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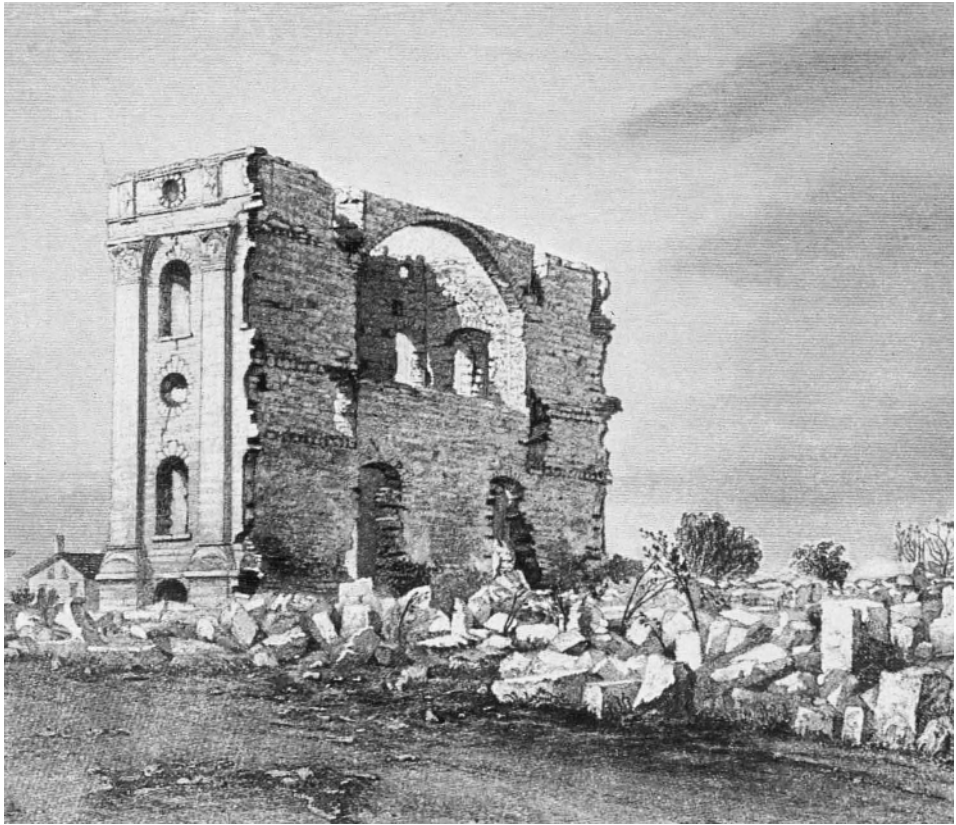
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FIG. 1. *The Temple in Ruins*, Frederick Piercy, steel engraving, from *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake*, 1855. The Nauvoo Temple was burned in 1848, then struck by a tornado in 1850, leaving only this crumbling remnant.

Nauvoo's Temple Square

Lisle G. Brown

And ye shall build it on the place where you have contemplated building it, for that is the spot which I have chosen for you to build it. If ye labor with all your might, I will consecrate that spot that it shall be made holy.

—D&C 124:43–44

Most Nauvoo historians, both Latter-day Saints and others, have largely limited their research to the Mormon era of the 1840s.¹ Even a survey of Nauvoo, conducted as part of the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s, focused almost exclusively on the city's Mormon past.² The one Latter-day Saint writer who looked at post-1840s events concentrated primarily on the Church's return and role in historic preservation within the city.³ No scholar has undertaken a thorough study of the city's post-Latter-day Saint period. Hence, in the extensive bibliography of publications on Nauvoo, there are only two pamphlets that deal with the city's history in its entirety, and then only up to the 1970s.⁴

Similarly, authors have approached the history of Nauvoo's buildings from a Latter-day Saint perspective, understandably a result of the Church's expansive restoration program during the latter half of the twentieth century.⁵ However, for most of Nauvoo's existence, its most important Latter-day Saint structure could not be seen. In 1969, Ida Blum, Nauvoo's resident historian, observed this paradox: "The dominant landmark in Nauvoo is still the Nauvoo Temple site, although the temple has been gone for more than a century."⁶ The reconstruction of the temple at the turn of the twenty-first century changed all this, the new temple generating considerable national interest in the original building.⁷ As a result, a number of publishers have issued studies looking at the original temple's construc-

tion, its use for sacred purposes, and its ultimate destruction by nature and man.⁸ A few studies have also appeared addressing the new Nauvoo Illinois Temple, and likely more will follow.⁹ However, no author has addressed the temple lot's history—especially those approximately fifteen decades between the original Nauvoo Temple and the newly built Nauvoo Illinois Temple.¹⁰ This study attempts to fill in this deficit by looking at the use of Nauvoo's temple square during these “in-between” years.¹¹

The Original Nauvoo Temple, 1841–1848

From 1841 to 1846, the Latter-day Saints of Nauvoo, Illinois, supported by Church members as far away as Europe, built a temple on a commanding bluff overlooking the city. During winter 1845–46, Church leaders used the temple's attic for administering sacred rituals. Even after most of the Mormons had vacated the city for the West in spring 1846, a crew of men remained behind to complete the building for dedication.¹² During this period, Church leaders also appointed trustees to stay in Nauvoo and dispose of the Church's and members' property, including the temple.

After a fruitless two-year attempt to sell or lease the temple, on March 11, 1848, the trustees, who were anxious to follow the Saints to the Great Salt Lake Valley, conveyed title of the temple for \$5,000 to David T. LeBaron, the brother-in-law of Almon Babbitt, one of the trustees.¹³ Babbitt apparently had not abandoned hope of finding a suitable tenant for the building; he stayed in Nauvoo and continued to pursue its sale or lease. His labor succeeded in fall 1848, when he negotiated a fifteen-year lease by the American Home Missionary Society of New York, which intended to use the temple as a seminary or a college.¹⁴

Unfortunately, on the night of October 9, 1848, the very day Babbitt received word that Society officials had started for the city to finalize the lease, an arsonist torched the Nauvoo Temple.¹⁵ All that remained of the once-impressive structure were its cracked and fire-blackened walls, the flames having gutted the entire building.

Yet, even though the temple was damaged, Babbitt and LeBaron eventually found a buyer—Etienne Cabet, a Frenchman who came with several hundred of his followers to Nauvoo in spring 1849 to establish a communistic utopia.¹⁶ Babbitt and LeBaron sold the damaged temple and other property to Cabet on April 2, 1849, for \$2,000.¹⁷

The Obliteration of the Temple, 1849–1865

Cabet's followers, known as the Icarians, settled in Nauvoo, occupying some of the abandoned Mormon structures as well as building their own.

Cabet was anxious to repair the temple and soon had crews clearing away the burnt rubble and positioning new piers to support the floors for interior reconstruction; however, Cabet's effort was thwarted on May 27, 1850. As eight masons were working inside the temple walls, a violent windstorm arose that "burst suddenly on the hill of Nauvoo, where lightning, thunder, wind, hail and rain, seemed united to assail the building. The storm burst forth so quickly and with such violence [that] the masons overtaken unawares in the Temple, had not time to flee before the northern wall, sixty feet high, beat down upon their heads, threatening to crush and bury them up."¹⁸ After the storm—one of the masons called it a tornado—the men fled the building.¹⁹ Fortunately, no one was harmed.

When Cabet surveyed the damage, he abandoned any hope of reconstructing the building. The Icarians decided that "the southern and eastern walls would soon fall down, and that, to avoid any serious accident, it was better to destroy them."²⁰ Crews razed those walls, leaving only the facade standing. Split by dissension, the Icarians remained only a few more years in Nauvoo, and by 1859 most had left for a new utopia near Corning, Iowa. Other settlers remained, mostly German and Swiss immigrants who had started coming to Nauvoo even as the Saints were abandoning the city. So strong was the influence of these settlers that German culture and language dominated Nauvoo until it became the largest German-speaking community in Illinois. Only with the commencement of the First World War did Nauvoo give up German.²¹ But the quiet farming village was nothing like the earlier bustling city of thousands.

The years between 1850 and 1865 took their toll on the temple's ruins (fig. 1). The temple's facade slowly crumbled until the southwest corner "alone remained, a monument of [its] former beauty and grandeur."²² In 1859 a visitor left this description of its pitiful condition:

The Temple, as we have stated, is in a state of dilapidation and ruin. The portion not already fallen is tottering to its base and huge cracks gape along the walls from top to bottom. We passed, with some misgivings of accident, beneath a ruined archway, and stood within the vestibule. A flock of partridges that had been feasting at a neighboring wheat-stack, and were now seeking refuge within the building from the heat of the noon-day sun, were frightened at our intrusion and darted, with tumultuous haste and whirring sound, through the gaping windows. The place where we stood was filled with masses of stone.²³

The visitor could find no trace of the font or the oxen that had stood in the basement. Only the well that had supplied water to the font remained. He bent over and "removed one of the planks that covered the well and looked down into its depths, but nothing was to be seen but water; water

and a solitary frog, that lay floating at his ease, with limbs lazilly [*sic*] extended, but who quickly disappeared when his privacy was invaded.” As the visitor cast his gaze over the scene, “all around in every direction the ground [was] thickly strewn with broken stone.”²⁴

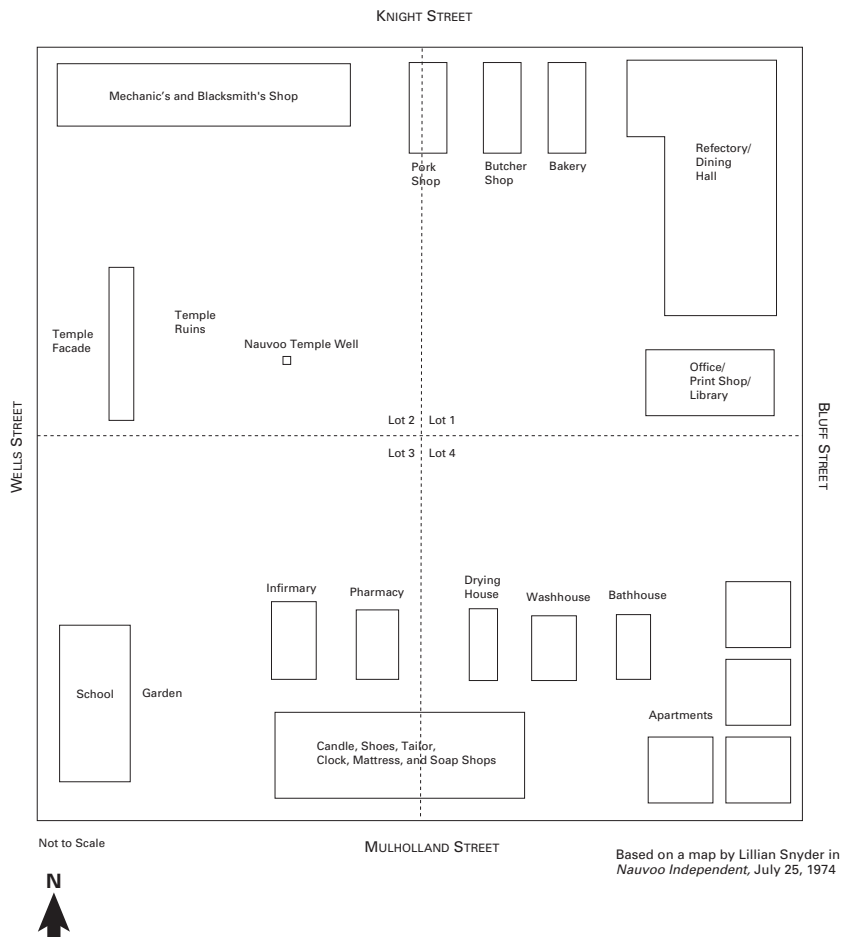
Prior to February 2, 1865, the Nauvoo city fathers decided to level the damaged remnant for safety. On that date, the *Carthage Republican* reported, “The last remaining vestage [*sic*] of what the famous Mormon temple was in its former glory has disappeared, and nothing now remains to mark its site but heaps of broken stone and rubbish.”²⁵ The temple limestone rubble became a readily available quarry for local townspeople.

In 1876, William Adams visited Nauvoo and recorded in his journal, “No remains of the temple, except pieces of wall on the north side of the block could be discovered.”²⁶ Eventually even these meager remnants were cleared away and no trace of the temple, except the well capped by a hand pump, remained on temple square. Joseph Smith III, who had played in the temple as a youth, reflected with melancholy upon the temple’s fate: “Of all the stones placed in position by human hands during its erection the only ones left are those lining the well which was dug in the basement to supply water for the baptismal font.”²⁷ However, the utter obliteration of the Nauvoo Temple did not end the history of temple square. For the next century, the owners used the lot for a wide variety of purposes.

Nauvoo’s Temple Square—the Icarian Period, 1849–1859

Even before Icarian workmen sought to restore the fire-damaged Nauvoo Temple, they began erecting additional buildings on Temple Square. Most Icarian buildings were built of wood, and after the tornado toppled much of the temple, its ruins served as blocks for the foundation of many of these structures. On Temple Square, the Icarians eventually constructed seventeen buildings, which served some nineteen uses by the community (map 1).²⁸

Among the more enduring of these seventeen structures on Temple Square were those erected for private residences. On its southeast corner, on Mulholland Street and north along Bluff Street, Cabot erected a row of four two-story frame apartments (fig. 2). The buildings had eight rooms, four downstairs and four upstairs. Each door had numerals painted on it. Normally one room housed either a family or two or three bachelors.²⁹ The furnishings were spartan: a bed made of white pine, a heavy padded wooden chair, a small wooden table, and such niceties as a candlestick, a broom, and a bucket. Often the residents had to use their own trunks as cupboards or chairs for visitors.³⁰



MAP 1

ICARIAN STRUCTURES, NAUVOO TEMPLE SQUARE, ca. 1850s

Wells Addition—Block 20



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FIG. 2. View of Nauvoo along Mulholland Street, May 4, 1907. The building in the foreground was an Icarian apartment building; in 1907, Rose Nicaise had a millinery shop in one of its rooms. Just behind that is another Icarian building used as a private residence; a harness shop was added after the Icarian period. The roof of the Icarian schoolhouse is visible just below the horizon at the far left.

West from the apartments along Mulholland Street was a long frame building that housed a variety of small workshops for making candles, shoes, clothing, linens, mattresses, and matches, as well as for repairing clocks. Beyond this structure was a garden near the schoolhouse. North, behind these shops, stood five small structures: an infirmary, a pharmacy, a wash house, a bath house, and a drying house.³¹ Icarian workmen also dug a huge well, ten feet in diameter and forty feet deep, near the temple's ruins.³²

North of the apartments was an office building that also housed the community's print shop and a five-thousand-volume library, reportedly the largest in the state at the time.³³ At the northeast corner of the lot, the Icarians built a large two-story frame building 120 feet long and 40 feet wide that extended along Bluff Street to the corner and then turned west for a short distance along Knight Street.³⁴ This building, the first the Icarians built on Temple Square, was called the Refectory or dining hall. It had a balcony running around the second floor and a large cellar. The first floor

contained the kitchen, dressmaking and linen shops, and a long (eighty-foot) dining room, which could seat four hundred persons. At one end stood a stage. Artists adorned the room's walls with inscriptions of Icarian principles. An innovative feature was a miniature "railroad" that carried food and utensils from the community's kitchen into the dining room. Here the Icarians ate their communal meals at long pine tables.³⁵ The room's stage was used for social activities; the community's band, choir, and theatrical group performed frequently in the hall. Adult members, both men and women, also met in the large hall each Saturday to discuss the affairs of the community. Cabet gave lectures in the dining hall on Sundays.³⁶

The dining hall's second floor was divided into a number of apartments, each sixteen feet by twenty feet. These rooms were reserved mostly for bachelors, with two or more men per room, although some married couples also received a room each. The 1850 federal census showed twenty-five single men living together; the only likely place was the dining hall's second floor.³⁷ The furnishings, like the apartments, were sparse. Each room contained sufficient beds for the occupants, a table, two chairs, and a mirror.³⁸ West of the dining hall, along Knight Street, stood a bakery, a butcher shop, and a pork shop. On the corner of Knight and Wells Streets stood a long framed building that served as the community's mechanics workshop and blacksmith shop.³⁹

After the tornado destroyed most of the temple, the Icarians used its limestone blocks to build a large schoolhouse at the corner of Mulhol-land and Wells Streets.⁴⁰ It was a two-story structure with classrooms on the first floor and dormitories for children on the second floor. Children remained with their parents until the age of seven, when they moved into the dormitories. There they learned basic academics; they also learned practical skills such as how to perform household duties and how to manage communal space in the dormitories. Children remained in the schoolhouse until they were able to demonstrate that they could conform to the community's rules. Parents were allowed to visit their children only on Sundays.⁴¹

In 1859 a reporter for the *Missouri Republican* observed the recently vacated Icarian structures on Temple Square: "On two sides of Temple square their dwellings have been erected, on the other sides they have built their store houses and their school houses, the latter out of the ruins of the Temple." He concluded his article with this estimation of the Icarian presence in Nauvoo in the 1850s: "All the time that they have been in Nauvoo, they have been distinguished for industry, neatness and good conduct, and barring their peculiar notions of government and religion, they are good citizens and excellent neighbors."⁴²

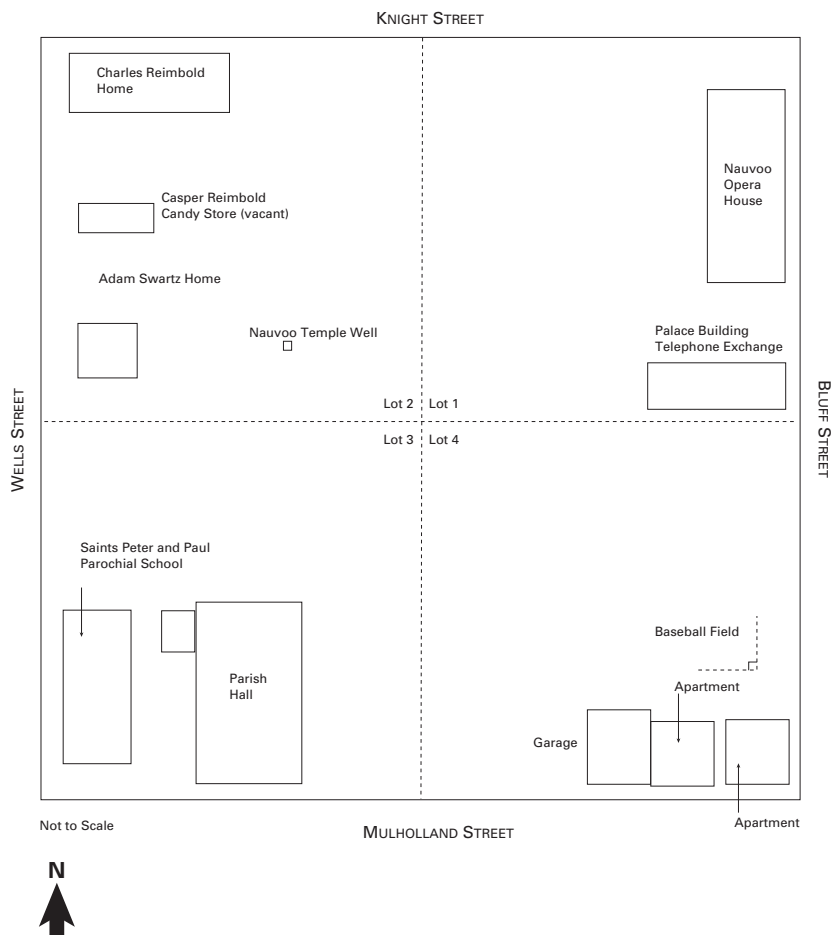
Temple Square—the Secular Period, 1860s to 1930s

For most of the 1860s to the 1930s, non-Latter-day Saint owners occupied temple square and used it for many secular purposes (map 2). After the Icarians left, very little changed on the lot, but eventually most of the smaller shops and buildings they had abandoned were torn down for their lumber. The larger structures, such as the schoolhouse, dining hall, blacksmith shop, and apartments, remained for decades (fig. 3). During these years, the owners used these structures and added new buildings of their own. The citizens of Nauvoo also used the vacant areas of temple square for a wide variety of purposes, including outdoor pageants, baseball games, and agriculture, such as vineyards and a strawberry patch.⁴³

Sometime after 1864, the Icarian dining hall on the northeast corner of temple square caught fire and burned down. The owner, John Dornseif, chose to rebuild it after the end of the Civil War, except on a smaller scale and with bricks from his own kiln.⁴⁴ Over the years, Dornseif's replacement served not only as the Nauvoo City Hall but also at times as a saloon or dance hall, as private dwellings, as a place for theatrical productions, and in its last years as a motion picture theater. It came to be called the Nauvoo Opera House.⁴⁵



FIG. 3. View of the temple lot along Wells Street, May 4, 1907. The Fegers hospital (formerly the Icarian schoolhouse) is at the center of the photograph. The spire of the Saints Peter and Paul Church can be seen behind and to the left of the hospital.



MAP 2
EXISTING STRUCTURES, NAUVOO TEMPLE SQUARE, 1937
Wells Addition—Block 20

South of the Nauvoo Opera House, along Bluff Street, on a narrow lot only twenty-five feet wide, stood a building with a colorful history. The Schenk Brothers, Peter and Herman, sons of the founders of Schenk's Brewery, built a single-story brick building on the site and opened the Palace Saloon in the 1890s. In 1903, Frank Goult, a photographer, moved into that structure, which was renamed the Palace Building; Goult stayed at least until 1926. The Mississippi Valley Telephone Company eventually leased the property and used the building for the city's first telephone exchange.⁴⁶

The four Icarian apartments were used for private residences and small business enterprises for decades. Gabriel Nicaise, an Icarian who chose to remain in Nauvoo when the others left, lived in the first house on the corner, facing Bluff Street (see fig. 2).⁴⁷ A jeweler, Nicaise used the first-floor rooms as his jewelry shop. Nicaise later allowed a man named Loomis to open a drugstore in the large room on the southeast side; after that, the Nicaise family operated an ice cream parlor in the same room. When the home passed to Nicaise's daughter, Rose, she opened a millinery and dressmaking shop in the same large room. She lived in the home into the 1930s.⁴⁸

Hippolyte J. Roine, also a follower of Cabet who stayed in Nauvoo, lived in the second house from the corner with his mother and cousin Betsy.⁴⁹ When all three of them had passed away, their house and the vacant one to the north were razed, leaving only the foundations made of temple limestone blocks.⁵⁰

In 1860, Vitus Schaefer, a Swiss emigrant, purchased the Icarian apartment facing Mulholland Street and opened a harness shop in its basement. Later he built two one-story frame buildings west of the apartment for a workshop and a salesroom. Next to the salesroom, Schaefer's wife planted a beautiful sunken garden "where vegetables and flowers formed a paisley pattern"—certainly a picturesque spot. When Schaefer died, his son carried on the business for more than forty years. Later the smaller buildings housed a Conoco service station.⁵¹ By 1940 only the service station and two of the apartments, those originally purchased by Nicaise and Schaefer, were standing.⁵²

The Icarian schoolhouse, built out of temple limestone, served a number of functions after the Icarians abandoned the property. Beginning in 1879 and at least until the late 1890s, the southwestern corner of the schoolhouse served as the city's post office. The room to the east was a drugstore, while the northern half was a private dwelling.⁵³ During the early years of the twentieth century, it housed the Fegers Hospital (fig. 4).⁵⁴ In 1918 the Roman Catholic Church purchased the schoolhouse and used it as

a parsonage until 1923, when the entire building was converted to the Saints Peter and Paul Parochial School, which continued as an elementary and high school until June 1954.⁵⁵

Later property owners not only used the Icarian structures but also built their own. Until the late 1920s, the original Icarian frame mechanics and blacksmith building at the northwest corner of Knight and Wells Streets served as a merchandise store; later it was used for general storage.⁵⁶ After the building was demolished, Charles Reimbold built a two-story brick home on the western portion of the foundation. South of the Reimbold home, along Wells Street, Reimbold also owned a lot whose rear portion contained the actual site where the Nauvoo Temple stood. Along the street, he erected a small wooden building that housed a candy store and Express Office. This building was demolished during the 1920s.⁵⁷ South of the candy store stood a fine two-story frame house built by Adam Swartz in the mid-1880s. Apparently, he relocated here after he had sold his residence on Mulholland Street. William C. Reimbold converted the home Swartz had sold into the Hotel Orient (fig. 5), which became the Hotel Nauvoo. Later, Reimbold also constructed a large icehouse that stood just west of the temple site at the rear of his property.⁵⁸



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FIG. 4. Fegers hospital, ca. 1911–1912. Built out of temple limestone in the 1850s, this building originally served as a dormitory and a school for Icarian children seven years and older. After the Icarians left Nauvoo in the late 1850s, the structure housed the city's post office, a drugstore, and a private dwelling. By the time of this photograph, the Fegers Hospital occupied the building. It later became a Roman Catholic parsonage and parochial school.

Conrad Knaust, a Prussian emigrant who engaged in the local lumber industry, built a fine frame home east of the limestone Icarian schoolhouse. Later George Hart purchased the home. Both of these men served as Nauvoo's mayor, Knaust from 1869 to 1870 and Hart from 1915 to 1916.⁵⁹

In 1925 the Roman Catholic Church tore down the Knaust/Hart home and erected the Nauvoo Parish Hall, a large frame structure, east of the parochial schoolhouse. Local carpenter Paul Schenk built the hall.⁶⁰ With its large curved roof, the hall boasted the largest basketball court in Hancock County. For years the Nauvoo Parish Hall housed a wide variety of functions, including sporting events, banquets, fairs and bazaars, plays, Red Cross blood drives, Saturday night dances, at least one session of the Hancock County circuit court, minstrel shows, graduation exercises, funeral services, and concerts. Although the Catholic Church owned the hall, the priests allowed other churches to use it, including the First Presbyterian Church and the First Methodist Church. Even The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints held a number of conferences in the building during this period.⁶¹ For nearly five decades, the building served as the veritable center of Nauvoo community activities.

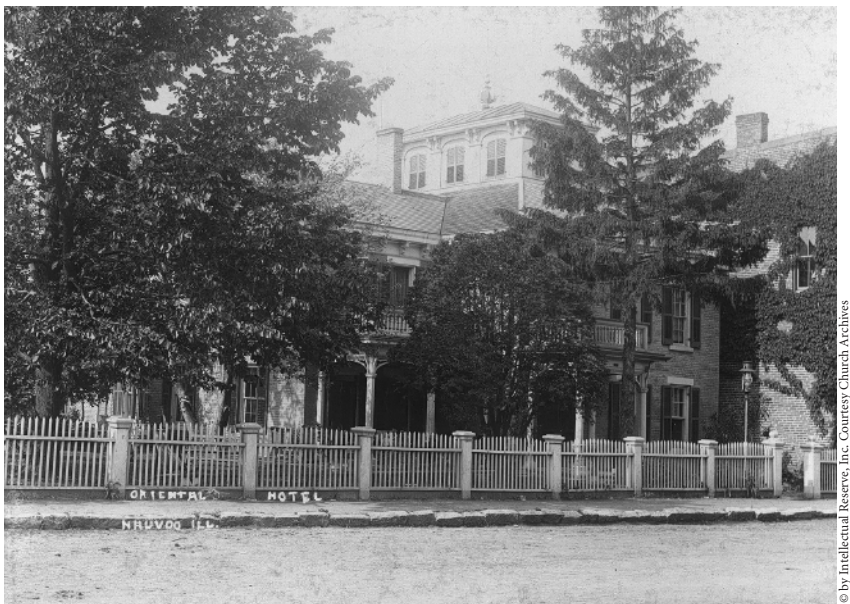


FIG. 5. The Hotel Orient, Nauvoo, early 1900s. Built as a home in the mid-1880s, this building was later converted into a hotel.

Much of the interior of temple square, especially on its east side, was largely vacant. A baseball diamond, lighted for night games, stood behind the Icarian apartments.⁶² Children frequently used temple square as a playground. Mary Logan recalled that in 1934, while she was playing in the area where the temple had stood, the ground suddenly gave away. She and her sister fell into a large, deep cavity. Luckily neither girl was hurt, but their rescuers needed a ladder to get them out. The hole, undoubtedly part of the temple's basement, was then filled in.⁶³

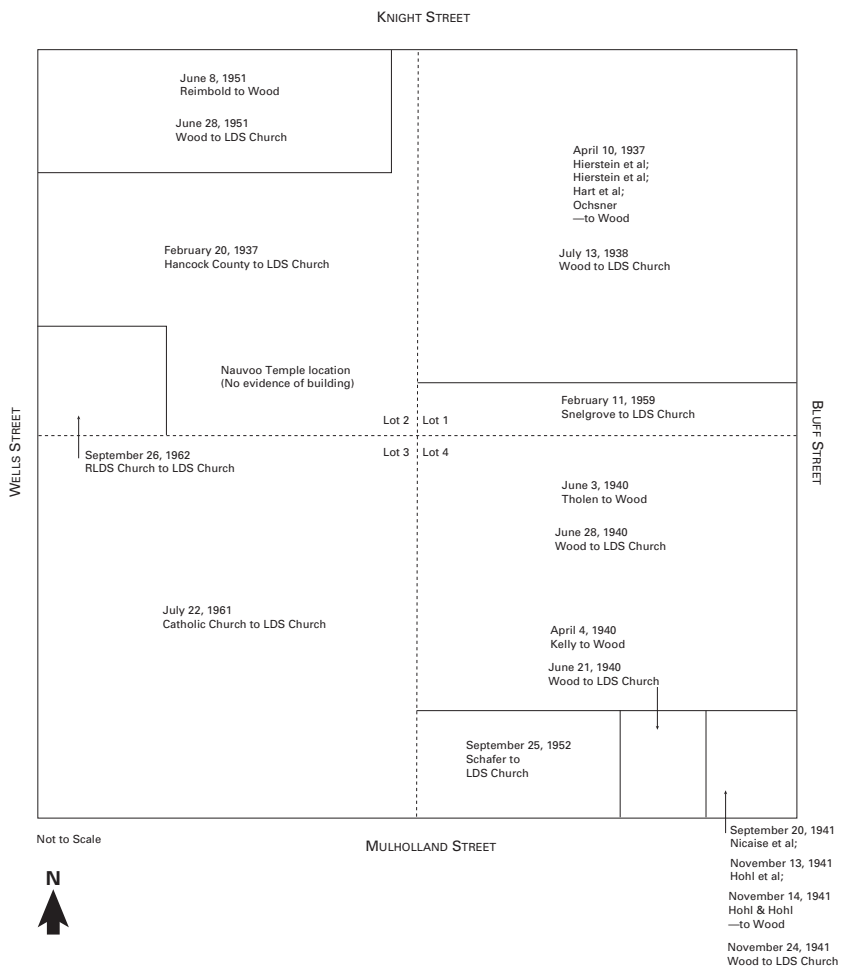
Clearly, from the Icarian period until at least the 1930s, temple square served a variety of uses, many structures were built on the former temple site, and its use as sacred space was all but forgotten. Then, beginning in the 1930s, the Church began to reacquire title to the site, parcel by parcel.

Latter-day Saints Reacquire the Temple Lot, 1930s–1960s

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints reacquired temple square (map 3). During the 1930s, a number of individuals took an interest in temple square, even envisioning a restoration of the temple itself. Among the most persistent was Lane K. Newberry, a Chicago freelance artist, who was of Mormon descent. In April 1931, he came to Nauvoo to paint historical landmarks. He was captivated by the city and its crumbling ruins of old Mormon homes. Thereafter, he returned frequently to paint and draw. Over time he developed a vision of restoring the old buildings he was painting.⁶⁴ He found a friend and ally in Bryant S. Hinckley, the president of the Northern States Mission from 1936 to 1939. With an introduction arranged by Hinckley, he traveled to Salt Lake City and met with the First Presidency on April 9, 1938. He sought their support for a Nauvoo centennial celebration the next year as well as for his vision of restoring the landmarks in Nauvoo. In a follow-up letter to him, President Heber J. Grant and his counselors wrote:

Following your presentation to us this morning of your Nauvoo project, we want to say to you that we appreciate very much your vision and enthusiasm. It will indeed please us to cooperate with you in the project and help work it out. To this end we can assure you that we will wholeheartedly do what we properly may to encourage those of our people who are able to do so, to visit Nauvoo during the summer of 1939. We shall be glad to erect in the future such memorial on the Temple Block, if secured by the State of Illinois, as will fittingly carry out your project.⁶⁵

A few months before Bryant S. Hinckley's release as a mission president, the two men planned and sponsored a two-day centennial celebration of the 1839 founding of Nauvoo. Some seventeen hundred persons,



MAP 3
PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS, NAUVOO TEMPLE SQUARE, 1937 to 1962
Wells Addition—Block 20

mostly Latter-day Saints from throughout the surrounding states and Canada, gathered for festivities in the city on June 24 and 25, 1939. The highlight of the celebration was a Sabbath day meeting on temple square, where a congregation of hundreds gathered outdoors to hear sermons and speeches, just as the original citizens had in the 1840s. Among the speakers was Newberry, who looked out over the crowd on temple square and spoke of his dream of seeing “the temple rebuilt in full size on this spot where it once stood.”⁶⁶ Mission President Hinckley shared this vision, even recommending to the First Presidency “that the Nauvoo Temple be rebuilt.”⁶⁷ In reporting on the centennial event, Hinckley wrote prophetically that thousands would visit Nauvoo annually in the future and that the city would be “destined to become one of the most beautiful shrines of America.”⁶⁸

However, national and world events precluded the restoration of Nauvoo in the 1930s. These included the Church's lack of finances for such an undertaking during the Depression and the outbreak of the Second World War less than three months after the Nauvoo Centennial Celebration.⁶⁹ Yet even during these bleak years, there was one whose eyes were drawn to Nauvoo and its missing temple: Wilford C. Wood, a successful furrier from Woods Cross, Utah. He possessed the ardent desire to preserve items of Church history—not only artifacts, but also historical sites. His personal stationery contained the phrase “lest we forget,” attesting to his motivation. His interest in Nauvoo took root while serving as a missionary in 1918 in the Northern States Mission, where he became determined to acquire and preserve these important places of Church history. After his return home, he became a successful businessman, accumulating in time the financial resources to fulfill his dream. It became his custom to visit Church sites on his return to Utah from business trips to the East. In the 1930s, he began buying these important properties as they came up for sale.⁷⁰

Wood had visited Nauvoo a number of times and had “for some time interested himself in the acquisition of the temple lot.”⁷¹ In February 1937, Wood learned by telegraph from officers of the Bank of Nauvoo that the part of temple square on which the original temple had actually stood (the Casper Reimbold property) was going to be offered at a public auction on June 27 by the Hancock County master of chancery. The bank had obtained a foreclosure decree of \$5,844.25 against five parcels of property, including property of the late Casper Reimbold, because the owners of these parcels had failed to pay that amount by the January 28, 1937, deadline. The Hancock County master of chancery was directed to sell the property at public auction in the bank's interest.⁷² The property had been offered for sale at public auction previously, but the bank had protected its

interest by outbidding the others, whose offers were too low. Now the bank notified Wood, thinking that it might get a better price from an interested Latter-day Saint.

Upon receipt of the telegraph, Wood approached the First Presidency of the Church to learn their wishes concerning the matter. Although he had the resources to make the purchase himself, perhaps he felt he needed the approval of these Church leaders for such a significant property as a temple site. After a discussion among the First Presidency and the Twelve, President Heber J. Grant authorized Wood to represent the Church but not to pay more than \$1,000 for the property. Since the bank officers had notified Wood in their telegram that the bidding would begin at \$1,000 and that other interested parties would probably bid higher, this left the Church's representative with a "difficult problem."⁷³

Wilford C. Wood and an associate, Jack Smith, hurriedly traveled the twelve hundred miles to Nauvoo, arriving on the evening of February 18, 1837. The following day, standing in a downpour, the two men viewed the temple site with its rusty pump. They then met with George E. Anton, the vice president of the bank; Karl John Reinhardt, the cashier; and Leslie Reimbold, a representative of the Reimbold estate, in an office at the rear of the bank on the corner of Mulholland and Bluff Streets.⁷⁴ Wood told the men that he could not afford "the price of sentiment" for the property, nor could he pay the amount they had mentioned in their telegram to him; and furthermore, he would not risk any ill feelings that might arise from competitive bidding in the auction the next day. These were probably the instructions he had received from the First Presidency, who obviously did not want to make the purchase a cause for local dissension. The three men told him that the property was well worth the price mentioned in their telegram and that, if necessary, the bank would again buy back the property to protect their interests. After a brief recess, the men reassembled. Wood later wrote of this transaction:

Came back to the bank and in the back room sat in the most important Council Meeting held in Nauvoo since the Saints were driven from here nearly one hundred years ago. I pleaded for the price to be within reason so I could buy the property. I told them the Church would put up a Bureau of Information which would be a credit to Nauvoo and that what they might lose in the price of the lot would come back to them many times with the people who would come back and pay homage to a desolate city that once had 20,000 people, and only has 1,000 today. I told them of the true principles of the Gospel, of the agency of man, and of the worship of God according to the dictates of conscience.

