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## ARTICLES

“The Great World of the Spirits of the Dead”:  
Death, the Great War, and the 1918 Influenza Pandemic as  
Context for Doctrine and Covenants 138 4  
George S. Tate

On the Trail of the Twentieth-Century Mormon Outmigration 41  
G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashby Johnson

Generous Poetry: A Conversation with Dixie L. Partridge 109  
Casualene Meyer

Pandemonium: A Review Essay of Douglas J. Robinson,  
*Who Translates? Translator Subjectivities beyond Reason* 123  
Daryl R. Hague

## DOCUMENTS

“I Long to Breathe the Mountain Air of Zion’s Peaceful Home”:  
Agnes O’Neal’s Letter to Brigham Young  
from War-Torn Virginia 84  
Fred E. Woods

“It Seems That All Nature Mourns”: Sally Randall’s Response  
to the Murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith 95  
Jordan Watkins and Steven C. Harper

## ESSAYS

“God Works in Mysterious Ways” 101  
Roger Terry

From This Ground: Where a Continent Divides 119  
Dixie L. Partridge

## POETRY

Watermark: The Reservoir 108

Dixie L. Partridge

Pool of Aspen 117

Dixie L. Partridge

Luggage: For One Leaving 118

Dixie L. Partridge

## REVIEWS

*The Bible in English: Its History and Influence*

by David Daniell

Richard Y. Duerden 143

*Whose Bible Is It? A History of the Scriptures through the Ages*

by Jaroslav Pelikan

Gary P. Gillum 148

*The Jesus Family Tomb: The Discovery, the Investigation,  
and the Evidence That Could Change History*

by Simcha Jacobovici and Charles Pellegrino

Kent P. Jackson 151

*The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*

by Norman Russell

Jordan Vajda 161

*Pedestals and Podiums:*

*Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights*

by Martha Sonntag Bradley

Andrea G. Radke-Moss 165

*Contemporary Mormonism: Latter-day Saints in Modern America*

by Claudia L. Bushman

Armand L. Mauss 169

## BOOK NOTICES 174

## COVER IMAGE

The Artwork of Ron Richmond: *Catharsis no. 27* and *Triplus* 176

Josh E. Probert



**FIG. 1.** The Great War (1914–1918) was one of the deadliest wars in history. The destruction and mounting casualties caused millions to mourn the loss of loved ones. Joseph F. Smith received a singular vision during this time. Chateau Wood, Ypres, 1917, photograph by Frank Hurley.

# “The Great World of the Spirits of the Dead”

## Death, the Great War, and the 1918 Influenza Pandemic as Context for Doctrine and Covenants 138

*George S. Tate*

**A**t the dedication of BYU’s new Joseph F. Smith Building on September 20, 2005, President Gordon B. Hinckley said of President Joseph F. Smith, “It is my opinion that no man, save the Prophet Joseph only, has had a greater and better understanding of the origin and history of the Church and of its doctrines—not only concerning this life but also concerning the eternities.” Of the “Vision of the Redemption of the Dead,” which comprises Doctrine and Covenants 138, he said, “It is a document without parallel. . . . There is nothing quite like it in all of our sacred literature.” And in the dedicatory prayer he said of President Smith, “His mind . . . reached into the depths of the things of eternity, the great spiritual architecture of Thy divine and eternal plan.”<sup>1</sup>

This article is an effort to understand more fully the context of D&C 138—our only passage of canonized scripture from the twentieth century. The discussion is necessarily somewhat provisional. We do not know, as we do for the Word of Wisdom, for example, the immediate circumstances that led to this revelation. But it is illuminating to consider it in terms of biographical detail and contemporary events (fig. 1). It is worth asking—even if a complete answer remains elusive—why this revelation was given just when it was.

First, a word about “context.” As used here, the term is meant to suggest the attendant environment—events, conditions, widespread concerns and sentiments that bear upon the passage at hand. The term does not

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1. Gordon B. Hinckley, “Remarks at the Dedication of the Joseph F. Smith Building at Brigham Young University,” September 20, 2005, 3, 4, 5, pdf available at <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=1497>.

## George S. Tate

How did I, a medievalist, come to be so haunted by the Great War? As a young man I was drawn to the work of soldier-poet Wilfred Owen, his musical ear and tonal innovations, and the underlying compassion of his poetry. In my civilization courses, I would touch upon the war as a backdrop to Eliot's *The Waste Land* and other modernist texts. But about a decade ago, two works especially started me on a journey I had not anticipated: Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* and Vera Brittain's



*Testament of Youth*. I began seriously to study the Great War, to visit battlefields and memorials while in Europe, to hunt up homes and graves of poets and other figures I had come to admire. In the late 1990s, I developed a course on the subject for London Study Abroad. That seminar has brought me greater satisfaction than any other course I've taught. The materials have an unmatched immediacy and poignancy, and visits to battlefields and memorials in France have overwhelmed my students and me with loss and reverence.

