footnotes. They are also for the most part unafraid to tackle difficult issues in Church history. For example, the authors forthrightly detail the Relief Society’s inexorable loss of autonomy, which reached its nadir in the massive changes of the 1960s and 1970s under the priesthood correlation program as the Relief Society (along with the Church auxiliaries) lost its financial autonomy, control over its own curriculum, its employment services and social services to
the Church Welfare Department, and its magazine. While the authors betray some unease with this loss of power, they nevertheless conclude that these developments were potentially beneficial since they “released [women] from responsibility for managing the social services of the Church, raising their own funds, and producing their own teaching materials” so they could “achieve an even higher level of personal service to family and church” (346). Also examined are the mistakes made and the divisions engendered among Mormon women by the International Women’s Year meetings in Utah in 1977 (369-74).

The volume suffers from its organizational structure, which, focusing on the administration of each general Relief Society president in turn, lends itself to repetitiveness and a disjointed narrative. With the emphasis on efficiency in the Relief Society in the twentieth century, the narrative loses the wonderfully personal focus that characterized its discussions of the nineteenth century and becomes a rather boring list of accomplishments, with little sense of the personalities involved. Further, the almost exclusive concentration on the Relief Society as an institution obscures many of the real accomplishments of Mormon women, particularly in the twentieth century. For example, the authors commendably include Juanita Brooks’ work as a stake Relief Society president, but only mention her writing when she happens to publish in the Relief Society Magazine.

In sum, Women of Covenant is a significant contribution to our understanding of the development of an important women’s organization that has moved during the last century and a half from its geographically parochial beginnings in a small Illinois town to a nearly worldwide presence. One, however, longs for the book this might have been, had it been written in a quieter age.

The final volume, Women and Authority: Re-emerging Mormon Feminism is a striking contrast in approach and tone to Women of Covenant. Women and Authority approaches Mormon history and theology from explicitly feminist perspectives, which the editor, Maxine Hanks, defines as embracing “a philosophy of equal rights and opportunities for women” (xi). Such a definition blunts some of the almost visceral reactions against that term by many persons (including far too many Mormons) who negatively
stereotype feminists. In her introductory essay, Hanks not only demonstrates feminism’s historical presence within Mormonism, but she also shows that feminism, even among members of the Church, is far from a monolithic ideology.5

Hanks has gathered some of the most important essays in Mormon women’s studies of the past two decades; others were written specifically for the volume, for a total of nineteen pieces. Practically all previously published works have been updated with new materials and references. Despite differences in approach and emphases, the essays share a common theme: the profound sense that being female has been devalued in Mormonism, that we must rediscover the eternal truth that “all are alike unto God” (2 Ne. 26:33) and its truly transforming implications for how we treat each other. Many of the authors reveal their own pain and that of their sisters as they struggle with marginalization, and they offer suggestions for healing changes, for re-evaluations of our current situation based on their research, whether in history or in the scriptures.

Hanks’s book begins by addressing two of the most pressing (and controversial) issues for women in the Church: the theology surrounding Heavenly Mother and the relationship of women with priesthood. In a meticulously researched article, “The Mormon Concept of a Mother in Heaven,” Linda P. Wilcox traces the origin and development of the doctrine of a Heavenly Mother. Wilcox points out that, while the existence of Heavenly Mother was affirmed in a 1909 First Presidency statement, specifics about her have not been delineated. Many women (and men) in the Church nevertheless hunger to know more about her as Carol Lynn Pearson’s poignant “Healing the Motherless House” and a forty-page collection of women’s (and a few men’s) thoughts about Mother in Heaven attest.

Hanks similarly marshals historical evidence of the changing position of women vis-à-vis priesthood through the inclusion of Linda King Newell’s examination of “The Historical Relationship of Mormon Women and Priesthood” from the founding of the Church to the present and D. Michael Quinn’s explicitly-titled, “Mormon Women Have Had the Priesthood since 1843.” Newell documents women’s extensive use of the spiritual gift of healing in
the nineteenth century along with its official discouragement and then effective prohibition in the twentieth century under the priesthood correlation movements that centralized all Church authority under the offices of the priesthood (40–41). While she is uncertain about women's ordination to priesthood office, she calls for a "broader, more inclusive understanding of priesthood" (44). Such an understanding is advanced in Quinn's article, in which he argues, interpreting statements from writings of members of the "Holy Order," to whom Joseph first revealed the endowment, that to receive the LDS temple endowment is to receive priesthood; thus, he asserts that endowed Mormon women (all of whom in Nauvoo were married) have held Melchizedek priesthood since the first female endowments in Nauvoo in 1843 (375). To those who argue that women do not hold priesthood because they are not ordained to specific priesthood offices, Quinn cites the eighty-fourth section of the Doctrine and Covenants, given in 1832, to show that such offices are appendages to priesthood, not priesthood itself. Quinn points out, however, that women, like men, may not exercise priesthood authority within the Church without permission of the Church.

