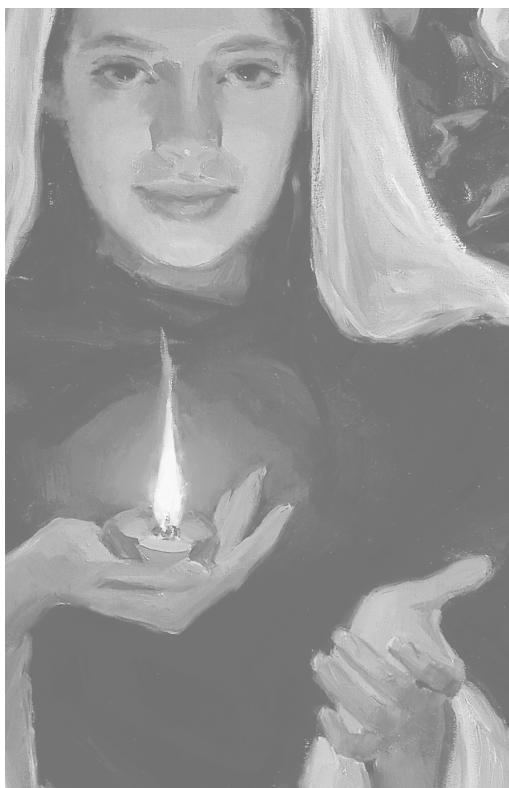


BYU

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A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
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Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

FIG. 1. George H. Brimhall standing in what is presumably the president's office at Brigham Young University on his birthday, December 9, ca. 1916, during his tenure as president. In his seventeen years as the university's president, Brimhall worked to expand the curriculum, increase enrollment, build new buildings, and acquire the land that the present-day BYU campus occupies. Notice the Y on Brimhall's armband.

George H. Brimhall's Legacy of Service to Brigham Young University

Mary Jane Woodger and Joseph H. Groberg

Franklin S. Harris, president of Brigham Young University from 1921 to 1945, said of his predecessor, George H. Brimhall (fig. 1), "George H. Brimhall, under a tree would make a university any day for where he teaches students will always gather to be taught."¹ Brimhall had two great causes, Harris said: his religion and the cause of education.² From his youth to his old age, Brimhall carried these causes forward with unrelenting vigor. In his service as president of Brigham Young University (1904–1921), they merged into one: a university supported by, loyal to, and controlled by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He believed that Brigham Young University, as an arm of the Church, had greater potential than any other university in the world.

Brimhall was closely associated with BYU from the days of its precursor, the Dusenberry School in Provo, to its emergence as a university offering bachelors' and masters' degrees. During his career as an educator, he was a student, teacher, principal, department head, acting president, president, president emeritus, and even head of the alumni association. He was closely associated with all previous school principals and presidents: Warren Dusenberry, with whom he began studying in 1871; Karl G. Maeser, who became his personal mentor and exemplar; and Benjamin Cluff Jr., who hired him and twice turned over the reins of the school to him. He also had close associations with Franklin S. Harris, who had been his student, and with Ernest L. Wilkinson, who graduated from the university in Brimhall's last presidential year and later served as BYU's president from 1951 to 1971. Thus Brimhall's interaction with the school's leadership covered a period of one hundred years.

As a Church educator, he also associated with every Church President from Brigham Young to Heber J. Grant and with Apostles George Albert Smith, David O. McKay, and Joseph Fielding Smith. Spencer W. Kimball and Ezra Taft Benson felt Brimhall's influence when they attended BYU. President Benson said, "No man has so inspired me with so few spoken words as has President Brimhall."³

Brimhall was one of BYU's most prolific presidents, and much of the institution's early history is known today because Brimhall kept detailed diaries, copies of correspondence, and a myriad of recorded talks that included personal and professional information. Some volumes such as *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, and *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* have recorded Brimhall's tenure; however, his particular contributions have been undervalued within the larger institutional picture. Grandson Raymond Brimhall Holbrook and his wife, Esther Hamilton Holbrook, published a Brimhall biography entitled *The Tall Pine Tree: The Life and Work of George H. Brimhall*, but it mainly contains details of Brimhall's family life.⁴

This article seeks to fill in the blanks of Brimhall's biography. It will serve as a biography of Brimhall's educational career and will briefly outline his early years and preparation as a professional educator and highlight his unique style and development as a Church educator and his involvement and contributions to BYU's development. It will also show that in all of Brimhall's efforts, two personal qualities stood out: first, his personal loyalty, admiration, and love for the Church's leadership; and second, his belief that positive change comes from a dynamic relationship between teacher and student. He believed that if the Church's university trained effective teachers, it could change the world.

Early Life and Education

George Henry Brimhall was born in Salt Lake City on December 9, 1852. His father, George Washington Brimhall, had joined the Church in 1832, had come west in 1850, and had eventually settled in Ogden. When George Henry was six years old, he watched settlers in Ogden prepare to burn their homes in advance of the arrival of the U.S. Army in what was called "Johnston's Army invasion."⁵ George Henry's mother, Rachel Ann Mayer, was his first teacher. He remembered, "My mother taught me to read in the First Reader, the Second Reader and the Third Reader and then she put into my hands the Book of Mormon."⁶ He attended his first formal school in Ogden at the age of seven.⁷

When George Henry was eleven years old, his parents were called by Church leaders to explore the Colorado River region of southern Nevada on what became known as the Muddy Mission. The object of the mission was to see if pioneer settlements could survive in an area where there was little water or arable land. George Henry's father recorded, "I told Brother [George A.] Smith I wished to leave my family and go on the mission alone, but he said that without a family along, the methods of traveling would not be known for others with families, who might follow."⁸ The Brimhalls lost all their physical possessions on that mission and returned to Spanish Fork, Utah, one year later, hungry and destitute.⁹ This was a defining experience for George Henry, the oldest of the five children who accompanied his parents. Forty-three years later (in 1907), while traveling by train across the same territory, Brimhall noted:

Here and now in the midst of these reminders of our early hardship, hunger, thirst, weariness and danger, I bear my testimony to all men, and especially to the posterity of my parents, that we are more as a family than we would have been had father and mother never been called to the Muddy Mission and filled it to the satisfaction of the leaders of the church. They and we have been blessed thru obedience and the blessings will extend down to our posterity forever.¹⁰

Obedience to Church leaders became Brimhall's unwavering standard.

By the age of seventeen, Brimhall discovered that his "ruling passion" was to "move men's minds."¹¹ At the age of eighteen, he attended high school at the Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret in nearby Provo taught by Warren and Wilson Dusenberry.¹² His first year there, Brimhall did janitorial work to cover his housing and tuition. When he could not find employment his second year, he ended up walking twelve miles to Spanish Fork on Fridays to do chores there on Saturday. Once, when Brimhall was worried about finances, his father gave the school part of a butchered ox to help pay for tuition.¹³ When Brimhall complained that this sacrifice was unfair to the younger children, his mother responded that if he went to school he would be able to help the other children later.¹⁴

At age nineteen, Brimhall and other young men from Spanish Fork cut down timber in Santaquin Canyon, hauled it to town, and built a school they named the Young Men's Academy (fig. 2). Brimhall taught at the academy in the winter and farmed in the summer. Young women also attended the academy.¹⁵ There Brimhall met Alsina Elizabeth Wilkins, a student at the academy, whom he married in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City on December 28, 1874.¹⁶

At twenty-three, Brimhall was married and poor and had two small children to feed.¹⁷ Although already possessing a teacher's certificate issued



Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

FIG. 2. The Young Men's Academy in Spanish Fork, built in 1872. Brimhall began his teaching career in this schoolhouse, which he helped build from logs brought from Santaquin Canyon. From this humble beginning, Brimhall went on to serve as superintendent of Provo City Schools, teacher on the Brigham Young Academy staff, president of the Utah Education Association, and, finally, president of BYU.

by the Utah County Board of Examination,¹⁸ he wanted to enroll in the first class of the Brigham Young Academy (BYA) to study under its principal, Karl G. Maeser. To meet expenses, he worked as a janitor at the academy. The next year he received his normal (teaching) diploma from BYA and became a teacher with administrative responsibilities at Spanish Fork's elementary school, where he taught until 1883, when he was elected superintendent of Utah County Schools. In 1888, he was named superintendent of Provo City Schools and moved his family to Provo.¹⁹

Between 1875 and 1882, his family grew to two girls and three boys. In October 1883, a sixth child was born who died shortly thereafter. Brimhall's wife became ill with brain fever²⁰ from an infection contracted during that childbirth. After months of sickness, it became apparent that mentally she would be unable to care for herself or for her young family.²¹ Brimhall wrote to a friend, "My sun has set; from now on I must walk by the light of the moon."²² Through a court order, his wife was placed in the new mental care facility in Provo in 1885.²³ She never recovered. Brimhall's second daughter, Alsina, wrote, "Father made frequent trips to the hospital throughout the years, to see mother, each time returning with a 'broken

heart' and a 'contrite spirit.'"²⁴ In January 1926, Brimhall learned that she was near death after over forty years of living with the sickness. He insisted on bringing her home, where she died the same day with all her family present.²⁵

In September 1885, five years before the Manifesto of 1890, Brimhall married a second wife, Flora Robertson, in the Logan Temple.²⁶ She had also been a student at the Young Men's Academy in Spanish Fork.²⁷ Brimhall did not divorce his first wife, so Flora was considered to be an illegal polygamous wife under federal law. He made an effort to conceal his marriage to Flora from federal authorities, but in March 1889, he was informed that Flora had been arrested. He went before the U.S. Commissioner, agreed to appear before a grand jury, and fully expected to be sent to prison.²⁸ The jury was to hear testimony from his two oldest daughters, who were twelve and thirteen. Later, his daughter Alsina enjoyed telling about the following incident, which took place before the legal proceedings commenced: "One of them [the jurors] came to us as we were just seated in the audience. He asked us if we had been told what to say if we were asked questions. My sister said, 'Yes, we were. We were told to tell the truth by our father.' We were not called to the stand to testify."²⁹ After the hearing, Brimhall recorded:

A day of deliverance. Attended teachers association. Got my trunk and bed ready for the penitentiary for conscience sake. Appeared for sentence on a charge of having been guilty of committing adultery with my wife Flora. . . . The judge suspended sentence.³⁰

The reason for the judge's action is not explained.

Brimhall had been called to work in the Church's newly organized Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) in 1876.³¹ In 1885, he was named to a committee of five men to write lessons for the Church auxiliary.³² While working on a YMMIA lesson, he wrote in his journal:

Worked on Scriptural analysis of Book of Mormon and felt an unspeakable satisfaction on so doing, and I here testify that every time I read the book I have a testimony of it being true and it breathing a spirit [of] joy which I can get from reading no other book.³³

The Book of Mormon became a key text in Brimhall's efforts to put theology at the center of Church school curriculum.

In 1891, the BYA board of trustees chairman, Abraham O. Smoot, asked Brimhall, then age thirty-eight, to join Brigham Young Academy's teaching staff and head the Normal (teacher training) Department.³⁴ Brimhall saw this as an opportunity to institute innovations in the training school and to pursue his own education. Two years later, the Academy graduated its first college class. Brimhall received the degree of Bachelor of Pedagogy and became BYA Alumni Association's first president.³⁵

At that same time, Brimhall began experiencing severe chest pains, which were later diagnosed as symptoms of a damaged heart.³⁶ Notwithstanding, in spring 1897 he was called to serve a Church proselytizing mission to Colorado during his summer break.³⁷ Though he was forty-four years old, had ten children, and was in constant pain, Brimhall was thrilled to accept the call. The mission breathed new life into him. At its conclusion, he wrote, "Free from anxiety and depending on the Lord not from day to day alone but even from hour to hour . . . [the mission] has been one of the most profitable periods of my life physically, mentally, and spiritually."³⁸

That same year, Brimhall was elected president of the Utah Education Association. He had become a champion of the teaching profession. "There is nothing higher," he declared some years later. "There may be something with more money in it. There may be something with more fame in it. But nothing higher."³⁹ In 1898, Brimhall became a member of the General Church Board of Education, which that same year conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor in Science and Didactics.⁴⁰

Development as a Master Teacher

While on his mission to Colorado, Brimhall recorded preaching to eleven persons, three of whom left the room.⁴¹ However, out of humble, unimpressive beginnings developed an educator who touched the lives of thousands of young men and women under his tutelage.

Much of Brimhall's success derived from his personality. Church leader Bryant S. Hinckley said Brimhall possessed "an intangible something that leaps from soul to soul like electricity from a dynamo."⁴² Former student Stanley Gunn said that Brimhall "was the teacher that taught so I could not forget."⁴³ Brimhall is remembered because he changed lives. For instance, when Brimhall taught a prospective missionary class in 1901, of the 101 students enrolled, about forty percent had "bad habits," such as "using tobacco, blaspheming, using intoxicants, visiting saloons, idleness and lack of ambition." By commencement, Brimhall reported that each of the 101 students "keeps the Word of Wisdom, has a desire to learn, has a reverence for the name of Deity, has respect for the Holy Priesthood, and desires to do good to his fellowmen."⁴⁴

Brimhall's accomplishments also derived in part from his absolute confidence that his students would succeed. This belief drove him to empower those who sat at his feet. His focus was always on the individual. Brimhall told his classes, "The absence of a [single] student effects [*sic*] every student in the school. . . . [When a student] is away from school, the entire school is effected just as when one man performs some gallant

act. . . . We are moving in the opposite direction to the educational policies of the world.”⁴⁵ Only when all students were developing did Brimhall feel he was succeeding. On one occasion, he reported that “all the students in the school who are doing unsatisfactory work could ride in one hack. And it would not need to be a very large one either.”⁴⁶

His genuine regard for each student is evident in this statement: “Every young person is entitled to the encouragement of success.”⁴⁷ He consistently told students he cared about them, even when some disappointed him. During one devotional, he said, “I heard the other day that a student thought that I hated him. I could not do it. I may hate lawlessness; I may hate impurity; I may hate dishonesty, but I could not hate one of you.”⁴⁸ Brimhall used his affection for students as a tool for discipline. Students kept school standards because they had a great desire to please him. In turn, those students supported the school as alumni, and the school grew and prospered.

Brimhall's Administration

In spring 1900, BYA Principal Benjamin Cluff Jr. left on a scientific expedition to Central and South America to prove the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, and Brimhall, age forty-seven, was named the academy's acting principal.⁴⁹ In Cluff's absence, Brimhall provided vigorous leadership and assumed responsibility to find strong people to serve on BYA's board of trustees, which was reorganized in 1901 with Joseph F. Smith as president. Among others, Jesse Knight and Lafayette Holbrook became members of the board. Brimhall's oldest daughter had recently married Knight's son, and his second daughter was engaged to Holbrook's son.⁵⁰

Brimhall was a skilled orator and made effective use of the school's assemblies. He disciplined from the rostrum and used “the sheer power of [his] character and the eloquence of his address” to bring about needed change.⁵¹ One well-known incident arose when a student's watch was stolen from a gym locker. Brimhall was incensed with the dishonesty. At the next devotional assembly he said that if the culprit had “even so much as a trace of conscience and character, every tick of that watch would say to him, ‘thief! thief! thief! thief! thief!’” The next day Brimhall found “half a dozen watches and several pens on his desk.”⁵² Developing students' character was a goal of Brimhall's presidential tenure. For Brimhall, “education [was] more than preparing for life, it [was] life.”⁵³

In 1901, while Brimhall was acting principal of BYA, John Dewey came to Provo and lectured to the BYA faculty.⁵⁴ Right after Dewey's visit, Brimhall was summoned to Salt Lake City for a special meeting of the

Church Board of Education at the office of Church President Lorenzo Snow. Before the board was a proposal to eliminate college work and leave elementary and high school education at BYA and all other Church schools so all college work could be consolidated at the state university in Salt Lake City.⁵⁵ This was a pivotal moment for Brigham Young Academy. Brimhall led the argument in favor of keeping college departments at Church schools. However, after a long discussion, President Snow said he favored the University of Utah if the Church could maintain control of it. Brimhall forecasted that “we might get hold of the University, but we could not keep hold of it.”⁵⁶ The meeting ended with no action taken. That night Brimhall made a terse entry in his journal: “Meeting of the Board of Education at the President’s Office. Big Discussion. Saved the college Department of BYA. University tried to cut it out of existence.”⁵⁷

In 1902, when special appropriation was provided for the maintenance of the college, Brimhall was delighted. By 1920, BYU was designated as the preeminent Church school for training teachers as other Church schools fed into the Church Teachers College of BYU. BYU also attracted excellent students from state schools, “especially those who contemplate[d] making teaching their vocation.” During these years, Brimhall envisioned “a community of teachers” who would have “education as their life’s work.”⁵⁸

In February 1902, Benjamin Cluff Jr. returned from the South American expedition, and Brimhall turned the reins of the school back to him. Brimhall was worn out, his heart trouble was back, and by March he was so ill that he felt his work had ended.⁵⁹ Recently ordained Church President Joseph F. Smith consented for him to travel to California, where Brimhall’s son was serving a mission, to see if Brimhall could recover his health there.⁶⁰ Brimhall convalesced in California until April 1903, when he received word that his one-year-old daughter, Alta, had been accidentally killed by a runaway team and wagon in Provo. He immediately returned to Provo, but his health did not improve. He then traveled to Canada, where several of his children were engaged in business. In December 1903, while in Canada, he received a letter from Joseph F. Smith asking him to be president of Brigham Young University.⁶¹ (Benjamin Cluff Jr. had successfully changed the name of the school from Brigham Young Academy to Brigham Young University shortly before he resigned as president.⁶²) Brimhall’s tenure as president of the school (1904–1921) would roughly correspond to Joseph F. Smith’s term as President of the Church (1901–1918).

On April 16, 1904, a frail fifty-one-year-old George Henry Brimhall was inaugurated as BYU’s second president. Joseph B. Keller and Edwin S. Hinckley were named as his counselors.⁶³ There were 1,275 students enrolled at BYU but only sixty enrolled in the college division. The rest

were elementary, intermediate, or high school students.⁶⁴ At a devotional assembly that fall, he said to the student body, "As I looked at you coming in and passing down the aisles, I could not help thinking I am scarcely able to preside over so much intelligence and purity."⁶⁵ Brimhall's health began to improve.⁶⁶ He attributed it to God and went forward at a strenuous pace, focusing on the college division.⁶⁷ He wrote to the Board of Trustees, "High schools are coming into existence all around us and there is increased demand for college work. Our students, in the near future, will come from high schools seeking learning at the college level. It should therefore, be our policy to strengthen our college faculty and facilities to accommodate this growth."⁶⁸

At the close of his first year as president, Brimhall reported that the university was "a school of seven schools": a college, a normal school, a high school, a commercial school, a school of music, a school of arts and industries, and a branch institution (in Beaver, Utah).⁶⁹ At the time of Brimhall's release in 1921, the institution had undergone dramatic change. The steady escalation in student enrollment in the early years of Brimhall's administration was mainly attributed to lower-division students: "In 1904–5 a total of 1,275 pupils were enrolled, most of whom were high school students." Elementary student enrollment also saw great expansion, as some of the elementary classes were forced to move from the training school building to the art building in 1912 to accommodate the growth of the grammar school. In addition, college enrollment increased from fewer than 60 to 438 students during the seventeen years of Brimhall's presidency. The degree of bachelor of arts had replaced the degree of bachelor of pedagogy, and a master's degree was offered. The first yearbook, *The Banyan*, had been published. The block Y on a mountain above campus had been painted.⁷⁰ Thirty-seven acres of the upper (present) campus had been acquired. The first honorary degree had been conferred, and two new buildings (the Maeser Memorial Building and the Mechanic Arts Building, now known as the Brimhall Building) had been erected on upper campus.⁷¹

Brimhall's reputation as an educator spread throughout the Church, the state of Utah, and the nation. Fellow professor and lecturer James L. Barker observed that Brimhall "could go quicker to the heart and truth of a thing and get rid of the non-essentials" than any other educator he had known.⁷² Brimhall used the Savior's example as a backdrop for all aspects of his pedagogical practices:

Teaching was the vocation of the master. The teacher's work—creative. In the beginning the earth was without form and void; so is the world to

the child. The teacher is to make the world for the child, by leading him to discover. The preparation of the material was spiritual. All things created first spiritual then temporal. Man imitates God in preparing and planning.⁷³

Brimhall hoped that future teachers studying at BYU would also use the Master as their role model and hoped that the study of pedagogy would be uppermost in their minds. He said, "Normal school students should be filled with the spirit of pedagogical inquiry from first to last."⁷⁴ He was adamant that "as a Normal School, the B.Y.U. needs to exist for the purpose of training teachers for the church, the schools and the world."⁷⁵ His ambition was to make it the place from which Latter-day Saint teachers would go forth to influence the destiny of Utah, the United States, and the kingdom of God.

Of BYU graduates, he said, "We are not the geologists nor the biologists nor the sociologists of the world—more than anything else we are the teachers of the world."⁷⁶ He rejoiced that "rare, indeed, are the cases of failure among those sent forth from our institution as teachers." "The work in [the pedagogy department]," he said, "does more than just prepare [school] teachers."⁷⁷ In 1900, while serving as acting principal of BYA, he announced the addition of courses on parenthood in the teaching curriculum. Brimhall was pleased that as far as he was aware, "the Latter-day Saints are the first people in the world . . . to make the theory of parenthood a part of their higher education. In no other system of training, have courses in parenthood been included as part of the academic curriculum."⁷⁸

Brimhall took positions on many issues facing the teaching profession, some of which are still being debated today. For example, he said, "The lower the grade the better the teacher needed," and "the highest salary should go with the best teacher!"⁷⁹ Well ahead of his time, he declared, "It is piracy to pay a woman less than a man gets for the same work."⁸⁰ Aretta Young, an art professor at BYU (1885–1923), said of Brimhall: "No other man of my acquaintance has done so much to give dignity to the professional woman."⁸¹ Brimhall also grasped the concept of alternative education. He proclaimed, "Educate all the people all of the time, not just some of the people some of the time. School should open six nights as well as six days."⁸²

Brimhall believed that BYU's academic community was a unique place where scholars could reconcile science and religion. He explained:

We have not only to supply the immediate and growing demands for teachers, but we have also great educational problems to work out in the light of the Gospel, problems which can not be solved in educational institutions where the field of revelation is either forbidden ground, or looked upon as unprofitable. To our minds, it seems that upon ~~us as a~~

people <the church schools> rests the responsibility of bringing to the world, a harmony between science and religion, and to do this we must be in possession of both.⁸³

A core principle of Brimhall's educational philosophy was that a school is responsible for instilling hope for a productive future in its students. He believed this responsibility was shared by administration and faculty, and he encouraged innovation to accomplish it. Student Ruth Roberts Lusk, who was born with a cleft palate, benefited from these innovations. After undergoing surgery, she came to BYU's Normal school program. There she met with the director of the Normal School, James Lehi Brown, and teacher Hermese Peterson. Under Brimhall's direction, these two educators pioneered work in speech therapy. Lusk felt that her experience showed "the unique vision, flexibility and freedom which was possible under the presidency of George H. Brimhall." She observed that Brown and Peterson "could not have devoted their time and talents to this pioneering endeavor without the beaming approval of President Brimhall," and she called the experience a miracle where the dumb had learned to speak.⁸⁴

Brimhall and his contemporaries envisioned the present college campus on land known as Temple Hill. Apparently Brigham Young had prophesied that a Church temple would be built there, but many believed it would be a "temple of learning."⁸⁵ The student newspaper, the *White and Blue*, on October 24, 1911, read: "It may not be the kind of a temple that was in the minds of the dreams of the youth of that former day," but fulfillment of the prophecy is "apparent in the prospect that a temple of learning . . . shall crown this hill."⁸⁶ Church funds for such expansion were scarce. Brimhall had to turn elsewhere for support.

Brimhall asked students to support the effort to acquire Temple Hill by giving up their pleasure money. Students went without candy, gum, shows, and dances for three weeks and raised \$1,049 to help purchase the land where the new college campus would be built.⁸⁷ But his main support came from mining magnate Jesse Knight. The Knights and Brimhalls were close neighbors and trusted friends.⁸⁸ In 1905, Brimhall recorded that Knight invited him to have a soda water with him; Knight told Brimhall of his struggle to quit tobacco. Brimhall wrote in his diary, "I have felt that I would like to put my hands on his [Knight's] head and bless him that he may not fail. The chief purpose of this effort is to put himself [Knight] in a condition that he may have the spirit of the Lord to direct him in the use of his wealth."⁸⁹ The next year, Knight gave BYU five hundred acres of land on the Provo Bench to be sold as needed for revenue.⁹⁰ This was not the only instance when Knight came to Brimhall's aid. Their relationship was so

close that when Knight died the month before Brimhall was released as president of the university, Brimhall confided in his journal, "I've lost the presence of my strongest friend. How he would carry me through trouble. I seem now to be quite alone. He understood me, rain and snow."⁹¹

With the help of the students and Jesse Knight, the land was secured, and Brimhall suggested to the board of trustees "that steps be taken to erect a new building to cost from \$75,000.00 to \$100,000.00." He felt "the cost . . . could be met by appealing to the Alumni Association and to the friends and patrons of the institution."⁹² The building would be exclusively dedicated to college classes and was to be known as the Maeser Memorial, to represent the school's devotion to its past.⁹³ Karl G. Maeser had been Brimhall's chief mentor. Brimhall had spoken at Maeser's funeral and helped raise the money for a plaque in his hometown in Germany.⁹⁴ Many compared the two educators. James E. Talmage, a BYA classmate of Brimhall's, once wrote to Brimhall, "You are the man upon whose shoulders the mantle of our beloved Brother Maeser rested and you have worn it well."⁹⁵ The imposing college classroom building was to be the first building on the proposed new college campus, a campus that was designed to include academic buildings and a temple.⁹⁶

The dedication of Temple Hill and ground breaking took place in January 1908. The building was completed in fall 1911 and dedicated May 30, 1912,⁹⁷ but paying for it became one of Brimhall's chief activities over the next eight years.⁹⁸ "Among others, the faculty contributed . . . some sacrificing 'what would mean a half year's salary.'"⁹⁹ The initial effort netted \$41,125, of which \$33,000 came from the Jesse Knight family and \$5,350 from the Lafayette Holbrook family.¹⁰⁰

By 1914, the obligations incurred for the completion of the Maeser Memorial building had grown into a great liability for the school. Its financial situation was so desperate that unofficial reports circulated that BYU would be closed or consolidated with another Church school in Salt Lake City. The school's board of trustees, which at that time was distinct from the Church's General Board of Education, met in June 1914 and ordered Brimhall to liquidate assets.¹⁰¹ In October, Knight came to Brimhall's rescue with an endowment of \$100,000 in irrigation stock.¹⁰² In addition, various other measures were taken, including the Church's purchasing of the school's assets, before BYU was able to recover financially.¹⁰³ The building was paid for at a final cost of \$114,000.¹⁰⁴

Throughout Brimhall's tenure at BYU, he wrestled with the institution's financial problems, but he did not seem to worry much about his own financial situation. To help pay for the Maeser Memorial he once contributed half his annual salary to the school.¹⁰⁵ He had a large and growing

family—five surviving children from his first marriage and eight from his second. Thanks to the Knights, the Brimhall family lived in a comfortable home in Provo (fig. 3), but they never had wealth.¹⁰⁶ Referring to the years he served at BYU, Brimhall's wife Flora wrote, "The spirit of our home was loving and serving. We lived generously, gladly, freely in the spirit of the master. What though we didn't acquire a bank account?"¹⁰⁷

For Brimhall, an important function of Brigham Young University was to train missionaries. When the school was still an academy, he and Cluff had presented plans for missionary training classes to the Board of Trustees.¹⁰⁸ Once implemented, these classes quickly bore fruit. Mission president German F. Ellsworth wrote Brimhall, "We feel that the greatest thing that your school has done to the missionaries who have come to us is to help them to gain a testimony of the Gospel."¹⁰⁹ Brimhall also established a student mentoring program in which each student had a personal advisor from the theology faculty. He expected these mentors to give students "special confidence, counsel, and guidance."¹¹⁰



Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University

FIG. 3. President Brimhall and his second wife, Flora, in front of their home in Provo, ca. 1912. Located at 300 East and 100 North, this house was given to the Brimhall family by Brimhall's son-in-law Jesse William Knight. Brimhall's successor, President Franklin S. Harris, later lived in the same home (Jennie H. Groberg and Delbert V. Groberg, comp., *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall* [Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988], on unmarked page 30 of front matter).

Brimhall began classes in health training, woodworking, kindergarten work, and mechanical arts.¹¹¹ He was open to suggestions for course offerings from others. Zina Young Card's correspondence with him suggested she be hired to teach a short course "for the instruction of our dear girls with regard to the future duties that will rest upon them as wives and mothers." Card, who served on BYU's board of trustees, insisted she was being led by "the promptings of the Spirit."¹¹² In similar fashion, Susa Young Gates, who also served on the school's board of trustees, shared her vision of putting the "study of genealogy into our Church schools," insisted that BYU "take the lead in this, . . . as in everything else," and encouraged the establishment of a genealogical library.¹¹³ Brimhall responded affirmatively to both of these requests.¹¹⁴

When Latter-day Saint men began serving in the military because of World War I, Brimhall informed President Joseph F. Smith, "There is a demand here in the school for military training, and unless we supply that demand, a number of our boys will undoubtedly leave school to get this training."¹¹⁵ Three faculty members were sent to the Presidio in San Francisco, California, to train as military instructors. BYU officially opened its Army Training Corps Center in October 1918.¹¹⁶

Above all, Brimhall wanted religious education to permeate every aspect of the BYU experience. He informed faculty and students:

Every department in our great school contributes to the department of religious education. The job of the religious education department as a specific unit is merely to crystalize all that is given elsewhere; to turn the stream of knowledge accruing in each class into the pulsating living flood of human interest which some style the humanitarian movement, but which we call vitalized religion.¹¹⁷

Brimhall believed religious education was the difference between BYU and every other institution of higher learning: "The Brigham Young University holds an enviable position among the institutions of higher learning throughout the United States. Its departments of natural and mathematical sciences, commerce, history, music, art, and education all receive splendid recognition. But primarily it is a University of Religion."¹¹⁸ The authors of *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years* wrote that Brimhall was "determined to make BYU universally acceptable to the [LDS] religious community, incorporating moral and theological training as an integral part of the school's academic program."¹¹⁹

Though Brimhall is BYU's only president to have received all his education at BYU, including receiving an honorary doctorate degree from his alma mater, he looked for educational ideas from those of his generation who were pedagogy pioneers. Taking several trips to the eastern United

States, he visited Parker's school in Chicago, the Horace Mann School, and Columbia University and engaged speakers to come to BYU. In June 1914, he spent days listening to John Dewey lecture in Provo.¹²⁰ Brimhall lectured on "Parker's principles on Unity of Idea"; shared the wisdom of William James, whom some believed to be America's greatest philosopher; discussed formative and informative education; and defined the pedagogical creeds of several other modern educators.¹²¹

Influence on Individual Students

U.S. Congressman Don B. Colton said he had never met anyone who had more "heart power . . . [for] causing others to know, to grow and to feel" than George H. Brimhall.¹²² Family friend A. T. Thurber added that Brimhall was "life's unsevered tie between [his] pupils and eternity" and that Thurber and others would "carry more of Dr. Brimhall [with them] than any other man, not excepting loved and honored fathers."¹²³ James E. Talmage, a former classmate of Brimhall's, repeated a similar sentiment, remembering Brimhall as "a source of help and inspiration" during his student days and long afterwards.¹²⁴

Brimhall's largeness of heart was manifest in the fact that, as one student wrote of him, "[His] true joy was helping young men and women do their best to reach their potentials."¹²⁵ He created a positive personal affinity with individual students. Despite a packed schedule, he focused on individuals instead of groups. He believed this ultimately saved him time and helped him realize his objectives for BYU. In a 1910 interview for the *Improvement Era*, Brimhall said that the most important characteristic of a teacher is sympathy. "What an awful thing it is," he said, "when you come to think of it, to allow any young person in our charge to lose heart . . . when almost the only really helpful thing we *are* able to give is an uplift!"¹²⁶

If a student left school without completing a program, Brimhall believed it was not only tragic for the individual, but also indicative of an institutional weakness. Brimhall told one young woman that her unnecessary withdrawal dealt a blow to the school. If one student failed, Brimhall saw the "collective body" of BYU weakening.¹²⁷ Time spent with students was put at the center of his administrative schedule.

Brimhall's devotionals at the beginning of the school year typically included an invitation for students to visit him in his office. He counseled, "Don't be afraid to come and see me. I would like it if there was a stream of you coming from time to time."¹²⁸ He reassured them that "nobody comes to the office of the president to be reprimanded—that is a place where students come for counsel and never to be scolded or reprimanded."¹²⁹ In his

office, Brimhall tried to ignite enthusiasm in down-hearted students. They were asked to report their progress to him, after which he would follow up with encouragement. In one report, student Leland Stott admitted he had “been rather neglectful of [his] secret prayers,” praying only occasionally. He also reported missing some church meetings. Thanking Brimhall for his interest, Stott wrote, “The thing I appreciated more than anything else was the little private talk I had with you in your office. It has been a great help and a wonderful encouragement to me.”¹³⁰ The following is a typical report found in the Brimhall presidential papers:

Dear President Brimhall,

1—Yes, I pray daily

2—I have only missed two Devotional Exercises so far this year other than when I have been absent from school.

3—I have neglected going to Sunday services in the past in that I have averaged about two a month, but I have done much better on my mid-week meetings.¹³¹

When reports did not materialize or were unsatisfactory, Brimhall wrote home to parents.¹³² These reports were Brimhall’s way of ensuring that struggling students had every possible chance to improve before being asked to leave the school. The withdrawal policy seems to have mandated a visit to the president’s office to ask for a release.¹³³ There Brimhall tried to provide students with perspective, draw them away from their problems, introduce them to a broader view, and lift their spirits. In typical fashion, he told one struggling student:

It is possible for a person to draw the ills of life so close to their eyes that they entirely shut out the possibility of the entrance of sunshine. You have much to live for. You were intended to perform a mission of usefulness on the earth and it rests with you to see that every prediction that has been made concerning your success is fulfilled—that is a part of your mission. . . . I have no hesitancy in assuring you that universally the school extends towards you the confidence and love that is due a sister [in the gospel].¹³⁴

Brimhall reported that one student walked into the office and told him that he wanted to graduate. Brimhall said, “I think you can,” to which the student replied, “I will,” and walked out with determination.¹³⁵ Brimhall was willing to spend time with “prospective quitters,” as he called them.¹³⁶

At the same time, Brimhall understood if a student had a valid reason to withdraw. One student who withdrew from BYU and received personal support from Brimhall was Spencer W. Kimball, who later became president of the school’s board of trustees. Kimball reported to Brimhall that

the “cause of [his] absence from school and [his] abrupt discontinuance” therefrom was the result of having “received an authoritative call to arms from the authorities of the United States.” Kimball then wrote, “I wish to express my appreciation for the kindness and consideration with which I have been treated while in [the University’s] midst.”¹³⁷ In typical fashion, Brimhall acknowledged Kimball’s correspondence with these heartening and prophetic words:

You have a flood of friends in the B.Y.U.

Your sudden call was something of a disappointment to us as we had hoped to have your valued services in the student body this year. . . . You will be a valiant defender of the truth, physically, intellectually, morally, and spiritually. God bless you our dear friend, brother, student. . . .

With the assurance that the Lord will have you in mind wherever you go, and that whatever road you may take in the end you will be among the triumphant ones.¹³⁸

Another student, Margaret Maw, remembered Brimhall coming to her hometown of Deseret, Utah, in 1892, soon after he had joined the BYA faculty. After a visit from Brimhall, she and her bishop were convinced that the financial way could be opened for her to attend BYA. In Brimhall and other teachers at BYU, Maw found some of her greatest influences. She fondly recalled that at one social gathering Brimhall remarked, “Now, there’s Margaret—she will bring forth Washingtons and Lincolns in her family.” After Maw finished her first year at the academy, Brimhall recommended her for a teaching position in Spring Lake. He informed Maw that the position would be challenging (in her words, “The pupils were in the habit of throwing out their teachers”), but assured Maw she would succeed. After a week of teaching, Maw came into Brimhall’s office, burst into tears, and cried: “Brother Brimhall! I’ve expelled a boy the first week—it happens its [*sic*] the boy where I board too—I didn’t know it at the time. . . . I threw him out by the coat collar.” Maw recalled that after she had finished, Brimhall said, “What are you crying for? You’re in! You’ve done just what had to be done. You’ll have no more trouble over there. You’ve made it, girl! I’m proud of you.” Maw went on to finish the year, becoming one of the county’s finest teachers, and later proclaimed that Brimhall’s tremendous confidence in her over the years had caused her to grow considerably.¹³⁹

Brimhall believed that teachers, administrators, and parents typically overreact to young people’s behavior. He tended to minimize a student’s infractions and to encourage the student to move onward and upward. For example, when a young man admitted that he frequented a “dive,” Brimhall applauded him for being “frank, and above-board” about it.

He denounced what the young man had done but said he had “full faith in [the young man’s] integrity as a student in the future.” Of the situation, Brimhall wrote:

No amount of censure or harsh words on my part could make him regret the occurrence more than he does, or do him any good. I believe that time and kind counsel will give him a chance to prove that he can and will rise above any such line of conduct.

I am more interested in what the boy will do than what he has done and I have full faith that he will improve every day he is kept here in school.¹⁴⁰

Ray Olpin, president of the University of Utah from 1946 to 1964 and former BYU student, put Brimhall’s unique blend of discipline this way: “President Brimhall is possessed of a stern demeanor and bluntly frank in expressing his aims and convictions—but he was endowed with the most sympathetic understanding and greatest power of appreciation of any man I have ever met.”¹⁴¹ After telling one young man that if he continued his current course of behavior he would be expelled, Brimhall confessed that, notwithstanding, he was willing to throw himself “into the jaws of a lion or in the cannon’s mouth [to help him].”¹⁴² Brimhall’s personal interest was a constant in every student’s life. He wrote the following to a student who lost her mother:

The loss of a mother is more than words can express, and then such a mother as you had. We know her through you. Children reflect their parents. The sympathy of the entire faculty and student body is extended to you. . . . We, of course, are powerless to aid you any further than to give you the comfort and consolation that may come from dear friends. . . . You are young and time will dull the edge of the sword of sorrow. . . . Be brave and true as you were in school. Your mother’s spirit is affected by you and your conduct on the earth. Unnecessary grief and sorrow [*sic*] is painful to the spirits of the departed ones. Cultivate cheer and happiness, shed a radiance of hope all around you in the family and you will gain an increase in sweetness and strength of character.¹⁴³

As T. N. Taylor said at Brimhall’s funeral services, Brimhall’s “heart was in the work.”¹⁴⁴ Heart power was a large part of his leadership style.

Leadership Style

In a 1905 devotional, Brimhall characterized his administrative practice. He told of finding one of the university’s leading students, one he labeled “an educational thoroughbred,” in a room where students were not supposed to be and reprimanded the student sharply. Later, the young man came into Brimhall’s office and admitted he was wrong. “You know as a rule I do not do those things,” the student said. Brimhall admitted the

behavior had been abnormal, then added, "We will sweep the stairs from the top down. If it had been a first year student, I probably would not have gone at it in that way."¹⁴⁵ Because this young man was a leader, he was expected to set an example.

Brimhall expected the same of himself as an administrator. He was the exemplar, requiring more of himself than of others, never asking a subordinate to do things he himself would not do. He held himself to a rigid decorum and was willing to admit when he deviated from it. He was once two minutes late for a devotional. His opening words were, "I feel that I owe the school an apology."¹⁴⁶ But Brimhall was also known for the patience and concern he showed to those in his stewardship. His granddaughter Jennie H. Groberg recalled hearing Ida Jensen Romney, who served as Brimhall's personal secretary for a time, remark that "next to her husband [Marion G. Romney, who served in the First Presidency of the Church], no one had influenced her life for good as had President Brimhall."¹⁴⁷

Brimhall's influence on faculty and staff began with the hiring process. He was adamant that he select teachers himself. If a prospective teacher was a member of the Church, the first and essential qualifications he looked for were loyalty to the Church and love for the restored gospel. He gave more than lip service to this requirement. A prospective teacher who was denied employment complained:

From my conversations with you and your letters to me it is evident that I have given you the impression that I am out of sympathy with the Church and all that it stands for. While I concede that I have said and written things which would lead you to this conclusion, yet I surmise that you have looked me over suspiciously, as people do one who has been away to a University.¹⁴⁸

Brimhall replied:

I am of the impression that while you have sympathy with Mormons, you are out of sympathy with Mormonism. I think you look upon Mormon doctrine as back-number philosophy and the followers of it as at least quasi-deceived. What we call inspiration, you would denominate as imagination; what we call zeal, approaches fanaticism in your mind; what we call divine interference, is to you superstition to a certain extent.

. . . Your inference that people who attend universities are generally looked upon with suspicion, seems to me to be just a little inappropriate. . . .

I am delighted that you are desirous of getting into a church university, but I should shun the responsibility of being instrumental in your obtaining a position in one . . . when your chief motive was the development and improvement of yourself. When a person steps on the rostrum as a teacher, his chief interest must be in those he teaches—the self must be forgotten.¹⁴⁹

Under Brimhall's criterion, if one's "chief motive was the development and improvement of [him]self," that individual did not qualify to teach at the Church school. However, this criterion did not seem to mean that only Church members could teach at BYU. Annie Pike Greenwood, who was not a Church member, wrote that there was "not one of us but what would strain every nerve to bring about the accomplishment of that which he [Brimhall] desired or suggested and we not only did the thing, but we out-did ourselves, surprised ourselves with a best that we did not know we possessed for it was President Brimhall who knew how to unlock the secret doors of our beings."¹⁵⁰ Hiring qualified teachers was never easy, and keeping them at BYU was always a challenge and a constant concern to Brimhall, who nevertheless managed to keep many teachers even when they were offered higher salaries elsewhere.¹⁵¹

Brimhall wanted the best teachers and the latest teachings. He read much and was always open to new ideas, but at heart he was a down-to-earth man who had learned more from his frontier life than from his studies. Professor Harvey Fletcher, who later became a renowned physicist, recalled the following experience that actually endeared him to his university president:

One day I received a call to come into President's [*sic*] Brimhall's office for a conference. Four of the older students in my class were there as a committee complaining [*sic*] that I was teaching false laws of physics. They repeated a statement that I had made that day in class about action and reaction. I said that when a pair of horses were pulling a wagon down the street, the wagon pulled back with just the same force that the horses pulled forward. They said any simpleton could see that the wagon would not move under those circumstances. Of course, that is a very fundamental law in physics and my statement represented the basic fact in mechanics and dynamics. I argued with President Brimhall and with the students and even with a chemistry professor who was there, but to no avail. I had to leave with Brimhall saying, "Now, Brother Fletcher, you are young and when you have a little more experience you will see the fallacy of this statement."¹⁵²

Brimhall Confronts Modern Academia

In 1907, in an effort to improve the college faculty's academic standing, Brimhall hired two brothers: Joseph Peterson (who held a PhD from the University of Chicago and was the first PhD employed by BYU) and Henry Peterson (who held degrees from the University of Chicago and Harvard). The next year he hired Ralph Chamberlin (who held a PhD from Cornell). In 1909, Ralph's brother, William Chamberlin, was hired. Though William did not hold a doctorate degree, he had been

trained at Harvard, the University of California, the University of Chicago, and the University of Utah. Joseph Peterson oversaw the psychology department, and Henry Peterson, a member of the Church's Sunday School General Board, helped oversee the College of Education. Ralph Chamberlin took charge of BYU's Biology Department, and William Chamberlin taught psychology, philosophy, and languages. All four were active Latter-day Saints and enthusiastic to be teaching at a Church school. They took interest in the students and invigorated the campus with the spirit of scientific inquiry.

Brimhall, pleased with the exciting new atmosphere, saw it as the realization of the vision he had had in mind when he hired the teachers. Apparently the fact that the new professors believed in and taught organic evolution did not concern Brimhall, and he appointed the Peterson brothers and William Chamberlin as part-time theology faculty.¹⁵³ However, their teaching soon led to a real campus crisis.

Though this incident is often called "BYU's evolution controversy," the real crisis for Brimhall and the Church General Board of Education came over the teaching of higher criticism in which scientific theories were used to explain the development of theological beliefs. Richard Sherlock says, "Ostensibly the source of the controversy was the teaching of evolution, but the crucial issue was . . . the broader question of scholarly endeavor and religious interpretation."¹⁵⁴ The new teachers began to have a large following across campus, which led to heated discussions with those who disagreed with the four teachers' views on scripture, revelation, prayer, sin, Satan, and the Creation.¹⁵⁵ Reports of these teachings reached Church headquarters from as far away as Mexico and were referred to Brimhall's superior, Superintendent of Church Schools Horace Hall Cummings.¹⁵⁶

In response, Cummings visited BYU in November and December 1910 for nine days and then reported to Church leaders, as one reviewer of Cummings's report stated, "the positive as well as negative effects the new learning seemed to have on students." The same reviewer noted that, in a positive vein, Cummings had reported that many on campus had successfully reconciled Latter-day Saint doctrine and modernism, increased their class attendance, and participated in stimulating good-natured discussion. In addition, Cummings believed most students had not lost faith.¹⁵⁷ On the other hand, he also noted that some teachers and students had struggled so fiercely to accept the teachings of the professors that they had often been robbed of appetite and sleep.

During some classes, he felt the Chamberlins' and Petersons' words were full of darkness as "they applied evolutionary theory and other philosophical hypothesis [*sic*] to principles of the gospel and to the teachings of the Church in such a way as to disturb, if not destroy the faith of the

pupils.”¹⁵⁸ Philosopher Tim S. Reid reported that Ralph Chamberlin and the Petersons “believed that when scripture and science conflicted on certain points, scripture must give way to science.”¹⁵⁹ Cummings concluded that “faith now seems to be regarded with pity, as superstition, and is not a characteristic of the intellectually trained.”¹⁶⁰ Church leaders became concerned that the teachers were distorting some doctrinal principles and favored scientific explanations over religious ones.