While in the midst of my preparation, I happened to read again D&C 138, and I was struck by its date: October 3, 1918. I reread it in the context of the war, the flu pandemic, and then Joseph F. Smith's own abundant experience with grief. I had long admired Joseph F. Smith: My priesthood line of authority comes through him; he ordained my great-grandfather, George F. Richards, an Apostle in 1906. From my father I have a first edition of *Gospel Doctrine* (1919). While a graduate student I came across a volume of Orson F. Whitney's poetry, handsomely bound in green leather and hand inscribed as a gift from President Smith to Cornell University Library. It pleases me to see his name commemorated in BYU's new Joseph F. Smith Building, with its architectural evocation of light and learning. I remember my excitement when the Vision of the Redemption of the Dead was added to the canon in the 1970s, and as I continue to see how it resonates within its various interrelated contexts, my gratitude for its timeliness and timelessness has grown.

necessarily imply causality. Indeed, as historian of ideas Quentin Skinner reminds us, it is problematic when “‘context’ mistakenly gets treated as the determinant of what it said” rather than as a framework.<sup>2</sup> This article considers several events and conditions, large and small—some that precede the vision, some that are concurrent with it, and some that follow it. Some conditions, such as Joseph F. Smith’s own grief, may have influenced him to meditate on the realm of the dead; others, such as the flu pandemic, which reached its height shortly after the vision, are unlikely to have directly caused his meditation. The prophet was aware of most of these contexts—some acutely so; of others (especially of subsidiary matters which I discuss, like Prince Max’s telegram or C. S. Lewis’s musing on 1 Peter) he was not. We should, however, consider not only *to whom* but *by whom* the revelation was given.<sup>3</sup> And while it would be presumptuous to make assertions about the workings of God’s mind or will—except to acknowledge that he sees all that was, is, and will be, and that he loves his children—we can at least recognize and be grateful for the timeliness of the vision in addressing profound, worldwide needs. For when this vision is read against the backdrop of the contexts discussed here—and perhaps others not dealt with—it resonates in ways it may not otherwise.

The vision that became D&C 138 was received on October 3, 1918, the day before the Church’s general conference. President Smith (fig. 2) had been in poor health for

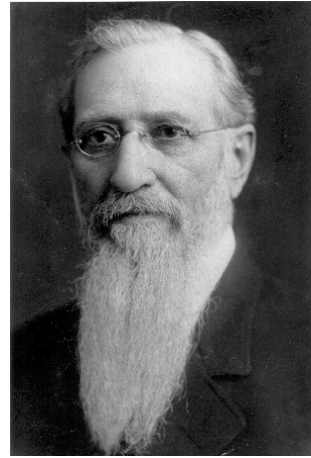


FIG. 2. Joseph F. Smith. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

2. Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 64; see also 58: “If it is true that the relations between the context of any given statement . . . and the statement itself do take the form . . . of a relation between antecedent causal conditions and their results, then it is clear that the independent life of ideas in history must be correspondingly in danger.”

3. Even while responding to the whisperings of the Spirit, a prophet’s understanding, as Mormon recognizes, is necessarily limited in relation to the Lord’s: “And I do this for a wise purpose; for thus it whispereth me, according to the workings of the Spirit of the Lord which is in me. And now, I do not know all things; but the Lord knoweth all things which are to come; wherefore, he worketh in me to do according to his will” (W of M 1:7).

some time, and it came as “a complete surprise to the large congregation” when he entered the Salt Lake Tabernacle for the first session.<sup>4</sup> In his weakened condition he spoke only briefly. The front page of the *Deseret Evening News* for October 4 summarizes his comments. He referred to his illness and said: “I have not lived alone these five months. I have dwelt in the spirit of prayer, of supplication, of faith and of determination; and I have had my communications with the Spirit of the Lord continuously.”<sup>5</sup>

The prophet shared the vision of October 3 with his son Joseph Fielding, who took it in dictation immediately following the close of conference.<sup>6</sup> As the headnote to section 138 indicates, the text was presented on October 31 to President Smith’s counselors, to the Quorum of the Twelve, and to the Patriarch of the Church and unanimously accepted by them. President Smith died on November 19, and the text was first published in the *Deseret Evening News* on November 30 under the title “Vision of the Redemption of the Dead” (fig. 3). It appeared thereafter in the December 1918 issue of *The Improvement Era*.<sup>7</sup> Though it was accepted as authoritative

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4. “I Have Dwelt in the Spirit of Prayer,” *Improvement Era* 22 (November 1918): 80. Both James E. Talmage and Emmeline B. Wells noted this surprise in their journals. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and R. Q. Shupe, *Joseph F. Smith: Portrait of a Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 225.

5. Joseph F. Smith, *89th Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1918), 2; Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), 466. Despite his ill health, President Smith did, in fact, continue to attend the conference, coming briefly to the pulpit four times: on the first day to endorse a talk by President Penrose (Charles W. Penrose, *89th Semi-Annual Conference*, 21); on the second to renounce as spurious the report of a revelation he was supposed to have received in French some years earlier (adding, interestingly for what was to follow, “When the Lord reveals something to me, I will consider the matter with my brethren, and when it becomes proper, I will let it be known to the people, and not otherwise,” Joseph F. Smith, *89th Semi-Annual Conference*, 57); on the third to ask for a vote on the purchase of liberty bonds with Church funds (Joseph F. Smith, *89th Semi-Annual Conference*, 79); and finally to express regret that the conference needed to be adjourned (Joseph F. Smith, *89th Semi-Annual Conference*, 139).

6. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 466.

7. “Vision of the Redemption of the Dead,” *Deseret Evening News*, November 30, 1918, section 4, 6; Joseph F. Smith, “Vision of the Redemption of the Dead,” *Improvement Era* 22 (December 1918): 166–70. The vision was also printed in the January 1919 editions of the *Relief Society Magazine*, *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, *Young Women’s Journal*, and *Millennial Star*. In the intervening years before it was canonized in 1976, the vision was perhaps most accessible in Joseph F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1919), 472–76. On the publication







FIG. 4. Left to right: Hyrum Mack Smith, his son Joseph, and Joseph F. Smith. Hyrum died the same year his father received the Vision of the Redemption of the Dead. Courtesy LDS Church Archives. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

and occasionally cited, the vision did not make its way into the scriptural canon until 1976, when it was added (along with the present D&C section 137) as a supplement to the Pearl of Great Price. Three years later, on June 6, 1979, the First Presidency announced that it would become section 138 of the Doctrine and Covenants; it first appeared as we have it in the 1981 edition.