Not all will be convinced by Quinn's arguments. Certainly, he is able to marshal only one direct statement by anyone that women have Melchizedek priesthood (emphasis mine), and even that statement is ambiguous to some. Senior president of the First Council of Seventy, ordained patriarch, and member of the Holy Order in Nauvoo, Joseph Young told his niece Zina Young Card in 1878: "These blessings are yours, the blessings and power according to the holy Melchisedek [sic] Priesthood you received in your Endowments, and you shall have them" (371). Further, much of Quinn's evidence is dependent on patriarchal blessings given to women in the 1840s and 1850s by John Smith, uncle of the Prophet, who served first as stake patriarch and then as presiding patriarch to the Church beginning in the late 1840s. Such blessings are given for individual direction and comfort, not necessarily as statements of doctrine.

Nevertheless, there are enough early Church statements about women receiving priesthood or priesthood blessings through temple ordinances to deserve attention, even though the interpretation of
those statements will undoubtedly be an issue. Endless debate will revolve around what for some is rather imprecise nineteenth-century language. For example, one may wonder if Brigham Young’s October 29, 1843, description of women’s receiving their endowments as being “‘taken into the order of the priesthood’” (368) meant the same as receiving the priesthood. While Quinn’s article has far from settled the issue, it has informed and enlivened the discussion.

Much work remains on these and other topics, but many feminist insights offer the hope of new (or, rather, the re-institution of old) paradigms of understanding the covenant and personal relationships of sons and daughters of Heavenly Parents to divine authority. Those insights remove old impasses by reconfiguring the question from “why don’t women have the priesthood?” to “how should women understand the endowment, the priesthood, and the responsibilities they have?” Perhaps our new vision will cause all to focus more on the true purpose of priesthood—not “to gratify our pride . . . or to exercise control or dominion or compulsion” (D&C 121:37), but to serve others in humility, persuasion, long-suffering, gentleness, and love (D&C 121:41–42) in order to “preach repentance” to all and to “establish peace” (Alma 13:18). Fittingly, any motivation of unrighteous aspiration or ambition destroys true priesthood.

These latter two volumes are powerful, but very different, contributions not only to women’s studies but also to Mormon studies. Indeed, the reader leaves these volumes believing that no work of history or theology that ignores women can hope to capture the essence of Mormonism.

*Editorial Note:* This review was written prior to the general conferences of 1993 and 1994 and the 1993 disciplinary councils. Several of the historical claims and documents used in these books will be discussed further in upcoming issues of *BYU Studies.*
NOTES

1 For a laudatory assessment, see Claudia L. Bushman’s review of this book in *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993): 156–59.


3 Conferred priesthood is given only by the laying on of hands for that purpose (A of F 5).


Reviewed by Janet Hooper, a psychotherapist in private practice in Salt Lake City.

Abuse—it's the psychological buzzword of the 1990s. We encounter an avalanche of information about abuse on television talk shows and sitcoms, in movies, magazines, children's books, and at the office (sexual harassment). So many celebrities, neighbors, and family members are "coming out" about their abuse, that a national organization has been formed to fight this trend—the False Memory Syndrome Association, dedicated to disproving accusations of abuse. Thus the 1993 release of a book on abuse just for LDS audiences is no surprise. What may be a surprise, however, is that the book is very good. Typically, difficult or sensitive material in books for LDS readers is watered down or even misleading. While religious topics are thoroughly addressed, psychological topics (other than those in a few good marriage enrichment books) are generally done very poorly. Thus, finding a book that addresses both scholarly and sensitive material and that is written specifically for the LDS population is a rare treat.