Brimhall believed the faculty members themselves could work out these differences. In December 1910, he wrote President Joseph F. Smith, “As they look at it their teachings are in perfect harmony with the principles of the Gospel, but there are certainly many who cannot perceive that harmony, and, therefore it seems to me that a little waiting with their working will be in keeping with greater wisdom on their part.”¹⁶¹ However, Cummings was determined to bring the matter to a head. In his autobiography, Cummings states that after some students told Brimhall “they had quit praying, as they had learned in school that there is no real God to hear them,” Brimhall began to worry.¹⁶² Cummings wrote that Brimhall had a dream, which came as a direct warning. Cummings recorded:

[Brimhall] saw several of the B.Y.U. professors standing around a peculiar machine on the campus. When one of them touched a spring a baited fish hook attached to a long thin wire rose rapidly into the air. . . .

Casting his eyes around the sky he discovered a flock of snow-white birds circling among the clouds and desporting themselves in the sky, seemingly very happy. Presently one of them, seeing the bait on the hook darted toward it and grabbed it. Instantly one of the professors [*sic*] on the ground touched a spring in the machine, and the bird was rapidly hauled down to the earth.

On reaching the ground the bird proved to be a B.Y.U. student, clad in an ancient Greek costume, and was directed to join a group of other students who had been brought down in a similar manner. Bro. Brimhall walked over to them, and noticing that all of them looked very sad, discouraged and downcast, he asked them:

“Why, students, what on earth makes you so sad and down-hearted?”

“Alas, we can never fly again!” they replied with a sigh and a sad shake of the head.

Their Greek philosophy [*sic*] had tied them to the earth. They could believe only what they could demonstrate in the laboratory. Their prayers could go no higher than [*sic*] the ceiling. They could see no heaven—no hereafter.¹⁶³

In January 1911, Cummings sent a report to the Church’s General Board of Education outlining observations about “the nature and effect of

certain theological instructions” being given at the school. These observations included the following: Teaching that “the flood was only a local inundation of unusual extent . . . ; the confusion of tongues came about by the scattering of the families descended from Noah when they became too numerous for the valley they originally occupied . . . ; winds blew the waters of the Red Sea . . . ; Christ’s temptation is only an allegory of what takes place in each of our souls . . . ; there is no personal devil to tempt us . . . ; John the Revelator was not translated . . . ; ordinances may be helpful props to weak mortals . . . ; all truths change as we change . . . ; visions and revelations are mental suggestions.” He also stated that “the objective reality of the presence of the Father and the Son, in Joseph Smith’s first vision, is questioned.”¹⁶⁴

Cummings declared that although these teachers were “perhaps the strongest and best educated men in the faculty,” they “converted many of the other teachers and most of the students, to their views.”¹⁶⁵ One week later, Cummings summarized his report before the faculty. Brimhall aligned himself with Cummings. In response, teacher Amos Merrill called for a faculty committee to investigate the veracity of Cummings’s report. According to one historian, Brimhall asked his faculty to keep criticism of university administration and the Church general board of education in the background and remain loyal to the university.¹⁶⁶

Once he understood the position of the leadership of the Church on this matter, Brimhall acted quickly, wishing he had acted sooner. “I recognize now that a more vigorous course of action on my part might have been better,” Brimhall wrote to his friend Senator and Apostle Reed Smoot, “but I was lenient, and patiently hopeful that men would change gradually as they have in other cases, but the storm, instead of dying out, increased in its fury.” He continued by telling Smoot, “I would rather the Maeser Memorial remain a sealed tomb containing our college hopes and ambitions . . . than to have its doors thrown open to influences antagonistic to the heroism, inspiration and revelation of those who have made the school.”¹⁶⁷

The Church’s General Board of Education minutes reveal Brimhall’s course of action:

[Brimhall] expressed himself to the effect that the only thing that he could see to do was to get rid of these teachers. He had patiently labored with them in the hope that they would change their attitude and abstain from thrusting their objectionable views before the classes but it seemed that they were more determined than ever to teach theology according to their own ideas and theories, instead of according to the revealed truth, and he therefore saw no alternative but to dispense with their services.¹⁶⁸

A special committee consisting of five Apostles, Brimhall, and Cummings met with the Peterson brothers and Ralph Chamberlin. During a five-hour meeting, the three teachers supported their belief in higher criticism of the Bible and “balked at recognizing the authority of the university president or Board of Trustees to rule on questions of science.”¹⁶⁹

After deliberating, the committee agreed that the teachers would either need to conform to the committee’s instructions or leave the university. When Brimhall pleaded with the professors to change their curriculum, Ralph Chamberlin’s response was, “I never gave a public lecture on evolution until I had consulted you as to whether it would be all right. You urged me to do it. Now, why have you changed suddenly?”¹⁷⁰

William Chamberlin taught at BYU until 1916. Joseph Peterson and Ralph Chamberlin left the university voluntarily. Henry Peterson had to be dismissed.¹⁷¹ It was a heart-rending experience for Brimhall. He wrote a letter of termination to Henry Peterson and sent a copy to President Joseph F. Smith, adding these words: “This is the first time during our administration that we have had occasion to handle a teacher and the necessity is very, very painful to us.”¹⁷²

When word of the dismissals spread across campus, students circulated a petition against the decision. The *Provo Herald* reported that as much as 90 percent of the student body signed it.¹⁷³ Among faculty who signed were Carl F. Eyring, B. F. Larsen, and Hyrum Manwaring.¹⁷⁴ On March 16, 1911, Brimhall spoke to the BYU student body and faculty, comparing the crisis with the Mormon exodus. He described the suffering of the early Mormon pioneers that had fled Nauvoo, Illinois, in winter 1846. He said that for every one of them it was a moment of decision whether to follow Brigham Young. There was murmuring, he commented, and some chose not to follow the prophet. Those who did follow circled their wagons against the wind and cold. “The fugitives sheltered by those . . . wagons and tents were the people of whom we are the children,” Brimhall said to the assembled, “. . . I ask you, my beloved students, not to give evidence to the world that you have lost faith in the leaders of Israel.”¹⁷⁵

Nevertheless, a cloud of gloom descended over campus, and for the next few months Brimhall worked hard to improve morale. In a letter to Smoot in May, he wrote, “I would be in perfect misery if I were not in harmony with those over me—I can stand it to be out of harmony with others.”¹⁷⁶ Part-time BYU instructor Juliaetta Bateman Jensen was temporarily out of harmony with Brimhall. In her journal, she disclosed:

This fight has been extremely bitter in many ways. Pres. B. [Brimhall] has talked to his faculty in the most insulting, uncultured manner such as no truly educated president would do to his faculty many of whom are

far, far superior to him in scholarship, and in everything else. I have lost all my respect for him. . . . If the school is not injured I shall miss my guess.¹⁷⁷

Another who criticized was Utah educator Milton Bennion. In the *Utah Educational Review*, Bennion suggested that those who asked the professors to leave were confusing “essentials and non-essentials in faith.”¹⁷⁸

Despite Brimhall's efforts over the next few years, some believed that the professional status of the faculty did not recover until the 1920s. Thomas L. Martin, BYU Dean of Applied Sciences, observed:

We lost much when the Chamberlains and the Petersons left us. If some of the narrowness which caused the upheaval in 1911 could have been prevented from exercising its power, I believe the vision that George H. Brimhall had in mind would have been accomplished; and if we could have had a free hand with these men and their associates, people would be singing our praises.¹⁷⁹

The centennial volume *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years* reads:

The significant implications of the events of 1911 concerned authority. Brimhall had been slow to react and reluctant to exercise authority when he might have avoided the catastrophe; however, he became acutely aware that the Church Board was the governing power in the Church school system. After the modernism controversy died down Brimhall was much more sensitive to the attitude of the Church Board of Education concerning academic matters.¹⁸⁰

Notwithstanding this assessment, research shows that Brimhall was consistently sensitive to the Church Board. However, in this episode, Brimhall's two great causes, his religion and education, seemed to collide. He wanted the best-qualified teachers at BYU, but even more importantly he wanted the school to follow the leadership of the presiding authorities of the Church. For Brimhall, the former was desirable, but the latter was essential. The incident had both negative and positive effects on the school. His actions had exhibited his “complete loyalty to Church leaders [and] won the school acceptance in the eyes of the presiding authorities of the Church.”¹⁸¹ Even in the midst of the controversy, Brimhall perceived this positive result. He explained to Smoot:

The going of these professors will perhaps disturb the college and interfere with its immediate growth. They will have a following, but like the Church, in a short time the school will not only retrieve its losses, but out of the accident [incident] God will bring glory to the institution until it will be said, “It is a good thing it happened.” There are some people who predict the death of the college if these men go. I am ready to say

that if the life of the college depends upon any number of men out of harmony with the brethren who preside over the Church, then it is time for the college to die. . . . The school follows the Church, or it ought to stop.¹⁸²

BYU Permanently Tied to the Church

Brimhall believed that the Church's mission was larger than the school's mission. He believed that it was only as an arm of the Church that the school was destined to achieve greatness. Although there were times during his administration when, due to financial problems, board members and others suggested that BYU be closed, moved, or turned over to the state, Brimhall was confident that because of its Church connection the institution would survive and prosper. He cultivated Church leaders' involvement, often extending invitations to General Authorities to visit campus. When he was the acting principal, he invited Lorenzo Snow to attend the school's annual Handshake Dance so students could shake a prophet's hand. He gave the First Presidency and members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles frequent campus tours. He invited them to present summer school lectures and asked the President of the Church to give graduates their diplomas.¹⁸³

Brimhall's administration roughly paralleled President Joseph F. Smith's administration. Brimhall revered President Joseph F. Smith and said that BYU students and faculty, regardless of membership in the Church, were like President Smith's own family.¹⁸⁴ The feeling was mutual. President Smith wrote to Brimhall, "We need you, Brother George. There is work for you to do of greater value than all earthly riches, and you possess richly the spirit of that work, and you have been endowed with gifts and wisdom which fit you for it in an unusual degree."¹⁸⁵

Brimhall also admired and established close personal relationships with other General Authorities. He was especially close to Heber J. Grant. Brimhall's papers are replete with correspondence between him and Elder Grant, full of words of mutual respect and admiration. Brimhall often complimented Elder Grant and stood firmly behind Elder Grant's constant request that Latter-day Saints keep the Word of Wisdom. At one time, Brimhall suggested that a building be erected on the BYU campus named the "Word of Wisdom Memorial." He proposed that funds could be raised by getting students to contribute their "tobacco money to the building fund."¹⁸⁶

Though the two men shared similar goals for BYU, differences did arise. On one occasion, Elder Grant opposed keeping a certain professor whom Brimhall favored retaining. Elder Grant acquiesced to Brimhall and, according to Brimhall's recollection, stated, "If that is the way you feel about it, I have no desire to press my side any further." After the meeting,

Brimhall wrote to Elder Grant, "The tenderness with which you handled my feelings on that occasion sweetened, beyond expression, the strong attachments which had existed before." He said that Elder Grant's tone of voice was "so full of sincerity and respect" that it "almost crushed [him]" and that he felt like he "was being melted under the radiant ray of brotherly love." He ended the letter by testifying, "The nearer I get to my brethren, the more perfect they become to me."¹⁸⁷

Brimhall also developed a close personal relationship with David O. McKay. Elder McKay's assignments in the Quorum of the Twelve gave him extensive influence over Church education. Brimhall's daughter Fawn married Elder McKay's brother, Thomas E., so when Elder McKay visited campus, he stayed as a guest at the Brimhall home.¹⁸⁸ The correspondence between these two leaders does not have the same sentimentality as that expressed between President Grant and Brimhall. Both are completely open and frank.

One example involves a letter from a faculty member who had written to Elder McKay complaining about the discontinuance of one of her courses. In turn, Elder McKay told Brimhall to set the teacher straight, assuring him that the faculty member was taking "a wrong view of this entire matter."¹⁸⁹ Brimhall's response to Elder McKay was straightforward: "[The teacher's] firmness borders on her obstinacy in not yielding to anything she does not recognize as authority, and at the same time her willingness to obey the decision of recognized authority puts her in the category of those whose humility guards very strongly against humiliation, and she is very tender on the latter point." Brimhall's open and respectful relationship with Elder McKay and with Church leaders in general is expressed in the letter's conclusion: "Your explanations and statements concerning your attitude towards the department and the teacher is all-sufficient for me. I would have needed no explanation and no line of argument beyond your candid declaration."¹⁹⁰

Brimhall hoped students would tie themselves to the Church in the same manner as he tied the institution to it. Shortly after becoming the university's president, he pled with the student body, "I would have you love the policy of the Church of Jesus Christ. I would have you love the ideal we are working to. I would have you students be able to say, 'I have no need to step outside of the Church for things I need for my enjoyment.'"¹⁹¹ Brimhall often spoke to students about Church loyalty. He thought devotion to the Church should be their natural inclination: "You have been the guests of the Church, and you have also been the guests of the Board, who have served without pay. I hope none of you will assume to be host or hostess." He said, "I did not create this university; you did not create it. I have

not maintained it; you have not maintained it. I am an employee. And shall the employees presume to instruct the employer and tell him how his business should be run? Is it good taste on the part of the guest to indicate how the banquet shall be served?"¹⁹²

Brimhall believed that if BYU were run on gospel principles it would have success and unity. In a devotional to the campus, he said he believed the university was "the mountain of the Lord's house educationally, the parent institution, the institution that must be the pattern for the latter-day [*sic*] Saint world." Speaking of his own appointment, he said, "My brethren called and appointed me to, not simply to take charge of the school in an educational way, but in a Church way, an official Church way." He continued by admonishing the students to combine their faith with their studies: "I hope the Lord will bless you to be Latter-day Saints in your educational work, that in your coming here you may learn the government of the Church, and love the government of the Church, and walk therein."¹⁹³

End of an Era

The last few years of Brimhall's administration were marked by a renewed emphasis on teacher training. World War I, along with the influenza epidemic of 1918, greatly affected BYU's enrollment and finances. Many students and faculty left and could not be replaced. In 1918 the university transferred all its assets to the Church in return for the Church's assumption of all the school's debts and financial responsibilities.¹⁹⁴ Brimhall was sixty-five years old. The war, the death of President Joseph F. Smith in November 1918, and Brimhall's age all signaled the end of an era. In July 1919, the administration of the Church Educational System was reorganized. Brimhall was asked to supervise the seminary program and to appoint a faculty executive committee to help administer the university.¹⁹⁵

On April 22, 1921, the Church Board of Education announced Brimhall's impending release. At that meeting, Heber J. Grant, who had succeeded Joseph F. Smith as President of the Church, said, "I feel in my heart that from the time Brother Brimhall took charge of the Institution—the spirituality in it—the spirituality that should characterize our school system—namely—that which is necessary for the making of Latter-day Saints—has existed in the school as perfectly as it is given of mortal man to make it."¹⁹⁶ That summer the university's Board of Trustees conferred the Honorary Doctor of Law Degree upon Brimhall,¹⁹⁷ and he was named president emeritus of the university, which then had 438 college students.¹⁹⁸

As president emeritus, Brimhall maintained an office on campus and from early morning until late afternoon kept his door open to all BYU students.¹⁹⁹ He also continued to give what became his trademark four-minute sermonettes at the school's weekly devotionals. At the same time, he allowed Franklin S. Harris, the new university president, autonomy. Harris was a former student of Brimhall's, and the two got along famously. The relationship is described in *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*: "Because of his great spirit of loyalty and 'absolute willingness to work, to support, and to sustain' President Harris, George Brimhall continued to render valuable service to BYU."²⁰⁰ Perfectly happy with his new position, Brimhall wrote Harris, "My cup of BYU joy has simply been overflowing ever since you took charge. I am working at what I like, with those I love, and under a leadership in which I have perfect confidence. What more is there to wish for than just a continuance?"²⁰¹

Along with his university service and his responsibility for Church seminaries, Brimhall continued to serve on the General Board of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association as he had done since its inception.²⁰² He wrote lessons for that organization as well as for the Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association and for the Relief Society²⁰³ (fig. 4). In her life sketch, his wife Flora reported that "night after night he sat up outlining yearly theology programs for the auxiliary organizations. . . . He put his whole soul into these projects, regarding each one in the light of a mission call."²⁰⁴ President Heber J. Grant wrote Brimhall, complimenting his work but gently suggesting that he slow down:

I wish to say to you that I am very, very grateful for the splendid work you have been doing for the Era in writing lessons for the Senior Classes. I have not read them all but nearly all and I have never read one but what I have been impressed with the inspiration and splendid spirit that has guided you in writing these lessons. . . .

I know of no single worker from the time that the M.I. Associations were first organized until today, who has put in more genuine thought and study and done more work for the advancement of our young men than your own dear self.

I am wondering, my dear brother, if you . . . have been guilty of over-doing.²⁰⁵

In 1932, in the midst of the Great Depression, Brimhall became very ill. "Uremic poisoning," possibly the result of kidney failure, is identified as a secondary cause of death on his death certificate.²⁰⁶ He was incapacitated with rheumatism and confined to bed. Doctors gave him no hope of recovery but did prescribe pain medication that may have compounded and aggravated the negative effect uremia sometimes has on patients' good



FIG. 4. Brimhall writing, ca. 1916. Brimhall spent a good deal of time and energy creating teaching curricula, including lessons for the Relief Society, MIA, and other Church auxiliaries. He had a dream that educators from BYU would make a profound difference not only on the Church but on the whole educational world and strove to help all educators see the importance of teaching as the Savior did—selflessly.

judgment.²⁰⁷ On July 29, 1932, he died at his home in Provo, Utah, a little more than four months short of his eightieth birthday.

Utah newspapers simply reported that Brimhall died at home after a long illness.²⁰⁸ However, an air of melancholy surrounds his death. Brimhall was an avid hunter and kept hunting rifles in a cabinet in the house. Family members believed he was unable to get out of bed without assistance, but while his wife was on an errand he somehow got out of bed and was killed by a discharge from one of those rifles. There was no autopsy or criminal investigation. The death certificate states the primary cause of death as “gunshot wound of head—self inflicted” but next to those words a question mark is penciled in.²⁰⁹

An explanation of what happened is found in a letter from BYU’s President Harris to Elder John A. Widstoe, who was serving in Europe at the time:

Certainly this was a very tragic affair but I think no one who knows all the circumstances blames President Brimhall for the occurrence any more than if he had fallen from a house or if he had been overcome by any other disaster for which he was in no way responsible.

He had been in bed for five and one half months with rheumatism and general poisoning of the system . . . from which they seemed entirely unable to rid him. For months he seemed to preserve his balance completely but in time his nervous system was gradually undermined so that . . . he was not at all himself and could not be held responsible for his actions no matter what they might have been.

It had not been thought that he needed anyone to watch him particularly however, and on the day of his death, his wife went out on an errand and while she was away he took a gun out of a closet in the room and then the fatal thing happened. It was very surprising because he had not been really able to stand by himself. . . . Of course the manner of his passing added to the gloom but it certainly did not lessen the respect of anyone intimately connected with the circumstances. . . .

The unfortunate part of it is the fact that people outside and those who are not acquainted with the circumstances will not understand as those of us who are here do.²¹⁰

At the funeral service, Harris eulogized, "The passing of this great man is like the falling of a mighty oak that has been blown over by the accidental gust of a storm."²¹¹ The next year, the Church would also lose two other great men: James E. Talmage in July 1933 and B. H. Roberts in September 1933.²¹²

Three years after Brimhall's death, while dedicating an expanded and remodeled Mechanical Arts Building on the BYU campus and renaming it the George H. Brimhall Building, President Heber J. Grant pronounced his benediction on Brimhall's life: "George H. Brimhall was one of the choicest, finest, most spiritual-minded, loyal, true men that I ever knew. That sums it all up. . . . [M]y association with Brother Brimhall was absolutely perfect."²¹³

George H. Brimhall was a man of widely varied interests and talents with a lifetime of accomplishments in pursuit of his two great causes: the religion he loved and education. His dynamic teaching ability inspired a generation of students and coworkers, and he played a key role in binding Brigham Young University to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In that regard, his statement made to the Presiding Bishopric in 1914 is prophetic: "The motto of this school has always been, 'We follow the Church'. . . . I can say with perfect safety that the faculty of the Brigham Young University will hold up the hands of the authorities of the Church in assisting the greatest of all institutions on the earth in the teaching and training of the people of this dispensation."²¹⁴

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1. Franklin S. Harris, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, comp. Jennie H. Groberg and Delbert V. Groberg (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 215A.

2. Franklin S. Harris, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, comp. Jennie H. Groberg and Delbert V. Groberg (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 388.

3. Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 1:520.

4. Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985); Raymond Brimhall Holbrook and Esther Hamilton Holbrook, *The Tall Pine Tree: The Life and Work of George H. Brimhall* (n.p.: By the authors, 1988).

5. Ben Hite, "How I Began Life: Dr. George H. Brimhall Tells Ben Hite How He Took Up His Early Struggles," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 258. See Audrey M. Godfrey, "Johnston's Army," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 580–81; and Norman F. Ferniss, *The Mormon Conflict, 1850–1859* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960).

6. George H. Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 5.

7. Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 163. See also Louine Berry Hunter, comp. and ed., *George Washington Brimhall* (Ojai, Calif.: By the author, n.d.), n.p., manuscript in possession of Joseph H. Groberg.

8. George Washington Brimhall, quoted in Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 9.

9. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 19.

10. George H. Brimhall, *Diary of George H. Brimhall*, 2 vols., typescript, 1:479–80, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

11. John Henry Evans, "Some Men Who Have Done Things: George H. Brimhall," *Improvement Era* 13 (March 1910): 404.

12. In 1870, the Dusenberry School in Provo, Utah, became a branch of the Salt Lake City–based University of Deseret. Brigham Young encouraged the use of the name Timpanogos Branch of the University of Deseret, which became the official name of the school later that year. In 1875, Brigham Young renamed the school Brigham Young Academy.

13. George H. Brimhall, "Life Sketch," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 26–27; George H. Brimhall, "How I Began Life," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 258–59.

14. Alice Louise Reynolds, "Biographical Sketch of George H. Brimhall," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 229.

15. George H. Brimhall, "Life Sketch," 27; George H. Brimhall, "How I Began Life," 258–59.
16. George H. Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 215A.
17. George H. Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 215A.
18. Copy of certificate found in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 328.
19. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 165.
20. Brimhall's second daughter, Alsina Elizabeth, recorded, "Everything then known was done to restore her [Alsina] to health. How different it might have been had today's medical knowledge been available. This 'brain fever'—prolonged and so high as to destroy some brain cells, apparently was caused by a womb infection." *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 291. See also Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 670.
21. *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 291.
22. George H. Brimhall to Martha Keeler, 1885, quoted in Jennie H. Groberg, comp., *Arrows in the Sun: Samples Taken from Twelve Volumes of the Life Story and Works of George H. Brimhall* (Idaho Falls, Idaho: By the author, 1988), sec. 1, p. 1, copy in possession of Joseph H. Groberg.
23. Records of the State Mental Hospital, copy in possession of Joseph H. Groberg. The order was signed by Warren N. Dusenberry, probate judge. Two medical doctors, along with Brimhall and his wife's father, George W. Wilkins, were listed as witnesses.
24. Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook, quoted in Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 69.
25. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 105.
26. George H. Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 215A.
27. Flora R. Brimhall, "Life Sketch," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 302.
28. George H. Brimhall, Diary, March 17, and March 20, 1889, 1:46; Flora R. Brimhall, "Life Sketch," 303.
29. Alsina Brimhall Holbrook, oral history, 1957, tape 2, in possession of Joseph H. Groberg.
30. George H. Brimhall, Diary, April 20, 1889, 1:48.
31. Alsina E. B. Holbrook, "Home—M.I.A.—B.Y.A.," *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 184.
32. George H. Brimhall, Diary, October 7, 1885, 1:16–17.
33. George H. Brimhall, Diary, January 13, 1888, 1:34.
34. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:339. Wilkinson gives the year as 1890. It was more likely 1891. See Jennie H. Groberg, *Arrows in the Sun*, 62, citing an unpublished biography of George H. Brimhall, written by Lucy Jane (Jennie) Brimhall Knight, daughter of George Brimhall.
35. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:340; George H. Brimhall, Diary, May 25, 1893, 1:104; David J. Whittaker, "George H. Brimhall: Biographical Sketch," *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 242.
36. George H. Brimhall, Diary, August 29, 1897, 1:161; George H. Brimhall, "Health Problems, and Testimony of Administration to Sick," *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 76.
37. George H. Brimhall, Diary, 1897, 1:161, extracted from missionary journal.
38. George H. Brimhall, Diary, 1897, 1:151, extracted from missionary journal.

39. George H. Brimhall, quoted in Evans, "Some Men Who Have Done Things," 406.

40. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:344; George H. Brimhall, Diary, November 18, 1898, 1:185.

41. George H. Brimhall, Diary, August 18, 1897, 1:157.

42. Bryant S. Hinckley, "Dr. George H. Brimhall," in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 94.

43. Stanley Gunn, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 116.

44. George H. Brimhall to Seymour B. Young, March 1901, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 79.

45. George H. Brimhall, "Special Privileges for Special Services," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 2 vols. (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 1:408, March 21, 1916.

46. George H. Brimhall, "Forgetfulness Is Not Lost," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:34, May 5, 1904.

47. George H. Brimhall, "Sermonette, Thursday, 13 July 1911," in *Words of Wisdom: George H. Brimhall* (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 10.

48. George H. Brimhall, "Be Bigger Than Your Mistakes: Encourage the Right Spiritual Devotional," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 2:17, December 10, 1917.

49. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:344.

50. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:358. This source incorrectly states that Lafayette Holbrook was Brimhall's son-in-law (see footnote 99). Holbrook's son was married to Brimhall's daughter Alsina Elizabeth. *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 57.

51. James L. Barker, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 282.

52. Elizabeth Groberg Owens, "George H. Brimhall: Inspirational Leader of B.Y.U.," in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 110.

53. "Report of the Thirty-Fifth Academic Year from the Presidency of the Brigham Young University to the President and Members of the Board of Trustees, 1910–1911," George H. Brimhall Presidential Papers, Perry Special Collections.

54. George H. Brimhall, Diary, June 17, 1901, 1:27; June 20, 1901, 1:272.

55. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:361–64.

56. George H. Brimhall, General Board Minutes, June 25, 1901, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:364.

57. George H. Brimhall, Diary, June 25, 1901, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:365.

58. "Report of the Thirty-Fifth Academic Year," 7.

59. George H. Brimhall, "Health Problems, and Testimony of Administration to Sick," 75. Later, Brimhall blamed himself for these health problems, attributing them to "unwise overwork." George H. Brimhall to "My Dear Student Friends," May 8, 1920, printed in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 31.

60. George H. Brimhall, Diary, February 17, 1902, 1:298; Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 78.

61. "Notes on His Health," *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 74, taken from an account written by Mark H. Brimhall, February 1957; Holbrook

and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 80. Apparently Brimhall was first asked to serve as acting president and one year later became president. Brimhall to "My Dear Student Friends."

62. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:375–78.

63. "Notes on His Health," 71, taken from writings of Prof. Alice Louise Reynolds, BYU. During Brimhall's tenure as president of BYU, official school actions and correspondence were usually made by the school presidency. Thus, much of what is attributed to Brimhall as president of BYU is also attributable to his counselors. Whittaker, "George H. Brimhall: Biographical Sketch," 243.

64. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 187–88.

65. George H. Brimhall, "Be Crystals Not Scum," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:45, September 26, 1904.

66. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 183.

67. *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 72–73, citing *Improvement Era* (December 1912).

68. George H. Brimhall, quoted in Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 86.

69. Presidency of the Brigham Young University, "Report of the Presidency of the BYU for the Twenty-eighth Academic Year," Presidential Reports, Perry Special Collections.

70. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:138–85, 391, 505; 2:47; Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 215.

71. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 227.

72. James L. Barker, quoted in introduction to *Words of Wisdom*.

73. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, 1906, 1:412.

74. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, July 1907, 1:484.

75. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, 1916, 2:795.

76. George H. Brimhall to Horace H. Cummings, December 16, 1912, Brimhall Presidential Papers, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:439.

77. "Report of the Twenty-Fourth Academic Year from the Presidency of the Brigham Young Academy to the President and Members of the Board of Directors," 7, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

78. George H. Brimhall, "Parenthood," in *Longer Talks: George H. Brimhall* (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 109. On January 9, 1900, Brimhall wrote in his diary, "Today organized and taught the first lesson to the first college class in Parenthood ever taught on the earth." George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, January 9, 1900, 1:224.

79. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, July 1907, 1:484.

80. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, 1916, 2:795.

81. "Testimonial in Honor of President George H. Brimhall," *Deseret News*, May 21, 1921, sec. 4, reprinted in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 314.

82. George H. Brimhall, *Diary*, 1916, 2:795.

83. "Report of the Presidency of the Brigham Young University for the Thirty-Fourth Year, 1909–1910," Brimhall Presidential Papers.

84. Ruth Roberts Lusk, "Excerpts from Personal Recollections of President George H. Brimhall," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 245.

85. Eva Maeser Crandall, "Remarks Concerning Her Father," interview by Hollis Scott, June 26, 1964, typescript, 3, Perry Special Collections.

86. John Henry Smith, "Remarks of John Henry Smith on the Occasion of the Dedication of Temple Hill, Thursday, January 16, 1908," *White and Blue* 25

(October 24, 1911): 11, microfilm, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

87. George H. Brimhall, Diary, December 13, 1907, 1:454; George H. Brimhall and Marion Harris to Our Dear Friends of the B.Y.U., December 13, 1916, printed in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 141.

88. Elizabeth Groberg Owens, "George H. Brimhall: Inspirational Leader of B.Y.U.," 158.

89. George H. Brimhall, Diary, April 13, 1905, 1:371.

90. Excerpts from Minutes of Meetings of The Board of Trustees of the Brigham Young University, which Relate to a Gift from Jesse Knight and Family, of Five Hundred Acres of Land on Provo Bench; and Also the Action of Said Board for the Obtaining of Irrigation Water for Said Land, October 16, 1906; January 12, 1907; October 12, 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

91. George H. Brimhall, Diary, March 18, 1921, quoted in *Arrows in the Sun*, 15.

92. Excerpts from the Minutes of the Meetings of the Board of Trustees of The Brigham Young University Relating to the Maeser Memorial Building, January 12, 1907, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

93. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 192.

94. *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 119, 135, 152.

95. James E. Talmage to George H. Brimhall, December 29, 1926, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 50.

96. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:507.

97. George H. Brimhall, Diary, May 30, 1912, 2:625. See also "Stories of the Century," *Brigham Young Magazine* 53 (Winter 1999–2000): 23, timeline.

98. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 193.

99. George H. Brimhall to Annie Ronnow, January 19, 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:408.

100. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:408. The list of contributors in this book incorrectly identifies the Holbrooks as members of the Jesse Knight family.

101. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:442–43.

102. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:443; "A Gift of Nearly \$250,000 for B.Y.U.," *Provo Herald*, 29, September 24, 1914.

103. Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 220.

104. George H. Brimhall and Harris to Our Dear Friends.

105. Alice L. Reynolds, "Dr. George H. Brimhall," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 223, article reprinted from *Young Woman's Journal* 32 (July 1921): 383–86.

106. Brimhall's daughter and son-in-law (Jesse Knight's oldest son) purchased and gave to Brimhall a home on the corner of First North and Third East in Provo shortly after Brimhall became president of BYU. *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, unmarked page 30 of front matter.

107. Flora Robertson Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 304.

108. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 75; Wilkinson and Shousen, *School of Destiny*, 181.

109. German F. Ellsworth to George Brimhall, September 23, 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

110. "Report of the Presidency of the BYU for the Twenty-Eighth Academic Year," Brimhall Presidential Papers, 3.

111. George H. Brimhall, "The Founding and Growth of a Great School," in *Longer Talks*, 78; George H. Brimhall, Diary, 1916, 2:795; "Report of the Thirty-Fourth Academic Year."

112. Zina Young Card to George H. Brimhall, October 18, 1919, Brimhall Presidential Papers. See also Zina Young Card to George H. Brimhall, November 20, 1919, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

113. Susa Young Gates to George H. Brimhall, October 18, 1909, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

114. See George H. Brimhall to Zina Young Card, November 15, 1919, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

115. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, April 2, 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

116. BYU Faculty Minutes, September 16, 1918, cited in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:449.

117. George H. Brimhall, "The Place of Seminaries and a Church University in Modern Education," in *Longer Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 136.

118. George H. Brimhall, "Place of Seminaries," 135.

119. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:440.

120. George H. Brimhall, Diary, February 20, 1914, 2:674; March 11, 1914, 2:676; March 1, 1915, 2:713; June 22–July 3, 1914, 2:685–86.

121. George H. Brimhall, Diary, November 16, 1893, 1:110; George H. Brimhall, "Ethics of the Doctrine and Covenants," in *MIA Lessons for the Advanced Senior Class: George H. Brimhall* (Utah: Alsina Elizabeth Brimhall Holbrook Family, 1988), 6; George H. Brimhall, Diary, July 25, 1899, 1:215; March 16, 1899, 1:200.

122. Don B. Colton, "A Word of Appreciation to Dr. George H. Brimhall: Teacher, Friend and Brother," in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 274.

123. A. T. Thurber to George H. Brimhall, May 9, 1921, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 277.

124. James E. Talmage, May 16, 1921, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 49.

125. Jean Clark, quoted in Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 86.

126. George H. Brimhall, quoted in Evans, "Some Men Who Have Done Things," 405; emphasis in original.

127. George H. Brimhall to Luke Hickman, January 23, 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

128. George H. Brimhall, "Reverence for President Smith," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:54, October 26, 1904.

129. George H. Brimhall, "Homesickness," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:325, November 9, 1914.

130. Leland H. Stott to George H. Brimhall, February 14, 1926, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

131. Anonymous letter to George H. Brimhall, no date given, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

132. See George H. Brimhall to Brother and Sister Levi A. Colvin, February 1, 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers; and George H. Brimhall to Thaddeus H. Cluff, February 14, 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

133. George H. Brimhall to Thaddeus H. Cluff, February 14, 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

134. George H. Brimhall to Sister Adair, January 12, 1905, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

135. George H. Brimhall, "Cans," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 2:100, April 28, 1924.
136. George H. Brimhall, "Don't Be a Quitter," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:163, March 15, 1907.
137. Spencer W. Kimball to the Presidency and Faculty of the B.Y.U., September 26, 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
138. The Faculty of the Brigham Young University to Spencer W. Kimball, October 2, 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
139. Margaret Maw, "Some Contacts with Pres. G. H. Brimhall through Which I Found Him a True Friend," in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 174–77.
140. George H. Brimhall to A. M. Whiting, December 2, 1904, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
141. A. Ray Olpin, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 242.
142. George H. Brimhall, "Called as BYU Acting President," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:36, May 9, 1904.
143. George H. Brimhall to Valentine Larson, December 7, 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
144. T. N. Taylor, "Funeral Services for President George H. Brimhall," August 1, 1932, typescript, in possession of Joseph H. Groberg, quoted in Elizabeth Groberg Owens, "George H. Brimhall: Inspirational Leader of B.Y.U.," 167.
145. George H. Brimhall, "Clean from the Top," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:95, September 28, 1905.
146. George H. Brimhall, "Dependability," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:332, December 1, 1914.
147. Jennie H. Groberg, "Recollections of George H. Brimhall," typescript, in possession of Joseph H. Groberg, quoted in Elizabeth Groberg Owens, "George H. Brimhall: Inspirational Leader of B.Y.U.," 167.
148. A. L. Neff to George H. Brimhall, April 1, 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
149. George H. Brimhall to A. L. Neff, April 4, 1906, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
150. Annie Pike Greenwood, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 106; Wilkinson and Skousen, *School of Destiny*, 194.
151. Brigham Young University Presidency to Joseph F. Smith, January 2, 1917, Brimhall Presidential Papers.
152. Harvey Fletcher, "History of Harvey Fletcher," holograph, 26–27, Perry Special Collections.
153. Bergera and Priddis, *House of Faith*, 134–35. In this account, Henry Peterson claimed that at one meeting Brimhall said, "I too am an evolutionist."
154. Richard Sherlock, "Campus in Crisis: BYU, 1911," *Sunstone* (January/February 1979): 11.
155. Gary James Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy at Brigham Young University," in *The Search for Harmony: Essays on Science and Mormonism*, ed. Gene A. Sessions and Craig J. Oberg (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 24.
156. Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy," 25.
157. Tim S. Reid, "Mormons and Evolution: A History of B. H. Roberts and His Attempts to Reconcile Science and Religion" (PhD diss., Oregon State University, 1997), 118. See also Sherlock, "Campus in Crisis," 12–13.
158. Horace H. Cummings, *Diary and Autobiography of Horace H. Cummings, 1917–1936*, ch. 41, p. 4, Church Archives; Horace H. Cummings, *Journal*,

September 22, 1917, holograph, Church Archives; Reid, "Mormons and Evolution," 119.

159. Reid, "Mormons and Evolution," 123.

160. Horace H. Cummings, "Written Report of His Investigations of the Theological Teaching in the College Department of the Brigham Young University," January 21, 1911, Uncategorized Church General Board of Education Minute Book, January 28, 1903–November 27, 1918, 182–83, Church Archives. Text of Cummings's report printed in Sherlock, "Campus in Crisis," 13.

161. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, December 3, 1910, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

162. Cummings, *Diary and Autobiography*, ch. 41, p. 6.

163. Cummings, *Diary and Autobiography*, ch. 41, p. 6. See also Boyd K. Packer, "The Snow-White Birds," *Brigham Young Magazine* 49 (November 1995): 47–52, reprinted in *Educating Zion*, ed. John W. Welch and Don E. Norton (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1996), 183–95; and Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:421–22, which adds the note that Brimhall did not mention the dream in any of his records.

164. Cummings's report, printed in Sherlock, "Campus in Crisis," 12.

165. Cummings, *Diary and Autobiography*, ch. 41, p. 2.

166. Faculty Minutes, January 28, 1911, quoted in Bergera, "1911 Evolution Controversy," 138–40.

167. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, March 8, 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

168. General Board Minutes, February 3, 1911, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:424.

169. Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy," 29.

170. Ralph Chamberlin, Oral History, 7–9, quoted in Bergera, "The 1911 Evolution Controversy," 29–30. According to Ralph Chamberlin, Brimhall answered, "Well, I'll tell you, Brother Chamberlin, I know which side my bread's buttered on."

171. Ralph Vary Chamberlin, *Life and Philosophy of William H. Chamberlin* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1926), 143–52, 211.

172. George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, March 17, 1911, quoted in Bergera and Priddis, *House of Faith*, 143.

173. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:427n61. "Ralph Chamberlin's *Life and Philosophy of W. H. Chamberlin* [(Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1926), 148–52] gives a complete copy of the petition. An identical copy in the Brimhall Presidential Papers . . . carries the signatures of eight students: C. V. Whitaker, C. H. Carroll, G. L. Lucke, H. C. Snell, E. Thompson, H. M. Woodward, Fred Buss, and Andrew Gibbons. The names printed in the *Daily Herald* copy of the petition included almost the entire college class. The most complete text (with more than one hundred signatures) was printed in the 15 March 1911 issue of the *Salt Lake Tribune*." Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:428n62.

174. Bergera and Priddis, *House of Faith*, 143.

175. Brimhall, "Loyalty," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:277–78, March 16, 1911.

176. George H. Brimhall to Smoot, May 11, 1911, quoted in Bergera and Priddis, *House of Faith*, 145.

177. Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, Journal, May 25, 1911, quoted in Mark K. Allen, "The History of Psychology at Brigham Young University" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1975), 72. See Juliaetta Bateman Jensen, *Little Gold Pieces: The Story of My Mormon Mother's Life* (Salt Lake City: By the Author, 1948), 225. It seems that Juliaetta Jensen and her husband, Christen, who was a professor of history and political science at BYU, were staunch supporters of Brimhall except for this one instance. Diana S. Graham, unpublished e-mail of notes on "research report," December 9, 2002, in possession of Mary Jane Woodger.

178. Milton Bennion, "The 'Evolution' and 'Higher Criticism' Controversy at the Brigham Young University," *Utah Educational Review* 4 (March 1911): 10.

179. Thomas L. Martin to Heber C. Snell, March 16, 1942, Snell Papers, Archives and Manuscripts, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Logan.

180. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:432.

181. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:519.

182. George H. Brimhall to Reed Smoot, March 8, 1911, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

183. George H. Brimhall to Lorenzo Snow, December 7, 1900, printed in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 79; George H. Brimhall, Diary, March 31, 1899, 1:201; April 5, 1917, 2:806; George H. Brimhall to Joseph F. Smith, May 19, 1913, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

184. George H. Brimhall, "Joseph F. Smith," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:75–76, April 20, 1905.

185. Joseph F. Smith to George H. Brimhall, quoted in Jennie H. Groberg, *Arrows in the Sun*, sec. 2, p.2.

186. George H. Brimhall to Heber J. Grant, February 10, 1920, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

187. George H. Brimhall to Heber J. Grant, December 7, 1916, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

188. George H. Brimhall, Diary, November 15, 1908, 1:521.

189. David O. McKay to George H. Brimhall, February 19, 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

190. George H. Brimhall to David O. McKay, April 24, 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

191. George H. Brimhall, "Our Social Temple," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:69, February 6, 1905.

192. George H. Brimhall, "Loyalty," 277. See also George H. Brimhall, Diary, June 5, 1916, 2:753.

193. George H. Brimhall, "This School Is Subject to the Church Organization," in *BYU Devotional Talks: George H. Brimhall*, 1:212, December 11, 1908.

194. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:445.

195. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 1:454–57.

196. Heber J. Grant, "Remarks of President Heber J. Grant Made at a Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Brigham Young University, Held in the Office of the First Presidency, April 22, 1921," quoted in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 17.

197. Reynolds, "Dr. George H. Brimhall," 222.

198. Whittaker, "George H. Brimhall Biographical Sketch," 243–44.

199. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 92. See also Harrison R. Merrill and Alice L. Reynolds, *Long and Short Range Arrows by Dr. George H. Brimhall*, 2d. ed. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1936), 16.

200. Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 2:104, quoting BYU Board Minutes, April 26, 1921.

201. George H. Brimhall to Franklin S. Harris, January 4, 1924, Harris Presidential Papers, quoted in Wilkinson, *First One Hundred Years*, 2:104. This sentiment, clearly expressed by Brimhall, may not have been shared by all his family. According to Newell G. Bringham, Brimhall's daughter Fawn McKay was "embittered toward BYU because of its treatment of her father." Newell G. Bringham, *Fawn McKay Brodie: A Biographer's Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 46.

202. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 97–98.

203. George H. Brimhall, "MIA Lessons for the Advanced Senior Class," in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, n.p.; George H. Brimhall, "Relief Society Lessons," *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, n.p.

204. Flora Robertson Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 306. Diary entries such as "about home working on M.I.A. lessons" and "worked all day on Relief Society Lessons" were typical of the years Brimhall spent writing Church lessons. George H. Brimhall, Diary, January 7, 1922; January 14, 1922, 2:868.

205. Heber J. Grant to George H. Brimhall, September 21, 1921, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 19.

206. The death certificate gives "uremic poisoning" as a secondary cause of death but does not provide any data to support that conclusion.

207. Holbrook and Holbrook, *Tall Pine Tree*, 179–80.

208. "President Emeritus of Brigham Young University Dies," *Deseret News*, July 30, 1932, 1, copy in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 361–62.

209. George H. Brimhall, Certificate of Death. Perhaps there were unanswered questions about Brimhall's death because his wife had left the house and the only other person at home was Brimhall's youngest son, Areo, who was twenty-two years old but mentally disabled because, according to his mother, at the age of three he had "a fall of sixteen feet from a roof." Flora Robertson Brimhall, in *Biography Collection: George H. Brimhall*, 306. There was no animosity between Areo and his father and no suggestion or evidence that Brimhall was killed in any way other than by a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

210. Franklin S. Harris to John A. Widtsoe, September 21, 1932, Harris Presidential Papers, Perry Special Collections. Widtsoe, who was serving as president of the Church's European Mission, wrote to Harris that half a dozen elders had received information about Brimhall's death in private letters and had come to him with questions. He asked Harris if there was anything he could tell them "to assist in turning the gossip that seems to be spreading." John A. Widtsoe to Franklin S. Harris, September 7, 1932, Harris Presidential Papers, Perry Special Collections.

211. Franklin S. Harris, Funeral Services for George H. Brimhall, August 1, 1932, Brimhall Presidential Papers. See also Franklin S. Harris, Journal, July 29, 1932, Harris Presidential Papers. The day after Brimhall's death, James E. Talmage wrote in his journal:

Word is published today of the death of our beloved brother, George H. Brimhall. . . . There is an element of tragedy in his passing. For many months he has been ill and his death has been expected; but, worn out in

body and under a mental collapse, he seems to have been unable to await the next call of the messenger of death, and summoned him with the aid of a hunting rifle. I am sure the man was wholly irresponsible and that every circumstance will be taken into account in the final judgment as to his splendid life and sudden death. (James E. Talmage, *Diary of James E. Talmage*, July 30, 1932, holograph, 19–20, James E. Talmage Papers, Perry Special Collections.)

212. Truman G. Madsen, “Roberts, B. H.,” in *Encyclopedia of LDS History*, 1035; Harvard Heath, “Talmage, James E.,” in *Encyclopedia of LDS History*, 1218.

213. Heber J. Grant, “Address by President Heber J. Grant: Dedication Brimhall Bldg.,” October 16, 1935, in *Tributes to George H. Brimhall*, 28.

214. George H. Brimhall to the Presiding Bishopric, May 15, 1914, Brimhall Presidential Papers.

The Fellowship of Christ's Sufferings as Reflected in *Lear* and Life

Sally T. Taylor

That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings.