### Biographical Context

Let us first consider a biographical context for section 138. Early in 1918, Joseph F. Smith suffered a staggering blow. His eldest son Hyrum Mack (fig. 4), an Apostle then forty-five years old, died on January 23 of complications from a ruptured appendix. President Smith wrote in his journal: “My soul is rent asunder. My heart is broken, and flutters for life! O

my sweet son, my joy, my hope! . . . O God, help me!”<sup>8</sup> After his sons Joseph Fielding and David Asael took him to view Hyrum’s body, President Smith confided again in his journal:

At the noon hour David and Joseph took me to Hyrum’s where I once more kissed the lips of my boy—whose lips I have never failed to kiss since his birth whenever we have met, or parted until now—they did not, for the first time in all his life, kiss me back again! O how bitter is this

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history, see Robert L. Millet, “The Vision of the Redemption of the Dead,” in *Hearken, O Ye People: Discourses on the Doctrine and Covenants*, Twelfth Sperry Symposium (Sandy, Utah: Randall Books, 1984), 259, 263–64. It was Elder Bruce R. McConkie who divided the text into verses and wrote the headnote.

8. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 474 (only a portion of the lament is quoted here); this passage is also quoted in the Priesthood and Relief Society manual *Teachings of Presidents of the Church: Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1998), 407.

unwelcome fate! I am actually thankful that I can find some relief from my overwhelming burden of grief in tears.<sup>9</sup>

The death of his firstborn son, in whom he took such pride and placed such hope, was devastating to the prophet. Suffering from ill health since 1916, President Smith declined markedly in the months following Hyrum's death.

As heartbreaking as his son's death was, it is only part of the long legacy of death in Joseph F. Smith's experience. He was just five when his father, the Patriarch Hyrum, was slain with the Prophet Joseph Smith at Carthage Jail. His mother died when he was thirteen. In 1915 his wife Sarah Richards died, followed later that year by his twenty-five-year-old daughter Zina Greenwell, who left behind a three-year-old child. By 1918, only one of his four adult sisters survived; his brother John had died in 1911.<sup>10</sup> Of his forty-four children from five wives, thirteen had died, many in their childhood.<sup>11</sup> Joseph F.'s expressions of grief over the death of each child in his journal and letters are heartbreaking from first to last. When his first child, Mercy Josephine, died before her third birthday, he wrote:

My heart is bruised and wrenched almost asunder. I am desolate, my home seems desolate. . . . I look in vain, I listen, no sound, I wander through the rooms, all are vacant, lonely, desolate, deserted. . . . No

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9. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 476.

10. Though he referred to all of his siblings as brother or sister, only Martha Ann (Harris), daughter of Mary Fielding Smith, was Joseph F.'s full sister. By his first wife, Jerusha Barden, Hyrum Smith had six children, two of whom, Mary and Hyrum, died in childhood; Joseph F.'s half-siblings who lived to maturity were Lovina (Walker), John, Jerusha (Pierce), and Sarah (Griffin). Of all these only Martha Ann Harris was still alive in 1918.

11. In a temple fast meeting in February 1918, a few weeks after his son's death, President Smith said:

I ought certainly to have charity for others who suffer and who are tried; for I lost my father when I was but a child; I lost my mother, the sweetest soul that ever lived, when I was only a boy; I have buried one of the loveliest wives that ever blessed the lot of man, and I have buried thirteen of my more than forty children that the Lord gave me. And it has seemed to me that the most promising, the most hopeful, and, if possible, the sweetest and purest and the best have been the earliest called to rest. Surely I have been touched and humbled with all these things and others—the death of my kindred, brothers and sisters, the passing away of men that I loved with all my soul, . . . whom I learned to love as I loved my father. (“Status of Children in the Resurrection” in *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, comp. James R. Clark, 6 vols. [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965–75], 5:92 [February 1918])

beaming little black eyes sparkling with love for papa; . . . but a vacant little chair . . . and only the one desolate thought forcing its crushing leaden weight upon my heart—**she is not here, she is gone!**<sup>12</sup>

Joseph F. Smith composed commemorative poems for his deceased children and grieved deeply over their loss. His memory of each remained vivid and affectionate. He continued to mark important anniversaries long after their deaths, noting in 1916, for example, that forty-nine years had passed since Mercy's birth.<sup>13</sup> Finally, just days before the vision of October 3, Hyrum Mack's widow, Ida Bowman Smith, died of heart failure on September 24, six days after giving birth to a son, whom she had named after his deceased father.<sup>14</sup>

In the abundant literature of mourning, there are few expressions more poignant than those of Joseph F. Smith. Death had surrounded him throughout his life, and the longings these deaths awakened could not be fully soothed in mortality.

The death of his daughter-in-law just before conference could not but renew his grief for his son. The prophet, asking himself what purpose the death of the young Apostle might serve, must have found consolation in the words of the vision that now comprise verse 57: "I beheld that the faithful elders of this dispensation, when they depart from mortal life, continue their labors in the preaching of the gospel of repentance . . . in the great world of the spirits of the dead." It must also have brought him comfort to see among the noble and great ones his father Hyrum (D&C 138:53), after whom he had named his son and after whom in turn his new orphaned grandson was also named. (Some four months earlier, on June 27, 1918, the anniversary of the Martyrdom, President Smith, surrounded by his family, had dedicated a monument to the Patriarch Hyrum Smith in the Salt Lake Cemetery.) On a personal level, the spirit of Elijah, referred to in verse 47, by which the hearts of fathers are bound to children and those of children to fathers, is thus immediate and direct in President Smith's life.