As we proceed through the book, we may well find ourselves asking with Susan Paxman in chapter 1, "Why do God's children treat each other so cruelly?" (4) and "Why does violence occur in a Latter-day Saint home?" (6). Some members of the Church may find their thoughts echoed by a passage from her chapter:

Some people in the Church will accept a story of abuse from a woman if the abuse has ended or if the woman's husband is inactive or a nonmember; however, if her husband is an active priesthood-holder, many Mormons simply cannot hear her when she tells them that he abuses her or their children. I have even heard that there are people in the Church who think that the issue of the abuse of women is a "fad," that a lot of women think they are abused because it's the "in" thing to be, and that the fad will soon pass. (5)

Regardless of our denial and disbelief, abuse does happen, and it happens in all varieties of Latter-day Saint homes: active and inactive, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, convert and born-in-the-covenant, professional and blue-collar. This book helps to
cut through the denial, dispel the myths, and put the occurrence
of abuse in perspective. The chapters, written by a variety of pro-
fessionals, lay clergy, and Church leaders, as well as two anony-
mous survivors, are presented in four main sections. At the end of
the book is a short list of resource materials and organizations
readers can access.

Section one, “Understanding Family Violence,” aptly introduces
the issues of abuse and explains how to recognize abuse, how to
safeguard one’s home from it, and how to deal with abuse if it is
discovered in one’s own family. A definition of abuse is not offered
here; that is left to section two.

A highlight of the first section is Ann Horton’s inclusion of
“Guidelines for Preventing and Ending Abuse in Our Own
Families” in her chapter, “Safeguarding Our Homes: What Every
LDS Family Ought to Know about Abuse” (13). She admonishes
readers to start the process of prevention by examining their
family and selves (13). Our families would indeed be strengthened
if each of us eliminated the verbal and psychological abuse that
occasionally creeps into nearly all families, regardless of religious
persuasion. Horton lists twenty-six common abusive behaviors of
which to be aware.

Another highlight in section one is Alvin Price’s discussion on
“Abuse or Discipline? The Threshold of Violence.” His presentation
sensitively calls attention to when the line between discipline and
abuse is crossed. For example, he defines discipline as “training
that develops self-control or efficiency. In this context, discipline
is a positive factor in raising independent and productive chil-
dren” (27). Punishment is “an imposed penalty or harsh treat-
ment . . . if . . . administered in anger or when a parent is out of
control, it moves into abuse” (27). And abuse is “to use wrongly:
[It] may involve physical force and causes injury (psychological,
emotional, and physical)” (27). Violence, he affirms, “is to be avoided
at all costs. It creates no positive result. . . . Punishment . . . is not the
most effective means of changing undesirable behavior” (27-28).
Price also discusses the circumstances that often lead to family
violence and offers possible correction techniques to be employed
when violence does occur.

Patricia Esplin also offers a timely chapter, “What to Do If
Your Child Has Been Abused.” Both society and the therapeutic
community have come a long way in properly addressing the needs of abused children. Esplin's ideas are simple, clear, and appropriate and may keep frantic parents grounded while they face this ordeal.

No book on abuse would be complete without a discussion on dissociation and memory retrieval in adults who were molested as children. Elouise Bell and Noemi Mattis present a skimpy, but clear, overview of these issues in "When the Mind Hides the Truth: Why Some Abuse Victims Don't Remember." Mattis has impeccable credentials to write on this subject. Her coauthor is known to most of us only in her role as BYU English professor. The complexity and increasing controversy of this subject certainly warrants a more thorough discussion than is offered. In the interest of fairness, some time may well have been offered to those espousing the false memory syndrome. Such balance would allow readers to judge for themselves the realities involved. Unfortunately, this omission may serve as a reason for the False Memory Syndrome Association to discount the entire work. Yet, in keeping with the spirit of this volume being an overview, the chapter presents just enough information to make the audience aware of the issue.

Section one ends with an anonymous account of "What Survivors of Abuse Want Others to Know—A Guide to Their Pain." This is a tasteful collection of victims' stories, sufficient to emotionally engage the reader without offending the sensitive with the explicit details often portrayed in similar narratives.

Section two, "Types of Abuse and Guidelines for Change," presents the entire gamut of abuse. One chapter each is written on child abuse and neglect; incest; adolescent sexual offenders; sibling abuse; spouse abuse; marital rape; elder abuse; verbal, psychological, and emotional abuse; spiritual abuse; ritual abuse; and males as victims of abuse. Some readers may be put off initially by the comprehensive listing of types of abuse, again thinking this is a fad which has gone too far. But each chapter is concise, not heavy on statistics and research, and full of ideas, concepts, and examples—enough material to convince even the most skeptical reader. The information appears sound and concurs with the professional literature on each of these subjects.