—Philippians 3:10

As I have worked with students in creative writing over the twenty-five years of my teaching at Brigham Young University, I have often noted how the angst of young adult years is reflected in their writing. They write of their broken romances, their dysfunctional homes, their roommate agonies, their loneliness, and the stress of classroom deadlines. I understand the intensity of their feelings, just as I understand the agonies of my own children—and now grandchildren—who have suffered through false friends, lost homework, school pressure, childhood illnesses, and broken limbs. I have been there. I remember. At the other end of life's experiences, I have observed the increase of pain and suffering as loved ones age and experience health problems and death with its devastating ripple effect on survivors. I have been there, too. I understand. Although some adversity may be self-inflicted by foolish behavior, much suffering comes regardless of anything we have done. No matter our age or situation, we will experience suffering in this life. It can be physical suffering, or it can be mental or emotional suffering—or both at once. But suffering is a necessary part of the human experience.

Gaining a Perspective

Since we cannot avoid suffering in this life, we need to gain an eternal perspective on the function and purpose of our suffering. Joseph Smith

tells us in his inspired translation that God “provided some better things for [the prophets] through their sufferings, *for without sufferings they could not be made perfect*” (Heb. 11:40, italics added). Thus, suffering is part of what we must do to have eternal life in the kingdom with our Father in Heaven and our elder brother, Jesus Christ. The vital question is, What are we to learn? Yes, what are we to learn by each setback, each illness, each sorrow, each tragedy that we experience?

I have had to explore that question in depth. Diagnosed with breast cancer in January 2001, I spent the year in intensive treatment, and even now I have a haystack of pills to take daily and frequent checkups with one or the other of my four doctors. The peripheral neuropathy of my hands and feet will always be with me, but the radiation damage is finally starting to ease. The cancer is in remission for now, but every unexpected ache or lump can send my heart racing with fear. The next few years are crucial, they tell me, to determine if the cancer has been eradicated.

The physical aspects of treatment are very unpleasant, but the emotional aspects can be worse. Elder Bruce C. Hafen describes this aspect of Elder Neal Maxwell’s cancer experience:

Psychic pain runs bottomlessly deep. . . . The constant threat of death keeps crashing through your barriers of mental resistance. Does such suffering somehow *teach* everyone who tastes it? Anne Morrow Lindbergh didn’t think so. She wrote . . . , “I do not believe that sheer suffering teaches. If suffering alone taught, all the world would be wise since everyone suffers.”¹

I have experienced times of pain and fear, but I have also had many positive experiences that have taught me much through this difficult time. Dr. Lyman Moody said “that as soon as some [cancer] patients hear ‘the awful C-word,’ they begin to die. But others begin to live, often more fully than ever before; for life has suddenly become more precious.”²

My life has indeed become more precious. As I have pondered these past two years, I have combed my experience for understanding. Foremost, I have recognized that the experience of suffering is found in abundance in scripture and most significantly with the suffering of Jesus Christ.

The Fellowship of Christ’s Suffering

Without our own individual suffering of the flesh and of the spirit, we could not join the fellowship of Christ’s sufferings to learn our greatest lesson on earth: how monumentally great, how incredibly intense was the suffering of Jesus Christ when he took upon him our pain, our grief, our afflictions, and our sins.

We will truly never know, never experience the intensity of Christ's sufferings. In the Doctrine and Covenants, he tells us, "How sore you know not, how exquisite you know not, yea, how hard to bear you know not" (19:15). Yet in the midst of his suffering, Christ's focus was on his love for mankind. Elder Maxwell tells us of Christ's selflessness in suffering:

Jesus Christ, who by far suffered the most, has the most compassion—for all of us who suffer so much less. Moreover, He who suffered the most has no self-pity! Even as He endured the enormous suffering associated with the Atonement, He reached out to others in their much lesser suffering. Consider how, in Gethsemane, Jesus, who had just bled at every pore, nevertheless restored an assailant's severed ear which, given Jesus' own agony, He might not have noticed! (see Luke 22:50–51).

Consider how Jesus, while hanging so painfully on the cross, instructed the Apostle John about caring for Jesus' mother, Mary (see John 19:26–27). Consider how in the midst of the awful arithmetic of the Atonement, Jesus nevertheless reassured one of the thieves on the cross, "To day shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43). He cared, even in the midst of enormous suffering. He reached outwardly, when a lesser being would have turned inwardly.³

In the afflictions we must endure in this life, we can look to Christ, knowing that he understands—truly understands because he has felt our pain. And sometimes through suffering we may share in a very small part in this fellowship to gain a deeper understanding of the Atonement and, as did Christ, use our experiences to reach out to others.

Suffering, and learning from that suffering, are also vital components of great literature. Scarcely a great novel, drama, or story is written that does not portray the physical or emotional distress of its protagonist. Scriptures help us put suffering into perspective, but great literature also can teach us how others dealt well or poorly with suffering.

For the purpose of this paper, I would like to touch on five specific lessons I have learned: empathy, obedience, patience, perspective, and love. I will show scriptural links to these lessons, explain how I personally learned these lessons, and then tie these lessons to literature.

In addition to the biblical story of Job, whose suffering is used as a touchstone for measuring anguish, one of the most painful delineations of suffering in literature is in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. As I have studied and taught this play over the years, I have marveled at Shakespeare's depth of understanding of the process and ramifications of suffering.

Lesson One: Empathy

Christ's suffering had several purposes. As Alma puts it:

And he shall go forth, suffering pains and afflictions and temptations of every kind . . . that the word might be fulfilled which saith he will take upon him the pains and the sicknesses of his people.

And he will take upon him death . . . ; and he will take upon him their infirmities, that his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh, that he may know according to the flesh how to succor his people according to their infirmities. (Alma 7:11–12)

Alma tells us that Christ needed to gain a knowledge of what suffering meant, so he could “succor his people according to their infirmities.” In other words, Christ needed to learn empathy. His actions during his suffering demonstrate that it was a lesson well learned. We have faith that, as our intercessor with the Father, he will understand us with love and mourn with us for our sorrows. As we stand at the judgment bar, we have faith that Christ will be there as our advocate because he has felt what we have gone through; he has experienced our sufferings and understands us as no other could possibly understand us. Because of this empathy, his grace will help us be received into the presence of the Father.

After my experience with cancer, I found myself frequently on the telephone or in conversations with women who had just been diagnosed or were beginning treatment for cancer. They were afraid, as I had been, mystified by the procedures and terrified by the prospects of treatment. One dear fellow temple worker stopped me to ask about hair loss. She had been diagnosed with stage-four cancer after going for a checkup on a backache. I popped off my wig to show her the bald pate from chemotherapy, then told her of places she could find hats and described my shopping expedition—binge buying as always. I had eight new hats. I was able to make her smile. Two months later she was dead. Most of my hats were given away to the sister-in-law of another friend who was beginning chemotherapy after my hair had regrown. I lived through her fear and knew the pain and nausea ahead for her. Others called me to walk through the process with them. Each time I wanted to wrap them in my arms and cry with them. They were sisters in suffering.

King Lear has trouble with empathy because he has been waited on and pampered all of his life—cushioned from suffering. After he gives his kingdom to his daughters and begins to suffer at their hands, his first reaction is intense anger. He disowns his faithful daughter Cordelia because she makes him suffer embarrassment in front of the court by her less-than-obsequious response to his question, “Which of you shall we say doth love us the most?” (1.1.51; fig. 1).⁴



FIG. 1. "Here I disclaim all my paternal care, / Propinquity and property of blood / And as a stranger to my heart and me / Hold thee, from this, for ever!" (1.1.113–15). King Lear angrily motions toward Cordelia, who refuses to flatter him with pretense. He denies her an inheritance because he is fooled by the feigned allegiance of his two eldest daughters, Goneril and Regan, who sit and watch their selfish plan unfold. Illustration by Sir John Gilbert and Ray Abel for William Shakespeare, *The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare: The Complete Works Annotated*, ed. Howard Staunton (New York: Greenwich House, 1983), 1585.



FIG. 2. "Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!" (3.2.1). Embittered, King Lear commands the elements to destroy the world that has created ungrateful mankind. Yet he learns empathy for his fool, the only member of his court never to leave his side, who "labours to out-jest [King Lear's] heart-struck injuries." Shakespeare, *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1611.

Later, confronted by both of his elder daughters and stripped of his entourage and power, his rage is intense at his daughters, the initiators of his suffering. He calls them "unnatural hags" (2.4.278), swearing revenge upon them. In mock humility, he kneels and says:

Dear daughter, I confess
that I am old;
Age is unnecessary. On my
knees I beg
That you'll vouchsafe me
raiment, bed, and food.
(2.4.154–56)

Ironically, he loses raiment, bed, and food as he goes out into the storm with his fool (fig. 2). It is not until his emotional suffering is combined with physical suffering in the cold wind and rain that he finally learns empathy. As his mind begins to turn, his moments of lucidity are filled with an understanding of suffering. He says to his shivering fool, "How dost, my boy? Art cold? . . . /

Poor Fool and knave, I have one part in my heart / That's sorry yet for thee" (3.2.68–73). This empathy then extends to an understanding of all those who suffer. As did Christ, Lear wishes to suffer what they have, to understand their pain when he says in prayer:

Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your [loop'd] and window'd raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these? O, I have ta'en
Too little care of this! Take physic, pomp,
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou mayst shake the superflux to them,
And show the heavens more just. (3.4.28–36)

Lesson Two: Obedience

Another purpose for Christ's suffering is given in Hebrews 5:8—"Though he were a Son, yet learned he *obedience* by the things which he suffered" (*italics added*).

Christ's obedience was to a difficult divine law: expiation for mankind. It was not easy obedience because we know that during the worst of his suffering at Gethsemane he prayed, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done. And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him" (Luke 22:42–43). Through his divine faith and understanding, he was able to endure, even unto death, the suffering that was necessary for complete obedience to the Father.

On the practical side, obedience during cancer treatment is mandatory. I was instructed what I should eat and drink, what my activities should be, and what medications I must take. I knew that the surgery would be painful, the chemotherapy would take me as close to death as possible to kill the cancer, and the radiation could burn me. I did not want any of it. I could have said no. I could have opted out of treatment. I walked into the hospital feeling perfectly fine. I had to have faith that what the x-rays and ultrasound showed was actually there. I had to have faith that the treatment would save my life. There are laws in medical treatment that may not be foolproof, but I was willing to go with the odds that the treatment would be successful.

King Lear, as the maker of laws, abrogates his responsibilities by giving his kingdom to his daughters. He is then trapped in the laws they make and suffers through forced obedience to be subject to those laws and decrees. For example, it is exceedingly painful for him to be divested of his train of knights because they are symbols of his former power. When told that he does not need them, he gives one of his most famous speeches to his richly gowned eldest daughters:

O, reason not the need! our basest beggars
Are in the poorest thing superfluous.
Allow not nature more than nature needs,
Man's life is cheap as beast's. Thou art a lady;
If only to go warm were gorgeous,
Why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st,
Which scarcely keeps thee warm. (2.4.264–70)

A mild and gentle King Lear emerges at the end of the play, one tempered by his suffering into unquestioning obedience. As he and Cordelia are taken to prison (fig. 3), he meekly submits, saying:

Come let's away to prison:
We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage;

When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
 And ask of thee forgiveness. So we'll live,
 And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
 At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
 Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too—
 Who loses and who wins; who's in, and who's out—
 And take upon 's the mystery of things
 As if we were God's spies. (5.3.8–17)

Lesson Three: Patience

The scriptures teach us about patience in suffering: “Tribulation worketh patience” (Rom. 5:3) and, moreover, “For what glory is it, if, when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? but if, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps” (1 Pet. 2:20–21).

Patience, long-suffering, enduring to the end—these virtues are repeatedly encouraged in the scriptures. These virtues also relate to our individual suffering. Although we fight to maintain our health, we also realize that our timetable is not the Lord's timetable. Treatment must take its course. Healing comes at its own speed. And sometimes healing does not come, and those we love are taken. Knowing all this mentally is quite different from experiencing it emotionally. Patient acceptance of God's will is not easy.

I recall one day sitting alone at home on a kitchen chair, hair gone, nausea threatening to overpower me again. I wept in self-pity. But time has brought my hair back and the chemicals are out of my system. A day at a time. A month at a time. A year at a time. We can endure when we break it into bits. When we think of patience, we remember the patience of Job. His steadfast endurance was based on deep faith. He knew that God was aware of him and his suffering when he says that God “knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold” (Job 23:10).

In the 121st section of the Doctrine and Covenants, Joseph Smith also was reminded of the need for patience when the Lord said to him:

My son, peace be unto thy soul; thine adversity and thine afflictions shall be but a small moment; And then, if thou endure it well, God shall exalt thee on high; thou shalt triumph over all thy foes. (D&C 121:7–8)

King Lear also understands the need for patience in his suffering, but it is a hard lesson for him, one mixed with self-pity and anger. He says:

You heavens, give me that patience, patience I need!
 You see me here, you gods, a poor old man,

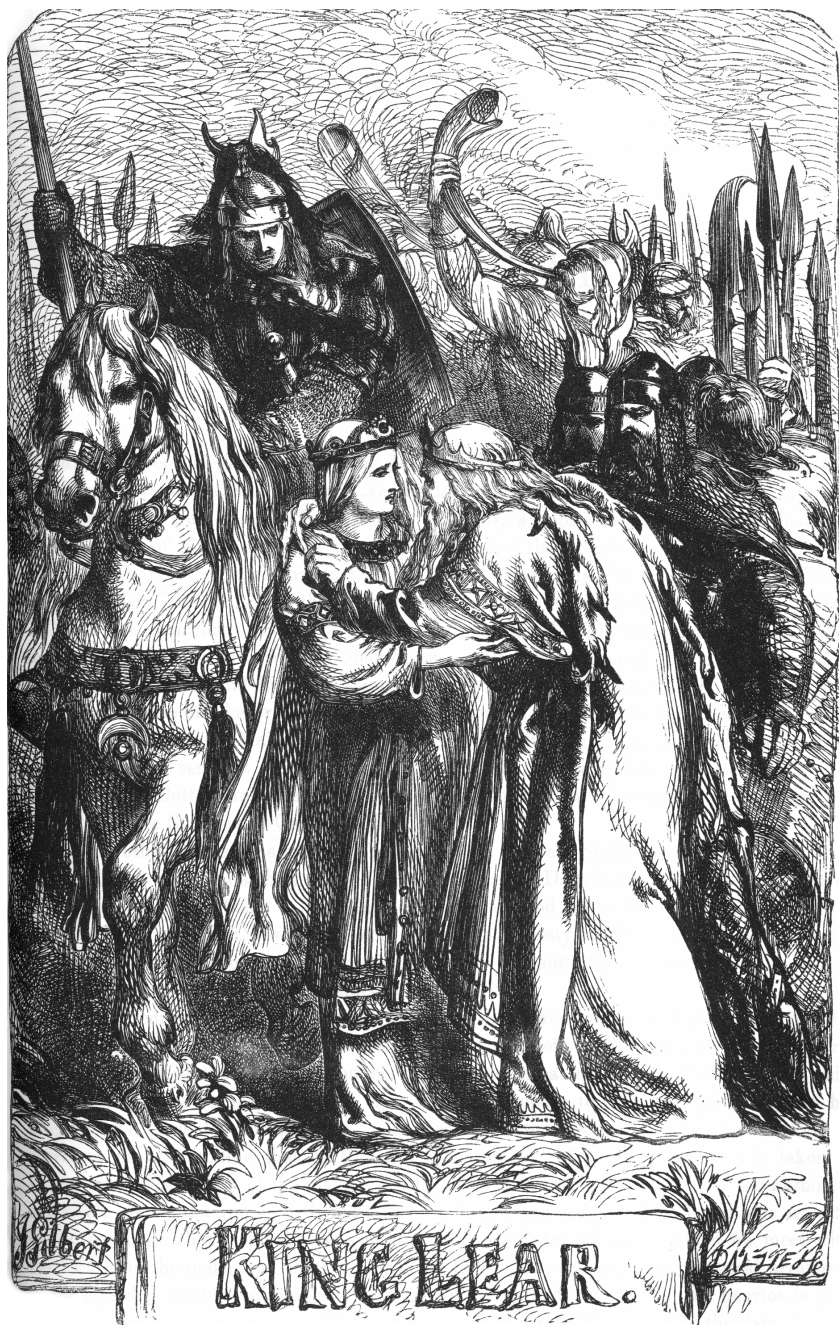


FIG. 3. "Come, let's away to prison: / We two alone will sing like birds i' the cage" (5.3.8–9). Humbled by obedience to laws he no longer controls, a once-proud King Lear is led away to prison with his only faithful daughter, Cordelia. Shakespeare, *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1579.

As full of grief as age, wretched in both.
 If it be you that stirs these daughters' hearts
 Against their father, fool me not so much
 To bear it tamely; touch me with noble anger,
 And let not women's weapons, water-drops,
 Stain my man's cheeks! (2.4.271–78)

By the end of the play, he demonstrates a quiet acceptance of his condition. He is no longer full of violence and anger as the doctor says, “Be comforted, good madam, the great rage, / You see, is kill’d in him” (4.7.77–78). Unlike his running away from help in act 4, scene 6, he meekly recounts the intensity of his suffering and patiently accepts the ministrations of his loved ones. Upon waking, he looks to Cordelia and says:

LEAR. You do me wrong to take me out o’ th’ grave:
 Thou art a soul in bliss, but I am bound
 Upon a wheel of fire, that mine own tears
 Do scald like molten lead.
 COR. Sir, do you know me?
 LEAR. You are a spirit, I know; [when] did you die? (4.7.44–48)

Accepting help from others is a significant part of patience. During my illness, many kind neighbors, family, and friends brought flowers and food. Although it is better to give than to receive, sometimes receiving is the greater gift, patiently waiting, knowing that someday you will be strong enough to be the giver again (fig. 4).

Lesson Four: Perspective

We know that we must pass through life with its tests, and many of those tests involve suffering of some kind. The gospel perspective is of the greatest significance. Knowing the reason for our sojourn here and our ultimate goal if we endure well gives the broadest perspective possible. Through trials and difficulties, we can always be aware of the plan of happiness in its fullness and know that, as the Lord told Joseph Smith in Liberty Jail, “all these things shall give thee experience and shall be for thy good” (D&C 122:7). We find in Revelation 2:10, “Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer . . . [but] be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”

We shouldn’t fear the adversity of this life if we know it is part of the plan that shall lead us to reunion with Christ and joy in the life to come. But sometimes we do fear, and we have a hard time seeing the broad perspective. Focusing on the purpose of life and reading again the marvelous scriptures about the plan of salvation are absolutely vital. In addition, measuring our

condition against those more unfortunate provides a view that is humbling. One day when I was grumbling about the numerous side effects of my treatment, my doctor brought me up short. "I signed three death certificates this week for women with breast cancer," he said.

In *King Lear*, several of the characters besides Lear gain perspective from seeing suffering worse than their own. When Edgar encounters his father, blinded, being led onto the heath from his home and lands, Edgar can hardly speak. Although he himself has been wrongly condemned with a price put on his head and has found his only safety in pretending to be a madman and beggar, he is overwhelmed by his father's sufferings and cries out:

World, world, O world!

.....

O gods! Who is't can say, "I am at the worst"?

I am worse than e'er I was . . .

And worse I may be yet: the worst is not

So long as we can say, "This is the worst." (4.1.10, 24-28)

As his grief and pity are muffled by his need to keep up the disguise of a madman, he says to his father, "Poor Tom's a-cold" (4.1.52). In an aside, he explains he cannot keep up the facade further but notes, "yet I must." To his father, he can only say, "Bless thy sweet eyes, they bleed" (4.1.54).



FIG. 4. "Pr'ythee, go in thyself; seek thine own ease: / This tempest will not give me leave to ponder / On things would hurt me more" (3.4.23-25). Kent and the fool bring King Lear to shelter, where they find Edgar, who is feigning insanity. Impatient and self-pitying at this point, Lear fails to acknowledge the comfort and aid extended by those who remain true. Later, Lear learns patience and humility as a consequence of his suffering and the suffering of others. Shakespeare, *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1613.

No longer a king, Lear is cast out, homeless, hungry, and cold. Edgar says of him:

When we our betters see bearing our woes,
 We scarcely think our miseries our foes.
 Who alone suffers, suffers most i' th' mind,
 Leaving free things and happy shows behind,
 But then the mind much sufferance doth o'erskip,
 When grief hath mates, and bearing fellowship.
 How light and portable my pain seems now,
 When that which makes me bend makes the King bow. (3.6.102–9)

King Lear himself learns perspective in his madness (fig. 5). His first important lesson is what kingship means. He learns what it is to be a king from his position as a beggar. Ranging in and out of lucidity, he says to Gloucester:

Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar? . . .
 And the creature run from the cur?
 There thou mightst behold the great image of authority: a
 dog's obey'd in office. (4.6.154–57)

My illness has given me the opportunity to think about who I am. My faith has deepened. Perhaps my experience will help prepare me in some way to complete my stewardship of this life. President Brigham Young said of Jesus, “Why should we imagine for one moment that we can be prepared to enter into the kingdom of rest with him and the Father, without passing through similar ordeals?”⁵

Lesson Five: Love

We do not suffer in life because God hates us. He is not punishing us. Life is the greatest school we could have, and suffering is part of the curriculum. We are tested in life by adversity, or “proved,” as the scriptures term it, to learn love: “The Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul” (Deut. 13:3). From our suffering, we learn not only to appreciate the unconditional love given to us by the Savior through his sufferings, but we also experience and learn from the unconditional love of those who worry about us and care for us.

Throughout my treatment, my husband and daughters cared for me tenderly. As I came out of the anesthesia after the surgery, my husband's face was the first thing I saw. He was always there, even through the rough moments. He made sure I had rest and continues to watch over me so that I do not overdo. My eldest daughter checked on me every day, bringing



FIG. 5. Although driven nearly to madness by his sufferings on the moor, Lear begins to gain a clearer perspective by seeing the almost unbearable suffering of his friends, suffering that results partly from Lear's foolish choices earlier. Speaking to Gloucester, who has been blinded but remains loyal to Lear, Lear says, "A man may see how this world goes with no eyes" (4.6.150–51). Shakespeare, *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1628.

food and helping however she could. My youngest daughter drove up from Las Vegas to go wig shopping with me. Both of my sons kept in close touch. Then my three older sisters—one from Indiana, one from California, and one from Salt Lake City—spent time caring for me throughout the chemotherapy treatments. They drove me to my appointments and held my arm as I staggered to the car after a treatment. They fixed meals for me and told jokes to cheer me up. As I sat drinking the quarts of fluid to flush the chemical from my system, we sat and played cards—Michigan Rummy. When the chemicals warped my memory, they teased me that I could remember well enough to win, even if I could not remember who had come to the door ten minutes previously. My visiting teachers brought a blanket, and the cancer society provided a quilt to help when I went through fever

and chilling. Flowers and houseplants arrived from friends and neighbors.

At BYU, my colleagues were always willing to help with my classes. When I was unable to complete some of my administrative duties as associate chair, the chair, John Tanner, stepped in and bore the load. Charity is the pure love of Christ. Everywhere I turned, I received an abundance of charity, of pure unconditional love. It surrounded me and cushioned me in its abundance.

Unconditional love is shown many times in *King Lear*. The first time is when Cordelia is disowned, yet the character of France takes her at fortune's

odds. The dowry is forgotten. There are no strings to his love for her. Another manifestation of this love is the Fool for King Lear. Through his witty riddles and songs, he tries to make Lear understand the enormity of what Lear has done, and then when Lear goes out into the storm, the Fool goes with him. The Fool's love does not need the soft court accommodations to stay true. Kent also shows unconditional love for Lear when he returns in disguise to serve him after being banished. A fourth example of unconditional love is that which Edgar bears for his father. Even though his father has rejected him, Edgar, disguised as a madman and beggar, returns to serve him, saying, "Give me thy arm; / Poor Tom shall lead thee" (4.1.78–79). The Christian concept of loving those who hate you is personified in the love of the Fool, Kent, and Edgar.

Perhaps the most significant example of unconditional love comes at the conclusion of the play when Lear is reunited with his youngest daughter, Cordelia. Because of the cruelty of his older daughters, he doubts the reality of love, thinking that Cordelia must hate him for his mistakes. He learns the contrary. Cordelia shows that her love for him is without strings, or "without regards"—a phrase that means unconditional love to which we are introduced in the first scene. In a touching scene of reconciliation, he tries to kneel to her for forgiveness of the wrongs he has done her (fig. 6). But she has already forgiven and finds "no cause" to hinder her love. She wants his blessing, not revenge for wrongs, and says:

O, look upon me, sir,
And hold your hand in benediction o'er me.
[No sir,] you must not kneel.

King Lear responds:

Pray do not mock me.
I am a very foolish fond old man,
Fourscore and upward, not an hour more nor less;
And to deal plainly,
I fear I am not in my perfect mind.
Methinks I should know you, and know this man,
Yet I am doubtful: for I am mainly ignorant
What place this is, and all the skill I have
Remembers not these garments; nor I know not
Where I did lodge last night. (4.7.56–67)

As she weeps, he misinterprets her expression but also recognizes her:

LEAR. Do not laugh at me,
For (as I am a man) I think this lady
To be my child Cordelia.
COR. And so I am; I am.

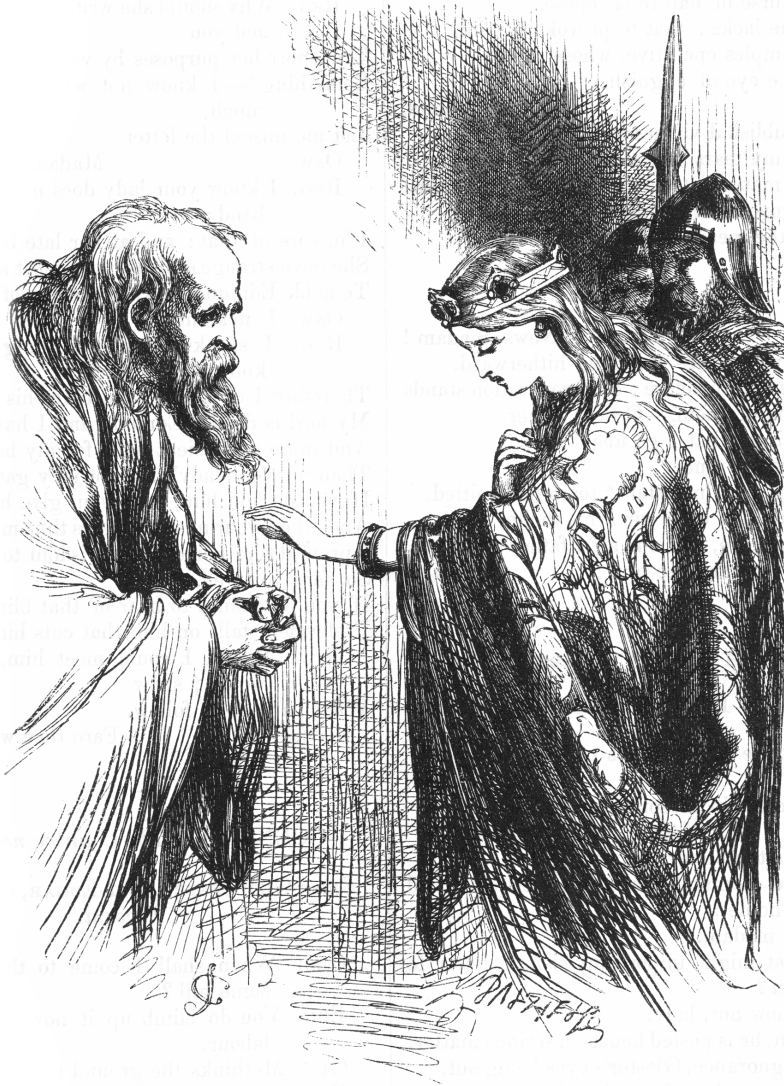


FIG. 6. Near the end of the play, Lear asks forgiveness of Cordelia, now the queen of France. Cordelia, the daughter Lear rejected and cast out, is moved to compassion when she hears of the ill treatment her father has received at the hands of her sisters. Lovingly, she refuses to let Lear kneel to her, telling him she has “no cause” to hate him (4.7.74). Shakespeare, *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare*, 1625.

LEAR. Be your tears wet? Yes, faith. I pray weep not.
 If you have poison for me, I will drink it.
 I know you do not love me, for your sisters
 Have (as I do remember) done me wrong:
 You have some cause, they have not.

COR. No cause, no cause. (4.7.67–74)

The two phrases “no regards” and “no cause” are touchstones in the play. Love is given without strings attached. Wrongs can be forgiven through love. Through all of the suffering in the play comes the knowledge that pain is made bearable when unconditional love is present.

I feel richly blessed to have such family and friends who love me. I also testify to the love shown as an answer to prayers. I know God loves me. I feel his love in my recovery. I appreciate even more Christ’s sufferings for me. He felt my fears; he knew my pain. He allowed me to partake of his fellowship. I hope that my experience has taught me to reach out in love to others in their suffering and “lift up the hands which hang down” (Heb. 12:12). Unconditional love is the greatest lesson we can learn in this life, both in the giving and in the receiving.

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1. Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple’s Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 21, quoting Anne Morrow Lindbergh, quoted in “Lindbergh Nightmare,” *Time*, February 5, 1973, 35.

2. Hafen, *A Disciple’s Life*, 22, from Hafen notes, Jackie Moody funeral, July 15, 1996.

3. Neal A. Maxwell, “Enduring Well,” *Ensign* 27 (April 1997): 9.

4. William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2d ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

5. Maxwell, “Enduring Well,” 8, quoting Brigham Young, *Discourses of Brigham Young*, sel. John A. Widstoe (1941), 346.

“We Navigated by Pure Understanding”

Bishop George T. Sevey’s Account of the 1912 Exodus from Mexico

Michael N. Landon

During July and August 1912, thousands of Mormon colonists fled the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution (fig. 1). As bishop of the Colonia Chuichupa ward, George Sevey led his ward members out of war-torn Mexico and into the United States. The scene was not unfamiliar. During the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saints had fled from Missouri and Illinois, and thousands more had experienced the great exodus across the plains to the Salt Lake Valley. Such epic events enrich the heritage of Latter-day Saints, providing cultural meaning and shared identity forged by hardship and tragedy. Perhaps the effort to chronicle flight from persecution and intolerance grows naturally from a scriptural tradition that highlights the journeys of strangers and pilgrims looking for safe havens in an insecure world. Bishop George Sevey’s understated leadership role in the exodus of his ward suggests that he did not imagine himself a larger-than-life Nephi, nor did he suppose his ward’s exodus had great relevance to mankind. But, like Nephi, he thought it worthy of recording for posterity. Bishop Sevey’s memoir of the exodus (pp. 77–101 below) captures a lesser-known chapter of Mormon history and provides a snapshot view of the dynamics of Mormon ward leadership in an extreme situation.

As 1912 dawned, Chuichupa’s Latter-day Saints were both prosperous and secure. Railroads, mills, “lush ample range,” and fine flocks and herds gave every indication of “glittering prospects.” Sevey thought rumors of revolution and war “too remote to affect us.” He identified “individualistic” attitudes of ward members, and resulting “factions,” as his largest challenge.¹

1. George T. Sevey, “The Story of Chuichupa,” Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection (1880–1985), Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

FIG. 1. Detail of scouts in exodus from Mexico, August 1912. This photograph bears the label “Scouts No. 1,” probably referring to the scout company number. The scouts were likely charged with spotting federal or rebel troop movements. (See Joseph Barnard Romney, “The Exodus of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico, 1912” [master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1967], 94.)

The images included in this document capture the exodus of the main body of men and do not include images of the Chuichupa men, whose exodus experience is described in the accompanying document. However, these images capture some of the landscape that both groups encountered.

All photographs in this document were taken by John Edmund Wall.



By midsummer, the revolution’s resulting warfare would forever change the lives of Bishop Sevey and those of his ward members, who were forced to flee the ever-increasing violence. Although war-zone anxieties surface in Sevey’s account, he emphasizes the “unity and good feeling” that characterized the exodus. A distinctly Mormon pattern of leadership emerges, with thirty-one-year-old Sevey leading older, more experienced men on what they perceived as a perilous journey. Sevey’s willingness to receive counsel but also to decide and, acting on faith, to lead deliberately into the unknown unified the group. Sevey is not given to overstatement. He candidly notes that “divergencies of opinions” and strong-willed personalities marked the exodus. It proved no small wonder, then, that “the operation was carried on with a minimum of conflict.” Although Sevey is not explicit on this point, in his mind the tragic exodus produced the

Saints, Salt Lake City. See also George Thomas Sevey, “Reminiscences,” n.d., Church Archives; and Margaret Shumway Sevey, ed., *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey* (Mesa, Ariz.: Lofgreen Printing, 1981).



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desirable effect of eroding the individualism of ward members and creating a more genuine community. As he wrote, “Chuichupa people never before or since have achieved the same degree of unity and good feeling as was evidenced at the time of the so called exodus.” Referring to his style of leadership during this period, Sevey said, “There were never any orders given, we navigated by pure understanding.”²

The Mormon Colonies and Porfirio Díaz

Between 1885 and 1905, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established settlements throughout Mexico’s northern states of Chihuahua and Sonora, including the colonies of Chuichupa, Díaz, Dublán, García, Juárez, Morelos, Pacheco, and Oaxaca.³ These settlements served as a

2. George T. Sevey, “The Story of Chuichupa.”

3. Latter-day Saints often named their colonies after Mexican national figures. Colonia Chuichupa and García differed from this pattern. The name García was the

haven for members involved in plural marriage fleeing United States marshals in the wake of antipolygamy legislation. For many Latter-day Saints trying to avoid capture and prosecution for “unlawful cohabitation,” the economic policies of the Porfirio Díaz regime in Mexico, which actively sought foreign immigration, colonization, and investment, offered a viable solution to the difficult plight. Díaz rose to prominence in Mexico’s successful struggle to remove the French. He later turned against the leader of the anti-French revolt, Mexican president Benito Juárez, and, after Juárez’s death, against his successor, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. The Díaz coup prevailed, and, beginning in 1876, he ruled Mexico for essentially three decades.⁴

During Díaz’s rule, Mexico experienced unprecedented peace and, at least on paper, spectacular economic growth. Encouraging foreign investment, the Díaz regime helped Mexico’s infrastructure develop rapidly. Unfortunately, the quick-paced development was matched by corresponding greed and corruption, the dispossession of thousands from their small land holdings, and an accelerating disparity between rich and poor. As author Ronald Atkin noted, Díaz “did much to develop his country. *But he did nothing to develop his people.*”⁵ Díaz approved or encouraged economic policies that negatively impacted small landowners in many regions of Mexico, including the northern state of Chihuahua, where most of the Mormon colonies were located. In the early 1880s, the introduction of government-supported land surveys, ostensibly to maximize efficient use of undeveloped lands, dispossessed traditional landowners. Many of the *ejidos*, lands traditionally held communally by local villagers, were “declared vacant, and sold to foreign companies and settlers or allotted to the largest landowners of the Chihuahua oligarchy.”⁶ Moreover, preferential

surname of the area’s previous owners, Mariano and Telésforo García, from whom the colonists purchased land. Chuichupa is an Indian term meaning “place of the mist.” B. Carmon Hardy, “The Mormon Colonies of Northern Mexico: A History, 1885–1912” (PhD diss., Wayne State University, 1963), 84, 93, 99–102, 108.

4. John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 58, 85–86; Paul Garner, *Porfirio Díaz: Profiles in Power* (London: Pearson Education, 2001), 49, 74–75.

5. Ronald Atkin, *Revolution! Mexico, 1910–1920* (New York: John Day, 1970), 22–23, italics in original.

6. Jane-Dale Lloyd, “*Rancheros and Rebellion: The Case of Northwestern Chihuahua, 1905–1909*,” in *Rural Revolt in Mexico: U.S. Intervention and the Domain of*

treatment of Americans by the Díaz government generated anti-American sentiment among Mexicans.⁷

Ironically, the very policies of the Díaz regime that created conditions for one of the most violent social revolutions in history simultaneously provided many Latter-day Saints with a sanctuary from the United States Government's antipolygamy campaign. As the Church purchased large tracts of land, many Latter-day Saint families fled to Mexico to establish communities that would flourish for several decades. By the eve of the revolution, more than four thousand Latter-day Saints considered Mexico to be their home.⁸

The Mexican Revolution

Beginning in November 1910, revolution swept through Mexico, led by Francisco Indalecio Madero and other revolutionaries, including Francisco "Pancho" Villa and Pascual Orozco⁹ in Chihuahua.¹⁰ Seven months later,

Subaltern Politics, ed. Daniel Nugent (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1998), 110. Principals in several of the land companies authorized to conduct the surveys subsequently sold surveyed land to the Mormon colonists.

7. Historians debate the level of anti-Americanism present in the Mexican Revolution. For Latter-day Saints encountering hostility from the Pascual Orozco faction, see Bill L. Smith, "Impacts of the Mexican Revolution: The Mormon Experience, 1910–1946" (PhD diss., Washington State University, 2000), 64. Some resentment toward Mormons by Chihuahuan conservatives supporting Orozco arose because Mormons, like other Americans, "were exempt from import taxes and duties on agricultural implements," which gave them a decided advantage over native Mexican competitors. Mark Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1854–1911* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), 98. Also, the fact that Mormons, recent arrivals to the area, "took advantage of the 1905 law to increase the size of their already flourishing communities of Dublán and Juárez" undoubtedly generated anti-American resentment. Lloyd, "Rancheros and Rebellion," 108, 129.

8. George F. Gibbs, secretary to the Church's First Presidency, reported the number of Latter-day Saints who fled Mexico's revolution at four thousand. "Church Not Trying to Build New Zion," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 18, 1915, 9.

9. See Michael C. Meyer, *Huerta: A Political Portrait* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 226–27; *Enciclopedia de México*, 12 vols. (Mexico City: Enciclopedia de México, S. A., 1975), 9:1228–30.

10. Works about the revolution and the principal participants are obviously very extensive. For an excellent treatment of the revolution in Chihuahua, see Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998). As Villa was from Chihuahua, the location of most Mormon colonies, Katz's monumental biography presents detailed insights into conditions in that state during the revolution.

the Díaz regime collapsed. In May 1911, the worn and aged dictator Porfirio Díaz resigned and left Mexico for exile in Europe. The following September, Madero was elected president. More conservative than many of his supporters, Madero failed to dismantle elements of the former Díaz regime and alienated some revolutionary supporters. Although he distrusted many of the former military officers of the Díaz regime, particularly Victoriano Huerta, Madero did not anticipate betrayal. In February 1913, he was overthrown by Huerta and subsequently assassinated, probably under Huerta's orders.

Even before his murder, some of Madero's former supporters, most notably Pascual Orozco, openly revolted against him. During this period, violence and brutality increased dramatically, a pattern that characterized much of the subsequent revolution.¹¹ With increasing frequency, the various warring factions placed demands on Latter-day Saints for supplies and horses. However, it was Orozco's forces, known as *Colorados* or Red Flaggers, whose actions finally triggered the Mormon exodus from Mexico. In April 1912, the Mexican federal army defeated the *Colorados* in four consecutive battles. Beaten, weary, and short of supplies, the rebels retreated to the area of the Mormon colonies in northwestern Chihuahua and soon demanded the guns owned by the colonists.¹² When José Inéz Salazar,¹³ one of Orozco's leading generals, demanded the disarmament of all Mormon

11. The savagery of the Mexican Revolution is evident in the population decline that Mexico experienced between 1910 and 1920, with as many as two million persons disappearing. Scholars have debated the number of deaths caused by the revolution in their efforts to accurately determine the true causes of the decline. For an analysis, see Robert McCaa, "Missing Millions: The Human Cost of the Mexican Revolution," 2001, www.hist.umn.edu/~rmccaa/missmill/mxrev.htm.

12. The issue of guns in the Mormon colonies is more complex than revolutionaries simply needing arms and ammunition. Evidence that Mormons, in addition to guns they already possessed, had acquired additional modern firearms from the United States contributed to demands by *Orozquistas* that the Saints turn the weapons over to the revolutionary forces. For an analysis, see B. Carmon Hardy and Melody Seymour, "Importation of Arms and the 1912 Mormon 'Exodus' from Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 72 (October 1997): 297–318. See also Ralph C. Vigil, "Revolution and Confusion: The Peculiar Case of Jose Inez Salazar," *New Mexico Historical Review* 53, no. 2 (1978): 146–47.

13. José Inéz Salazar, one of Orozco's leading generals, made conditions difficult for the Mormon colonies by his demands for weapons. After Orozco's defeat, Salazar fled to the United States but by 1915 returned to Mexico, switched his loyalty to Villa, and participated in several campaigns during 1916 and 1917. Smith, "Impacts of the Mexican Revolution," 239–40; Vigil, "Revolution and Confusion,"

colonists, the Juárez Stake president, Junius Romney,¹⁴ quickly implemented a plan to remove the Saints back to the United States, rather than leave those under his stewardship defenseless.

The Exodus

President Romney reached an agreement with Salazar that called for Mormons to relinquish their arms in exchange for safe passage of Mormon women and children, who were safely evacuated in late July and early August 1912.

After prayerfully weighing his options, President Romney decided to evacuate the men also. In the early hours of August 1, President Romney sent messengers instructing that Juárez, Dúblan, Pacheco, García, and Chuichupa men gather to a place known as the Stairs, about ten miles west or northwest of Colonia Juárez¹⁵ (fig. 2). Colonists from Chuichupa

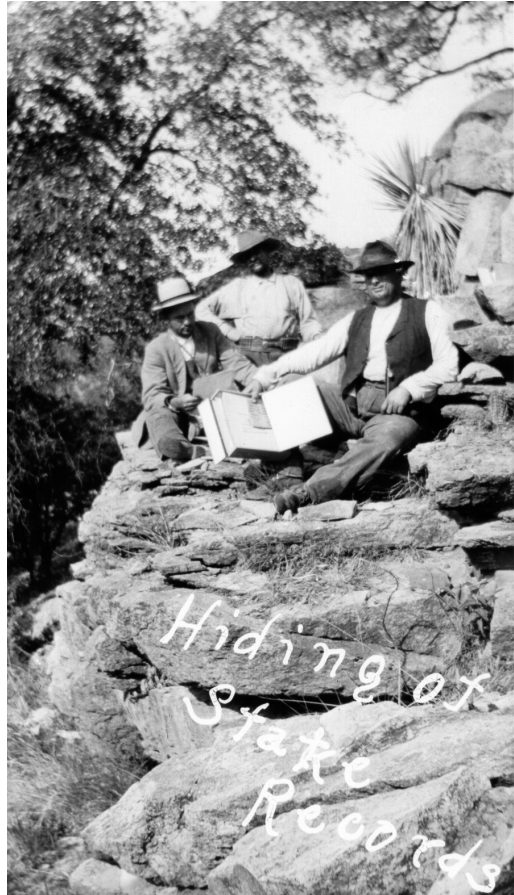
145–70; Karl E. Young, *Ordeal in Mexico: Tales of Danger and Hardship Collected from Mormon Colonists* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968), 234; *Diccionario Porrúa de Historia, Biografía y Geografía de México*, 4 vols. (Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1995), 4:3,060.

14. Born in St. George, Utah, in March 1878, Junius Romney traveled with his parents to Mexico in 1886. From 1890 until the exodus, the family lived in Colonia Juárez, where Romney was called as Juárez Stake president in 1908. For more complete biographical information, see Nelle Spilsbury Hatch and B. Carmon Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border* (n.p.: Ernestine Hatch, 1985), 579–89. See also Joseph B. Romney, “The Stake President’s View of the Exodus from the Mormon Colonies in Mexico in 1912,” in *Times of Transition*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2003), 129–38.

15. It seems that the exact distance and direction to the Stairs from Juárez is not known. George T. Sevey wrote that the colonists were to meet at “a place called the ‘Stairs,’ situated some *ten or twelve miles north west from Juarez*.” (Sevey, “Story of Chuichupa,” emphasis added.) A secondary sources states, “All the men of the five colonies were to meet at the ‘Stairs’ in the mountain *about ten miles from Colonia Juárez to the west*.” (Karl E. Young’s *Ordeal in Mexico* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1968], 65; emphasis added.) A third source states, “President Romney planned a rendezvous at the ‘Stairs,’ a strategic spot *about seven miles northwest of Colonia Juarez*, to gather all the men from the colonies and prepare for flight to the United States.” (Annie R. Johnson, *Heartbeats of Colonia Diaz* [Salt Lake City: By the author, 1972], 347; emphasis added.)

The Colonia Díaz colonists had already left Mexico. Clarence F. Turley and Anna Tenny Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico (The Juárez Stake, 1885–1980)* (n.p.: Lawrence Brown Lee and Marilyn Turley Lee, 1996), states that when the “women and children from the upper colonies were being evacuated to

FIG. 2. Hiding the Juarez Stake records at the Stairs, early August 1912. The three men are identified as (left to right) President Romney, Red Top Jones, and Eli A. Clayson. (John Ray Wall, Biographical Sketch of John Edmund Wall, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.)



were to meet those from García and Pacheco and then travel north to the Stairs. Neither the Pacheco nor the García men waited for the Chuichupa men at the appointed rendezvous locations, however, presumably because Salazar's forces were near. Pacheco's colonists arrived at the Stairs on August 3 and García's on August 5.