## The Great War

The second, multifaceted context dominates most of the front page of the *Deseret Evening News* from October 4, 1918 (fig. 5). It is the Great War

12. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 455–56, emphasis in original.

13. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 455.

14. "Beloved Woman Hears Call of Death," *Deseret Evening News*, September 25, 1918, 5. Referring to the "great blow" the death of her husband had been to her, the article continues: "With the advent of her little son, named for his father Hyrum Mack, her friends hoped that the keenness of her grief might be assuaged."



# AUSTRIANS PUT TO ROUT IN ALBANIA

## AMERICANS CAPTURE BLANC MONT IN NEW ATT ACK

### PREST. JOSEPH F. SMITH GREET'S THOUSANDS AT SEMI-ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Presidents Smith, Lund and Penrose Speak--Report of Past Six Months--Impressive Warning Given on the Subject of Plural Marriage.

The eighteenth annual conference of the Church of Latter-day Saints opened at Salt Lake City on Monday morning at 10 o'clock. The gathering was the largest ever held in the city, and the program was one of the most impressive in the history of the church.

The first address was made by President Joseph F. Smith, who presided over the conference. He spoke for nearly an hour, and his address was one of the most impressive in the history of the church.

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### SPANISH INFLUENZA STILL SPREADS OVER LAND.

Surgeon Gen. Blue says Only Way to Stop It Is to Close Churches, Schools, Theaters and Lido.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—The only way to stop the spread of Spanish influenza is to close churches, schools, theaters and lido, Surgeon General Blue says today.

There is no way to stop a sudden epidemic, says Surgeon General Blue, but the only way to prevent a second epidemic is to close churches, schools, theaters and lido.

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### GERMANS IN RETREAT BEYOND LENS

British Drive Through Opp. and Maricourt--Counter-attack Busted Off.

LONDON, Oct. 4.—British troops are driving the Germans back beyond Lens, and the British drive through Opp and Maricourt is being counter-attacked.

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### Censor Named by United States To Go Abroad

Prince Maximilian of Baden Appointed German Chancellor

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### AMERICANS BOMB GERMAN ARMY BASES.

Thirty-Seven and Half Tons Of Explosives Dropped on Fourteen Towns Behind Hun Lines.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—American bombers have dropped thirty-seven and half tons of explosives on fourteen towns behind the German lines.

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### CAVALRY IN PURSUIT OF FLEEING FOE

Italian Open Offensive Following Destruction of Naval Base--Bent in Caporal in Rush.

LONDON, Oct. 4.—Italian cavalry is in pursuit of the fleeing German forces following the destruction of the naval base at Caporal.

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FIG. 5. Deseret Evening News, October 4, 1918, the day after Joseph F. Smith received his vision. World War I and the influenza pandemic occupy the paper's headlines; the two scourges together made 1918 one of the most fatal years in history. Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

(or World War I).<sup>15</sup> From the page's various headlines one might form the impression that the Germans and Austrians were retreating as fast as they could. The Macedonian front had indeed collapsed, but resistance elsewhere was fierce and desperate, and some costly battles lay just ahead. The great American battle, the Meuse-Argonne offensive, was just beginning, and what came to be known as the Lost Battalion was right in the midst of its devastating week-long ordeal. Still, we are just thirty-eight days from the end of the war.<sup>16</sup>

From its inception in late summer 1914, President Smith had watched the war from afar with concern and sadness. At the outset he had personal cause to be anxious as well: his son Hyrum Mack—the same who died in 1918—was serving as the European Mission president at the time and, while traveling in Germany when the war broke out, was arrested briefly on suspicion of spying for the British.<sup>17</sup> In a Christmas message that December, the First Presidency wrote:

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15. The relationship of D&C 138 to the Great War has been discussed in Richard E. Bennett, "And I Saw the Hosts of the Dead, Both Small and Great": Joseph F. Smith, World War I, and His Visions of the Dead," *Religious Educator* 2, no. 1 (2001): 104–25. I learned of Bennett's study only after having twice taught D&C 138 in seminars on the Great War and modernism. While our topics share much in common, our approaches differ. Bennett reviews Joseph F. Smith's statements on the war and provides a helpful survey of reflections on the meaning of the war at its end from religious leaders of many faiths: Anglican, Catholic, American Protestant, and Jewish; he also considers President Smith's earlier discourses on death and the spirit world during the war years (April 1916, February and April 1918). A related study is his "'How Long, Oh Lord, How Long?' James E. Talmage and the Great War," *Religious Educator* 3, no. 1 (2002): 86–101.

16. A good general history of the war is John Keegan, *The First World War* (New York: Knopf, 1999). On the American involvement, see David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and John S. D. Eisenhower, *Yanks: The Epic Story of the American Army in World War I* (New York: Free Press, 2001).

17. Hyrum Mack Smith served as president of the European Mission, headquartered in Liverpool, from 1913 to 1916. At the time the war broke out in late July 1914, he was traveling in Germany with Hyrum W. Valentine, president of the Swiss-German Mission (Basel). Suspected of spying for the British, they were arrested briefly and were only able to return to Switzerland on August 9, and Elder Smith not to Liverpool until August 21. Hyrum Mack Smith to the First Presidency, in *Deseret Evening News*, September 8, 1914, 1 and 3, describing the outbreak of war, his difficulty getting out of Germany and back to England, and what was being done for the missionaries' safety; compare Jeffrey L. Anderson, "Mormons and Germany, 1914–1933: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Germany and Its Relationship with the German Governments from World War I to the Rise of Hitler" (master's thesis, Brigham Young

While rejoicing over the birth of the Incomparable One, the light of our gladness is overshadowed with the warclouds that have darkened the skies of Europe, and our songs and salutations of joy and good will are rendered sadly discordant by the thunders of artillery and the groans of the wounded and dying, echoing from afar, but harrowing to our souls as the awful tidings come sounding o'er the sea.<sup>18</sup>