They all took cigarettes and offered them to me. I told them I had never tasted tea, coffee, or tobacco in my life. I asked them to name the

price for which they would sell to me; they had previously said they could not see how they could sell for less than \$1000 to \$1500 and it seemed as though no agreement could be made as I was limited to the price I could pay. An impression came to me, and I said: "Are you going to try to make us pay an exorbitant price for the blood of a martyred Prophet, when you know this property rightfully belongs to the Mormon people?" I felt the spirit of the Prophet Joseph in that room. Mr. Anton said, "We will sell the lot for \$900.00." I grasped his hand, then the hand of the cashier of the bank and the agreement was made and signed.⁷⁵

The next day, Wood and Smith drove to Carthage through a heavy rainstorm for the auction at the Hancock County courthouse. The auction opened at 11:00 A.M. After several other pieces of property were auctioned off, Lee E. Troute, clerk of the Circuit Court, announced the temple lot. Bank officers Anton and Reimbold nodded to Wood, who bid \$900. Undoubtedly Wood and Smith held their breath, but there were no other bidders, the bank officials having agreed not to bid and not to influence anyone else to bid. Wood's bid was accepted. Anton endorsed Wood's check for \$900, and Samuel Naylor, master of chancery of the Circuit Court, made out a certificate of purchase to the Corporation of the Presiding Bishop of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.⁷⁶ After nearly a hundred years, the most important part of Nauvoo's temple square was again owned by the Church.

Although the Church now owned the actual site upon which the Nauvoo Temple once stood, the majority of temple square was still in the hands of private citizens. This initial purchase opened the way for the Church's ultimate acquisition of the rest of temple square, but it would take nearly three decades to reach that goal. The second acquisition, however, occurred just two months after the Church's initial purchase.

Although the motivation of the owners of lot 1 (the northeast corner of temple square) is not known, perhaps they viewed the recent sale of the temple site to the Church as an opportunity and so announced a public sale of their property for April 26, 1937. The property, comprised of four conjoined parcels, was owned by a number of persons and estates; the owners were represented by Jacob M. Fisher. Standing on the property was the Nauvoo Opera House, then housing a motion picture theater. After he was notified of the upcoming sale, Wilford C. Wood made a second trip to Nauvoo and acquired title to the property (nearly a fourth of temple square) on April 19, 1937, two weeks before the public auction. Wood paid \$1,100 for the property, acting this time on his own volition without the interest or authorization of the Church.⁷⁷ It is not known why the Church chose not to participate in this acquisition, but from here on, Wood acted

on his own in all his purchases on temple square. Wood turned the property over to the Church on July 13, 1938.⁷⁸ Sadly, that same year, the Nauvoo Opera House caught fire and burned down.⁷⁹

Three years would pass before Wood next acquired parcels on temple square. During 1940 and 1941, he purchased three of the four parcels comprising lot 4 on the southeast corner. On April 4, 1940, Joseph W. Kelley sold him one of the two remaining Icarian apartments, which Wood turned over to the Presiding Bishop on April 21, 1940.⁸⁰ Two months later, on June 3, Mary E. Tholen sold him the largest parcel, comprising the entire northern portion of lot 4. Wood deeded this parcel to the Presiding Bishop on June 21. On October 29 of that same year, Wood began the process of purchasing the other Icarian house, which stood on the southeast corner of temple square. The property was held in undivided interest by three parties totaling twenty-six individuals. Working tenaciously, Wood secured the signatures of the first party, Virgil Nicaise and ten others, on September 20, 1941. He secured the signatures of the second party, Odille Hohl and twelve others, on November 13, 1941; the third party, Odille Hohl and L. E. Hohl, signed on November 14, 1941. It had taken Wood thirteen months to obtain a clear title to the property.⁸¹ He transferred title to the property to the Presiding Bishop on November 24, 1941.⁸²

During the 1950s, Wood made his last purchase of a lot on temple square; thereafter, the Church made its own purchases. On June 8, 1951, Clara K. Reimbold, the widow of Charles Reimbold, sold her large brick home on the northwest corner of lot 2 to Wood, who turned it over to President David O. McKay on June 28.⁸³ The Presiding Bishopric made the final purchase of the remaining property of lot 4 from Louise Schafer on September 25, 1952.⁸⁴ In 1958 the Church contracted with Henry Egolf to raze the remaining two Icarian apartments and the Schafer property, Egolf's payment being what he could salvage. The demolition revealed that the apartments' foundations were made from Nauvoo Temple limestone.⁸⁵

On February 11, 1959, after twenty-two months of negotiations, Richard C. Stratford, president of the Northern States Mission, acting as the agent for the Presiding Bishopric, acquired from Charles R. Snelgrove and his wife, Fidellia, the Palace Building and its twenty-five-foot-wide piece of property along the southern limit of lot 1.⁸⁶ Much of the success of this transaction was due to the influence of city attorney Preston W. Kimball and former mayor Lowell S. Horton, both of whom served on the Historic Sites and Building Committee for the Nauvoo Chamber of Commerce. The Mississippi Valley Telephone Company, which still occupied the brick building although it was no longer adequate, was given until November 29, 1959, to vacate the building.⁸⁷

The local newspaper noted that, with the purchase of the Palace Building, “the Mormon church now own[ed] approximately 75% of what [was] known as temple square in Nauvoo.”⁸⁸ This latest acquisition gave the Church title to all of lot 1 at the northeast corner of temple square. By the end of the 1950s, the Church owned all of lot 1 (the northeast section) and lot 4 (the southeast section) and most of lot 2 (the northwest section); the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (now Community of Christ) owned a small parcel of lot 2 west of the temple site. The Roman Catholic Church owned all of lot 3 (the southwest section). The local press expressed its approval of the Church’s acquisition of temple square, “for where the Mormons are there is also progress.”⁸⁹

The Church’s final acquisitions of property on temple square occurred in the early 1960s. Hugh Pinnock orchestrated the purchase of the Saints Peter and Paul School and the Nauvoo Parish Hall on lot 3 from the Roman Catholic Church on July 22, 1961, for \$100,000.⁹⁰ Over the years, Pinnock had become fast friends with the nuns running the school. On every occasion when he was in the city, he visited the school. When the school closed in 1954 and interest declined in maintaining the building, Pinnock saw an opportunity to purchase the property. Because of the years of friendship and confidence he had nurtured with the Sisters, he was able to act successfully in the interest of the Church.⁹¹ At Pinnock’s funeral in December 2000, President Gordon B. Hinckley stated that this acquisition “was a significant step toward building the new Nauvoo Temple” because the property occupied a fourth of temple square, and without it the temple could never have been rebuilt.⁹²

The last purchase by the Church was the Adam Swartz residence and property on lot 2, west of the original temple location along Wells Street. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints owned this property. Following negotiations, which were under way as early as July 1962, the Church exchanged three parcels of land in Independence, Missouri, for the Swartz parcel; the RLDS Church paid the difference between the costs of the properties.⁹³ The RLDS Presiding Bishop transferred the title to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Presiding Bishop on September 26, 1962.⁹⁴ With this tenth acquisition, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints once again owned the entire temple block, just as it had some 120 years earlier.

The Latter-day Saint Presence Returns

During the last half of the nineteenth century, a trickle of Latter-day Saints passed through Nauvoo, “some [coming] in reverence, some out of

curiosity.”⁹⁵ A typical visitor, Hannah T. King, who visited Nauvoo in May 1853, wrote, “We arrived at Montrose about noon, and then [we were] ferried over the Mississippi to the other side, having had the ruined Temple in view for some time. My feelings that day were altogether inexplicable; my impressions were pleasing, yet sad. Ruin and a curse seemed upon the spot which the wicked have desecrated.”⁹⁶ Mormon missionaries also visited occasionally, finding a few receptive persons at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1905 they held a missionary conference attended by sixty-five missionaries and nearly one hundred members; there were three baptisms performed during the conference.⁹⁷ After this time, the missionaries established a short-lived dependent Sunday School, but overall, the Church did not maintain much of a presence in Nauvoo except for several conferences held on temple square, including the two-day 1939 centennial celebration mentioned above.

One memorable gathering occurred July 14, 1947, in honor of a seventy-two-car caravan that had made a four-day trip from Salt Lake City. The Centennial Caravan was sponsored by the Sons of Utah Pioneers, who were going to retrace the original pioneer trail from Nauvoo to Salt Lake City. Nauvoo citizens welcomed the Centennial Caravan, which encamped on temple square, the designated outfitting place for the caravan. Sounds of hammers and saws filled the air as the travelers decorated their automobiles to appear like covered wagons, complete with canvas tops and plywood oxen. During a meeting of the participants in the Parish Hall, the “walls fairly shook when the Mormons sang one of their favorite hymns, ‘Come, Come, Ye saints.’”⁹⁸ The evening of the fourteenth, the city hosted a celebration, with two thousand persons in attendance. The festivities that evening included speeches by civic and Church leaders. The caravan departed the next morning, wending westward just as their forebears had some hundred years earlier.⁹⁹

However, it was not until 1951 that the Church reestablished a permanent and official presence on temple square. That year, after acquiring the Charles Reimbold brick home on the northwest corner, the Church turned the structure into a Bureau of Information for the visitors to the city.¹⁰⁰ Then in August 1952, Wilford Wood, who had purchased the Reimbold home for the Church, returned to Nauvoo and oversaw the removal to temple square of a six-ton monument from near the foundation of Joseph Smith’s store on Water Street. The monument had been erected on July 26, 1933, and dedicated to the founding of the Nauvoo Female Relief Society.¹⁰¹

On March 17, 1956, the Church organized the Nauvoo Branch; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had officially returned to

Nauvoo.¹⁰² The members of the branch initially shared the Reimbold residence on the northwest corner of temple square with the Bureau of Information. The building's second floor also served as residences for missionary couples who were being called to serve in the city. Although the branch was small—most of the members were actually missionary couples serving as guides—it provided a welcome place for the few local members, many of whom were willing to drive long distances to attend meetings. In March 1960, the branch left temple square for a new home in the Times and Seasons building on Main Street.

In August 1964, the Nauvoo Branch returned again to temple square, occupying the second floor of the Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., office building (the old Icarian schoolhouse) on the southwest corner. The branch held its worship, priesthood, and auxiliary meetings on temple square for the next five years. In 1968 the Church began constructing a new full-phase meetinghouse along Durphy and Hibbard Streets, overlooking the Nauvoo flats. The local members raised their share of the construction funds. Even long-time Nauvoo citizen “Aunt Sophia” Tanner Harsch contributed to the building fund by leaving the Nauvoo Branch \$17,000 (the bulk of her estate) in her will. Harsch, who had died in an automobile accident in 1963 at age ninety-nine, had been well known and beloved in the community. Her parents had settled in Nauvoo in 1846, just as the Saints were leaving the city; she and her mother were good friends with Emma Smith. Harsch lived her entire life in the house on Mulholland Street where she was born. Although she was a Lutheran, in her later years she became friends with a number of Latter-day Saint women and enjoyed meeting with them in Relief Society.¹⁰³ The meetinghouse was completed and dedicated on May 25, 1969, and the Nauvoo Branch left temple square for good.¹⁰⁴

The Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Period, 1960s–1990s

Although a number of persons had nurtured visions of restoring Nauvoo and its temple, the man largely responsible for fulfilling the dream was Salt Lake City physician J. Leroy Kimball. In the 1930s, while a medical student at Northwestern University in Chicago, Kimball visited Nauvoo and saw the home of his great-grandfather Heber C. Kimball. He determined to purchase it, and after a twenty-year effort, he succeeded in acquiring it in 1954. Slowly he began to restore it as a comfortable summer home for his family, attempting also to retain its 1840s ambiance. Upon completing it in 1960, he invited Apostle Spencer W. Kimball to dedicate the remodeled home. The Kimball family was surprised when hundreds of persons showed up for the event and were pleased with the crowd's interest in touring the

building. So overwhelming was the demand for tours of the restored building that the Kimballs never spent a night in their summer home.¹⁰⁵ These events, however, changed Dr. Kimball's life, as he began to envision the possibility of restoring old Nauvoo, making it a historically accurate monument to the early Nauvoo Saints. He began to marshal the means for fulfilling his dream of acquiring the properties and restoring the crumbling structures, setting in motion a lifetime mission for himself.¹⁰⁶

Among Dr. Kimball's first priorities was his determination to locate and excavate the original site of the Nauvoo Temple. He persuaded Harold P. Fabian, a member of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historical Sites, Buildings and Monuments, and Dr. Melvin L. Fowler, an archaeologist from Southern Illinois University, to travel to Nauvoo and see if they could determine where the temple actually stood. The excavation of the temple site began on a bleak, wintry day in December 1961. Upon arriving at temple square, the party viewed the ground and found no evidence of the massive temple. After setting out five-foot-square grids where the men felt the temple might be located, the party began their work. Using a backhoe brought in "to rediscover, if possible, the actual site," the party watched as the equipment dug into the frozen ground. Dr. Kimball recalled the day's event: "To our amazement and relief, the blade of the machine immediately struck solid rock which turned out to be one of the south piers which supported the interior pillars of the temple. Our greatest expectations were realized as we gazed upon a sight no one had beheld for a century."¹⁰⁷ Ultimately, the party uncovered four of the piers, as well as a long-buried skeleton.¹⁰⁸ Speculation among the Nauvoo residents concerning the excavation rippled across Nauvoo, including a report that the Church had a plan for "rebuilding the Nauvoo Temple."¹⁰⁹

Heartened by the success of the previous winter's excavation, in May 1962 Dr. Kimball invited Counselors in the First Presidency Hugh B. Brown and Henry D. Moyle plus a party of dignitaries to tour Nauvoo as the guests of local attorney Preston W. Kimball. The tour included temple square, where Dr. Fowler showed the previous winter's excavation to the two counselors, who even descended into the six-foot-deep hole to view one of the piers uncovered the previous winter. The local paper carried a picture of the group in front of a large pile of temple limestone blocks. That evening the Nauvoo Chamber of Commerce feted the visitors at a dinner in the Hotel Nauvoo. The counselors tried to quell the rumors of Nauvoo restoration by the Church, pointing out to those assembled, "Although a final decision has not been made, the temple will probably not be rebuilt on the old foundation," but "eventually a replica of the original may be built on another section of the square."¹¹⁰

However, Dr. Kimball gave a presentation of his vision of a restored Nauvoo to the First Presidency of the Church. After much discussion, the First Presidency embraced Dr. Kimball's vision and incorporated Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. (NRI) on July 27, 1962. This nonprofit organization's mission was to "acquire, restore, protect and preserve, for the education and benefit of its members and the public, all or a part of the old city of Nauvoo in Illinois, and the surrounding area."¹¹¹ Dr. Kimball became its first president. Under his able direction, it became a moving force in the continued acquisition of property and the restoration of Church historical sites and buildings throughout Nauvoo. NRI moved its offices into the recently acquired Saints Peter and Paul Parochial School.¹¹² After extensive remodeling, the first floor of the building was turned into the new Bureau of Information. In one of the rooms were many pictures and sketches of "the proposed restoration program," including drawings of the homes of Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Lorin Farr, and Lucy Mack Smith. A newspaper reported that, when the Bureau of Information opened, "streams of visitors" entered "to learn more about the Restoration project."¹¹³ As NRI assumed full responsibility for the restoration projects throughout Nauvoo, the Church transferred title of temple square to it on December 13, 1963.¹¹⁴

During President Brown and President Moyle's Nauvoo visit in May 1962, Dr. Fowler had announced that the Church had entered into a \$16,000 contract with Southern Illinois University to excavate the temple site that summer under the direction of field supervisor Dee F. Green, a doctoral candidate. Team members came from local residents as well as students at West Illinois University, Southern Illinois University, and Brigham Young University. The Nauvoo Parish Hall was converted into a large workshop to clean and box artifacts. It also served as sleeping quarters for the men. Women were housed in local apartments. A truck served as an office for Green.¹¹⁵ In June the crew extended the existing 1962 grid and started the tedious task of excavating the temple site. The team's main work that summer was the removal of five to six feet of overburden, which exposed an ash layer from the building's fiery destruction and located most of the temple's foundation walls. The excavated earth was heaped up opposite the temple site along Bluff Street.¹¹⁶ Local interest in the work was high; Green even authored a weekly report for the local newspaper, the *Nauvoo Independent*, describing the team's progress and discoveries.¹¹⁷

By the close of work in September, they had located and exposed the temple's east, north, and south walls, although few actual stones remained. The west wall would have to await the removal of several trees on the former Adam Swartz property, recently acquired from the RLDS Church.¹¹⁸

The team had gained an idea of the probable arrangement of the basement's interior walls, although more work was needed around the well, the font, and the west-side stairwells. The most exciting feature the team uncovered was a stone-lined tunnel about a foot square that penetrated the south wall. Green thought the tunnel was probably the drain for the font. During their work, the team had gathered fifteen hundred bags of artifacts, which were taken to Southern Illinois University for cataloging and analysis. They also found several fragments of sun, moon, and star stones; pieces of the font and oxen; and portions of carved moldings from the exterior and interior of the temple. Working from sketches prepared by staff artists Betty Marker and Dave Crowell, Dr. Fowler was finally able to draw a partial profile of the excavation showing the composition of the site's vertical faces. Before leaving, the crew covered the excavation with plastic weighted down with dirt. Other teams would have to excavate the west wall and hand-expose the site's finer features. Finally, someone needed to remove and sift ash deposit to uncover original floors and expose what remained beneath the rest of the ground.¹¹⁹

Further work on Nauvoo's temple square was postponed until 1966 while NRI studied the Nauvoo historical restoration program, in which the "problems of the temple site were being considered."¹²⁰ In 1966 excavation of the site began again under the direction of J. C. Harrington, who had been called as the director of NRI's archaeological program in August of that year. That summer a team working under Virginia S. Harrington followed the 1962 grid and removed the dirt from a ten-foot area around the temple well that had not been uncovered by the 1962 excavation.¹²¹ Virginia Harrington returned in 1967, making exploratory trenches in the lower basement, and in 1968 she completed the excavation around the font and well.¹²²

During the summer of 1969, J. C. Harrington and Virginia Harrington jointly directed a large team that made the final excavation of the temple site. Finding that much of the original 1962 grid system had been lost to erosion, the Harringtons established a new one following a new scheme they had devised for all Nauvoo archaeological sites. They expanded the 1962 grid to ten-foot squares and extended it over the entire four-acre block. By the end of the season, the team had excavated the entire basement to the original basement floor levels, including the previously uncovered west wall that exposed the location of the two circular stairways. The team also explored the font drain tunnel further, attempting to identify its construction and direction. Finally, the workers sunk test trenches along Knight Street, seeking to locate the temple wall; they dug other trenches on temple square to establish historical ground levels.¹²³

With the completion of the archaeological investigation of temple square in 1969, the workers cleaned up the site, leaving some limestone blocks to indicate the foundation stones. They removed some of the debris but left the large pile of dirt from the 1962 dig on the east side. Temple square presented a cleaned-up appearance, but it was far from a garden spot. A few structures yet remained on the site, including the Adam Swartz home west of the temple site, the former Icarian schoolhouse, and the Charles Reimbold residence to the north.¹²⁴

Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.'s Proposal to Partially Restore the Nauvoo Temple, 1968

With the final stages of the archaeological work on temple square completed, the question of what to do with the actual temple site naturally arose. As early as the summer of 1967, NRI was considering a partial restoration of the temple. In an article about the organization's recent activities in Nauvoo, Dr. Kimball answered a question about the plans for temple square:

This has not been decided yet. One suggestion is to partially restore it, perhaps rebuilding only a corner of the building to the tower base. This will allow people to get an idea of the temple's grandeur and permit them to climb to the top and see the beautiful view of the Mississippi River and the countryside about which so many visitors as well as the Saints wrote.¹²⁵

In fall 1968, NRI officially announced in the *Improvement Era* its ambitious plan for temple square. This plan included a large visitors' center and museum, statuary, and a partial reconstruction of the temple. The purpose of the plan was "to create a center where the story of the Church [could] be told to the millions of tourists and nearby residents who travel through the Midwest."¹²⁶

Although this proposal appeared in the *Improvement Era*, it was never adopted; instead, NRI substituted a much less elaborate plan. Rather than constructing a visitors' center on temple square, NRI built a spacious two-story brick visitors' center located on four square blocks bordered by Hibbard, Young, Main, and Partridge Streets. The center was dedicated in September 1971, and NRI relocated its headquarters from the old Icarian schoolhouse to the second floor of the new visitors' center.

Temple Square—a Monument to the Past, 1970s–1990s

On July 1, 1971, the Church created the Nauvoo Mission from the Northern States Mission, with Dr. Kimball as its president.¹²⁷ After NRI

vacated the old Icarian schoolhouse in 1971, the Church decided to use the building as the mission home. The Icarian schoolhouse served only briefly as the mission home, however, because NRI undertook an extensive landscaping project on temple square during the 1970s to beautify it and to make its appearance a more suitable memorial.¹²⁸ The plan called for the demolition of the two remaining structures: the Icarian schoolhouse and the Reimbold residence. During a special session on March 28, 1972, the Nauvoo City Council approved NRI's request to destroy the 121-year-old Icarian schoolhouse, over the objection of local resident Florence Snyder, a descendent of the Icarians. She appeared before the council and lamented the removal of one of the city's most historically prominent landmarks. However, the city council's vote was unanimous in favor of NRI.¹²⁹ Workmen razed the structure the following week.¹³⁰ The last structure on the block, the former Reimbold brick home on the northwest corner, was demolished in April of the following year.¹³¹ Temple square was now completely clear of all structures, but much work still needed to be done to make the site presentable.

The work of landscaping temple square occupied most of the 1970s. Beginning in summer 1973, the workers' major task was to clear away the rubble from the various excavations, much of it broken stone from the temple itself, and to grade the lot and plant sod.¹³² Irvin T. Nelson, Church landscape architect, supervised the project, which consisted of some seventeen different jobs throughout the lot. The task of removing all the limestone fragments proved arduous and time consuming. Nelson stated that his crews found debris from the temple everywhere. In preparing the site for 150 trees, the workers found stones in every hole they dug. "We had to haul off large rocks," Nelson said, "and foundation materials by the hundreds and hundreds of yards." The workers filled the holes with topsoil in preparation for planting the trees the following year.

The centerpiece of the project was, in Nelson's words, "the Sacred Temple Enclosure." The archaeologists had left the temple basement excavation unfilled but graded to prevent erosion. Under Nelson's supervision, workers planted sod, outlined the foundation of the temple, and set stones to define the support piers and interior walls along the north and south sides. On each corner, they set a decorative stone. They placed red brick in the font area, defining the shape of the font. The well east of the font was protected by a wrought-iron grill. They laid brick to outline the two circular stairways at the west end of the excavation and built a looping chain-link fence around temple square. By the end of the working season, temple square presented a refreshingly clean appearance.¹³³ In December, Elders Mark E. Petersen and Delbert L. Stapley of the Quorum of the Twelve and

John H. Vandenburg, Assistant to the Twelve, toured temple square accompanied by President J. LeRoy Kimball, the Nauvoo Mission President. The Church leaders were duly impressed with the appearance of the temple lot. After viewing the temple enclosure, Elder Petersen remarked, "People who visit there can stand on the edge of the excavation and see the form and size of the temple as it was originally."¹³⁴

The following year, 1974, workmen returned to finish the project, planting the trees and flower beds. They also built a sidewalk around the block and planted 1,250 feet of ornamental hedge around the perimeter, which soon overgrew and obscured the less attractive chain-link fence. In June 1975, Nelson described a plan to build a plaza east of the temple, with additional trees, shrubs, flowers, a flag pole, and a small model of the temple.¹³⁵ During the summer of 1976, the beautification of temple square continued with the construction of the plaza, surrounded by flowerbeds.¹³⁶ On the plaza's eastern perimeter, crews erected three large limestone monoliths with engraved quotations. The one on the north, entitled "The City of Nauvoo," gave a brief history of Mormon Nauvoo. The central one, "Temple of God," gave a brief account of the purpose of the temple. The southern one, "The Nauvoo Temple," recorded a brief history of the temple.¹³⁷ For the temple model, workers made a three-foot-high base surrounded by red brick pavement set in a herringbone pattern like the basement floor of the original temple.¹³⁸

NRI commissioned David A. Baird, son of architect Steven Baird, to build the model of the temple. Beginning in April 1976, he sculpted the temple in clay and made wooden patterns from which molds were made. With the help of Utah artist Edward Fraughton, he made wax versions of each section, which were then used to make the final white bronze castings. More than one hundred fifty pieces were cast and assembled to make the model, which Baird secured with silver solder. Baird coated the completed model with Patina, giving the surface a weathered look. He finished the model in May 1977, and it was installed on its base that summer. The final model stood nine and a half feet high, fifty inches wide, and seventy-four inches long, and it weighed nearly one thousand pounds.¹³⁹ By 1980 the model had been painted white to appear more like the actual temple. A number of pieces of original temple limestone fragments were placed on display, as well as full-size facsimiles of a moonstone and a sunstone.¹⁴⁰

The *Church News* reported in May 1977 that the "remodeled temple square in Nauvoo [was] scheduled to be dedicated in ceremonies on Aug[ust] 9, [1977]."¹⁴¹ In August of that year, the *Church News* devoted a lengthy article, including a number of photographs, to the site. Temple square was now completely landscaped and decorated as a testament

and monument to the faith, devotion, and artistry of the early Latter-day Saints and their beloved Nauvoo Temple. Dr. Leroy J. Kimball said that the newly completed temple square landscaping project was NRI's "brightest diamond" and that the work done there was the most important of all NRI's projects.¹⁴²

During the 1980s, NRI continued the restoration of many of the existing old Mormon structures and the total re-creation of destroyed structures on the "flats" below temple square. In August 1982, President Gordon B. Hinckley of the First Presidency traveled to Nauvoo to dedicate these historic structures. On August 14, more than two thousand persons gathered on temple square, an assembly believed to be the largest on the block since the 1840s. During the services, President Hinckley publicly dedicated sixteen recently restored historical structures and the landscaping of temple square.¹⁴³

A further refinement of temple square's landscaping occurred in late October 1996, when workers tore out the hedge and chain-link fence, replacing them with a four-foot-high ornamental wrought-iron fence. The new fence resulted from an assignment given to missionary Verden Chambers, who had owned a small decorative iron business. Upon being asked to work on replacing temple square's hedge, he approached Steven Peterson, who owned Peterson Engineering and Fabrication in Ogden, Utah. Peterson not only agreed to fabricate a new fence but also donated all the labor to install it. Peterson company employees donated more than ten thousand hours of labor in producing it, making 130 ten-foot panels.¹⁴⁴ Peterson employees and NRI volunteers erected the new fence as well as new signs on each corner. Grant Fry of NRI commented on the appearance of temple square: "This new and significant improvement provides a very attractive and dignified enclosure inviting visitors to enjoy this peaceful and sacred spot."¹⁴⁵

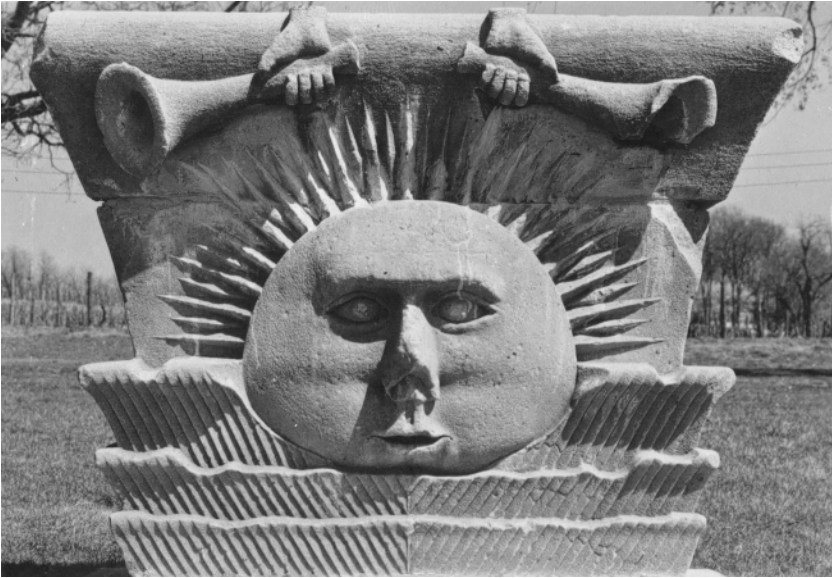
Conclusion

For the final two decades of the twentieth century, temple square served as a restful and beautifully landscaped park that drew thousands of visitors, both Mormons and others, to the site of the former temple. On April 6, 1991, NRI and the Illinois Peoria Mission, in whose boundaries the city of Nauvoo resided, sponsored a program in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the laying of the Nauvoo Temple's cornerstones.¹⁴⁶ Seventy-five persons gathered on the Nauvoo Temple plaza for the program. Under the direction of Nauvoo Stake President Walter H. Pierce, the program featured three speakers and musical numbers by the Nauvoo

Stake Choir. A missionary, Stan Henderson, gave a brief history of the temple. He was followed by Mike Trapp, a local expert on the temple, who described the events 150 years ago. The concluding speaker was Hyrum Mack Smith, who recalled the words his great-grand uncle Joseph Smith said at the southeast cornerstone. Stake Relief Society President Teresa Griffith presented a United States flag to President Pierce in commemoration of the presentation of a similar flag to Joseph Smith in 1841. In conclusion, Dan Hahl presented a plaque to Nauvoo Mayor Dale Bruegger. The small wooden plaque, which bore a replica of a sunstone and an inscription, stated that it "was presented to the people of Nauvoo as a token of our appreciation for the peace and friendship we now enjoy with them."¹⁴⁷

The final and fitting ornament added to temple square during this period was one of its original sunstones (fig. 6), which had been on public display at the Nauvoo State Park for over forty years.¹⁴⁸ NRI conservators, however, became concerned about the stone, noting its deteriorating condition; they were also apprehensive about potential vandalism. After negotiations, the Illinois State Department of Conservation made the Church the custodian of the precious artifact on December 2, 1991. Obtaining permission from the state, the Church removed the stone from its setting on March 9, 1992, and transported it to the nearby NRI workshops, where conservators repaired it prior to its relocation on temple square.¹⁴⁹ There it was enclosed in a specially constructed glass-and-steel case designed to protect the fragile limestone carving and to stabilize its environment. The unveiling of the stone took place on June 26, 1994, one day before the 150th anniversary of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and Hyrum Smith. Over six hundred persons gathered on the plaza for the impressive dedicatory ceremonies directed by President Howard W. Hunter.¹⁵⁰

Among the speakers that day was Gordon B. Hinckley, then a Counselor in the First Presidency. President Hinckley, like his father, Bryant S. Hinckley, had deep appreciation and love for the Nauvoo Temple and great admiration for the sacrifice of those who built it. During his remarks, he "traced the history of the Nauvoo Temple," explaining the significance of the moon, sun, and stars symbolic stones. He also described the purpose of the temple in these words: "This building was to be concerned with things of eternity. It was to stand as a witness to all who should look upon it that those who built it had a compelling faith and a certain knowledge that the grave is not the end, but that the soul is immortal and goes on growing."¹⁵¹ President Hinckley's words took on special significance on April 4, 1999, when, as President of the Church, he surprised the worldwide congregation of general conference with his announcement that the Nauvoo Temple would be rebuilt, ensuring that it would once again literally "stand as a witness" to all people that the Lord had not forgotten it.



Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library, BYU

FIG. 6. This sunstone was apparently lost for about twenty years after it fell from the Nauvoo Temple. It was later kept at the Illinois capitol building, at the Illinois State Fair Grounds, and then at the Nauvoo State Park. In 1994 it was returned to temple square.

Later that summer, President Hinckley visited Nauvoo's temple square and, while reminiscing about the dedicatory services held there on August 14, 1982, confided to Hugh Pinnock, "You know I dedicated this site for the reconstruction of the Nauvoo Temple."¹⁵² It is entirely fitting that President Hinckley, whose father had recommended that the Church rebuild the Nauvoo Temple some seventy years earlier, should be in a position as President of the Church to shepherd the temple's reconstruction.

Of all the buildings restored for the public by the Church in Nauvoo, the temple stands alone, wholly unique. As meticulously as these buildings in Nauvoo were restored, all of them were designed primarily as museum pieces of the past. They were never intended to be functioning residences, businesses, or public buildings. Only the Nauvoo Illinois Temple was designed from the beginning to be both a restored and a fully functioning building. After three years of construction, followed by a six-week public open house in which over 330,000 persons toured the building, President Hinckley dedicated the new temple on June 27, 2002, the 158th anniversary of Joseph Smith's martyrdom.¹⁵³ A consecrated temple now stands again on the very site where Joseph Smith had laid the cornerstones

for a temple in 1841. The Prophet's vision, once destroyed, has been literally fulfilled. After a century and a half, Nauvoo's temple square has been returned to its divinely intended state as sacred space, for the Lord revealed to Joseph Smith that he had chosen and consecrated it as the place for his holy house (D&C 124:43).

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1. The following are the major studies treating Nauvoo's Latter-day Saint period: George W. Givens, *In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990); Robert B. Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002); E. Cecil McGavin, *Nauvoo, the Beautiful* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1972); David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974); and B. H. Roberts, *The Rise and Fall of Nauvoo* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1900).

2. Federal Writers' Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1939).

3. Janath R. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, 1991).

4. Ida Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage* (Carthage, Ill.: Journal Printing, 1969); Ida Blum, *Nauvoo: Gateway to the West* (Carthage, Ill.: Journal Printing, 1974).

5. For a pictorial guide to Mormon Nauvoo's buildings, see also Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book Co., 1990); and the authors' expanded edition, *Old Mormon Nauvoo and Southeastern Iowa: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Fieldbrook Productions, 1991).

6. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 41. For a number of years, the only published history of the Nauvoo Temple was E. Cecil McGavin, *The Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1962). The only published archaeological report of the temple is J. C. Harrington and Virginia Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration, 1971).

7. During the Nauvoo Illinois Temple's nearly thirty-eight months of construction, I collected over 550 newspaper articles and Internet media files. These came from such sources as the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, *Provo Daily Herald*, *Ogden Standard Examiner*, *Logan Herald Journal*, and *Church News*, as well as the local Illinois newspapers—*Nauvoo New Independent*, *Burlington Hawk Eye*, *Fort Madison Daily Democrat*, *Hancock Journal-Pilot*, and *Quincy Herald-Whig*. Other diverse sources included the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Dallas Morning News*, *Atlanta Constitution-Journal*, *Dubuque Telegraph Herald*, and many others.

8. See, for example, Don Colvin, *The Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002), an expanded and heavily revised version of his thesis, "Historical Study of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo,

Illinois" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1962); Timothy Robinson, *Nauvoo Temple Stone* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2002); Kenneth W. Godfrey, *The Importance of the Temple in Understanding the Latter-day Saint Nauvoo Experience, Then and Now* (Logan, Utah: Special Collections and Archives, Merrill Library, 2001); David R. Crockett, "The Nauvoo Temple, 'Monument to the Saints,'" *Nauvoo Journal* 11 (fall 1999): 5–29.

9. Susan Easton Black, *The Nauvoo Temple: The Jewel of the Mississippi* (Salt Lake City: Millennial Press, 2002); Heidi Swinton, *Sacred Stone: The Temple at Nauvoo* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002).

10. The reconstructed Nauvoo Illinois Temple follows the Church's uniform guidelines for naming temples (city followed by state, province, etc.), which distinguishes it from the original Nauvoo Temple. The only Latter-day Saint temples that retained their original names are the Salt Lake Temple and the Nauvoo Temple. "Temples Renamed to Uniform Guidelines," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, October 16, 1999, 4.

11. Upon reading "temple square," most readers probably think of the famous temple block in Salt Lake City, but many Nauvoo residents told me that the city's temple lot was called "temple square." Indeed, a 1971 foldout brochure and map calls the lot "Temple Square." *Historic Nauvoo Illinois* (Illinois Department of Business and Economics, Division of Tourism, 1971).

12. The Nauvoo Temple was dedicated privately on April 30, 1846, and publicly on May 1–3, 1846. "Nauvoo Temple," *Deseret News 2001–2002 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2000), 486–87.

13. Almon Babbitt, David R. Cowen, and John Snider to David T. LeBaron, Indenture, March 11, 1848, Hancock County Courthouse, Recording Clerk's Office, Carthage, Illinois, Deeds, Bk. V, p. 93 (hereafter cited as Hancock County Deeds).

14. *Oquawka Spectator*, September 17, 1848, as cited in John Hajicek, "The Burning of the Nauvoo Temple and the Scorched Earth Policy of Brigham Young," paper presented at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the John Whitmer Historical Association, Kirtland, Ohio, September 27, 1997, typescript, p. 6, copy in author's files.

15. George A. Smith to Brigham Young, October 2, 1848, in Journal History of the Church, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Joseph Smith III, *Memories of Old Nauvoo*, ed. Paul V. Ludy (Bates City, Mo.: Paul V. Ludy Associates, 2001), 42–43. The arsonist's identity has never been completely determined; although Joseph Agnew has been most often identified as the culprit, his descendants vehemently deny it. George W. Givens, *Nauvoo Fact Book* (Lynchburg, Va.: Parley Street Publishers, 2000), 155. See Colvin, "Historical Study," 211–15, for a discussion of the evidence concerning the identity of the arsonist of the temple.

16. For a history of the Icarian movement in the United States, see Jean François Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie: Deux Ouvriers Viennois aux États-Unis en 1855* (Paris: Press Universitaires de France, 1952); Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: AMS Press, 1973). For a firsthand account of the community's Nauvoo period, see Emile Vallet, *An Icarian Communist in Nauvoo: Commentary by Emile Vallet* (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Society, 1971).

17. David T. LeBaron, Ester M. LeBaron, and Almon W. Babbitt to Etienne Cabet, Indenture, April 2, 1849, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. V, p. 408.

18. *Missouri Republican*, in *Journal History*, May 27, 1850.

19. Vallet, *Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 22–23. Vallet also stated, “The cloud was touching the ground.”

20. P. Dourg, “From the Mo. Republican, Destruction of the Temple of Nauvoo, on the 27th of May, 1850, by a Storm,” *Deseret News*, August 24, 1850, as cited in J. E. Arrington, “The Destruction of the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo,” *Journal of the Illinois Historical Society* 40 (1947): 424.

21. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 27. German was spoken not only in private homes but also in shops and stores throughout Nauvoo. The language was used in two local parochial schools as well as in four churches.