On August 8, it was decided that Chuichupa men were taking too long and

El Paso, . . . the Colonia Díaz people were advised to flee immediately across the border" (67.) And flee they did:

It was decided that the townspeople would go overland, cross the international boundary line at the Corner Ranch some 19 miles northwest of Colonia Díaz, and proceed to Hachita, New Mexico. . . . About six o'clock that night, July 28, 1912, the Díazites crossed the international boundaryline. They made camp at the Corner Ranch nearby. They had traveled nineteen miles in eight hours. They finally arrived at Hachita, New Mexico, on August 3, 1912. (Turley and Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 68–69)

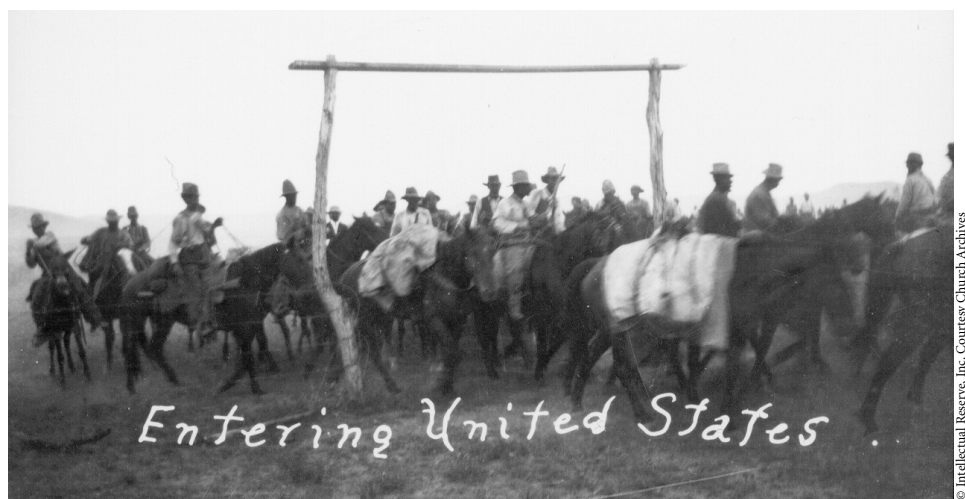


FIG. 3. Main body of men crossing the U.S. border into New Mexico, August 9, 1912. The colonists crossed the border two or three miles east of Dog Springs, New Mexico. (See Romney, “Exodus of the Mormon Colonists,” 101; and Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez: An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book 1954], 201.) The saints appear to be entering through an opening, marked by wooden posts, in a barbed wire fence that likely indicated the Mexico–United States border. The Chuichupa men entered the United States at this location on August 11, 1912. (George T. Sevey, “The Story of Chuichupa,” Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection [1880–1985], Church Archives.)

those already assembled at the Stairs should proceed toward the United States border, which they safely crossed on August 9¹⁶ (fig 3).

Meanwhile, Chuichupa men left their beloved mountain valley on August 6. On August 7, the Chuichupa men arrived at the point where they were to rendezvous with the García men, only to find that the García men had moved on. Somewhat discouraged, Sevey’s group followed García’s trail toward Scott’s Peak. On August 8, the Chuichupa men reached the rendezvous point near Scott’s Peak, where they expected to meet men from Pacheco, only to discover no other Mormon colonists waiting for them. On August 9, the Chuichupa men reached the Stairs, again disappointed to

16. This brief account of the main exodus is taken from Joseph Barnard Romney, “The Exodus of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico, 1912” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1967).

find that they had been left behind. The next day they encountered the Mexican federal army, which allowed them to proceed. On August 11, the Chuichupa men led by Bishop George Sevey crossed the United States border, and shortly thereafter they found their wives and children safe.

Biographical Sketch of George Thomas Sevey

George Thomas Sevey served as the bishop of Colonia Chuichupa, the southern-most colony in Chihuahua. He was born in Pine Valley, Utah, August 7, 1881, to parents George Washington Sevey¹⁷ and Martha Ann Thomas.¹⁸ As Martha was the elder George's third wife, they moved to Mexico to avoid prosecution for practicing plural marriage. The younger George and his parents settled in Colonia Juárez but within a few years had also acquired property in Chuichupa, where George worked for his father, primarily as a teamster. George married Isabelle M. Johnson¹⁹ in 1904, and they lived in Colonia Chuichupa where he served as ward clerk, as Sunday School superintendent, and then as ward bishop. He celebrated his thirty-first birthday during the exodus.

Shortly after the exodus, Sevey returned to Mexico, where he stayed during most of the tumultuous year of 1913. He returned to the United States in early 1914 and tried to make a living in Arizona. In 1918, Sevey again made a short trip to Mexico, noting, "I had now been away from my

17. George Washington Sevey was born in Le Roy, New York, in 1832. In 1849, while traveling to the California gold fields, he became ill and was left in Salt Lake City. Once he recovered, he remained in Salt Lake City, where he joined the Church in May 1853. In 1885 he fled with his families to Mexico, where he died in Colonia Juárez in June 1902. For more complete biographical information, see Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 605–9; and Margaret Sevey, *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey*.

18. Martha Ann Thomas was born in January 1857 in Salt Lake City and was twenty years old when she married George Washington Sevey. When George's other wives died, Martha, who was completely deaf from the effects of scarlet fever during childhood, assumed the responsibility of caring for the children of George's other families. She died in Colonia Juárez in April 1920, having returned after the exodus and outlived her husband by eighteen years. Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 607–8; Margaret Sevey, *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey*, 4.

19. Isabelle Melissa Johnson moved with her family to Mexico in 1889. For additional biography information, see Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 341–42; AncestralFile v.4.19, AncestralFile number (AFN) 1GZ1-HP, available at <http://www.familysearch.org>.

beloved Chuichupa Valley for six years and during that time not a day had passed but I yearned to be there.”²⁰

In 1919, after selling his property in Chandler, Arizona, Sevey once again moved to Chuichupa, but financial reverses made it impossible to remain. Within a few years, he was back in the United States, where he lived out the balance of his life, primarily in Arizona and California. He died in February 1975 in Chula Vista, California, and was buried in Mesa, Arizona.²¹

The following (pp. 77–101 below) is his retrospective account describing his efforts to safely evacuate the members of his ward to the United States in July and August 1912. George T. Sevey’s account of the exodus and his biography have been published in Margaret Shumway Sevey, *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey*. Two earlier, variant copies also exist and are located in the archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City: George T. Sevey, “The Story of Chuichupa,” Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection (1880–1985), microfilm of typescript; and George Thomas Sevey, “Reminiscences,” [n.d.], typescript. Sevey’s “The Story of Chuichupa” appears to be Sevey’s earliest exodus account, reflecting his actual language, and is the version used in this article. Occasional details found in “Reminiscences” and in *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey* but not found in “The Story of Chuichupa” will appear in the footnotes. Although “The Story of Chuichupa” included details of Sevey’s other experiences in the colonies, only the portion relating to the exodus from Mexico is included here.

Since the typescript was almost devoid of paragraph breaks, for the reader’s convenience the text has been arranged in paragraphs. Later type-written or handwritten insertions are noted by angle brackets < >. In a few cases, Sevey’s consistent misspellings of some surnames is corrected in the text. Occasionally a missing word, letter, or punctuation is added in brackets [] for clarification. With the exception of these editorial standards, the text has been left intact.

George Sevey’s exodus narrative describes events of July 24 through August 12, 1912 (fig. 4). Because the events and narrative can, at times, be confusing, two tools are provided to help readers navigate Sevey’s document: a map and a timeline. The map highlights some of the places mentioned in Sevey’s document. Sevey mentions place names that cannot be

20. Margaret Sevey, *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey*, 59.

21. Margaret Sevey, *Trails and Trials of George Thomas Sevey*; AncestralFile, AFN 8FRR-XJ.

found on modern maps, presumably because the Latter-day Saint colonists gave their own names to locations named differently by the Mexicans. Some map locations, therefore, are an approximation. Great care has been taken to ensure that the map is as accurate as available information allows. The timeline highlights major events of each day between July 29 and August 12, offering a brief overview of Sevey's detailed exodus account.

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FIG. 4. Men and wagon on the way to Hatchita during exodus of Mexico colonies, August 1912.

Timeline of Colonia Chuichupa's 1912 Exodus

July 29

Chuichupa Saints advised begin preparations to evacuate women and children and to turn guns over to Salazar's men.

July 30

Chuichupa Saints prepare to evacuate women and children.

July 31

Women and children leave on train from Chico River station to El Paso, Texas.

August 1

Women and children arrive in El Paso; Men return to Chuichupa and prepare to leave colony.

August 2

Men continue preparations for exodus, establish a camp a few miles from town, and are informed to leave immediately to meet up with Garcia men.

August 3

Chuichupa men leave town in morning but remain at nearby camp. Salazar's men retrieve guns left in the colony.

August 4–5

Chuichupa men told to travel as quickly as possible to general rendezvous point at the Stairs.

August 6

Chuichupa men begin journey toward the point where they were instructed to rendezvous with men of Colonia Garcia.

August 7

Chuichupa men find rendezvous point, deserted and continue on toward Scott's Peak, where the men of Colonia Pacheco are to be waiting.

August 8

Chuichupa men encounter three young men from Salazar's army, do not find the Pacheco men at the appointed rendezvous point, and arrive at Piedras Verde River.

August 9

Chuichupa men arrive at the Stairs, where they find a deserted camp. They follow the trail of the main body of men to Tepacita Wash, near Casas Grandes.

August 10

Chuichupa men encounter the Mexican Federal Army and are allowed to continue on to U.S. border.

August 11

Chuichupa men cross U.S. border at Dog Springs, New Mexico.

August 12

Chuichupa men arrive in Hachita, New Mexico, and take train to El Paso.

Excerpt from “The Story of Chuichupa”

The Chuichupa ward or town . . . sat near the south end of the valley which snuggled against the back bone of the western slope of the mighty Sierra Madre [Mountains]. This little town held the distinction of being the most southerly organized ward in the church up to this time. The people had worked hard and suffered much hardship to create prosperity and make the little valley a desirable place to live. For notwithstanding its natural beauty and surrounding grandeur, there were many disadvantages, many difficulties to contend with. The growing seasons were short, the soil not too fertile, however, fair crops of oats, potatoes, and sometimes corn, also all sorts of garden vegetables could, with proper cultivation and with some barn yard fertilizer, grow and do well. Cattle raising and cheese making was, I think, the main money crop.

Chuichupa had reached its peak of prosperity during the year 1911. There was harvested over 30,000 bushels of oats, much oat hay, many tons of potatoes, tons and tons of full cream cheese, much of which would compete with anything that Wisconsin had to offer. Several thousand head of cattle roamed the lush ample range that surrounded the town on all sides. A saw mill and a shingle mill was being operated for the benefit of the town's consumption.

A railroad was being completed through the mountains from Casas Grande to Madera and was a good market for all of our surplus products. The railroad was completed in the spring of 1912. A station was established at a point on the Chico River, about twenty miles from us, especially for our convenience. This would greatly alleviate one of our greatest problems, that of transportation, and would make possible some of our individual activities such as lumbering and manufacturing of lumber products. Etc, Etc.

[**July 24, 1912**] This is a general picture as it was July 24, 1912. The crops promised to exceed the 1911 crops. Being encouraged by the glittering prospects, we felt the urge toward greater accomplishments financially, socially, educationally and religiously.

Little did we dream on this 24th of July of the ominous catastrophe that was soon to strike such [a] devastating blow to our placid contentment and impassioned dreams. True, we had heard the constant rumor of so called revolutionary war, too remote to affect us, so we thought. Hadn't we been assured time and again, that we were where the Lord wanted us? Hadn't the Lord been with us and helped us to prosper? Our own local prophets from our own little pulpit had testified their firm belief that this was one of the special places of refuge for the saints when calamitous times would come upon the earth? Besides we were so far away from the beaten track of the revolutionary vagabonds.

So in our beloved little village <we proceeded to plan and put into execution one of the greatest celebrations of Chuichupa history with> a parade, rodeo events and races, topped with a big dance at night which consisted mostly of quadrilles, some polkas, reels, schottisches, an occasional waltz executed by the holding of hands. The fond embrace was taboo in all of our dances, nevertheless no dancing anywhere was ever enjoyed more than was those lively steps marked to the vigorous notes of the fiddle accompanied by the sonorous vamping of the organ. God was still in His Heaven, and all was well with the world! For the next three days the people returned to the daily routine of cultivating crops, riding range, manufacturing cheese and butter, and performing regular household duties. I myself was operating a small saw mill a mile or so west from town, was also engaged in milking cows and manufacturing cheese on shares for Ray Farnsworth.²²

[July 29, 1912] I am going to give some dates here that are as nearly correct as I can remember them. On the morning of the 29th, about sunup, Dave Brown,²³ my first counselor came to the mill (where I was milking cows [and] straining the milk into the cheese vats) with a report that during the night a messenger had arrived with a message from the Stake Presidency, that trouble was in the offing at the lower colonies and that Brother Hyrum Harris²⁴ would arrive sometime during the day with full information and instructions. Dave seemed to be very much concerned over the situation, as Salizer [José Inéz Salazar]²⁵ was making impossible demands upon the colonists. I, myself, being of a phlegmatic nature, didn't feel too much perturbed, feeling that the Lord would surely intervene, and the threatening storm would pass over. Brother Harris arrived as I remember, in the evening of July 29th.

22. Raymond Alonzo Farnsworth moved with his parents to Colonia Pacheco and then to Colonia García. AncestralFile, AFN 1Lo6-BS; Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 181.

23. For biographical information on David Albert Brown, see Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members, Church Archives; and AncestralFile, AFN 1XBJ-PS.

24. Counselor to Juárez Stake president Junius Romney, Hyrum Smith Harris also served as president of the Mexican Mission in 1903 and again in 1905. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 2:120; “Twentieth Century Mission Presidents Index,” Church Archives; AncestralFile, AFN 1LMD-S1.

25. Sevey spells “Salazar” as “Salizer” throughout his autobiographical accounts. Spelling is standardized to “Salazar” in this text.

A general meeting was called and the following information was given. Salazar, on his arrival, had unloaded his troops and equipment at the stock pens near Colonia Dublán, and forthwith demanded an interview with the leaders of the Mormon Colonies. President Romney and counselors and some of the other brethren responded to the summons and met with Salazar, I think at Casas Grande. These were his demands; the mormons were to turn over all of their guns, ammunition, horses, saddles, and any other munitions of war which they might possess, and he, Salazar, would guarantee protection for the colonies. President Romney pointed the fact to Salazar, that in as much as there were many roving bands of irresponsible renegades operating throughout the country, and that he, Salazar, was not sure of his ability to maintain his protection against the on coming Federal Forces. In the meantime, the colonists would be at the mercy of even a small band of renegades, and it would be unthinkable what could happen to their unprotected wives and children. With a glowering scowl Salazar retorted after this fashion, "Mr. Romney, our big guns are now trained on those beautiful homes in Dublán, unless you comply with my demands, those houses will be reduced to rubble. We will ransack the town and take what ever we want. This same course of action will follow through with Colonia Juarez and all the other Mormon Colonies."

This certainly came as a tremendous shock to the brethren and for the moment must have caused profound consternation. President Romney then replied as he had no choice personally but to accede. He was only the spiritual leader and held no jurisdiction over their affairs, he would need time to call the people to get them to accede. This respite was granted by Salazar and the people, that is the Priesthood, was called together and having no choice, agreed to comply conditionally. That their women, children, and the more aged men be permitted to have safe conduct to the United States by train or otherwise. To this Salazar agreed.

However, this is not the whole story; being of pioneer stock, most every family possessed from one to four or five guns of different caliber and vintage, and most every family did own a modern fairly high powered gun, so it was decided to see to it that each man would be supplied with a good modern gun and turn all the rest over to Salazar and after the women and children were in safety, the men would take to the hills and await events. Then Brother Harris advised us to immediately begin to prepare to fit our plan into the general plan of the Stake. In the mean time, it was still hoped that providence would intervene, that would make the exodus unnecessary, but we would be prepared for all eventualities; this was the keynote of Brother Harris's advice.

[**July 30, 1912**] On the morning of the 30th the people began to prepare to leave. Some of the people were a little dispassionate about the whole thing and had to be urged to action, as they were still not prepared to accept it as the ultimatum, believing that interposition would still become a fact. The evening of the 30th, a messenger came bearing the news that [Colonia] Juarez, [Colonia] Dublán, [Colonia] Pacheco and [Colonia] Garcia were all on the move [to send their women and children to safety] and for Chuichupa to be at the Chico [River station] by the 31st as a train would be waiting to take them [the Chuichupa women and children]. Howard [Howd] Veater²⁶ had already been sent to Chico [Station] the day before to order the train. So this was it, no longer did the people hesitate. All night could be seen the yellow light of kerosene lamps glaring through the windows of every house, pounding of hammers could be heard nailing down boxes of dishes and other treasures to be buried in the ground, against the day of our return, which would certainly be soon. It had been decided that all wagons would meet at the public square loaded and ready to move at sunup of the 31st. Our baggage was not to exceed 100 lbs. per adult and 50 lbs. for each child.

[**July 31, 1912**] At the appointed time the caravan had assembled and just as the first rays of the sun showed above Juniper Ridge the procession moved out at the signal given toward the east, and toward a destiny that presented dire misgivings and troubled uncertainties. What will be our future, what will be the end, was the thought paramount in the minds of all. Little did we think "<that years would pass by before we would cast [our] gaze upon our"> beautiful valley with all its summer beauty, turned by the summer rains to a carpet of deep rich green splashed with fabulous coloring of gorgeous flowers which abounded in limitless profusion everywhere.

Our gaze is now turned toward the north, there lies field after field of corn, oats, and potatoes, clothed in that deep rich verdure which promises abundant harvest mature products. My eyes roam around the horizon with its undulating pattern with its stockade of Ponderosa Pine drawn around the valley as though meant for protection from any evil thing that might try to enter. There stands our little houses we called our homes, looking pitifully lonely. They were not much for houses as houses go, most of them. They were either made of rough unpainted lumber or rough adobe. But

26. For biographical information on Simeon Howd ("Howard" in Sevey's text) Veater, see Ruby Spilsbury Hatch, "Emily Almeda Brown Veater," Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection; and AncestralFile, AFN 2F68-JF.

they were more than houses to us, or even homes. We had built them with our own hands, and they were our sanctuaries. We had knelt around the family altar and prayed as a family for God's blessings and He had blessed us, and we by the same token had thanked Him. With saddened hearts and poignant memories we proceeded on our journey, arriving at the Chico Station, in due time, where the train was waiting to take our precious cargo of women and children to the U.S.A. and safety.

As quickly as possible the passengers were loaded into two passenger cars and all of the baggage into a freight car. The time had now come to say our good byes and part with our loved ones. For myself, I think that never had I experienced such emotional upheaval as I did during that period of good byes. As I stepped onto the platform of the car and down the aisle, and looked into the faces on either side, and saw the tear dimmed eyes and the grim, bewildered expressions, I suddenly turned all soft inside, and a tight knot rose in my throat that seemed to threaten strangulation. I stepped to the opposite side of the platform and struggled for composure, and managed somehow to force a smile, which at best was a feeble, g[h]astly grin. As I passed through the cars shaking hands, it suddenly occurred to me that some of those dear eyes that I looked into, I never again would see during this life.

As I stepped down to the ground after the last hand shake, the train had already begun to move forward. For a few moments I know I stood in a daze watching the billowing smoke as it poured from the stack, listening to the violent coughing of the engine, the pounding of the drive rods as they rolled the wheels over the steel rails. I stood like one in a trance, from which I did not recover until a long poignant wail emerged from the engines steam whistle [that] announced its preparation to dive into the blackness of the Cumbre Tunnel.²⁷ I came to with tears rolling down my cheeks. This was indeed embarrassing, I hesitated turning around, but as I stole a peek through the misty environment I could discern that stronger men than I were all but sobbing, all I think wept unashamed.

27. The Cumbres Tunnel was on the rail line connecting Madera to Pearson and at the time was one of the longest rail tunnels in the world. The site known as Pearson to the colonists (after the name of the Pearson company) was actually, and today still is, called Mata Ortiz. Madera was connected to Pearson by the rail line to allow the company to tap the nearby timber resources. Turley and Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 213–14; Harold W. Taylor, comp., *Memories of Militants and Mormon Colonists in Mexico* (Yorba Linda, Calif.: Shumway Family History Services, 1992), 181–86.

We now called a hurried council and decided to pull all wagons back over the ridge into the Musica, a creek about two miles back towards home. We would stay there until we were sure that our folks would get through. There was considerable anxiety over the possibility of the bridges being burned ahead of the train, as the blowing up of tracks and burning bridges was a sort of set pattern for the red bandidos.

At this point, I will go back to the beginning of the exodus. Brother Harris advised by authority of the Stake Presidency that all phases of the “operation exodus” should be under the direction of the bishopric, consequently, we, the bishopric, decided that Dave Brown first counselor, would be the most efficient one to handle the situation where the women and children were concerned, as he spoke Spanish fluently and was a man of outstanding persuasiveness and personality, and if anybody could talk their way through a difficult situation, Dave could.²⁸ That would leave the handling of the men’s side of the situation up to myself and second counselor Wilford S. Davis.²⁹

Dave was to send telegrams back to us from Casas Grande, where the guns were to be turned over to the red flaggers sometime in the afternoon, of the same day we received word through telegram that the train carrying our people had passed through all right and was headed for El Paso.

[August 1, 1912] Sometime after midnight, August the first, another telegram came through informing us that they had crossed the border into El Paso. Imagination alone could draw a picture of the vast feeling of relief that swept over us, letting down tension to a point where we could catch a few winks of sleep; the first in over forty hours for most of us.

Some of the men who had accompanied the caravan out from Chuichupa on horse back had returned home immediately after the train had left the Chico Station. Their mission was to begin the preparation for the final exodus of the men.

We who had stayed with the wagons broke camp about sun up, August 1 and began our return journey home where we arrived at sometime about

28. An account of the exodus of the women and children based on Dave Brown’s oral history is found in Karl Young, *The Long Hot Summer of 1912: Episodes in the Flight of the Mormon Colonists from Mexico*, Charles E. Merrill Monograph Series in the Humanities and Social Sciences, no. 1 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1967).

29. Wilford Salisbury Davis moved to Chuichupa from Colonia Juárez in 1904. For more information on Davis, see Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; AncestralFile, AFN 1QJV-85.

noon or shortly after. The rest of the day was spent in making preparation to move out, although, as yet we hadn't received word definitely that that would be the policy.

That evening a meeting was called for the purpose of effecting an organization to determine the course of action in any or all exigencies and also to settle the question of leadership. For myself, I felt very deeply my own inadequacy to assume leadership. I knew there were others who had the same feeling about me, however, after some debating over the proposition, the matter was put to a vote, and almost, not quite, unanimously it was decided to follow the instructions of the Stake Presidency. This threw the responsibilities directly in my lap. I accepted the situation humbly and prayerfully, and I want to say here, that from this point forward to our crossing of the line into the United States, that some ten or twelve days later, with the exception of a few divergencies of opinions, the operation was carried on with a minimum of conflict, I want to express here my profoundest appreciation for the loyal and hearty support that was given me by those good men of Chuichupa. God bless them, many have passed onto a better life and I hope to be able to be worthy to join them some day. There was not a single one of them that didn't bind themselves to me in the bonds of love by their generous considerations, over the entire period of that hectic trip.

[August 2, 1912] All day of the second of August, preparations went on. Store goods were carried deep into the sequestered places of the mountains and cashed away into large dry caves. Horses were driven into out of the way places, also cattle, in vain hopes that they would not be found by any roving bands of rebels that might show up. A camp was established at the rock quarry, a few miles N. W. from our town. It was to be a temporary rendezvous in case of necessity. During the night of Aug. 2, messengers brought word that the men from [Colonia] Juarez and [Colonia] Dublán had abandoned their towns and fled to a place called the "Stairs," situated some ten or twelve miles north west from Juarez. It was an ideal place for a camp, a sort of rolling basin with plenty of good pure water,³⁰ and protected with high bluffs on the east from where any invasion was likely. There were but two trails entering the basin from the east, they were narrow and easily defended. Also, the men from [Colonia] Pacheco was retiring to a point near Scotts Peak, where they would await our arrival. The Garcia men were also headed for a point west from [Colonia] Garcia,

30. In published account, "grass for animals" is added.

where we would later join them, and from where we were to leave immediately for our initial rendezvous, as Colonel Ponce, with seventy five men would arrive at our town some time next morning, for the purpose of picking up what ever munitions of war we might possess.

[August 3, 1912] So again we were kept busy all night long and left town next morning about nine or ten o'clock, with all the plunder we could pick up and manage, and went into camp at the rock quar[r]y. I with two or three others stopped at the point of Temple Hill where we could see clearly all that went on within the valley. Supplied with a powerful pair of binoculars we were able to pin point all that went on. We had hardly gotten located when the Reds began stringing into the valley along the regular wagon road. They took lodging in the most prosperous looking houses. Shots were heard, which we learned later were aimed against hogs, beef and poultry.

I had sent a message to camp of what had transpired so far. After some time I left for camp leaving men to keep watch. As I was nearing camp I met the entire outfit coming on a high gallop. The messenger that I had sent in seemed to have arrived very much excited, stating that the Reds were coming right on through the valley following our <trail> and were shooting all over town. He didn't know but what they were shooting the few Mexican people left in town. So here, there were guns out of scabbards and all set to do battle. That is exactly what these boys would have done, had necessity required it. Having allayed the excitement, we went on into camp and proceeded to move the main camp a little farther away as fast as possible, and to a more satisfactory position strategically, keeping strong guard out in several localities night and day during the night of August 3.

[August 4–5, 1912] On August 4, we had succeeded in establishing our entire camp, I think, on the Second of May Creek.³¹ It had been arranged through the last messenger from [Colonia] Garcia to meet someone whom they would send to the mouth of the Juan Dios, by noon of august 5 to get further instructions of how to proceed. It was still being hoped that providence would intervene and that we would not be forced to make the dreaded move. But, nevertheless, I took Jim Jespersen³² and kept the

31. Published version notes it as simply "May Creek." Sevey may have meant the "Fifth of May Creek" in the original typescript, which is the date the Mexican army defeated the French at the Battle of Puebla in 1812.

32. James Andrew Jespersen moved with his parents to the colonies in 1896. For additional biographical information, see Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 334–37; Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; and AncestralFile, AFN 41HB-3M.

appointment at the place designated. We found Jim M[a]cDonald³³ and Charles Martineau³⁴ waiting; they brought word that we were to proceed with as much speed as possible to make our way to the general rendezvous at the "Stairs." We were to pick up the Garcia boys, then the Pacheco boys and all go on to the "Stairs" where we would meet and join the main body of men from all the Colonies. Jim and Charley were to escort us to the Garcia bunch.

Arriving back at camp that evening we organized more fully for convenience of travel. There were some forty men, so we organized into groups, I think, about five or eight groups. I am not sure about this point, it was either five groups of eight, or eight groups of five. I'm inclined to remember it was the latter, anyhow the groups were chosen as to relation, natural friendship, congeniality, Etc. Each group chose their own captain. They would camp, cook and pack as a group. Ben Johnson³⁵ from my group was appointed captain of the pack train with a man from each group to assist in that rather burdensome task.

There were about one hundred head of horses in the whole outfit, most of which were owned by a few men such as, Howard Veatre [Veater], Williams, Davis, Brown and Ben Johnson. Some owned no horse at all; but these men were all furnished mounts. These men very generously agreed to throw all horses in one remuda, then the captains drew lots and one by one went in and selected horse by horse for his group, until, all men were mounted. Someone may have the top horse of someone else, but these guys were real sports and very few complaints were made. Then the pack animals, one for each men [*sic*] in the entire company, were selected in like manner. I think I should mention here, that Sam Brown³⁶ who was one of our local store owners, had very generously placed all his store goods at the disposal of the community and they could pay at some future

33. For biographical information on James Alexander MacDonald, see Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; AncestralFile, AFN 3HDZ-Po.

34. For biographical information on Charles Henry Martineau, see Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; AncestralFile, AFN 1VXL-R5.

35. Benjamin Lynn Johnson was George T. Sevey's brother-in-law. AncestralFile, AFN 1GZ1-GJ.

36. For biographical information on Samuel James Brown, see "Life Story of Samuel J. Brown, 1946," Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection; Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; AncestralFile, AFN 1XBJ-K4.

date. I think much of the provisions we carried with us, were from Sam's stock.³⁷ George Brown³⁸ stated to me later that most of the people paid up over the years.

Coming back to the story, after all the details of organizing had been effected, there arose a problem that presented a real tragedy. Nearly every family had a family dog. Of course these dogs had been brought along. There were some of the most intelligent canines assembled here that I have ever known. They, many of them were descended from very intelligent animals. Old Tige, who belonged to my very good friend Dave Brown, had done many things that would vie with things Rin-tin-tin or any other dog would do. I mention this in passing. That the appreciation of the situation be more keenly realized, these were not just dogs, they were most of them trained cattle dogs and in a cattle country they were in many instances more efficient than men could be. These were not house pets, they were pals to their masters, and traveled the range with them, slept by the camp-fire with them, stood guard at night, always ready at their masters bidding, to perform any duty as he understood it. You may imagine how these men felt after serious and sane deliberations it was decided for the safety of the camp, and the hardship on the dogs, taking them overland hundreds of miles through mountain trails and over hot waterless deserts, they were to be mercifully relieved of their lives by bullet. Each man had the privilege of taking the life of his own dog or turn the job over to a general executioner. This gruesome bit of business was dispatched quickly [and] efficiently even though the heart tugs were tremendous, with white faces and trembling lips, these men grimly did what had to be done. Even now after the passing of so many years when this incident is brought to the focus of my memory, sadness surges my soul and tears at my heart.

37. This was undoubtedly a wise move by Brown, since the Colorados were pillaging everything in sight. By allowing the colonists to use his supplies with a promise of future payment, he minimized, but did not eliminate, his losses. After helping the women and children reach the Chico railroad station to leave Mexico, Brown wrote, "I returned to Chuichupa where I employed a pack train to pack out and hide in caves a considerable amount of merchandise which was all finally taken by the local Mexicans and for which I never received remuneration." "Life Story of Samuel J. Brown, 1946."

38. For biographical information on George Andrew Brown, see Jane Brown Baclawski, "George Andrew Brown," Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection; Chuichupa Ward, Juárez Stake, Record of Members; AncestralFile, AFN 2PX6-C4.

[August 6, 1912] We were now ready to be on our journey and had to travel single file as just one single, narrow trail lay ahead of us, leading over the north peak, from there we took the last look at our lovely valley and town. We just looked, and for specific reasons hardly spoke, just passed on up that winding trail toward the north. that night, August 6th, I think we made camp on top of a flat top mountain where there was a spring and running stream of crystal pure water and abundant lush grass for our stock. From here, we could see back up the trail for miles, and we felt little concern for our safety here.

[August 7, 1912] The next day we crossed the Chuichupa River, passed over the mountains which were called "The Blues" and made camp on the Gabalan River, after passing the place which had been appointed to meet the men from [Colonia] Garcia. But they had left and their trail let [led] north. Taking their trail we followed until we made camp on the Gabalan; this was August 7, my 31st birthday.

[August 8, 1912] August 8th, we got on our way quite early as we were anxious to catch the Garcia bunch to find out what had happened that they didn't wait for us. We could now travel more compactly and didn't need to be strung out so much. We had appointed Bill Williams,³⁹ Marion Vance⁴⁰ and others to scout the vanguard and the right and left guard. Along about 11 o'clock I had dropped back to the pack train which was kept in the rear of the main body, with a rear guard scout some distance behind the pack train. I had just begun to talk to Ben, when Howard Veater came galloping back and told me in no gentle terms that I'd better get up front where I belonged, as there was a bunch of armed men riding up the trail ahead of us and probably leading us into a trap. I told Ben to hold up the pack train and if shooting started, to shove them out of sight some place. The rest of the men had halted and I gave instructions as I went along the line to remain so. If shooting started to get behind whatever protection there might be, and give them all they had by way of bullets.

I could see three armed men riding up the trail, and Jim McDonald was following them. Some of our men had pointed out a bunch of horses behind a pine thicket. I could just see the feet of the horses, but someone said they thought something was shining through the trees, it might be a

39. William Easterly Williams was the son of colonies pioneer George Calvin Williams. For biographical information, see AncestralFile, AFN 1QJT-ZM.

40. After the exodus, Marion David Vance returned to Chuichupa and married George Thomas Sevey's half-sister Minerva Elizabeth Sevey. AncestralFile, AFN 2454-LH.

bridle bit, a Concho or metal stirrup. I'll admit, things looked pretty serious. I spurred up and caught up with Jim and asked him what he thought. He said it was any body's guess; it could be a trap or it may be only three men looking for horses. By this time we were within about one hundred yards from the men. We could now see that the horses were a loose band anchored in a little clearing fighting flies. The men now got off their horses with their guns in their hands, but their eyes were on the horses. We also got off, guns in hand, and stepped upon a little knoll close by, keeping a sharp lookout for any hostile move from any direction. The men, after taking a few steps toward the horses, glanced around and saw us. For a moment it looked like they aimed to get behind trees and maybe fight it out, but we waved our hats at them and beckoned them to come over. By this time they had located our whole bunch and decided to come on over.

They were all young, from under twenty years of age, I would guess. They were very frightened young men, one of them especially, he simply collapsed and sat down heavily on a log that was close at hand. It so happened that they were all from Casas Grande and two of them were from families of some of our own family's friends. One was Miguel Portillo,⁴¹ a brother to Enrique, who was educated in the Juárez Stake Academy⁴² and was now captain under General Salazar⁴³ and at the moment, with the red army at [Colonia] Pacheco about three or four miles to the east of us. Another one of the boys was a brother to Silvestre Quevedo,⁴⁴ who was a lieutenant with Salazar. He also had attended the Academy.

41. Miguel Portillo was a son of Casas Grandes tax collector Genevevo Portillo Chávez. His brother Enrique was one of Salazar's officers.

42. Like other Latter-day Saint communities, the Mormon colonists in Mexico built an educational facility, the Juárez Stake Academy. It became a focal point for the social and educational life of the colonies and still serves that important function today. For a complete history, see Albert Kenyon Wagner and Leona Farnsworth Wagner, comps., *The Juárez Stake Academy, 1897–1997: The First One Hundred Years* (Colonia Juárez, Chihuahua: The Academy, 1997).

43. Enrique Portillo was one of the five signatories to the formal request sent to Orozco advocating revolt against Madero. His execution by forces of Pancho Villa was witnessed by Mormon colonist Orson Pratt Brown according to a journalist for the *Salt Lake Tribune* who wrote, "Fate decreed that a Mormon leader should see the execution of a revolutionary colonel who had been educated in the Mormon academy in Mexico, had turned against his friends and assisted in destroying their property and places of worship." "Mormon Agent Sees Federal Foe Shot; Colonel Portillo, Educated in L. D. S. Colony, a Traitor to His Old Friends," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 14, 1914; Lloyd, "Rancheros and Rebellion," 131; Smith, "Impacts of the Mexican Revolution," 85.

44. Silvestre Quevedo began his revolutionary activities as early as 1908. He was sent to the federal prison at San Juan de Ulúa for plotting against the Díaz

On questioning the boys, we learned that, Salazar was at Pacheco with about 800 men, and that more were at [Colonia] Garcia, also a detachment under Ponce was at [Colonia] Chuichupa.⁴⁵ What to do with the boys presented a problem, if we turned them loose, they could report our presence here in the matter of minutes, and, he, Salazar could, and probably would cut us off on both ends, either capture or drive us all deeper into rough mountains. Either procedure would be undesirable for us. If we kept them with us they would be soon missed, and a search would begin immediately, and we could be easily over taken and our act would be considered one of war. In such a case we would be dealt with most harshly.

One member of our party recommended that dead men tell no tales, so we should eliminate them. This of course, was unthinkable. So after due consideration, there were enough of us who were willing to let the Lord in on the deal, and I fully believe that it was inspiration from Him, that George Brown, our interpreter said to the boys for us: Ago on back to your camp and inform the general that we are a peaceful group of men going straight down the big trail to join the men from the other colonies, probably, head on to the United States Border. We will appreciate very much if the general will make no move to stop us. The boys seemed very grateful and shook hands with us warmly, and thanked us generously for our consideration and took off. I'm not sure that those boys ever reported our presence in that neighborhood. By the way, Miguel Portillo could speak good English and he fully understood all that went on during our deliberations. We took a short time out for lunch, then proceeded on our way.

The country [was] fairly smooth and flat here, so we traveled rather compactly, and kept our van right and left guards at a fair distance from the main group, and made good time on our travel until along about four or five o'clock I would guess, we were approaching the Pierres [Piedras] Verde River, just below Cave Valley where a little mormon settlement had been started, but had long since been abandoned, when a man from the right guard came in and reported that three or four men had been seen passing around a bend of the river, going in the same direction we were headed, probably was the tail end of a bunch sent out to intercept us.⁴⁶ The

regime. After Madero came to power, Quevedo was freed. He initially supported Madero and was made a captain in 1911 but subsequently turned his allegiance to Salazar and Orozco. Young, *Ordeal in Mexico*, 201–15; *Diccionario Porrúa de Historia*, 3:2850.

45. It is not known which "Ponce" Sevey referred to, Lino or Demetrio.

46. Cave Valley was located on the Piedras Verde River approximately seven miles down river from Colonia Pacheco. (Colonia Pacheco is near the headwaters

supposition really did seem quite plausible, as the timing would agree with the situation.

We moved on up to the brink of the mesa overhanging the river. Here we went into a huddle of pros and cons. Should we turn back on our trail and try to return to our own home range at Chuichupa, or should we try to back up and find a way around? It certainly looked like suicide to go straight ahead. It seemed we couldn't go forward, backward or sideways. I, Myself, was completely stumped, and felt the weight of responsibility weighing me down into a deep, slough of despondency. I felt that we had been deserted by our own friends from [Colonia] Garcia and [Colonia] Pacheco, who hadn't kept faith with us, leaving the appointed place of meeting before we arrived at said rendezvous. Jim McDonald was standing by saying nothing. I had acquired a great respect for Jim's judgment during our trip so far. He was a real mountaineer, always had a cool head and a fearless attitude and what seemed to me solid judgment, offering advice and information only when asked. I asked him if he knew of a feasible way around. He didn't, so I asked him what procedure he would recommend. This was his answer; "If you say go back, I'll go, if you say go around, I will still go along, and if you say proceed on down the trail, I'll stay with you." The last proposition struck me as being the proper one.

We were now at the head of the trail leading down into the river, a narrow river valley sloping down from the river bank to the mountains on either side contained a dense growth of scrub, oak brush which offered an ideal concealment for any contingent that might be laying for us. Being fully aware of the probable danger of being captured and not being willing to expose the whole group to that danger, I proposed that Jim and I would ride down and reconnoiter and if the coast was clear the company could follow up, if we were captured they would have a chance to escape. George Brown suggested that we may need an interpreter, and he would like to volunteer to go along. I've always felt grateful to George for his unselfishness;

of the Piedras Verde, which eventually flows into the San Miguel River.) In 1887 the first Latter-day Saints settled at Cave Valley. It was also the site of the Cliff Ranch, also known as the Pratt Ranch, after Helaman Pratt, an early colonizer. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Publishing Company, 1941), 122 (hereafter cited as *Encyclopedic History of the Church*). Information on location of Cave Valley was obtained from Map of southern Arizona and northern Mexico, [ca. 1900], Church Archives; Map showing the Mormon Colonies in Mexico, 1891, Church Archives; and Canton Galeana, *Estado de Chihuahua* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, ca. 1896).

so the three of us went ahead down the trail. However, before we reached the bottom of the hill I looked back and saw the whole following. When asked why they disregarded our understanding that they were to wait until signaled, they replied that what ever happened to one would happen to all. Hone rye [ornery] cusses, but I couldn't help but admire their attitude, even though they didn't obey orders; not orders really, there were never any orders given, we navigated by pure understanding.

Well, we didn't encounter any hostile enemy at all. At Pratt's ranch we did run into several troopers from Salazar's camp at Pacheco, visiting some farm families who were living at this place. After talking to them, gleaning what information we could concerning Salazar's intentions, we felt much easier in our minds. We continued on our way to the old Williams Ranch⁴⁷ a few miles further down the trail. Here we made camp and for my part, I slept soundly after the exciting experiences of the hectic day of August 8, 1912.

[August 9, 1912] We begun our march early the next morning, dropping back into the river after having detoured over a ridge for several miles on the west. Again we traveled single file because of the narrowness of the canyon, but we made good time and made noon camp at the old Sevey horse pasture, a small valley that was entered at either end, through a narrow passage in the rocks.

Father used to keep his work and saddle horses there when not in use. It was just opposite the "Stairs" toward the north. The "Stairs" could be reached by climbing a high mountain ridge up a very steep trail [fig. 5]. No one would ever think of riding a horse up, but would walk up and lead. I was now on my own stomping ground and knew it like the palm of my hand. It was only about two miles to the "Stairs," so Charley Martineau and I climbed over the mountain to the place where we were to meet the assembled host from all the other Chihuahua Colonies, but lo, and Behold, they had fled like the other parties that were supposed to have waited for us. I must confess, that I was somewhat disappointed, not with regret that we were left alone, as now I felt that we were practically out of danger, but we felt we had been deserted and left alone to our fate by our so thought to be friends. There was no message of any kind left to indicate to us what had

47. The Williams Ranch, located in Cave Valley not far from the Pratt Ranch, was started by George Calvin Williams, an early settler in the Mormon colonies. Hatch and Hardy, *Stalwarts South of the Border*, 719; George Calvin Williams, Reminiscences, Church Archives.



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FIG. 5. Stair Canyon gate between rock pillars, August 1912. The general rendezvous point and camp for the main body and Sevey's group of men was lower down the canyon. President Romney, along with Jones and Clayson, climbed up the Stairs to hide the stake records (see fig. 2). The other men in the main body would have stayed at the campsite lower down the canyon. (Wall, Biographical Sketch of John Edmund Wall.)

happened, or why they had gone on and left us.⁴⁸ Then, we, Charley and I, walked through the deserted camp grounds and saw the litter of camp garbage lying around, noted the heaps of dead ashes, quarters of beef hanging from limbs in the trees [fig. 6]. One pitifully lonely dog crouched under a tree; some discarded cans of fruit and other parcels of food stuff was in evidence. Evidently, the move from camp had been a hurried one, and we wondered what were the circumstances that precipitated the flight.⁴⁹ However there was nothing for us to do but to return to our own camp and report the situation as we found it, which we did. The reaction among our boys

48. Sevey's traveling companion and interpreter, George A. Brown, wrote of similar feelings about being abandoned:

From Scott's Peak, the camp move on, spending the night in Cave Valley, and arriving at the "Stairs" the next day, only to find that camp abandoned, and no word, what so ever left for us, which was not easy for our men to take. We went right on, however over the mountain to the Tapacitas, where they found another abandoned camp, showing so plainly, that the valley men were well on their way to the line, and did not propose to wait for the men from the mountains, or from Chuichupa. Finding no word of instructions, we were somewhat discouraged and disappointed, but after a little rest, we saddled up and went on. (George A. Brown, "Exodus of the Men from Chuichupa in August of 1912," Ruby Spilsbury Brown Collection.)

49. In his history of the colonies, Thomas Cottam Romney wrote that the Dublán men "pushed on and in due time were at the 'Stairs' with the company from Colonia Juárez. Here they remained until the arrival of the men from the mountain colonies of García and Pacheco. The men from Chuichupa were somewhat delayed and sent word that they would overtake the main company en route to the United States." Thomas Cottam Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1938), 192. The inconsistency of the Chuichupa accounts and Romney's version of events is clarified by the report made of the exodus by Juárez Stake clerk Alonzo L. Taylor. On August 5, Taylor wrote:

The company remained in camp at the "Stairs" waiting for the García and Chuhuichupa [*sic*] brethren to arrive, as word had been sent to those colonies to join the other wards as soon as possible. In the evening, the company held another council meeting and they decided to leave for the United States unless some condition should immediately arise favoring a safe return and peaceful repossession of our homes. Just before dark the García Ward brethren arrived and stated it was very uncertain whether the Chuhuichupa men would arrive within a day or two as most of the men had gone quite a distance into the mountains for a cattle roundup. (Alonzo Leander Taylor, "Record of the Exodus from the Mormon Colonies in Mexico, [1912]," Church Archives.)



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FIG. 6. Details of main body of men at Stair Canyon camp, August 1912. Bishop George Sevey wrote that on August 9, 1912, he “walked through the deserted camp grounds and saw the litter and garbage lying around, noted the heaps of dead ashes, quarters of beef . . . discarded cans of fruit and other parcels of food stuff.” (Sevey, “Story of Chuichupa.”) If Sevey’s camp description is not of the Stairs camp, it may be of the next campsite, known as the “Park.” (See Romney, “Exodus of the Mormon Colonists,” 95.)

didn't appear to be one of regret, but rather of relief. We felt that we could move with greater freedom under our own organization, than would be with such a motley crowd.

After dinner we took to the trail again and within a matter of a couple of hours, we intercepted the trail of the camp from the Stairs, as it emerged from what was called the left hand fork of the Piedras Verde River. The trail led down the river for two or three miles to a point that was known as the Walnut Grove. Here, it cut squarely to the east crossing, a mesa to the Teneja Wash,⁵⁰ thence straight across another mesa to the Tepacita Wash⁵¹ [fig. 7].

Here we made camp. Darkness had already fallen and as I remember we didn't make any fires that night. Wood was scarce and besides we didn't know but what there might be some scouts of the enemy stationed near enough to spot any fire that might show up and would be sure to investigate. A very sensible conclusion on our part, I think, as there was war, and we were in the proximity of Casas Grandes also Colonia Juarez, which were both the Red's stronghold. So we thought at least, as a precautionary measure, for their own safety, they would naturally keep guards placed at points from which they would observe the whole country. A fire could be spotted at a great distance. So we spent the night in darkness and was on our way very early next morning. And as I have stated we were in open country and moved with as much speed as possible.

[August 10, 1912] Passing around the north end of a mountain spur called "Paraja azul," we went down into a large flat country known as the Doreales [Dolores] Flat, part of a large tract of land owned by the Carolitos [Corralitos] Cattle Company.⁵² We camped for noon at a wind mill and a large earthen tank. Grama Grass grew hip high all over this area. We took a good long noon time rest, after which we saddled and packed up and

50. The correct spelling is Tinaja Wash. This wash is located in the Tinaja Valley, a major fruit-growing region two miles east of Colonia Juárez. Turley and Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 117–24.