Abandoning its earlier hope of avoiding the conflict “over there,” the United States declared war on April 6, 1917, during general conference as it happened, but it would be almost a year before American troops saw action in France. Several of President Smith’s sons were drawn into service; one of them, Calvin S., was wounded at the Front.<sup>19</sup>

What many thought would be a short war, “over by Christmas,” soon settled into a long slaughter, facilitated by new technology: the improved machine gun, long-range high-explosive artillery, airplanes, tanks, submarines, and mustard gas. The loss of life was unparalleled. At Verdun, for example, an offensive consciously undertaken as a “battle of attrition” to bleed the French army dry, there would be over one million casualties between February and December 1916. The ossuary at Douaumont, which overlooks a vast cemetery, contains the bones of one hundred thirty thousand unidentified soldiers. To take pressure off Verdun, the French appealed to the British to launch an offensive on the Somme. By the time that battle ended in November 1916, the Somme, too, claimed over one million casualties.

The war laid the land waste. Wilfred Owen describes it as “Gray, cratered like the moon with hollow woe, / And pitted with great pocks and scabs of plagues.”<sup>20</sup> When the rains came, as they so often did, the land,

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University, 1991), 42–43; and Jeffrey L. Anderson, “Brothers across Enemy Lines: A Mission President and a German Soldier Correspond during World War I,” *BYU Studies* 41, no. 1 (2002): 130. A further letter from Hyrum Mack Smith to the First Presidency describing the situation on the Continent was printed in the *Deseret Evening News*, September 23, 1914, 4. Hyrum Mack’s wife Ida Bowman Smith rallied the Relief Society in Britain (“Remember the Soldiers,” *Millennial Star* 76 [October 8, 1914]: 654; compare October 1, 637–38) and offered its services for Red Cross work, with the result that “hundreds of thousands of articles were made under her supervision” (“Beloved Woman Hears Call of Death,” *Deseret Evening News*, September 25, 1918, 5).

18. “A Christmas Greeting from the First Presidency,” in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 4:319 (December 19, 1914); compare *Teachings of the Presidents*, 399. Further comments on the war by President Smith are discussed in Bennett, “And I Saw the Hosts of the Dead,” 107–11.

19. Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 419.

20. Wilfred Owen, “The Show,” lines 4–5, in *The Collected Poems of Wilfred Owen*, ed. C. Day Lewis (New York: New Directions, 1964), 50.

churned up by artillery, was transformed into what Mary Borden called “The vast liquid grave of our armies.”<sup>21</sup> Thousands simply sank to oblivion. Tolkien’s horrible Dead Marshes in *The Two Towers*, in which Sam, falling, sees “dead things, dead faces in the water,” come directly from his experience at the Front.<sup>22</sup>

In many places the devastation can still be seen on the landscape: craters from mines (the one at La Boisselle is three hundred feet wide and ninety feet deep), a land pocked by artillery, abandoned trenches. Not even the grass Carl Sandberg writes of can hide the destruction<sup>23</sup> (fig 6).

Like the valley of bones Ezekiel saw (to which D&C 138:43 refers), the land is a boneyard still. Often farmers turn up bones of the dead as they plow. In 2001 a shallow grave containing twenty British soldiers, their arms linked together, was uncovered near Arras.<sup>24</sup> Munitions from the war continue to kill: in 1991, for example, thirty-six people died and another fifty-one were injured from happening upon hitherto unexploded shells.<sup>25</sup>

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21. Mary Borden, “The Song of the Mud,” line 34, in *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I*, ed. Margaret R. Higdonnet (New York: Plume, 1999), 507.

22. Barton Friedman cites analogs to Sam’s seeing “dead things, dead faces in the water” (J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Two Towers*, [New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988], 235) from Siegfried Sassoon, Max Plowman, and John Masfield in “Tolkien and David Jones: The Great War and the War of the Ring,” *CLIO* 11, no. 2 (1982): 115–16. More generally, see John Garth, *Tolkien and the Great War: The Threshold of Middle-earth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2003). In a rare indication of influence, Tolkien did acknowledge that “the Dead Marshes and the approaches to the Morannon owe something to Northern France after the Battle of the Somme.” *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. Humphrey Carpenter with Christopher Tolkien (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 303.

23. Carl Sandberg, “Grass,” in *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, 2d rev. ed., ed. Jon Silkin (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1996), 235.

Pile the bodies high at Austerlitz and Waterloo.

Shovel them under and let me work—

I am the grass; I cover all.

And pile them high at Gettysburg

And pile them high at Ypres and Verdun.

Shovel them under and let me work.

Two years, ten years, and passengers ask the conductor:

What place is this?

Where are we now?

I am the grass.

Let me work.

24. Andrew Loudon, “Rest in Peace, Chums,” *Daily Mirror*, March 22, 2002, 21.

25. Donovan Webster, *Aftermath: The Remnants of War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 19. Since France’s Département du Déminage (munitions disposal





FIG. 6. Preserved battlefield and trenches from the Battle of the Somme in the Newfoundland Memorial Park, Beaumont-Hamel, Northern France. Courtesy George S. Tate.

The pervasiveness and ubiquity of death were overwhelming. Isaac Rosenberg describes the Front as “Dead Man’s Dump,” with “wheels lurch[ing] over the sprawled dead.”<sup>26</sup> Wilfred Owen writes to his mother of “the distortion of the dead” and of their “unburiable bodies.”<sup>27</sup> No Man’s Land, the space between the opposing trenches, was dotted with

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unit) was established in 1946, more than 630 bomb disposal experts have been killed while trying to clear the land of explosives from World Wars I and II. The largest single item is unexploded artillery shells from World War I, which comprise eighty percent of the ordnance encountered. Webster, *Aftermath*, 19, 35.