22. “Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 17 (July 1926): 254.

23. “Nauvoo and Its Temple—the Icarians,” *Missouri Republican*, December 3, 1859, in *Journal History*.

24. “Nauvoo and Its Temple,” *Missouri Republican*.

25. *Carthage Republican*, February 2, 1845, quoted in Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 6.

26. Autobiography of William Adams, typescript, 36, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, as quoted in Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 6.

27. Joseph Smith III and Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration*, condensed by Bertha Audentia Anderson Hulmes (Independence: Herald House, 1952), 102.

28. “Nauvoo Temple Landscaped,” *Church News*, December 22, 1973, 5, 13.

29. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 23; Federal Writers’ Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 37.

30. Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 150.

31. Based on a map prepared by Lillian Snyder and printed in *Nauvoo Independent*, July 25, 1974; Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 26.

32. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 121; *Missouri Republican*, December 3, 1859, in *Journal History*, December 3, 1859; Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 149.

33. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 56.

34. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 121.

35. Vallet, *Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 24; Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 149; Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 56.

36. Federal Writers’ Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 37–38; Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 21, 23; Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 105.

37. Vallet, *Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 24; Federal Writers’ Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 37.

38. Vallet, *Icarian Communist in Nauvoo*, 24; Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 150.

39. Snyder, map in *Nauvoo Independent*.

40. Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 150.

41. Federal Writers’ Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 37.

42. “Nauvoo and Its Temple—the Icarians,” *Missouri Republican*.

43. “Three General Authorities See Work in Nauvoo,” *Church News*, December 22, 1973, 13.

44. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107. This source gives 1853 as the year of the Dining Hall's fire, but this is clearly in error, since the same source states that Dornseif, who owned the building, did not arrive in Nauvoo until 1860 and that the fourteenth annual town meeting was held in the L-shaped frame building in April 1864 (p. 122). See also Richard L. Evans, "Nauvoo 'Opera House' Acquired by Wilford C. Wood," *Improvement Era* 40 (June 1937): 356. The building's stage was first located on the west side but was later moved to the south side. In 1909 a group of citizens bought the building and constructed a \$700 addition on its south side for a new stage, which later served as a movie theater.

45. *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo, Hancock County, Illinois* (New York: Sanborn Map, 1893, 1898, 1912, and 1926), various sheets.

46. *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo* (1893, 1898, 1912, and 1926), various sheets; Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 115–16; "Mormon Church Buys Old Telephone Building," unidentified newspaper clipping, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook, in private possession, photocopy in author's collection.

47. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107. On February 3, 1856, when many of the Icarians left, Nicaise chose to remain in Nauvoo. Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 149.

48. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107; Federal Writers' Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 49.

49. The Roines were among those who chose on February 3, 1856, to remain in Nauvoo. Crétinon, *Voyage en Incarie*, 149.

50. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107. The foundations of these buildings, which were laid from Nauvoo Temple limestone blocks, were removed by a small bulldozer and tractor during the weekend of June 5, 1952. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 24.

51. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 121. A photograph in Blum, *Nauvoo: American Heritage*, 40, shows the Conoco sign outside the service station.

52. The two apartments north of the corner apartment on Bluff Street appear on Sanborn maps as late as 1926, but by the time the Church acquired this property in 1940, the buildings were gone. The two remaining apartments (including the garage) were razed in 1958. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107.

53. *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo* (1893 and 1898), sheet 1.

54. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 142; *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo* (1912), sheet 3; Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 50.

55. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 43.

56. *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo* (1912), sheet 3.

57. Mary E. Logan, a longtime resident of Nauvoo, interview by author, August 16, 2001.

58. Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 12; *Sanborn Maps of Nauvoo* (1912), sheet 3 and (1926), sheet 4.

59. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 138; Ida Blum, "Parish Hall, Old Land Mark, Being Razed," unidentified newspaper clipping, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

60. Schenk used materials salvaged from the Vocational Training School for Parish Hall. The building housing the school had an interesting history. In 1907 the Sisters of St. Benedict, who had come to Nauvoo in 1874, built a large brick building on the southeast corner of Mulholland and Durphey streets as a school for boys, calling it the Spalding Institute. The next year, after a bad experience with a

speculator, the Sisters had their Nauvoo property foreclosed. However, the creditors allowed them to continue to use the buildings. The nuns closed the Institute in 1920, and the federal government leased the building, renaming it the Vocational Training School. To accommodate an increase in the numbers of trainees, the government added a wooden dormitory to the structure.

The Vocational Training School closed in May 1923. In 1925 the Sisters again opened the building as a boys' school, renaming it St. Edmund's. They razed the dormitory, allowing Paul Schenk to use the lumber for the Parish Hall. By 1939 the nuns had regained full title to all their Nauvoo property. In 1940 St. Edmund's closed, the building becoming a convent for the Sisters with another name change, Benet Hall. Benet Hall was razed sometime after 1975. Blum, *Nauvoo: Gateway to the West*, 138; Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 65–66; Sisters of St. Benedict web page history: www.stmarymonastery.org/history.htm.

61. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 138–39; Blum, "Parish Hall, Old Land Mark, Being Razed."

62. Wendell J. Ashton, "The Centennial Trek," *Improvement Era* 50 (September 1947): 580.

63. Logan, interview. When asked if it was the temple well she fell into, she was sure that it was not, since the well had a pump and was covered.

64. Newberry, who was born in 1897, was famous for his paintings of Nauvoo. In 1957 he and his wife, Helene, moved to Nauvoo, where he taught art classes and remained active in Nauvoo community affairs until his death in 1961. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 124; Nauvoo Area Foundation, *Nauvoo: "Beautiful Place"* (Wapello, Iowa: Louisa Publishing, 1970), 41.

65. Bryant S. Hinckley, "The Nauvoo Memorial," *Improvement Era* 41 (August 1938): 460.

66. *Nauvoo Independent*, June 29, 1939, 1, as cited in Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 75.

67. R. Scott Lloyd, "Four Cornerstones Dedicated," *Deseret News*, November 6, 2000.

68. Bryant S. Hinckley, "Nauvoo Memorial," 460.

69. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 75.

70. Julie A. Dockstader, "Foresight Preserves Historical Legacy," *Church News*, June 1, 1991, 4; Frank R. Arnold, "Making Economic Fur Fly," *Improvement Era* 34 (May 1931), from *GospelLink 2001* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001). During the 1930s and 1940s, Wood acquired and turned over to the Church at or below cost a number of important sites: most of the Nauvoo Temple lot, the John Taylor home, and the Times and Seasons building, all in Nauvoo, Illinois; the Adam-ondi-Ahman site in Daviess County, Missouri; the Liberty Jail in Liberty, Missouri; three adjacent parcels of land along the Susquehanna River near Harmony, Pennsylvania, containing the Isaac Hale farm and the probable location of the restoration of the Aaronic Priesthood; the John Johnson farm near Hiram, Ohio; and the Newel K. Whitney store in Kirtland, Ohio. The Church has restored all of these buildings and sites; they are now open to the public. Wood also amassed a large collection of artifacts and memorabilia, some of which he donated to Church Archives, the rest of which he placed on display in the Wilford C. Wood Museum in Bountiful, Utah.

71. M. C. J., "Church Acquires Nauvoo Temple Site," *Improvement Era* 40 (March 1937): 226–27.

72. Hancock County Circuit Court, Case No. 7014C, vol. 54, pp. 601–3; Hancock County, Deeds, Bk. 208, p. 78; “Old Temple Excavated,” unidentified newspaper clipping, dated July 8, 1962, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

73. M. C. J., “Church Acquires Nauvoo Temple Site,” 226.

74. Full names of the Nauvoo Bank officers supplied by current Nauvoo State Bank Executive Vice-President, Theodore R. Reinhardt, via email, June 11, 2001, to author. Karl J. Reinhardt was Theodore’s grandfather.

75. “Church Acquires Nauvoo Temple Site,” 227.

76. Foreclosure at Public Auction, Master of Chancery to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, February 19, 1937, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 208, p. 758.

77. The sale involved four pieces of property: Bernadine U. Hierstein and others to Wilford C. Wood, Quit Claim Deed, April 19, 1937, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 209, p. 523; Bernadine U. Hierstein and others to Wilford C. Wood, Quit Claim Deed, April 19, 1937, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 211, pp. 355–56; Ira Hart and others to Wilford C. Wood, Quit Claim Deed, April 19, 1937, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 211, pp. 356–57; and Julia A. Ochsner to Wilford C. Wood, Quit Claim Deed, April 19, 1937, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 209, p. 524. See also Evans, “Nauvoo ‘Opera House’ Acquired,” 356. The sale did not include a twenty-five-foot parcel along the property’s southern limit.

78. Wilford C. Wood and Lillian W. Wood to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, July 13, 1938, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 210, p. 596.

79. Federal Writers’ Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 49.

80. Joseph I. Kelly to Wilford C. Wood, Warranty Deed, April 4, 1940, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 215, p. 26; Wilford C. Wood and Lillian W. Wood to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, June 21, 1940, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 214, p. 132.

81. Virgil Nicaise and others to Wilford C. Wood, Warranty Deed, 1/3 undivided interest, September 20, 1941, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 214, p. 507; Odille Hohl and others to Wilford C. Wood, Administers Deed, 1/3 undivided interest, November 13, 1941, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 214, p. 507; Odille Hohl and L. E. Hohl to Wilford C. Wood, Warranty Deed, 1/3 undivided interest, November 14, 1941, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 217, p. 76. See also “Church Obtains Nauvoo Property,” *Improvement Era* 45 (February 1942): 93.

82. Wilford C. Wood and Lillian W. Wood to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, November 24, 1941, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 214, p. 509.

83. Clara K. Reimbold and others to Wilford C. Wood, Warranty Deed, June 8, 1951, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 250, pp. 161–62; Wilford C. Wood and Lillian W. Wood to David O. McKay, Trustee in Trust, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, June 28, 1951, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 250, p. 613; Harold Lundstrom, “Church Buys Home on Nauvoo Temple Block,” *Deseret News*, June 13, 1951, 2. President McKay transferred the property to the Presiding Bishop on December 16, 1963. David O. McKay, Trustee in Trust, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Special Warranty Deed, December 16, 1963, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 294, p. 273.

84. Louise Schafer to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, September 25, 1952, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 255, p. 71.

85. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 107.

86. Charles R. Snelgrove and Fidellia L. Snelgrove to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, February 11, 1959, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 277, p. 525.

87. C. J. Blum, "Mormon Church Buys Old Telephone Building," unidentified newspaper clipping, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

88. Blum, "Mormon Church Buys Old Telephone Building."

89. Blum, "Mormon Church Buys Old Telephone Building."

90. Saints Peter and Paul Catholic Church to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, July 22, 1961, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 286, pp. 217–18.

91. Anne Pinnock, widow of Hugh Pinnock, telephone interview by Lisle G. Brown, July 22, 2002. Pinnock became a member of the First Quorum of the Seventy and served as the Area President for the North America Central Area (July 1998–August 2000) during the early stages of the Nauvoo Illinois Temple's construction. He died December 15, 2000. President Thomas S. Monson said, "Isn't it interesting that his assignments took him to Nauvoo [as North America Central Area president] where he performed a magnificent mission in accomplishing things that have set the stage for that which will take place when the Nauvoo Temple is dedicated?" R. Scott Lloyd, "Elder Pinnock Praised as a Man of Service," *Church News*, December 23, 2000, 5.

92. Lynn Arave, "Elder Hugh Pinnock Eulogized as Smiling, Busy Man of God," *Deseret News*, December 21, 2000, B1.

93. Colvin, "Historical Study," 190; Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, 304.

94. G. Leslie DeLapp, Presiding Bishop, RLDS Church to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Warranty Deed, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 291, p. 17; Harrington and Harrington, *Nauvoo Temple*, 6.

95. Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 45.

96. McGavin, *Nauvoo, the Beautiful*, 301.

97. *Deseret News 2001–2002 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 2000), 130; Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 45.

98. Blum, "Parish Hall, Old Land Mark, Being Razed."

99. Wendell J. Ashton, "The Centennial Trek," *Improvement Era* 50 (September 1947): 578, 580, 618, 619.

100. Colvin, "Historical Study," 189–90.

101. The RLDS Church requested that the monument be moved. In 1988 the monument was moved to its current place at the entrance to the Monument to Women, located south of the visitors' center, which had been dedicated in 1978. "Relief Society Marker Moved to Temple Square," unidentified newspaper clipping, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook; Federal Writers' Project of Illinois, *Nauvoo Guide*, 43; "The Church Moved On," *Improvement Era* 55 (October 1952): 704; J. P. and G. Enterprises, "Women's Garden at Nauvoo," <http://www.cyberodyssey.com/il/nauvoo/womensgarden/womensgarden.html>, downloaded July 12, 2001.

102. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 84; Blum, *Nauvoo: An American Heritage*, 45. The first branch president was Dr. J. Leroy Kimball, the future president of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

103. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 84–85; Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 136–37. Cannon spelled her name “Sophie.” Harsch was friends with Rose Nicaise, and the two of them ran the dress shop in the Icarian apartment owned by the Nicaise family. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 136–37.

104. The branch became the Nauvoo Ward, with Walter H. Pierce as the bishop, on February 18, 1979, during the organization of the Nauvoo Illinois Stake, the Church’s one thousandth stake. 2001–2002 *Church Almanac*, 201; “New Nauvoo Stake—Number 1,000—Marks Growth of the Church,” *Ensign* 9 (April 1979): 75.

105. James R. Kimball Jr., “J. Leroy Kimball, Nauvoo Restoration Pioneer: A Tribute,” *BYU Studies* 32, no. 1 (1992): 7.

106. Eventually, Dr. Kimball, who was spending more and more time in Nauvoo, gave up his medical practice and devoted all his energy to Nauvoo Restoration, Inc. Kimball, “Tribute,” 5–12; J. Leroy Kimball, “Nauvoo Restoration,” *Improvement Era* 70 (July 1967): 12–18.

107. J. Leroy Kimball, foreword to Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*.

108. Dee F. Green, “Successful Archaeological Excavation of the Nauvoo Temple Site Project,” *Improvement Era* 65 (October 1962): 744. Clearly the most gruesome discovery was a skeleton unearthed near the southeast cornerstone. The remains were determined to be a victim of long-ago foul play; he had been buried after the destruction of the temple. The skeleton may have been associated with two saloons that were once located on the east side of temple square. “Site of Temple Is Excavated,” clipping from unidentified newspaper, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook; “Mormons Plan to Re-Build Original Nauvoo Temple,” clipping from unidentified newspaper, dated 1961, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

109. “Mormons Plan to Re-Build Original Nauvoo Temple.”

110. “Mormon Leaders Study Sight,” unidentified newspaper clipping, dated May 5, 1961, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook. Those who toured Nauvoo with Presidents Brown and Moyle were A. E. Kendrew, vice-president and chief architect of Colonial Williamsburg; Conrad Wirth, director of National Parks; Harold P. Fabian, chairman of the Advisor Board on National Parks; Riser Haner, personal secretary to President David O. McKay; and J. Willard Marriott, hotel chain owner. All these men later became governing members of Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

111. Mission statement in *What Is Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.* (Nauvoo, Ill.: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1970), 1; also in Kimball, “Tribute,” 9.

112. Cannon, *Nauvoo Panorama*, 81–82.

113. “Mormon Information Bureau Moves to Old Icarian Bldg,” unidentified newspaper clipping, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

114. Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, Block 20, Wells Addition, Nauvoo: Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., Special Warranty Deed, December 13, 1963, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 294, pp. 275–76. Upon the decision to reconstruct the Nauvoo Temple, NRI transferred the property back to the Presiding Bishop of the Church on September 21,

1999. Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, Block 20, Wells Addition, Nauvoo: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., to Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Special Warranty Deed, September 21, 1999, Hancock County Deeds, Bk. 99, Instrument no. 4143.

115. "Old Temple Foundation Excavated," clipping from unidentified newspaper, dated July 8, 1962, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

116. Dee F. Green, "Successful Archaeological Excavation of the Nauvoo Temple Site Project," *Improvement Era* 65 (October 1962): 705, 744.

117. The Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook contains ten newspaper reports from the *Nauvoo Independent* by Dee Green. Clippings are dated July 12, 19, 26; August 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; and September 7, 12, 1962.

118. Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 12.

119. Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 6–7, 12; see also Melvin L. Fowler, "Preliminary Archaeological Excavations at the Nauvoo Temple Site," unpublished report, Southern Illinois University, 1962; and "Temple Timber Found Near Center of West Wall," unidentified newspaper clipping, dated September 12, 1961, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

120. Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 7.

121. Virginia S. Harrington, "Excavation of the Temple Well," unpublished report, January 1967, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.

122. See Virginia S. Harrington, "Archaeological Excavations in the Temple Basement, 1957," unpublished report, 1967, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.; Virginia S. Harrington, "Archaeological Excavations in the Temple Basement, 1968," unpublished manuscript, 1968, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc.; and Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*, 7.

123. For a complete report of the 1969 excavation, a report which incorporates data from all previous archaeological work and artifact analysis, see Harrington and Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple*.

124. The Church had razed the Nauvoo Parish Hall in February 1964. Blum, *Gateway to the West*, 138.

125. J. Leroy Kimball, "About Nauvoo Restoration," *Improvement Era* 70 (July 1967): 14.

126. Jay M. Todd, "Nauvoo Temple Restoration," *Improvement Era* 71 (October 1968): 10–16.

127. 2001–2002 *Church News Almanac*, 436. The Nauvoo Mission was discontinued on July 1, 1974, and transferred to the Chicago Illinois Mission. On November 1, 2000, the Illinois Nauvoo Mission was created from the Illinois Peoria Mission. This mission functions like the mission on Temple Square in Salt Lake City, making the Nauvoo area "a mission within a mission" with over two hundred missionaries. *Church News*, October 28, 2000, 5.

128. Durrell Nelson, current NRI landscape director, and NRI employee Orville Hale, a longtime Nauvoo resident, interview by Lisle G. Brown, August 16, 2001, at the NRI workshops.

129. Nauvoo City Council, Minutes, March 28, 1972, City Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois.

130. *Nauvoo Independent*, April 2, 1972.

131. "The Reimbold House," *Nauvoo Independent*, April 18, 1973; "Nauvoo Temple Landscaped," *Church News*, December 22, 1973, 5, 13.

132. "Nauvoo Temple Landscaped," 5, 13. The account of the 1973 landscaping project is taken from this source, including quotations, unless otherwise noted.

133. "Nauvoo. Here Is a Photographic Review of the Past Week's Events," *Nauvoo Independent*, August 8, 1973.

134. "Nauvoo Temple Landscaped," 5, 13.

135. *New Nauvoo Neighbor*, June 4, 1975.

136. "Moving to Nauvoo," Mormon Town Library, <http://www.mormon-town.org/library/newsletters/nov17.html>, downloaded June 21, 2001.

137. Unfortunately, during the demolition phase in preparation for building the Nauvoo Illinois Temple, it was determined that these monoliths could not be preserved, so they were destroyed. Marlene Pierce, Temple Construction Department, Nauvoo Temple Project, Nauvoo, Illinois, interview by Lisle G. Brown, August 16, 2001.

138. Author's personal observations and photographs taken in August 1976.

139. Lynne Hollstein, "Bronze Replica of Nauvoo Temple Ready for Display," *Church News*, May 21, 1977, 14.

140. Author's personal observations and photographs made during visits in the summers of 1978 and 1980.

141. Hollstein, "Bronze Replica of Nauvoo Temple Ready for Display," 14.

142. Gerry Avant, "Nauvoo's Impact," *Church News*, August 27, 1977, 8.

143. Gerry Avant, "Nauvoo Tested Faith, Says Leader at Rites," *Church News*, August 21, 1982, 3; 1983 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1982), 30.

144. The fence required "130 10-foot panels consisting of 3,700 iron pickets, 260 steel posts, 6,500 decorative rings, . . . and 7,400 holes punched into iron channels through which the pickets were placed." Don Ulmer and Betty Ulmer, "New Enclosure Surrounds Site of Nauvoo Temple," *Church News*, November 9, 1996, 6.

145. Ulmer and Ulmer, "New Enclosure Surrounds Site of Nauvoo Temple," 6.

146. "One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary, the Laying of the Corner Stones of the Nauvoo Temple, April 6, 1991," program, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook; clipping from unidentified newspaper, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

147. Notes taken by the author, August 16, 2001, from the plaque that hangs in the Nauvoo City Hall, Nauvoo, Illinois.

148. This sacred relic of the original temple has had an interesting history. Apparently, for some twenty years after it fell from the temple walls, it rested largely unknown in Nauvoo. In 1870 the stone was transported to the state capital at Springfield in response to a call for examples of limestone for the new Capitol building, probably at the request of architect Alfred Piquenard. He was a former Icarian who had lived in Nauvoo in the 1840s and had been charged by Cabet to restore the fire-damaged temple. The sunstone remained on the lawn of the old capitol (now the Sangamon County Courthouse) until 1876, when it was moved to the present capitol. In 1891 the Illinois State Historical Society received custody of the stone, relocating it at the Illinois State Fair Grounds in 1894, where it "silently look[ed] out over the little duck pond just east of the main entrance . . . as sedate, austere, and dignified as the sphinx of Egypt." In 1955 the governor authorized the moving of the stone to the Nauvoo Stake Park and placed it under the control of the Division of Parks and Memorials. In later years, a small wrought-iron fence with a gate was built around it for protection, and in the 1980s a covering was

placed over it for further protection from the elements. "Temple Capstone Coming Back to Nauvoo," clipping from unidentified newspaper, dated 1955, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook; "Sunstone Preserved at Nauvoo Historic Site," clipping from unidentified newspaper, undated, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

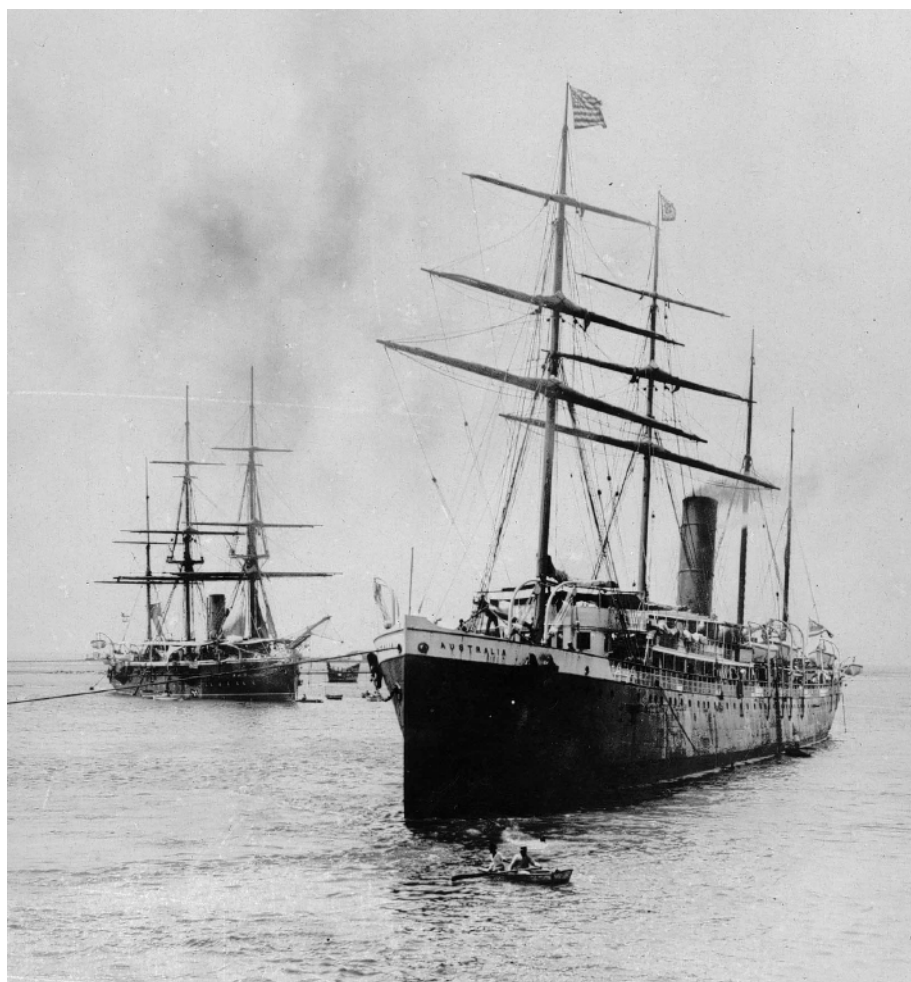
149. "Protection Agreement for Nauvoo's Sunstone," clipping from unidentified newspaper, dated April 1, 1992, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook; Jane Langford, "NRI Relocates Sunstone from Mormon Temple," newspaper clipping from *Nauvoo New Independent*, April 1, 1992, Mary Logan Nauvoo Temple Scrapbook.

150. "Sunstone Is Unveiled at Temple Site," *Church News*, July 2, 1994, 7; Langford, "NRI Relocates Sunstone from Mormon Temple," *Nauvoo New Independent*, April 1, 1992.

151. "Sunstone Unveiled at Temple Site," *Church News*, July 2, 1994, 7.

152. Hugh W. Pinnock, "Temples—Then and Now and Forever," FARMS Symposium on Temples through the Ages, December 4, 1999, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, typed transcript, in author's files.

153. There were actually thirteen dedicatory sessions, held June 27–30, 2002. Gerry Avant, "Crowning Objective of Joseph's Life!" *Church News*, June 29, 2002, 3; R. Scott Lloyd, "Reminiscent of 1846, 331,849 'Throng Temple,'" *Church News*, June 29, 2002, 10; "Nauvoo: From Then until Now," *Church News*, June 29, 2002, 14.



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FIG. 1. SS *Australia*, Honolulu Harbor, 1899, photograph by Otto Hassing. Joseph F. Smith and his party sailed on the SS *Australia* between San Francisco and Hawaii. Otto Hassing and his company sailed on the SS *Australia* the reverse direction—from Hawaii to San Francisco. All photographs in this article, with the exception of Hassing's portrait, were taken by Hassing.

Photographs of Joseph F. Smith and the Laie Plantation, Hawaii, 1899

Brian William Sokolowsky

On January 7, 1899, Joseph F. Smith, then a Counselor to Church President Lorenzo Snow, left Salt Lake City to visit the Church's plantation in Laie, Hawaii. The main purpose for this trip to Hawaii was to benefit the health of President Smith's wife Sarah Ellen Richards Smith, who had just passed through a "very severe illness." They were accompanied by two of his daughters, Minerva and Alice. President Smith's "loyal friend and former missionary companion" Albert W. Davis and Edna Davis, Albert Davis's daughter, were also on the trip. They first went by train to San Francisco and on January 11, 1899, "steamed out of [the] Golden Gate" on the *SS Australia*¹ (fig. 1). The Smiths and Davises arrived in Honolulu on January 18, 1899, and were guests on the Laie Plantation for the next four weeks.

Through a fortunate series of events, Otto Hassing, a soldier from Utah who had learned photography, was stationed in Honolulu at the time the Smiths arrived. When their paths crossed, a segment of Joseph F. Smith's stay in Hawaii—as well as everyday life on the Laie Plantation—was captured on film. This collection of photographs was housed in a previously unprocessed collection of Smith family photographs in the Church Archives.²

Historical Context of the Photographs

The historical context of these photographs must be examined in four separate but related areas: identification of the photographer, the establishment of Laie Plantation, the Laie Plantation in 1899, and the Smiths' visit to Laie.

Identification of the Photographer. Until recently, the photographer was unknown. At first the photographer was presumed to have been either



FIG. 2. Otto F. Hassing (1874–1944), Salt Lake City, ca. 1895, photograph by C. R. Savage.

someone in the Smith party, a local photographer in Honolulu, or perhaps one of the missionaries assigned to the plantation. However, an examination of the photograph compositions reveals that the photographer was not an amateur but was someone who had experience in arranging scenes and people for an aesthetically pleasing photograph.

Fortunately, two diaries from this time period not only identify the photographer but also add insight to the images. Samuel E. Woolley, president of the Hawaiian Mission and manager of the Laie Plantation from 1895 to 1919, wrote in his diary entry dated Thursday, January 26, 1899, “Bros. [Frank] Silver [and Otto] Hasing came from Honolulu to pay us a visit. They are

two Salt Lake City boys and are still some of Uncle Sam’s soldiers. Both nice fellows. Silver is an Engineer by trade, the other is a photographer I believe”³ (fig. 2). A week later, on Friday, February 3, 1899, President Woolley wrote, “We all had our photos taken this evening by Bro. Hasing”⁴ (fig. 3). Ellen Cole, a missionary serving on the plantation, also mentioned the photographer, indicating in her February 11, 1899, journal entry that Silver and Hassing⁵ left the plantation “at an early hour to return to their post for Uncle Sam.”⁶

Otto F. Hilmar Hassing was born July 12, 1874, in Namsos, Norway.⁷ It is not known under what circumstances he came to Utah, but he immigrated in 1891.⁸ A few days before his twenty-fourth birthday, he bade his wife, “Lizzie,” good-bye and enlisted in the regular army in response to President McKinley’s appeal for volunteers to fight in the Spanish-American War.⁹ On his induction card (filled out at Fort Douglas, Utah, on July 7, 1898), Hassing listed “photographer” as his occupation. He joined Company K, Second Regiment of U.S. Volunteer Engineers, where he met Francis “Frank” Jones Silver (fig. 4), who had enlisted at Fort Douglas a week earlier.¹⁰ Company K was ordered to Honolulu to build permanent barracks for the U.S. Army troops moving to and from the Spanish-American War in the Philippines. The regiment left Fort Douglas on July 10, 1898, and arrived in Honolulu on August 17, 1898.¹¹

During the voyage, an armistice was signed, ending the fighting in the Philippines. The regiment remained in Honolulu long enough to build the barracks, located a few miles from Honolulu along the road to Diamond Head. While in Hawaii, Hassing and Silver took the opportunity to visit the Church's plantation in Laie on a twenty-day furlough (January–February 1899).¹² Their company left Hawaii on April 22, 1899, on board the SS *Australia* (the same ship that transported President Smith and his companions to and from Hawaii, see figure 1), and the entire company was mustered out of service in San Francisco on May 16, 1899. Hassing returned to Utah and later moved to Idaho, where he set up a photography studio in Blackfoot.



FIG. 3. Smiths, Davises, and missionaries, Laie Plantation Mission Home, possibly on February 3, 1899. *Front, left to right*: unknown boy, probably one of the Woolley boys; Jennie Musser; unknown man seated on bottom porch step; Margaret Fifield. *Middle, left to right*: unknown children sitting and standing, probably two of the Woolley children; Sarah Ellen Richards Smith; Joseph F. Smith; Clara Hansen holding unknown child. *Back (standing), left to right*: Elizabeth Williams; probably Edna Davis; Albert Davis; Alice Woolley holding unknown child, probably another Woolley child; unidentified man; Ellen Chase Cole; Alice Smith; and Minerva Smith.



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FIG. 4. Frank Silver, wearing his military attire and eating sugarcane, posing in front of a Polynesian home, Laie Plantation, 1899. Silver, a volunteer engineer for the U.S. Army, was stationed in Honolulu and accompanied the photographer, Otto Hassing, to the Laie Plantation.

Establishment of the Laie Plantation. Almost fifty years before Hassing photographed Laie, Latter-day Saint proselyting in Hawaii first began. In 1850, Apostle Charles C. Rich called ten men from the gold fields of California to establish a mission in Polynesia. They landed in Honolulu, and, after initial setbacks, the elders began to meet with some success in Laie, where the natives were ready to hear the restored gospel's message. In a year's time, they baptized more than one hundred individuals. As Church membership in the Pacific grew, Brigham Young designated Hawaii as the gathering place for the Polynesian Saints rather than encouraging their migration to America.¹³ In early 1865, Elders George Nebeker and Francis Hammond purchased a tract of land located at Laie on the northeast coast of Oahu. This land would become a plantation where native Hawaiians could assemble and be taught "the necessary means to keep them employed and . . . principles of industry as well as other principles of life and salvation, that their condition may greatly improve."¹⁴

From 1865 to 1873, Elder Nebeker presided over the Hawaiian Mission, which was headquartered at the Laie Plantation. During this time a sugar factory was established to employ the native Saints, who raised farm produce as well as sugarcane. One thousand acres of the plantation were

arable; the remaining land was used for woodland and pasture for 500 head of cattle, 500 sheep, 200 goats, and 25 horses. Meetinghouses, schoolhouses, and a number of private residences were erected, including a large frame house on the property known as the “mansion.” Laie became a permanent Church settlement and a gathering place for the native Saints.¹⁵

The Laie Plantation in 1899. The landscape and functions of the Laie Plantation continued to evolve. By 1899, the old mission home was gone and a new one, called the Lanihuli House, built in its place (fig. 5). A new meetinghouse (dedicated in 1882) had been built on the hill where the temple now stands, and a school was in full session (fig. 6). Many of the traditional Polynesian homes had been removed to increase the acreage of the sugarcane fields, although a few remained in 1899 (see fig. 4). The old sugar factory was no longer functioning, and the harvest of the plantation’s 450 acres of sugarcane was being processed at the Kahuku Mill. The natives



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FIG. 5. Lanihuli House, Laie Plantation, 1899. Dedicated on October 6, 1894, this house and the surrounding Lanihuli Complex served as the headquarters of the Hawaiian Mission and the home for the mission president’s family. The house was described as having a “modern style” and contained eighteen furnished rooms. This building was torn down in 1960. (Manuscript History of Hawaiian Mission, Church Archives, September 29, 1894; “A Brief History of Laie and Related Events,” Mormon Pacific History Association, <http://www.hawaiireserves.com/History.htm>, viewed on January 27, 2003.)



FIG. 6. Elizabeth Williams and Polynesian Latter-day Saints (possibly students), Laie Plantation, 1899. Williams probably served as a teacher at the school on the plantation.

worked to grow fields of sugarcane, fruit, and taro, which is used to make poi (figs. 7, 8, 9, 10). Chinese people, who were likely not Latter-day Saints, rented land (fig. 11). Ellen Cole wrote: “Considerable land [is] rented to the Chinamen on which they raise rice. The rice fields are very pretty. [The rice] grows in water and they get two crops per year.”¹⁶

Powerful pumps and wells were irrigating much of the higher elevations. On June 3, 1898, the new pump house began pumping water throughout the plantation (fig. 12). Hawaiian Mission president Samuel E. Woolley described the event in his diary:

This has been the most eventful day Laie has ever seen in her history. We started the pump at 12 o'clock noon and in ten minutes she was throwing a good stream of water out of the discharge pipe. Bro. Brinton and I tested all our drain ditches and flumes. The[y] work as nice as can be. The fall is splendid. We ran the water in the new ditches to each end in two hours. We ran water on land today that has never had a stream on before, everything worked satisfactory. I am more than pleased with the results. Taking the facilities and workmen we have had everything is first



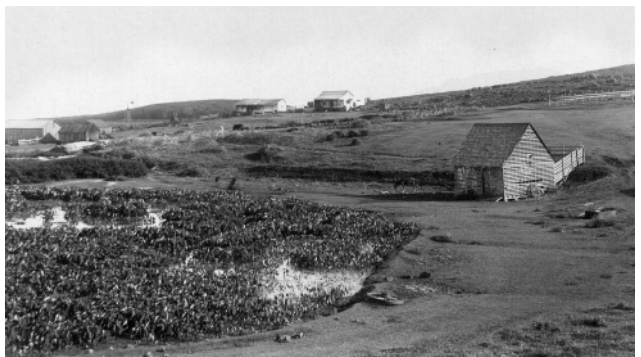
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FIG. 7 (above). Wilford Cole and Polynesian Saints in sugarcane field, Laie Plantation, 1899. Cole worked as the plantation manager. The Western dress of Polynesians (as seen in this photograph) began with the arrival of Protestant missionaries in 1820. (Edward B. Scott, *The Saga of the Sandwich Islands* [Lake Tahoe, Nev.: Sierra-Tahoe Publishing, 1968], 30–31.)



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FIG. 8. Missionaries Jennie Musser and Margaret Fifield, pictured with bananas and other fruits, Laie Plantation, 1899.



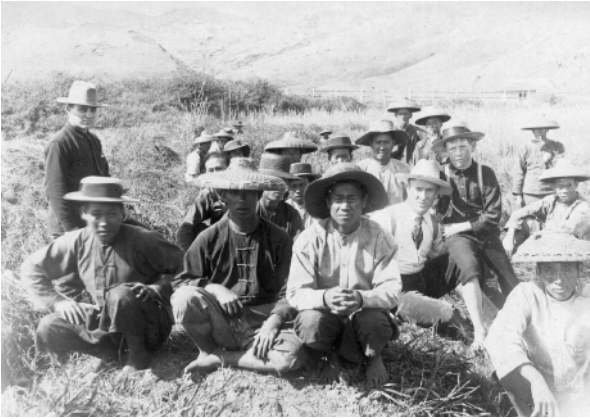
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FIG. 9 (right). Taro paddies and plantation buildings, Laie Plantation, 1899.

FIG. 10. Hawaiian Latter-day Saints pounding taro plants into poi, Laie Plantation, 1899.



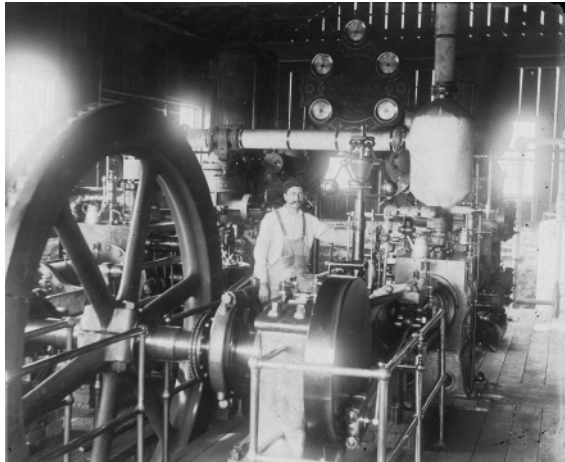
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FIG. 11. Chinese workers, Laie Plantation, 1899. The Caucasian man standing toward the left side of the picture is Frank Silver. The young boy on the right side of the picture is probably one of President Woolley's sons.