51. Variant spellings exist for this wash. Sevey spelled it "Tepacita." John Edward Wall, who photographed the exodus, scratched the spelling "Tapicita" on the glass negatives depicting the wash. A survey map published in Nelle Spilsbury Hatch, *Colonia Juarez: An Intimate Account of a Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954) notes the spelling as "Tapiyecitas." A fourth spelling, "Tapiasita," is noted in Turley and Turley, *History of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, 118.

52. The Corralitos Cattle Company was a large American-owned enterprise near Janos, Mexico. Lloyd, "Rancheros and Rebellion," 126.



FIG. 7. Detail of main body of men breaking camp on Tepacita Wash, August 1912. During the exodus, “an advance guard carried a white flag to avoid conflict with the

took off northerly across the open country with no sign of mountain or hill that would cross our trail within twenty or thirty miles. We hadn’t been on the move very long, until we spied a long distance ahead, and to the west of our course of travel, a dim long line of what looked to be animals or men or both. After watching for sometime, noting the orderly precision of movement, we decided that it must be a moving army and it was moving directly across our path, and the timing looked as though we would reach, or meet the same spot at the same time. Again the question was discussed among us; should we turn back, or try to dodge around them, or march right on up to them. At this time they were still ten or twelve miles in the distance, and we could have ducked that army all right, but what might we run into if we did? I think by this time most of us felt tired of ducking or of even being afraid of anything, so we decided to go right straight ahead and let that blooming army butt into us, and so they did.

As we reached within about a mile or so of them, a detachment of probably one hundred cavalymen strung out on the east and another one



federal forces.” (Romney, “Exodus of Mormon Colonists,” 100.) The Chuichupa men camped at Tepacita Wash on August 9, 1912.

of about the same number on the west of us. After they had us practically surrounded, another detachment of several hundred charged us from the front, and we rode straight toward them as fast as our horses could run, holding our hands up high indicating that we were peaceable. By the time we met the front charge, the side wings also moved in, and what I mean we were really hemmed in. The captain asked who we were and where we were going. Again George Brown came forth as interpreter and after explaining, the captain or he may have been a colonel, or petty general, I don't know which, explained that the army was General Jesus De Luz Blanco (Federal)⁵³ on his way to Casas Grande to get Salazar. But we were to appear before the General and explain our position which we did.

The General was quite a large man, clean, intelligent looking, very affable and gentlemanly. After hearing our story, he expressed regret that

53. Jesus de Luz Blanco, like Orozco, Salazar, and Quevedo, became involved in the anarchist *magonista* movement before the revolution. When the revolution began, he became one of Madero's generals. *Diccionario Porrúa de Historia*, 1:445.

we had been caused so much trouble, and he would like very much to have us return to the colonies with him, and he would guarantee and see that we were protected. We thanked him very kindly and told him that we were on our way to our families, and that all of the colonists were in the United States, and we thought it would be wiser for us to join them, as we didn't know what the situation might be with our families, but after we had arranged our affairs concerning them we would be glad to return to our homes, provided protection was assured. The general then permitted us to go on our way.⁵⁴ It was now getting well on toward evening and it wasn't long until we went in to camp, August 10. We went to bed that night for the first time within a week feeling completely secure. It seemed that a whole epoch of my life had passed within the last two weeks.

[August 11–12, 1912] I think it was the next day, August 11, that we crossed the border at Dog Springs, New Mexico⁵⁵ [fig. 8]. We camped there that night and moved on into Hachita, New Mexico, the next day,

54. On August 16, 1912, the federal army led by General Blanco defeated the rebel forces in nearby Ciudad Juárez. This would mark the end of organized military resistance of the Oroquistas, who resorted to guerilla tactics thereafter. Michael C. Meyer, *Mexican Rebel: Pascual Orozco and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1915* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 83.

55. On current USGS topographic maps, the only locality in New Mexico known as Dog Springs is in Socorro and Catron counties, north of Hachita. The exact locality of Dog Springs mentioned by the colonists is uncertain. However, Taylor O. MacDonald, *Jess and Hazel Taylor: A Borderland Family History* (Utah: By the author, 1998), 233, indicates that Dog Springs is located nine miles due west of Corner Ranch. “Corner Ranch is located in the SW Panhandle of New Mexico. It is found in the SE corner of the panhandle, located 20 miles due east of Antelope Wells, NM, which today is a border crossing point into Mexico. That would mean that Dog Springs is located 11 miles due east of Antelope Wells, NM, and 9 miles west of Corner Ranch, New Mexico.” Francis C. Alder letter to author, 2004, from a conversation with Bill Adams of Las Cruces, New Mexico, 2004. Alder also notes “that Dog Springs is not located on any modern day map but it was well known to the Saints in the colonies. It is even noted that Gen. John J. Pershing’s army passed through there in 1916–1917.”

In addition, Dog Springs could be located right on the border near the Dog Mountains that run perpendicular to the international border between Chihuahua and Hidalgo County, New Mexico. *Dog Mountains Quadrangle, New Mexico-Chihuahua, 7.5 Minute Series (Topographic)* (Reston, Va.: United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, 1983).



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FIG. 8. Dog Springs, New Mexico, August 1912. Note the trees and building in background. Both the main body of men and Bishop Sevey's group made their first camp on U.S. soil at Dog Springs. Apparently no longer a current place name, "Dog Springs" was located on the United States–Mexico border approximately eleven miles east of Antelope Wells and nine miles west of Corner Ranch, New Mexico. (Taylor O. MacDonald, *Jess and Hazel Taylor: A Borderland Family History* [Utah: By the author, 1998], 233.)

August 12⁵⁶ [fig. 9]. At Hachita we stored all our paraphernalia, left our horses on pasture there with those of the other colonies and proceeded on to El Paso that same afternoon by train. Dave and some of the other men were there to meet us and for a time we reveled in the exchanging of stories and happenings of our respective camps during those twelve thrilling but hectic days. I received the information that most of Chuichupa people had been transferred to Thatcher, Arizona, temporarily where they could receive a little better care than in El Paso. My folks had been sent to Blue Water, New Mexico, where my wife's father and brothers, Frank and Shirley

56. Hachita is located in southwest New Mexico near the Little Hatchet mountains, midway between Animas and Columbus, New Mexico.



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FIG. 9. Hatchita, New Mexico, August 12, 1912. On August 10, the day after crossing the U.S. border, the main body of colonists “moved to Alamo Hueco where they camped . . . then traveled to Hatchet Ranch . . . where their last camp was made. . . . Hatchita was reached on August 12.” (Romney, “Exodus of the Mormon Colonists,” 102.) In Hatchita, the colonists found a place to store their horses, wagons, and other equipment. (Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 201.) They then “took the night train for El Paso, arriving about nine a.m. on August 13th.” (Hatch, *Colonia Juarez*, 201.)

The men from Chuichupa crossed the U.S. border on August 11, and “moved on into Hatchita, New Mexico, the next day, August 12. At Hatchita we stored all our paraphernalia . . . and proceeded on to El Paso that same afternoon by train.” (Sevey, “Story of Chuichupa.”)

were then living.⁵⁷ It was decided that I should go to Thatcher and visit our people that were there and do what I could to cheer them up. There was not much I could do, however, but I was really thankful for the privilege of seeing them and greeting them again. I returned to El Paso and went from there with Ben to our families in Bluewater. Here ends a fabulous chapter of my life.

57. Bluewater, a small Latter-day Saint settlement between Gallup and Albuquerque, New Mexico, was founded in the 1890s. It was organized as a ward in the St. Johns Stake in 1907. Many Mormon colonists fleeing Mexico found temporary refuge at Bluewater, and some permanently resettled in the community. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 73–74.

Museum of Ancient Life

A leaf grins in a rock's face
as if concealing secrets:
the quiet of tree hardening to stone
or amber cupping light, careful
as water in a child's hands.
The shelves of debris proceed
by age—Pleistocene, Eocene,
Paleocene—a glass geometry cooled
by the fluorescent hum of
the Ice Age. Beside them a version
of a bird leans from his pedestal,
wings canopied as if caught in
the updraft of the past tense.
As we walk the gallery, I am
holding my son's hand the way
homonids do in this mural of a family
crossing the Bering Straits,
trudging from one era to the next
on the complicitous ocean.
They totter on feet still learning
to bear the upright beast all
the way to this place where today
my boy ascends the carpet slope
toward a forest of bones with
wonder still blowing through them,
here, where unpronounceable
names struggle to survive.
Where could Eden ever have been
but here, with no map but
ourselves, here, where the only
cost of remembrance is death.

—Michael Hicks

This poem won first place in the *BYU Studies*
2003 poetry contest.

Does Chiasmus Appear in the Book of Mormon by Chance?

Boyd F. Edwards and W. Farrell Edwards

Chiasmus is an inverted-parallel literary form that was employed by ancient Hebrew biblical writers, among others. An instance of this form, called a “chiasm,” presents two or more literary elements, and then restates them in reverse order. For example, Matthew 10:39 is a two-element chiasm:

EXAMPLE 1

He that (a) **findeth his life** shall (b) **lose it**:

And and he that (b) **loseth his life** for my sake shall (a) **find it**.

Short chiasms are not uncommon in literature. In some cases, the authors undoubtedly intended to use that form for literary effect (that is, by design); in other cases, the elements fell into that form without author intent (that is, by chance).

In 1969, John W. Welch reported his discovery of many-element chiasms in the Book of Mormon,¹ which Joseph Smith testified to have translated from plates written anciently by Hebrew descendants. One of Welch’s discoveries is Mosiah 5:10–12, displayed here as a seven-element chiasm (boldface words are chiastic elements; italicized words are extra appearances of chiastic elements or appearances of nonchiastic elements):

EXAMPLE 2

(a) whosoever shall not take upon them him the **name** of Christ

(b) must be **called** by some other *name*;

(c) therefore, he **findeth himself on the left hand of God**.

(d) And **I would that ye should remember** also, that this is the *name*

- (e) that **I said** I should give unto you
- (f) that **never should be blotted out**,
- (g) except it be through **transgression**;
- (g') therefore, take heed that ye do not **transgress**,
- (f') that the *name* **be not blotted out** of your *hearts*.
- (e') **I say** unto you,
- (d') **I would that ye should remember** to retain the *name* written always
in your *hearts*,
- (c') that ye are not **found on the left hand of God**,
- (b') but that ye hear and know the voice by which ye shall be **called**,
- (a') and also, the **name** by which he shall *call* you.

The historical record has yielded no direct evidence that Joseph Smith actually knew about chiasmus when he translated the Book of Mormon in 1829, although some other people at that time did.² If he did not know about chiasmus, then its presence in the book might be considered as evidence for the authenticity of the book as a modern translation of a record written anciently by those familiar with the chiastic style.³

Sandra Tanner and Daniel Vogel argue against any such use of chiasmus as evidence of ancient origins by pointing out that the chiastic style was present in the Bible and other works for Joseph Smith to notice in his own study.⁴ As evidence that he knew about this style, they point out that chiasms can be found in the Doctrine and Covenants, which Joseph Smith published in 1835, not as a translation of ancient text, but as a collection of modern instructions. Tanner cites Blake Ostler, who lists chiasms in the Doctrine and Covenants and in the Book of Abraham.⁵ One of these is a five-element chiasm in Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39, which was examined earlier by Richard Shipp:⁶

EXAMPLE 3

- (a) And again, verily I say unto you, that which is governed by **law** is also preserved by **law** and perfected and sanctified by the same. That which breaketh a **law**, and **abideth** not by **law**, but seeketh to become a **law** unto itself, and willet to **abide** in sin, and altogether **abideth** in sin, cannot be sanctified by **law**, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment. Therefore, they must remain filthy still.
- (b) **All kingdoms have a law given**;
- (c) And there are many **kingdoms**;
- (d) for **there is no space**
 - (e) in the which **there is no kingdom**,
 - (e') and **there is no kingdom**
 - (d') in which **there is no space**,
 - (c') either a greater or a lesser **kingdom**.

- (b') And **unto every kingdom is given a law**;
 (a') and unto every **law** there are certain bounds also and conditions. All
 beings who **abide** not in those conditions are not justified.

Welch argues in favor of ancient origins for Book of Mormon chiasmus, demonstrating that public awareness of this style was slight in America when the Book of Mormon was translated.⁷ He maintains that it is unlikely that Joseph Smith knew of scholarly biblical works published in the 1820s that explored or described this style, three having been published and reviewed in England and one reprinted in America. He argues further that it would have been quite remarkable if Joseph Smith had noticed chiasmus on his own and had fluently incorporated it into his writing style. Welch regards instances of chiasmus in the Doctrine and Covenants as less compelling than those in the Book of Mormon and as likely to be arrangements of words that happen to fall into chiastic order by chance or as a secondary characteristic of some other mode of expression.⁸

Others agree that Joseph Smith likely did not know about chiasmus but argue that chiasms even in the Book of Mormon are likely to be arrangements of words that happen to fall into chiastic order by chance and are revealed only by the ingenuity of the analyst.⁹ Brent Metcalfe has said, "Organizing these ideas into chiasms may be the result of subsequent interpreters rather than the intention of the original author."¹⁰

An anonymous author similarly suggests that chiasms in the Book of Mormon are the "result of the incredible amount of repetition contained therein, and are well within the bounds of probability."¹¹ That person maintains that it should not be surprising to find chiasmus in the Book of Mormon because unintentional chiastic structure can be found in almost any passage of text, as long as it involves some repetition of literary elements. The author illustrates this claim with a four-element "chiasm" found in the introduction to a computer manual, the *INFORMIX-OnLine Database Administrator's Guide*.

Our analysis of the same text proffers a nine-element chiastic structure, albeit with considerable extra repetition (in *italics*). The original four-element chiasm contained elements a, c, f, and h.

EXAMPLE 4

- (a) *OnLine* is a *server* for *client applications*.
 (b) More specifically, **OnLine** is a *database server*
 (c) that **processes** *requests* for *data* from *client applications*.
 (d) It *accesses* the *requested information* from its *databases*, if possible,
 and sends back the results.

- (e) **Accessing**
 - (f) the **database** includes activities such as coordinating concurrent *requests* from multiple *clients*, performing read and write operations to the *databases*, and enforcing physical and logical consistency on the *data*.
 - (g) The **client**
 - (h) is an *application program* that a user runs
 - (i) to **request** *information* from a *database*.
 - (i') *Client applications* use Structured Query Language (SQL) to send **requests** for *data* to *OnLine*.
 - (h') *Client programs* include the DB-Access utility and *programs* that you write using INFORMIX-ESQL/C, INFORMIX-4GL, or INFORMIX-NewEra.
 - (g') **Client processes** are independent of *OnLine processes*.
 - (f') **Database** users run *client applications* as the need arises
 - (e') to **access**
 - (d') **information**.
 - (c') The *OnLine* administrator starts the *OnLine processes* by executing the oninit utility.
 - (b') **OnLine processes** are presumed to execute continuously during the period that users *access* the *databases*. See Chapter 10, "What is the Dynamic Scalable Architecture" for a description of the *OnLine processes*,
 - (a') and the methods by which they serve *client applications*.

Shipp argues that Joseph Smith did not know about chiasmus but regards chiastic and parallel structures in the Doctrine and Covenants as significant, deliberate constructions that originated in the mind of God and were communicated to Joseph Smith by revelation.¹² He points out as evidence that Joseph Smith dictated structured revelations publicly, without the opportunity for premeditated organization of thought or text. He maintains that other prophets, including Book of Mormon prophets, received structured passages from God in the same way. H. Clay Gorton and Charles Francis King adopt a similar philosophy.¹³

Loftes Tryk agrees that Joseph Smith did not know about chiasmus, praises the sophistication and elegance of the chiastic structure in the Book of Mormon, and ascribes this structure to Satan.¹⁴

Evidently, what some deem to be instances of intentional chiasmus, others dismiss as arrangements of words that fall into unintentional chiastic order by chance. In an effort to standardize the discussion, Welch published in 1988 fifteen criteria to aid the analyst in assessing the likelihood that the chiastic structure of a passage in any body of literature was created intentionally by its author.¹⁵ Some of these factors are objectivity (the strength of

the associations between the paired elements), boundaries (the extent to which the passage operates as a well-defined literary unit within the context of the larger work from which it was taken), and centrality (the importance of the focal point of the chiasm). Four of his other criteria can be quantified numerically, namely: length (number of chiastic elements), density (the fraction of the passage that is devoted to chiastic elements), mavericks (the number of extra appearances of chiastic elements, such as the italicized appearances of “name” and “call” in Mosiah 5:10–12, Example 2), and reduplication (the extent of repetition of nonchiastic elements). Here, a “nonchiastic element” is a literary element that appears at least twice but does not participate in the chiastic structure, such as the word “hearts” in Mosiah 5:10–12.

A Mathematical Approach

In this study, we develop additional quantitative tools for calculating the likelihood that the chiastic structure of a passage of text could have emerged by chance. From this statistical analysis, one can infer, in some cases, that chiastic structure was likely created intentionally by its author, that is, by design. We distill Welch’s four quantitative criteria into a single quantity L , the “reordering” likelihood that n -element chiastic structure could have appeared by chance *in a particular passage*, such as Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2). We also calculate the chiastic probability, P , that such structure could have appeared by chance *anywhere in the larger work* from which the passage was taken, such as the Book of Mormon in the case of Mosiah 5:10–12.

The longer the work from which a chiastic passage is taken, the greater the number of words that could potentially form unintentional chiastic structure and the greater the likelihood P that such structure could have appeared by chance *somewhere* in this work; the longer a monkey sits at a typewriter, the greater the likelihood that a sonnet will emerge. In order to calculate P , we must therefore estimate the number N of *opportunities* for chiastic structure in the larger work, and the number M of such opportunities that are actually chiastic. The greater the number N of opportunities for structure, the greater the likelihood that one of these would happen to have chiastic structure.¹⁶

As an illustration of how this is done, we consider Matt. 10:35–39 as the “larger work,” and Matt. 10:39 (Example 1) as the particular chiastic passage found within it. This chiastic passage has no extra repetition and has two elements, hence in this case $n = 2$. Our goal is to determine the

likelihood P that such structure would emerge by chance somewhere in Matt. 10:35–39:

EXAMPLE 5

For I am come to set a man at variance against his father,
and the **daughter** (a) against her **mother** (b),
and the **daughter** (a') in law against her **mother** (b') in law.
And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

He that loveth (c) father or mother **more than me is not worthy of me** (d):
and **he that loveth** (c') son or daughter **more than me is not worthy of me** (d').
And he that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.
He that **findeth his life** (e) shall **lose it** (f):
and he that **loseth his life** (f') for my sake shall **find it** (e').

To determine the number (N) of opportunities for two-element chiastic structure in this example, we read through the example from the beginning, noting the appearances of all significant literary elements (defined below). As soon as some element appears for a *second* time (“daughter,” in this case), it has the potential to participate in the chiastic structure, and its first and second appearances are designated by a and a'. We then continue through the passage until a *second* element (“mother”) appears for the *second* time, and designate its appearances as b and b' (see labeling of lines 2 and 3 of Example 5). These two pairs of appearances together constitute a single opportunity for two-element chiastic structures. We then continue looking for other opportunities for two-element structures through the end of the example. In this manner, we identify $N = 3$ opportunities for two-element chiastic structures, because three matching pairs (a-b, c-d, e-f) are present in the passage. The first two of these opportunities are not chiastic, having the form aba'b' or cdc'd', whereas the third (Example 1) is chiastic, having the form eff'e'. Thus $M = 1$ for this example because only one of the $N = 3$ opportunities is chiastic. Were the elements within each of these opportunities to be rearranged at random, any of the three might have produced a chiasm with two elements and no extra repetition. The presence of three opportunities increases the likelihood that chiastic structure would emerge by chance *somewhere* in the larger work, in the same way that flipping a coin three times increases the likelihood that at least one coin toss will give “heads.”

The value of P for a passage is the likelihood that its chiastic structure would emerge by chance from random rearrangements of the literary elements in the larger work from which it was taken. A small value of P near

zero supports the notion that the structure appeared by design, that is, by deliberate application of the chiastic form.¹⁷ A moderate value near $P = 0.5$ indicates that approximately 50 percent of random rearrangements would yield chiastic structure, whereas a large value of P near to 1.0 indicates that most such rearrangements would yield chiastic structure. Though a moderate or a large value of P for a passage implies that its chiastic structure could easily be replicated by random rearrangements, this does *not* imply that chiastic structure is likely to have been unintentional on the part of the author. Moderate and large values of P say absolutely nothing about intentionality. The author of a passage with a moderate or large value of P may well have intentionally invoked the chiastic form in composing the passage, but such a value simply provides no evidence that she did, nor does it provide evidence that she did not. In such cases, one may resort to Welch's remaining criteria to assess the likelihood of unintentional chiastic structure.¹⁸ On the other hand, passages with small values of P have small likelihoods of emerging by chance and are therefore likely to have appeared by design.

Yehuda Radday included some statistical analysis in his extensive studies of biblical chiasms.¹⁹ His analysis (1) excludes extra appearances of chiastic elements (such as the italicized appearances of "name" and "call" in Mosiah 5:10–12, Example 2) by assuming that each element appears exactly twice in a passage, (2) excludes unbalanced orderings (such as aabb and bbaa in the discussion of Example 5) by constraining each element to appear once in the first half and once in the second half of the chiasm and (3) ignores the increase in the chiastic likelihood due to multiple opportunities for chiastic structure within the larger work (see Example 5). Our analysis takes each of these factors into account.

Daniel Vogel allows for the possibility that complex chiasms might occasionally appear in the Book of Mormon, but he argues that "the multitude of near-misses points to what statisticians call the fallacy of the enumeration of favorable circumstances, or emphasizing the successes while disregarding the failures."²⁰ Our analysis accounts for such failures by including an estimate of the total number of opportunities for chiastic structure in the Book of Mormon, not just the successful ones, and therefore allows for reliable estimates of the likelihood that chiasms appeared in the Book of Mormon—and in other books—by chance. Our analysis also accounts for such failures on a different level, by accounting for nonchiastic elements within each chiasm (such as the word "hearts" in Mosiah 5:10–12), which *might* have participated in the chiastic structure but did not.

TABLE 1
Likelihoods *P* that Chiasms in Various Works Could Have Appeared by Chance

Work	Chiasm	Example	<i>n</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>P</i>
1. Book of Abraham	3:26–28	7	3	0.067	54	1	0.98
2. Matt. 10:35–39	Matt. 10:39	5	2	0.33	3	1	0.70
3. <i>INFORMIX Guide</i>	Introduction	4	9	0.66	1	1	0.66
4. Doctrine and Cov.	88:34–39	3	5	0.0011	686	1	0.52
5. Book of Mormon	four strongest	2,8,9,11	5	0.0011	956	4	0.020
6. Pentateuch	Lev. 24:13–23	10	7	0.0000074	342	1	0.0025
7. Book of Mormon	Alma 36:1–30	11	8	0.00000049	359	1	0.00018

Summary of Mathematical Results

Our calculations, explained further below, shed light on the significance of chiasmus in the Book of Mormon. To evaluate this significance, we identified the strongest chiasms known to us that appear in the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, and other works. These chiasms are pertinent to assessing the likelihood that chiasmus appeared in these works by chance. We computed *P* for each of these strongest candidates. Our results are displayed in Table 1 in order of decreasing values of *P*, with results for the strongest chiasms in the Book of Abraham, the Doctrine and Covenants, the Pentateuch, and the Book of Mormon listed respectively on lines 1, 4, 6, and 7 of this table. Although other results in this table rely on computer simulations, the results for *L* and *P* on these four lines follow directly from explicit mathematical equations (Equations 1 and 2, see below) using a hand calculator and do not require the services of a computer, except to use a word processor to search for instances of literary elements within various text passages. Thus, our principal results and conclusions do not rely on computer calculations.

These results establish a high likelihood that the chiastic structure of Leviticus 24:13–23²¹ appeared in the Pentateuch by design and that the chiastic structure of Alma 36:1–30 appeared in the Book of Mormon by design. These results rule out, with 99.98 percent certainty, the claim that Alma 36:1–30 is simply an arrangement of words that happen to fall into chiastic order by chance. The small upper bound *P* = 0.020 on the likelihood that four of the strongest chiasms in the Book of Mormon, Mosiah 3:18–19,²² Mosiah 5:10–12,²³ Alma 36:1–30,²⁴ and Helaman 9:6–11,²⁵ could have appeared by chance further confirms the intentionality of chiasmus in the

Book of Mormon. Our results do not prove that the Book of Mormon is a translation of an ancient document, but they do establish that chiastic passages in the Book of Mormon likely appeared by design, that is, by the deliberate application of the chiastic form by the author(s) of these passages.

The results shown in Table 1 indicate that the strongest chiastic structure in the Doctrine and Covenants, the Book of Abraham, and the *INFORMIX Guide* could easily have emerged from random rearrangements of their literary elements. Our results do not support the claim that chiasms appeared by design—be it Joseph Smith’s, God’s, or Satan’s—in the Doctrine and Covenants or in the Book of Abraham. Neither do our results rule out this claim, since the corresponding values of P provide no evidence either way. Our results are consistent with the idea that chiasms in the Doctrine and Covenants and the Book of Abraham are simply patterns of words that happen to fall into chiastic order by chance, patterns that are recognized only after the fact through the diligence of the analyst. Our results do not rule out the possibility that Joseph Smith knew about the chiastic style when he translated the Book of Mormon but do rule out the use of chiasms in the Doctrine and Covenants and the Book of Abraham as possible evidence of that knowledge.

The tools developed for this study help analysts to make quantitative judgments regarding the intentionality of chiasmus. These judgments are based only on the order of words and ideas and disregard the overall integrity and literary merit of chiasms. Accordingly, our tools may add to, but not replace, Welch’s nonquantitative criteria and other indices of chiastic strength.²⁶

In the remaining sections of this article, we state and justify the criteria we have used for the selection of literary elements and chiastic boundaries; we then show how we arrived at an exact equation for P ; we next introduce an exact equation for L in cases of “simple” chiasms, such as Matthew 10:39 (Example 1) and Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39 (Example 3), which involve no nonchiastic elements and involve exactly two appearances of each chiastic element, and we describe our *Monte Carlo* simulations for “complex” chiasms, such as Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2) and *INFORMIX* (Example 4), which fail to qualify as simple. Following our application of these tools to obtain the values reported in Table 1, we discuss the results shown in Table 1 and then draw conclusions.

Selection of Literary Elements and Chiastic Boundaries

The first steps in assessing the chiastic likelihood P for a particular passage are (1) to choose the starting and ending points, or “boundaries,” of

the passage; (2) to identify all of the literary elements that appear at least twice between these boundaries (elements appearing only once do not affect the statistical results); and (3) to determine which of these elements form part of the chiastic structure. This process requires judgment calls about which words or word combinations are significant enough to be identified as literary elements and which pairs of literary elements are associated strongly enough to be considered different appearances of the same literary element. Since valid statistical results depend crucially on the care with which this is done, we have adopted a set of strict selection rules to guide this process:

Rule 1: Chiastic boundaries must be located at the ends of sentences or significant phrases. This is a form of Welch's "boundaries" criterion²⁷ and precludes contrived boundaries that are chosen to maximize the number of chiastic elements without regard to interruptions of grammatical structure.

Rule 2: Two or more appearances of a single literary element must share the same essential word or words. Different tenses (receive, received), pluralities (receive, receives), negatives (receive, not receive), and speech forms (receive, receipt) of a word are allowed, but synonyms (receive, accept) are not. This rule promotes strong associations between the paired elements in a chiastic structure, is a strict form of Welch's "objectivity" criterion,²⁸ and corresponds approximately to a class of chiasms called "antimetabole" by Vogel, which restate, in the second half, the exact words or identical ideas of the first half, in reverse order.²⁹ Because the human mind can find a logical tie between almost any two ideas, many proposed chiastic structures include weak associations that cast doubt upon the validity of statistical analysis. We adopt this rule to preclude such weak associations, acknowledging that the rule also precludes some strong synonymous associations (see Isaiah 60:1–3³⁰), in order to set a strict and easily enforced standard that is consistent with the tools developed in this paper. For our statistical purposes, we firmly reject the suggestion that strong overall chiastic structure justifies the inclusion of a few weakly associated chiastic pairs within that structure.³¹

Rule 3: The significance of an element is judged against the significance of the other elements in the same passage. Insignificant words such as "the" are excluded as literary elements. We favor significant ideas or phrases, such as elements c, d, and f in Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2), as literary elements but employ individual words, such as elements a, b, and g, if ideas or phrases cannot be identified. This rule acknowledges that a repeated phrase or idea represents a stronger association than a repeated word.

Rule 4: Inclusion of more than one word or idea in a chiastic section and its twin are permitted, as are multiple appearances of such elements within sections. For example, see the multiple appearances of “law” and “abide” in sections a and a’ in Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39 (Example 3) above. Nonchiastic elements are allowed to appear more than once within a single chiastic section, as long as they do not appear outside this section. For example, in Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39, the word “sin” appears twice within section a, and the word “conditions” appears twice within section a’. We do not designate these words as nonchiastic elements because they make no appearances outside of these sections.

Rule 5: Extra appearances of chiastic elements must be accounted for in the analysis. “Extra appearances” of an element means appearances of that element outside of its proper places in the chiastic structure. (See, for example, the italicized extra appearances of “name” in Mosiah 5:10–12, Example 2.) If a chiastic element is a single word, then extra appearances of that word must be accounted for in the analysis. If a literary element is a phrase or an idea, then we do not account for extra appearances of individual words used in this phrase or idea but do account for extra appearances of the entire phrase or idea. As will be seen, accounting properly for such extra appearances in chiasms with considerable extra repetition, such as the INFORMIX example (Example 4), often leads to the conclusion that their chiastic structure could easily have resulted by chance. On the other hand, failing to account for such extra repetition by considering only those appearances that fit into the chiastic structure and by ignoring all others can lead mistakenly to the opposite conclusion.

Rule 6: Nonchiastic elements must be accounted for in the analysis. The smallest building blocks (words, phrases, or ideas) that are used to define the chiastic structure itself must be applied consistently in identifying and accounting for “nonchiastic” elements that appear at least twice in the passage but do not participate in its chiastic structure. If at least one of the chiastic elements in a passage is a single word, then other significant single words that are not part of the chiastic structure must be accounted for. For example, since Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2) employs both single words (“name”) and phrases (“I would that ye should remember”) as chiastic building blocks, we also identify and account for other single words (such as “hearts”) that appear at least twice in the passage but do not participate in its chiastic structure. In a similar way, if the smallest chiastic building block is a phrase or an idea, then other phrases or ideas that appear at least twice in the passage but do not participate in its chiastic structure are identified and accounted for as nonchiastic elements.

We do not suggest that these rules exhaustively define what can or cannot be called a chiasm. We simply adopt them as enforceable standards consistent with the statistical tools developed in this paper, to be applied uniformly to all chiasms considered herein. Many chiasms proposed in the literature must be modified to conform fully to these rules so that we can evaluate, in a manner that allows consistent comparisons between chiasms, the likelihood that such chiasms could have appeared by chance.

For the chiasms considered herein, boundaries and literary elements have been selected by hand rather than by computer, except that we have used the word search feature of a word processor to identify all appearances of all literary elements.

Calculation of the Chiastic Likelihood P

In this section, we develop an equation for P that is valid when the chiastic structure of interest appears only once in the larger work from which it was taken—that is, when $M = 1$. This equation applies only to the chiasm with the smallest value of L in a work and only if there are no other chiasms with comparable values of L in the work. The equation holds for all but one listing in Table 1 (Line 5), which will be treated separately below. If L is the likelihood that chiastic structure would emerge by chance in one opportunity, then $1 - L$ is the likelihood that such structure would *not* emerge in that opportunity, and $(1 - L)^N$ is the likelihood that *none* of the N opportunities would have such structure. Finally,

EQUATION 1

$$P = 1 - (1 - L)^N$$

follows as the likelihood that *at least one* of the N opportunities would have this structure.

Most of the effort required to evaluate P , and most of the discussion that follows, will be devoted to finding L and N , since P follows immediately from L and N using Equation 1.

Reordering Likelihood L for Simple Chiasms

It is straightforward to calculate the reordering likelihood L for simple chiasms, for which each of n independent literary elements in a passage appears exactly twice in the passage and contributes to its chiastic structure; simple chiasms have no nonchiastic elements or extra

appearances of chiastic elements. The likelihood that such structure will emerge by chance is

EQUATION 2

$$L = 1 / (2n - 1)!!$$

where $(2n - 1)!! = 1 \cdot 3 \cdot 5 \dots (2n - 1)$ is a product of n odd integers called “ $2n - 1$ double factorial.” If $n = 2$, then $(2n - 1)!! = (2 \cdot 2 - 1)!! = 3!! = 1 \cdot 3 = 3$, and $L = 1/3 = 0.33$. (For a derivation of this equation, see Appendix B online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus>.) This is the value obtained in Example 5. If $n = 3$, then $(2n - 1)!! = (2 \cdot 3 - 1)!! = 5!! = 1 \cdot 3 \cdot 5 = 15$, and $L = 1/15 = 0.067$. As can be seen from Table 2, L becomes tiny for large n , indicating that only a tiny fraction of random orderings will be chiastic when the number of elements in a simple chiasm is large.

TABLE 2
L Values for Simple Chiasms

<i>n</i>	$(2n - 1)!!$	$L = 1 / (2n - 1)!!$
1	1	1.00
2	1·3	0.33
3	1·3·5	0.067
4	1·3·5·7	0.0095
5	1·3·5·7·9	0.0011
6	1·3·5·7·9·11	0.000096
7	1·3·5·7·9·11·13	0.0000074
8	1·3·5·7·9·11·13·15	0.00000049
9	1·3·5·7·9·11·13·15·17	0.000000029
10	1·3·5·7·9·11·13·15·17·19	0.0000000015

Reordering Likelihood *L* for Complex Chiasms

Many chiasms, including Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2), do not qualify as simple chiasms because they involve nonchiastic elements and/or extra appearances of chiastic elements. Consequently, for these chiasms, Equation 2 cannot be used to determine L , and we instead resort to a *Monte Carlo* technique,³² which uses a computer to generate random arrangements of the orders of the appearances of elements, as if they were drawn from a hat.

Whereas L is known exactly for simple chiasms, *Monte Carlo* estimates of L are not exact. For the result $L = 2/3 = 0.67$ above, the margin of error is plus or minus $\sqrt{2}/3 = 0.47$, which is the ratio of the square root of the numerator of L to its denominator. This margin of error means that the estimate $L = 0.67 \pm 0.47$ will include the exact value, whatever that is, 68 percent of the time. The larger the number of random rearrangements, the smaller the margin of error and the more accurate the estimate of the exact value, in the same way that public opinion polls involving larger numbers of people yield more accurate results. The computer program that we wrote to carry out these *Monte Carlo* simulations, which is available for free download,³³ has been validated by comparing with exact results. For a simple chiasm with $n = 5$, a simulation involving ten million random orderings gives $L = 0.00105 \pm 0.00001$, which agrees with the exact result $L = 1/945 = 0.00106$ from Table 2.

Some chiasms in the literature, such as Matthew 13:13–18, employ a single chiastic element at two different levels in the chiastic structure. For example, consider:

EXAMPLE 6

- (a) A **boy**
- (b) saw a **dog**,
- (c) who followed the **boy**.
- (c') The **boy**
- (b') fed the **dog**.
- (a') The **boy** was happy.

This chiasm is not simple because levels (a) and (c) involve the same element, “boy,” and because simple chiasms require independent elements at each level. Accordingly, the value $L = 0.067$ for a simple three-element chiasm (Table 2) underestimates the actual likelihood of this structure appearing by chance. The correct likelihood $L = 0.20$ may be obtained by *Monte Carlo* simulation with 10,000 random orderings, by demanding one duplicate level (level c) in the chiastic structure.

For closely related elements used at different levels of a chiasm to be considered as independent, there must be a clear point of distinction. For example, elements b, c, and e in Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39 (Example 3) share some of the same words, but each element is a distinct combination of these words.

Applications

We now explain how we applied the tools developed above to investigate the likelihood of the appearance of chiastic structure by chance for the examples listed in Table 1 (page 110 above).

Line 1. Book of Abraham. In order to assess the significance of chiasmus in the Book of Abraham, we examined all of the chiasms in the book that have been proposed by Peterson, Ostler, and Metcalfe and have calculated L for those involving at least three chiastic elements that satisfy Rule 2.³⁴ The strongest of these is Abraham 3:26–28, a simple three-element chiasm with $L = 0.067$ (Table 2) and the only one of its kind in the book ($M = 1$):

EXAMPLE 7

- (a) And **they who keep their first estate** shall be added upon; and **they who keep not their first estate** shall not have glory in the same kingdom with **those who keep their first estate**; and they who keep their second estate shall have glory added upon their heads for ever and ever.
- (b) **And the Lord said; Whom shall I send?**
- (c) And one answered like unto the Son of Man: **Here am I, send me.**
- (c') And another answered and said: **Here am I, send me.**
- (b') **And the Lord said: I will send** the first.
- (a') And the second was angry, and **kept not his first estate**; and, at that day, many followed after him.

We estimate the number of opportunities for simple three-element chiastic structure to be $N = 54$ in the Book of Abraham.³⁵ Inserting these values for L and N into Equation 1 yields $P = 0.98$. This high likelihood makes it statistically indefensible to argue that simple three-element chiastic structure appeared by design in the Book of Abraham.

Line 3. INFORMIX-OnLine Database Administrator's Guide Introduction. The *INFORMIX* example (Example 4) has nine chiastic elements: applications (appearing 6x), OnLine (8x), processes (6x), information (3x), access (5x), database (7x), client (9x), program (3x), and request (5x) and two nonchiastic elements: server (2x) and data (3x). A *Monte Carlo* simulation involving ten thousand random orderings of these elements gives $L = 0.66 \pm 0.01$ for this nine-element chiastic structure. This value greatly exceeds the value $L = 0.000000029$ (Table 2) for a simple nine-element chiasm, indicating that the extra appearances of chiastic elements and the appearances of nonchiastic elements make what might have been a very impressive chiasm into something that could easily have appeared by chance.

We do not have access to the larger work from which Example 4 was taken and accordingly treat it as if it were the entire work, so that $N = 1$. According to Equation 1, the likelihood that nine-element chiasmic structure would result by chance in this work is $P = L = 0.66 \pm 0.01$. This value does not rule out the possibility that this chiasmic structure appeared by design, neither does it establish this as being likely. This value is consistent with the notion that authors of computer manuals do not normally employ poetic forms deliberately. This consistency helps to confirm our analytical tools—a small value of P might have indicated some flaw in these tools.

Line 4. Doctrine and Covenants. In order to assess the significance of chiasmus in the Doctrine and Covenants, we examined all of the chiasms in the book that have been proposed by Shipp, Ostler, Gorton, Metcalfe, and King and have calculated L for those involving at least five chiasmic elements satisfying Rule 2.³⁶ The strongest of these is Doctrine and Covenants 88:35–39 (Example 3), a simple five-element chiasm with $L = 0.0011$ (Table 2) and the only one of its kind in the book ($M = 1$). We do not suggest that Doctrine and Covenants 88:35–39 is the most important chiasm in the Doctrine and Covenants but simply report that it has the smallest likelihood of appearing by chance of all the chiasms that we have analyzed in this book. Using this value of L and the estimated number $N = 686$ of opportunities for five-element chiasmic structure in the Doctrine and Covenants,³⁷ we use Equation 1 to determine the likelihood $P = 0.52$ that the simple five-element structure of Doctrine and Covenants 88:35–39 could have appeared by chance anywhere in the Doctrine and Covenants. This value of P indicates that such structure could easily result by chance and does not support the notion that such structure emerged by design. Although the specific value of P will vary somewhat with the estimate of N , our basic conclusion about the Doctrine and Covenants would not change even for N as small as 50.

Line 5. Book of Mormon. In order to assess the significance of chiasmus in the Book of Mormon, we examined all of the chiasms in the book that have been proposed by Welch and Parry and have calculated L for those involving at least five chiasmic elements satisfying Rule 2.³⁸ The strongest four of these chiasms, Mosiah 3:18–20, Mosiah 5:10–12, Alma 36:1–30, and Helaman 9:6–11, have values of L that are less than or equal to $L = 0.0011$ for a simple five-element chiasm.

Mosiah 3:18–19 is a simple five-element chiasm with $L = 0.0011$:

EXAMPLE 8

(Men will drink damnation to their souls unless)

(a) they **humble** themselves

(b) and **become as little children,**

(c) believing and believe that **salvation was, and is, and is to come, in and through is in the atoning blood of Christ,** the Lord Omnipotent.

(d) For the **natural man** is an enemy to God,

(e) and **has been** from the fall of Adam,

(e') and **will be,** forever and ever,

(d') unless he yieldeth yields to the enticings of the Holy Spirit, and putteth off the **natural man**

(c') and becometh a **saint through the atonement of Christ** the Lord,

(b') and **becometh as a child,**

(a') submissive, meek, and **humble** . . .

Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2)³⁹ is a complex seven-element chiasm with a value $L = 0.00078 \pm 0.00001$ (obtained by *Monte Carlo* simulation with ten million random orderings) that is only slightly smaller than $L = 0.0011$ because Mosiah 5:10–12 involves extra appearances of chiastic elements as well as appearances of nonchiastic elements.

Helaman 6:9–11⁴⁰ is a simple six-element chiasm with the smaller value $L = 0.000096$:

EXAMPLE 9

(a) And it came to pass that **they became exceedingly rich,** both the Lamanites and the Nephites;

(b) and they did have an **exceeding plenty of gold, and of silver, and of all manner of precious metals, both in the land south and in the land north.**

(c) Now the **land south**

(d) was called **Lehi,**

(e) and the **land north**

(f) was called **Mulek,** which was after the son of Zedekiah;

(f') for the Lord did bring **Mulek**

(e') into the **land north,**

(d') and **Lehi**

(c') into the **land south.**

(b') And behold, there was **all manner of gold in both these lands, and of silver, and of precious ore of every kind;** and there were also curious workmen, who did work all kinds of **ore** and did refine it;

(a') and thus **they did become rich.**

Alma 36:1–30 qualifies as a simple eight-element chiasm with $L = 0.00000049$, as shown in the discussion of Line 7 below.

Each of the four strongest chiasms in the Book of Mormon has a value of L that is less than or equal to $L = 0.0011$ for a simple five-element chiasm

and is therefore at least as strong as a simple five-element chiasm. This observation allows us to calculate an upper bound on the likelihood that these four chiasms could have appeared in the Book of Mormon by chance. Approximately $N = 956$ opportunities for simple five-element structure exist in the Book of Mormon.⁴¹ The likelihood that at least $M = 4$ simple five-element chiasms would emerge by chance in these 956 tries is $P = 0.020$, obtained by generalizing Equation 1.⁴² Had each of the four strongest chiasms in the Book of Mormon been a simple five-element chiasm, then $P = 0.020$ would have represented the likelihood that these four could have appeared in the book by chance. Since three of the four are stronger than simple five-element chiasms, the actual likelihood that these four could have appeared in the Book of Mormon by chance is much smaller than $P = 0.020$. This result establishes firmly that the four strongest chiasms in the Book of Mormon are unlikely to have appeared in it by chance.

Line 6. Bible—Pentateuch. Most agree that Hebrew biblical writers occasionally employed chiastic structure deliberately in their writing. Finding small P values for chiastic passages in the Bible would confirm this. Of the biblical examples that we have analyzed, which include Ezekiel 34:2–16⁴³ and Philemon,⁴⁴ the strongest is the celebrated “blasphemer” chiasm,⁴⁵ Leviticus 24:13–23:

EXAMPLE 10

- (a) And the **LORD spake unto Moses**, saying,
- (b) **Bring forth him that hath cursed without the camp**; and let all that heard him lay their hands upon his head, and let all the congregation **stone him**.
- (c) And **thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel**, saying,
- (d) Whosoever acurseth his God shall bear his sin. And he that blasphemeth the name of the LORD, he shall surely be put to death, and all the congregation shall certainly stone him: **as well the stranger, as he that is born in the land**, when he blasphemeth the name of the LORD, shall be put to death.
- (e) And **he that killeth any man shall surely be put to death**.
- (f) **And he that killeth a beast shall make it good; beast for beast**.
- (g) **And if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour; as he hath done, so shall it be done to him**; Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth:
- (g') **as he hath caused a blemish in a man, so shall it be done to him again**.
- (f') **And he that killeth a beast, he shall restore it**:
- (e') **and he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death**.
- (d') Ye shall have one manner of law, **as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country**: for I am the LORD your God.

- (c') **And Moses spake to the children of Israel,**
- (b') that they should **bring forth him that had cursed out of the camp, and stone him with stones.**
- (a') And the children of Israel did as the **LORD commanded Moses.**

This chiasm involves seven paired ideas and no pairings of single words. Accordingly, pursuant to Rules 5 and 6, the search for nonchiastic elements and extra appearances of chiastic elements is limited to ideas rather than individual words. Since this search bears no fruit, the chiasm is simple and has $L = 0.0000074$ from Table 2. We estimate the number of opportunities for simple seven-element structure in the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses comprising the first five books in the Old Testament, to be $N = 342$.⁴⁶ Inserting these values into Equation 1 gives the small likelihood $P = 0.0025$ that seven-element chiastic structure appeared by chance in the Pentateuch.