26. Isaac Rosenberg, “Dead Man’s Dump,” line 7, in Silkin, *Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, 221.

27. “I suppose I can endure cold, and fatigue, and the face-to-face death, as well as another; but extra for me there is the universal pervasion of Ugliness. Hideous landscapes . . . everything unnatural, broken, blasted; the distortion of the dead, whose unburiable bodies sit outside the dug-outs all day, all night, the most execrable sights on earth. In poetry we call them the most glorious. But to sit with them all day, all night . . . [Owen’s ellipsis] and a week later to come back and find them still sitting there, in motionless groups, THAT is what saps the ‘soldierly spirit.’” Wilfred Owen to Susan Owen, February 4, 1917, letter 482 in

unrecoverable corpses, some perpetually suspended in the barbed wire. As the war went on, one could hardly dig anywhere without uncovering decay. As a defense mechanism, some became numb to death, or assumed a kind of bravado, joking about body parts projecting from trench walls or a corpse's macabre grin, but most could not, however much they may have wished to.<sup>28</sup> It is no wonder that Charles Sorley begins a sonnet: "When you see millions of the mouthless dead / Across your dreams in pale battalions go."<sup>29</sup> Such dreams often haunted the soldiers, even in daylight. In London on leave, for example, Siegfried Sassoon thought he saw corpses on Piccadilly.<sup>30</sup>

Seeing what lay about them, and imagining their own fate, poets (imitating A. E. Housman and Thomas Hardy) sometimes adopted the perspective of the dead, speaking from graves. Perhaps the most famous example is John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields," the second stanza of which reads:

We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.<sup>31</sup>

It is the perspective T. S. Eliot later adopts at the beginning of *The Waste Land* (1922), for it is only from under ground that the speaker can say paradoxically "Winter kept us warm, covering / Earth in forgetful snow."<sup>32</sup>

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*Wilfred Owen: Collected Letters*, ed. Harold Owen and John Bell (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 431–32.

28. On the psychological impact of trench warfare, see Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1979); see also Denis Winter, *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1979), chapters 8, 11, and 12 especially.

29. Charles Hamilton Sorley, "When You See Millions of the Mouthless Dead," in Silkin, *Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, 89.

30. Robert Graves, *Good-bye to All That*, 2d rev. ed. (New York: Anchor, 1957), 256.

31. John McCrae, "In Flanders Fields," in Silkin, *Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, 85. Housman uses the perspective of the grave in "Is My Team Plowing" (*A Shropshire Lad*, poem 27), Hardy in "Channel Firing" and "Ah, Are You Digging on My Grave?"

32. T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, lines 5–6, in T. S. Eliot, *The Complete Poems and Plays 1909–1950* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1952), 37; see Michael H. Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 172: "The eye here sees from the point of view of someone (or some thing) that is buried. . . . The opening of *The Waste Land* looks at spring from the point of view of a corpse."

In the end, seventy million men took up arms. There were over thirty million military casualties, including over nine million dead. Nine million! Such numbers roll easily off the tongue, and we can become inured to them in the way Kubrick parodies in the 1964 film *Dr. Strangelove*: “Ten, twenty million tops, depending on the breaks.” On only the first day of the battle of the Somme, on a fourteen-mile segment of the overall five hundred-mile Western Front, the British suffered nearly sixty thousand casualties on a single day: July 1, 1916.<sup>33</sup> That is more than one casualty for every second of daylight. It remains the deadliest day in British military history.<sup>34</sup>

The Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme (fig. 7) bears, inscribed on its sixteen great piers, the names of 73,412 British soldiers who died in the battle of the Somme and have no known graves. Its counterpart in Flanders is the Menin Gate at Ypres. On its inner walls, recesses, and outer porticos are inscribed the names of 54,896 British soldiers of the Ypres salient whose graves are unknown. Every evening at eight, buglers still play the Last Post in honor of the dead. But the memorial turned out to be too small, and another 34,984 names of the missing from the same salient are inscribed on the semicircular wall and alcoves of Tyne Cot Cemetery near Passchendaele. On the night the Menin Gate was dedicated, Australian war artist Will Longstaff had a reverie in which he imagined the fallen soldiers of the Ypres salient rising from the ground and passing into eternity—a reverie he then painted.

Such memorials are related to a theme of the period—that of absence. Thucydides describes the Greek practice of carrying “one empty bier decked for the missing, that is, for those whose bodies could not be recovered” (2.34). With respect to the Great War, this idea manifests itself in various ways: for example in sculpted representations of soldiers carrying an empty bier, at times accompanied by a quotation from chapter 44 of

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33. In order to give my students a sense of the British losses on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, I once took them over to the Lavell Edwards Stadium at BYU and read them an eyewitness account of the attack. As we looked at row upon row of the stadium, the sixty thousand-plus empty seats stared back at us. It takes some time just to walk by and count off one thousand; the prospect of going further was daunting.

34. That same day, an LDS soldier was killed on the German side of the line at Mametz at the southern end of the Somme sector. Wilhelm Kessler, who had been serving in the Swiss-German Mission as editor of *Der Stern* when war broke out, had enlisted in the German army and, previously twice wounded, had received the Iron Cross. His mission president, Hyrum W. Valentine, spoke of his death at April general conference 1917, referring to him as “a faithful Latter-day Saint, a soldier of the Cross though enlisted for the time being with his country’s army.” Anderson, “Brothers across Enemy Lines,” 128, 130–31.



FIG. 7. Piers with inscribed names and the altar-like Great War Stone, Thiepval Memorial to the Missing of the Somme, Northern France. Courtesy George S. Tate.