FIG. 12. William Williams, pump house, Laie Plantation, 1899. Williams served as a plantation missionary from March 1897 to October 1900.

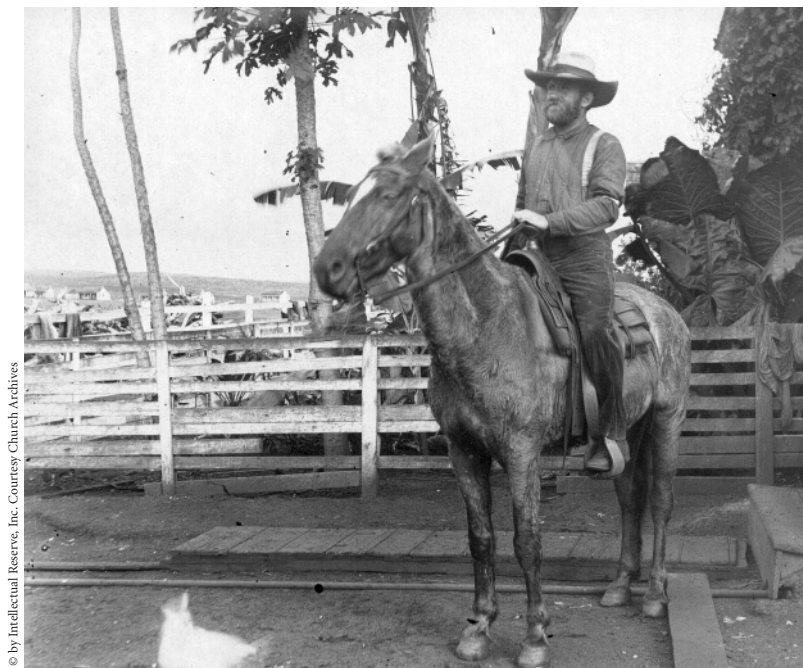


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class in every particular. I feel that it is something we all ought to be proud of. All the people on Laie were there to see it run, white Sisters and all.¹⁷

In 1899, President Woolley was living on the plantation with his wife, Alice, and their five children. He presided over the five couples and fifteen elders who served throughout Hawaii and on the plantation.¹⁸ The plantation missionaries assisted in operating the plantation and preaching the gospel among the natives. Among these missionaries were Wilford and Ellen Cole. As an engaged couple, Wilford Cole (fig. 13) and Ellen Chase were called on a mission by Apostle George Teasdale in 1898. They were married in the Manti Temple on May 4, 1898, and left three weeks later for the first of their several missions to Hawaii.¹⁹ The Coles arrived at Laie on June 11, 1898, at about 8 o'clock in the evening. Of their first evening, Ellen Cole wrote:

We were introduced to our Mission Home and the inmates thereof which we are to become a part of—after partaking of supper we all sang



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FIG. 13. Wilford J. Cole, Laie Plantation, 1899. Prior to his call to Laie and his marriage to Ellen Chase, Wilford Cole spent the better part of his life as a sheep rancher.



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FIG. 14. Missionary quarters, Laie Plantation, 1899. *Left to right:* Elizabeth and William Williams, Ellen and Wilford Cole.

a hymn and chatted together for a while and were then shown to our room, which is very cozy and inviting, the furniture consisted of a bed, two chairs, small table, washstand, and looking glass. After offering our thanks to our Father in Heaven for our safe arrival at our destination, we retired to rest.²⁰

Wilford and Ellen Cole shared their cabinlike quarters with William and Elizabeth Williams, a married couple from Provo, Utah (fig. 14). The Williams were set apart for their mission in March 1897. William labored as a mechanic on the plantation. Elizabeth assisted with domestic duties and was probably one of the schoolteachers (see fig. 6). The couple left Hawaii in October 1900.²¹

Other missionaries serving at Laie and featured in Hassing's photographs include Jennie Musser, Clara Hansen, and Margaret Fifield (fig. 15). Martha Jane "Jennie" Musser and her husband, Parley, were from Payson, Utah, and began serving in Hawaii in summer 1897. Jennie was the assistant schoolteacher and the choir leader, and she served in Relief Society on the plantation.²² Clara and Daniel Hansen arrived in Hawaii from their Springville, Utah, home in October 1898. Daniel returned to Utah in early

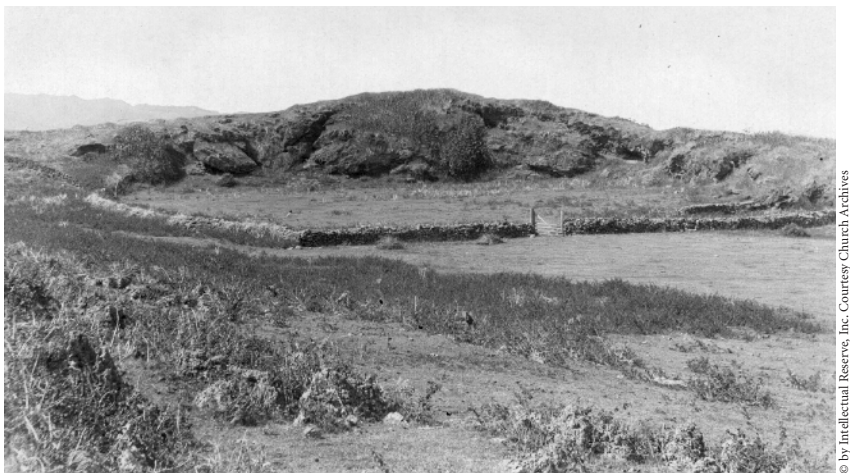
January 1899 for business and was not at the plantation during Hassing's visit. Clara sailed home in May 1899, just a few months after the pictures were taken.²³ Margaret Fifield served as the organist of the Primary association on the plantation. Her husband, Edwin W. Fifield, left for Hawaii in December 1896. Margaret joined him in October 1898, and both sailed for home in August 1900.²⁴

The Smiths' Visit. Upon arriving in Honolulu on January 18, 1899, Joseph F. Smith was greeted by "many of his old friends and associates."²⁵ Later that evening, the Smith party was feted with a luau held at the Mission House in Honolulu.²⁶ Of this event, Joseph F. Smith said, "I enjoyed my poi and fish—I ate nothing else, although we had sweet potatoes, boiled chicken, bread and guava jelly and many other things to tempt the appetite, with oranges and bananas galore."²⁷ Before proceeding to Laie, the Smiths stayed with the Abraham Fernandez family for two nights, and Albert Davis and his daughter stayed in the Mission House.²⁸



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FIG. 15. Sister missionaries, Laie Plantation Mission Home, 1899. *Front, left to right:* Alice R. Woolley, Clara Hansen, and Elizabeth Williams. *Back, left to right:* Jennie Musser, Ellen Chase Cole, and Margaret Fifield. These six women were the only sister missionaries serving on the Laie Plantation and in the Hawaiian Mission in January–February 1899.



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FIG. 16. View of Laie Plantation, 1899. President Joseph F. Smith would have witnessed such views as this during his various tours of the plantation. This photograph features a stone wall although by 1899 many of the plantation's stone walls had been removed to increase acreage for sugarcane fields.

The journals that helped to identify the photographer (those of President Woolley and Sister Cole) also help to fill in the details of President Smith's visit. Ellen Cole wrote in her journal:

Most of the time spent in making preparations for Joseph F. Smith and party. They arrive in Honolulu on the 18th. Bro. Woolley meets them there having gone there the day previous. They arrive at Laie on the 21st [it was actually the evening of the 20th]. . . . The prayer and dining rooms are very nicely decorated with ferns and flowers—the work of the natives. After supper the evening is spent very pleasantly in the prayer room.²⁹

The day after the Smiths and Davises arrived at Laie, Samuel Woolley wrote, "We went and got the saddle horses. I took Bros. Smith and Davis around the place out to see the cane fields and the pump. He was very much surprised to see so much done. This made me feel good."³⁰ Joseph F. Smith and Samuel Woolley went out again on horses on January 26 (fig. 16). On February 15, Ellen Cole wrote:

After breakfast, Wilford takes a ride in the field with Bros. Smith, Woolley, and Davis. I go to the kitchen very early and make pies before breakfast, do some ironing and then go to the feast which is given in honor of Bro. Smith, . . . we attend meeting in afternoon. Bros Smith and Davis are the speakers. They give some very good advice and valuable instructions. The natives come and spend quite a pleasant evening in singing etc.³¹

Judging from Samuel Woolley's diary entries, Joseph F. Smith did not relax or "vacation" while at Laie but was on the go almost daily. He traveled from Laie to Honolulu three different times (figs. 17, 18). The second trip included a visit to Hilo, where he dedicated a meetinghouse on February 8. At the dedication, he spoke in both English and Hawaiian.³² Wherever he went, he was prevailed upon to speak and to give blessings. He also visited a tailor in Honolulu and "was measured for a suit of clothes."³³ During the course of Joseph F. Smith's stay, Woolley accompanied him and kept notes of their activities; he recorded "fine meal" or words to that effect on nine different occasions. As for the health of Sarah Smith, Woolley noted on February 2, "Sister Smith has been poorly all day, is some better tonight."³⁴

President Smith and company's four-week visit to the Laie Plantation came to a close on February 20, 1899. The night before their departure, they attended one last feast, which President Woolley described: "In the evening the people gave a nice feast for the folks, it was very nice. They sang to us until quite late. We blessed quite a lot of people who wished to



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FIG. 17. Joseph F. Smith and Samuel E. Woolley, Honolulu, 1899, possibly at home of President Smith's old Hawaiian "mother," Ma Mahuhii, wife of Manuhii.



FIG. 18. Waiolimu House of Worship (Punchbowl Chapel), Honolulu, 1899. Samuel E. Woolley (wearing dark suit, standing near middle of doorway), Joseph F. Smith (wearing dark suit and hat), and others posed in front of this Latter-day Saint meetinghouse, which was completed in 1888.

have a blessing.”³⁵ President Smith and company departed the next day. President Woolley wrote:

We went on board the *Australia*. There was an awful crowd on, a great many passengers. All had a great many leis. There were a great many natives there to see the people off. They pulled the gangway down at 4:20 and they were sailing out of the harbor at 4:30. Bro. Smith left Alice his daughter with us to see if it will do her good. We will all feel lonesome now after having so many with us for such a long time.³⁶

The SS *Australia* “landed in San Francisco in the afternoon” of January 28, and the Smiths and Davises arrived in Salt Lake City on Sunday,

March 5, 1899, “where he [President Smith] found his family, all well and his brethren very glad to see him.”³⁷

Provenance of the Photographs

The images printed here were found in an unmarked envelope and are part of a larger collection of family portraits and photographs that belonged primarily to Joseph Fielding Smith, Church President and son of Joseph F. Smith. The photographs are unmounted, measure approximately 4" x 5", and are printed on gelatin printing-out paper, indicating the prints were developed by the same person who took the photographs; that is, Hassing did not use a Kodak camera, newly available at that time.³⁸

It is presumed that Hassing made a copy of the Laie prints for Joseph F. Smith. These photographs preserved memories for the Smith family, as well as documented daily life on the Laie Plantation and the development of the Church there.

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1. Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith: Sixth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1938), 304–5.

2. The collection of photographs, PH 5841, consists of a total of thirty-eight images, seventeen of which are featured in this photo document. The collection is housed in Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

3. Samuel Edwin Woolley, *Diaries*, 1880–1915, January 26, 1899, Church Archives.

4. Woolley, *Diaries*, February 3, 1899.

5. Samuel Woolley misspelled Otto Hassing’s name in his journal. Church and other records spell the last name as Hassing, which spelling is used in this article.

6. Ellen Chase Cole, *Journals*, 1898–1901, February 11, 1899, microfilm, Church Archives.

7. Family Search Ancestral File, which source I have used in the text, lists Otto Hassing’s date and place of birth as July 12, 1874, Namsos, Nord-Trøndheim, Norway. Otto Hassing’s Church membership record lists his date and place of birth as July 12, 1875, Tronkjen, Norway. His military service card lists his birth place as Nausas, Norway. The 1900 Census Records list his birth month and year as July 1874.

8. U.S. Census Record, 1900, Salt Lake County, Enumeration District No. 33, Sheet No. 2, Line 68.

9. Hassing married Sarah Elizabeth “Lizzie” Swaner in 1893 in Salt Lake City. Previous to his enlistment, Hassing had been a member of the Utah National Guard.

10. Military Service Card, "Hassing, Otto," Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; Military Service Card, "Silver, Frank J.," Utah State Archives. Silver enlisted on June 29, 1898.

11. Will A. Leatham, "U.S. Volunteer Engineers," in *The History of the Utah Volunteers in the Spanish American War and in the Philippine Islands*, ed. A. Prentiss (Salt Lake City: Tribune Job, 1900), 68–76.

12. Hawaiian Mission Manuscript History, February 7, 1899, Church Archives.

13. Dale L. Berge, "Laie Plantation Sugar Mill (1858–1900): Archaeology and History," in *Mormon History in the Pacific*, proceedings of the seventh annual conference of the Mormon Pacific Historical Society (Laie, Hawaii: Mormon Pacific Historical Society, 1986), 41–52.

14. H. H. Cluff, "Progress of the Work on the Islands of the Sea," *Millennial Star* 34 (December 24, 1872): 826–27.

15. Berge, "Laie Plantation Sugar Mill."

16. Cole, Journals, June 13, 1898.

17. Woolley, Diaries, June 2, 1898.

18. Hawaiian Mission Manuscript History, December 1898.

19. The Coles returned to Nephi, Utah, in September 1901. In May 1903, the Coles were called to go to Iosepa, Utah, and labored for three years among the Hawaiian people living in that settlement. In 1908, the Coles were called on another mission to Hawaii. They left in April 1908, taking their five children with them. Sister Cole returned home in 1915 "for only a visit," after an absence of nearly eight years. She returned to the islands in December 1915, and the Coles remained there for another five years. Ellen Cole returned to Nephi in September 1920 with the couple's seven children. Wilford Cole remained on the islands until April 1922. Wilford and Ellen Cole lived in Nephi until Wilford's death on January 23, 1951. Ellen Cole died in El Cerritos, California, on December 30, 1956.

20. Cole, Journals, June 11, 1898.

21. Hawaiian Mission Missionaries, s.v. "William Williams" and "Elizabeth Williams," Church Archives.

22. Hawaiian Mission Missionaries, s.v. "Martha Jane Musser."

23. Hawaiian Mission Missionaries, s.v. "Clara Hansen" and "Daniel Hansen."

24. Hawaiian Mission Missionaries, s.v. "Margaret Fifield" and "Edwin W. Fifield."

25. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 306. Joseph F. Smith served three missions to Hawaii. At age fifteen, Joseph F. Smith was called on his first mission to what were then called the Sandwich Islands, where he labored for more than three years, 1854–57. He pursued the study of the Hawaiian language with diligence and faith, soon bearing witness "by the gift of God as well as by study," as promised him when he was set apart by Parley P. Pratt. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 164. He returned to Hawaii in March 1864 with Apostles Ezra T. Benson and Lorenzo Snow to regulate the affairs of the Church on the islands. The Apostles soon returned to America, leaving Joseph F. Smith in charge of the mission until his return home in December 1864. His third mission to Hawaii was as mission president, 1885–87, during the time Church leaders went into hiding to escape arrest on polygamy charges. During his years as mission president, Joseph F. Smith would have lived in the old mission home (which was replaced by the Lanihuli House) on the Laie Plantation. See Russell T. Clement, "Apostle in Exile: Joseph F. Smith's Third Mission to Hawaii, 1885–1887," in *Mormon History in the Pacific*, 53–59.

26. The Mission House in Honolulu was a lodging house where newly arrived missionaries and visitors could stay until they journeyed to the plantation.

27. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 306.

28. Ruth Austin, "Our Lei to You: A Biography of Samuel Edwin Woolley," in *Mormon History in the Pacific*, 35–40. Abraham Fernandez was an early convert to the Church, and the Fernandez family opened their home to the missionaries and anyone visiting from Utah.

29. Cole, Journals, January 16–21, 1899.

30. Woolley, Diaries, January 21, 1899.

31. Cole, Journals, February 15, 1899.

32. Woolley, Diaries, February 8, 1899.

33. Woolley, Diaries, February 13, 1899.

34. Woolley, Diaries, February 2, 1899.

35. Woolley, Diaries, February 20, 1899.

36. Woolley, Diaries, February 21, 1899.

37. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 307.

38. See Robert A. Weinstein and Larry Booth, *Collection, Use, and Care of Historical Photographs* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 127.

Lehi's Dream

I sleep to murmur and cracked wheat.
My eyes half-open, kaffiyeh rolled back,
lamp on and trimming, the goats and camels
spin away. My tent door unfolds
onto the valley of Lemuel's venting.
A wind rushes forward, sifts the chaff
of my resistance. I walk on a trail
of yucca and stone. Low clouds cover
the noonday sun, and I keep moving
beside a green river, beside a tar fountain
where men count hooks in their bait,
make nets out of their addictions.
Mothers weep at their children fishing.
People carry dice and chandeliers, shout,
Mint. Manners. Go to the building,
the building, the building. Laman
and Lemuel wander in the wisps of light,
then whirl away. In the fog
I bow my head, taste salt in the air.
The voices rise, my mind pushes on.
Up ahead Sariah and Nephi peel fruit
in a white garden. Sam begins to speak.
The path forges among bellows
and raw meat. I recall the dust
of my gold staircase and hear
a sandal lift from Jerusalem stone.
I gird myself against upheaval,
burrow into frontier religion.

—Mark Bennion

Photographs of the First Mexico and Central America Area Conference, 1972

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and James S. Lambert

As Church membership grew to nearly three million in the early 1970s, the Church faced the challenges of extending contact between General Authorities in Utah and many members who lived far from Church headquarters. While some members in the western United States could tune in to radio or television broadcasts of general conference, hundreds of thousands of Church members worldwide did not have access to the broadcasts.

A woman in Columbus, Ohio, writing of her feelings after Elder Lee's visit there for a stake conference in the late 1960s, expressed the need for Church leaders to reach out to distant members. In a letter to Elder Harold B. Lee, then First Counselor in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, she compared her experience as a Church member to crossing a swinging bridge over an expansive river. The area she must cross between her baptism and eternal life, she wrote, is clouded with uncertainty and doubt, but she does not cross the bridge alone:

This is where the visits of the General Authorities come in. It is as though the force of love calling us becomes vocal and adds impetus to our response to it, as a voice calling to us from farther along the bridge saying, "Have faith; this is the way for I can see ahead." This is what your visit did for many of us and we love you for this. It restored our confidence in the goal by giving us guidance and enabling us to feel the divine Spirit which flowed from our Heavenly Father through you.¹

In 1971, Church leaders took an important step toward bridging the distance of a worldwide Church with the first area conference in Manchester, England. After the success of that conference, the First Presidency



FIG. 1. J. M. Heslop, 1977. Heslop began his career as a combat photographer in World War II. As an editor for the *Church News* in 1972, he traveled to villages near Mexico City to photograph local Church members, giving us a candid view of their daily activities and living conditions. The Harold B. Lee Library contains several thousand photographs spanning his career with the military, the *Deseret News*, and the *Church News*. Heslop is now retired and lives in Salt Lake City with his wife, Fay. Courtesy J. M. Heslop Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

chose Mexico City as the location of the next area conference, to be held August 25–27, 1972, for the approximately 115,000 members in Mexico and Central America.²

The photographs in this article, previously unpublished, depict this first area conference in the New World and some of the people who might have attended it.

Members in Mexico, 1972

J. M. Heslop (fig. 1), the photographer who took these photographs, was the editor of the *Church News* at the time. Heslop customarily traveled before and after the events that he covered for the *Church News* in order to generate stories about those areas. Before the conference in Mexico, he traveled with the full-time missionaries to small towns around Mexico City to photograph the living conditions of the members who would be attending the conference. The first three photographs were taken by Heslop in his travels to San Pedro and Conejos, villages south of Mexico City. These towns were representative of small branches of the Church that might benefit greatly from the conference. The little Latter-day Saint

chapel in Conejos pictured in figure 2 apparently served as a site for secular as well as sacred activity; here a man is selling produce in front of the building.

The two other photographs Heslop took of the rural Mexican members in 1972 are of San Pedro. The first (fig. 3) shows some members of the branch in San Pedro gathering at the town water pump. Heslop was eager to convey the undeveloped nature of the small towns in which he found the Church members. This photograph clearly shows the poverty of many of

FIG. 2. A fruit vendor sells his wares in front of the Conejos, Mexico, branch chapel in 1972. This chapel had a dirt floor, recently swept by the women shown in the background. Photographer J. M. Heslop traveled in the villages near Mexico City before and after the area conference, documenting the lives of Church members who might benefit from the conference.



Courtesy J. M. Heslop Collection, BYU.



Courtesy J. M. Heslop Collection, BYU.

FIG. 3. San Pedro, Mexico, 1972. The San Pedro Relief Society presidency (Sylvestra Martinez, Ofelia Gutierrez, and Emilia Sanchez) fill their buckets at the town pump.



FIG. 4. José Guzmán Aguilar, 1972, San Pedro, Mexico. Brother Guzmán Aguilar was eighty-three years old and had been a member of the Church for thirty years at the time of this photograph.

the members who eagerly anticipated hearing and seeing the prophet in person. The subject of the last photograph (fig. 4) is José Guzmán Aguilar, eighty-three years old, a faithful member of the Church for thirty years. Guzmán Aguilar died almost exactly a year after the conference.

The Area Conference

In March 1972, the Church was growing rapidly in Latin America. From 1963 to 1972, membership had grown from 26,000 to almost 83,000 in Mexico and from 14,000 to more than 32,000 in Central America.³

While the quantity of members was impressive, President Lee noted their quality as well in a press release to Mexico:

For nearly thirty years I have been visiting the great Republic of Mexico to join with my fellow members. . . . Every time I come to this republic I am touched by the deep faith, the dedication, and warm friendliness of the Mexican people. They are a choice people. There is in Mexico and Central America a super-abundance of the blood of Israel.⁴

This faith and dedication shows in the enthusiasm of the Mexican Saints for the area conference: “*Es un sueño*” (“It is a dream”), exclaimed one member upon arriving at the conference in Mexico City.⁵ Another member said, “It is more than we would have imagined possible—a conference in our own land.”⁶ Almost 17,000 members attended the three-day conference in the Auditorio Nacional in Chapultepec Park in Mexico City, some coming from as far as Central America.⁷ Members gathered from “the deserts and industrial cities of the north, from the small *pueblitos* of the east and west, and from the tropical coastlines and mountainous areas of the south that stretch throughout Central America.”⁸ Twenty-two members came from Panama and Costa Rica, making the two-week round trip to Mexico City, which cost two to three months’ salary. These sacrifices were typical of the members in the outlying areas, who sold food, performed manual labor, and even sold land to pay for the trip.

The conference began with an activities program on Friday night in which 764 members from all over Mexico, who had been rehearsing for months preceding the conference, performed regional song and dance numbers. A large map of Mexico was displayed, and the region where each performance originated was lighted as the group performed.⁹ The photograph of the dancers (fig. 5) illustrates one of the performances at the Friday night presentation; the dancers themselves made their elaborate costumes for the event. The Friday night program was attended by some 15,000 people



Courtesy J. M. Heslop Collection, BYU.

FIG. 5. Members of the Church demonstrate traditional regional dress and dance at the opening festivities of the Mexico City area conference, 1972. At great personal expense, the members made their own costumes for these performances.



Courtesy J. M. Heslop Collection, BYU.

FIG. 6. President and Sister Lee arrive at the Mexico City airport for the area conference, August 26, 1972.

and was highlighted by a special performance of an old Mexican folk song, “Las Golondrinas,” sung by all the participants.¹⁰ Every report of the conference, including stories in the *Church News* and the *Ensign* as well as the conference report itself, remarked that the Friday night program was unforgettable in its spirit of celebration, sacrifice, and appreciation of traditional folk culture.

Due to pressing assignments in Salt Lake City, President Lee was not able to attend the Friday night festivities; he arrived with his wife, Freda Joan Jensen Lee, on Saturday afternoon just before the first official sessions of the conference (fig. 6).¹¹ The couple were able to attend both the Saturday evening priesthood and women’s sessions of conference.

The last photograph (fig. 7) emphasizes the celebratory colors of the conference scene. At that time, the Auditorio Nacional¹² allowed users to modify and decorate the stage to meet their needs. Accordingly, the Saints constructed and chose the color scheme for the choir stand and the apron (the projecting stage). Customized color celebrating the conference is further evidenced by the choir’s yellow handmade robes, made specifically for the conference. The 307-voice chorus from the Mexico City stakes had sacrificed to pay for their outfits, selling possessions and, when possible, setting other money aside. (Although the red hymnals contribute to the color of the opening session, they were the standard color of the Church’s Spanish hymnbook.¹³) The conference was unique in its enthusiastic and colorful presentation.

Provenance of the Photographs

The photographs remained in the possession of the photographer, J. M.



FIG. 7. Church leaders, the choir, and the congregation assemble in the Auditorio Nacional, Mexico City, August 1972. Mexican Saints chose the colors for the choir stand and the stage apron; the 307 members of the choir paid for their handmade robes. The choir sang “I Know My Heavenly Father Knows” (a hymn not found in contemporary hymn books), “Abide with Me, ’Tis Eventide,” “How Firm a Foundation” (with the congregation), and “I Need Thee Every Hour.” Those officiating at the conference and seated on the stand included local stake presidents, bishops, Regional Representatives, and General Authorities.

Heslop, until he donated them to the L. Tom Perry Special Collections of the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University under the care of Thomas R. Wells. The Heslop collection is significant because it reverses a lamentable trend of ignoring the archival preservation of twentieth-century photographs. Historians and archivists have concentrated their efforts on the first seventy-five years of Mormonism, in part because these early images are rare and highly prized. Collecting, identifying, and preserving these older images has required a tremendous effort by individuals and institutions with a vision of the images' historical importance.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the later images have been largely neglected by historians, with a few exceptions such as Thomas G. Alexander, Richard O. Cowan, and Robert L. Freeman. As a result, the effort to document later generations has largely been left to family organizations and individuals. The images that have highlighted articles and books dealing with the twentieth century are often borrowed for reproduction and then returned to the owner without suitable copies being made for preservation. We have lost a whole generation of important images. This collection is a major step in reversing this process.

A First for Many: Looking Back on the Conference

The Mexico and Central America Area Conference of 1972 marked a turning point in the history of the Church in these areas. Since then, the membership of the Church has grown so significantly that there are twelve operating temples in Mexico alone, whereas there were no temples in all of Latin America in 1972.¹⁵

This area conference proved to be a first in many ways: the first area conference in North America, the first conference conducted in Spanish, and the first major Church gathering in Latin America. However, perhaps the most truly remarkable aspect of the area conference in Mexico City shows in the five photographs displayed here: Church members in Mexico and Central America who are strong and faithful despite their poverty.

In his closing remarks at the conference, President Lee quoted the letter in which the woman from Ohio compared life to crossing a dangerous bridge. The 1972 Mexico City conference was an important step ahead on the bridge for the worldwide Church, helping many deserving Latin American Church members on their journey.

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1. Harold B. Lee, in *Conference Report of the First Mexico and Central America Area General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1973), 151.

2. Harold B. Lee, "Remarks for the Media by President Harold B. Lee, World President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 1972, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 1972; L. Brent Goates, *Harold B. Lee: Prophet and Seer* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 471.

3. Harold B. Lee, "Remarks for the Media."

4. Harold B. Lee, "Remarks for the Media."

5. Jay M. Todd, "The Remarkable Mexico City Area Conference," *Ensign* 2 (November 1972): 89.

6. Jay M. Todd, "Remarkable Mexico City Area Conference," 89.

7. J. M. Heslop, "Spirituality Themes Conference," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, September 2, 1972, 3.

8. Jay M. Todd, "Remarkable Mexico City Area Conference," 89.

9. *Conference Report*, 3.

10. Jay M. Todd, "The Remarkable Mexico City Area Conference," 91; *Conference Report*, 3.

11. Brent Goates, son-in-law of President Harold B. Lee, telephone conversations with Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, February 2003. Goates kindly examined the diaries of President Lee to determine why the President arrived in Mexico City on Saturday rather than Friday.

12. Auditorio Nacional website, "Historia del auditorio," www.auditorio.com.mx/historia.php, February 28, 2003.

13. Jennifer St. Clair, reference librarian, Family and Church History Department, telephone conversation with James S. Lambert, January 23, 2003.

14. The stories of Charles R. Savage and Charles Carter's pioneering effort to capture and preserve the early period of Mormon history are highlighted in Nelson B. Wadsworth, *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Mormons, the West, and Their Photographers* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996). At the dawn of the twentieth century, other important photographers, such as George Edward Anderson and Charles Ellis Johnson, continued recording Church history and life. Their work, including the original glass plate negatives, was preserved by the same kind of visionary efforts; see Wadsworth, *Set in Stone*, 173–230, 271–318.

15. Richard Cowan, *A Latter-day Saint Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 29.

Exodus

We drift apart like continents.
Our shores rearrange
themselves in awkward lines,
successive drafts in
the revision of the world
we made for ourselves.
My mother drew maps
for sixteen years, holding
a magnifying glass in one hand
and with the other tracing
the signatures of the planet,
rivers and railroads,
highways and city limits.
Now I can only imagine her hand
brushing the erasures of
our landscape, smoothing
the fault lines between us
just as she smoothed the pages
of her bible every night,
leafing through them by
the moon at her nightstand.
I think she would understand
when I say that this parting
is our Red Sea, the open gate
to a wilderness we might walk
forty years without a map,
every inch at least a mile.
Like Israelites we will wander
the counties just outside
the promised land, all the while
asking what pillar of smoke led us here,
how a rose can blossom into desert,
or why we must be chosen
but still lost.

—Michael Hicks

This poem won third place in the *BYU Studies*
2001 poetry contest.

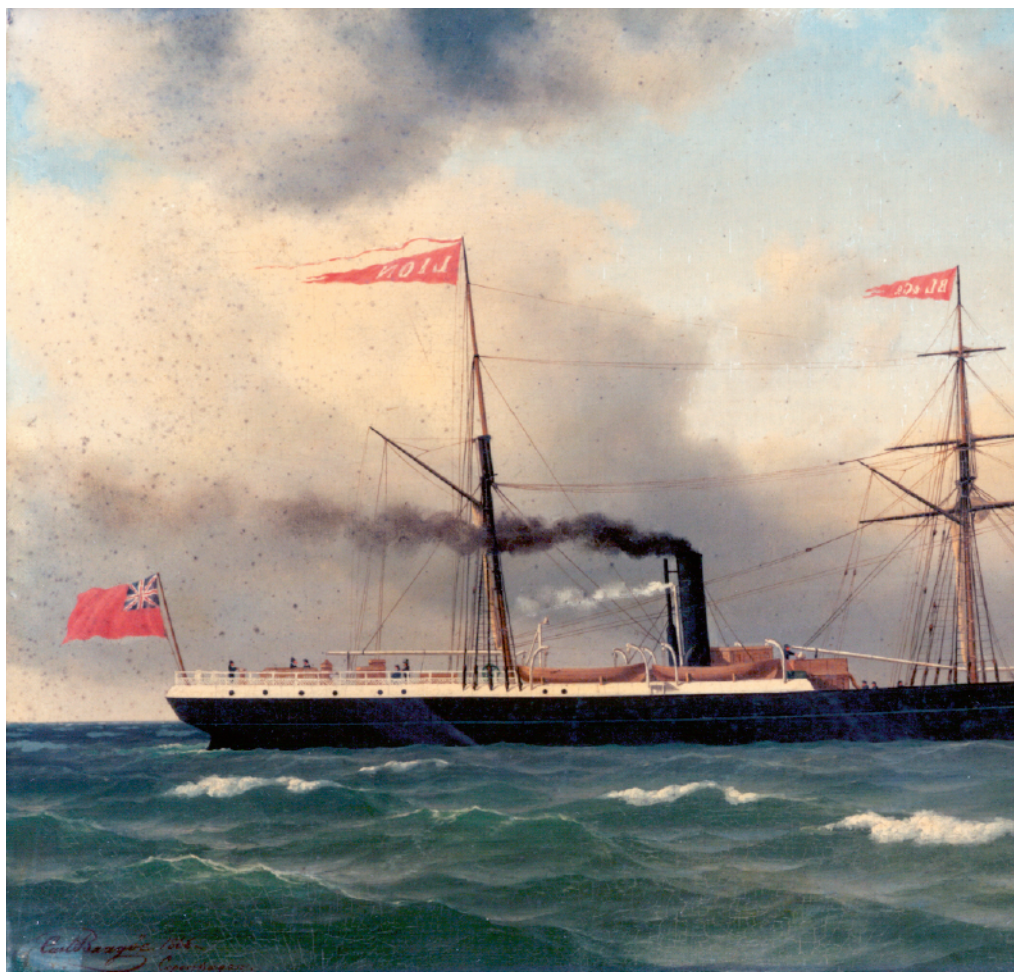
Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Migration through Hull, England, 1852–1894

Fred E. Woods and Nicholas J. Evans

Nearly one hundred thousand Latter-day Saints made the journey across the Atlantic during the nineteenth century. Both contemporary commentators and Mormon historians alike have described these ocean crossings extensively. Yet the journey from Liverpool to America was but one segment in the much longer gathering process for over twenty-four thousand Scandinavian Mormons who migrated to Utah during this period. Scandinavians represented the second-largest ethnic group of Saints gathering to Zion between 1852 and 1894. During these years, nearly two hundred vessels carrying Latter-day Saints (fig. 1) left Scandinavia bound for Hull, an important port on the east coast of England.¹ The emigrants then made the overland railway crossing from Hull to Liverpool, where the headquarters of the British and European Missions were situated.² Only once they had completed the journey to Liverpool could the transatlantic crossing commence. Our study of the migrant journeys made during these years seeks to explain the patterns of migration along established trade routes through the British port of Hull.

The Call to Gather and the Founding of the Hull Conference

Less than six months after the founding of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Prophet Joseph Smith announced that he had received a revelation calling for a gathering of the Saints: “And ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect; . . . they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land” (D&C 29:7–8). Latter-day Saint immigration to America commenced a decade later when the Latter-day Saint missionaries who had first arrived in Britain in 1837 reaped a rich harvest of converts in the British Isles.³



During this period, 1837–41, the missionaries baptized thousands throughout Great Britain, necessitating the organization of various conferences (ecclesiastical units). Each conference comprised several branches (smaller ecclesiastical units). Among the larger units was the Hull Conference, established in 1843.⁴ By December 1847, its membership had reached 65, “including 1 high priest, 3 elders, 5 priests, 3 teachers, and 2 deacons.”⁵ Eight months later, the conference had reportedly increased to 163.⁶ By 1851, the Hull Conference had grown to 318 members.⁷ By the mid-nineteenth century, the Latter-day Saints in the Hull region were in a position not only to observe and proselytize the inhabitants of England’s third largest port but also to offer support to their fellow Saints who were immigrating through the port en route to America.



FIG. 1. *SS Lion*, by Carl Baargoe. Oil on canvas. Hull Maritime Museum: Hull City Museum and Art Gallery. Used by permission. The *SS Lion* transported the first large company of Scandinavian Latter-day Saints that migrated through Hull across the North Sea in December 1852. Built at Hull in 1841, the *SS Lion* was two hundred feet in length and 627 gross tons. Although the ship derived most of its income through the shipment of goods across the North Sea, the owners supplemented the ship's income through the transportation of passengers of all classes. Migrants would have been transported in third-class quarters in the 'tween deck (the area just below the main deck of the ship).

Hull as a Way Station for Converts in Eastern England

The first known Saints who migrated to America through Hull were a group of five families from the Louth Branch in Lincolnshire (then part of the Hull Conference).⁸ The members of this group made their way through Hull before traveling by rail to Liverpool and then crossing the Atlantic en route to Utah via New Orleans.⁹ One teenage member of the group recalled:

On the 16th of January, 1849, we left Louth by the morning train and although it was quite early in the morning, the station house was crowded with our friends and associates who were there to say farewell. . . . The departure of these leading families of the Louth Branch left it in a disorganized condition, from which it has not since recovered.

Our journey from Louth to Hull on the 16th, and from Hull to Liverpool on the 17th of January was full of interest to me, a boy of 16 years of age, when I could appreciate to some extent the many strange, interesting, and delightful scenes we witnessed.¹⁰

The use of the port of Hull as an entrepôt for gathering Saints increased as rates of conversion in the hinterlands of Hull, the East Riding of Yorkshire, and nearby North Lincolnshire accelerated. But Hull and its surrounding region would never harvest the large numbers of converts that the West Yorkshire and Lancastrian towns yielded.¹¹ In this aspect, Hull would remain a relatively insignificant branch of the Church throughout the 1840s. Hull's important role in Latter-day Saint history grew not from the region's harvested souls but through the large numbers of Latter-day Saint emigrants who migrated through the port en route to Utah. Hull's location as a harbor with railway access to Liverpool allowed the Church an economically feasible yet quick option in assisting the newly converted migrants who passed through the port each year.