Line 7. Book of Mormon. Alma 36:1–30 covers an entire chapter. Various proposed structures for this chiasm⁴⁷ agree on the boundaries (the beginning and end of the chapter) and the focal point (the cry for mercy to Jesus Christ in v. 18) but differ in the number of chiastic elements, which varies from 11 to 17. To some, this lack of consensus indicates that the author of this chapter (be it Alma, Joseph Smith, God, Satan, or someone else) took some liberty with the chiastic form. To others, this lack of consensus indicates that any chiastic structure stems from the ingenuity of the analyst, not the author, and likely resulted by chance.⁴⁸

We calculated the likelihood that the Alma 36 chiasm appeared in the Book of Mormon by chance for two different renderings of its structure in order to assess the robustness of our conclusions. Short summaries of these renderings are presented here; their full text is available online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus>. The first is a simple chiasm with eight chiastic elements, appearing first in the following order and then repeated in reverse order:

EXAMPLE 11

- (a) Inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God ye shall prosper in the land. [1, 30]
- (b) Ye should do as I have done, in remembering the captivity of our fathers. [2, 29]
- (c) God delivered our fathers from bondage. [2, 28–29]
- (d) Those who trust God will be supported in their trials and lifted up at the last day. [3, 27–28]
- (e) I (and others) received knowledge of God, and were born of God. [4–5, 23–26]

- (f) I fell (stood) and lost (regained) the use of my limbs. [6–11, 23]
- (g) I feared (longed) to be with God and was harrowed up by the memory of my sins (no more). [12–17, 19–22]
- (h) I remembered (appealed to) Jesus Christ, son of God. [17, 18]

Here, numbers in square brackets refer to verse numbers in Alma 36. The second rendering is a complex chiasm with ten elements:

- (A) Inasmuch as ye shall keep the commandments of God ye shall prosper in the land. [1, 30]
- (B) Ye should do as I have done, in remembering the captivity of our fathers. [2, 29]
- (C) God delivered our fathers from bondage. [2, 28–29]
- (D) Those who trust God will be supported in their trials and lifted up at the last day. [3, 27–28]
- (E) I received knowledge of God. [4, 5, 26]
- (F) I (and others) were born of God. [5, 23–26]
- (G) I fell (stood) and lost (regained) the use of my limbs. [6–11, 23]
- (H) I feared (longed) to be with God. [14–15, 22]
- (I) I was harrowed up by the memory of my sins (no more). [12–14, 16–17, 19–21]
- (J) I remembered (appealed to) Jesus Christ, son of God. [17–18]

This ten-element structure is a close cousin of eleven-element structures displayed in full text by Welch, Parry, and others.⁴⁹ We excluded Welch's first element, "word(s)." This is the only chiastic element of his eleven that consists of a single word rather than a complete idea. Including this element would, by Rules 5 and 6, require us to account for single words that appear at least twice anywhere in the chiasm because it is statistically inconsistent to include a single word in the chiastic structure without also accounting for extra appearances of this and other single words throughout the work, including those words that do not participate in this structure. Excluding Welch's first element accordingly allowed us to confine our attention to complete ideas as the building blocks of chiastic structure.

The eight-element structure has the advantage of confining all appearances of chiastic elements strictly to their chiastic sections—there are no extra appearances. For example, all of the appearances of being "harrowed up by the memory of my sins" are confined to sections g and g'. Furthermore, there are no nonchiastic elements, because other significant ideas are confined to particular chiastic sections (such as the confinement of "seeking to destroy the church of God" to section f), according to Rule 4.

As an eight-element chiasm (Example 11), Alma 36 yielded $L = 0.00000049$, which qualifies it as the strongest of the four strongest chiasms in the Book of Mormon. Applying Equation 1 with this value of L and the estimate $N = 359$ of the number of opportunities for simple eight-element structure in the Book of Mormon gives $P = 0.00018$.⁵⁰ This very low likelihood leads us to conclude that the chiastic structure of Alma 36 likely appeared in the Book of Mormon by design. Although the specific value $P = 0.00018$ would likely change if more refined estimates of N were made, our basic conclusion would not, even for values of N as large as 100,000, which is approximately ten times the actual number of verses in the Book of Mormon.

The ten-element arrangement of Alma 36 lacks any nonchiastic elements but does involve one extra appearance each of elements E (in verse 5) and I (in verses 12–14). A *Monte Carlo* simulation involving 400,000,000 random orderings resulted in only three orderings with ten-element chiastic structure, which yields $L = 0.000000008 \pm 0.000000004$. Using $N = 359$ as before, we obtain $P = 0.0000027 \pm 0.0000016$, which is much lower than the value obtained for the more conservative eight-element structure. Accordingly, analysis of the ten-element structure strongly confirms the conclusion reached with the eight-element structure, that the likelihood is very high that the chiastic structure of Alma 36 appeared in the Book of Mormon by design.

Conclusions

Table 1 (page 110 above) summarizes our results for the statistical likelihood P that chiasmus appearing in various literary works could have appeared by chance. Based on these estimates, we conclude that the likelihood is high that chiastic structure appeared by design in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Mormon. Our estimates do not support such a conclusion for the Doctrine and Covenants, the Book of Abraham, and the *INFORMIX Guide* Introduction, indicating instead that chiasms could have appeared in these works by chance. This conclusion might be altered by the discovery of simple chiasms with larger numbers of elements in these works but is unlikely to be altered by more refined estimates of N .

Line 7. Our small value $P = 0.00018$ for the strongest chiasm in the Book of Mormon, Alma 36, establishes with 99.98 percent certainty that this chiasm appeared in this book by design and rules out the hypothesis⁵¹ that it appeared by chance. Who the designer might be—Joseph Smith or another modern author with preknowledge of chiasmus, God, Satan,

or ancient authors with connections to the old world—cannot be determined using our statistical analysis. The value $P = 0.00018$ implies that only one instance of eight-element chiastic structure comparable to Alma 36 would be found, on average, in 5,000 random rearrangements of the literary elements in all 359 estimated opportunities for such structure in the Book of Mormon.

Line 6. Our small value $P = 0.0025$ for the strongest chiasm in the Pentateuch, Leviticus 24:13–23, establishes with 99.75 percent certainty that this chiasm appeared by design in the Pentateuch. This result is consistent with the general belief that Hebrew biblical writers sometimes chose to express themselves using chiasmus.

Line 4. Our moderate value $P = 0.52$ for the strongest chiasm in the Doctrine and Covenants, Doctrine and Covenants 88:34–39, does not rule out the appearance of chiasmus in this book by design nor does it establish this as being likely. This value implies that about half of random rearrangements of the literary elements in all 91 estimated opportunities in the book would yield at least one simple five-element chiasm. Accordingly, this value renders the suggestion⁵² that Joseph Smith employed the chiastic form deliberately in the Doctrine and Covenants statistically indefensible.

Simple five-element chiastic structure appears once in the Doctrine and Covenants, whereas it, or stronger structure, appears four times in the Book of Mormon (line 5). The larger the number of times chiastic structure actually appears in a work, the smaller the likelihood that such structure could have appeared by chance. Accordingly, the likelihood $P = 0.020$ that simple five-element structure would appear at least four times in the Book of Mormon is much smaller than the likelihood $P = 0.52$ that simple five-element structure would appear at least once in the Doctrine and Covenants.

Metcalf proposes a four-element chiasm in Mosiah 5:9–10 that overlaps asymmetrically with Mosiah 5:10–12 (Example 2).⁵³ Many such overlapping structures have been found in the Doctrine and Covenants.⁵⁴ Only simple chiasms are free of such overlapping structures. Such overlapping structures do not, in themselves, necessarily imply lack of intentional design.

Line 3. Weak unintentional chiastic structure, which can be found in almost any text, is typically accompanied by moderate or large values of P and considerable extra repetition of literary elements. We have demonstrated this with the *INFORMIX Guide* example, for which $P = 0.66$, despite its having nine chiastic elements. This chiastic structure was likely

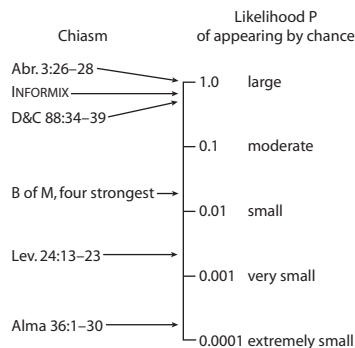
identified first by readers of this passage and was not intended by its author. On the other hand, the vastly smaller value $P = 0.00018$ for Alma 36 indicates that its chiastic structure was likely intended by its author and is not simply an unintended pattern within apparently random data.⁵⁵

Line 1. Our large value $P = 0.98$ for the strongest chiasm in the Book of Abraham, Abraham 3:26–28, leads to the same basic conclusion as for the Doctrine and Covenants. Even this large value does not rule out the possibility that the chiastic structure appeared by design in the Book of Abraham, though it does not establish this as being likely or statistically defensible.

Figure 1 displays, on a number line, the values of P for chiasms appearing in Table 1, including word descriptions of the likelihoods that such values could have resulted by chance. The lower the value of P for a chiasm, the smaller the likelihood that it appeared by chance and the greater the likelihood that it appeared by design. Thus the moderate and large values of P for chiasms in the Book of Abraham, the *INFORMIX Guide*, and the Doctrine and Covenants indicate that these chiasms could easily have appeared by chance, whereas the small values of P for chiasms in the Book of Mormon and the Pentateuch indicate that these chiasms likely appeared by design.

Statistical analysis, of course, is incapable of absolutely refuting the hypothesis that a chiasm appeared by design in a literary work. Such analysis is limited to either supporting such a hypothesis or rendering it statistically indefensible. Our results support the hypothesis that chiasmus appeared by design in the Book of Mormon and render the hypothesis that

FIGURE 1
Values of P for Chiasms Appearing in Table 1



chiasmus appeared by design in the Doctrine and Covenants statistically indefensible. Our results do not rule out this latter hypothesis; they simply rule out the argument that chiasms in the Doctrine and Covenants provide evidence that Joseph Smith knew about chiasmus.

As mentioned earlier, the historical record is silent about whether Joseph Smith knew about chiasmus. Given our evidence that chiasmus likely appeared in the Book of Mormon by design, would the discovery of historical evidence that Joseph Smith actually knew about chiasmus imply that Joseph Smith deliberately wrote and incorporated chiastic passages into the Book of Mormon? Not necessarily. Such a discovery would imply only that Joseph Smith could have done so and would not necessarily imply that he did so. Using chiasmus to strengthen the claim of the authenticity of the Book of Mormon as an ancient historical record is based on the assumption that Joseph Smith was unaware of chiasmus.

Chiastic patterns in the Doctrine and Covenants may have been incorporated intentionally by the Lord into the text revealed to Joseph Smith.⁵⁶ However, the evidence is insufficient to show that such patterns *were* incorporated intentionally into the text rather than being unintentional patterns discovered in later analysis. In the absence of such evidence, the insights gleaned from the study of such patterns may be highly subjective and may not reflect the intended emphasis of passages in the Doctrine and Covenants.

In carrying out this study, we have developed several tools that may be applied to evaluate the likelihood of chiastic structure in any passage of text. To obtain a rough idea about this likelihood without performing detailed calculations, one may count the total number of appearances of each chiastic and nonchiastic element within a passage. In general, the greater the numbers of extra appearances of chiastic elements and of appearances of nonchiastic elements, the greater the likelihood that chiastic structure appeared by chance; chiasms with fewer nonchiastic elements and with many chiastic elements that appear exactly twice each have smaller likelihoods of appearing by chance.

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The authors gratefully acknowledge John W. Welch for perspective, support, and communicating results of his published and unpublished research; Nadine W. Edwards for chiasmic structure analysis, technical and editorial assistance, and encouragement; and Claire E. Grover for commenting on a draft of the manuscript and for assistance in securing reference materials.

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16. For an illustration of how this statistical analysis is performed, see the longer version of this paper posted on <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus>.
17. There are rare exceptions to this in which the subject matter itself has natural many-element chiastic order, such as a story of a person who travels from the ground floor to the tenth floor and back again, with each floor mentioned in the story as it is passed. In this case, a small value of P would result not from deliberate ordering of ideas by the author, but from the natural order of ideas in the subject matter itself.
18. Welch, "Criteria for Identifying."
19. Yehuda T. Radday, "Chiasmus in Hebrew Biblical Narrative," in *Chiasmus in Antiquity*, ed. John W. Welch (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981; repr., Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1998), 52.
20. Vogel, "Use and Abuse of Chiasmus."
21. For references and commentary on Thomas Boys's 1825 discovery of the chiastic structure of Leviticus 24, see John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in Biblical Law," in *Jewish Law Association Studies IV: The Boston Conference Volume*, ed. Bernard S. Jackson (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 8; and Welch, "How Much Was Known about Chiasmus," 61–63, 70–72.
22. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 77.
23. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 77.
24. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 83.
25. John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in Helaman 6:9–11," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992), 230–32. Helaman 6:9–11 (Example 9) is the six-element central portion of the complex eight-element chiasm in Helaman 6:7–13 discussed in this reference. This latter chiasm has these chiastic elements: peace (2x), land (3x), they became rich (2x), plenty of gold, silver, and precious metals in both lands (2x), land south (2x), Lehi (2x), land north (2x), Mulek (2x). It also has these nonchiastic elements: Nephites (4x), Lamanites (4x). Random rearrangements of all of these elements gives $L = 0.00052$ for eight-element structure, which is larger than the value $L = 0.000096$ obtained for Helaman 6:9–11 but is smaller than the value $L = 0.0011$ for a simple five-element chiasm. Thus, either way the Helaman 6 chiasm is

rendered, it has a lower value of L than a simple five-element chiasm and therefore qualifies to be among the strongest four chiasms in the Book of Mormon.

26. Welch, "Criteria for Identifying."
27. Welch, "Criteria for Identifying."
28. Welch, "Criteria for Identifying."
29. Vogel, "Use and Abuse of Chiasmus."
30. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 72.
31. King, *Doctrine and Covenants Completely Structured*, 5.
32. Dietrich Stauffer and Amnon Aharony, *Introduction to Percolation Theory*, 2d ed. (Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis, 1992), 47; Philip R. Bevington and D. Keith Robinson, *Data Reduction and Error Analysis for the Physical Sciences*, 2d ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992), 38–39.
33. The computer program that we wrote to calculate L and P is available for free download at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus>. This program allows the tools developed in this paper to be applied to the analysis of other chiasms.
34. David O. Peterson, "Chiasmus, the Hebrews, and the Pearl of Great Price," *New Era* (August 1972): 40–43. See also a response to this article by James R. Clark, *New Era* (October 1972): 3; Ostler, review of *Book of Mormon Authorship*, 140–44; Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 62–71; Hamblin, review of "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 434–523. See Appendix C online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
35. See Appendix D online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
36. See Appendix E online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details. Shipp, "Conceptual Patterns of Repetition," 32–34; Ostler, review of *Book of Mormon Authorship*, 140–44; Gorton, *Language of the Lord*, 9–10; Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 163–77; King, *Doctrine and Covenants Completely Structured*, 1–6.
37. See Appendix F online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
38. See Appendix G online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 69–84; Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 230–32; John W. Welch, *Chiasmus in Alma* 36 (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1989); John W. Welch, "A Masterpiece: Alma 36," in *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon*, ed. John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1991); Donald W. Parry, *Book of Mormon Text Reformatted according to Parallelistic Patterns* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1992).
39. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," 77.
40. Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, 230–32.
41. See Appendix I online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
42. See Appendix A online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
43. Nadine W. Edwards, private communication with Boyd F. Edwards, April 1, 2000, regarding her discovery of chiastic structure in Ezekiel 34:2–16.
44. Thomas Boys, *Tactica Sacra: An Attempt to Develope, and to Exhibit to the Eye by Tabular Arrangements, a General Rule of Composition Prevailing in the Holy Scriptures* (London: Hamilton, 1824), 67; John W. Welch and John F. Hall, *Charting the New Testament* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2002), chart 15–20.
45. See Welch, "Chiasmus in Biblical Law," 8; and Welch, "How Much Was Known about Chiasmus."

46. See Appendix J online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for details.
47. Welch, *Chiasmus in Alma* 36.
48. See Vogel, "Use and Abuse of Chiasmus;" <http://www.lds-mormon.com/chiasm.shtml> (accessed March 11, 2004); Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 162–71; and Hamblin, review of "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 434–523.
49. Welch, "A Masterpiece: Alma 36," 114–15; Parry, *Book of Mormon Text Reformatted*, 278–81, which displays the words of the entire chapter.
50. See Appendix H online at <http://byustudies.byu.edu/chiasmus> for the full text of our eight- and ten-element renderings of Alma 36.
51. See Vogel, "Use and Abuse of Chiasmus;" <http://www.lds-mormon.com/chiasm.shtml> (accessed March 11, 2004); Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 162–71; and Hamblin, review of "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 434–523.
52. Shipp, "Conceptual Patterns of Repetition," 157–60; Gorton, *Language of the Lord*, 9–10; King, *Doctrine and Covenants Completely Structured*, 1–6.
53. Metcalfe, "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 162–71; Hamblin, review of "Apologetic and Critical Assumptions," 166–67, 434–523.
54. Shipp, "Conceptual Patterns of Repetition," 32–34; Gorton, *Language of the Lord*, 10; King, *Doctrine and Covenants Completely Structured*, 1–6.
55. <http://www.lds-mormon.com/chiasm.shtml> (accessed March 11, 2004).
56. Shipp, "Conceptual Patterns of Repetition," 32–34; Gorton, *Language of the Lord*, 9–10; King, *Doctrine and Covenants Completely Structured*, 1–6.

Latter-day Saint Returned Missionaries in the United States

A Survey on Religious Activity and Postmission Adjustment

Richard J. McClendon and Bruce A. Chadwick

Each year, approximately twenty to thirty thousand Latter-day Saint young adults leave to serve missions throughout the world.¹ Once these young adults return home from their missionary service, most go on to further their education, begin a career, marry, and establish a family. Returned missionaries are a unique group in the Church and are often a point of interest. Parents, for example, note the challenges their missionary has as he or she makes the transition from the mission field to home. They sometimes observe their returned missionary confronting increased stress levels as he or she shifts from the singular focus of the mission field to making multiple and major decisions about school, work, and dating. Ward and stake leaders also have an interest in returned missionaries, often giving them counsel and encouragement as well as assigning them a suitable calling during this transitional time. President Gordon B. Hinckley emphasized the importance of this duty to Church leaders by saying, “I am satisfied that if every returning missionary had a meaningful responsibility the day he or she came home, we’d have fewer of them grow cold in their faith. I wish that you would make an effort to see that every returned missionary receives a meaningful assignment. Activity is the nurturing process of faithfulness.”²

Missionary service and returned missionaries are also a point of discussion in day-to-day conversations among Latter-day Saints Church-wide. Statements or questions such as “He is a returned missionary” or “She went on a mission” or “Did you serve a mission?” are often heard wherever Church members are gathered. Why are Latter-day Saints interested in knowing whether someone is a returned missionary? One reason might be that when members learn that someone has served a mission,

they see that person differently. Members somehow expect that returned missionaries are spiritually grounded, that they ought to be leaders in the Church, that their homes and families should be stable, and that they ought to be successful in their schooling and careers.

These assumptions, although often experienced, are not always the case. While serving as a bishop in a Brigham Young University singles ward, one of the authors observed a number of returned missionaries who regretted the “loss of the Spirit” since returning from the mission field, including some whose Church attendance gradually dropped off until they eventually disappeared from the Church landscape. Others had dropped out of school, were working in low-paying, dead-end jobs, were waiting a long time to marry, and were alienated from their family. Some had experienced severe depression during their first two years home, while others had committed rather serious sins including sexual transgression and involvement with drugs, alcohol, and pornography.

Are these behaviors isolated cases or part of an emerging pattern of secularization among returned missionaries in the United States? We set out to further investigate this and other questions by surveying five thousand returned missionaries scattered across the United States, hoping to collect more accurate data about their postmission lives—both at the early stages of their return home as well as at the later stages as they settled into adulthood.

Three general areas were assessed in this study. (1) How successful are returned missionaries in their current spiritual, familial, and educational pursuits? We answered this question by looking at a number of the demographic factors concerning returned missionaries. These factors include the educational attainment, socioeconomic status, family life, and religious experiences of those who had been back from their missions two, five, ten, and seventeen years.³ Assessing these areas in the lives of returned missionaries provided a barometer for how successful they are in the various life roles they have ventured into. Part of this assessment was also intended to identify similarities and differences between the demographic traits of men and women. Duke and Johnson surmise that for Latter-day Saints “the experiences of men and women are quite different and have a significant impact on the way they feel and worship.”⁴ Thus, we sought to understand the unique differences and similarities in life outcomes of returned missionary men and women.

(2) A second question we set out to answer is whether more recently returned missionaries are as committed to gospel values and Church activity as those who returned from their missions decades ago. Unlike most recent research on returned missionaries that has mainly looked at the impact of the mission experience itself, our objective here was to examine whether

social change in America over the past several decades has influenced returned missionaries' religiosity in some way.⁵ In the 1970s, Madsen found that, overall, returned missionaries were doing very well in their religious activity. He summarized his findings by saying that "the vast majority of returned missionaries attend church meetings regularly, possess a current temple recommend, serve in church callings, pay tithing, and observe the Word of Wisdom."⁶ We used Madsen's study as a baseline to compare the religious behavior and marital status of returned missionaries in our sample, thus allowing us to observe any changes that have occurred in the interim.

One of the theoretical foundations for hypothesizing whether returned missionaries of today should be any more or less religious than those studied back in the 1970s comes from the secularization thesis, a commonly discussed theme in sociology. Scholars who accept this thesis propose that religious commitment in American society has been in a decline over the past several decades.⁷ They believe that as modernization and science have increased in the United States, faith in God has dwindled. Taking this view, we might predict that the religiosity of returned missionaries is also in decline and that our sample of returned missionaries would have lower religiosity than those in Madsen's sample.

On the other hand, those who reject the secularization thesis argue that, despite science's increasing influence, religion is reviving rather than declining and that religious devotion in the United States is as high as it has ever been.⁸ Given this perspective, we would anticipate that religiosity among returned missionaries has actually increased over the past three decades or has at least remained steady.

(3) Finally, a third question we desired to answer was, What things will help returned missionaries stay active and committed to the gospel after they return home? We assessed this area with two approaches. First, we asked those in our sample to report their own insights about postmission adjustment challenges as well as the ways returned missionaries and the Church can help with that adjustment. Second, because private religiosity is a significant part of a Latter-day Saint life, we applied statistical modeling procedures to identify the most important factors that lead to private religiosity in adulthood among returned missionaries. Private religiosity involves such things as reading scriptures, having personal prayer, and thinking about religion.

In summary, an assessment of these three areas showed that as a whole returned missionaries are adjusting well to the religious and the secular aspects of their postmission lives. The vast majority of returned missionaries hold strong to their religious convictions, and their religiosity levels remain relatively high compared with the 1977 study.

RESEARCH METHODS

In winter and spring 1999, four random samples were generated of one thousand men and five hundred women who had been back from their missions for two, five, ten, or seventeen years. A final sample of 4,884 returned missionaries (3,082 men and 1,802 women) from the United States was produced. Data were then collected via standard mail survey procedures, which included four separate mailings. A response rate of 73 percent was obtained.

Given that the primary focus of our study was the religiosity of returned missionaries, we were concerned that those who did not respond to the survey might be significantly less active than those who did, which would introduce a nonresponse bias. To investigate this possibility, a phone survey was conducted of a random sample of the bishops of those returned missionaries who did not respond to the survey. Among the bishops contacted, 76 percent indicated that the returned missionary in question attended Church meetings at least three or more times a month and in their opinion was active in the ward. Based on this figure, we concluded that nonresponsiveness to the survey was based on factors other than significant inactivity or disassociation from the Church.

RESULTS

Our study showed how returned missionaries in this sample compare with the larger United States society and with returned missionaries of the 1960s and '70s. The results also indicate ways returned missionaries can adjust to life after the mission.

Returned Missionaries: Socioeconomic Status, Family Life, and Religiosity

As we mentioned earlier, it is commonly believed that missionary service not only produces a strong testimony in missionaries but also prepares young people for success in a number of other areas of their life. Our findings, presented below, provide solid evidence to support this claim.

Socioeconomic Status. Church leaders have consistently stressed the value of preparing oneself for life's work through proper education. In 2000, President Hinckley counseled youth and young adults:

You are moving into the most competitive age the world has ever known. All around you is competition. You need all the education you can get. . . .

You belong to a church that teaches the importance of education. You have a mandate from the Lord to educate your minds and your hearts and your hands.⁹

How are returned missionaries doing in this endeavor? We found that 96 percent of those who had been back from their missions the longest (seventeen years) had at least some college or skill training (see table 1). Thirty-seven percent of the men and 45 percent of the women had completed an undergraduate degree. Another 33 percent of the men and 14 percent of the women had earned an advanced degree. The rate for both men and women combined in these two categories is 40 percent with an

Table 1

Educational Attainment and Socioeconomic Status of LDS Returned Missionaries Compared with National Rates

Education Level (1999)				
	Returned Missionary (%) (17-year group)			United States (%) ^a (Age: 35–44)
	Men (N=453)	Women (N=308)	Combined (N=761)	Combined (N=44,462)
Did Not Finish H.S.	0	0	0	12
High School	4	3	4	34
Some College/Skill Training	26	38	31	18
College	37	45	40	18
Graduate/Professional School	33	14	25	8
Total	100	100	100	100
Employment Status (1999)				
	Returned Missionary (%) (17-year group)		United States (%) ^b (Age: 35–44)	
	Men (N=451)	Women (N=306)	Men (N=n/a)	Women (N=n/a)
Employed	98	57	93	77
Not Employed	1	44	7	23
Total	99	101	100	100
Family Income (1998)				
	Returned Missionary (17-year group)		United States (Age: 35–44)	
	Family (%) (N=749)		Family (%) ^c (N=18,823)	
Under \$19,999	3		Under \$14,999	10
\$20,000 to \$29,999	7		\$15,000 to \$24,999	9
\$30,000 to \$39,999	12		\$25,000 to \$34,999	11
\$40,000 to \$49,999	17		\$35,000 to \$49,999	18
\$50,000 to \$74,999	30		\$50,000 to \$74,999	24
\$75,000 and Over	31		\$75,000 and Over	28
Total	99		Total	100

^aSource: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1999*, 119th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Bernan, 1999), no. 265.

^bSource: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1999*, no. 650.

^cSource: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2000*, 120th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Bernan, 1999), no. 746.

Note: This scale is not exactly the same as the returned missionary scale, but is close enough to see the relative differences between the two groups.

undergraduate degree and 25 percent with an advanced degree. These rates are considerably higher than the national average. For example, among those in the United States of about the same age (thirty-five to forty-four) in 1998, only around 18 percent of men and women combined had a college degree, and an additional 8 percent had an advanced degree.¹⁰

It is important to note here that this and other comparisons between returned missionaries and the national population in this study must be viewed with caution since the differences between them may be a result of other factors that we could not statistically control. For example, the age of most of the returned missionaries in the seventeen-year group is around 40 to 41 years old. The age of those in the national sample is between 35 and 45 years old. Other factors that may represent any differences between these two groups are race, premission economic status, and educational goals.

Two other important indices of socioeconomic status are employment and income. Returned missionaries rank relatively high in both. We found that 95 percent of the men and 63 percent of the women were gainfully employed at the time of this study. Employment among the seventeen-year group was at 98 percent of the men and 57 percent of the women (see table 1), while the national rate for men of the same age group was almost 93 percent for the men and about 77 percent for the women.¹¹ The lower employment rate among returned missionary women when compared to women in the United States is not surprising given the Church's view that the primary role of women is centered on home responsibilities.¹²

The higher rate of education found among returned missionaries is evident in family income, which was a little above the national average. Eighty-five percent of the men in the seventeen-year group and 67 percent of the women (78 percent combined) made \$40,000 or more in 1998 (see table 1). By comparison, around 70 percent of families in the United States¹³ made \$35,000 or more in 1998.¹⁴

Family Life. The Church is known for its strong family values. Accordingly, we looked at a number of family indicators to ascertain the family life of returned missionaries. Table 2 shows the marital status of returned missionaries in the seventeen-year group. Among the men, about 90 percent were in their first marriage while 6 percent had been divorced or remarried. Only 1 percent were currently divorced, and 2 percent were still single. Among men in the national sample in 1998, around 69 percent were married (first marriage or remarried), almost 12 percent were divorced, and almost 19 percent had never married.¹⁵ This difference is considerable. Returned missionary men are more likely to get married and less likely to divorce than men across the United States.

Among women returned missionaries, 76 percent of those in the seventeen-year group were married (first marriage), 5 percent were remarried, about 4 percent were separated or divorced, and 13 percent had never married. The national marriage rates (1998) of women of comparable age indicate that about 72 percent of women were married (first marriage or remarried), around 14 percent were divorced, and about 12 percent had never married.¹⁶ Like those for the men, these figures show that the divorce rate among returned missionary women is much lower than the national rate. The percent of returned missionary women who had not yet married was nearly identical to the national rate of single women.

We also found that nearly all returned missionaries who were married had a spouse who is a member of the Church, and 96 percent either had married in the temple or had been sealed later. In addition, a relatively high fertility rate was discovered. Latter-day Saints have been known for having larger families than the national average, and this study

Table 2a

Marital Status of LDS Returned Missionaries Compared with National Rates

Marital Status (1999)	Returned Missionary (%) (17-year group)		United States (%) ^a (Age: 35–44)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	(N=454)	(N=312)	(N=22,055)	(N=22,407)
Single, never married	2	13	19	12
Cohabiting	0	2	n/a	n/a
Married, first marriage	89	76	69	72
Remarried	6	5		
Divorced	1	3	12	14
Widowed	1	0	0	1
Total	99	99	100	99

^aSource: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1999*, no. 63.

Table 2b

Family Characteristics of Married LDS Returned Missionaries, 17-year group

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Combined (%)
Marriage Type	(N=438)	(N=260)	(N=698)
Temple Sealing	91	87	90
Civil Ceremony	3	7	4
Civil Ceremony/ Temple Sealing	6	7	6
Total	100	101	100
LDS Spouse	(N=438)	(N=260)	(N=698)
Yes	99	95	98
No	1	5	2
Total	100	100	100
Number of Children	(N=426)	(N=297)	(N=723)
None	4	15	9
One	3	5	4
Two	12	14	13
Three	25	20	23
Four	30	20	26
Five	14	16	15
Six +	12	10	11
Total	100	100	101

verifies this pattern. The average number of children among returned missionary families for the seventeen-year group was 3.7 for the men and 3.2 for the women. In contrast, the average number of children born to women between the ages of thirty-five and forty-four in the United States in 1995 was around 1.9.¹⁷

Religious Activity. Full-time missionary service provides young adults with an opportunity unlike any other to develop personal spiritual habits. Results from our research suggest that these habits are not abandoned once missionaries return home. For example, 87 percent of all returned missionaries attend sacrament meeting almost every week (see table 3). Sunday School and priesthood/Relief Society attendance are slightly lower with 81 and 82 percent weekly attendance reported respectively. Forty-eight percent read their scriptures at least a few times a week, 79 percent pray privately at least a few times a week, 87 percent hold a current temple recommend, 90 percent are full-tithe payers, and 97 percent keep the Word of Wisdom. A comparison between men and women reveals women are consistently higher in their religiosity than men. This fits the same pattern found nationally: women are often much higher in their religious belief, commitment, and behavior than men.¹⁸

Table 3
Religious Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries
(All Age Groups)

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Combined (%)
Sacrament Attendance	(N=1,882)	(N=1,337)	(N=3,219)
Never	1	1	1
Few times a year	2	1	2
Every other month	1	0	1
Once a month	2	1	2
2–3 times a month	10	7	9
Almost every week	85	90	87
Total	101	100	102
Sunday School Attendance	(N=1,880)	(N=1,332)	(N=3,212)
Never	3	2	3
Few times a year	2	2	2
Every other month	1	1	1
Once a month	4	2	3
2–3 times a month	12	8	10
Almost every week	79	85	81
Total	101	100	100
Priesthood/Relief Society Attendance	(N=1,880)	(N=1,333)	(N=3,213)
Never	3	2	3
Few times a year	2	2	2
Every other month	1	1	1
Once a month	3	2	3
2–3 times a month	11	8	10
Almost every week	79	86	82
Total	99	101	101
Personal Scripture Study	(N=1,876)	(N=1,330)	(N=3,206)
Not at all	5	3	4
Less than once a month	11	9	10
About once a month	9	6	8
2–3 times a month	13	13	13
About once a week	20	15	18
A few times a week	30	34	32
Every day	13	20	16
Total	101	100	101

Table 3 (continued)

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Combined (%)
Private Prayer	(N=1,877)	(N=1,330)	(N=3,207)
Not at all	2	1	2
Less than once a month	6	2	4
About once a month	4	2	3
2–3 times a month	7	4	6
About once a week	7	6	7
A few times a week	26	23	25
Every day	49	62	54
Total	101	100	101
Current Temple Recommend	(N=1,885)	(N=1,339)	(N=3,224)
Yes	84	91	87
No	16	10	14
Total	100	101	101
Tithing Status	(N=1,886)	(N=1,338)	(N=3,224)
Full tithe payer	89	92	90
Partial tithe payer	7	5	6
Non tithe payer	5	4	5
Total	101	101	101
Word of Wisdom	(N=1,887)	(N=1,339)	(N=3,226)
Yes—Completely	96	98	97
Most of the time	3	1	2
No	1	2	2
Total	101	100	101

The relatively high rates of religiosity for returned missionaries is notable. This is especially significant given that our sample not only included recently returned missionaries but also those who have been home for a considerable length of time. These findings, when added to results from previous research on returned missionaries,¹⁹ provide consistently strong evidence that the vast majority of returned missionaries stay faithful to gospel values not only immediately upon their return home but also later in their lives.

Family religious activities are at the core of a Latter-day Saint home. Elder Russell M. Nelson counseled, “Happiness at home is most likely to be achieved when practices there are founded upon the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Ours is the responsibility to ensure that we have family prayer, scripture study, and family home evening.”²⁰ We assessed these three religious activities among returned missionary families. As table 4 illustrates, we found that 73 percent of married or divorced returned missionaries have family prayer at least a few times a week, 40 percent hold family scripture study that often, and 55 percent hold family home evening at least two or three times a month. Given the complexities and demands on the modern family, these figures indicate a relatively sound commitment to family religious practices in homes of returned missionaries.

Comparing Recently Returned Missionaries to Those of a Generation Ago

Research on secularization of Latter-day Saints shows that they may have a unique immunity to the acceptance of so-called worldly values.

Table 4
Family Religious Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries
(Only Married and Divorced, All Age Groups)

	Men (%)	Women (%)	Combined (%)
Family Scripture Study	(N=1,657)	(N=1,084)	(N=2,741)
Not at all	14	14	14
Less than once a month	16	11	14
About once a month	10	8	9
2–3 times a month	12	10	11
About once a week	12	13	12
A few times a week	23	23	23
Every day	13	22	17
Total	100	101	100
Family Prayer	(N=1,659)	(N=1,091)	(N=2,750)
Not at all	7	7	7
Less than once a month	6	5	6
About once a month	5	3	4
2–3 times a month	5	4	5
About once a week	7	6	7
A few times a week	21	18	20
Every day	50	58	53
Total	101	101	102
Family Home Evening	(N=1,589)	(N=1,068)	(N=2,657)
Not at all	16	7	16
Less than once a month	16	11	14
About once a month	15	12	14
2–3 times a month	21	21	21
About once a week	31	38	34
Total	99	99	99

Stark found little evidence to support that the Church was in any kind of religious decline.²¹ He explained that the “secularization thesis would hold that religious movements such as Mormonism will do best in places where modernization has had the least impact. . . . These assumptions about secularization are refuted by research. . . . Mormons thrive in the most, not the least, secularized nations.”²² In 1984, Albrecht and Heaton found that among many religious groups in the United States “educational achievement impacts negatively on religious commitment and that increased levels of education often lead to

apostasy as individuals encounter views that deemphasize spiritual growth and elevate scientific and intellectual achievement.”²³ Among Latter-day Saints, however, Albrecht and Heaton found a positive relationship between education and religiosity and concluded that there was very little evidence to support the secularization thesis. Others have found similar results.²⁴

To test the secularization notion among returned missionaries, we compared the religiosity of returned missionaries of the 1960s and 1970s to those of the 1980s and 1990s. In 1977, Madsen conducted a survey of returned missionaries from the United States who had been home from their missions up to ten years.²⁵ This information provided a baseline against which we compared our sample in both private and public religiosity as well as marital status. Private religious behavior includes such things as conducting personal scripture study, having personal prayer, holding a current temple recommend, and paying tithing. Areas of public

religious behavior are sacrament meeting attendance, Sunday School attendance, priesthood/Relief Society meeting attendance, and adherence to the Word of Wisdom.²⁶

Private Religious Behavior. We found that returned missionaries in our sample read their scriptures and prayed somewhat less than those in Madsen's study. Forty-nine percent of current returned missionaries had personal scripture study at least a few times a week or daily compared to 55 percent of those thirty years earlier (see table 5). In addition, 54 percent had daily prayer, compared to around 71 percent in Madsen's sample. About 85 percent in each group held a current temple recommend, and both groups were between 90 and 92 percent full-tithe payers.²⁷

Why returned missionaries are praying and reading their scriptures less today than they did thirty years ago is not clear. Certainly secularization could account for this decline. Modernization has set up a more competitive world requiring greater time demands on the family. More fathers are working longer, more mothers are entering the work place, and children are competing and specializing at school more than they were thirty years ago.²⁸ For returned missionaries, as with the rest of society, this tide of busyness may be sweeping them up, perhaps leaving them less time for private religious observances. Another possible explanation is that, given the added emphasis the

Table 5

Private Religious Behavior of LDS Returned Missionaries in 1977 and 1999 (Collapsed Scales)

	1977 Study (%)	1999 Study (%)
Personal Scripture Study	(N=1,122)	(N=2,600)
Not at All ^a	4	4
Infrequently	21	18
Weekly	20	30
Few times per week	35	33
Daily	20	16
Total	100	101 ^b
Personal Prayer	(N=1,118)	(N=2,594)
Not at all ^c	3	2
Infrequently	8	20
Few times per week	18	24
Daily	71	54
Total	100	100 ^d
Tithing Status	(N=1,123)	(N=2,613)
Non tithe payer	3	4
Partial tithe payer	5	7
Full tithe payer	92	90
Total	100	101 ^e
Temple Recommend	(N=1,128) ^f	(N=2,611)
Yes	85	85
No	15	15
Total	100	100 ^g

^aMadsen's wording for this category was "Seldom or Never."

^bFor Madsen's (1977) study, Mean=3.473 SD=1.141. For our (1999) study, Mean=3.386 SD=1.065. The *t*-value is 2.18 and is statistically significant at $p \leq .05$

^cMadsen's wording for this category was "Specific occasions or rarely."

^dFor Madsen's (1977) study, Mean=3.570 SD=0.773. For our (1999) study, Mean=3.305 SD=0.847. The *t*-value is 9.46 and is statistically significant at $p \leq .01$

^e $\chi^2 = 4.95$

^fMadsen (1977) did not provide the *N* for this category, so 1,128 (*N* for his total response rate) was included as the *N* in order to calculate the χ^2 value.

^g $\chi^2 = 0.013$

Church has placed on the family during the past several decades, private religious practices are being replaced by family religious practices. In other words, married couples, although recognizing the value of private religiosity, may end up substituting family prayer and scripture study for personal prayer and scripture study in order to keep up with the demands of other responsibilities.

Public Religious Behavior. As for public religiosity, 86 percent of the returned missionaries we studied attended sacrament meeting on a weekly basis (see table 6). This is higher than the 78 percent reported by returned missionaries thirty years ago. Both groups of returned missionaries ranged between 74 and 79 percent weekly attendance at Sunday School and priesthood/Relief Society. Adherence to the Word of Wisdom for both groups was extremely high, with 99 percent of the current sample indicating adherence and 97 percent of the earlier group of returned missionaries indicating the same.²⁹

Even though sacrament meeting attendance is significantly higher now than thirty years ago, a second look at where the significant shift occurs is between those who attended “2–3 times a month” and “almost every week” (see table 6). In other words, the difference is found among those who were already very active and then became even more active.

Table 6
Public Religious Behavior of LDS Returned Missionaries in 1977 and 1999 (Collapsed Scales)

	1977 Study (%)	1999 Study (%)
Sacrament Attendance	(N=1,120)	(N=2,604)
Never	1	1
Infrequently	2	2
Once a month ^a	1	2
2–3 times a month	18	10
Almost every week ^b	78	86
Total	100	101 ^c
Sunday School Attendance	(N=1,119)	(N=2,602)
Never	1	2
Infrequently	3	3
Once a month ^a	2	4
2–3 times a month	19	12
Almost every week ^b	75	79
Total	100	100 ^d
Priesthood/ RS Attendance	(N=1,121)	(N=2,601)
Never	2	3
Infrequently	3	3
Once a month	1	4
2–3 times a month	20	12
Almost every week	74	78
Total	100	100 ^e
Word of Wisdom Status (%)	(N=1,128) ^f	(N=2,613)
Yes	97	99
No	3	1
Total	100	100 ^g

^aMadsen’s wording for this category was “One time per month.”

^bMadsen’s wording for this category was “Every week.”

^cFor Madsen’s (1977) study, Mean=4.686 SD=0.710. For our (1999) study, Mean=4.777 SD=0.650. The *t*-value is -3.64 and is statistically significant at *p* ≤ .01.

^dFor Madsen’s (1977) study, Mean=4.638 SD=0.773. For our (1999) study, Mean=4.636 SD=0.849. The *t*-value is 0.07.

^eFor Madsen’s (1977) study, Mean=4.616 SD=0.807. For our (1999) study, Mean=4.603 SD=0.898. The *t*-value is 0.40.

^fMadsen (1977) did not provide the *N* for this category, so 1,128 (*N* for his total response rate) was included as the *N* in order to calculate the χ^2 value.

^g $\chi^2 = 13.55$ and is statistically significant at *p* ≤ .01.

The increase of public religiosity during the past thirty years can certainly be attributed to an increase in personal faith. There may be, however, a couple of structural explanations as well. One is that the Church has continued to construct meetinghouses closer to the people, allowing members to attend Church more often than they used to. A second possibility may arise from the establishment in the early 1980s of the three-hour block of Church meetings. Prior to that time, members attended Sunday morning meetings comprised of priesthood and Sunday School, and later in the evening they would return for sacrament meeting. The establishment of the more time-and-travel-efficient three-hour meetings may have played a part in higher Church attendance among returned missionaries of the 1980s and 1990s. Whatever the reasons, in the end, returned missionaries continue to remain extremely active in the public aspects of their religiosity.

When looking at the overall trend in religiosity among returned missionaries during the past several decades, then, we can see that some measures in the private realm have declined while others have held steady. In the public sector, some indicators have increased, and others have remained the same. It would be premature to suggest that secularization is found among returned missionaries. Other than private prayer, it is our belief that, as a whole, the religious behavior of returned missionaries today is generally similar to those studied in 1977.

Marital Status and Temple Marriage. Another indicator of religious conviction among Latter-day Saints is temple marriage. We found that 63 percent of all returned missionaries in our sample had a current temple marriage as compared to 67 percent of Madsen's sample (see table 7). This marks a decrease of four percent over a thirty-year period. However, the number of those remaining single has increased by six percent to 34 percent in our sample as compared to 28 percent in Madsen's sample.³⁰ It appears that the decrease in temple marriages is attributed to the higher numbers of those not yet married rather than to an increase in civil marriages. This tendency for returned missionaries to wait longer to marry follows the pattern in the United States over the same period of time. In the 1970s, men and women in the United States married around the age of twenty-three and twenty-one, respectively. The average age in 1990 for men was twenty-six and for women, twenty-four.

Table 7

Marital Status of LDS Returned Missionaries in 1977 and 1999 (Collapsed Scales)

	1977 Study (%)	1999 Study (%)
	(N=1,114)	(N=2,618)
Marital Status		
Current temple marriage	67	63
Current civil marriage	4	2
Single, never married	28	34
Single, divorced	1	1
Total	100	100 ^a

$\chi^2 = 19.15$ and is statistically significant at $p \leq .01$.

Increased opportunities for both education and work are two of the reasons attributed to the postponement of marriage among Americans.³¹

Helping Returned Missionaries Adjust and Stay Committed to Gospel Values

As mentioned earlier, Church leaders have encouraged returned missionaries to continue living the same standards after their missions as they did while serving. Elder Dallin H. Oaks reminded:

I say to our returned missionaries—men and women who have made covenants to serve the Lord and who have already served Him in the great work of proclaiming the gospel and perfecting the Saints—are you being true to the faith? Do you have the faith and continuing commitment to demonstrate the principles of the gospel in your own lives, consistently? You have served well, but do you, like the pioneers, have the courage and the consistency to be true to the faith and to endure to the end?³²

We found that the large majority of returned missionaries in the current study were doing well in their early postmission adjustments. For example, when asked how difficult it was for them to adjust to postmission life, only about 20 percent indicated that it was either “quite difficult” or “very difficult.” The vast majority (80 percent) indicated that this adjustment was either “somewhat difficult,” “a little difficult,” or “not at all difficult.”

We further examined adjustment issues by asking returned missionaries to respond to three open-ended questions about the specific difficulties they encountered as they returned home, things family and Church leaders could do to help ease the stress of this transition, and things returned missionaries themselves could do to help ease transition stress.

Adjustment Concerns. The major concerns among returned missionary men are handling dating and marriage issues, adjusting to family and friends, and dealing with culture shock (see table 8). One man wrote, “Dating was a challenge as relationships with young women had been carefully monitored by myself for two years. Also, dating leads to marriage and with my parent’s marriage ending in divorce, this activity was scary.” Another man reported the most difficult adjustment he faced was how “to make so many critical decisions about my schooling, career, employment, social adjustment in such a short time.”