Ecclesiasticus (or Sirach): “And some there be, which have no memorial; who are perished, as though they had never been” (verse 9);<sup>35</sup> or again in the most important British memorial of all: the Cenotaph, or empty tomb, in Whitehall, which has been the focal point of mourning and remembrance since it was first erected. Here the dead are honored by silence, itself an absence. When the Unknown Warrior was brought with great ceremony to be buried in Westminster Abbey in November 1920, over one million mourners flooded past the Cenotaph and the warrior’s tomb (fig. 8).

Virginia Woolf also evokes the war and its devastation through absence: the empty room at the end of *Jacob’s Room*, where we learn through his absence that Jacob Flanders has died in the war; the bracketed

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35. It is from later in the same chapter (verse 14) that Rudyard Kipling, at the invitation of architect Sir Edwin Lutyens, chose the phrase inscribed on the altar-like Great War Stone at each of the larger British military cemeteries and at memorials like Thiepval: “Their Name Liveth for Evermore.” Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (New York: Atheneum, 1991), 271. Kipling, whose only son, John, was among the missing at Loos in September 1915 and who searched in vain for his son’s grave, became a strong advocate of memorials to the missing. *75 Years of the Menin Gate & 25,000th Last Post: English Guide to the Temporary Exhibition* (Ypres: In Flanders Fields Museum, 2001), 4.

reference to Andrew Ramsey's death from shell fire, narrated in an empty house in the middle "Time Passes" section of *To the Lighthouse*.<sup>36</sup>

Death itself was an absence. (Remember the "vacant little chair" in Joseph F. Smith's lament for his daughter.) For the bereaved whose kinsmen were among the missing or had distant graves in foreign fields, even the rituals of closure that revolve around a body were not available.<sup>37</sup> And the sheer, overwhelming quantity of death awakened individual and communal grief on an unprecedented scale.<sup>38</sup> With loss came questions: What is the fate of the dead? Do they continue to exist? Is there life after death? Will I see my loved ones again? The world was dense with loss and, as soldier journalist Stephen Graham wrote upon revisiting the battlefields in 1920, "There is a pull from the other world, a drag on the heart and spirit."<sup>39</sup>

One form the quest for consolation and answers took was spiritualism, the people involved often believing themselves to be responding to efforts of their dead to contact and to comfort them. As Sir Arthur Conan Doyle wrote:

In the presence of an agonized world, hearing every day of the deaths of the flower of our race in the first promise of their unfulfilled youth, seeing around one the wives and mothers who had no clear conception whither their loved ones had gone to, I seemed suddenly to see . . . that it was really something tremendous, a breaking down of the walls between two worlds, a direct undeniable message from beyond, a call of hope and of guidance to the human race at the time of its deepest affliction.<sup>40</sup>

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36. See Allyson Booth, *Postcards from the Trenches: Negotiating the Space between Modernism and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3, 44–49; and Allyson Booth, "The Architecture of Loss: Teaching *Jacob's Room* as a War Novel," in *Re:Reading, Re:Writing, Re:Teaching Virginia Woolf: Selected Papers from the Fourth Annual Conference on Virginia Woolf*, ed. Eileen Barrett and Patricia Cramer (New York: Pace University Press, 1995), 65–72.

37. The British ban, beginning in 1915, on repatriation of the war dead increased the sense of death as absence. On the relationship of absence to commemoration, especially in figurative sculpture, in which the sculpted body is surrogate for the absent corpse, see Catherine Moriarty, "The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials," *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* 39 (1995): 7–40.

38. On the pervasiveness of grief and communities of mourning, see Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

39. Stephen Graham, *The Challenge of the Dead* (London: Cassell, 1921), 36.

40. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The New Revelation* (New York: Doran, 1918), 39. Though he had been interested in psychic phenomena for several decades, Conan Doyle did not declare his own belief in spiritualism until late 1916, in the Novem-