Early History of the Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Mission

Having already established a secure foothold in Britain, the Church began planning to expand missionary work into parts of mainland Europe. The funds needed for missionary work and for helping converts migrate came from the trade generated by prospectors passing through Utah in 1849.¹² During the same year, King Frederick VII of Denmark signed a new constitution, which granted religious toleration to its citizens and enabled the Danes—who were the largest portion of Scandinavian Latter-day Saint converts—the opportunity to hear the restored gospel.¹³

Four months after this declaration of religious tolerance, the fall general conference saw several Mormon elders called to various missions on October 6–7, 1849.¹⁴ Among them was Elder Erastus Snow, called to Denmark, with Elders Peter O. Hansen and John E. Forsgren called to work under his direction in Denmark and Sweden.¹⁵ Hasty preparations were made for the missionaries' late-season journey across America. They left their wives and children to perform the household chores and prepare for the crop harvest, while they departed to Europe to harvest souls.

On October 19, 1849, the missionaries gathered east of the Salt Lake Valley "at the mouth of Emigration Canyon," where they were met by Brigham Young, who bade farewell to a company consisting of "twelve wagons, forty-two horses and mules, one carriage, and thirty-five men." By December 7, 1849, despite terrible mountain snowstorms, they reached the Missouri River and were warmly greeted by friends at Kanesville, Iowa.

From Kanesville, the missionaries took different routes and visited local groups of Saints in the cities they passed through, such as St. Louis, New Orleans, and Boston. They preached the gathering and received liberal contributions to their missions in each of the places they visited.¹⁶ In spring 1850, they finally set sail for Liverpool.¹⁷

Once in Britain, the three elders traveled extensively, preached to local Saints, and received much-needed financial assistance for their forthcoming missionary work in Scandinavia. They added to their number George Parker Dykes, a Latter-day Saint missionary already serving in Britain who had earlier ministered among Norwegian immigrants in Illinois. Peter O. Hansen “proceeded alone to his native land, Denmark,” arriving in Copenhagen on May 11, 1850.¹⁸ The others followed from Hull on June 14, on board the steamer *Victoria*.¹⁹ Once the missionaries were reunited, their important work could commence, and they began to introduce the gospel in Scandinavia.

During the earliest days of the Scandinavian Mission, Elder Snow (who served as Scandinavian Mission president) urged postponing baptisms until converts had thoroughly investigated the Church. The Lord, however, warned him in a dream to move ahead with baptisms. As a result, the first fifteen Danish Latter-day Saint converts were baptized on August 12, 1850, just two months after the missionaries arrived in Copenhagen.²⁰ The first fruits of preaching the restored gospel in Denmark were now realized, and the first Danish branch was organized in Copenhagen on September 15, 1850.²¹

Just as in America in the 1830s and then Britain in the late 1830s and 40s, the early successes of missionary work enabled the mission to spread. The Scandinavian Mission expanded throughout Denmark and then to Sweden and Norway. Though the Latter-day Saint missionaries encountered difficulties throughout Scandinavia, they successfully established branches of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in each of the countries that they visited. As the Scandinavian Mission grew, the need to organize the gathering escalated.

The Beginnings of Latter-day Saint Scandinavian Emigration

Each Scandinavian convert represented a potential emigrant. Between 1850 and 1905, just under 49 percent of the Scandinavian converts emigrated²² (fig. 2). Unlike the British emigrants from Liverpool, no Scandinavian convert would travel a direct course to America but instead made a “series of journeys.”²³ As William Mulder explained:

Going to America involved a whole series of journeys. The proselytes first had to make their way to Copenhagen [the] main assembly point. . . .

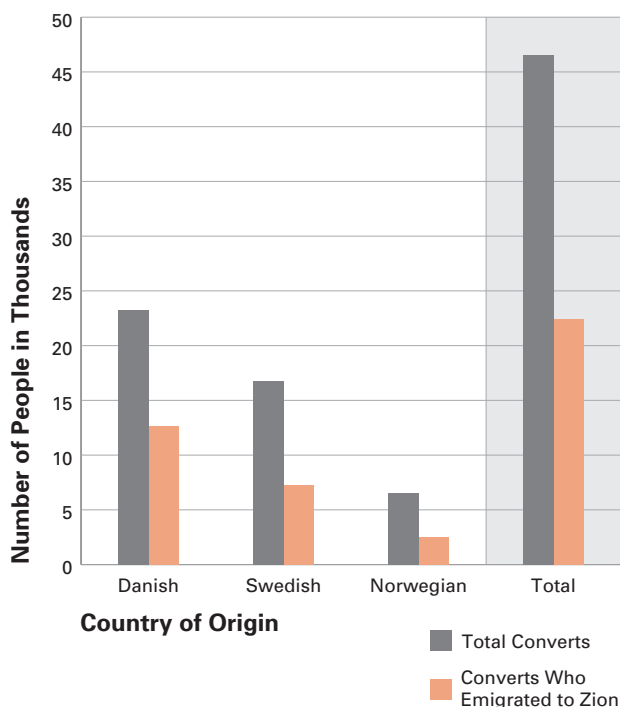


FIG. 2. Scandinavian converts and emigrants, 1850–1905. Information taken from William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957; reprinted, Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2000), 107.

From Copenhagen they took a steamer to Kiel or Lübeck on the German portion of the peninsula, continuing by rail to Altona, within walking distance of Hamburg, or Glückstadt, a little farther down the Elbe. Except for the years 1862, 1865, and 1866, when parties went directly from Hamburg to America, the emigrants moved straight across the North Sea to Grimsby or Hull and entrained for Liverpool along with whatever Norwegian Saints had come directly from Christiania or Stavanger.²⁴

The First Scandinavian Migrants. The first Mormon Scandinavian migrants, consisting of a small group of nine converts, left Copenhagen on January 31, 1852, and traveled to Liverpool via Hamburg and London. They arrived on February 7, too late for the voyage of the *Ellen Maria*, and so had to wait over a month in Liverpool for the chance to leave on another Latter-day Saint–chartered vessel.²⁵ During this time, Elder Erastus Snow arrived

from Copenhagen with another group of nineteen Scandinavian converts. The combined group of twenty-eight emigrants left Liverpool on the ship *Italy* on March 11, 1852, in the care of Ole U. C. Münster.²⁶

With the first group of converts now sailing to Zion, the Scandinavian Mission commenced arrangements for the transportation of future emigrating companies along the migrant route (via Hull and Liverpool) used by thousands of non-Latter-day Saint European emigrants. As historian Phillip A. M. Taylor noted:

In 1852, Appleton Harmon made enquiries about the cost of bringing over the very first company of Scandinavian Mormons. He found that Gee and Company of Hull would charge a guinea a head from Copenhagen for deck or steerage passage, or would provide a whole ship for three or four hundred people, at £1. 10.[s] *od.* each [per shipload].²⁷

Many steamship operators of the time were willing to transport passengers on the routes their ships plied regularly, but transporting the large companies of emigrating Saints necessitated special arrangements between the shipping agent and the mission leaders. Furthermore, the leaders of the Scandinavian Mission in Copenhagen and the British Mission in Liverpool sought to charter such vessels for their exclusive use, enabling the allocation of more space (per passenger) than was normally provided for third-class passengers traveling during this period.²⁸

Such arrangements required careful negotiation, but the business was competitive. By fall 1852, Morris and Company of Hamburg had outbid the competing companies and accordingly received the contract to carry the first large company, the John Forsgren Company, of Scandinavian Latter-day Saint converts from Copenhagen, through various cities and finally to New Orleans.²⁹ With this contract in place, the emigration of Latter-day Saint converts commenced en masse. Each group of emigrating Saints gathered in Copenhagen, then traveled to Hamburg or Glückstadt, before journeying to Liverpool via Hull or Grimsby.³⁰

The John Forsgren Company. The first large company of Mormon Scandinavians to embark from Copenhagen—led by Elder John E. Forsgren, one of the original four missionaries sent to Scandinavia—consisted of “199 adults and 95 children under [the age of] twelve.”³¹ These Latter-day Saint converts voyaged from Copenhagen to Kiel, Germany, on the steamer *Obotrit*. After taking a train to Hamburg, they voyaged down the Elbe River and into the North Sea on the *Lion* (see fig. 1). Here they abruptly encountered the most difficult part of their journey westward when a terrible winter storm enveloped them in the night. One Danish Saint wrote in his journal on Sunday, December 26, 1852: “Toward midnight



European cities associated with Scandinavian migration, 1852–1894

a terrific storm arose and the great waves broke over the ship in quick succession, and frequently the water poured down upon us in the hold.”³² The “Manuscript History of the John H. Forsgren Emigrating Company” entry for Tuesday, December 28, verifies this event:

After sailing all of Sunday and Monday, and most of today we arrived through the grace and kindness of God at Hull, England, at 5 o’clock in the evening. We had come through a storm the like of which the captain of the ship said he had never been out in. Some of the ship’s cargo was ruined, and the wind was so strong that our clothes were nearly blown overboard. The Lord helped and strengthened all of us both in body and soul so that we could continue our journey without delay.³³

The hurricane conditions experienced on this North Sea crossing were some of the worst in the area for over thirteen years. The local press described the storm and its aftermath: “On Saturday, Sunday, and Monday last, this island was visited by terrific gales of wind, approaching, in fact, to a perfect hurricane. As a matter of course, the wrecks upon our coast have been frightfully numerous, and, what is still worse, they have been accompanied



FIG. 3. *Hull from the Humber* (detail), by John Ward (1798–1849). Oil on canvas, 48.3 cm x 91.4 cm, ca. 1837. Ferens Art Gallery: Hull City Museums and Art Gallery. Used by permission. This rendering of the Hull waterfront about 1837 would have been one of the first views Latter-day Saint pioneers saw of the port of Hull. The Trinity House yacht *Zephyr* is moored in front of the ferryboat pier.

with a shocking loss of human life.”³⁴ The John Forsgren Company suffered no loss of life and landed at the Steam Packet Wharf in Hull on Tuesday, December 28, where they were met by Richard Cortis, one of Hull’s emigration agents³⁵ (fig. 3).

On the morning of Wednesday, December 29, 1852, having stayed overnight in a nearby lodging house, the migrants made the one-and-a-half-mile journey on foot to the Paragon Railway Station.³⁶ From this station, the Scandinavian Saints traveled on a specially chartered train that took them all the way to Liverpool. There, the Forsgren Company remained in another lodging house while awaiting their departure on the *Forest Monarch*, which sailed on January 16, 1853, with 297 Saints on board.³⁷

The migration route of the Forsgren Company from Copenhagen to Liverpool (via Hull) established the primary pattern that would be followed by Scandinavian converts for the subsequent forty-one years. Though 3,175 immigrating Saints would arrive in Liverpool via Grimsby, 4 via Newcastle, and 9 via London, it would be Hull that received most of the Saints destined for Utah, with 21,243 (87 percent) arriving there between 1852 and 1894.³⁸

Trade Agreements and Migration through Hull

The Latter-day Saint Scandinavians who emigrated between 1852 and 1894 represent only a small fraction of the many Europeans who migrated

to America. Between 1836 and 1914, an estimated thirty million Europeans immigrated to the United States.³⁹ About four million of these migrated through the United Kingdom “via the eastern ports of Harwich, Hull, Grimsby, Leith, London, Newcastle and West Hartlepool.” Having arrived at an east coast port, the “transmigrants were then transported by train to the ports of Glasgow, Liverpool, London, and Southampton.”⁴⁰ Even though London was used as the primary port of entry for European immigrants who settled in Great Britain, the ports of Hull and Grimsby were used by about three million (75 percent) of the European migrants destined for America and Canada because the distance between the River Humber and Liverpool by rail was the shortest. Of these migrants, about 2.2 million (73 percent) favored Hull over Grimsby.

British ship owners, and later the railway companies, developed an effective system of organization for migrant shipping. As steamships replaced sailing vessels, trade agreements between steamship companies and rail operators became stronger, led by the Wilson shipping line of Hull, the North Eastern Railway, and (later) the Guion shipping line of Liverpool. Trade agreements between shipping and railway operators were essential because they enabled the British operators to lower the price of direct migration. Cheap, safe, and reliable travel encouraged millions of Europeans to travel via Britain.

Morris and Company. From 1852 to 1869, Morris and Company provided good service for the European Latter-day Saint migrants. Although Morris and Company chartered only sailing vessels to transport Saints on the Atlantic crossing from Liverpool, they were able to use the steamers of the Wilson Line, owned by the Hull-based Thomas Wilson (fig. 4), Sons and Company and other North Sea operators, on the North Sea crossing.⁴¹ The success of the Wilson Line’s passenger operations was based upon its ability to supply Liverpool shipping operators with the large numbers of third-class passengers needed to fill the vessels that ferried passengers across the North Atlantic. But beginning in 1867, Morris and Company gradually lost the “Mormon Contract” to transport Saints to Zion when the Guion Line began transporting Saints across the North Atlantic on steamships instead of sailing vessels. After three sailing vessels (probably belonging to Morris and Company) of Latter-day Saint immigrants were sent the following year (1868), an agreement was made between the Church and the Guion Line to transport the remaining Mormon migrants for the remainder of the year.⁴²

The Guion and Wilson Lines. The Guion Line’s steamships drastically reduced the time involved in gathering to Zion, shortening the length of the

Atlantic crossing from 32–36 days to 10–16 days.⁴³ Although the Mormons contracted solely with the Guion Line for the transport of all their European converts, the Liverpool-based company subcontracted the Wilson Line to carry the European converts across the North Sea to Hull (as the Wilson Line had successfully done for Morris and Company). After the Church signed a new emigrant contract with Guion for a company traveling in 1869, Mormon converts traveled on a Wilson Line steamer to Hull (fig. 5) and journeyed across England to Liverpool by the North Eastern Railway's trains before they were allocated a berth on a steamship of the Guion Line for their transatlantic passage. This integrated service utilized the successful operations of large-scale transport companies on chartered (not scheduled) services and demonstrated how organized groups could form successful partnerships that were beneficial to all parties concerned. In addition, organized groups, such as the Mormons, were able to obtain a reduction in price by purchasing their tickets in bulk.

On May 13, 1869, George Ramsden, agent of the Guion Line, met with British Mission President Albert Carrington in Liverpool to arrange transatlantic transport for a company of Mormon converts aboard the *Minnesota*.⁴⁴ According to their plan, the Saints boarded the *Minnesota* in Liverpool on June 1, 1869. The British Mission history records:

On their arrival on board they were provided with tea, and everything was done by the manager, Mr. G. Ramsden, for the comfort of the Saints. They had the best part of the steamer entirely for themselves and could use the aft part of the ship in common with the cabin passengers.⁴⁵

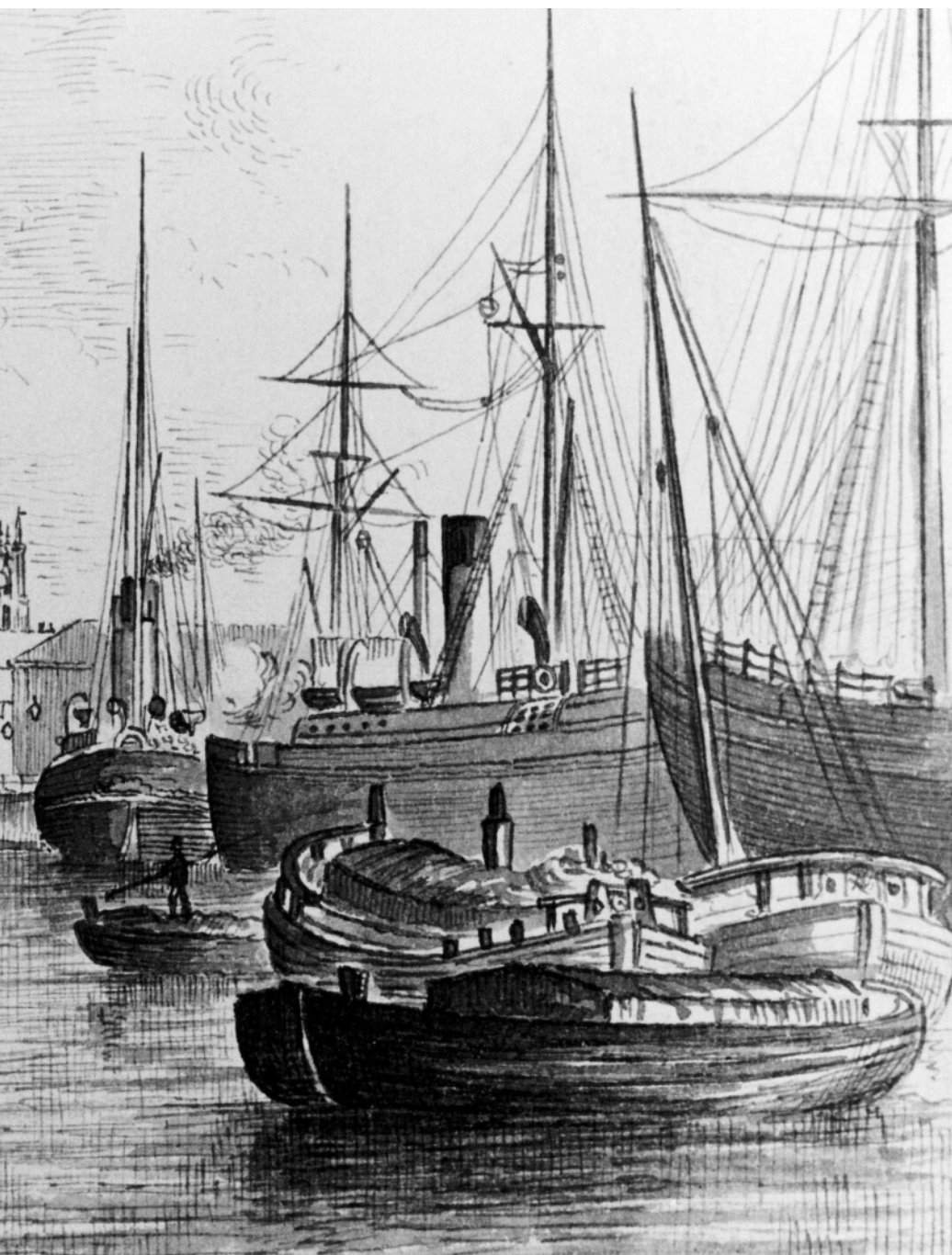
The successful partnership between the Church and the Guion line lasted for a quarter of a century (1869–94). The relationship of Guion agent



FIG. 4. *Portrait of Thomas Wilson, Founder of the Wilson Line*, by William Hill. Engraving on paper. Hull Maritime Museum: Hull City Museum and Art Gallery. Used by permission. Thomas Wilson (1792–1869) was the founder of the Wilson line. This Hull-based company came to dominate the North Sea migrant trade and transported the majority of Scandinavian Saints to Britain.



FIG. 5. *The Railway Dock*, by F. S. Smith (1860–1925). Watercolor on paper, ca. 1885. Wilberforce House: Hull City Museums and Art Gallery. The Railway Dock, so called because Hull's first railway station was located nearby, opened in 1846. Shipping lines such as the Wilson Line built their warehouses around the dock to facilitate the speedy movement of goods from ship to shore (and vice versa). Between 1864 and 1894, nearly all the vessels carrying Latter-day



Courtesy Hull Museums, UK

Saint Scandinavian emigrants to Britain landed via the Railway Dock, as the Wilson Line's vessels carried commercial goods that needed to be unloaded as soon as the vessel moored at its berth. The emigrants then made a one-mile journey to the Paragon railway station before boarding the train for Liverpool.

George Ramsden with the Mormons was extraordinary. In praise of the trust Ramsden enjoyed with the Saints, British Mission President Anthon H. Lund pointed out that Ramsden worked for decades with the Church without a written contract.⁴⁶

For its part, the Wilson Line provided a standard of steamer that surpassed most of its North Sea rivals.⁴⁷ The Guion Line (fig. 6), for its agreed responsibilities, hired the services of Charles Maples, a Hull-based emigration agent, who met the migrants on arrival in port and escorted them safely to the railway station.⁴⁸ Maples, like his counter-

parts at Liverpool, was noted by Latter-day Saint migrants for the help he provided in assisting the foreign converts en route to Liverpool.⁴⁹


Not only did the Saints receive a good standard of service from these shipping lines, but they were also assisted by their fellow Saints en route. Scandinavian Saint Peter O. Hansen noted on arrival at Hull in 1855 that the company he traveled with was “very kindly greeted by the Hull Saints.”⁵⁰ Four years later, another Mormon migrant wrote: “At the landing place, 18 brethren and sisters picked us up, who accompanied us to our inn where they entertained us greatly with their song.”⁵¹

Those who could not afford to emigrate often sought assistance through the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, a revolving fund

Telegraphic Address: "ATALANTA, LIVERPOOL."

GUION LINE

ROYAL & UNITED STATES MAIL STEAMERS TO NEW YORK.



TO NEW YORK		TO LONDON		TO LONDON	
ALASKA	Dec. 11th	WYOMING	Jan. 15th	WYOMING	Feb. 19th
ARIZONA	Dec. 11th	ARIZONA	Jan. 22nd	ARIZONA	Feb. 26th
NEVADA	Dec. 23rd	NEVADA	Jan. 29th	NEVADA	Mar. 5th
WISCONSIN	Jan. 1st	WISCONSIN	Feb. 5th	WISCONSIN	Mar. 12th
ALASKA	Jan. 8th	ALASKA	Feb. 12th	ALASKA	Mar. 19th

Intended Sailings from LIVERPOOL to NEW YORK

TO NEW YORK		TO LONDON		TO LONDON	
ALASKA	Dec. 4th	WYOMING	Jan. 15th	WYOMING	Feb. 19th
WYOMING	Dec. 11th	ARIZONA	Jan. 22nd	ARIZONA	Feb. 26th
ARIZONA	Dec. 11th	NEVADA	Jan. 29th	NEVADA	Mar. 5th
NEVADA	Dec. 23rd	WISCONSIN	Feb. 5th	WISCONSIN	Mar. 12th
WISCONSIN	Jan. 1st	ALASKA	Feb. 12th	ALASKA	Mar. 19th

CALLING AT QUEENSTOWN ON THE FOLLOWING DAY

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SALOON PASSENGERS from Liverpool on Greenhowers, 30 Pounds to 50 Pounds each berth, according to the size, situation, and commodiousness of the State-rooms occupied, all having the same privileges in the Saloon. Children under 12 years, Half-fare; Infants Free.

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LUGGAGE of which to make free for each Adult is allowed free will go on board with the Passengers in the Trunk that leaves the Landing Stage for the Steamer on the day of sailing.

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FIG. 6. Guion Line advertisement, 1886–87. Beginning in 1867, the Church used the Guion Line to transport emigrants to the United States. This advertisement, claiming “the safest route to New York,” lists the sailing dates of various ships leaving Liverpool.

that assisted Saints migrating to Utah. Others sold their goods in order to pay for the cost of the long journey westward. Unlike previously used shipping lines, the Wilson Line offered services from numerous ports in Europe. Eventually a system was established in which Saints would journey to Hull from their local port in Norway, Sweden, or Denmark without having always to gather at the Scandinavian Mission headquarters in Copenhagen. Although this system increased the number of European ports from which the Saints could embark, Wilson's base in Hull ensured that Grimsby would no longer be used by the Saints as a port of entry into Britain. Hull would now monopolize the Latter-day Saint migrant trade to Liverpool as Copenhagen once had. Hull would retain this role until 1894, when the Guion Line folded.

The Rail Journey from Hull to Liverpool

From Hull, the Latter-day Saint migrants traveled by train to Liverpool. A fifteen-year-old Mormon convert who traveled in 1888 described the train:

The passenger trains were different then any I had seen before. The coaches were divided into compartments that would accommodate from 6 to eight passengers; they would be locked in. A running board on the outside of the train that the conductor used to go from compartment through the whole train. I thought it a practical way to check all passengers with out disturbing those already checked.⁵²

Rail services from Hull to Liverpool had been established in 1840 when the rail line between Liverpool and Selby was extended all the way to Hull.⁵³ The North Eastern Railway, which took over control of this route in 1851, chartered trains from Hull to Liverpool for emigrants when trade necessitated. As the scale of the migration grew, so the facilities improved. An emigrant waiting room was provided at the Paragon Railway Station in Hull from 1871 and extended in 1881 (fig. 7). It provided the migrants with a warm room, limited washing facilities, and seats to rest on while waiting for the train tickets for their railway journey across the Pennines to Liverpool.⁵⁴ The journey to Liverpool lasted up to six hours.

The rail route out of Hull varied according to arrangements made in advance between the railway and steamship companies and the agents for the Latter-day Saints. The majority traveled on the North Eastern Railway's trains via Leeds, Manchester, and Bolton before arriving at Liverpool's Lime Street Station. Most migrating Saints saw little of the port of Hull. As one passing Saint recorded:

I did not see anything of Hull beyond the streets through which we went to reach the railway station. The railway station itself was beautiful



Courtesy Nicholas J. Evans

FIG. 7. Emigration Waiting Room, Paragon Station, Hull, England, 2002. Built in 1871 by the North Eastern Railway, the one-story emigrant waiting room ran adjacent to the main railway station but was sufficiently separated to reduce the interaction of migrant and “normal” railway passengers. Such isolation was seen as necessary to reduce the possible introduction of contagious diseases such as cholera, small pox, and trachoma.

and imposing. We left for Liverpool on a special train at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and came through the towns of Howden, Selby, Normington [Normanton], Brandford [Bradford], Leeds Hudbersfild [Huddersfield], Manchester and Bolton to Liverpool. But as it became dark at an early hour, I saw little or nothing at all of the cities and the country we passed through. The country around Hull was pretty, flat and fertile. Farther away it was more mountainous. The railway was frequently on a higher level than the towns and villages, and sometimes it also went along below the surface at considerably long stretches.⁵⁵

Passengers arriving in England via Grimsby in the 1850s and 1860s waited at the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway's dock terminus in Grimsby. Located near to the landing stage where the migrants had arrived, they slept overnight in a large dining-cum sleeping room before traveling to Liverpool via Sheffield, Manchester, and seven tunnels.⁵⁶

Regardless of the route they took, all migrants traveled the 140-mile journey to Liverpool by steam train. The scenery they passed through varied as greatly as the diverse backgrounds of the passengers on board. From the flat hinterlands of the Humber to the rugged terrain of the Penines, the journey was an experience they would never forget—especially

for those like Joseph Hansen and his father. Joseph wrote that “this was the first and only time that my father rode in a railroad train.”⁵⁷

The Arrival in Liverpool

At Liverpool, the Mormon converts were greeted by the agents of the shipping company with which they were booked to cross the Atlantic as well as with Church-appointed emigration agents. As the primary port of Mormon embarkation, Liverpool launched most of the international emigration-voyages made to America in the nineteenth century. It was not only the home of the British Mission and the administrative headquarters for the Church in Europe,⁵⁸ but it was also (by the time Mormon emigration was launched in 1840) considered the most active international port of emigration in the world. With two thousand public houses, it was considered a sailor’s paradise. Its prominence derived from its prime location for rail connections in the British Isles and from its excellent navigable channels in the Mersey River.⁵⁹ Though Scandinavian Latter-day Saint emigrants would join other European converts (mostly British) who were also emigrating to Zion, the cosmopolitan nature of Britain’s second largest port left a permanent impression upon those traveling via the Atlantic port.

The Mormon emigrants’ stay in Liverpool was often shorter than that of their non-Latter-day Saint counterparts. When Morris and Company (based in Hamburg) had the Mormon contract, emigrants usually spent anywhere from a few days to a few weeks there. Once Guion (based in Liverpool) had taken over the business of shipping Latter-day Saint emigrants, the waiting time was reduced to a day or two. After gathering their luggage from the railway station, a lodging house, or the mission headquarters, the Scandinavian pioneers joined their fellow travelers on board vessels that would transport them across the Atlantic. Having traversed the North Sea and Britain, the Saints had overcome the first stage in their lengthy journey west.

Conclusion

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Scandinavian Mission sent off over twenty-four thousand Latter-day Saint immigrants.⁶⁰ Each detail of their journey from Europe to America was planned in advance by Church leaders, shepherding missionaries, and the providers of chartered transport. Leaders arranged for agents, located from Copenhagen to Liverpool, to meet each group of Saints at each stop on their epic journeys west.

Throughout the period of gathering, Church leaders took advantage of the latest developments in technology to transport the foreign converts in

as comfortable and efficient a way as possible. Though Latter-day Saints are generally aware of European converts crossing the Atlantic from Liverpool, it was the transit arrangements at Copenhagen, Hamburg, Grimsby, and Hull that ensured that the Scandinavian converts would reach Utah. These “feeder ports” each had a pivotal role in this process, but it would be Hull that sent more Latter-day Saint Scandinavian migrants on to Liverpool than any other port in this era of gathering.

Hull’s role was not determined by geographic location alone. More important, the links fostered between the Church leaders in Copenhagen and Liverpool and specific steam and rail operators accounted for Hull’s significant role in transporting Latter-day Saint converts to America. Such operators proved they could provide a level of service and integrated transportation systems that would efficiently convey the migrants to the vessels moored in Liverpool. Such services led Church leaders in Europe to direct the majority of Scandinavia’s Mormon emigrants to the ships chartered by Morris and Company and later the Guion Line. Both shipping lines chartered ships to transport the Saints across the North Sea from various parts of Europe to the European Mission headquarters in Liverpool. Between 1867 and 1894, all these feeder services would be provided by the Wilson Line of Hull and the rail services of the North Eastern Railway.

The revolution in steam technology drastically reduced the time needed to make the journey from mainland Europe to the great Mormon gathering place in the Salt Lake Valley. This change, coupled with competition between rival steamship operators and Church financial assistance, put Zion within easier reach of European disciples.

Though traveling was a drawn-out affair, almost every one of Zion’s gatherers knew it would be worth it. This determination to reach Zion is perhaps best exemplified by the journal of Jane C. Robinson Hindley, who in 1855 wrote:

I believed in the principle of the gathering and felt it my duty to go altho it was a severe trial to me in my feelings to leave my native Land and the pleasing associations I had formed there, but my heart was fixed I knew in whom I had trusted and with the fire of Israels God burning in my bosom, I forsook my home.⁶¹

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1. See Gordon Jackson, “The Ports,” in *Transport in Victorian Britain*, ed. Michael J. Freeman and Derek H. Aldcroft (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 218–52. The city of Hull is officially styled Kingston upon Hull, which is derived from the fact that Hull was founded by King Edward I and was situated upon the River Hull.

2. Most of the Scandinavian converts embarked from Copenhagen, headquarters of the Scandinavian Mission. This information has been culled from the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD (Salt Lake City: Family History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000); British and Scandinavian Mission Records; and Customs Bills of Entry in the City of Hull, England. For information concerning vessels carrying Mormon Scandinavian converts from Copenhagen, see Shauna C. Anderson, Ruth Ellen Maness, and Susan Easton Black, *Passport to Paradise: The Copenhagen “Mormon” Lists*, 2 vols. (West Jordan, Utah: Genealogical Services, 2000), vols. 1–2, covering the years 1872–94.

3. The gathering from distant lands did not commence until the necessary priesthood keys of the gathering were restored in 1836 (D&C 110:11). The following year, Apostle Heber C. Kimball was called by Joseph Smith to lead a mission to England. Accompanied by Apostle Orson Hyde, Elder Kimball led a small group of missionaries who found great success in the British Isles. They had been warned by Joseph to “remain silent concerning the gathering . . . until such time as the work was fully established, and it should be clearly made manifest by the Spirit to do otherwise.” See Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 2:492. Their groundbreaking work was greatly augmented by the mission of the Twelve in 1840–41. For excellent information on these early missions, see James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992); and James B. Allen and Malcom R. Thorp, “The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–1841: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes,” *BYU Studies* 15, no. 4 (1975): 499–526.

4. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing, 1941), 346, notes:

The Hull Conference, or District, of the British Mission, dates back to 1843 and continued under that name until 1868, when it became a part of the Leeds Conference. When the Grimsby Conference was organized in 1900 the branches formerly belonging to the Hull Conference constituted this new conference which continued until 1910, when the Grimsby Conference became the Hull Conference, consisting of the Latter-day Saints residing in the city of Hull and vicinity in Yorkshire, England with headquarters at Hull.

See also Jack Spurr, ed., *A History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hull Area, 1844–1973* (Hull, England: By the editor, 1973).

The Hull Conference and its local branch in Hull developed in a region that had experienced the large-scale growth of nonconformist religious groups during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By 1851, membership and attendance at nonconformist churches, chapels, and mission halls in this important maritime center had eclipsed that of England's state church, the Church of England. See David Neave, *Lost Churches and Chapels of Hull* (n.p.: Hutton Press, Cherry Burton, 1991), 7.

5. James Ure and Charles Barnes, "Conference Minutes. Hull," *Millennial Star* 10 (May 1, 1848): 134.

6. Orson Pratt, "Conference Minutes. General Conference," *Millennial Star* 10 (August 15, 1848): 252, reported that by August 14, 1848, the Hull Conference had 7 branches and 163 members, including 11 elders, 10 priests, 6 teachers, and 5 deacons. These statistics were also quoted in "The Latter-day Saints," *Hull Advertiser*, September 29, 1848, 5, which also noted they held their meeting in the Temperance Hall, Paragon Street.

7. Spurr, *Latter-day Saints in the Hull Area*, 2.

8. Ure and Barnes, "Conference Minutes. Hull," 134, noted that a conference was held in Hull on December 26, 1847, in the "Temperance-Hall on Blanket-row." At this conference, a representation of the branches was called for which included the Louth Branch among several others. It said the "Louth Branch, [was] represented by letter, [and consisted] of 36 members, including 3 elders, 3 priests, 1 teacher, and 1 deacon."

9. They traveled by the East Lincolnshire Railway from Louth to Grimsby before joining the train of the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway from Grimsby to New Holland (on the south bank of the River Humber). At New Holland, they boarded a steam packet belonging to the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire and sailed to nearby Hull. This group of Saints from Lincolnshire sailed across the Atlantic on the *Zetland*. See Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration, 1830–1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), 149. For first-person accounts of this voyage, see the winter voyage of the *Zetland* on the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD.

10. "Autobiography of Thomas Atkin Jr.," typescript, 4, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Other converts from Hull and the British Isles gathered to Zion for spiritual as well as temporal reasons. Letters posted in Hull's local newspaper created an additional stir about immigration to Utah. For example, in an article titled "The Great Salt Lake Valley," *Hull Advertiser*, July 26, 1850, 7, the editor posted a letter composed by a British convert who, on his way to Utah, had written to his brother, a tradesman in Hull. Among other things, the convert reported that the Salt Lake Valley had been said to be "the most healthy climate in the world, the country most beautiful, and that that people will eventually be the richest on earth." A few years later, a Latter-day Saint convert from Hull named Mr. Wm. Brown wrote in an article titled "Letter from a Hull Mormon in America," *Hull Advertiser*, December 6, 1856, 1, the following description of Springville, Utah:

I enjoy the best kind of health here amongst the mountains. I am quite happy, and rejoice in God that ever I was led to hear the Latter Day Saints

preach the Gospel, and that I left England to travel to this place. . . . We are living in the last days. . . . I should impress upon your mind the necessity of obeying the gospel that is taught by the Mormons.

11. Phillip A. M. Taylor, *Expectations Westward: The Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 248–49, shows that for the period 1863 to 1870, British Mormon emigrants from the Hull Conference numbered only 94 (out of a periodic total of 10,742 emigrants from all conferences in England). For the earlier and later periods of British Mormon emigration (1850–62 and 1874–90), the number of emigrants from the Hull Conference had been included in either the figures for Mormon Emigration from Yorkshire (1,203 out of 12,618 total English Latter-day Saint emigrants between 1850 and 1862) or from the Leeds Conference (474 out of 11,168 between 1874 and 1890).

12. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1890* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 64. To help assist the poor international Saints who desired to emigrate, Church leaders created a revolving fund called the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, which the Saints sustained in the October 1849 general conference held in Salt Lake City. John D. Unruh Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840–60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 303, states that over ten thousand gold seekers made a detour through Utah in 1849 and thousands more in the immediate years that followed. See Fred E. Woods, “More Precious than Gold: The Journey to and through Zion in 1849–1850,” *Nauvoo Journal* 11 (spring 1999): 109, for the story of Saints who gathered to Utah instead of the California gold fields.

13. Richard L. Jensen noted in his critique of an earlier version of this article that “while there may have been official tolerance on the part of the government, much of the Danish populace was far from tolerant where religion was concerned. Many Mormons were persecuted in Denmark despite the provisions of the constitution.” Jensen also emphasized that religious freedom was even more limited in Norway and Sweden. Richard L. Jensen, email to author, October 9, 2002.

14. Marius A. Christensen, “History of the Danish Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1850–1964” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966), 6–8.

15. For a list of various places these missionaries were assigned, see Thomas Bullock, “Minutes of the General Conference, Held at the Great Salt Lake City,” *Millennial Star* 12 (May 1, 1850): 133.

16. Andrew Jensen, “The Gospel in Denmark,” *Contributor* 16 (November 1894): 45.

17. Elder Erastus Snow left Boston on April 4, arriving at Liverpool on April 16 on board the *Niagara*; Elder Peter O. Hansen arrived April 8; and John E. Forsgren arrived on April 19. Andrew Jensen, *History of the Scandinavian Mission* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1927), 3.

18. Jensen, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 3.

19. Gerald Myron Haslam, *Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism, 1842–1920* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 10; Jensen, “Gospel in

Denmark,” 46; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 4. According to Freebody’s *Directory of Hull* (Hull, England: J. Pulleyn, 1851), 87, the cost of travel on board the *Victoria* was “6 shillings 6 pence Best Cabin Fare and 4 shillings for second Cabin.” Latter-day Saint missionaries in Europe nearly always traveled second class, thus enjoying the privacy of their own cabin, while presidents of the European Mission traveled first class. Elder Erastus Snow and his companions were met at the docks of Copenhagen by Peter O. Hansen and taken to a very noisy local hotel. The next day they found better lodgings at the home of Mr. Lauritz B. Malling. On their third day, they visited the meeting of a reformed Baptist minister named Peter C. Mönster, who was initially warm to the elders and allowed them to preach to his congregation. Mönster’s attitude soon hardened when he realized they were going to decrease the numbers of his flock by preaching the word of the restored gospel and not that of the Baptist persuasion. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 4–7.

20. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 4–9.

21. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 10.

22. William Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957; reprinted, Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2000), 107. For a general overview of the Scandinavian Mission, see Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*; and Christensen, “History of the Danish Mission.” For brief early histories of the restored Church in Sweden and Norway, see Andrew Jenson, “Scandinavian Reminiscences,” parts 2 and 5, *Contributor* 16 (March 1894): 94–100; (December 1894): 297–300. Mulder reports that a small fraction of the Scandinavian emigrants were Icelandic (p. 107). For a more extensive treatise of the Latter-day Saint Norwegian experience, see Haslam, *Clash of Cultures*. For an overview of the early history of the Church in Iceland, see Fred E. Woods, “Fire on Ice: The Conversion and Life of Gudmundur Gudmundsson,” *BYU Studies* 39, no. 2 (2000): 57–72; Fred E. Woods, “A Sesquicentennial Sketch of Latter-day Saint Icelandic Emigration and Conversion,” forthcoming in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Europe*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon (Provo, Utah: Department of Church History and Doctrine, Brigham Young University, 2001).

23. William Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia, 1850–1900: A Shepherded Migration,” *Pacific Historical Review* 23 (1954): 237, notes that Scandinavian converts from Norway sometimes voyaged directly across the North Sea from Christiana or Stavenger to Liverpool, whereas the Swedes and especially the Danes came primarily through the port of Hull and secondarily through Grimsby. The Saints from Iceland were an exception, as evidence reveals that some voyaged from their homeland via Leith, Scotland, and others voyaged direct to Liverpool. See Woods, “Sesquicentennial Sketch,” 8.

24. Mulder, “Mormons from Scandinavia,” 237. According to the 1997–1998 *Church Almanac* (Deseret News: Salt Lake City, 1996), 162–63, during the years of embarkation from Hamburg (1862, 1865, and 1866), over three thousand Latter-day Saint converts voyaged on eight sailing vessels to gather to Zion. Mormon embarkation using the Morris Line’s sailing vessels from Hamburg was discontinued in 1866. The primary reason for this discontinuation stems from the fact that the following year, the Church decided to no longer send Latter-day Saint immigrants via sailing vessels. Commencing in 1867, all Mormon migrants were to be transported by steamers. It was also decided in this same year that Church teams

would not be sent to the frontier. See “Church Emigration to Utah in 1867,” in “Church Emigration Book, 1862–1881,” Church Archives. Furthermore, Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 187, points out that in a letter to British Mission President Franklin D. Richards dated May 23, 1868, Brigham Young reaffirmed the decision to use steamships: “To enable our immigration to avail themselves of the healthiest portion or portions of the year . . . employ none but steamships.” Thus, the port of Hamburg seems to have been discontinued due to the decision to no longer use sailing vessels. Apparently it was advantageous to take the indirect route to Liverpool wherein different steam shipping lines were employed. Vessels from the port of Liverpool transporting passengers to New York were of a higher caliber than those provided by Morris and Company in Hamburg. Furthermore, vessels from Liverpool were filled with British and European Latter-day Saints, providing more bargaining power and enabling cheaper rates when the Church chartered transatlantic vessels. Finally, shipping was cheaper from Liverpool due to greater competition.

Hundreds of Swiss-German Latter-day Saints migrated through Hull in the nineteenth century, representing a small portion of the total number of European converts. These migrants were similarly conveyed via Britain, essentially as their numbers were so insignificant that there was no fiscal advantage for the Swiss-German Mission to charter a transatlantic vessel for their sole use. For information on the Swiss-German emigrants, see Douglas D. Alder, “The German-Speaking Migration to Utah, 1850–1950” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1959). Migrants arriving via the Port of Grimsby, as well as those who had arrived at Hull and then traversed the River Humber to Grimsby, had the added advantage of staying in the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Emigrants’ Home that opened in 1854 in a former dockside passenger station. The shelter provided a single mixed-sex dormitory-cum-dining room where the migrants slept overnight under the supervision of Isaac Freeman, the railway’s interpreter. From immediately outside this dockside shelter, migrants boarded the train that took them to Liverpool. Freeman and his wife provided a high level of service for migrants arriving at the port. In 1871, *The Grimsby Observer* noted, “Mr. Freeman, the port interpreter, who speaks several languages, is the manager of this important establishment, and it speaks well for its conduct that we have never heard a complaint against it, but very many instances of kindness, sympathy, and consideration for the strangers have reached us.” “The Emigrants Home,” *Grimsby Observer*, October 25, 1871, 4. For more information on the development by railway companies of facilities for emigrants, see Nicholas J. Evans, “A Roof over Their Heads: The Role of Shelters in Jewish Migration via the UK, 1850–1914,” in *Shemot* 9 (March 2001): 11–15.

25. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 46–47, states that upon their arrival in Liverpool the Saints “were informed that they were too late to sail on the ‘Ellen Maria,’ . . . for that ship had just cleared port the same day.” Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 150, notes that the *Ellen Maria* departed from Liverpool on February 10, 1852, with 369 Latter-day Saint passengers on board.

26. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 46–47; Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 150.

27. Taylor, *Expectations Westward*, 162. The transportation price of £1. 10.s od. is significantly more than a guinea. Gee and Company were a Hull-based shipping line that ran steamers between Hull and the continental ports of Antwerp, Copenhagen,

Hamburg, and St. Petersburg. "Diary of Appleton Harmon," 1850–52, typescript, 84, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, notes that on September 29, 1852, Harmon and a Brother Hardy made arrangements with the Gee and Company to bring Scandinavian converts from Copenhagen to Hull. Hardy forwarded the arrangements to a Brother Hasgreen in Copenhagen in which it was noted, "Emigrants from Copenhagen on the Steam ship Emperor-Deck or in the Hold of room' £ 1.1.10.. or they would send a Steamer on purpose to fetch from 3 to 4 hundred for £ 1.10..0 per head."

28. "Epistle of the Twelve," *Millennial Star* 1 (April 1841): 311, states, "It is also a great savings to go in companies, instead of going individually. . . . [A] company can charter a vessel, so as to make the passage much cheaper than otherwise."

29. Willard Snow, Journal, October 16, 1852, 101, Church Archives, states:

About the middle of Oct[ober] we received a proposition from Mr Morris + Co. from Liverpool through their agent, Mr Carl Rydthing in Copenhagen to the following effect that they would take Emigrants from Hamburgn to [New] Orleans via Hull & Liverpool on the following conditions: 2d Cabin 80 [rigsdaler,] 3d cabin 60 [rigsdaler,] & steerage 46 [rigsdaler] children between twelve and one 8 doll [dollars] less.

A week later (October 23, 1852), Snow wrote: "Held a conversation with Mr Morris in person who happened to be in the city & he made another proposition to take us for 52 rigsdaler from this city" to New Orleans. Three and a half weeks later, Snow wrote:

On the 16th closed the contract with Mr Morris & Co for to transport our emigration from Copenhagen by steam to Kiel by Railway from Kiel to Hamburgn and by steamer from Hamburgn to Hull and by Railway from Hull to Liverpool and by ss first rate sailing vessel from Liverpool to New Orleans for fifty two dollars a passenger children under twelve eight dollars less sucklings under one.

30. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 139–41, further notes that the Latter-day Saints used Morris and Company from 1852 to 1869. The Guion Line then became the preferred shipping company because of its superior steam vessels for which the sailing vessels provided by Morris and Company were no match.

31. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 158.

32. Scandinavian Mission, "Manuscript History," vol. 8 (1850–55), December 20, 1852, Church Archives, extracted this journal entry from the journal of Herman Julius Christensen, December 26, 1852. On the following day, this same passenger noted, "The captain, who had been a seafaring man for 25 years, declared that in all his previous voyages he had never experienced a worse storm."

33. "Manuscript History of the John H. Forsgren Emigrating Company," 1, Church Archives. The maritime safety record of the Latter-day Saint immigrants in the nineteenth century was most impressive. There were no known lives lost because of shipwreck across the North Sea or the Atlantic, and the only one known shipwreck occurred on the Pacific. This is in sharp contrast to the fact that at least fifty-nine immigrant ships were lost crossing the Atlantic between 1847 and 1853. See Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 138–39.

34. On Tuesday, December 31, 1852, the *Hull Packet* reported that “three hundred Mormons, from Norway and Denmark, arrived on the *Lion*, from Hamburg, on Tuesday night, and were forwarded by Mr. R. J. Cortis, the agent, to Liverpool, en route to New Orleans and the Salt Lake.” “Great Loss of Life,” *Hull Advertiser*, December 31, 1852, 5. The *Master’s Declaration* (return of aliens) for this first group of Saints recorded “two hundred and ninety nine passengers, emigrants on their way to America via Liverpool,” arrived on board the *Lion*, mastered by Mr. John Frederick Kruger at Hull from Hamburg, on December 28, 1852. “Return of Alien Passengers Made by Masters of Ships,” HO/3/67, Public Record Office, Kew, London. The Customs Bills of Entry, a document produced weekly that provided information for merchants interested in the commerce of the port, similarly noted that along with passengers, the *Lion* was laden with a cargo of metal, pork, wool, and linseed. Customs Bills of Entry, no. 12, January 1, 1853, Hull Central Library, Hull, England.

35. “Local Intelligence,” *Hull Packet*, December 31, 1852, 5. The pier has been referred to by numerous names during the past century. During the period in question, the pier was most frequently referred to as the “Humber Pier.” Richard Cortis was a one-man business who worked as an emigration agent. He worked alongside other agents who worked for various Atlantic lines—with each agent working exclusively for different Liverpool-based shipping lines. Information on Cortis can be found in various commercial directories for the port and town of Kingston upon Hull, Hull Central Library, Hull, England. For further information on the role of port-based emigration agents on the east coast of Britain, see Nicholas J. Evans, “Aliens En Route: European Migration through Britain, 1836–1914” (Ph.D. diss., University of Hull, forthcoming).

36. Hull had two railway stations. The first was situated at Wellington Street and opened in 1840. The second was at the end of Paragon Street and began operating in 1849. European migrants used only the Paragon Street terminus to Liverpool.

37. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 150.

38. For analysis of the number of Saints migrating through Britain, see Evans, “Aliens En Route.” Details of the ports used by migrating Saints can be gleaned through the personal accounts of those Saints journeying to Zion. See the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD. As previously noted, the 1997–1998 *Church Almanac*, 162–63, indicates that over three thousand Mormon immigrants voyaged to America from Hamburg on eight vessels during the years 1862, 1865, and 1866.

39. Statistical analysis of immigration into America is provided by numerous scholars and their publications. E. A. Ross, *The Old World in the New: The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York: Century, 1914), 307–10, states that the total number of immigrants for the period 1835–1914 was 30,245,034. British and Scandinavian Mission records reveal that over one hundred thousand European Mormon converts gathered to America from 1840–1914, of which at least one fourth were Scandinavians, while the majority were British.

40. Nicholas J. Evans, “Indirect Passage from Europe: Migration via the UK, 1836–1914,” *Journal for Maritime Research* (June 2001): 2.

41. For details of the vessels chartered for transatlantic travel during the period when Morris and Company enjoyed the “Mormon contract,” see the appendix of Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*. For details of the vessels used on the North Sea crossing,

see the *Mormon Immigration Index* CD. This latter source also refers (along with Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*) to the problems encountered with vessels chartered to sail directly to America from the port of Hamburg. Comparative analysis of the time taken on the direct and indirect journeys from the European port of embarkation to the American port of arrival are included in Evans, “Aliens En Route.”

Thomas Wilson was a Hull-based merchant who had previously worked in the offices of Whitaker, Wilkinson and Company, Hull’s largest importer of Swedish iron ore, before setting up in partnership in 1822 as Beckinton, Wilson and Company. In 1831, he established his second company under the name of Wilson, Hudson and Company, and then, in 1841, he founded his own firm—Thomas Wilson, Sons and Company. The company was centered in the Scandinavian and North Sea trades and quickly expanded as trade along this route, coupled with the Swedish Royal Mail Contract, generated good financial returns for the company. Wilson managed the day-to-day operations himself until 1866, when the company became jointly managed by his sons, Charles Henry Wilson and Arthur Wilson. Under their direction, the company continued to expand and by 1903 included over one hundred vessels, making it the largest privately-owned shipping company in the world. See J. Harrower, *Wilson Line* (Gravesend, Kent, U.K.: World Ship Society, 1998); Arthur Credland, *The Wilson Line* (Stroud, G.B.: Tempus, 2000).

42. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 118. Herein, Sonne further notes that the name of the first Guion vessel that transported the Latter-day Saint immigrants in 1867 was the *Manhattan*.

43. See Evans, “Aliens En Route.” Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 117, indicates that the Guion Line carried over forty thousand Latter-day Saint converts across the Atlantic, which amounted to about 98 percent of all Mormon emigrants who voyaged by steamship from Liverpool to New York. The Latter-day Saints used the Guion Line consistently from 1869 to 1894, at which time the company was liquidated. For more information on the Guion Line, see “Rise and Fall of the Guion Line,” *Sea Breezes* 19 (1955): 190–216.

Anthon H. Lund, Journal, June 30, and July 2, 5–7, 1894, Church Archives, notes that arrangements were made by British Mission President Anthon L. Lund for the European converts to travel with the Anchor Line, based in Glasgow. Converts were thus rerouted through Glasgow before going on to New York. President Lund made these new arrangements known to President Sundwall of the Scandinavian Mission, President Naegle of the Swiss German Mission, and Church President Wilford Woodruff.

44. British Mission, “Manuscript History,” vol. 24 (1869–71), May 13, 1869, Church Archives.

45. British Mission, “Manuscript History,” June 1, 1869. However, the Guion Line did not provide food at Hull for their passengers as other shipping lines did. This is one way the Guion Line was able to cut the cost of the trip.

46. Perhaps, after the initial contract of 1869, both parties no longer felt a need for a written contract due to the relationship of trust that developed between the Guion agent George Ramsden and the Church. Praiseworthy remarks made by Anthon H. Lund at the time of Ramsden’s death are noted in “A Good Friend Gone,” *Millennial Star* 58 (June 4, 1896): 360–62. For an excellent discussion of the

relationship between the Guion Line (especially their agent George Ramsden) and the Saints, see Richard L. Jensen, "Steaming Through: Arrangements for Mormon Emigration through Europe, 1869–1887," *Journal of Mormon History* 9 (1982): 5–8. When the Guion Company was liquidated in 1894, Ramsden helped Lund with arrangements for the Saints to transfer their business to the Anchor Line, which ran its operations out of Glasgow. See British Mission, "Manuscript History," 34 (1891–96), June 30, 1894. Although the Anchor Line is mentioned herein, not only for the date of June 30, but also for the dates of July 5–6, and September 20, 1894, it is most probable that it is rather the Allan Line that was the shipping company run from Glasgow at this time. This change rerouted the Mormon converts from the Scandinavian and Swiss-German Missions through the port of Leith to Glasgow, where they began the transatlantic voyage to New York.

47. In 1866 increasing alarm at the standard of accommodation provided for third-class or steerage passengers prompted the Hull Town Council to interview Charles Wilson, who was a member of Parliament representing Hull and the managing director of the Wilson Line. This action led to an improvement in the standard of accommodation provided for passengers carried by the Wilson Line but not by other European shipping operators. The condition of emigrants who arrived into Hull were reported in numerous reports by the Medical Officer of Health for the Hull Board of Health. The volume for 1866 can be found in Kingston upon Hull City Archives, Hull, England.

48. The 1881 British census documents that Maples was born in Thorne, a town thirty miles west of Hull. Since his wife and daughter were born in Australia, it can be assumed that Maples gained his knowledge of the emigration business through his own personal experiences in emigrating to Australia. Maples had returned to Hull during the early 1850s and established himself as an emigration agent working alongside Richard Cortis. Later, Cortis and Maples would combine their business, with Maples taking sole control upon the death of the former. 1881 *British Census and National Index: England, Scotland, Wales, Channel Islands, Isle of Man, and Royal Navy*, 24 CDs (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1999).

49. Latter-day Saint migrant Jesse N. Smith recalled, "Mr. Maples on behalf of the forwarding Company furnished a meal for the emigrants and sent all forward the same evening to Liverpool." Jesse N. Smith, *Autobiography and Journal*, 1855–1906, July 15, 1870, 259, Church Archives. Another passing migrant noted, "Mr. Maples, the Guion Agt, came on board and got the list of Emigr[ants]." Hans Jorgenson, *Reminiscences and Journal*, 174, Church Archives.

Apparently this line had many staff members who also provided excellent service. Another Guion agent who is praised in several Latter-day Saint immigrant accounts is a Mr. Gibson. See, for example, E. L. Sloan to President Geo. Teasdale, *Millennial Star* 51 (November 25, 1889): 749; George Romney Jr. to President George Teasdale, *Millennial Star* 51 (December 23, 1889): 811; L. F. Monch to President George Teasdale, *Millennial Star* 50 (December 24, 1888): 829. However, the agency was apparently not without some criticism by the British government. According to government inspector W. Cowie, while other Atlantic passenger lines provided temporary lodging and meals for passing emigrants at Hull, the Guion Line transferred its passengers directly to the rails "so that those people are the greater portion of the day without a meal." See *Reports Received by the Board of*

Trade and the Local Government Board Relating to the Transit of Scandinavian Emigrants through the Port of Hull, July 11, 1882, 9. Yet for those traveling to Utah, such speed was often welcomed, because it shortened the long journey.

50. P. O. Hansen to President F. D. Richards, *Millennial Star* 17 (February 3, 1855): 71.

51. Heinrich Hug, Journal, August 13, 1859, in possession of Kent Hug, translated from German by Brooks Haderlie. According to his journal entry, Hug arrived with a company of Swiss Latter-day Saint immigrants in Hull on August 13, 1859. Although Hansen and Hug are the only known European Saints to mention the reception provided by the Hull Saints, these local Saints were probably instrumental in assisting other Latter-day Saint companies who passed through.

52. Frederick Zaugg, Autobiography, 25, original in private possession.

53. Edward Gillett and Kenneth A. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Hull, England: University of Hull Press, 1989), 303.

54. Plans of the North Eastern Railway's emigrant waiting room can be seen at the Hull City Archives (OBL/M/2585 and OBL/M/6328). The Pennines are a mountain chain known as the backbone of England because they are so hilly.

55. Hans Hoth, Diary, typescript, 3–4, December 27, 1853, translated from German holograph by Peter Gulbrandsen, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

56. Ove Christian Oveson, "Sketch of the Life of Ove Christian Oveson," typescript, April 26, 1864, 22, Church Archives.

57. Joseph Hansen, Hansen Family History, December 1852, 7, Church Archives.

58. The British Mission became the administrative center for the Church in Europe commencing June 28, 1854, under the direction of Franklin D. Richards. Richards also served at this time as the president of the British Mission. Subsequent presidents of the British Mission also had stewardship over all other missions in Europe during their various terms of service.

59. Conway B. Sonne, "Liverpool and the Mormon Emigration," paper presented at the Mormon History Association Conference in Liverpool, England, on July 10, 1987, 2–5. Note that the public houses were also known as "pubs." These facilities were not hotels but were establishments licensed to sell alcoholic beverages. For more information on Liverpool and Mormon emigration, see Fred E. Woods, *Gathering to Nauvoo* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2002), 42–51.

60. Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*, 533, provides statistical evidence that over twenty thousand Saints emigrated from the Scandinavian Mission between 1852 and 1894. As noted earlier, Mulder, *Homeward to Zion*, 107, maintains that 22,653 of the 46,497 Scandinavian converts immigrated to America between 1850 and 1905. These two estimates are less than the total of 24,431 Scandinavian migrants that we estimated. Our figure was based on several sources including the following: The *Mormon Immigration Index* CD; Jenson, *History of the Scandinavian Mission*; local Grimsby newspapers (1854–68); Grimsby Library Customs Bills of Entry in Hull, Hull Central Library Customs Bills of Entry (Hull), 1852–60; Hull City Archives Master's Declaration, HO/3/1–120, Public Record Office, Kew, London.

61. Jane Charter Robinson Hindley, "Journals 1855–1905," February 16, 1855, Church Archives.

The Cultural Impact of Mormon Missionaries on Taiwan

Richard B. Stamps

I grew up in a multi-ethnic neighborhood in the San Francisco Bay Area, so from a very early age I was aware of China and things Chinese. In 1961 at Modesto Junior College, I met two international students from Hong Kong and was fascinated by their culture. When I heard a young man from our stake speak about his mission in Hong Kong, I said to myself, “That’s where I would like to go!” When I applied for a mission, I was interviewed by a General Authority, who asked, “Would you be willing to serve overseas and learn a foreign language?” I replied, “Yes.” He then asked, “Which language?” When I answered, “Chinese,” he started making notes. I was thrilled to be called to the Southern Far East Mission and serve in Taiwan from 1962 to 1965 (fig. 1).

Near the end of my mission, I met my sister-in-law’s uncle, an anthropologist doing research in Taiwan. A few chats with him helped me realize that I could have a career that would combine my love of history with my fascination for different cultures (especially the cultures of China), so I studied anthropology with a specialization in Chinese archaeology. I returned to Taiwan in 1972 for doctoral dissertation research and again in 1977 for post-doctoral research. I then settled into the happy life of an American academic—teaching, publishing, and making occasional trips to China. An important part of my work involves teaching people to understand foreign cultures, to make connections across cultural gaps, and to study cultures as living, changing entities.

In 1994, I was called to serve as the president of the Taiwan Taipei Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This was an exciting “homecoming” for me and was my fourteenth trip to Asia. As an



FIG. 1. Richard Stamps, as a young missionary in 1964, wearing the traditional *chang pao* (ankle-length coat) given him by the Fan family, whom he and Elder Casperson baptized in Miao Li, Taiwan.

anthropologist, I could not help but see that Latter-day Saint missionaries working in Taiwan have an impact on Taiwanese culture. At any given time, there were 135 to 195 missionaries in our mission. About 30 of those were natives of Taiwan from parts of the island outside the mission boundaries, and 5 to 10 more were expatriate Chinese from Canada or other areas. Most missionaries were young men; about 30 were young women. I saw the impact of the missionaries' presence appear in significant ways during my service both as a young missionary and as a mission president.

In addition to carrying the usual duties of a mission president, I was responsible for keeping a history of the development of the Church in our mission. A notable event in that history is the 1996 celebration of the fortieth anniversary (fig. 2) of the arrival in June 1956 of the first four Mormon missionaries on Taiwan. Through discussions held as part of that anniversary, I gained insight into the cultural impact the Church, and specifically the missionaries, has had on Taiwan. This essay attempts to record my impressions of those conversations and to formulate a few ideas about the cultural impact of Latter-day Saint missionaries on Taiwan in the latter half of the twentieth century. While my experience deals exclusively with the island nation of Taiwan, such cultural impacts apply to virtually anyplace where missionaries serve.

The Impact of Mormon Missionary Activity on Taiwan's Society

In the years since 1956, more than four thousand missionaries have served on Taiwan. By 1996, local Church membership numbered twenty-two thousand in a nation of twenty-one million. While I recognize that any influence the Church has had on Taiwanese society will necessarily be



FIG. 2. Fortieth anniversary of the Church in Taiwan, 1996. Missionaries and Taiwanese Saints gathered at the spot where Elder Mark E. Petersen dedicated Taiwan for the preaching of the gospel in 1956.

modest, as an anthropologist I see innumerable cross-cultural connections—connections that seem minute on a national level but are significant on a personal level and provide a beginning study of cultural impact.

Contributing to the Economy. When the first Mormon missionaries arrived on Taiwan in 1956, the country was still recovering from the impact of World War II and the Chinese civil war. Taiwan was still under martial law. Hard currency from American missionaries helped the developing economy. The missionaries who have served since then have spent money for eighteen to thirty-six months, supporting the nation's growing middle class. The modest monthly living expenses of the individual missionaries,¹ multiplied by four thousand, add up to a substantial dollar amount.

The Church also spent funds to rent meeting places and office space, to hire local caretakers for church buildings, and to print books and pamphlets. Moreover, the money invested by the Church and the missionaries did not go into the military or government programs but instead contributed in a practical way to the development of the Taiwanese middle class (figs. 3, 4). Compared to the GNP, the amount was minuscule, but to the developing middle class, it made a difference.

Making Connections and Friendships. The Mormon missionaries who came from abroad were often the first foreigners that some Taiwanese people met. The young, nonthreatening missionaries gave the Taiwanese the opportunity to meet, talk with, ask questions of, and get to know non-Chinese people. Coming to Taiwan willingly, the missionaries projected a positive image. They were volunteers, they lived modestly, and—most of all—they

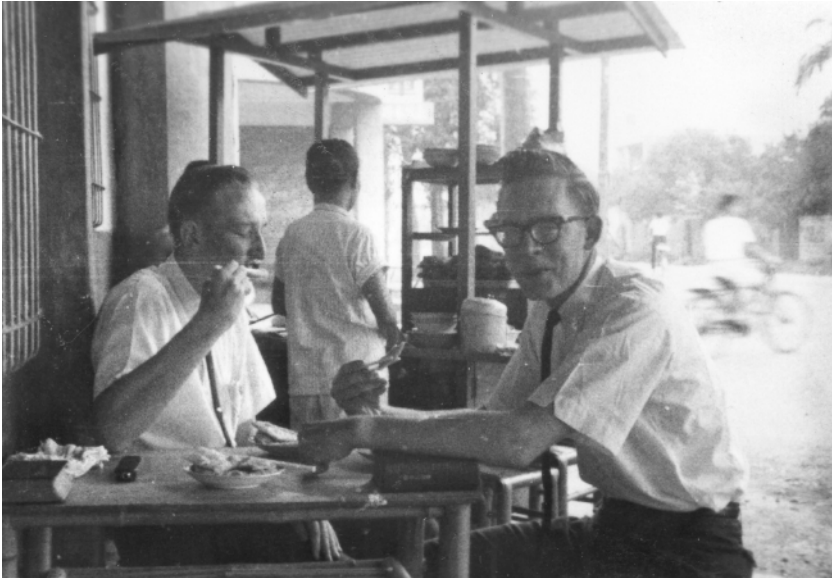


FIG. 3. Elder Doyle Brown, *left*, and Elder Larsen eat at an outdoor cafe in Tao Yuan, 1964. The “cafe” is on a bike cart. At the end of the day when his customers are finished eating, the owner will pack up the table and move on.

wanted to learn about the local people and their history, culture, and traditions as well as to teach the gospel. As a result, the missionaries were received much more favorably than were U.S. servicemen and women. The U.S. military was associated with the Taiwanese Nationalist government, which was not trusted by many native Taiwanese who lost family or friends in the struggle for control after the departure of the Japanese at the end of World War II.



FIG. 4. Elder Lance Barker examines Taiwanese cuisine, 1997.

During my first mission, I saw the many U.S. military men who came to Taiwan on “R and R” from Vietnam spending much of their time and money in the “red light” districts near the military bases, which did not leave a good impression with the conservative Taiwanese. While the soldiers raced around in their jeeps and taxis, the missionaries pedaled their bicycles like most of the locals (fig. 5). Today, while the locals drive cars and scooters, the missionaries are still on bikes. Most Taiwanese recognize the missionaries and admire them for the sacrifice they make to serve missions. I remember riding a local train and having a Buddhist woman tell me how much she admired and respected the young missionaries, who were making a sacrifice to serve the people of Taiwan.

It is easy to underestimate the importance of personal contacts between people. Yet it is just these simple acts that change attitudes and build positive associations. I tried to take every opportunity during my missions to make personal connections. For example, I accepted innumerable requests for interviews by Taiwanese high school students writing themes for their English classes. And of course the missionaries spent a good deal of their time building relationships. As a result of those ties, missionaries are invited to people’s homes not only for Church-related meetings but



FIG. 5. Elders Richard Stamps, *left*, and Mel Kalama, *center*, on bikes, 1963.



FIG. 6. Missionaries celebrating Chinese New Year with the Weng family, 1965. *Back Row:* Elder Jerry Skaggs, Sister Chen (a Chinese missionary), Sister Komoaha (a missionary from Hawaii) and Elder Stamps. The celebration was a family reunion and included wearing new clothes and eating a multicourse meal of peanuts, sweets, and handmade potstickers. A family ceremony held after dinner included grandchildren kneeling before grandparents. The grandparents gave them *hong bao*, a red envelope with money in it.

for festivities such as Chinese New Year. I remember how as a young missionary I was invited to a home for dinner on my last New Year there (fig. 6). In the inner room, I saw grandchildren kneel in reverence (*kow tao*) to their grandparents and then receive their *hong bao*—red envelopes with gifts of money. We were accepted as friends. To this day, almost forty years later, I still maintain contact with that family. Such experiences helped the Taiwanese people put a personality to the image of foreigners; personal contacts built bridges between nationalities in ways that television, movies, and books could not.

Providing English Lessons. The people of Taiwan have a great desire to learn English, the language of the global economy. In order to make contacts with locals, Mormon missionaries often offer English lessons free of charge. While serving in the city of Ping Tung in 1963, my companion and I taught twenty hours of English classes a week. In Kao Hsiung, my

companion Oliver Daniel Smith had skills in music, so we helped create a choir to teach English through song (fig. 7).

Mormon missionaries offered English classes in the church and gave weekly conversation classes in public schools. In conjunction with the classes, missionaries helped local Rotary Clubs prepare for international conventions, filled out forms in English for businessmen and travelers, and proofed papers for students. These lessons were often the only opportunity Taiwanese had to practice English with a native speaker. Missionaries of other denominations also taught such classes, but I have observed that Mormon missionaries had more contact with the Taiwanese people than other missionaries did over the years.

Many Taiwanese members of the Church became bilingual through their ongoing interactions with the foreign missionaries. Local young members who served missions on Taiwan also had opportunities to live and interact with foreign missionaries and visiting foreign Church leaders. Local leaders who went to seminars and training sessions outside of Taiwan met other leaders from Asia and interacted mostly in English. Second- and third-generation Mormons are growing up exposed to English both in the schools and in the Church. When I returned as mission president, a convert I had taught thirty-two years earlier invited our family to celebrate her grandson's birthday. We celebrated with three generations of a Taiwanese Mormon family, and all three generations had enough basic English skills to communicate with my non-Chinese-speaking daughter.



FIG. 7. In 1963, the missionaries decided to assist the U.S. Information Service in Kao Hsiung with a "friendship activity." Elder Oliver Daniel Smith, *center front*, who had experience with choirs, formed a youth chorus and recruited two piano players, one Taiwanese and one American. The Taiwanese youth performed in English.

Becoming Ambassadors for Taiwan. Just as Taiwanese got to know foreigners in a positive way, the foreign missionaries developed an awareness and sensitivity for the people of Taiwan. Anthropologists have long noted that field workers develop a strong attachment to their work. Not unlike participants in the Peace Corps and other volunteer groups, returned missionaries became advocates for Taiwan.

I know several returned missionaries who are pursuing careers in academics related to their Taiwan experience because of their love for that nation. Missionaries who had served in Taiwan helped out when Salt Lake City hosted the 2002 Winter Olympics.² And many returned missionaries used language and culture skills as they entered the business world. In their own small businesses or in larger firms, the missionaries' overseas, cross-cultural experience opened doors. Correspondingly, many Taiwanese business people made their first American contacts through returned missionaries and their families. The phrase "*Zai Jia Li Kao Fu Mu, Zai Wai Kao Peng You*" ("At home depend on parents, overseas depend on friends") shows the Chinese concept of using reciprocal relations (*Guan Xi*) in business, government, and other activities. A number of returned missionaries have entered government jobs in the U.S. State Department, Department of Agriculture, Army, Air Force, FBI, and CIA, using firsthand knowledge gained while on Taiwan.³ Matt Salmon, who served a mission in Taiwan and was later a representative to the U.S. Congress from the State of Arizona, said on the floor of the House during debates on U.S.-Taiwanese relations, "*Tai Wan Shi Wo Men De Peng You*" ("Taiwan is our friend"). He reflects the feeling of many who have been touched by Taiwan.

Missionary service in Taiwan usually makes not only the missionaries ambassadors for that nation but their family and friends also. Since over 90 percent of missionaries report that their experience in Taiwan was favorable, that goodwill is spread to a large number of people outside Taiwan.

Reinforcing Chinese Values. Traditional Chinese social values such as loyalty, benevolence, and service are increasingly under pressure in fast-paced Taiwan. The missionaries support these values through their teachings and activities. The prominent teaching that the family is the basic unit of society rings true with many people. Similarly, the teaching that "the glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36) reinforces the Confucian value placed on education. Literacy is encouraged for male and female Church members of all ages. Although the Church does not operate its own schools on Taiwan, both men and women are strongly encouraged to get as much schooling as possible. Brigham Young University has hosted many undergraduate and graduate students from Taiwan, and the tradition continues with a large contingent from Taiwan at BYU-Hawaii.

The Latter-day Saint teaching of self-reliance also fits well with the traditional Chinese value of families taking care of their own. Relief Society and priesthood lessons give practical training in self-reliance. Other charities' aid sometimes created "rice Christians" (people who "converted" to Christianity to receive the rice that missionaries offered), but the Church welfare program emphasizes disaster prevention through training and preparation rather than rescue through food or clothing handouts.

The activities of the missionaries and the Church have in some cases pricked the social consciousness of the people of Taiwan. A lengthy article in the Taipei newspaper *Lien He Pao* discussed service performed by foreign missionaries (fig. 8). Photos depicted missionaries talking with people and—most powerfully—bathing invalid patients in an understaffed veterans' hospital. Letters to the editor written in response to the article commented that it was nice to see the examples of service, but it was embarrassing that the people of Taiwan were not taking care of their own and were dependent on help from foreigners. In another instance, Taiwan's litter problem came under scrutiny. In the increasingly wealthy society, garbage pickup and landfill costs are a mounting challenge. Styrofoam lunch boxes and bamboo chopsticks clutter the roadsides. The sight of foreign and local missionaries walking along streets and beaches picking up trash has caused some to admire the missionaries' service but also to denounce Taiwan's throw-away attitude.

Organizing Genealogy. Although the Chinese have a long tradition of preserving genealogies and family histories, little such work was being done in post-World War II Taiwan. A series of Church-sponsored microfilming projects, genealogical conferences, exhibitions, and data collection efforts supported the founding of the Genealogical Society of China.⁴ Several collection and preservation efforts have been strengthened. The impact of this activity will be felt for generations to come as future Taiwanese attempt to trace their roots.

Changing Lives. Local members of the Church were somewhat surprised at my query, "What has been the impact of the Church on Taiwan?" I was looking for something external, but they had experienced something internal. For them the Church had changed their lives.⁵ As President Gordon B. Hinckley said, "The purpose of the Church is to make bad men good, and good men better."⁶ The Church helps Taiwanese converts remember traditional Chinese values but also augment that with a knowledge and testimony of Jesus Christ. New members develop increased inner peace and the joy of knowing for themselves who they are and what their potential is.⁷

國明何／文與圖 疊有市城

洋

人老的不便行動行幫院老敬然浩浩關到都周每，年暮耄美名三
一，母母處適度們人夢難，愛幾門短豆、燒洗

院老敬

國明何／文與圖 慈有市城

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

William Watkins, pictured in four photos, and standing in the large picture, bathing an elderly

[illegible]

FIG. 8. *Lien He Pao*, Sept. 20, 1994. This newspaper article featured missionaries serving at a veterans' hospital. The two missionaries are William Watkins, pictured in four photos, and Jayson Calderwood, standing in the large picture, bathing an elderly man.

Membership is not without challenges. The Church's prohibition of tobacco, tea, and wine and the opposition of some members to ancestor worship often alienate family and co-workers. Members may feel alienated from a community that celebrates Daoist, Buddhist, and folk holidays. Church leaders struggle to maintain continuity in Church work because some members feel the political and economic limitations on Taiwan and decide to leave the country for greener pastures. Feng Xi, in his 1994 dissertation on the Latter-day Saints in China, suggests, "It is relatively easier to find more qualified Chinese members available for a church position in California or Salt Lake today than in Taiwan."⁸ Fortunately, there has been some reversal of this trend in recent years.

Concluding Thoughts

As an anthropologist, I see the cultural impact the Church (and specifically the missionaries) has had on Taiwan. But as a mission president, I see a greater impact on the lives of individuals who are touched in some way by the gospel, either through contacts with missionaries or through conversion to the Church. It is my impression that Taiwanese people who are now grandparents have lives firmly rooted in Buddhism, people of the next generation centered their lives on material comforts, and the rising generation is coming of age in an environment lacking strong spiritual guidance.⁹ Those young people are looking for meaning in life—meaning that the gospel of Jesus Christ can provide for them.

Sometimes I hear people claim that the Church does not belong in Taiwan, that our goal is to force change on Taiwan—a change of religion, tradition, and culture. But we are not forcing anything; rather, we are offering our best gifts. We believe that we are living by the Chinese saying that you share your good things with your friends. The gospel is the best gift we can offer.

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Dr. Stamps welcomes information about the history of the Church in Taiwan from members and former missionaries. He hopes to establish an archive of Taiwanese Church history in Taipei. He plans to help the Church celebrate its fiftieth anniversary in Taiwan in 2006 and welcomes input for that event.

1. Between 1962 and 1965, I lived on \$65.00 a month. In the period 1994 to 1997, each missionary spent just over \$400.00 a month.

2. Nicholas Toyn, interview by Anastasia Sutherland, Provo, Utah, October 20, 2002.

3. Paul Hyer (Professor Emeritus of Asian Studies at Brigham Young University), interview by author, 1998.

4. Melvin Thatcher (representative of the Genealogical Society of Utah), interview by author, March 26, 1998.

5. Richard B. Stamps, *The Taiwan Saints* (Taipei, Taiwan: Cultural Dynamics, 1996) (in Chinese).

6. Gordon B. Hinckley, talk given to the Taiwan Taipei Mission conference May 25, 1996, Taipei, Taiwan, notes in possession of the author.