The chapters in this section are written in a way that the reader cannot feel that these are situations that happen only to
other people. Indeed, many cautions and guidelines are offered to help "average" people improve the quality of their family lives and become aware of potentially problematic situations. Chapters that are particularly compelling are those on marital rape, elder abuse, and the more subtle verbal, psychological, and emotional abuses—opening the readers' eyes perhaps for the first time to very real, and escalating, problems.

These chapters generally include information about the incidence of abuse, symptoms and dysfunctions typical of victims, and issues and steps involved in treatment. Some chapters add anecdotal stories to illustrate the problem. Two unexpected, yet valuable, chapters are Rex Kocherhans's "Males Are Victims Too" and C. Y. Roby's "Adolescent Sexual Offenders: Victims, Perpetrators, or Both?" These are two areas frequently underaddressed in both literature and popular works alike.

Lynn Roundy's "Incest: Sexual Abuse in the Family" is an especially good portrayal of this difficult subject. She pulls together the necessary research information, adds a list of the typical defense mechanisms perpetrators frequently use to rationalize their actions, covers lightly the effects of incest upon the victim, and intersperses all with appropriate quotes from General Authorities. The best part of her discussion is a section on prevention of family sexual abuse. Roundy does not mince words about our responsibilities as parents. For example, she advocates that we "take our heads out of the sand" and "stop avoiding the subject of incest," that we "become 'experts' on child sexual abuse" (suggesting that education is both empowering and preventative), and that we extend warnings to our children about saying no to strangers or to anyone "who acts in an inappropriate manner—including ourselves" (105). Her list of prevention principles sends strong messages to combat a serious problem, messages which LDS audiences need to hear.

An excellent, but perhaps controversial, chapter is Reed Finlayson's "Sibling Abuse: Am I My Brother's Keeper?" In it he writes, "Sibling conflict is accepted by many as a normal part of family life; however, abuse resulting from this conflict is the most prevalent form of family violence." Finlayson raises awareness of sibling abuse and identifies when and how that conflict becomes
destructive. As does Price’s chapter on drawing the line between parental discipline and abuse, this chapter will undoubtedly stir up controversy. Effective in soothing that divisiveness, however, is Finlayson’s style of not blaming while clearly emphasizing options for change. Especially useful and easy for all to accept are his eleven “additional considerations on sibling abuse,” which highlight issues of power and coercion, age difference, secretiveness, frequency of abuse, and response to sexual activities (121). Finlayson warns that “parents must be observant of all children’s activities and provide supervision that will minimize the opportunities for [abusive behaviors]” (124; italics added)—instead of assuming that children are too young or innocent to do harm.

Section three, “Some Specific Considerations for Ending Abuse,” contains the typical how-to’s expected in any publication on abuse: changing from the victim role, grieving appropriately, managing emotions, resolving and integrating the experiences, and ultimately, forgiving those involved in the abuse. The real strength of this section, however, is the added applications particular to the LDS audience. “How Can I Help? Concepts and Cautions for Ecclesiastical Leaders and Others” by B. Kent Harrison is good enough to be copied and circulated to all bishops and stake presidents. Judith Rasmussen Dushku’s “Responding to Abused LDS Women: Roadblocks to Recovery” similarly offers specific responses, reactions, and comments victims commonly encounter that at best hinder healing and at worst do further harm. Through the years, my colleagues and I have seen many victims who have been further injured (mostly through ignorance) by ecclesiastical leaders, friends, and family members. Harrison’s suggested guidelines about listening and sensitivity and about the roles of forgiveness, prayer, worthiness, guilt, and sin are important and helpful for those who work with LDS victims and perpetrators.

The final section, “Spiritual Recovery,” covers material supportive of the previous chapters. It adds a further dimension by briefly incorporating LDS values and doctrines of spiritual maturity, change, progression, choice and agency, testimony, confession, forgiveness, and the Atonement. It also attempts to explain the role of adversity in the abuse and healing process. Unfortunately, Elaine Cannon’s discussion on adversity, “Why Did Abuse Happen to Me? What Does
the Lord Want Me to Learn?,” is weak and somewhat trite. Even the
title—suggestive that the Lord *gives* people abuse in their lives to
teach them something—is offensive to those who suffer from it
(and, I may add, those who work with it!). It is true that those who
survive extreme trauma can and often do use it as a positive
learning experience. But victims need more than simple explana-
tions to make any kind of sense of their suffering. In fact, when
offered such explanations prematurely, survivors feel cut off and
invalidated in their feelings and experiences. Cannon redeems her
chapter somewhat, however, by offering “What Principles Can Be
Learned?” which addresses the issues more directly and assigns
responsibilities more clearly.