Women rated “adjusting to family and friends” and “dating, courtship, and marriage” issues as the top two problems they faced. One young woman explained that because she saw her family in a new light, she was “very critical of them. This caused big problems with [her] mother.” Other women found

Table 8

Top Adjustment Problems and Concerns among LDS Returned Missionaries (1999)

Men (N=1,639)		Women (N=1,245)	
Response	Rate (%)	Response	Rate (%) ^a
Dating, courtship, and marriage	22	Adjusting to family and friends	28
Adjusting to family and friends	21	Dating, courtship, and marriage	20
Adjusting socially, culture shock	14	Adjusting socially, culture shock	19
Finding employment	13	Adjusting psychologically: feeling lonely, selfish	15
Lacking routine, rules, structure, goals, and effective use of time	13	Maintaining spirituality	15
Maintaining spirituality	13	Encountering identity crisis—not being needed	14
Schooling	12	Lacking routine, rules, structure, goals, and effective use of time	13
Adjusting psychologically: feeling lonely, selfish	9	Finding employment	10
Encountering identity crisis—not being needed	7	Longing for companionship, associations, and activities of mission field	11
Longing for companionship, associations, and activities of mission field	7	Schooling	8

Question: Upon arriving home from your mission, what were the most difficult adjustments or problems you faced?

Answer: Because this was an open-ended question, some returned missionaries gave several suggestions. Up to the first three suggestions were included in the response rates. Thus, the total response rate for each group may exceed 100%.

that old friends had changed. “My friends were all married,” one woman wrote, “so the friends I had were all in the mission field. I was very lonely.” Another commented, “All of my closest friends were either married or currently serving a mission, so I felt the adjustment of making new friends. Also, I had a boyfriend who had waited for me and we went through an adjustment phase and the stresses of deciding whether to get married, etc.”

Women ranked psychological adjustments higher on the list than men. One woman explained that the most difficult adjustment she faced was “having a focus on *myself*! I felt so guilty. . . . [F]inding a new social group seemed so daunting and impossible. I felt so ‘nerdish’ and that was a new feeling and made me feel guilty that I cared about all that.” It appears that some young women may be more prone to experience a sense of guilt or frustration than men as they make the transition from the mission field to home.

Although our focus here is on returned missionaries, it should be pointed out that these types of feelings and adjustments are certainly not

Table 9
Top Ways the Church Could Help Returned Missionaries

Men (N=1,397)		Women (N=1,146)	
Response	Rate (%)	Response	Rate (%) ^a
Call to responsible position	38	Call to responsible position	52
Involve them in service	18	Involve them in service	18
Encourage involvement in YSA programs	11	Encourage involvement in YSA programs	10
Interview at regular intervals	9	Hold special classes/ firesides for RMs	7
Hold special classes/ firesides for RMs	7	Interview at regular intervals	7
Place less emphasis on marriage immediately after release	5	Call RMs as stake missionaries	6
Provide educational and career counseling and job placement	5	Hold RM gatherings/ support/reunions	6
Call RMs as stake missionaries	4	Place less emphasis on marriage immediately after release	5
Offer special programs through elder's quorum/ RS/Sunday school	4	Offer special programs through elder's quorum/ RS/Sunday school	3
Hold RM gatherings/ support/reunions	3	Provide educational and career counseling and job placement	3

Question: What could the Church (stakes and/or wards) do to help missionaries successfully cope with the adjustments or problems they face upon returning home?
^aBecause this was an open-ended question, some returned missionaries gave several suggestions. Up to the first three suggestions were included in the response rates. Thus, the total response rate for each group may exceed 100%.

unique to returned missionaries. Latter-day Saint young adults, regardless of returned-missionary status, experience similar challenges and must navigate their way through what is termed “the transition into adulthood.”

Ways the Church Could Help. When asked how the Church could help returned missionaries successfully cope with adjustments upon their return home, the respondents’ most frequent suggestion was for them to receive a call to a responsible position as soon as possible (see table 9). This is important in light of the statement by President Hinckley mentioned earlier that if all returning missionaries had a “meaningful responsibility” once they returned home, they would have a greater chance of remaining strong and active in the Church. Confirming President Hinckley’s invitation, one young man stated, “Put the R.M.’s to work right away, meaning a calling. Don’t let them drift for weeks or months with no responsibility. Challenge them. Most missionaries enjoyed the challenge of knocking on stranger’s doors, etc. Don’t feel like they need ‘time off.’”

This sentiment was also expressed among the women in the study. For example, one women declared, “I think that missionaries need to be involved immediately in church positions so they stay active in serving and teaching.” She concluded, “They need to feel that their experiences and service to the Lord are valued and appreciated. The best way to do that is use them.” Another women advised, “Give them a calling, or keep them busy. Be their friend. Talk with them on an individual basis. Really care about them.”

Other insightful suggestions from both men and women included Church leaders involving returned missionaries in service, providing strong young single adult programs, conducting interviews at regular intervals, and holding special classes or seminars for returned missionaries. Counsel, support, and encouragement from Church leaders concerning educational pursuits, the launching of careers, and dating would perhaps ease the difficult decisions following mission service.

Ways Returned Missionaries Could Help Themselves. The most frequent suggestion on how returned missionaries could help themselves was for them to request a Church assignment, keep busy, and get involved in Church activity and service (see table 10). In other words, newly returned

Table 10

Top Ways Returned Missionaries Could Help Themselves

Men (N=1,469)		Women (N=1,204)	
Top Responses	Rate (%)	Top Responses	Rate (%) ^a
Request Church assignment, keep busy, get involved in Church activity and service	23	Request Church assignment, keep busy, get involved in Church activity and service	36
Get involved in school/work	18	Have personal prayer	22
Study gospel regularly (scriptures)	17	Study gospel regularly (scriptures)	22
Have personal prayer	16	Get involved in school/work	20
Date/Get involved socially	13	Set goals; priorities	14
Set goals; priorities	13	Date/Get involved socially	12
Get involved generally (social and community)	10	Get involved generally (social and community)	11
Maintain mission standards	10	Maintain mission standards	11
Stay close to Spirit, God, Christ, build testimony	5	Seek spiritual associations	8
Attend all church meetings	3	Stay close to Spirit, God, Christ, build testimony	8
Seek spiritual associations	3	Attend all church meetings	5

Question: What could missionaries do to help themselves with the adjustments of returning home from the mission field?

^aBecause this was an open-ended question, some returned missionaries gave several suggestions. Up to the first three suggestions were included in the response rates. Thus, the total response rate for each group may exceed 100%.

missionaries should be proactive in finding ways to serve. Setting goals, getting involved in school and work, having a regular gospel study program, and continuing to hold personal prayer were also important activities suggested by returned missionaries. One young man said, "Continue to keep mission grooming standards and scripture study and prayer schedules. Don't 'take a break' from serving in the Church (go on splits, home teach, attend firesides and socials, etc.)." Other suggestions were getting involved in dating, maintaining mission standards, seeking spiritual associations, attending all Church meetings, and accepting personal responsibility for adjustment.

Commitment to Private Religiosity in Adulthood

Another way in which we probed the dynamics of the postmission experience was by statistically assessing what factors in returned missionaries' high school and mission years are related to helping them stay strong in their private religiosity after they return home. In other words, we wanted to know what things people can do before, during, and soon after their missions that will help them to maintain a strong commitment to reading their scriptures, praying, and thinking often about religion later in their adult life.

Figure 1 shows a conceptual model of the various dimensions or factors that we hypothesized influence private religiosity in adulthood. Private, public, and family religious practices at various times in life; parent and peer influences during adolescence; mission experiences; and religious education and Church social involvement after a mission were all included in the model.³³ From this conceptual model, a statistical model was constructed using variables that measure each dimension in the conceptual model. The statistical model was then tested using Structural Equation Modeling (SEM).³⁴ Essentially, SEM assesses the simultaneous interaction between multiple variables, thus providing a more realistic picture of the complexity of human behavior. The results of all significant factors are modeled in the figures in the appendix.

The strongest correlation in the model was between early postmission private religiosity and later adult private religiosity for both the men and the women. (The men had a coefficient of .40, and the women had .43.) The relationship between premission private religiosity and early postmission private religiosity was also significant (men, .39 and women, .37). Thus, if returned missionaries had a strong commitment to reading their scriptures, praying, and thinking about religion during their high school years, they were more likely to continue these practices during the first year home from their mission, which itself led to higher commitment in this area later in life.

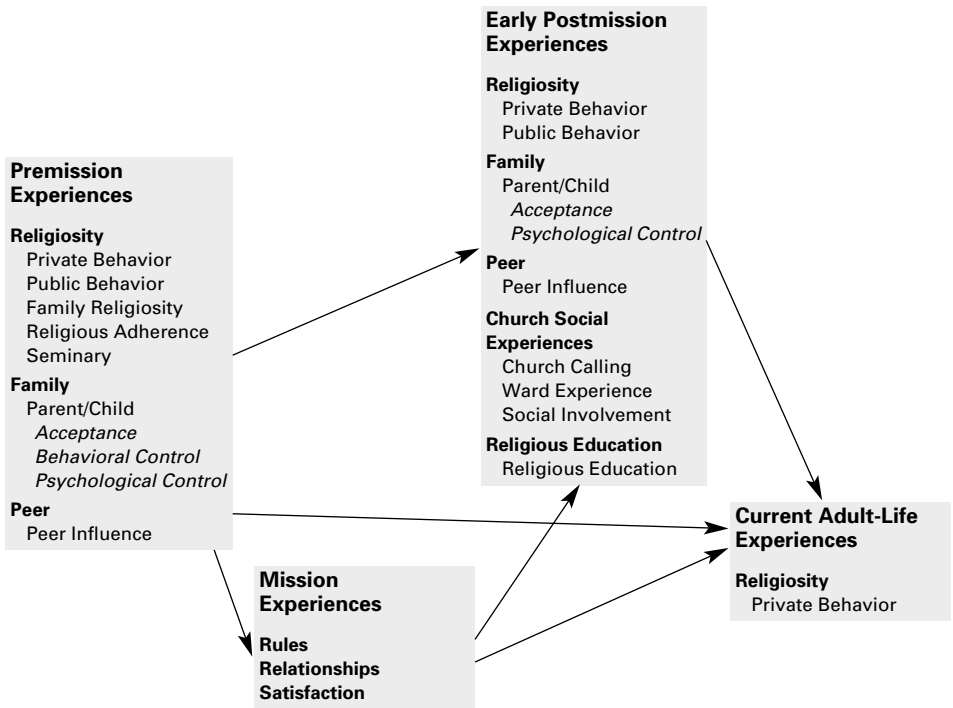


FIG. 1. Conceptual model for predicting early postmission, mission, and premission factors on private adult religiosity.

Another essential factor that led to strong private religiosity in adulthood, at least for the men, was the avoidance of R-rated movies and videos after they came home from their mission. (The coefficient for this relationship was .13; see appendix.) We used R-rated media as an indicator of exposure to things such as profanity, violence, and pornography in the media. A strong relationship between avoiding R-rated movies and videos before a mission and staying away from them immediately after was also found (.47). In other words, if youth disciplined themselves not to see R-rated media (and, for that matter, any media regardless of rating that offers exposure to inappropriate behavior) while in their high school years, they were less likely to view this material during the first year home from their mission as well as later in their adult life.

Private religiosity in adulthood was influenced by the type of mission experience as well, albeit indirectly. Findings vary between men and

women, but, in general, missionaries who kept the mission rules, who got along well with their companions, and who had a satisfying mission experience were more likely to continue to read their scriptures, pray, and think about religion right after their missions, which as we showed above is strongly linked to private religiosity in adulthood. In addition, men who kept mission rules (.17) and were more satisfied with their mission (.08) were more likely to avoid R-rated media immediately after their missions, which was correlated with higher religiosity in their adult life. So, the mission experience seems to matter when it comes to religious commitment later in life. However, we are cautious when interpreting these correlations because we are unsure whether they represent a causal relationship or are the outcome of selection bias. In other words, certain missionaries bring with them into the mission field traits that help them keep mission rules or get along with a companion. Thus, the indicators we used to measure the mission experience may actually be measuring premission characteristics.

In addition, we found that family experiences, including family religious practices and the parent/child relationship, had a significant influence on private religiosity in adulthood. Specifically, men who were raised in homes where family home evening, family prayer, and family scripture study were practiced had higher adult private religiosity (.09). Notably, this direct relationship was not found for the women. They seem to be more resilient to any neutral or negative experiences in their family than the men in terms of premission family religious practices. Perhaps the influence of Church advisors and/or friends during adolescence helps to moderate these effects in some way.

We also found that the parent/child relationship during high school is indirectly related to adult private religiosity through their mission experiences. For both men and women, their mother's level of acceptance before their mission influences their experiences in the mission field. Social scientists refer to "parental acceptance" as the positive interpersonal relationship and emotional ties between parents and children.³⁵

In addition, returned missionary women were influenced by their mothers' psychological control, which directly influences how these women get along with their mission companions. Social scientists explain that psychologically controlling parents intrude upon their children's development of individual identity, sense of efficacy, and feelings of self-worth. Such parents refuse to listen to or quickly dismiss their teenagers' ideas, opinions, and feelings.³⁶ Thus, women who experience this while teenagers may be hindered from developing a strong sense of self and the inner control necessary to resist selfish impulses that cause conflict with mission companions.

The significant negative relationship that seminary (years of seminary completion) has on several factors in the men's and women's models is opposite of what we expected (see appendix). As we further investigated this outcome, we found several possible reasons why this is the case. Perhaps the most important of these is that this outcome is simply a statistical aberration. In multiple regression analysis, this type of outcome happens once in a while and is often attributed to a phenomenon known as suppression.³⁷ This occurs when an independent variable, which originally has no significant bivariate correlation with a dependent variable, becomes highly significant to that dependent variable when it is tested in a multivariate model with one or several other independent variables with which it has a strong correlation. In our case, seminary (years of seminary completion) was found to have no significant bivariate relationship with keeping mission rules, early postmission religiosity, avoiding R-rated movies, or adult private religiosity for the men and the same for early postmission private religiosity for the women. However, when seminary was put into a multivariate model that included premission private religiosity (with which it has a significantly strong positive correlation), the interaction between these two variables creates a suppressor effect that renders seminary to have a significant negative relationship with the variables mentioned above. In the end, although seminary is found to be negatively correlated to several factors in both the men's and women's multivariate models, these relationships are a statistical anomaly and should therefore be considered spurious.

CONCLUSION

Many feel that the postmission experience is a pivotal time for Latter-day Saint young adults where maintaining the religious identity they developed in the mission field is tested. Latter-day Saints tend to attach high spiritual and social expectations to returned missionaries given their unique "life-transforming" experiences in the mission field. Results from this study indicate that such expectations may be warranted. Returned missionaries as a whole are doing very well, not only in the religious aspects of their lives, but in a number of other areas as well. Of significance is the finding that the socioeconomic status among returned missionaries exceeds that of the national average. Family characteristics are also different than those nationally, with returned missionaries showing a much lower average of divorce and also more children than their peers across the United States. As we have stated earlier in this article, these differences must be viewed with caution since we cannot statistically control for age, race, premission economic status, and educational goals.

High religiosity across a number of indicators was also found among these returned missionaries. Although it is unfortunate that any returned missionary falls into inactivity, the fact that almost nine out of ten returned missionaries continue to regularly attend Church up to seventeen years after their missions is remarkable. A comparison of returned missionaries' private religiosity over the past thirty years shows a modest decline in their scripture study and prayer, yet these levels still remain relatively high. On the other hand, an increase in their Church attendance was also found. A number of other factors remained the same. These findings (1) underscore the point that the vast majority of returned missionaries in our 1999 study continue to hold strong to their religious convictions and (2) refute the notion that there is an emerging pattern of inactivity or secularization among them. The recent raising of the bar for missionary eligibility and personalizing their teaching of the gospel would only tend to strengthen these positive results in coming years.

The results from our multivariate modeling showed that if returned missionaries had a strong commitment to private religiosity during their high school years, they were more likely to continue that practice during the first year home from their mission, which practice, in turn, continued into adulthood. Thus, it is important for parents and Church leaders to help young men and young women begin a habit of personal prayer and scripture study during the impressionable high school years. Other notable factors associated with private religiosity in adulthood were avoiding R-rated or inappropriate media; having positive mission experiences and attitudes; being involved in family home evening, family prayer, and family scripture study while a youth; and as a youth having a positive relationship with parents.

Finally, the majority of returned missionaries are adjusting well to postmission life. As suggested by the returned missionaries themselves, the most important thing they can do to help themselves during this stage is to continue to maintain good spiritual habits such as holding daily prayer and scripture study, attending Church meetings, and serving in a significant ward calling. Many of the returned missionaries recognize that such spiritual maintenance will help them have the spiritual resources to draw upon when they are challenged by other areas in life—dating, family, culture shock, school, and work.

In 1997, President Hinckley counseled Church leaders to help retain new converts by providing them with “a friend, a responsibility, and nurturing with ‘the good word of God.’”³⁸ Certainly this counsel can pertain to all members of the Church, and, based on the findings in this study, it can especially be applied to “retaining” newly returned missionaries. If returned missionaries are immediately provided with the responsibility of

a Church calling, involve themselves in Church social activities where they can develop good friendships, and continue to be nurtured through personal prayer and scripture study, they most likely will find the strength to successfully navigate their way through their postmission pursuits and continue to contribute as members of their family, society, and the Church.

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1. The total number of full-time missionaries serving at the end of 2001 was 60,850. "Statistical Report, 2001," *Ensign* 32 (May 2002): 23. A small percentage of full-time missionaries are older adults.

2. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Latter-day Counsel: Selections from Addresses by President Gordon B. Hinckley," *Ensign* 31 (March 2001): 65.

3. The original strategy was to look at those who had returned from their missions fifteen years previous to our study rather than seventeen years. However, a two-year adjustment was made because missionaries who returned fifteen years previous to our study served for only eighteen months. We thus selected the seventeen-year group who served for twenty-four months, which is the same length of time as the two, five, and ten-year groups.

4. James T. Duke and Barry L. Johnson, "The Religiosity of Mormon Men and Women through the Life Cycle," in *Latter-day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and Its Members*, ed. James T. Duke (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998), 317.

5. Darwin L. Thomas, "Reflections on Adolescent and Young Adult Development: Religious, Familial, and Educational Identities," *Family Perspective* 26, no. 4 (1992): 383–404; Darwin L. Thomas, Joseph A. Olsen, and Stan E. Weed, "Missionary Service of LDS Young Men: A Longitudinal Analysis," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in Conjunction with the Religious Research Association, October 1989, in Salt Lake City.

6. John Max Madsen, "Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1977), abstract.

7. Frank J. Lechner, "The Case against Secularization: A Rebuttal," *Social Forces* 69 (June 1991): 1103–19; David Yamane, "Secularization on Trial: In Defense of a Neosecularization Paradigm," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36 (March 1997): 109–22.

8. Theodore Caplow, Howard M. Bahr, and Bruce A. Chadwick, *All Faithful People: Change and Continuity in Middletown's Religion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983); Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Sociology of Religion," in *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, eds. Edgar F. Borgatta and Marie L. Borgatta (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 4:2029–37; R. Stephen Warner, "Work in

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9. Gordon B. Hinckley, “A Prophet’s Counsel and Prayer for Youth,” *Ensign* 31 (January 2001): 4.

10. U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1999*, 119th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Bernan, 1999), no. 265.

11. U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1999*, no. 650.

12. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 102.

13. In the United States, the measure is for families in which the husband or wife is between thirty-five and forty-four years old.

14. U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2000*, 120th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Bernan, 2000), no. 746.

15. U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1999*, no. 63.

16. U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1999*, no. 63.

17. Bruce A. Chadwick and Tim B. Heaton, *Statistical Handbook on the American Family*, 2d ed. (Phoenix: Oryx, 1999), 73.

18. Rodney Stark, *Sociology*, 9th ed., Internet ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth, 2004), 399.

19. Most of the research on returned missionaries prior to the 1980s was conducted on either a local or regional basis by stake leaders or seminary and institute personnel. See Le Roi B. Groberg, “A Preliminary Study of Certain Activities, the Religious Attitudes and Financial Status of Seventy-four Returned Missionaries Residing within Wayne Stake, Wayne County, Utah” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1936); Alma W. King, “A Survey of the Religious, Social, and Economic Activities or Practices of the Returned Missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Who Now Live in the Garland Ward of the Bear River Stake, Utah” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1936); Reed G. Probst, “A Study of Fifty-seven Returned Missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Idaho Stake of Bannock County, Idaho, 1935–36” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1936); and Wilford J. Hoglund, “A Comparative Study of the Relative Levels of Physical Fitness of Male L.D.S. Missionaries Who Are Commencing and Those Just Concluding Their Missionary Service” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

However, two studies by Rudger Clawson and John Madsen were more sophisticated and produced more generalizable information about LDS returned missionaries. Rudger Clawson, “The Returned Missionary: A Statistical Survey,” *Improvement Era* 39 (October 1936): 590–94; Madsen, “Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries.” Clawson surveyed a total of 19,880 returned missionaries in the Church (17,922 men and 1,958 women), finding almost 84 percent to be full or part tithe payers and 85 percent observing the Word of Wisdom. Also, over 82 percent were reported to be active in the Church. Clawson concluded, “Clearly, missionary service has a most excellent and lasting effect upon the missionary, from a spiritual and temporal point of view. . . . Probably no better preparation for life’s labors exists than a period of earnest, active, devoted service in the mission field.” Clawson, “Returned Missionary,” 594. Findings from Madsen’s study are discussed in detail in the next section.

20. Russell M. Nelson, "Our Sacred Duty to Honor Women," *Ensign* 29 (May 1999): 39–40.

21. Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (September 1984): 18–27; Rodney Stark, "So Far, So Good: A Brief Assessment of Mormon Membership Projections," *Review of Religious Research* 38 (December 1996): 175–78. This analysis showed that, between 1840 and 1880, the average rate of growth per decade for the Church was 40 percent. Stark made both a 30 percent (low estimate) and a 50 percent (high estimate) straight-line projection through the year 2080 of the growth rate of the Church. A follow-up study in 1996 found that the Church's actual membership in 1995 exceeded Stark's 1984 high estimate of 1995 by about 11 percent.

22. Stark, "Rise of a New World Faith," 25.

23. Stan L. Albrecht and Tim B. Heaton, "Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity," *Review of Religious Research* 26 (September 1984): 46.

24. Gerald Stott, "Effects of College Education on the Religious Involvement of Latter-day Saints," *BYU Studies* 24 (Winter 1984): 43–52; Ray M. Merrill, Joseph L. Lyan, and William J. Jensen, "Lack of Secularizing Influence of Education on Religious Activity and Parity among Mormons," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42 (March 2003): 113–24; Brent L. Top and Bruce A. Chadwick, "'Seek Learning, Even by Study and Also by Faith': The Relationship between Personal Religiosity and Academic Achievement among Latter-day Saint High-School Students," *Religious Educator: Perspectives on the Restored Gospel* 2, no. 2 (2001): 121–37.

25. Madsen, "Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries." Madsen surveyed 1,757 returned missionaries who were from the United States and who had been released from full-time missionary service for one, two, three, five, and ten years. After two mailings of the survey, 1,148 of the subjects completed and returned the questionnaire, a response rate of 65 percent.

26. It is important to note that the statistical testing used to compare Madsen's sample with the current sample required that the scales for several of these measurements be collapsed or recombined in order to better match each other. This could potentially introduce some inaccuracies in the comparisons; therefore, caution should be used concerning these comparisons.

27. Madsen, "Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries," 58–61.

28. Chadwick and Heaton, *Statistical Handbook on the American Family*, 73.

29. Madsen, "Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries," 52–53, 63.

30. Madsen, "Church Activity of LDS Returned Missionaries," 57.

31. Richard J. Gelles, *Contemporary Families: A Sociological View* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995), 112.

32. Dallin H. Oaks, "Following the Pioneers," *Ensign* 27 (November 1997): 73.

33. Although the general design of this model applies a life course analysis, the data were collected cross-sectionally rather than longitudinally. This required the respondents to provide retrospective data about personal attitudes, behaviors, and events that had taken place years earlier. Such reflection may not always be accurate. For example, it may be that some of those who are highly religious now may think of themselves as always having been highly religious, even though they were not. The low accuracy of certain types of retrospective has been shown in findings of several studies. (See T. B. Heaton and V. R. A. Call, "Modeling Family

Dynamics with Event History Techniques,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57 [1995]: 1078–90.) It is important to keep this in mind while assessing the results of each model.

34. SEM statistically estimates both the direct and indirect effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable.

35. See Brian K. Barber, “Introduction: Adolescent Socialization in Context—The Role of Connection, Regulation, and Autonomy in the Family,” *Journal of Adolescent Research* 12 (1997): 5–11.

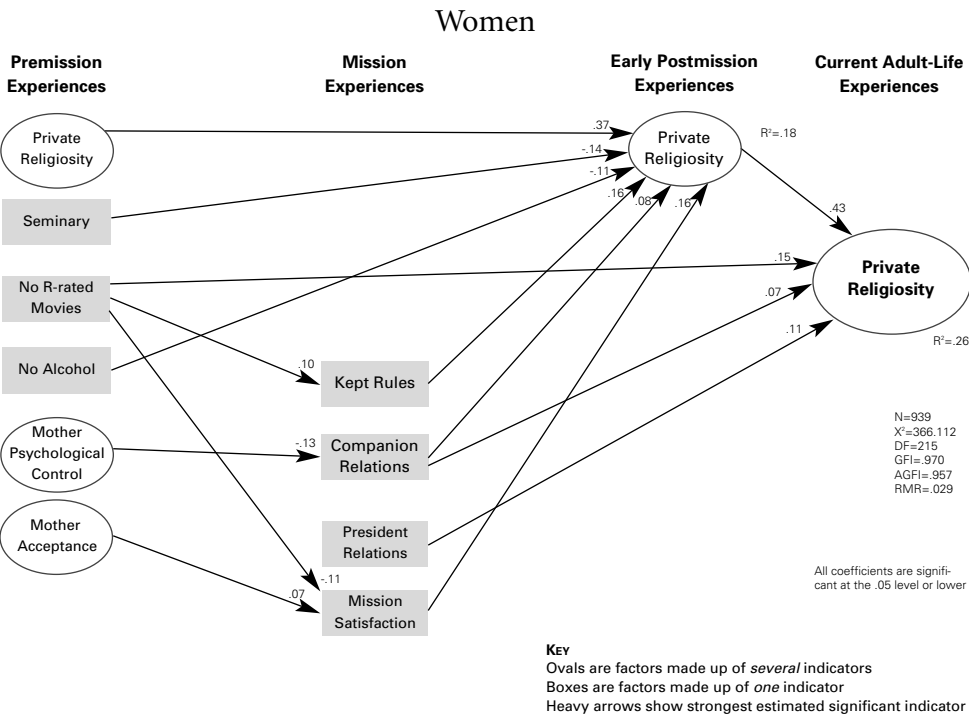
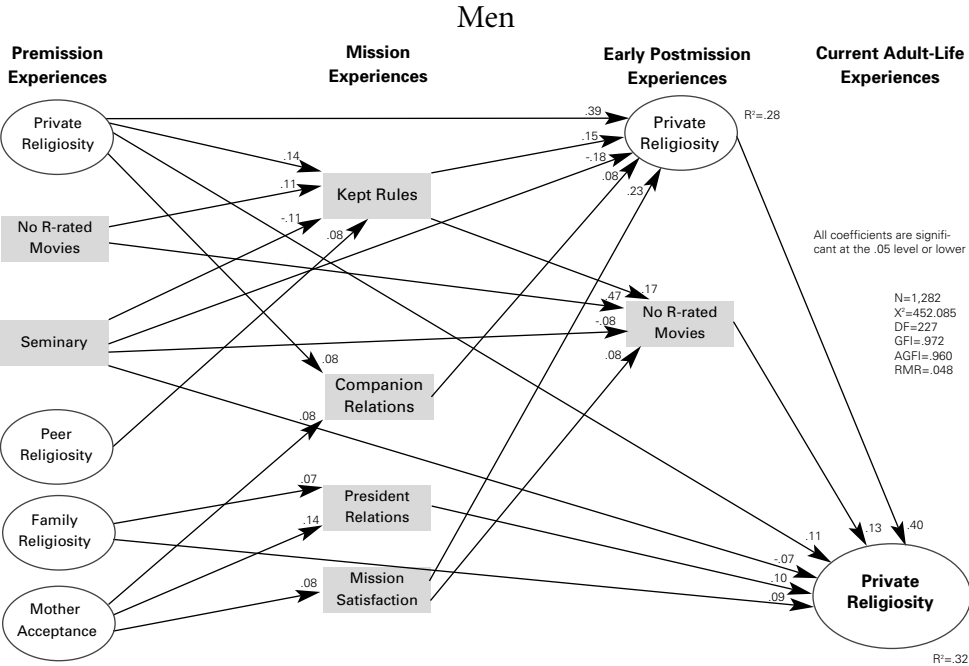
36. See Barber, “Introduction: Adolescent Socialization in Context.”

37. Judith M. Collins and Frank L. Schmidt, “Can Suppressor Variables Enhance Criterion-Related Validity in the Personality Domain?” *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 57 (1997): 925–36.

38. Gordon B. Hinckley, “Converts and Young Men,” *Ensign* 27 (May 1997): 47.

Appendix

Model of significant estimates for predicting early postmission, mission, and premission factors on private adult religiosity



On Grandmother's Couch

The only doctor in Franklin, Idaho,
was drunk that night, so a midwife
caught my grandmother before she fell
onto the rough kitchen table.

Eighty-six years later, we sit
on her plastic-covered couch,
her scarecrow body slumping
into mine, hands like orange peel,
curled across my forearm, grabbing
at almost anything today.

Because I have hair, she calls me
Nathan—her teenage gardener who says
he feels guilty each time my mother pays him.
All bald men are Arnold—her husband
twenty-eight years dead.

Our silent hour is punctuated
only by her struggle
to breathe through thick phlegm
that refuses to rise. I sit, cradling her frame,
and count the tiptoe rhythm of her heart,
every measure decrescendo.

—Quinn Warnick

Kindling

Melody Warnick

My daughter's tantrums are ballets in miniature, frenetic little dances of temper and passionate refusal. Barely two years old, she lets her no's choreograph our daily mother-daughter *pas de deux*: I proffer apple-sauce; Ella flings it onto the floor. I try to set her in the grocery-store cart; she arches her back and wriggles, fishlike. I draw the water for her bath; at the sound of the splashing, she hurls herself against the couch cushions. Such defenses seem to have slipped into her arsenal naturally, as the rightful inheritance of many generations of toddlers, and at this point in my parenting I am used to her outbursts, more or less.

But at the library, where she had spent a pleasant-enough thirty minutes scattering books and coloring a photocopied ladybug with the worn-down nubs of public crayons, her tantrum was less ballet than wildfire—a hot, quick-spreading burn. It was, I told her, time for us to go home, to eat peanut butter sandwiches for lunch, and at that pronouncement Ella bolted, disappearing into the stacks. For a long moment I considered the possibility that we would simply circle the library eternally, but I finally found her charming an elderly couple who had stooped to gurgle at her. “She must be yours,” they exclaimed when I approached. “What an angel!” I smiled indulgently, but when I tried to hoist Ella onto my hip as a counterweight to my armload of books, she pulled away from me, almost pulling me with her. Somehow I managed to keep my hold on the books. I set Ella down on the floor, then knelt next to her to muzzle her screaming with my cupped hand.

Somehow we made it outside. Without enough arms to haul both books and child, I left Ella on the grass by the library, crossed the parking

lot to throw the books in the trunk of my car, then chased my daughter around the side of the building to where she had hidden. As I picked her up, she screamed and struck at me with hard knobs of fist.

I have read that there are ways to survive these situations, ways to staunch the flow of tantrum energy. I should have removed Ella from the situation immediately, shedding library books like scales behind me. Or I should have been gentle but firm, telling her in no uncertain terms that her behavior was unacceptable but that, P.S., I still love you. Or I should have ignored the whole thing, allowing my daughter safe haven for the anger to flash-flood its way out of her system—the briefest of storms before the re-emergence of sun.

But because Ella's tantrums don't occur in a vacuum, I am virtually always a participant in my daughter's rage rather than a passive observer of it. So I buckled Ella roughly into her car seat and stared stonily as my daughter, now mollified, cried out, "Bus!" She had forgotten everything—the library, the screaming, the crying, the refusal—except the existence of a public bus driving by in front of us as I waited to turn out of the library's parking lot. "Bus," Ella chanted, "bus, bus." It was our long-practiced dialogue. I was supposed to confirm her suspicions—"Yes, that's right, it's a bus." I was also supposed to remind her that she was smart and pretty and a big girl.

Rage, however, had stolen my urge to speak, and I stayed silent until eventually Ella lost interest and turned away to the other window. In whatever part of me was still amenable to objectivity, I could recognize that I was the one being childish now. Nevertheless, it was a full five minutes before I reached back, rubbed my hand over Ella's thin, pale leg, and said, "I love you." Unspoken was my apology: *I'm sorry. Forgive me.* So often Ella's tantrums end that way, with her anger burning itself out and simultaneously kindling mine.

My daughter is, I believe, a normal two-year-old, which means that she slathers me with passionate kisses, scrambles into my lap for dramatic readings of *Hop on Pop*, and embraces a life that is little more than pleasant domestic routine. But normalcy for a toddler means that she's also subject to a cyclical anger, which from time to time disturbs the smooth sands of her personality and fills her with a sudden, nameless rage. When Ella is angry, she kicks and hits. Worse still, she whines, the high trill of petulance ascending her throat like the curling smoke from a chimney. And when that happens, we become simply a scientific reaction: she is stimulus, I am response.

Anger, I have come to believe, is my birthright or, at least, my mess of pottage. My own childhood tantrums were executed with a toddler's modicum of meanness and vicious creativity. Once, sent to my room for some offense, I found a pair of sewing scissors and carefully snipped holes in all my nightgowns. Other times I slipped on my patent-leather Sunday shoes before kicking the walls, the black scuffs on the wallpaper forming souvenirs of my rage.

When I was eleven, my mother, defending herself against some argument or other, told me that she had no happy memories of my childhood, that my long years of tantrums and tirades were for her a time of the barest emotional survival. My mother was herself an angry woman, a shouter prone to spanking with a ping-pong paddle or a hairbrush, whatever was at hand. But we both saw ourselves as victims, innocently tossed about by the weather of the other's fury. I had never considered that our unhappiness was reciprocal—that her anger caused my anger caused hers.

Nor had I ever considered that anger was something I could control. In matters of character, I subscribed to a kind of Calvinist notion of predestination and considered my temper a sign that I had been something less than faithful in premortality. I was not like my older sister, Heather, who was innately loveable and kind. I was just me: mean-spirited and angry enough that my mother had considered putting me in child therapy. Reading the Book of Mormon for the first time as a teenager, however, I encountered the Lord's explanation for personal weakness in Ether 12:27: "I give unto men weakness that they may be humble; and my grace is sufficient for all men that humble themselves before me." Then comes the promise: "If they humble themselves before me, and have faith in me, then will I make weak things become strong unto them."

So I could change, and I began to. As a teenager, I made efforts to crawl out of my own skin, which required heavy doses of self-control. I started biting back angry words, spoke gently when I wanted to shout, and forced myself into teeth-gritting niceness. For many years my role in my family had been defined by my ability to stir up ill will, and giving that up was a bit like losing myself—or at least the person I had known myself to be. But by the time I left for college, I had come to prefer living in relative peace. The Lord's promise, I thought, was realized in that I no longer had the stomach for open hostility.

By that time, my mother, in turn, became calmer herself, in part because of external circumstances—she left a draining full-time job to go back to college in a field she loved—and in part, I believe, because of internal changes

in me. Still, dysfunctional relationships die hard, and my family, having long expected only meanness from me, was the last to see my efforts. During the winter break of my sophomore year in college, I sat in a Hawaiian airport with my sister, Heather, waiting for the arrival of our family's misplaced luggage.

From a bench in the terminal, Heather and I watched a woman straggle from the baggage claim to the street, sniping at the little girl who followed her. "Hurry up!" she shouted. "You're so slow!" The girl's pink-handled Barbie suitcase banged a steady rhythm against her shins, and finally the mother whirled around and snatched the suitcase away from the girl, who began to cry. Once they had passed out of sight, I said to Heather, "I hope I'm not like that when I'm a mom." "You will be," she replied matter-of-factly.

At the time, I thought I had extinguished my impatience and anger through sheer force of will. They were gone from me, I wanted to believe. But my sister was prescient in sensing that those fires were only banked and cooled. All that was required to set me burning again was the proper kindling: A tantrum in a quiet space. Whining. The snail's pace of travel with a small child.



Like many mothers, mine cursed me to have a child like myself. It is the angry mother's hope of retribution: *You will one day experience the miseries I have experienced with you.* But the curse is realized in a roundabout fashion. Because I had an impatient mother and grew up impatient, I myself have become an impatient mother, and my toddler daughter is now taking on my irritation as her own. Perhaps it's the lack of proper role models, though I've learned to take my cues from friends like the even-keeled mothers of the toddlers in Ella's playgroup. But I wonder: if Ella and I could somehow disentangle ourselves emotionally, would either of us still be prone to our tantrums?

Because I am her mother, however, and doubly so because I care for her full time, there is no disentangling ourselves. We spend our mornings together and our evenings together, long days during which I sometimes feel myself unraveling. Ella manages to find the frayed ends of my patience, and with one decisive tug, she sends the whole skein spinning and thinning. The more she pulls at me, the weaker I become, until at her littlest flick of rebellion I lose myself. Our only time apart comes in the afternoons, after lunch, when Ella naps.

But several months ago, at nap time, Ella would not sleep. She pushed her pacifier through the wooden slats of her crib, tossed out the blanket

and stuffed giraffe for good measure, and began to scream in staccato bursts. We were both exhausted, painfully so, and the nap became the afternoon's quest. After plying her with cheese crackers and stories, I made one last effort to drop her back into her crib, but boa-like, she coiled her legs around my waist. She howled. And so did I.

I screamed. I screamed with her, I screamed at her. Setting her in her crib, I hurled the pacifier on the floor and slammed the door behind me, though I was not quick enough in my leaving to miss my daughter's reaction: wide-eyed silence, then a renewed, horrified bawling. I had frightened her.

I had frightened myself as well, and, in the hierarchy of emotional urgency, fear superseded anger. So in the kitchen I gripped the counter and prayed for patience—God's for me, mine for my daughter. After a few minutes, I returned to Ella's dim room, lifted my still-weeping baby into my arms, kissed her on the forehead, and told her I was sorry. We settled into the rocking chair and read *Olivia*, and then magically she was ready. Back into the crib she went, and after a few moments' whimpering, she slept. But her sleep was not, by then, a victory, only a moment's reprieve. And though I comfort myself with the idea that she, with her infant's instant memory reset, will never remember this incident, I have already filed it away in my permanent collection of guilt and grief.

Despite the seeming loneliness of such rage, I sense that anger is the vice and secret indulgence I share with most parents, or perhaps with most people in general. Even God, who fathered the Israelites through the wilderness, was driven to distraction by their whining: "And when the people complained, it displeased the Lord: and the Lord heard it; and his anger was kindled; and the fire of the Lord burnt among them, and consumed them that were in the uttermost parts of the camp" (Num. 11:1). I am heartened by this old-fashioned Old Testament rage, even knowing that God's is the perfect sort of discipline—in the Latin sense of the word, which derives from the root for *teach*—in a way that mine is not. The Lord's anger always has a purpose, because "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth" (Heb. 12:6). When my anger is kindled, it tends to consume me as readily as it consumes my daughter's misbehavior, which is one reason my husband and I have decided never to spank our children as punishment. We fear to allow ourselves the license.

In the New Testament, some of the sternness of the Old Testament ways yields to a new gentleness and mercy, which is what signifies proper parenting to most people. It is the kindness of kisses in Ella's hair during church; the sweetness of quietly singing "I Am a Child of God" to my worn-out daughter at night; the gentleness of Ella sprawled in my lap to

watch a cartoon. Sometimes, however, my shows of affection are motivated by regret. They become a way to repent for some past loss of patience. I lose my patience and my temper, then gather them up again in lavish shows of affection.

This, then, is the double bind of parenthood—that as surely as birthing a child mingles the binaries of pain and joy, strength and delicacy, my mothering of my daughter will likely always involve both desperate love and terrible anger. In a way, the same mother love that allows me to read a *Curious George* board book five times consecutively or be fastidious about car-seat safety can also, oddly, transmute itself into impatience and anger. My occasional fury at Ella is in some ways simply a form of passion, rooted in love. It is love turned on its head.

Ella's fury, on the other hand, is the most elemental of articulations. Her tantrums speak of her frustration, hunger, sadness, sleep deprivation, desire, or disagreement. Watching my daughter, though, it is hard to tell how much of her lashing out is prompted by age (the notorious Terrible Two's), innate personality, or her frustration with my sometimes-sternness. Because Ella is my only child, I am forced to believe people in the know—grandparents, next-door neighbors—who tell me that she is actually a blessed and blissful girl. How happy she is, they sigh. How sweet. My daughter seems to sense when these compliments come, and she smiles lopsidedly from beneath wisps of white-blond hair, as if to confirm the diagnosis.

And indeed, there are days when she is all sweetness, days when she leans quietly into the slope of her stroller while I chat with a neighbor or pluck books from the library shelves. On those days, I thank her profusely for her patience with me. "You're such a good girl, Ella," I whisper. "You're such a nice girl." I hope that her calm represents a sea change, and that from now on I will be calm as well. I will not yell, throw, curse, or in other ways be pulled under by the riptide of my daughter's toddler personality. But mothers with three or four children dampen my hopes when they tell me that I'm lucky to have just one. Translation: I can expect no future ease.

So I am left to my own devices—mostly. Because for every time I lose my temper, there are other instances when I find it. The toddler fussiness that once put me in a fury does not today, for instance, or I manage a gentle response to repeated pleas for *Teletubbies*. These are moments when love becomes anger just long enough for me to recognize it and convert anger into love again.

The source of patience is so puzzling that I must believe that it's divine. So when I suddenly have the calmness and ease of mind to withstand Ella's clinging and crying without snapping at her, I recognize it as a true gift from one Parent to another. And I'm grateful.

Having a child is, to wrest C. S. Lewis's words, like swinging open the cellar door, for "if there are rats in a cellar you are most likely to see them if you go in very suddenly. But the suddenness does not create the rats: it only prevents them from hiding. In the same way the suddenness of the provocation does not make me an ill-tempered man: it only shows me what an ill-tempered man I am."¹ The petulant, demanding two-year-old in my house continually uncovers my weaknesses, evaporating all my pretensions at adulthood—which my husband defines as the ability to control one's emotions—and leaving me a toddler myself, frustrated, angry, and whining for help. But, happily, I am then open to the help promised in Ether 12, to the replacement of weak things with strong ones.

Ella's tantrums have evolved recently. Once short-lived and to the point, her crying now tends to perpetuate itself until she dissolves into hiccupping hysteria. Three times this has happened lately, and what normally might have worked to restore relative peace—placing her in her crib with a comforting pacifier or supplying graham crackers and a cup of cold milk—helps not at all. The third time, as my daughter sobbed uncontrollably, the fire of my anger threatened to ignite. And then, in the next moment, the kindling was gone; there was nothing to burn. Miraculously, my impatience turned into sympathy, and I found the voice to ask Ella if she needed a hug. To my utter surprise, she nodded, climbed into my lap, and clung to me for dear life. With her arms wrapped around my waist, her cheek buried in my chest, I could finally see that Ella was as uncomfortable with her raging as I was with my own. She and I were both struggling to find peace. In the rocking chair, we held each other for a few long minutes, and when my daughter extracted herself from my embrace, she was healed and whole again. And, for the moment, so was I.

Melody Warnick (melodywarnick@hotmail.com) received a BA in English from Brigham Young University. This essay won second place in the 2003 *BYU Studies* essay contest.

1. C. S. Lewis, *Mere Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2001), 192–93.

Ornament Gold

Snow falls in swirls
On transverse ridge

December gray

First winter storm pauses
As I watch and wait

It is my fifty-sixth winter

Trees denuded, skeletal
Seem numbed in the cold

Shaking with wind

Apple tree, Golden Delicious
Holding fruit out of season

Globes like summer suns

Hanging by thin stems
Ornaments from spectral limbs

Gifts of color in the gray
Birds landing, eating
Left-over summer

Quick brown beaks darting

A feast against the snow
For flying things and me

—David Frost

Boyd Jay Petersen, *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life*

Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002

Reviewed by Gary P. Gillum

Hugh Winder Nibley is known for the diversity of his writings and activities, which compare more easily to the impressionistic music of Debussy than to the works of an orderly Beethoven or to an inexhaustible smorgasbord of culinary delights than to a formal seven-course banquet. His life calls for an equally diverse and interesting biography, which is provided by his son-in-law, Boyd Jay Petersen. *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* began as a birthday present for the author's daughter, Mary, born in 1989. As Nibley approached his eightieth birthday, Petersen wanted to preserve Nibley's legacy for Mary, since he feared that "with time's winged chariot hurrying near, there may not be a chance for her to really get to know her grandfather."¹

Once he tapped into the mother lode of Nibley's correspondence, however, he realized that the project had a much larger audience than just his family. The result of fourteen years of research and writing is a valuable family history of which we are all beneficiaries. Boyd Petersen has more than fulfilled his wish "to preserve the truth that lurks below these stories and to preserve the status of this hero in our culture" (xxxi).

Petersen has concocted a delicious soup of inspiring quotes from Nibley's witty and learned correspondence, much of which is written to his life-long friend Paul Springer, whom Nibley had met at Berkeley while studying for his PhD. These priceless and mostly unpublished letters form a veritable journal or autobiography of Nibley's life that is candid, spontaneous, ironic, and playful.

Petersen has arranged the biography so that major theme chapters are juxtaposed with biographical chapters. The book combines humor,

personal insights, and events, thereby building bridges to understanding a complicated man, both optimist and pessimist, both honorer and merciless criticizer of Brigham Young University. Each of the twenty-six chapters is illustrated by at least one photograph. The book includes an index and five appendices: a chronology, a genealogy, Nibley's "Letter from the Front, 1945," Nibley's "Letter to Sterling M. McMurrin, 23 August 1967," and "Shalamar," a skit given by sixty-year-old Nibley at a 1970 BYU Women's Program.