7. I believe this is what Brian Howell is referring to when he talks about “the religious elements of conversion” and “the personal, spiritual and psychological dimensions which believers themselves are most likely to say are the core of their religion.” Brian M. Howell, “Beyond Conversion: The Anthropology of Christianity for the Twenty-First Century,” presented at the Anthropology of Religion Section meetings, Kansas City, Missouri, 1998, 2.

8. Feng Xi, “A History of Mormon-Chinese Relations: 1849–1993” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1994), 204.

9. I shared these thoughts with Jonathan Brody, who used them in his article “Trying to Fill an Emptiness,” *China News, Student News* [Taipei, Taiwan], December 25, 1994, 1–2.

Imparting One to Another

The Role of Humility, Charity, and Consecration within an Artistic Community

Tanya Rizzuti

A few weeks ago, there was a yard sale down the street from my mother's house. I struck up a conversation with the woman running the sale and discovered she was an artist, so I asked to see her work. The two pieces she showed me, both paintings on stone, were of great beauty. The artist spoke of her work and her creation process with a confidence that made me take a second look at her, a talented person who like millions of others around the world will probably never be widely known. She is a barmaid. When the woman found out that I, too, am an artist and asked me some questions, I was pleasantly surprised by the interest she took in my comments. I left the brief conversation feeling that I had met someone genuine and open, someone both confident and humble. I wonder how many people who come into the bar know they are being served by a woman with such ability.

Contrast her with a prominent Utah painter I met a few months ago. I asked him if he ever taught art, thinking that with all his talent he would have a lot to teach the next generation of artists. To my surprise, he took offense and responded curtly, "I am a painter. My paintings have been exhibited in galleries all over." He then proceeded to list his many awards and accomplishments.

Or contrast both these painters with my former college roommate, an aspiring watercolorist. She painted with meticulous accuracy, taking months to complete one of her beautiful paintings. They were well worth the wait; her paintings seemed to take on a life of their own. Many people complimented her on her work, but she would always respond in the negative, saying that it wasn't any good, that it wasn't anything notable, and that there were so many people more talented than she was.

These three artists represent three approaches to the profession. There are artists who want to learn and grow and want to help others do the same. There are artists who are self-involved, whose main concern is obtaining accolades. And there are those artists who belittle themselves into nonbeing. Of the three approaches, I believe that willingness to both learn and share is the most rewarding. A confident humility is the key.

Abraham 3 presents a concept directly related to humility. There the Lord teaches Abraham about the order of the universe, about the hierarchy of stars and of spirits. Some spirits, he says, have more intelligence, more light and truth than others (Abr. 3:16–18; see also D&C 93:36 and Isa. 55:8–9). Then the Lord says, “These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other; there shall be another more intelligent than they; *I am the Lord thy God, I am more intelligent than they all*” (Abr. 3:19; italics added).

When compared to the creations of God and his glory and intelligence, we are of ourselves nothing. Humility, however, is not self-deprecation, nor is it a lack of confidence. Confidence is necessary to an artist—you must promote your work and your capabilities to land the job, impress the client, win the grant. When I speak of humility, I am referring to a deep understanding of how you fit into the cosmos—a simultaneous awareness of your worth and nothingness. I love Ammon’s example of confident humility. In Alma 26, Ammon spends nine verses rejoicing in the missionary miracles he has seen, only to be rebuked by his brother Aaron for boasting. Ammon responds:

I do not boast in my own strength, nor in my own wisdom; but behold, my joy is full, yea, my heart is brim with joy, and I will rejoice in my God. Yea, I know that I am nothing; as to my strength I am weak; therefore I will not boast of myself, but I will boast of my God, for in his strength I can do all things; yea, behold, many mighty miracles we have wrought in this land, for which we will praise his name forever. (Alma 26:11–12)

As President Benson once said, “Humility, of course, is not a sign of weakness. Humility does not mean timidity. A person can be humble, powerful, and courageous. The Prophet Joseph is a good example. Humility is an acknowledged recognition of our dependence on a higher power.”¹ As artists we should recognize that there is a higher power who can teach us, inspire us, and help us use our talents for a greater good. And we can show appreciation to God for our artistic endeavors by giving glory to him.

Abraham 3 may also relate to the hierarchy of talent and technical knowledge within an artist community (or any other community). Obviously, not everyone is at the same creative level. There are some artists just

starting out who do not yet comprehend how composition and structure can improve their work. They need guidance to help their potential grow into mature artistic expression. Other artists have years of experience or more intuitive talent than others. Do these advanced artists have a responsibility to the beginning artists?

Again we look to the Lord for an example. It's impossible to imagine the Lord saying, "Ha, ha. I know more than you do. My creations are better than yours. A sunset you paint will never be more magnificent than the real one I created." He is more intelligent, more talented, and more in tune with spiritual and temporal things than we are, but he does not keep his abilities to himself. He has declared that his sole "work and glory" is to "bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man" (Moses 1:39). His is a generous, charitable work. He wants to teach us "line upon line, precept upon precept" (2 Ne. 28:30) and, if we are obedient, give us the "mysteries of [his] kingdom" (D&C 63:23).

God does not become any less a god by unselfishly imparting his knowledge. As we advance in creativity, his glory also advances because he is the one who gave us the talent and implanted in us the desire to create. As we progress by magnifying the talents he gave us for good, his work progresses. Therefore, as artists advance in the intelligence of their craft, can they not also give back to other artists and help lift them to a higher level? Doing so would not decrease the advanced artists' own talent and the beauty of the works they produce. If anything, it may glorify them further when artists give them credit for what they have been taught.

In the preface to *Teaching, No Greater Call* is a comment directly applicable to art: "You have been given a stewardship to teach the gospel of Jesus Christ. Part of this stewardship is creation. In a sense you are creating a teacher from the talents and resources given you by the Lord."² As Latter-day Saints, the majority of us have been trained as teachers from childhood; we have given speeches, we have served in callings, we are visiting and home teachers, and many of us have taught in a class setting. Opportunities to teach also abound in the art field. Not only can we teach other artists about style, technique, symbols, practices, and history, but we can also teach ways to view art and appreciate its language, to look at a piece of art and interpret the feelings it evokes. Teaching another person can help us improve our own understanding of a topic and cement those principles in our own lives: when we teach others, we teach ourselves.

To have humility, then, implies an obligation to share the knowledge we have. Additionally, an understanding that we can be teachers and yet learn helps us become charitable. Humility and charity must go hand in hand, for "knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth" (1 Cor. 8:1). "Charity

suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up” (1 Cor. 13:4). Moroni adds that charity “seeketh not her own” (Moro. 7:45). Charity is crucial to the artistic community’s humility.

I had the opportunity to work at a design firm in California where a remarkable artistic community spirit existed. While keeping the clients’ needs in mind, artists were usually allowed full creative control to come up with design solutions. An artist would sit down for an hour and sketch whatever ideas came to mind. Then these sketches would be displayed in the conference room. Other designers would offer feedback on what was working, what color combinations were most effective, and which designs were the strongest for what the artist was trying to communicate. Through this process, the selection would be narrowed down to two design concepts. After a review of the two finished images, the designs would be presented to the client. Remarkably, in the entire time I worked there, I never witnessed any hurt feelings during this process. The attitude of giving and receiving feedback was one of charity: my colleagues wanted to see the best design come out of me and knew that I wanted the best from them. The art was what was important, not the ego. For this reason, any time an artist learned something new, took a class, or attended a workshop, he or she was expected to hold a “town meeting” and teach the new skills to the others.

My art has been enriched by such sharing. Often I have found that revelation and inspiration during the creative process comes not only from above and within but also from the thoughtful suggestions of my peers. When we have an attitude of charity, of goodwill, and of genuine concern for the progression of art and artist, then we start on the path to establishing an artistic Zion, a safe place where people can grow in inspiration, talent, and ability: “And Zion cannot be built up unless it is by the principle of the law of the celestial kingdom; otherwise I cannot receive her unto myself” (D&C 105:5).

In the New Testament and the Doctrine and Covenants, we read about the celestial law of consecration. (See Acts 2:44–47, Acts 4:32, 2 Cor. 8:14, D&C 42:30, and D&C 78:5 as examples.) This law, too, applies to the artist community. I took some 3D classes at a college in San Francisco at a time when I already had two years of professional 3D experience. The class encouraged students to present their work in stages in order to receive critiques. When the first student showed his work and asked for comments, no one said anything. Having graduated from Brigham Young University, I was accustomed to student feedback. I raised my hand and commented on what I liked about the piece and what could be improved. Another student also offered suggestions. A few others followed, but out of a room of about twenty, only five offered critiques. Thinking maybe people were feeling shy

or did not know how to give feedback, I turned to a silent member of the class and asked why he was not making any suggestions. His response was nonchalant: “Why? They’re the competition.”

There have been many other instances of selfishness at that school and in other jobs. But in those same places, I’ve also met many good artists with charitable hearts. Looking back on what I have learned in the past six years since graduation, I think of Mosiah 4:21: “And now, if God, who has created you, on whom you are dependent for your lives and for all that you have and are, doth grant unto you whatsoever ye ask that is right, in faith, believing that ye shall receive, O then, how ye ought to impart of the substance you have one to another.”

Creating a Zion artist community does not mean we lose our identity, nor does it entail competition. It means sharing strengths. Equality in Zion does not mean everyone is creating the same pieces of art, nor that no one is experimenting with different techniques. Suppose I meet someone who delights in painting cacti, and I decide I would like to focus on the same subject. After a long time studying with this artist, not to mention a lot of practice, I learn everything about cacti and how to paint them. But no matter how much I learn about cacti, I would modify the other artist’s technique to fit my personality and reflect what I have to say about cacti; I would create my own style.

Even if I were to equal my instructor in knowledge and technique, my renditions would not have to be exactly the same. Nor would my versions be better or worse than his, although that judgment may depend on the viewer’s perspective. Millais’s painting of Ophelia is not necessarily better than Hughes’s; I find beauty in both works. There is no need to fear sharing techniques and ideas. With consecration there is room for growth all around.

I see seven ways Latter-day Saint artists can help bring about a Zion art community:

1. Recognize that the Lord has given each of us talents and wants us to reach our full potential. He does not limit growth to one individual.
2. Offer thoughtful solutions and generous advice when people ask for help.
3. Realizing that people need to be understood, suspend judgment through such questions as, What are you trying to say in this piece? What made you decide to pick this subject? What does this color or that shape mean to you?

4. Learn to be accessible and willing to share information. Recently, a man said that a mutual acquaintance was the most generous and unpretentious artist he had ever met. I have come to believe that this is the highest compliment he could have given this artist. I hope that someday someone says the same of me.
5. Avoid jealousy of another's intelligence by having a heart full of humility.
6. Willingly receive criticism and suggestions from people from all walks of life. Who knows? That barmaid with only a ninth-grade art education might know something I don't about composition.
7. Extend forgiveness to artists who close their hearts and minds. The Lord has said, "I, the Lord, will forgive whom I will forgive, but of you it is required to forgive all men" (D&C 64:10).

Let us choose to offer humility, charity, and consecration to the world through our art and by the way that we treat our fellow creators. By doing so we can increase joy in the world and offer a safe haven for future ideas and learning.

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1. Ezra Taft Benson, *The Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1988), 369.
2. *Teaching, No Greater Call: Resource Materials for Teacher Improvement* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1978), iii.

Frank J. Johnson and Rabbi William J. Leffler.
Jews and Mormons: Two Houses of Israel.
 Hoboken, New York: Ktav Publishing, 2000.

Reviewed by David E. Bokovoy

In addition to everything else they do, words can be ambassadors of goodwill, spreading the messages of a culture.”¹ This statement by Joseph Lowin, the director of Cultural Services at the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, coincides with the thesis of *Jews and Mormons: Two Houses of Israel*: “Jews need to know more about Mormonism, and Mormons about Judaism” (131). The authors, Frank J. Johnson (a Mormon high priest) and William J. Leffler (a Jewish rabbi), undertake to explain the differences and similarities between their respective religions in a frank and yet somewhat cordial dialogue. Apparently, the authors have corresponded with one another since they became friends at Dartmouth College in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Their book provides a much-needed foundation for the spreading of goodwill between two unique perspectives.

The book contains eight alternating chapters on Mormonism and Judaism, with a ninth devoted to areas of mutual misunderstanding. Major topics include the backgrounds of each religion, the main religious ideas of each, the respective elements of life and practice, and views about the House of Israel. Both authors explain their own views in the discourse of their own religious heritage, but they are mindful of how those ideas or expressions will sound in the ears of the other. The discussion roams freely over many topics, sometimes revisiting issues hashed out on previous pages. Often the reader feels like an eavesdropper listening in on a sometimes blunt conversation between two spirited advocates who are not much aware of any audience. In addition to these chapters, there are three well-constructed appendices containing Orson Hyde’s October 1841 dedication of Israel, a midrash on Psalm 9, and the responsa.

Obviously, Mormonism and Judaism represent two religious paradigms based on distinctly unique presuppositions. The different premises are most evident when the authors compare the view among Latter-day Saints that truth is absolute with the tendency among Jews to view truth as less than concrete. Considering the chasm between these opposing perceptions, one wonders whether this book can possibly accomplish its primary objective to help Mormons and Jews better understand one another.

Leffler offers a profound observation: “Judaism is the religion, or, one might say, the religions, of the Jewish people” (1). Consequently, Latter-day Saints should recognize that Leffler writes from the perspective of a “modernistic” or “reformed” Jewish rabbi, which he openly acknowledges in the preface. This point cannot be overemphasized, for much of his interpretation of Judaism can in no way be associated with any consensus among all Jews. Latter-day Saints can find diverse sets of similarities and differences by comparing Mormonism with Orthodox, Hasidic, conservative, or reform Judaism. For example, several fundamental Latter-day Saint doctrines find significant counterparts in certain Jewish traditions that are not apparent in reformed Judaism. These would include the doctrine of a pre-mortal soul, as promulgated in Jewish mysticism, and the notion of an anthropomorphic deity, as declared in major sections of the Hebrew Bible and in some Rabbinic literature.²

The two authors disagree on whether the Old Testament is to be taken literally—a disagreement that supposedly represents a massive stumbling block between the two faiths: Leffler takes a critical approach to the Hebrew Bible³ while Johnson continually insists that all Latter-day Saints view the Old Testament as both historically and literally correct in all respects. But neither of these views is representative of either religion as a whole. For example, Rabbi Leffler’s assessment is a far cry from Moses Maimonides’s eighth article of faith, in which the preeminent Jewish philosopher declares: “The Torah is from heaven; to wit, it [must] be believed that the whole of this Torah which is in our hands today is the Torah that was brought down to Moses, or Teacher; that all of it is from G[o]d.”⁴ Likewise, some faithful Mormons may be sympathetic in many respects to the critical approach.⁵

The authors often fail to grasp these and other fundamental elements of opposing views within their own religions, and they do far too little to correct these oversights. Perhaps this only shows how difficult a task the authors have undertaken, even for two well-intended interlocutors. For example, oversimplifications arise in their discussions on mutually recognized scripture, on the translation and interpretation of the scriptures, and on concerns over the historicity of scripture.

Aside from these and other stumbling blocks, *Jews and Mormons* falls short of captivating the reader. Missed opportunities to enrich the conversation between Jews and Latter-day Saints abound. For example, when Leffler cites the rabbinic tradition of a *Messiah ben Joseph*, the book would have proved more interesting if Johnson had mentioned the Latter-day Saint scholars who have associated this legend with Joseph Smith.⁶ In addition, the authors could have focused more on temples, since these structures serve a central role in both traditions (though admittedly far less so for reformed Jews). As one Jewish author has recently observed, “The liturgy and the Bible—the classical sources that are accessible to every Jew—point to the centrality of the temple in Jewish thought.”⁷ Accordingly, their discussion would have benefited from a comparison of the teachings of Joseph Smith and the similar Rabbinic tradition found in Louis Ginzberg’s *Legends of the Jews*:

God was indeed anxious to have a sanctuary erected to Him, *it was the condition on which he led them* [the Israelites] *out of Egypt*, yea, in a certain sense the existence of all the world depended on the construction of the sanctuary, for when the sanctuary had been erected, the world stood firmly founded, whereas until then it had always been swaying hither and thither. (emphasis added)⁸

Significantly, Joseph Smith held a remarkably similar view: “What was the object of gathering the Jews, or the people of God in any age of the world? . . . *The main object was to build unto the Lord a house* whereby He could reveal unto his people the ordinances of His house and the glories of His kingdom” (emphasis added).⁹

Notwithstanding its shortcomings, *Jews and Mormons* represents a worthwhile and noteworthy attempt at open dialogue between two distinct religious traditions. “Religion is an answer to man’s ultimate questions,” writes the distinguished Jewish philosopher Abraham Joshua Heschel; “the moment we become oblivious to ultimate questions, religion becomes irrelevant, and its crisis sets in.”¹⁰ The book *Jews and Mormons* serves as an attempt to explain the answers to these ultimate questions.

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1. Joseph Lown, *Hebrewspeak: An Insider’s Guide to the Way Jews Think* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1995), 7.

2. On the corporeal nature of deity in Judaism, see Jacob Neusner, *The Incarnation of God: The Character of Divinity in Formative Judaism* (Atlanta: Scholars

Press, 1992); and Jacob Neusner, "Conversation in Nauvoo about the Corporeality of God," *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1 (1996–97): 7–30.

3. Leffler mistakenly suggests that the Pharisees originated the Jewish practice of juxtaposing passages from the Bible to develop theology. The process of inner-biblical exegesis developed much earlier in Israelite society. See, for example, Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1988); and Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

4. As cited in *The Commentary of R. Hoter Ben Shelomo to the Thirteen Principles of Maimonides*, translated by David R. Blumenthal (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 144. Maimonides, in his commentary on the *Mishnah*, compiles what he refers to as the *Shloshah-Asar Ikkarim*, the Thirteen Articles of Faith, compiled from Judaism's 613 commandments found in the Torah. For an introduction to Maimonides's relevance for contemporary Judaism, see Louis Jacobs, *The Book of Jewish Belief* (New Jersey: Behrman House, 1984), 67–68.

5. See for example John L. Sorenson, "The 'Brass Plates' and Biblical Scholarship," *Dialogue* 10 (autumn 1977): 31–37; and Daniel C. Peterson, "Nephi and His Asherah," *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1998), 191–243, where both Latter-day Saint authors apply critical tools to the Book of Mormon.

6. See, for example, Matthew B. Brown, *All Things Restored: Confirming the Authenticity of LDS Beliefs* (American Fork, Utah: Covenant Communications, 2000), 34–39; Joseph Fielding McConkie, *His Name Shall Be Joseph* (Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publications, 1980); Joseph Fielding McConkie, "Joseph Smith as Found in Ancient Manuscripts," in *Isaiah and the Prophets: Inspired Voices from the Old Testament*, ed. Monte S. Nyman (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1984), 11–31; Victor L. Ludlow, *Isaiah: Prophet, Seer, and Poet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 179; and Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 106.

7. Joshua Berman, *The Temple: Its Symbolism and Meaning Then and Now* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1995), xvi–xvii.

8. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1937), 4:150–51.

9. Joseph Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 307–8.

10. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *God in Search of Man: A Philosophy of Judaism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), 3.

Alan M. Dershowitz. *The Genesis of Justice: Ten Stories of Biblical Injustice That Led to the Ten Commandments and Modern Law.*

New York: Warner Books, 2000.

Reviewed by Steven C. Walker

The *Genesis of Justice* is a nearly nuclear reaction, the explosion from the confrontation of a modern legal mind with the ancient biblical text. The amazing thing is that both Genesis and the law come out the better for the collision. Alan Dershowitz, one of the most renowned criminal lawyers in the United States, brings a decidedly lawyerly perspective to his study of *Ten Stories of Biblical Injustice That Led to the Ten Commandments and Modern Law*. Dershowitz is persuaded that our entire modern system of morality grows out of Genesis injustice. *The Genesis of Justice* argues that the Bible “as contrasted with earlier legal codes . . . is a law book explicitly rooted in the narrative of experience” (6), that it is the very social injustices in Genesis that provoke its readers to recognize the need for justice.

Dershowitz’s argument has particular appeal for Latter-day Saint readers, whose theology is likewise deeply rooted in experience. And he argues persuasively. It is hard to resist the wry personal tone of such statements as “This book was begat by a long line of patriarchs” (ix). Like the Bible itself, Dershowitz is disarmingly undisposed to stand on ceremony, from his grinning opening sentence: “Would you give a young person a book whose heroes cheat, lie, steal, murder—and get away with it? Chances are you have” (1). And the substance of his argument is as invitingly expansive as his voice: “I read Genesis as an invitation to question everything, even faith. It taught me that faith is a process rather than a static mind-set” (7).

Dershowitz admits he does not “bring to the project a lifetime of biblical study” (11). He hasn’t read the rest of the Bible as intensely as he’s read Genesis, and that makes him miss some things. He considers Genesis a scriptural anomaly, for example, though he could do an *Injustices in Judges* or even a *Case Studies in 2 Samuel* were he to read those volumes in the same way.¹ But such blind spots don’t prevent him from reading Genesis energetically, from recognizing that “the critical reader is compelled to

struggle with the text, as Jacob struggled with God's messenger" (3). Dershowitz's saving grace as an accessible Genesis reader is his intensity, especially the intensity of his respect; as he quotes from his favorite rabbinic commentator, Ibn Ezra, "the Torah was not given to ignoramuses" (15).

Dershowitz's forty years of wandering through the sandstorms of law has polished unique lenses through which to view this protean text. He builds his injustice-leading-to-justice argument around ten compelling case studies from Genesis. His early chapter titles summarize the gist of the injustice he sees throughout the Genesis narrative: "God Threatens—and Backs Down"; "Cain Murders—and Walks"; "God Overreacts—and Floods the World"; "Abraham Defends the Guilty—and Loses"; "Lot's Daughters Rape Their Father—and Save the World"; "Abraham Commits Attempted Murder—and Is Praised"; "Jacob Deceives—and Gets Deceived"; "Dinah Is Raped—and Her Brothers Take Revenge"; "Tamar Becomes a Prostitute—and the Progenitor of David"; "Joseph Is Framed—and Then Frames His Brothers."

His Joseph case is typical. Joseph in Dershowitz's view gets sent up the river by the kangaroo court of his older brothers through a plague of injustices that include such unfairnesses as blatant false witness, the fabrication of evidence of the bloodied coat, and an irregular sale into slavery. From a legal standpoint, Joseph, framed by a woman scorned, gets jailed on the strength of her perjured testimony. Joseph himself, perhaps recalling the earlier use of manufactured evidence against him, plants his divining cup in his brother's pack so he can hold him on a trumped-up charge. Dershowitz sees the entire Joseph narrative revolving around a vicious cycle of vengeance, "symmetrical justice—payback" (186). Everywhere we look in the Joseph story, or indeed anywhere in Genesis through the lens of *The Genesis of Justice*, we see rampant injustice. The case shaped by Counselor Dershowitz's lively readings of Genesis narratives is that of a society "groping" toward legal order, "a world evolving toward a system of formal justice" (198). In this way, Genesis serves dramatically as a prologue to the Torah that will be revealed in the following four books of the Bible.

Even more remarkably, the legal system toward which the problem cases in Genesis stumble looks like our own, deep down: "There are parallels between the American system and the biblical system" (208). The major parallel is a traditional corpus of written rules, a corpus that requires the process of rabbinical interpretation (in the case of the Bible) and lawyerly interpretation (in cases of law) to make it come fully to life. The Bible, like United States law, is much more than a statement of legal fiats. Both systems are built around case studies, narratives about specific legal instances. "It is precisely because the Torah is a law book that it *should* include stories

that illustrate the need for laws" (218); "the life of the law has been experience, not logic" (219). Thus the Hebrew Bible sets the precedent for the cumulative experiential nature of western case law, for the expansive flexibility of democratic law, for our kind of law, law which cannot be merely imposed but must be explained.

That need for explanation is why Jewish law has always been "characterized by its argumentative quality," Adam and Eve arguing with God, Sarah arguing with the angel and Abraham debating with the Lord, almost everybody arguing with just about everybody else: "The midrash has people arguing with angels, angels arguing with God, and everybody arguing with each other" (221). That is why "virtually all of the substantive and procedural rules that are decreed in the subsequent law books of the Pentateuch flow from the stories of Genesis." "Each of the Ten Commandments," for instance, "can be traced to at least one of the earlier narratives" (247), as when the commandment "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor" derives "directly from Potiphar's wife bearing false witness against Joseph and Joseph then bearing false witness . . . against his own brothers" (250). That is why "the genesis of justice is in the narratives of injustice found in the Book of Genesis" (257).²

Latter-day Saints are particularly likely to find this a valuable book. As much "people of the book" as our Protestant friends, we read the Bible differently, not as "inerrant," as Baptists or Lutherans read it, but as requiring individual application—we read scripture more like Jews read it. We take Genesis seriously as "the word of God" but read it critically, "as far as it is translated correctly" (A of F 8). At our inspired best we go so far as to read scripture directly into our personal experience, to "liken all scriptures unto us" (1 Ne. 19:23)—and in a similar vein Dershowitz insists with Rabbi Judah Low that "a foundation of religion cannot be something that is not discernible to experience" (239).

I am also interested in his anthropomorphic view of God, who figures for Dershowitz as He figures in the Bible, not as an aloof abstraction, but as a dynamic character. I'm interested in the openendedness of his theology, his conviction that there are, so to speak, "many great and important things" yet to be revealed (A of F 9). I'm interested in the practicality of his perspective, his reading of inspired biblical texts in terms of their guiding implications for life rather than for archaic or arcane philosophical subtleties. Undergirding and overarching his individual readings of the Bible, I'm interested in the way Dershowitz reads. He reads the way many Bible readers claim to read, but few of us do, taking the text seriously at face value rather than viewing it through blurring lenses like the creeds or dogmas or whatever other excuses we find for finding in its pages what we think we already know.

But it is his difference from my reading that is for me most arresting. Dershowitz finds it ironically “remarkable” that the Bible can use “stories of injustice to teach about the need for justice” (258). Truth often resides where we least expect it. The discovery of core legal significance in Genesis is a testament to Dershowitz’s reading, to his large-hearted and far-sighted view of justice. *The Genesis of Justice* testifies even more clearly to the richness of the Hebrew Bible, a richness of such scope that it allows a lawyer like him to find the origins of law here as surely as a literature professor like me discovers the headwaters of literature. Dershowitz reads Genesis very differently than I do, and the breadth of our difference is a measure of how rich this text is. The legal reach of Dershowitz’s reading of Genesis appeals to me very much and would clearly appeal to Ben Bag Bag, another astute talmudic reader of Torah: “Turn it this way, turn it that way, everything is in it.”³

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1. See, for example, David Noel Freedman, Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, and Michael M. Homan, *The Nine Commandments: Uncovering the Hidden Pattern of Crime and Punishment in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 2002), which finds in the first nine directives of the Decalogue the sequential backbone for the historical books of the Old Testament.

2. Dershowitz is not alone in seeking to tie legal texts to the narratives of Genesis. See, for example, Calum M. Carmichael, *Law and Narrative in the Bible: The Evidence of the Deuteronomic Laws and the Decalogue* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); and *The Origins of Biblical Law: The Decalogues and the Book of the Covenant* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 74–203, dealing with the legal legacy of the Joseph cycle. On “narrative inspired law” and “laws as miniature narratives,” see further Carmichael’s *The Spirit of Biblical Law* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 10–24, 49–61.

3. Judah Goldin, *The Living Talmud* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955), 223.

David Chidester. *Christianity: A Global History*.

San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2000.

Adrian Hastings, ed. *A World History of Christianity*.

Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999.

Philip Jenkins. *The Next Christendom:
The Coming of Global Christianity*.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Richard D. Ouellette

Unbeknownst to most residents of North America and Europe, Christianity is currently undergoing a transition of historic proportions. Within the next few decades, Christianity will almost assuredly become a religion primarily of the Southern, rather than the Northern, Hemisphere. Africa and South America will each surpass Europe in total numbers of Christians. Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, of course, are well aware of their church's impressive growth in Oceania, Latin America, and, to some extent, Africa. But few recognize that such gains are part of a larger, dramatic watershed in the overall evolution of Christianity.

As Christianity spreads across the world, scholars are devoting increasing attention to its global dimensions. Accordingly, I find it worthwhile to examine three recent studies of global Christianity—two that focus on the past and one that looks at the present and the future. I will begin with a discussion of the importance of Christian history for Latter-day Saints. I will then examine the ways in which a worldwide perspective changes the story of Christian history. Next I will compare the three books and analyze their respective treatments of the historical Jesus and the definition of *Christianity*. I will follow the comparison with a discussion of various antecedents and parallels to Mormonism found in these books and conclude with suggestions for Latter-day Saint scholarship on Christian history.

Christian History and the Latter-day Saints

A central assumption of Mormonism is that something went fundamentally wrong with Christianity that only a new dispensation of divine revelation could put right. It is the *sine qua non* of Latter-day Saint doctrine.

Specifically, Mormons declare that after the deaths of the Apostles, ordinances were corrupted or lost, original gospel knowledge fragmented, and divine priesthood authority died out. Individuals from John Wycliff to Pope John XXIII tried to reform Christianity, but despite their good intentions and the assistance of the Holy Spirit, they could not restore the fullness of true and living Christianity; only a new dispensation of revelation could do so. And this new dispensation began, the Saints testify, in the 1820s through Joseph Smith, the Prophet.

The notion of a general Christian apostasy followed by a divine restoration is unusual, if not entirely unique. Older Christian bodies like the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches insist that they have maintained the truth and authority of Christ uninterrupted to the present. Protestants, on the other hand, agree with Mormons that Christianity went wrong but assert that Martin Luther and other reformers corrected course by returning to the Bible. The Pentecostals, a twentieth-century offshoot of Protestantism, share many beliefs with other Protestants but stress the contemporary role of the Holy Spirit in reforming Christianity. The older churches thus claim unbroken continuity, while Protestants and Pentecostals claim continuity through reform. Only scattered seekers and a few groups like the Quakers have proclaimed anything resembling the Latter-day Saint belief in a general apostasy and restoration. And their views of the matter differ in many specific ways from those of Mormons.

Latter-day Saints are reasonably familiar with the history of the Restoration, but most are less knowledgeable of the rest of Christian history. Should they bother to study Christian history? If it's largely a tale of apostasy, one might dismissively ask, what is the purpose of learning it, except perhaps as a cautionary tale or as a mere prologue to the Restoration?

There are good reasons for Latter-day Saints to study Christian history. In fact, the Church has from time to time explicitly encouraged its members to do so. In 1960, for instance, Melchizedek Priesthood quorums studied Christian history using T. Edgar Lyon's *Apostasy to Restoration*.¹ The manual's foreword points out that the study of Christian history can provide evidence of the Apostasy and of the necessity for a restoration. Some additional reasons also come to mind. First, an understanding of Christian history can foster civil dialogue with other denominations and faiths, as recent Latter-day Saint interreligious exchanges impressively demonstrate.² Second, a better understanding of the history, appeal, and shortcomings of Christianity among the peoples of the world may facilitate more effective Latter-day Saint proselytizing.³ Finally, Christian history can shed light on facets of Mormonism that, when viewed in isolation, may be overlooked. Without reading the scholarly exchange between Evangelical Craig L. Blomberg and Latter-day Saint Stephen E. Robinson,

for example, one might not realize that in general Christian terms, Mormons are “subordinationists,” meaning that they consider Christ subordinate to the Father because his divinity derives from the Father. The point is not stressed in Latter-day Saint theology, and its distinctiveness may become apparent only against the backdrop of Christian debates on the subject.⁴ For these and other reasons, the study of Christian history can benefit the Saints.

Making the Familiar Appear Unfamiliar

The three books reviewed here explore the history, and in one case the future, of Christianity. To some extent, each breaks new scholarly ground. They are part of a minor wave of recent global Christian histories. In contrast to earlier surveys that typically focused on the churches of the ancient Mediterranean, western Europe, and North America, these newer titles devote more attention to Christianity in other lands.⁵ They do not assume that European Christianity is the norm against which all other regional Christianities pale in orthodoxy and importance. This incipient, promising historiographical shift is the result of at least four converging factors: greater Western awareness of non-Western peoples; enhanced recognition of popular, often “unorthodox,” religion; the continued decline of Christianity in Europe; and, as mentioned earlier, explosive Christian growth in the Southern Hemisphere. The center of gravity in the Christian world has moved southward, and the historiography is beginning to follow.

Integrating non-Westerners into the Christian story alters it subtly yet substantially. For example, in *A World History of Christianity*, editor Adrian Hastings deliberately intersperses the chapters on non-Western Christianity throughout the text, roughly in the order that Christianity reached each region, rather than placing them at the end of the book as a sort of afterthought. Since Christianity reached India and Africa nearly fifteen centuries before the age of Columbus and Martin Luther, the chapters on India and Africa precede those on North America and the Reformation. Christian globalization therefore appears less as a modern phenomenon than as the continuation of an ancient pattern. (The sequence would be radically different, of course, were the “pre-Christian” Christians of the Book of Mormon and the Book of Moses acknowledged.)

In this narrative scheme, the West comes across as not quite so central to the Christian story. The effect of this emphasis on non-Western cultures would be analogous to prioritizing the spread of Mormonism among indigenous Pacific islanders in the late 1800s over the Church’s concurrent struggles with the U.S. government. Narratives in which non-American Saints play dominant, rather than secondary, roles already exist among var-

ious Latter-day Saint communities outside the U.S., and those members will become only more influential as the Church grows ever more international.⁶ Perhaps reading about the globalization of Christianity from a non-Western perspective would help American Saints become less ethnocentric in preparation for the Church's continued expansion.

The reader of these three books will encounter myriad events, places, and peoples known to few Western Christians. There are the Christians of the Middle East and northeastern Africa—some of the oldest Christian communities in the world—that have for centuries struggled for survival in the face of Islamic expansionism. There are India's "Thomas Christians," who trace their beginnings to their namesake Apostle. There are the Nestorians, who, after being declared heretics in A.D. 431, founded the first Christian communities in China and perhaps even in Southeast Asia. And there are the followers of the Liberian prophet William Wadé Harris, who reportedly converted 100,000 West Africans to Christianity in the 1910s. The list goes on, and it will be a source of continual, rewarding fascination for many readers.

The editor and authors of these three books are all Westerners inclined by background and intellect to view the familiar in unfamiliar ways. American-reared David Chidester has taught comparative religion for two decades at the University of Cape Town in South Africa. He is one of the most energetic, original, and wide-ranging scholars of religion writing today, having produced works on such varied topics as Augustine, Jim Jones, and African religious violence.⁷ The late Adrian Hastings of the British Isles also spent many years in Africa, first as a Catholic priest and later, after an ecclesiastical falling out, as a theologian. Hastings produced magisterial surveys on Christianity in Africa and England and served as general editor of *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (2000).⁸ Philip Jenkins, Distinguished Professor of History and Religious Studies at Penn State University, is perhaps the broadest and most unpredictable thinker of the three; he has authored provocative books on cults, child molestation, and erroneous claims about the historical Jesus. The unifying theme of his work seems to be the unfounded bases of various popular beliefs and panics.⁹ Since non-Westerners may one day be the primary historians of Christianity, these books could represent an interim moment wherein non-Western Christianity is finally recognized but the historians remain mostly Westerners.

The Global, the Popular, and the Imminent

What these three books have in common, then, is a global perspective that de-emphasizes Western Christianity. However, a comparison of the

books shows that they are also dissimilar in many ways. For example, Jenkins's *The Next Christendom* focuses on the twentieth century and offers projections for the next. Chidester and Hastings, on the other hand, stick to the history of Christianity and are more readily comparable. Although their two studies are in some ways the antithesis of one another, Chidester's and Hastings's histories also complement each other rather well. Both have distinct gaps and emphases, and readers should not confuse their respective purposes.

Hastings's *A World History of Christianity* is a reliable reference work for scholars, libraries, and students. It is the product of thirteen scholars, mostly British. Quite conventionally, they focus on the leaders, missions, and political and intellectual disputes of the mainline churches rather than on popular or nontraditional Christianity. Yet with only six of its thirteen chapters centered on Western Christianity, the book stands as perhaps the most global of Christian histories. With one exception, the essays are all fine summaries of contemporary scholarship, an unusual consistency rate for an edited work. This book would serve well for a senior undergraduate seminar or a more advanced class. The book was marketed to a popular audience, but it is not suitable for novices. The essays are rather dry and dense, and references to assorted figures and controversies presuppose some familiarity with Christian history. For newcomers, it would be a terrific *second* book to read—only after going through a more readable, if less thorough, text such as Chidester's *Christianity: A Global History*.

While the great attribute of Hastings's volume is its global scale, Chidester's primary contribution is his attention to popular, often unconventional, Christianity. If Hastings travels the middle of the ecclesiastical road, Chidester hurtles toward the ditch. He minimizes institutions and highlights the common and the fringe. The papacy and some other key institutions are discussed sparingly, if at all, yet he carefully details the ways ordinary people and idiosyncratic elites cultivated the sacred with and without official approval. He demonstrates that the boundaries distinguishing Christianity from paganism, orthodoxy from heterodoxy, and the sacred from the profane have frequently blurred. Assuming little knowledge on the part of his readers, he employs remarkable stories like the tale of St. Guinefort, the holy greyhound, to propel the narrative. This approach compensates in many ways for what his impressionistic style lacks in comprehensiveness. Not that Chidester neglects the global dimension: while the first two-thirds of the book cover assorted topics related to European Christianity, the last third traverses the continents. Though Chidester does not integrate non-Western regions into his narrative as fully

as Hastings does, he still devotes more attention to them than most Christian histories.