Placing “Spiritual Resources” at the end of the book may open
the editors to criticism of being overly optimistic, since some victims
and perpetrators of abuse will never become whole or functional
in this life. Some lives are so deeply damaged that normal func-
tioning is not possible until the healing power of the resurrection
is obtained. On the other hand, leaving us with *hope* after experi-
encing anger, frustration, sadness, discouragement, and depression
throughout the book does contribute to a sense of resolution,
understanding, and a willingness to keep on fighting our personal
and public battles with abuse, to keep helping ourselves, our fami-
lies, and our society.

Finally, the book offers a varied menu of topics. There is
something for every reader: information on a timely topic for those
who want it; validation and comfort for the abused and their fami-
lies; directives for those who work with victims and abusers,
including ecclesiastical leaders; and guidelines for non-LDS ther-
pists who wish to include Mormon theological concepts in their
treatment of LDS clients. In short, I recommend the book to all.

NOTE

1 Reed L. Finlayson, “Sibling Abuse: Am I My Brother’s Keeper?” in *Con-
fronting Abuse*, 118, citing Megan P. Goodwin and Bruce Roscoe, “Sibling
Violence and Agonistic Interactions among Middle Adolescents,” *Adolescence* 25
(Summer 1990): 451–52.
Brief Notices


The first volume of Fred C. Collier’s Unpublished Revelations (1979) contains revelations (actual or alleged) which were received by Joseph Smith but which for various reasons are not printed in the Doctrine and Covenants. Volume 1 also includes certain visions and revelations of Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson Pratt. Among other documents reproduced in volume 1 are the patriarchal blessings Joseph Smith pronounced upon his father and other men, a revelation regarding the names for God, the words of “A Song, sung by the gift of tongues and translated,” the Prophet’s 1833 prayer for the redemption of Zion, and an account of a Wilford Woodruff meeting in the Gardo House with Mormon lawyers.

Now, fourteen years later, Collier has published a sequel containing 165 diverse “unpublished revelations.” Readers will find additional revelations received by Joseph Smith and numerous accounts of the First Vision and the visitations of the angel Moroni. Also included are David Whitmer’s proclamation, extracts from the history of Lucy Mack Smith, and several Whitmer interviews. The volume contains visions of God the Father, Christ on the cross, and Adam and Eve as remembered by Zebedee Coltrin almost fifty years after they are said to have occurred. Collier also selected accounts of Brigham Young speaking in tongues, of healings performed by David W. Patten and Heber C. Kimball, of one of Parley P. Pratt’s dreams, of a revelation received by Joseph Smith as related by the apostate Reed Peck, and of Amanda Smith’s testimony of her son’s miraculous healing following the Haun’s Mill Massacre.

While the bulk of the material is both informative and interesting, one wonders what, if any, criteria Collier used in making his selections for inclusion. Are incidents in the life of Martin Harris reprinted from the Iowa State Register “revelations”? Are recollections as much as fifty-three years after they happened “revelations”? Are the missionary experiences of Benjamin Brown “revelations”? How reliable are these sources? How accurate are the transcriptions? One wonders.

A startling fact regarding this volume is that all the materials in it have been published before. Collier has, for example, extracted documents from such books as Dean C. Jessee’s The Papers of Joseph Smith, although without comment he standardizes the irregular spelling and punctuation Jessee worked hard to preserve.
Items have been reprinted from the *History of the Church*, the *Messenger and Advocate, Journal of Discourses*, *Young Woman’s Journal*, *BYU Studies*, *Women of Mormonism*, Orson F. Whitney’s *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, the Faith Promoting Series, and *The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee*. The book would perhaps have been more appropriately titled “REPUBLICISHED Revelations.” However, the book brings together under one cover much information, albeit of varying reliability, regarding the early history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

—Kenneth C. Godfrey


Understanding the early Saints helps modern Church members understand themselves as a people and as a church. In *The Heavens Are Open*, Brigham Young University and the Church Educational System have produced the latest in their series of annual Sperry symposia essays. The essays employ Church origins to provide an insightful look at several modern-day revelations and doctrines.

*The Heavens Are Open* contains essays addressing, among other topics, the restored gospel’s contribution to an understanding of the Fall and the Atonement; the importance of loving the gospel, being loyal to it, and following living prophets; the value of being curious about each person mentioned in the Doctrine and Covenants; and the benefits that resulted from several difficult experiences of Zion’s Camp.