A poignant foreword by Zina Petersen, one of Hugh Nibley's children and the author's wife, adds a voice of authority and experience. Her thirteen intimate vignettes of Nibley are insightful memories of her father's (and family's) multidimensional life. The closing two sentences of her foreword are some of the most illuminating of the entire book, "Growing up with Hugh Nibley as a father, I learned this: the world, with all its exhilaration, giddiness, and danger, is actually pretty safe, as long as you are on a course that has strong ropes and sturdy knots and an unmovable, unshakable faith pushing you higher. Then all you have to do is hang on tight" (xix). Boyd Petersen's introduction, "The Man and the Legend," is thought-provoking and humorous, debunking some of the classic Nibley legends and affirming others as outrageous "gospel truth."

The unpretentious and animated prose of *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life* flows naturally, although it is not as tightly written in some chapters as in others. In some places, the book suffers from mechanical kerning and type-setting errors. When asked what his father-in-law thought of the book, Petersen responded that Nibley had found an error on page 54, where the church father Lactantius's name was spelled "Lectangus." Other than that one observation, Nibley seemed pleased with Petersen's gargantuan effort to write an honest and balanced portrayal of his life.

The dust jacket is beautifully designed, although the color transfer in Rebecca Everett's portrait of Nibley needs the tan (rather than pink) hues of the original painting. In fact, the entire cover—which includes a photograph of Nibley and quotes about Nibley by Gordon B. Hinckley, Neal A. Maxwell, and Boyd K. Packer—is such an integral part of the biography that it would have been better incorporated into the book. Readers will find themselves removing the dust jacket to protect it while they read the biography instead of using the cover to protect the book.

Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life is the appropriate title for this book, for it reviews the importance of Nibley's message—which is, in the end, the Savior's message of the gospel. Chapter 9, "'One Peep at the Other Side': Hugh Nibley's Life of Faith," may be the most spiritual part of the biography, but it is balanced by the entertaining non sequiturs and Laurel-and-Hardy

slapstick comedy in “Shalamar.” Certainly the most difficult chapter to write was the penultimate chapter 25, where Petersen assesses the current climate of the Nibley family. We learn that Nibley’s own parents were strictly Victorian, so it is no surprise when Zina characterizes her father as exhibiting “comfortably Victorian detached fondness” (xix), which transforms itself into pure delight and wonder when he is around small children.

The biography’s most insightful piece of information about Nibley is the account of his interest in leaving BYU in February 1955 to take a position at the University of Utah (272). President Ernest L. Wilkinson was so concerned that he took the matter to the executive committee of the Church Board of Education. President J. Reuben Clark of the First Presidency was then assigned to convince Nibley to stay at BYU and, in doing so, Clark suggested four research projects that Nibley could work on at BYU:

1. A new translation of the Bible “with reference to ancient manuscripts,”²
2. An assessment of “the works of the early ‘heretics,’”³
3. A careful evaluation of “the works of the [early church] Fathers . . . to get an idea of their early teachings,” and
4. A translation of the Aztec Codes (273).

Nibley has been variously called an eschatological thinker, a Renaissance man, a true hero of World War II, a polymath, a multiglot, a truth seeker and truth defender, an expounder, and an eternal amateur “with guts.” After thirty-four years of knowing this enigmatic brother, I see Nibley as a hobo bravely and blithely sitting on top of a boxcar, preferring to suffer the wind and bugs and sunburn in order to allow his curiosity a 360-degree view, rather than merely facing forward with the passengers and engineers inside the cars. To others he may seem an erudite mystic, but Boyd Jay Petersen finds him an authentic, down-to-earth and up-to-heaven, constant, consistent “messenger of light” who wants no disciples for himself but instead leads scholars to the Savior. Elder Neal A. Maxwell’s definition of a disciple-scholar describes Hugh Nibley almost faultlessly:

For a disciple of Jesus Christ, academic scholarship is a form of worship. It is actually another dimension of consecration. Hence one who seeks to be a disciple-scholar will take both scholarship and discipleship seriously; and, likewise, gospel covenants. For the disciple-scholar, the first and second great commandments frame and prioritize life. How else could one worship God with all of one’s heart, might, *mind*, and strength? (Luke 10:27)⁴

Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life is delightful and informative reading both for perennial “Nibley watchers” as well as for students who know little about him. A more definitive and in-depth biography of Nibley should

some day be written, but it would be impossible to duplicate both the immediacy and the panoramic sweep of Petersen's work. This biography will surely become a much-discussed and much-loved portrayal of the man some consider our own latter-day church father.⁵

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1. Boyd Petersen, "The Life of the Mind in the Household of Faith: Hugh Nibley's Influence at Brigham Young University," sound recording (House of Learning Lecture, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, March 19, 2003).

2. Given President Clark's love for the King James Version of the Bible, this item is particularly noteworthy.

3. Clark believed such early heretics' "ideas were often statements of true principles which the [Catholic] Church had thrown away" (273).

4. Neal A. Maxwell, "The Disciple-Scholar," in *On Becoming a Disciple-Scholar*, ed. Henry B. Eyring (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1995), 7; italics in original.

5. Richard L. Anderson, a colleague of Nibley's for many years, even called Nibley a "national treasure" whose importance, unfortunately, has not been recognized by many scholars outside the Church.

Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia,
Africa and Latin America*

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001

Reviewed by Henri Gooren

Paul Freston, who teaches sociology at the Federal University of São Carlos in Brazil, is an acknowledged expert in the field of Pentecostalism in Brazil and Latin America. His book *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* aims to be a pioneering “comparative study of the political dimensions of the new mass Protestantism of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia” (1). It contains cases from no less than twenty-seven countries on three continents and reviews literature in four languages. Unavoidably, however, as the author himself notes (281), the cases are rather unbalanced, depending on the available literature and sometimes on personal fieldwork on location. Freston’s key case is Brazil. “Brazil, as the major Third World democracy with a significant evangelical presence, and the second largest evangelical community in the world, could be a guide to what will happen if conditions are favourable [for evangelical political involvement] in some Latin American and African countries” (320). For Latter-day Saints interested in the growth and development of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Latin America, this book raises important issues about the relationship between church and society.

In only thirty years, the Protestant population in Latin America has gone up from 4.4 percent in 1970 to almost 10 percent in 2000.¹ Almost all of this growth can be attributed to Pentecostalism, which in countries like Guatemala and Nicaragua currently makes up over three-quarters of the Protestant community.² Starting in the 1970s, competition was strongest between the Roman Catholic Church on one side and the Protestant churches on the other side. Since the 1980s and especially the 1990s, however, religious competition between the various Protestant churches has increased, most notably among the heterogeneous Pentecostal churches and also among the independent Christian traditions, like the Jehovah’s

Witnesses and the Latter-day Saints (60–61). My earlier research shows that Latter-day Saint growth in Guatemala started in the mid-1980s, right after the Protestant boom of 1976–83, and culminated in 1988–90. Not surprisingly, Protestant hostility (for example, an occasional stone hurled at missionaries and hate mail) toward Latter-day Saints in Guatemala City also increased after 1985.³

The Latter-day Saint Church stays clear of politics in Latin America and does not actively encourage or discourage its members to run for office. As a result, no Latter-day Saint has gained prominence as an elected politician in any Latin American country. By contrast, Freston documents more than twenty political parties that were founded by evangelical Protestant leaders in Spanish-speaking Latin America (285). Some parties are devoted to human rights and democracy, but most are stuck in (1) a form of church corporatism, aimed at acquiring state funds; (2) a political imitation of the dominant religious actor (the Catholic Church or Islam); or (3) a triumphalism, which presupposes the divine right of Pentecostal believers to govern nations (two examples of leaders of such parties are General Ríos Montt, pp. 267–73; and President Jorge Serrano, pp. 273–76, in Guatemala).

Freston analyzes the dangers that are inherent in each of the three attitudes described above (306–8). Church corporatism is based on having a large membership, which is often mobilized with undemocratic methods. Triumphalism, on the other hand, has no real political program and is usually strongly personalist. Freston claims that triumphalism lacks the mechanisms to control power and, hence, that the risks of power abuse and corruption are great. Imitating the dominant religious actor provides no starting points at all for building up genuinely evangelical forms of political participation.

According to Freston, the attitude toward the state will determine the future of evangelical political activities in the south. He notes that rejecting political participation is an easy way out, as long as power is simply out of reach (307–18). The idea of the evangelical nation, “the church . . . at the centre of society” (308), is impossible as long as the evangelical community is so divided. Even in Guatemala, for instance, the evangelical community is limited to a quarter of the total population (265). According to Freston, the future of evangelical political participation in the third world lies in reflecting on “principled pluralism, of religious freedom in a non-confessional state” (308). Freston points out what he sees as the dangers of mass manipulation by charismatic leaders such as Serrano in Guatemala or the rise of dominant evangelical churches, such as the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in Brazil.

Will the evangelical churches find their own niche in the building of a national identity in third-world countries? Will evangelicalism be able to help construct new identities and smooth out existing ethnic differences? Freston is optimistic: "Evangelicalism can be seen, in fact, as 'globalisation from below.' . . . [The] pietistic reconception of calling led to mission and the globalisation of voluntaristic Christianity" (315). The Pentecostal movement originated in the United States, from the bottom of society (the poor, blacks, and women).

"It is precisely this counter-establishment Western Christianity that has become the most globalised," Freston asserts (315). That remains to be seen. There are two fundamental questions to answer before accepting this statement. First, is Pentecostalism still an antiestablishment counter-movement? There are certainly signs of church formation and further institutionalization, which according to Troeltsch and Niebuhr⁴ will ease tension with society. Second, is it true that especially the antiestablishment Pentecostal churches are still growing in the world? There are no clear data on this. Freston poses the interesting question of whether third-world evangelicalism may play a part in the future "in opposing existing market-driven globalisation," like Muslim fundamentalism appears to be doing already. Freston seems to hope it will but without forsaking the Christian, Western "tradition of democracy and human rights" (315).

Meanwhile, Latter-day Saints all over Latin America run the risk of being left out of the political process. Because The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints values its freedom to proselytize in Latin America, it stays out of national politics on the continent. Latter-day Saint Church leaders call upon members to develop themselves and their families both spiritually and economically. This strategy certainly strengthens Latter-day Saint households in Latin America and often helps them to achieve a better economic and social position.⁵ History shows that as groups improve their economic position, they will become more prominent in public life. But the Latter-day Saint Church, unlike many evangelical churches mentioned by Freston, does not push its members into politics, ideological movements, personal networks, or non-governmental organizations. Because the Church stresses activity in church over involvement in society, Latter-day Saints might find that as they get drawn more into society, they are pulled away from the Church.

Readers of *Evangelicals and Politics* may, at times, get lost in the long lists of names of evangelical churches, movements, organizations, political parties, and church leaders—especially in the extended cases, such as Brazil. The section on Brazil contains references to intriguing developments, which are not explained further (such as the preventive detention of

the leader of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in 1992, p. 18). The sources are usually clearly stated, but sometimes they are missing. For example, the Protestant proportions of the Latin American populations (194) and some bold statements, such as “the expansion of evangelicalism ([is] at the expense largely of nominal Catholicism) in Latin America” (4), are not backed up with literature references. Although Freston masters his subject, providing more sources would have strengthened his argument.

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1. David B. Barrett, George T. Kurian, and Todd M. Johnson, *World Christian Encyclopedia, Second Edition: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World*, 2 vol. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1:14.

2. Henri Gooren, *Rich among the Poor: Church, Firm, and Household among Small-Scale Entrepreneurs in Guatemala City* (Amsterdam: Thela, 1999), 56, n 49.

3. Henri Gooren, “The Dynamics of LDS Growth in Guatemala, 1948–1998,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 34 (Fall–Winter 2001): 61–64, 74.

4. Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1960); Richard H. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Holt, 1929).

5. Gooren, *Rich among the Poor*.

Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins*

Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002

Reviewed by James B. Allen

Reviewing Grant Palmer's first published work became an unusual personal challenge to me, for it touched on two things I hold dear. One is balanced scholarship and academic integrity, which I have spent a career trying to teach and practice. The other is something especially sacred: my personal belief in the reality of Joseph Smith's First Vision, the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, and the restoration of priesthood authority. Book reviews ordinarily center just on scholarly matters, but somehow I could not approach this particular review without intermixing the two. My commentary, therefore, is first-person and personal.

Even though, to me, the evidence favoring Mormonism's foundational events is powerful and convincing, I believe that the literal reality of the First Vision and other sacred experiences can be neither "proved" nor "disproved" by secular objectivity. Believing Latter-day Saint scholars study the documents with all the detachment possible but also take literally the affirmation of Moroni that "by the power of the Holy Ghost ye may know the truth of all things" (Moro. 10:5). Knowing something of Palmer's background, therefore, I was disappointed to read of his belief that the Holy Ghost is an "unreliable means of proving truth" (133).

Palmer portrays Joseph Smith as a brilliant, though not formally educated, young man who made up the Book of Mormon and other Latter-day Saint scriptures by drawing from various threads in his cultural environment. Joseph's early religious experiences were not real or physical but only "spiritual," though Palmer never really explains what that means. According to Palmer, the stories evolved over time from "relatively simple experiences into more impressive spiritual manifestations, from metaphysical to physical events" and were "rewritten by Joseph and Oliver and other early church officials so that the church could survive and grow" (260–61).

Despite such assertions, Palmer presents himself as a faithful Mormon and retired Church Educational System (CES) instructor whose "intent is

to increase faith, not to diminish it" (ix). His announced purpose is twofold. The first is simply to introduce Church members who have not kept up with the developments in Church history over the last thirty years to "issues that are central to the topic of Mormon origins" (x). This, however, is one of Palmer's first misleading statements, for to achieve such a goal an author has a duty to introduce readers to developments of all kinds, not merely those that are radical or revisionist or that make traditional Church history look bad. Instead, Palmer simply presents his own interpretations of the founding events, citing only those sources that support his views and making no effort to tell readers about the vast body of scholarly literature that presents different perspectives.¹

Palmer's second objective is to help Church members "understand historians and religion teachers like myself" (x). Just who those historians and teachers are is anyone's guess, though in his introduction Palmer praises highly the work of scholars at Brigham Young University and other parts of the Church Educational System. He rightly observes that "too much of this [historical research] escapes the view of the rank-and-file in the church" (viii). Such a statement, however, may mislead some into assuming that the Latter-day Saint scholars and teachers alluded to agree with his perceptions or that he draws his conclusions from their works. For the record, nothing could be further from the truth.²

There is another implication, not stated by Palmer but apparently circulated in some of the discussion that goes on through the Internet and other places, that people still in the employ of the Church dare not come out with their "true" feelings because they are intimidated by fear of loss of jobs and even loss of Church membership. Palmer himself may have felt such fear, for he did not publish any of this before he left Church employment. But "now that I am retired," he says, "I find myself compelled to discuss in public what I pondered mostly in private at that time" (x). It amazes me, however, that some people (not Palmer, perhaps, but some of his promoters) can impute such hidden sentiments to others whom they do not know, scholars who have continually published their own findings and interpretations for years. Many who are now retired or who otherwise are not dependent upon the Church for their livelihood (and are therefore "safe" from intimidation) still continue to publish and lecture on Mormon origins with no change at all in their perspectives.

Palmer complains about the "Sunday School" type of history, claiming that his "demythologized" versions of the foundational stories "are in many cases more spiritual, less temporal, and more stirring" than what is generally taught (ix), though he spends precious little time trying to demonstrate this curious pronouncement. What we must do, he says, is

address and ultimately correct the “disparity between historical narratives and the inspirational stories that are told in church” (xii). Narrowing the gap between the ordinary perceptions of average Church members and professional historians is an important goal, but reaching that goal is not legitimately achieved by simply throwing all popular perceptions into the trash bin. Besides, there are other purposes for Sunday School. For those who wish to go into Church history in greater depth, detailed treatments are certainly out there to be read and can be found by anyone who has the interest.³

This review is limited to the space normally allowed for such reviews in *BYU Studies*. A much longer version is forthcoming in the *FARMS Review*.⁴ Readers are also urged to consult the reviews by Davis Bitton, Mark Ashurst-McGee, Steven C. Harper, and Louis C. Midgley in the *FARMS Review of Books*. Bitton identifies many sources, scholars, and issues that Palmer all too conveniently ignores.⁵ Harper focuses mainly on how Palmer “manipulates evidence” regarding the Book of Mormon witnesses, on his “exaggerated hermeneutic of suspicion” regarding the priesthood restoration accounts, and on his recycling of Wesley Walters’s 1969 arguments regarding the First Vision, adding “nothing new.”⁶ Ashurst-McGee addresses the central thesis of each chapter in Palmer’s book, responding to virtually each of his arguments and concluding that “an open-minded reader may find that, in most cases, interpretations favorable to the integrity of Joseph Smith and his revelations are as reasonable as or even more reasonable than those presented by Palmer.”⁷ Midgley explores some sordid details in the making of *An Insider's View*, the basic facts about Palmer’s employment record in the Church Educational System, and the unconvincing parallel between Hoffmann’s “The Golden Pot” and the Book of Mormon.⁸

My intent here is only to summarize and comment briefly on Palmer’s main assertions, nearly all of which have been already addressed by well-qualified Latter-day Saint scholars. “Asked and answered,” we frequently hear lawyers say during trials on television crime shows when their opponents persist in bringing up old questions. “Asked and answered” is a good part of my response to most of the questions Palmer puts forth.

The Book of Mormon

In chapters 1–5, Palmer presents his views on the Book of Mormon. He claims that Joseph Smith did not have the power to translate anything and, therefore, not just the Book of Mormon but also his Bible translations and the Book of Abraham were fabricated (albeit in some kind of inspired way).

In support of his argument, he tells of the infamous Kinderhook Plates, showing that they were a hoax but suggesting that Joseph Smith nevertheless claimed that he could translate them. What he does not say is that all this information has been dealt with earlier in many publications, including Church magazines, so it is no secret to Latter-day Saints.

Stanley B. Kimball, for example, tells the story in detail in the *Ensign*.⁹ Joseph may at first have thought these plates were authentic, and the *Times and Seasons* even published a statement saying that a translation was forthcoming. But the translation was not forthcoming, according to Kimball, simply because Joseph Smith was not fooled for long and soon dropped the matter. The statement in Joseph Smith's *History* saying that "I have translated a portion of them"¹⁰ did not come from Joseph Smith. Rather, it was taken from the diary of William Clayton, who wrote on May 1, 1843, that "I [Clayton] have seen 6 brass plates. . . . Prest J. [Joseph] has translated a portion of them."¹¹ Whether Joseph Smith actually tried to translate the plates or was just speculating on their contents in Clayton's presence, or whether Clayton himself was just speculating, is unknowable. The statement got into Joseph's history sometime later, when Clayton's diary was used as a source. Third-person references were simply transposed by the editors into first-person statements. The fact that the plates were a hoax was not revealed until many years after Joseph's death, but Latter-day Saint scholars have not been hesitant to discuss the issue, and the Church has not hidden the facts.

Admitting to the possibility of at least some inspiration in the Book of Mormon, however, Palmer describes it as "a nineteenth-century encounter with God rather than an ancient epic" (36). In other words, it is inspired fiction. He belabors the well-known fact that several passages in the Book of Mormon are similar to, or the same as, passages from the King James Version of the Bible and then claims that "scholars have determined that he [Joseph] consulted an open Bible, specifically a printing of the King James translation dating from 1769 or later, including its errors" (10). Later in the book, Palmer suggests that Joseph Smith knew the Bible thoroughly, perhaps even having memorized it, thus accounting for his ability to insert Bible passages as he dictated (46–47).

One problem here is that the writers Palmer cites really have no way of knowing whether Joseph did or did not have an open Bible in front of him, and there is no evidence that any of his associates said such a thing. In fact, the statements usually cited are not always contemporaneous (some were made years after the fact), they do not agree in detail, and some of the people who made them were not actual witnesses to the translation, or dictation, process. Latter-day Saint scholars have already dealt with the issue

of biblical passages in the Book of Mormon many times, but Palmer chooses either to ignore or brush too lightly over what they have to say.¹²

The problems inherent in Palmer's view of the Book of Mormon are too numerous to discuss here, but a few additional examples will illustrate the kind of faulty speculation, incomplete evidence, and misleading "parallels" that plague his entire book.

Palmer's hypothesis is that the Book of Mormon began to form in Joseph's mind long before Martin Harris became his scribe in 1828 and that Joseph had three years or more to "develop, write, and refine the book" (66–67). Having memorized it in detail, he then dictated it from memory over a short period of time. But this explanation does not take into account some important things about the book itself. Latter-day Saint scholars have consistently pointed out that along with its complex story line there is a singular internal consistency within the Book of Mormon, including recurring patterns and flashbacks, that would seem impossible for Joseph Smith to keep in mind over the years and then dictate, without notes, over a nine- to ten-week period. Moreover, the central material in the Book of Mormon is not the story line but rather the powerful, often profound and beautiful spiritual messages given throughout, most of them centering on Christ and his teachings. These messages are so abundant that it seems highly improbable that someone trying to perpetrate a fraud could work all that, along with a consistent, highly complex narrative, into a book dictated in so short a time. With what we know about Joseph Smith's inherent lack of literary prowess, it becomes especially difficult to believe that he was the author.

One of Palmer's "parallels" is a comparison between the apocryphal book of Judith and the story of Nephi killing Laban (55). The story of Judith and Holofernes (the general killed by Judith) is so completely different from the story of Nephi, however, that the so-called similarities are, at best, superficial. This issue is aptly dealt with by John Tvedtnes and Matthew Roper in their extensive critique of the same charges originally made by Jerald and Sandra Tanner. Actually, Tvedtnes and Roper point out, Nephi's story "has much more in common with that of David and Goliath than that of Judith and Holofernes, but to cite from 1 Samuel 17 would have detracted from the Tanners' [and, thus, Palmer's] thesis that Joseph Smith got the idea from the book of Judith."¹³

Palmer also discusses parallels between the Book of Mormon and Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* in order to show that in Joseph Smith's cultural setting there was a belief that American Indians were descended from Israelites and that this idea provided the inspiration for Joseph Smith to make the same claim in the Book of Mormon (58–64). Again, however,

Palmer presents nothing new; information about *View of the Hebrews* has been available through Latter-day Saint sources for many years.¹⁴ As in the case of most of his assertions, Palmer simply does not tell his readers about the work of believing Latter-day Saint scholars, even though he claims that one of his purposes is to introduce them to the developments in Church history over the last thirty years.

He also emphasizes presumed parallels with evangelical Protestantism, including Book of Mormon teachings that compare with evangelical doctrines, as well as words and phrases in the Book of Mormon that seem similar to words and phrases in the emotionally charged sermons of early American evangelical ministers. Reading such Book of Mormon language through the eyes of faith, however, leads one to ask “why not?” If similar problems existed in Book of Mormon times, why would not the scoldings, when translated into the English Joseph knew, sound evangelical? The similarity would be consistent with the way the Lord described other revelations which, he said, “were given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding” (D&C 1:24). Moreover, even though some evangelical language appears in scattered places in the Book of Mormon, it is just that—scattered, not incorporated wholesale.

Palmer sees still another kind of parallel in “The Golden Pot,” a story by a brilliant German writer of fantasy and horror, E. T. A. Hoffmann—a tale that, he contends, had a direct influence on Joseph Smith’s story of how the Book of Mormon came to be. He does not claim that Joseph Smith read “The Golden Pot,” but only that Joseph got ideas about it from Luman Walters, a necromancer who became acquainted with Hoffmann’s work while studying in Europe. The evidence that Joseph knew Luman Walters is, at best, tenuous, but Palmer’s comparisons between Joseph’s story and “The Golden Pot” are so strained as to be almost laughable. “The Golden Pot” is a complex fantasy, and Palmer’s highly selective, widely spaced examples of “parallels,” when read in context, are not at all what he makes them out to be. Anyone who takes time to examine “The Golden Pot” will have an entertaining read but will be hard pressed to find any real comparisons between Joseph Smith’s angelic visitations and *Serpentina*, the golden snake from Atlantis that Anselmus (the hero of “The Golden Pot”) ends up marrying. Nor is there a sensible parallel between Anselmus being hired by *Serpentina*’s father to copy (*not translate!*) some ancient manuscripts and Joseph Smith’s call to translate the golden plates.¹⁵

Palmer brings up DNA research in an attempt to show that the peoples of the Book of Mormon could not have been the ancestors of the Native Americans. The lack of DNA evidence of Native American ancestry has

been dealt with in detail by Latter-day Saint experts, who have shown that this kind of research is so complex and tentative that no firm conclusions can be made.¹⁶ Beyond that, however, Latter-day Saints have long recognized that the Book of Mormon is a history of only a small group of people in a very limited region and that there were numerous others on the continent when the Jaredites arrived. Given that fact, there is no need to assume that the Book of Mormon people were the *only* ancestors of Native Americans or even that the majority of inhabitants of North, Central, and South America are descended from the Nephites and Lamanites.¹⁷

Book of Mormon Witnesses

In chapter 6, Palmer attacks the testimonies of the witnesses to the gold plates, arguing that, deeply immersed in the magical world view of the times, they were so susceptible to Joseph's suggestions that they had "visions of the mind" that "erased the boundaries that separate the spiritual and the physical worlds, a perspective consistent with how a number of people of that day perceived reality" (202). The witnesses were thus gullible enough to see whatever Joseph Smith wanted them to see. Interspersed in this line of reasoning is also the old argument that the witnesses were inconsistent and at times denied actually seeing the plates. However, the integrity of the witnesses' testimonies has already been dealt with effectively by Richard Lloyd Anderson.¹⁸

In one instance, Palmer claims that in 1838 Martin Harris testified publicly that "none of the signatories to the Book of Mormon saw or handled the physical records" (204). His source is a letter written by Stephen Burnett. Anderson shows, however, that Burnett's statement is an interpretive "first-hand report of a half-truth" and that Burnett probably "bent words" to support his own theory that Mormonism was a "lying deception." The incident Burnett was reporting concerned Martin Harris standing up in the Kirtland Temple to answer charges made by apostates. Burnett was ridiculing Harris and therefore quoting him in derision, saying that he had seen the plates "only" in vision, and "only" four times. The term "only" seems to be Burnett's caustic addition to what Harris really said.¹⁹ Anderson goes into much more detail, demonstrating the long-term integrity of all the witnesses, and anyone would do well to read his work before accepting uncritically what Palmer has to say.

These are only a few of Palmer's misleading assertions, but even responding to all of them would still provide a very incomplete picture of Book of Mormon scholarship, for there is so much that he does *not* consider of what Latter-day Saint scholars have written about for years. There

is no space here to deal with these things, but four recent compilations provide valuable studies relating to the authenticity of the Book of Mormon as well as new insights into its richness and complexity: *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon: Insights You May Have Missed Before*;²⁰ *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*;²¹ *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*;²² and *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon*.²³

Numerous other works by Latter-day Saint scholars deal with all aspects of the Book of Mormon and, as a group, consider every significant issue put forth by Palmer. The point, however, is not just that these works present more sophisticated arguments but that none of the questions he raises have been hidden by the Church or ignored by its scholars. As forcefully stated as Palmer's arguments may be, his readers must not presume that his assertions can withstand the scrutiny of well-trained scholars and students of scripture who have spent their careers studying the same issues.

Priesthood Restoration

Palmer also challenges the story of the restoration of the priesthood, though his main focus is not on whether it was restored but whether it was done by the physical process of the laying on of hands by heavenly beings rather than simply by some spiritual manifestation. The story, he speculates, evolved from a "spiritual" but physically unreal experience to one that took on a physical reality. As with other issues, however, Palmer fails to tell his readers of the significant work done by the Latter-day Saint scholars he praises so highly in his introduction and of the fact that even though the scholars may not always agree on *when* priesthood restoration occurred, they present ample evidence that the Saints believed early on that it *did* occur through the physical laying on of hands.²⁴

The First Vision

Palmer's final attack is on the story of Joseph Smith's First Vision, which, he claims, also evolved from a simple story, told first in 1832, then, deliberately altered in later versions to change its nature. Because I have researched this subject in depth over a period of more than thirty-five years, I am especially troubled by Palmer's treatment.

Palmer focuses on Joseph Smith's various accounts of the vision in an attempt to show not only that they are inconsistent but also that in 1838 he rewrote the story in order to meet certain institutional needs. In the process, he says, it was transformed from a "spiritual" or metaphysical experience into one depicting a physical reality. Exactly why this revision would be so essential to Church growth Palmer never satisfactorily

explains, though he theorizes that, as a result of troubling apostasies, Joseph found it necessary to reestablish his authority. Accordingly, Joseph “then told a revised and more impressive version of his epiphany” and announced for the first time that “his initial calling had not come from an angel in 1823, as he had said for over a decade, but from God the Father and Jesus Christ in 1820” (248, 251). This claim is not only pure speculation, it also distorts the various accounts themselves.

There are several contemporaneous accounts of the vision, four of them recorded by Joseph Smith or under his direction. His first effort, the 1832 account, is grammatically unpolished, composed in a style similar to that of the evangelical spirit of the times. The 1835 account was recorded by a scribe as Joseph told his story to a visitor. The 1838 version was prepared under Joseph Smith’s direction and is now published in the *Pearl of Great Price*. The 1842 account is part of a letter written by Joseph Smith to John Wentworth. All these accounts are readily available.²⁵

Palmer says that the revival Joseph Smith describes in his 1838 account did not occur in 1820 but, rather, in 1824 (240–44), thus casting doubt on the accuracy of that account. This discussion is hardly new, for Mormon historians and anti-Mormon writers began debating the issue as early as the late 1960s, after Wesley P. Walters published a challenging article, “New Light on Mormon Origins from Palmyra (NY) Revival,” in 1967.²⁶ Walters claimed that there was no revival in Palmyra in 1820, concluding that if Joseph Smith’s description of what was happening in Palmyra that year cannot be trusted, neither can his description of the First Vision itself.

However, even before Walters produced his article, Milton V. Backman Jr. was at work scouring the religious records of Palmyra and vicinity, including some Walters never consulted. In a subsequent article, Backman observed that in western New York “between 1816 and 1821, revivals were reported in more towns and a greater number of settlers joined churches than in any previous period of New York history.”²⁷ He also demonstrated that in the “great revival” of 1819–20 there were numerous reports of “unusual religious excitement” within such reasonable distance of the Smith home that young Joseph and his family could easily have known of and attended some of them.²⁸

In his effort to demonstrate the evolutionary nature of the First Vision story, Palmer claims that Joseph Smith did not announce that he was “called of God” to restore the ancient gospel until he wrote the 1838 account, and then it was only to add “material that bolstered his authority during a time of crisis” (251). This supposition does not take into account the natural development of Joseph Smith himself as his own understanding of the significance of the vision unfolded. Latter-day Saint scholars have already spent considerable time on this topic. One article was my

own, which appeared in the April 1970 *Improvement Era*. It discussed eight contemporaneous accounts, observing that the differences may be explained by such factors as (1) Joseph Smith's age and experience at the time a particular account was prepared, (2) the different circumstances surrounding each account, including the special purposes Joseph Smith may have had in mind at the time, (3) the possible literary influence of those who helped him write it or who recorded it as he talked, and (4) in the case of secondhand versions, the fact that different points would impress different people, and therefore they would record the story somewhat differently. One would hardly expect to find every account to be precisely alike.²⁹

In a more direct response to the Palmer-type argument that Joseph adapted his First Vision account at will, Richard L. Bushman has explained the differences between the 1832 and 1838 accounts in terms of a broadening of Joseph Smith's own understanding of what the vision really meant. At first Joseph understood his experience in terms of his own needs and background. By 1832 he knew that the 1820 vision was one step in "the rise of the church of Christ in the eve of time" (a quote from the 1832 account).³⁰ Bushman explains:

Even twelve years after the event the First Vision's personal significance for him still overshadowed its place in the divine plan for restoring the church. In 1832 he explained the vision as he must have first understood it in 1820—as a personal conversion. . . .

. . . Three years later in 1835, and again in another account recorded in 1838, experience had enlarged his perspective. The event's vast historical importance came to overshadow its strictly personal significance. He still remembered the anguish of the preceding years when the confusion of the churches puzzled and thwarted him, but in 1838 he saw the vision was more significant as the opening event in a new dispensation of the Gospel. In that light certain aspects took on an importance they did not possess at first.³¹

Palmer plays on the differences between the accounts, but the versions are actually remarkably consistent—much more so than he is willing to admit. All four of Joseph Smith's personal accounts (1832, 1835, 1838, and 1842) rehearse his disillusionment with the religions of the day, though the 1832 account also goes into detail concerning his quest for forgiveness of personal sin. All four accounts refer to his anguished prayer. Three of them (1835, 1838, and 1842) make it clear that trying to find out who was right or wrong was the reason he went into the grove to pray. This purpose is not specific in the 1832 account, but it is at least implied in his comment that the churches of his day were in a state of apostasy and did not build on the gospel of Jesus Christ. All four accounts are consistent in their timing of Joseph's religious concerns. A revival or religious excitement is mentioned

specifically only in the 1838 account, but there are strong suggestions of it in all the others—else why was Joseph's young mind so wrought up on the subject of religion and why, in the 1832 narration, did he write in language so reminiscent of the revivalists?

The major discrepancy between the accounts is that in 1832 Joseph mentioned only the appearance of “the Lord,” who forgave him of his sins, though the reference to “the Lord” is so brief that it does not preclude the possibility that another personage was there. None of the accounts use the words “the Father and the Son,” but three tell of two personages appearing and one of them delivering the important message(s). On page 240, Palmer says that Joseph does not mention the appearance of God the Father in his 1835 account, but this assertion is very misleading. The reference in this account to two personages and the statement that the second was “like unto the first”³² is just as direct a reference to the Father and the Son as the statements in the 1838 and 1842 narratives, neither of which specifically says “the Father.”

The fact that Joseph was forgiven of his sins is stated in both the 1832 and 1835 accounts, and even though it is not stated in the 1838 account, it was duly reported in the first account actually to be published. This version was prepared by Orson Pratt (who obviously received his information from Joseph Smith) and published in Scotland in 1840. Joseph did not repeat that part of the story in 1838, but it was in no way hidden from the Saints. An 1830 revelation, printed first in the Book of Commandments in 1833 and later in the Doctrine and Covenants, stated, “After that it truly was manifested unto this first elder [Joseph Smith], that he had received a remission of his sins, he was entangled again in the vanities of the world; But after truly repenting, God ministered unto him by an holy angel.”³³ Just because Joseph Smith did not say in the 1838 record that he had been forgiven of his sins during the First Vision is no evidence that he changed what he wanted the Saints to understand.

Palmer says that Joseph Smith did not claim that he was “called of God” to restore the gospel until 1838, but the fact is that not even in that account is there a statement specifically to that effect. What Joseph does say is that after the vision he succumbed to various temptations and his actions were “not consistent with that character which ought to be maintained by one who was called of God as I had been.”³⁴ But called of God to do what? The account simply does not say.

Actually, Joseph is more specific about his mission at the beginning of his unpolished 1832 account, where he says that this is a history of his life

and also an account of the rise of the church of Christ in the eve of time according as the Lord brought forth and established by his [Joseph's]

hand <firstly> he receiving the testamony from on high secondly the ministering of Angels thirdly the reception of the holy Priesthood by the ministring of Aangels [*sic*] to adminster the letter of the Gospel—the Law and commandments as they were given unto him—and the ordinances, forthly a confirmation and reception of the high Priesthood after the holy order of the son of the living God power and ordinance from on high to preach the Gospel in the administration and demonstration of the spirit the Kees of the Kingdom of God conferred upon him.³⁵

When this inclusive statement is combined with Joseph's complaint later in the account that mankind had apostatized from the New Testament faith, can there be any question that he was saying as early as 1832 that part of his mission was to restore that faith? One wonders why Palmer could not see this.

Palmer raises questions about why Joseph Smith sought the Lord in the first place. The motive, he says, differed between the 1832 and 1838 accounts, the first saying that it was a quest for forgiveness and the second that it was a desire to know which church was right. Why should it be surprising that Joseph should emphasize one motive at one time and another at a different time, especially when he probably had *both* motives in mind? Palmer also avers that in 1832 Joseph "does not mention concern for doctrinal corruption" (252). What, then, does the following 1832 assertion mean? "And by Searching the Scriptures I found that ~~mank~~ <mankind> did not come unto the Lord but that they had apostatised from the true and liveing faith and there was no society or denomination that built upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ as recorded in the new testament."³⁶ How much more clearly could a concern for "doctrinal corruption" be stated?

In 1835 (not waiting until 1838, as Palmer wrongly insists), Joseph also made his doctrinal concerns abundantly clear when he said, "Being wrought up in my mind, respecting the subject of Religion, and looking at the different systems taught the children of men, I knew not who was right or who was wrong, but considered it of the first importance to me that I should be right, in matters of so much moment, matter involving eternal consequences."³⁷ Though stated in different words, this is the same concern as that expressed in 1838: "My object in going to enquire of the Lord was to know which of all the sects was right."³⁸

It seems to me, however, that all this wordplay is almost insignificant. The differences between the accounts are easily explained, but the important thing is whether the vision of the Father and the Son was a literal reality. This is something that can be neither proved nor disproved by scholarly investigation, but only by the testimony of the Spirit, which, as I noted earlier, Palmer unfortunately believes to be an "unreliable means of proving truth" (133).

It is easy to find all kinds of bitter anti-Mormon literature, both in print and on the Internet. It is also becoming disturbingly easy to find people like Palmer who claim to be faithful Church members but who nevertheless take aim at our foundational stories, hoping that we will see them as inspiring myths but not true history. But believing Latter-day Saint scholars have also been busy and have answered their arguments—sometimes, as in the case of most of Palmer's book, long before they were made. Those who sincerely seek the truth will read not only the naysayers, who obviously look at the evidence through the eyes of disbelief, but also the array of Latter-day Saint scholars who look at it through the eyes of faith and whose works are readily available to those who want to find them.

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1. In a few rare exceptions, Palmer provides footnote citations to the works of believing Latter-day Saint scholars, but only when something those scholars said supports some factual statement.

2. See, for example, "Statement regarding Grant Palmer's book, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins*" on the website of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at <http://smithinstitute.byu.edu/news/announcements.asp>.

3. An important guide to the published historical literature on the Church, including controversial works, is James B. Allen, Ronald W. Walker, and David J. Whittaker, *Studies in Mormon History 1830–1997: An Indexed Bibliography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). This work is constantly being updated and will soon be available over the Internet. See also the websites of *BYU Studies* and *FARMS* for indexes to their publications.

4. James B. Allen, "'Asked and Answered': A Response to Grant H. Palmer," *FARMS Review*, 16 no. 1.

5. Davis Bitton, "The Charge of a Man with a Broken Lance (But Look What He Doesn't Tell Us)," *FARMS Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 257–71.

6. Stephen C. Harper, "Trustworthy History?" *FARMS Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 305, 293.

7. Mark Ashurst-McGee, "A One-Sided View of Mormon Origins," *FARMS Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 312.

8. Louis Midgley, "Prying into Palmer," *FARMS Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 365–410.

9. Stanley B. Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith Appear to be a Nineteenth-Century Hoax," *Ensign* 11 (August 1981): 66–74. See also the short entry "Kinderhook Plates," by Stanley B. Kimball, in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:789.

10. 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), 5:372.

11. William Clayton's journal is in private possession. See Kimball, "Kinderhook Plates Brought to Joseph Smith," 74n3.

12. See, for example, Royal Skousen, "Critical Methodology and the Text of the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994): 121–44; John W. Welch, *Illuminating the Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1999), especially chapters 5 and 8.

13. John Tvedtnes and Matthew Roper, "Joseph Smith's Use of the Apocrypha: Shadow or Reality?" *FARMS Review of Books* 8, no. 2 (1996): 338.

14. In 1996, BYU's Religious Studies Center even republished, in its entirety, the 1825 edition of *View of the Hebrews*. A review of the book and commentary by Andrew Hedges may be found in *FARMS Review of Books* 9, no. 1 (1997): 63–68. The reader may also be interested in looking at John W. Welch, "View of the Hebrews: 'An Unparallel,'" in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1992): 83–87. See also Spencer J. Palmer and William L. Knecht, "View of the Hebrews: Substitute for Inspiration?" *BYU Studies* 5, no. 2 (1964): 105–13.

15. For more details on "The Golden Pot," see the Ashurst-McGee and Midgley reviews in *FARMS Review* 15, no. 2 (2003): 334–40, 369–71, 379–84, 404, 409–10.

16. See, for example, Michael F. Whiting, "DNA and the Book of Mormon: A Phylogenetic Perspective," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 12, no. 1 (2003): 24–35; and John M. Butler, "A Few Thoughts from a Believing DNA Scientist," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 12, no. 1 (2003): 36–37.

17. One extensive discussion of this issue is James E. Smith, "Nephi's Descendants? Historical Demography and the Book of Mormon," *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 1 (1994).

18. See, for example, these works, all by Richard Lloyd Anderson: *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), which includes several of Anderson's previously published articles; "Book of Mormon Witnesses," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:214–16; "Cowdery, Oliver," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 1:335–40; "David Whitmer: Unique Missouri Mormon," in *Missouri Folk Heroes of the 19th Century*, ed. F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1989), 43–59; "Did Oliver Cowdery, One of the Three Special Book of Mormon Witnesses, Express Doubt about His Testimony?" *Ensign* 17 (April 1987): 23–25; "Oliver Cowdery, Esq.: His Non-Mormon Career," *Proceedings of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* 45, pt. 1 (1968): 66–80; "Personal Writings of the Book of Mormon Witnesses," in *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*, ed. Noel B. Reynolds (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1997), 39–60; "The Second Witness of Priesthood Restoration," *Improvement Era* 71 (September 1968): 15–24; "The Smiths Who Handled the Plates," *Improvement Era* 72 (August 1969): 28–32, 34; *Testimonies of the Three Witnesses* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1994).

19. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 155–59.

20. John L. Sorenson and Melvin J. Thorne, eds., *Rediscovering the Book of Mormon: Insights You May Have Missed Before* (Provo, Utah, and Salt Lake City: FARMS and Deseret Book, 1991).

21. Welch, *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*.

22. Reynolds, *Book of Mormon Authorship Revisited*.

23. Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson, and John W. Welch, *Echoes and Evidences of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 2002).

24. Years ago, Richard Lloyd Anderson dealt with Oliver Cowdery and his various accounts of priesthood restoration in his article "The Second Witness of Priesthood Restoration," *Improvement Era* 71 (September 1968): 15–24. See also Brian Q. Cannon and BYU Studies Staff, "Priesthood Restoration Documents," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995–96): 162–207, which publishes seventy primary documents on the subject. Richard L. Bushman has also looked at the complexities of the issue, raised questions about the date of the restoration of the apostleship, and opined in print that it came only after the organization of the Church—certainly a nontraditional view but still one that supports the physical reality of the experience. Larry C. Porter, on the other hand, supports the traditional view. See Richard Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 162–63, 241n; Larry C. Porter, "The Restoration of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods," *Ensign* 26 (December 1996): 30–47.

25. The most convenient source is Milton V. Backman Jr., *Joseph Smith's First Vision: Confirming Evidences and Contemporary Accounts*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980).

26. Wesley P. Walters, "New Light on Mormon Origins From Palmyra (N.Y.) Revival," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society* 10 (Fall 1967): 227–44. Also published as a tract by the Utah Christian Tract Society, La Mesa, Calif. Reprinted in *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Spring 1969): 60–81, in "Roundtable" on "The Question of the Palmyra Revival." See also the critique by Richard Bushman, with the response by Walters, in the same roundtable.

27. Milton V. Backman Jr., "Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 302. Backman's source for this information includes Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-over District* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950), 9–11, as well as a large number of church records from this area.

28. See, for example, the maps in Backman, "Awakenings in the Burned-over District," 312–13.

29. James B. Allen, "Eight Contemporary Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision: What Do We Learn from Them?" *Improvement Era* 73 (April 1970), 6.

30. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 155.

31. Bushman, *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*, 56–57.

32. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 159.

33. *A Book of Commandments for the Governance of the Church of Christ* (Zion [Independence, Mo.]: W. W. Phelps, 1833), 24:6–7; Doctrine & Covenants 20:5–6.

34. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 167.

35. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 155.

36. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 156.

37. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 158.

38. Backman, *Joseph Smith's First Vision*, 163.

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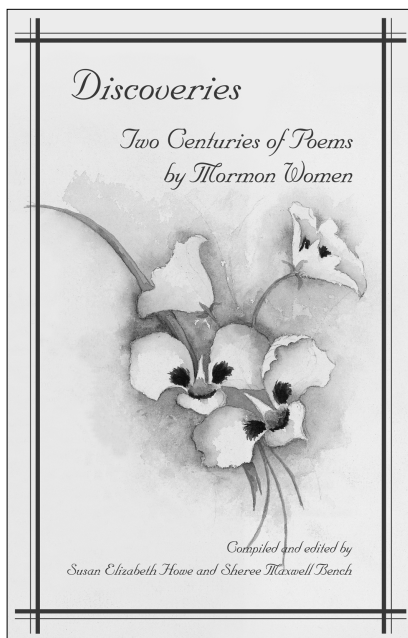
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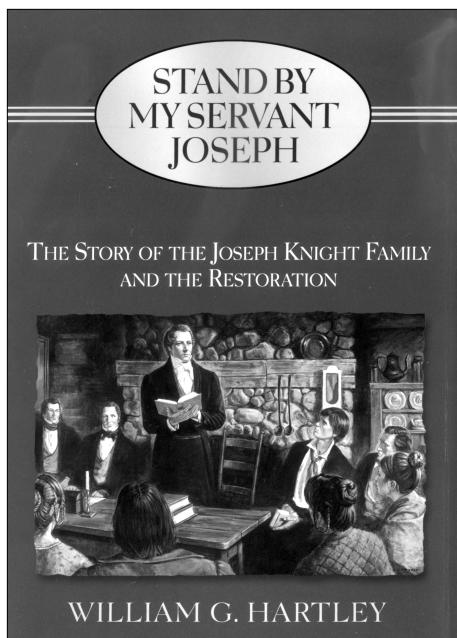
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