Despite the high quality of these two books, Jenkins's *The Next Christendom* is the most stirring and captivating of the three. Combining the best aspects of the others, Jenkins's book is both a thorough analysis and a good read. It is, in some ways, a rejoinder to secularists who herald the death of Christianity, to modernists who warn that Christianity must liberalize or die, and to commentators who envision a two-sided clash between Islamic and Western civilizations. This book will jog many readers.

Jenkins demonstrates that even as Christianity gasps for breath in Europe and struggles to retain relevance in North America, it is exploding in most parts of the world, particularly the Southern Hemisphere. Christianity is no longer a Western religion imposed upon colonized peoples; on the contrary, it has become a faith primarily of the developing, rather than the developed, world. As historian Mark A. Noll aptly stated in a review of the book: "The 'average' Christian in the world today is not a well-dressed Caucasian suburban male but a poor, brown-skinned woman living in a Third World megacity."¹⁰ Christianity stands today, more than ever, as the most global of religions. "Amazing as it may appear to a blasé West," Jenkins concludes, "Christianity exercises an overwhelming global appeal, which shows not the slightest sign of waning" (39). Consider some of Jenkins's numbers and projections:

The Christian population of Africa mushroomed from 10 million in 1900 to 360 million in 2000 (4).

Christians constitute a majority of South Koreans who declare their religious affiliation and about a quarter of the population altogether (71).

By 2025, the Christian populations of both Africa and South America will surpass that of Europe. Their active participation rates are already much higher (3).

Pentecostals will surpass one billion before 2050, roughly equal to the Hindu population and double that of the Buddhists. And yet the membership of the Catholic Church will remain even larger (8).

In the Southern Hemisphere, Christian/Muslim violence, already terrible in places like the Sudan, will probably worsen. Projections indicate that ten of the world's twenty-five most populous countries in 2050 will be torn between Muslims and Christians. (That "inter-religious violence in recent years tends to be initiated by Muslims against Christians" (171), Jenkins adds, goes largely unreported in the West.)

Perhaps none of these projections will come true, of course, based though they are on verifiable trends. But as an introduction to contemporary

Southern Hemisphere Christianity, this book is worth reading. Jenkins shows that Christians of the Southern Hemisphere are anything but liberal modernists, despite their concern for racial and economic justice. Their literal, apocalyptic, supernatural, and morally conservative faith resembles, if anything, that of the early Christians. Many Christians of the Southern Hemisphere, in fact, experience the signs and wonders of the apostolic age and, particularly in Africa, embrace various Hebraic elements of the Old Testament. The terrible conditions in which many of them live make biblical accounts of war, plague, poverty, and persecution much more real to them than to Northern Hemisphere Christians. As scholars have observed of the early Mormons, so Jenkins recognizes of Southern Hemisphere Christians: They do not read the Bible; they relive it.¹¹

As for the Northern Hemisphere, Jenkins shows that most church-going Christians in Britain and France are now Southern Hemisphere migrants and their families. In 1998, Anglican bishops from the Southern Hemisphere defeated Northern efforts to liberalize church policy on homosexuals. And in a reverse of the traditional pattern, Asian and African missionaries now go to Europe to spread the gospel.

Mormons already know something about the influence of the Southern Hemisphere. Latter-day Saint convert baptisms in Europe and North America occur disproportionately among immigrants from the Southern Hemisphere.¹² More strikingly, when President Spencer W. Kimball prayed about the priesthood racial restriction in the 1970s, one of the issues weighing on his mind were the prospective temple blessings of countless racially mixed Brazilian Saints. The Southern Hemisphere has, in this sense, already profoundly influenced the entire Latter-day Saint church.¹³

Holding It All Together

One dominant lesson of these books is that Christianity, despite the usually exclusive truth claims of its various ambassadors, has developed an astonishing diversity. Hastings reminds us that Christianity has been alternately apolitical and imperial, persecuted and persecuting, activist and contemplative, centralized and fissiparous, pacifistic and militaristic, capitalistic and mendicant, celibacy-centered and marriage-centered, anti-ritual and almost ceaselessly ritualistic. And these are just some of the *social* contrasts; other areas, like theology, would dramatically multiply the variations. Hastings concludes, “It is of the nature of Christianity to relate its beliefs to the culture and needs of every age, to be a translating community, rather than a fundamentalist one, confined to repeating the formulas of the past” (47).

Such diversity raises an obvious question: Does anything unify the myriad forms of Christianity? Hastings thinks something, or rather someone, does: “The centrality of the figure of Christ, however variously portrayed, holds it all together, combined with the acceptance of the scriptures of the New Testament” (2). Jenkins and Chidester probably would not disagree. A history of Christianity should therefore, almost by definition, include a satisfactory discussion of Jesus Christ. Unfortunately, neither Chidester nor Hastings meets this need. Their chapters on Jesus are, in fact, the weakest of their books.

Martin Goodman, a professor of Jewish Studies, wrote the chapter on early Christianity for Hastings. He skillfully analyzes its Jewish and Roman context, yet he says surprisingly little about Jesus. In a chapter on the founding of Christianity, the founder is more absent than present. Goodman explains his neglect with three observations: Paul rarely cited Jesus’ teachings, the gospels were written decades after Jesus, and the teachings they describe were not all that unusual. This rationale is, however, unpersuasive. The gospel portraits of Jesus are probably Christianity’s most influential texts, and their contents need to be discussed. Goodman’s extreme historical skepticism, furthermore, would leave little to say about countless ancient figures from Alexander to Buddha, since what we know of them is usually based upon biased posthumous texts. Goodman should have taken the approach of Buddhist scholar Donald S. Lopez Jr., who, while noting the difficulty of describing the historical Buddha with any precision, at least values communal memories and stories of the Buddha enough to recount them.¹⁴

And Goodman is no better on the Resurrection. Acknowledging that accounts of the risen Christ appeared early, he nonetheless half-heartedly drags out the theory of “cognitive dissonance” to explain early Christian conviction. Christianity comes across as an accident, the offspring of Paul’s unique zealotry. It is a strange beginning to a book about the global legacy of Jesus Christ.

Chidester’s portrait is similarly flawed. Skeptical of the gospels, he conversely places too much confidence in some of the shaky conclusions of the Jesus Seminar, a small group of scholars who loudly debunk traditional understandings of early Christianity. Specifically, Chidester relies on Burton Mack’s reconstruction of the hypothetical communities responsible for the “Q Source” (the passages common to Luke and Matthew but absent in Mark) and the recently discovered, noncanonical Gospel of Thomas.¹⁵ These original “Jesus movements,” Chidester says, remembered Jesus simply as a miracle worker, teacher of wisdom, and messenger of the kingdom of God. (He all but ignores Jesus as rabbi, messiah, and apocalyptic prophet; Mack

and the Jesus Seminar interpret these Jewish images of Jesus as later accretions.) A few years later, however, Paul's "Christ congregations" emerged, "imagining" Jesus as a divine Lord and Savior. These Christ cults, Chidester argues, subsequently overwhelmed the alleged Jesus movements, prompting him to assert what Goodman implies, namely, that "Paul was the founder of Christianity" (30). Christianity again comes across as an accident or a social delusion.

To his credit, Chidester uses the New Testament more fruitfully than Goodman, capably fleshing out some of the various images of Jesus Christ. Unfortunately, he never informs his readers that most New Testament scholars would probably find his portrait of early Christianity at best rather speculative and at worst just plain wrong. Jenkins, for example, offers a terrific critique of the Q-Thomas hypothesis in his book *Hidden Gospels* (2001). Rather than simply pushing a controversial interpretation with the certainty of a scholarly consensus, Chidester should have at least referred readers to other interpretations.

Defining Christianity

These books raise a second question as well: Besides the figure of Christ (variously understood), is there an unshakeable core to Christianity? Is everything about it negotiable? What, in other words, is the definition of *Christian* and *Christianity*?

Chidester stresses the chameleon character of Christianity. For him, Christianity has never stood outside of human history; it has always been a negotiable cultural product. "The notion of a 'pure' Christianity," he remarks, "certainly cannot be sustained" (431). Chidester, in fact, almost leaves the impression that Christianity becomes more, not less, authentic whenever it absorbs a region's indigenous religious elements: the alien import thereby transforms into a local production. Mayan Catholicism and African Zionism are thus in his eyes as legitimate as Pauline Christianity. Yet if he finds all, or most, Christian variations "orthodox"—to use a concept that really has no place in his book—he nonetheless finds the unconventional groups more fascinating.

Chidester accordingly provides an impressive, brief sketch of the Latter-day Saints in his chapter on the United States, "American Zion." For him, nineteenth-century Mormons "embodied" such characteristic features of American Christianity as restorationism and millenarianism. Yet his surefooted descriptions of the Book of Mormon and the doctrinal innovations of Nauvoo make it abundantly clear that the Saints nonetheless remained a people apart. Mormonism thus resembled and differed

from the rest of American Christianity—no shocks here. But it is not Chidester's thesis that makes his account stand out; it is the manner in which he presents it. A few minor errors aside, he avoids the major, embarrassing gaffes that too often characterize descriptions of the Saints. Rather than commit the common mistake of attributing disproportionate significance to any single facet of early Mormonism, moreover, Chidester balances its various elements nicely. His tone is sympathetic, as he more or less takes Joseph Smith's revelations at face value. This is just the sort of generous depiction of a heterodox movement that characterizes his book and distinguishes it from most surveys of Christianity, including that of Hastings.

As its institutional focus would suggest, the Hastings volume has a narrower definition of Christianity than Chidester's. Indeed, Hastings has criticized Chidester's book for its "preoccupation with border areas and fringe movements."¹⁶ Hastings's contributors tend to portray syncretism, the mixing of Christianity with different beliefs, as legitimate, but only if the result does not conflict with traditional Christianity. Gnosticism, Manicheanism, and Taiping Christianity are all dismissed as illegitimate variations, and so too, it seems, is Mormonism: Robert Bruce Mullin's chapter on North American Christianity virtually ignores the Saints. There is irony here. Mormons, given their concern for truth, might feel more comfortable with Hastings's somewhat narrow definition of Christianity than with Chidester's open-ended approach. And yet it is Chidester who includes the Saints in Christian history. Of course, he also includes Jim Jones and Sun Myung Moon, so Latter-day Saint readers may find the honor dubious.

Whereas Chidester and Hastings merely imply certain definitions of Christianity, Jenkins is explicit: "A Christian is someone who describes himself or herself as Christian, who believes that Jesus is not merely a prophet or an exalted moral teacher, but in some unique sense the Son of God, and the messiah" (88). The Trinity, the Resurrection, the Bible as the word of God—*specific* doctrines like these, he says, are too complicated to be useful in a definition. Better to stick to *general* doctrines, such as Christ's unique role, to provide a rough litmus test for Christian identity. He cites the Tarahumara of Mexico as an example of a group that would not qualify as Christian. Their worldview, he contends, bears little resemblance to Christianity, despite its veneer of Catholic symbolism.

Interestingly, Jenkins uses Mormonism to explore the boundaries of Christian identity. After placing the non-Christian population of the U.S. at 4–5 percent, he remarks that the figure would rise to about 7 percent "if we take the controversial step of excluding Mormons from the Christian community" (104). Many evangelicals do not consider Mormons

Christian, he notes, because of their additional scripture and non-traditional doctrines. Jenkins may feel some sympathy with this position, as his book *Hidden Gospels* depicts the Book of Mormon as one of many spurious, “rediscovered” secret gospels of Jesus. Unfortunately, his failure to fully integrate the Saints into *The Next Christendom* cuts short what might have been some instructive insights, given Rodney Stark’s calculation that Mormons will number at least in the tens of millions by 2080, most of them living in the Southern Hemisphere.¹⁷

Elsewhere, though, Jenkins strongly implies that Mormons *are* Christian. Denying them Christian status because of their differences with traditional Christianity, he says, would require us to do the same with many Southern Hemisphere Christians, something Jenkins thinks would be wrong, and not just because it would affect his thesis. Jenkins has informed me by email that he “would NOT take the ‘controversial step’ of excluding Mormonism from the Christian tradition.”¹⁸ Perhaps he might actually feel comfortable applying what he says of Southern Hemisphere Christians to the Mormons as well: “Even in some of the areas in which they might seem odd or deviant, they are not so much departing from the Christian mainstream as emphasizing some aspects that have become unfamiliar” (132).

As we’ve seen, Mormonism is a good barometer of the way these books define Christianity. Chidester has the broadest definition and offers a satisfying treatment of the Mormons. Hastings defines Christianity rather narrowly, and his book barely mentions the Saints. Jenkins presents a more nuanced understanding of Christian identity and accordingly offers ambivalent, tantalizing, and incomplete comments on Mormons.

Antecedents and Parallels to Mormonism

Chidester and Hastings make certain statements supportive of Latter-day Saint doctrine and historical understanding. One of these is the assumption (shared by Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox) that divine authority passed from Christ through the Apostles to local bishops through successive ordinations. Many scholars, Chidester included, dismiss the notion of apostolic succession as the invention of second- and third-century bishops trying to buttress their authority. Hastings, however, defends the plausibility of apostolic succession: “There is really no compelling reason to deny the core of it” (31).

Chidester, on the other hand, describes the doctrine of *theosis*, or human deification. “During the first four centuries,” he writes, Christians affirmed that “Christ became human so humans could become divine” (156). This bears a strong resemblance, of course, to Lorenzo Snow’s couplet: “As man

now is, God once was; As God now is, man may be.”¹⁹ This doctrine of deification, Chidester remarks, became a central tenet of Eastern Orthodoxy, whereas the Western church went on to stress redemption rather than deification. Later, in his comments on the Mormons, Chidester observes that Joseph Smith revived the idea of deification and even went so far as to imply the existence of a plurality of gods. How ironic it is, then, that many Christians today should deny the Mormons “Christian” status in part because they espouse an early Christian teaching that mainstream Western Christianity simply abandoned.

Hastings also acknowledges some of the changes that Mormons see as indices of the Apostasy. Once Constantine turned Christianity into the favored religion of the empire, he writes, Christians were too taken in by their turn of fortune to recognize the dire costs of imperial patronage. The church became wealthy, powerful, and corrupt. Mercurial emperors rendered ecclesiastical decisions. Church leaders and emperors employed imprecise Greek terms and concepts such as *homoousios* (consubstantial) to form creedal doctrines like the Trinity. But *homoousios*, Hastings charges, was “not scriptural” (48). Hastings would not agree that a full-fledged apostasy occurred, but he also would not deny that Christianity had changed significantly in some rather unfortunate ways.

Jenkins’s study, by contrast, offers a remarkable contemporary parallel to the Latter-day Saints. No student of Latter-day Saint history can read his account of Southern Hemisphere Christianity and not think of the early Saints. The parallels are particularly striking between nineteenth-century Mormonism and late twentieth-century African Christianity (as found in both Africa and African diaspora communities). Broadly speaking, both identified with the Bible in a radically experiential manner. Both imposed a biblical geography upon their native landscapes. Both practiced an unusual mixture of Christian primitivism and Hebraic restorationism. Both suffered hardships like destitution and persecution. Both challenged traditional definitions of Christianity because both emphasized visions, healings, prophecy, and revelation, things that many Christians relegated to the biblical era. Mormons like to look to the ancient past to find parallels to themselves; who would have known that contemporary Christianity, indeed even the future of Christianity, may offer as many parallels?

Conclusion

Collectively, these three studies look backward into the past and forward into the future. It would be appropriate to conclude with a glance in both directions.

In terms of the study of the past, Latter-day Saint scholarship on Christian history needs improvement. The breadth of Mormon studies on the Apostasy has declined noticeably since 1960. The need for a contemporary, updated interpretation of the Apostasy is clear: Eric Dursteler has shown that older, standard Latter-day Saint works on the Apostasy reflect a long-outdated, nineteenth-century historiography.²⁰ Plenty of articles and book chapters have been written on the subject, but few book-length works. In recent decades, only Barry R. Bickmore's *Restoring the Ancient Church* (1999) can stand alongside such aging Latter-day Saint classics on the Apostasy as James Barker's *Apostasy from the Divine Church* (1960) and Hugh Nibley's *When the Lights Went Out* (1970). Yet Latter-day Saint scholars are more capable than ever of producing a seminal book (or even series of books) on the Apostasy—something that is grounded in ancient languages, speaks to audiences both inside and outside the Church, and engages the best historical scholarship and Christian apologetics. The energy that Latter-day Saint scholars have devoted to the Book of Mormon and other subjects would undoubtedly yield great rewards were it turned toward the Apostasy as well. Perhaps the sophistication of several recent articles and conference papers are harbingers of good things to come.²¹

But Latter-day Saint audiences also need histories of Christianity that, while taking stock of the Apostasy, look beyond it. Christian history is too rich, varied, important, and instructive to always be reduced to this one issue. Even assuming that a great apostasy did occur, God apparently saw fit to allow Christians in various forms to continue for centuries before the Restoration. Even in a “fallen” state, so to speak, Christianity preserved many things that were “of great worth” (1 Ne. 13:23) and has spoken powerfully to the spiritual yearnings of countless millions; it still does today. As yet, however, no contemporary Mormon scholar has produced a comprehensive history of Christianity for Latter-day Saint readers.

It is also time for a Latter-day Saint scholar to produce a history of Christianity quietly infused with Mormon sensibilities but directed toward a general, non-Mormon audience. Catholic, Protestant, and secular historians write histories of Christianity for the general public; why not a Mormon?²² All historians approach their subjects with certain biases, concerns, and understandings that at least implicitly shape their research and writing. Such biases can be a detriment, but in skilled hands, they are often a strength. A historian with ears attuned to certain sounds may hear something that another does not. Thus historians such as Mark Noll and George Marsden, because of their evangelical commitments and professional skill, have provided us with highly regarded histories of American religion and culture written from an evangelical point of view.²³

Hugh Nibley is instructive here. *When the Lights Went Out* is a compilation of three earlier articles published in scholarly journals, citing sources accessible to all scholars, yet with an unannounced Latter-day Saint understanding of the past running throughout. The articles were professional to the point that they are still cited by non-Mormon historians of Christianity,²⁴ and yet they are so implicitly “Mormon” in their assumptions that one article provoked a debate within the pages of the academic journal *Church History*.²⁵ What might a Mormon history of Christianity see that other histories of Christianity have not? What sorts of debate might it inspire? This waits to be seen.

Turning now toward the future, Jenkins raises questions about Latter-day Saint fortunes in the Southern Hemisphere. Nineteenth-century similarities aside, the modern Latter-day Saint Church, particularly in Africa, seems somewhat removed from charismatic Southern Hemisphere Christianity. The latter is malleable and indigenous, while Latter-day Saint organizational structure sharply limits indigenization and local innovation. Southern Hemisphere Christianity experiences unruly and spontaneous spiritual gifts, while Latter-day Saint spiritual gifts are subdued and organizationally constrained. Charismatic Christianity attracts the poorest, while the Saints tend to be more middle class. These contrasts derive in part from the youthful, sectarian character of Southern Hemisphere Christianity and the older, institutional ways of the Church. (Strange to describe Mormonism as the more established religion.) Still, are these differences an advantage or disadvantage to the Church? Should it revive some of its earlier, charismatic spontaneity to broaden its appeal, as the Catholic Church has done to some extent? Or should it stay the present course—probably gaining fewer members than it otherwise could—and cultivate stable institutions and structured congregations? This, too, waits to be seen.

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1. Eric Dursteler points out other instances in his article “Inheriting the ‘Great Apostasy’: The Evolution of Mormon Views on the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,” *Journal of Mormon History* 28 (fall 2002): 25–26.

2. Craig L. Blomberg and Stephen E. Robinson, *How Wide the Divide? A Mormon and an Evangelical in Conversation* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1997); Raphael Jospe, Truman G. Madsen, and Seth Ward, eds., *Covenant and Choiceness in Judaism and Mormonism* (Denver: University of Denver, 2001). Two publications include responses to the Blomberg-Robinson exchange: *FARMS Review of Books* 11, no. 2 (1999) and *BYU Studies* 38, no. 3 (1999); *BYU Studies* 40, no. 4 (2001) is a special issue devoted to Islam.

3. Two articles provide glimpses of the impact that knowledge and ignorance of a region's Christian background can have on Latter-day Saint proselytizing. See Peter Lineham, "The Mormon Message in the Context of Maori Culture," *Journal of Mormon History* 17 (1991): 62–93; and R. Lanier Britsch, "The East India Mission of 1851–56: Crossing the Boundaries of Culture, Religion, and Law," *Journal of Mormon History* 27 (fall 2001): 150–76.

4. Blomberg and Robinson, *How Wide the Divide?* 114–42.

5. These titles include Paul R. Spickard and Kevin M. Cragg, *A Global History of Christians* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 2001); David L. Edwards, *Christianity: The First Two Thousand Years* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997); and John McManners, ed., *Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity* (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1990).

6. See Thomas W. Murphy, "Other Mormon Histories: Lamanite Subjectivity in Mexico," *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (fall 2000): 179–214; and Thomas W. Murphy, "Reinventing Mormonism: Guatemala as Harbinger of the Future?" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 29 (spring 1996): 177–92.

7. Two examples of Chidester's work are *Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996) and *Salvation and Suicide: An Interpretation of Jim Jones, the Peoples Temple, and Jonestown* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

8. See, for instance, Adrian Hastings, *The Church in Africa, 1450–1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and his massive edited work, *Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

9. Among Philip Jenkins's books are *Hidden Gospels: How the Search for Jesus Lost Its Way* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); and *Moral Panic: Changing Concepts of the Child Molester in Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

10. Mark A. Noll, "Turning the World Upside Down," a review of *The Next Christendom*, by Philip Jenkins, *Books and Culture* 8, no. 2 (March–April 2002): 32–34.

11. See Jan Shipps, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).

12. Lowell C. "Ben" Bennion and Lawrence A. Young, "The Uncertain Dynamics of LDS Expansion, 1950–2020," *Dialogue* 29 (spring 1996): 27–28.

13. Armand L. Mauss, "The Fading of the Pharaohs' Curse: The Decline and Fall of the Priesthood Ban against Blacks in the Mormon Church," *Dialogue* 14 (fall 1981): 10–45; Mark L. Grover, "Religious Accommodation in the Land of Racial Democracy: Mormon Priesthood and Black Brazilians," *Dialogue* 17 (autumn 1984): 23–34.

14. Donald S. Lopez Jr., *The Story of Buddhism: A Concise Guide to Its History and Teachings* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2001), 7–9, 37–102.

15. Compare Chidester's portrait of early Christianity with the similar account found in Burton L. Mack, *Who Wrote the New Testament? The Making of the Christian Myth* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1995). Mack is a prominent contributor to the Jesus Seminar.

16. Adrian Hastings, "A Slant on the Church," *Times Literary Supplement*, November 17, 2000, 28.

17. Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (1984), 18–27.

18. Philip Jenkins to Richard D. Ouellette, February 28, 2003.

19. Quoted in Stephen E. Robinson, *Are Mormons Christians?* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991), 60.

20. Dursteler, "Inheriting the 'Great Apostasy,'" 23–59.

21. See, for example, Daniel C. Peterson, "'What Has Athens to Do with Jerusalem?' Apostasy and Restoration in the Big Picture," *FARMS Review of Books* 12, no. 2 (2000): xi–liii; David L. Paulsen, "The Doctrine of Divine Embodiment: Restoration, Judeo-Christian, and Philosophical Perspectives," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995–96): 6–94; Stephen E. Robinson, "Early Christianity and 1 Nephi 13–14," in *The Book of Mormon: First Nephi, the Doctrinal Foundation*, ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1988), 177–91; and C. Wilfred Griggs, "Rediscovering Ancient Christianity," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 4 (1988): 73–90. Five Latter-day Saint scholars (S. Kent Brown, John W. Welch, John F. Hall, Noel B. Reynolds, and John Gee) presented papers on early Christian history at the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in April 2001.

22. Latter-day Saint scholar C. Wilfred Griggs has written a well-received study entitled *Early Egyptian Christianity from Its Origins to 451 C.E.* (Boston: Brill, 2000). My cursory look at the book detects no obvious Latter-day Saint point of view.

23. For example, George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992).

24. See, for example, Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 97.

25. Hugh Nibley, "The Passing of the Church: Forty Variations on an Unpopular Theme," *Church History* 30 (June 1961): 131–54; Hans J. Hillerbrand, "The Passing of the Church: Two Comments on a Strange Theme," *Church History* 30 (December 1961): 481–82; Robert M. Grant, "The Passing of the Church: Comments on Two Comments on a Strange Theme," *Church History* 30 (December 1961): 482–83.

Kathryn M. Daynes. *More Wives Than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910.*

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001.

Reviewed by Sarah Barringer Gordon

Any substantive evaluation of Kathryn Daynes's *More Wives Than One* should begin by emphasizing that this is a work of the highest order—Daynes brings originality, talent, and rigor to her work. Her book is likely to be extremely important; it received the Mormon History Association's Best Book Award for 2002. The award is richly deserved: the book includes innovative work in multiple dimensions of a complex and often elusive past.

The book, a study of polygamy in Manti, Utah, from religious, social, and legal perspectives over seven decades, does not simply investigate the laws and religious doctrines that were designed to govern the lives of residents of Manti. More important—and, in the end, the heart of the book—is Daynes's examination of how and why women entered into plural marriage, how their decisions changed with different patterns of immigration and affluence, and what portion of the population was involved in plural marriage at different periods. Daynes is interested in ordinary folk, and her work allows her to piece together how men and women navigated a world in which religious command and legal mandates came into direct and prolonged conflict. As Daynes sees it, while the doctrines and beliefs that underlay plural marriage were firmly in place by the end of the Nauvoo period and continued after 1890, political reality meant that polygamy truly flourished only between 1847 and approximately 1882 (when the federal government disfranchised polygamists and prohibited “unlawful cohabitation”). This short but intense period, as well as the focus on a single community, allows Daynes to give her readers a deeper look at how plural marriage was lived by those who practiced it than has been achieved in prior works on the subject.

To make such detailed assessments, Daynes uses census data, Church membership records, tax assessment rolls, cemetery records, immigration

indexes, and marriage licenses to reconstruct “a list of everyone who lived in Manti from 1849 [when the town was first settled] to 1910,” when the Church enforced polygamy’s prohibition (9). Gleaning valuable data about where and in what material circumstances the residents actually lived, Daynes meticulously documents and describes marriage, economics, divorce, inheritance, immigration, desertion, and many other topics of vital interest to historians of marriage and the family.

Daynes’s analysis reveals that the percentage of Manti women who were involved in polygamy is higher than many scholars previously thought. For example, of those women born before 1852 whose first marriage took place in Utah, 56.7 percent were in a plural marriage at some point in their lives (98). For those born between 1852 and 1870 and those who immigrated between 1870 and 1887, the number is 12.2 percent (96).

As Daynes irrefutably demonstrates, plural marriage affected all aspects of marriage in Manti, monogamous as well as polygamous. Indeed, Daynes’s subtle analysis of the “marriage market” (91), immigration, and the fact that many women entering plural marriage were fatherless (119) is a classic example of careful social history work. Part three of the book, “Numbers: An Analysis of the Marriage Patterns of Manti Women,” is among the finest pieces of social history scholarship ever written. It demonstrates conclusively that women entered into and left plural marriage in response to religious doctrine (169), which told them that their exaltation in the celestial worlds depended upon their adherence to the Principle.

Daynes also demonstrates that there were material differences between marriage in a polygamous society and a monogamous one. Women throughout the period married young, younger than outside Utah. Immigrant women usually married soon after they arrived (97), often as plural wives, especially in the early period (118). Equally important, “plural wives came disproportionately from groups of economically disadvantaged women in the frontier economy” (91). Women who entered plural marriage improved their circumstances in this world while earning greater rewards in the celestial worlds for themselves, their children, and their sister-wives. For women, plural marriage was often a response to difficult economic times as well as to religious fervor.

As might be expected, the women’s circumstances improved because polygamous men were wealthier and held a higher rank in the Church than their monogamous counterparts. “Wealth and plural marriage in Manti were related,” Daynes concludes, as they were in the rest of Utah (130). Yet polygamy also reduced economic disparity because “plural marriage helped give poorer women access to [the greater] resources [of polyga-

mous men]" (133). Among Daynes's most interesting speculations about the relationship of plural marriage to the broader economy is her claim that "the United Orders were instituted to counter growing divergence in wealth at a time when plural marriage was decreasing" (133).

Polygamy declined over most of the period Daynes studied. Of the three generations who lived in Manti between 1849 and 1910, women in the first generation were considerably more likely to marry initially as plural wives. The decline in numbers, which shows conclusively that women increasingly and tenaciously opted for monogamous unions, should be paired with the recognition that for the Church leadership throughout the polygamous period, pressure to enter plural marriage was strong and even increased in the 1880s. Church pronouncements about whether a monogamist could be exalted were inconsistent, but it was clear that "plural marriage was not only the preferred type but also the most honored and most sacred" (72). In the end, Daynes concludes, believing in the divine nature of polygamy and practicing it were differentiated in many Church teachings—the ability to practice was by definition limited to those men who could find and support women willing to marry them as plural wives. Over time the number of women willing to enter plural marriage declined.

Equally important, the number of divorces granted in Manti went overwhelmingly to polygamous unions, especially when the marriage had been created during the heady years of the Mormon reformation in 1856 and 1857 (165) and again during the government raids of the 1880s. Just under half of the women involved in such divorces later remarried polygamously. As Daynes shows, the Church urged reconciliation but also acknowledged that some marriages could not realistically be salvaged; in these circumstances, the Church permitted divorce in order to promote remarriage and continued reproduction (169). Implicit in this point is the conclusion that divorce was not a rejection of belief in plural marriage but should instead be recognized as an indication that plural marriages endured greater stress than monogamous ones (165–67). Many such stresses, in the early period, had to do primarily with material and economic hardship; in the later period, with federal prosecutions and legal change.

Among Daynes's central points is that, before the 1880s, marriage in Utah was essentially a religious rather than a legal undertaking. Church divorce as well as polygamous marriage, for example, were both "non-legalistic and non-traditional" (188). The transition to a new legal regime imposed from without destroyed a system that was in decline, she maintains, but not necessarily in crisis. Daynes, while not a lawyer, has a solid grounding in legal thought and categories, and she understands well the

vital role of law and custom in any society. Equally important, Daynes understands clearly that extralegal actions (such as a divorce from the pulpit or a “nominal” plural marriage) were also vital aspects of the Mormon marriage system in territorial Utah.

The shift from a religious to a legal regime, she says, was complete with the enactment of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887: henceforth, the courts dictated what marriage meant and when it was over. In Utah, as in the rest of the nation, the state now controlled marriage and divorce, replacing the more flexible Church doctrines with legislation and judicial pronouncements. The “transformation,” as Daynes refers to it in her title, was both heavy-handed and subtle. It became clear to all involved that for the Church to survive, it must give ground on polygamy. This breakdown of the religious system, she argues, plunged Latter-day Saints into a period of religious and legal turmoil as Church leaders’ ability to regulate plural marriage evaporated, even though belief in its divinely sanctioned nature continued. Although she does not directly point this out, the last year of her study, 1910, coincides with a letter sent to stake presidents instructing them to enforce the 1904 decree that those who entered into or performed new plural marriages would be liable to excommunication. Finally, it truly was no longer possible to marry “more wives than one” and remain in harmony with the Church.

While the history of Mormon plural marriage has received significant attention over the past three decades and more, the topic remains exceedingly difficult to deal with; it combines a dramatic and controversial divergence from traditional Christian marital practices with a sense that the response from those outside the faith was excessive and oppressive. Balanced treatment under such circumstances remains difficult, yet Daynes’s poise is unwavering.

Daynes finds richness that other scholars have missed, and her historian’s sensitivity to change over time allows her to show polygamy’s efflorescence and decline in nineteenth-century Manti with pinpoint accuracy. She is careful to situate her work within the broader historiography of nineteenth-century Mormonism and to make her differences with prior scholars clear. For example, she argues cogently that the Mormon marital practices during the polygamy period did indeed constitute a system, with clear-cut rules about sexual propriety, courtship, and the creation and dissolution of marriage. This conclusion differs from the arguments of Eugene Campbell and Bruce Campbell in their work on divorce among Mormon polygamists.¹

Daynes has also benefited from a generation of insightful and probing work into the history of the Church and its conflicts with the outside

world, as she readily acknowledges. Her book builds on the finest work in the field, including (but not limited to) that of Carmon Hardy, Lawrence Foster, Edwin Firmage, Richard Mangrum, and her dissertation adviser Jan Shippo. Daynes deserves to take her place among them as a leading scholar of Mormon history. This book is likely to propel her instantly into such company. Last but not least, and especially gratifying to the reader, this was not a book researched or written in a rush to print. It glows in ways only a piece of scholarship that has had years of painstaking work lavished on it can.

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1. Eugene E. Campbell and Bruce L. Campbell, "Divorce among Mormon Polygamists: Extent and Explanations," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (winter 1978): 4–23.

Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior, edited by Paul H. Peterson, Gary L. Hatch, and Laura D. Card (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 2002)

Sixteen chapters, originally presented at a symposium commemorating the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Jesus, combine to offer forthright and stimulating answers to the question, "What do Latter-day Saints think of Christ?"

The keynote chapter by Merrill Bateman sets forth a paradigmatic Latter-day Saint answer: the premortal Christ was the Creator for each of us, the mortal Christ offered the eternal Atonement for each of us, and through our covenantal response he can welcome us one by one back into his presence. For Latter-day Saints, Jesus was, is, and will be not only divine and eternal but also personal and relational.

Three chapters deal with those who take issue with Latter-day Saint doctrines of Christ. Robert Millet explains how Mormons can affirm the New Testament Jesus while seeing him in a different light. The differences can be explained in that Latter-day Saints believe more than others believe. Gerald Lund and Jeffrey Marsh show that grace and mercy are key parts of Latter-day Saint doctrine, and they equally insist that mortals must do certain things to obtain those gifts of God and to receive his blessings.

Other chapters concentrate in depth on the premortal Jesus. Andrew Skinner gives clear expositions of Jesus' past as the Firstborn and Creator; Roger Keller argues that the authors of the Gospels knew Jesus was Jehovah; Brent Farley details the ways the premortal Son was the promised Redeemer and condescending God; and Terry Ball demonstrates that Isaiah "knew and loved the Messiah" (97), foreseeing Jesus' mortal and millennial ministries.

Several difficult and productive questions concerning the mortal ministry of Jesus are thoroughly addressed by Craig Ostler, Matthew Richardson, David and Jo Ann Seely, Thomas Sherry, and John Welch, respectively: How does one understand the divine nature of Jesus during mortality? What made Jesus an effective though unorthodox teacher? How did Jesus instantiate the varied roles of prophet, priest, and king? Why did many reject Jesus? What role did fear play in the trial and death of Jesus?

The future of Christ is the subject of three final studies. Robert Matthews expounds the doctrine of resurrection, its certainty, universality, and necessary role in eternal joy. Gaye Strathern examines Paul's testimony, showing that Christ can change lives and that faith in him is well founded. Richard Draper explains why the passive voice is used so extensively in the book of Revelation; he shows how this grammatical construction demonstrates that God will keep evil within its bounds, operating behind the scenes—not indifferently or inactively, but encouraging patience and endurance.

Because "truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come" (D&C 93:24), knowing Jesus Christ requires a knowledge of his premortal past, his mortal presence, and his eternal future. Through its breadth and depth, this book will serve well all who ask or are asked, "What think ye of Christ?"

—Karen Todd

Authors

- Anderson, Jeffery L., "Brothers across Enemy Lines: A Mission President and a German Soldier Correspond during World War I," 41:1:127–39.
- Anderson, Sharon Price, "Weaving the Covenant," 41:1:76.
- , "Week's First Day," 41:3:85.
- Bennion, Mark, "Lehi's Dream," 41:4:64.
- Bitton, Davis, "'Strange Ramblings': The Ideal and Practice of Sermons in Early Mormonism," 41:1:4–28.
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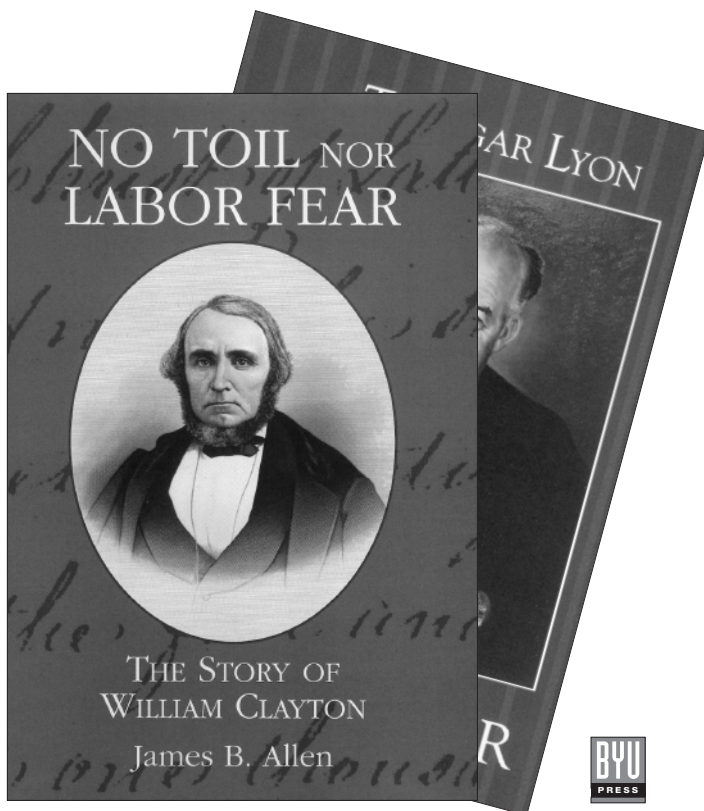


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