Other essays describe celestial spouses’ opportunity for eternal parenthood, give examples of personal revelations received in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and show the consequences of subtle flaws in the leadership of Thomas B. Marsh when he was president of the Twelve.

The Lord’s strict requirements for missionaries in the latter days are examined, and a fresh look at Joseph Smith’s poetic version of section 76 is given. An especially helpful essay summarizes all references in the Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price about the last days and warns against the use of sources other than modern revelation to obtain information on this topic.

Another essay focuses on how the Doctrine and Covenants expands knowledge about Christ’s many roles and allows readers to hear Christ’s voice. An account of the revelation of June 1978, which made the priesthood available to all worthy males, is moving. The “elect lady” revelation (section 25) is clearly analyzed. The meaning of the phrase “restoration of all things” is discussed.

Helpful advice is given on how to avoid being spiritually deceived, reasons for suffering are enumerated, and comfort is offered to those who suffer. The explosive growth in family history fueled by technological advances is also reported. A final essay shows how
human weaknesses and failings can be positive traits that may prove useful as mortals progress toward godhood.

—Michael J. Preece

Keepers of the Flame: Presidents of the Young Women, by Janet S. Peterson and LaRene Gaunt (Deseret Book, 1993)

Anyone who has read Elect Ladies: Presidents of Relief Society (1990) by Janet Peterson and LaRene Gaunt will experience a strong sense of déjà vu upon reading their new book, Keepers of the Flame. Here the authors sketch the lives of the Young Women general presidents, whose purpose has been “to kindle the flame of testimony” in young LDS women.

Peterson and Gaunt write for general readers, and they do it very well. In this second volume, they illuminate in their familiar formulaic style the lives of ten talented Mormon women. Five of these presidents, still very much alive, were interviewed several times by the authors, some providing in addition a written statement. Although Peterson and Gaunt drew from interviews in the James H. Moyle Oral History Program in the LDS Church Archives for the chapters on Bertha Stone Reeder, Ruth Hardy Funk, Elaine Cannon, and Ardeth Greene Kapp, the prevailing sources for these four and three other chapters (Lucy Grant Cannon, Florence Smith Jacobsen, and Janette Callister Hales) are the authors’ personal and telephone interviews. Over one hundred endnote citations identify untaped interviews with presidents, and their husbands, children, counselors, and friends. Consequently, Keepers of the Flame is a simpler book than its predecessor: more anecdotal, more conversational, and somewhat protective. There is spontaneity here, but where is the complexity, the struggle, or the reflective insight?

Peterson and Gaunt are not trained historians. Sources for the book are more journalistic than historical. Paragraphs fly by without adequate citation; there is lack of scrupulous care in endnoting and no attempt to provide context for the women or the organization. In fact, the book is somewhat short on organizational history (only about 65 pages out of a total of 176). However, the authors have provided in the appendix a timeline of YWMIA developments and general historical events.

Peterson and Gaunt’s new book offers choice snippets of living history and pithy statements which will appeal to the general audience. We must thank them for adding biographical notes to preceding histories of YLMIA and YWMIA (1911, 1955, 1969) and look to scholars to bring more depth of understanding to the richly textured lives of these important Church leaders and more detail to the sweep of the Young Women programs.

—Shirley Anderson Cazier
A Man of Battles Braids
His Daughters' Hair

In the meager, rationed days of peace,
My husband, Mormon, would return to us
Sick of blood and death and desolation.

Discarding his embattled armor,
He would leave his heavy sword untouched,
Wash his hands in clearest water,
And kneel, his lips alive with prayer.

Later, he would call our daughters
And speak with them in sunlight,
Braiding carefully their waist-long hair.

It was a precious gentleness to see this man of battles
Holding three soft strands of hair,
Weaving them together snugly
While he spoke of charity and faith and hope—

They were, he said, like streams
That joined together in a river rich with living water
That would carry us into the very arms of Christ.

He talked of reaching through the unseen veil
Toward the Savior's hand,
Of finding there the borning possibility of everlasting life
And being wrapped so warmly in his pure, unfailing love.

Now, swept within the agony and dark ascending tide of war,
Our daughters braid each other's hair,
Whispering among themselves,
Clinging to the memory of sunlight and their father's hands,
Trusting in his words to lift them
Far beyond the spreading fear and rising sorrow.

—Randall L. Hall

“A Man of Battles” won second place in the 1993 BYU Studies Writing Contest, poetry division.
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