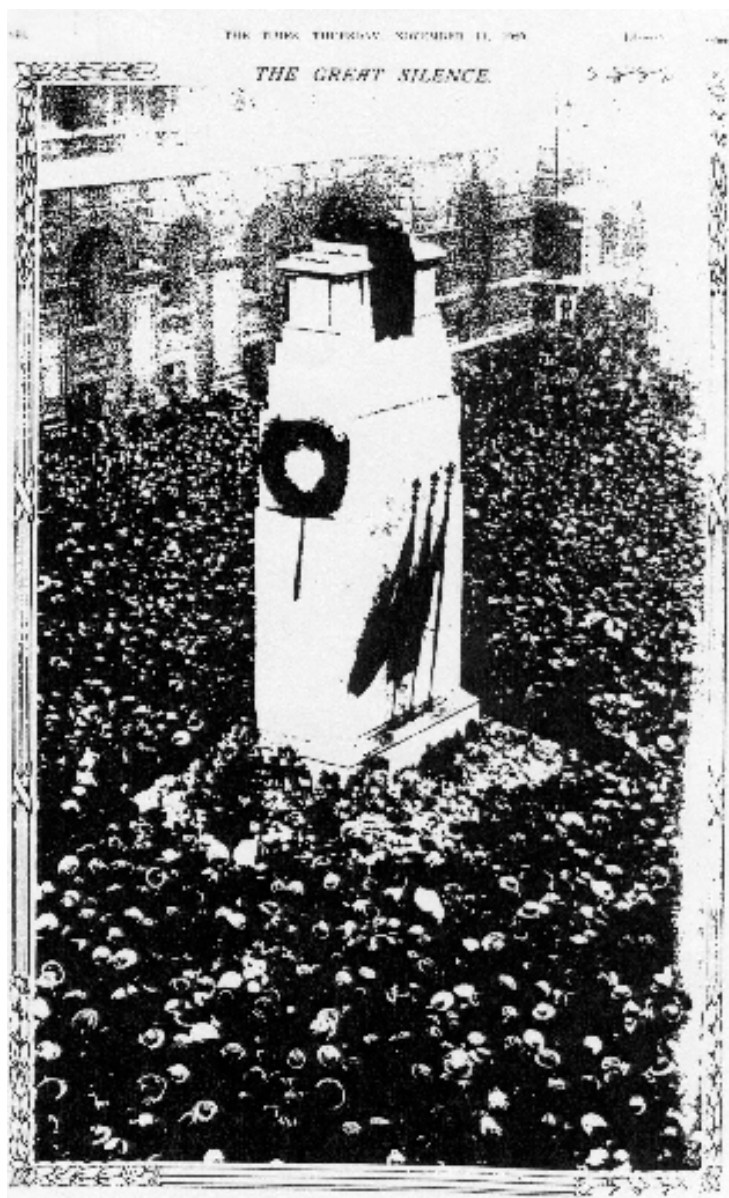


FIG. 8. The Cenotaph, or empty tomb, in London. Over one million mourners flooded past the Cenotaph when the Unknown Warrior was buried at Westminster Abbey. Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library, BYU.

Late in the war, Conan Doyle, who had lost several loved ones during its course, including his son Kingsley,<sup>41</sup> became one of the leaders of

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ber 4 issue of *Light* (the journal of the London Spiritualist Alliance); he began lecturing on spiritualism in October 1917. Martin Booth, *The Doctor, the Detective, and Arthur Conan Doyle: A Biography of Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1997), 313. His most important writings on spiritualism are *The New Revelation* (1918), *The Vital Message* (1919), and *The History of Spiritualism* (1926). Conan Doyle felt that the cataclysm of the war must serve some purpose for the suffering to have any meaning. Near the end of his six-volume history of the war, the work he judged to be his most significant, he writes: "He [the historian] lays down his pen at last with the deep conviction that the final results of this great convulsion are meant to be spiritual rather than material. . . . Not to change rival frontiers, but to mould the hearts and spirits of men—there lie the explanation and the justification of all that we have endured." Arthur Conan Doyle, *The British Campaign in France and Flanders*, 6 vols. (New York: Doran, 1916–20), 6:307. In *The Vital Message* he is even more direct:

It has been our fate, among all the innumerable generations of mankind, to face the most frightful calamity that has ever befallen the world. . . . If our souls, wearied and tortured during these dreadful five years of self-sacrifice and suspense, can show no radical changes, then what souls will ever respond to a fresh influx of heavenly inspiration? . . .

Why was this tremendous experience forced upon mankind? . . . [The causes] are essentially religious, not political. They lie far deeper than the national squabbles of the day. A thousand years hence those national results may matter little, but the religious result will rule the world. That religious result is the reform of the decadent Christianity of to-day, its simplification, its purification, and its reinforcement by the facts of spirit communion and the clear knowledge of what lies beyond the exit-door of death. The shock of the war was meant to rouse us to mental and moral earnestness, to give us the courage to tear away venerable shams, and to force the human race to realise and use the vast new revelation which has been so clearly stated and so abundantly proved, for all who will examine the statements and proofs with an open mind." (Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Vital Message* [New York: Doran, 1919], 11–13)

41. Kingsley was badly wounded on the Somme in 1916 and invalided back to England. Though weakened, he resumed his medical studies at St Mary's Hospital and died October 28, 1918, not of his wounds, but in the influenza epidemic, which also claimed Conan Doyle's brother Innes in Belgium four months later. Conan Doyle's brother-in-law, Malcolm Leckie was killed in the first weeks of the war, his nephew Oscar Horning and another brother-in-law Leslie Oldham were killed in 1915. Booth, *The Doctor, The Detective, and Arthur Conan Doyle*, 311. Conan Doyle always insisted that his conversion to spiritualism was not based upon his own loss of kinsmen (see Arthur Conan Doyle, *The History of Spiritualism*, 2 vols. [New York: Doran, 1926], 2:225), but it was different for his wife, Jean:

spiritualism. Although the movement was widely denounced as misguided and even heretical by many clergymen, hundreds of thousands were drawn to the possibility of communicating with their dead. As Jay Winter observes: “Spiritualism gave people a chance to have a ritual interment of members of their family whose graves were not known or who had literally been blown to pieces. Maybe half of the men who were killed in the First World War had no known graves. The families had no place to go through the rituals of separation. A séance was one of them.”<sup>42</sup>

Sir Oliver Lodge’s *Raymond*, which went through a dozen printings between 1916 and 1919, is a further influential example showing the relationship of spiritualism to grief. Lodge was a prominent man of science, whose work as a physicist had brought him a knighthood. His early interest in psychic research proceeded from a scientific perspective (wireless telegraphy, etc.). When their twenty-six-year-old son, Raymond, was killed near Ypres in September 1915, the Lodges eventually sought solace through a spiritualist medium. Over time, convinced that he could base his conclusions on his own experience, Lodge set about to share his findings, trusting that his experience might bring comfort to others:

I have thought it my duty to speak out, though it may well be believed that it is not without hesitation that I have ventured thus to obtrude family affairs. I should not have done so were it not that the amount of premature and unnatural bereavement at the present time is so appalling that the pain caused by exposing one’s own sorrow and its alleviation, to possible scoffers, becomes almost negligible in view of the service which it is legitimate to hope may thus be rendered to mourners, if they can derive comfort by learning that communication across the gulf is possible.<sup>43</sup>

The book is divided into three parts: The first part consists of letters from the Front that Raymond sent while he was alive. The second, “supernormal”

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“It was the death of my brother at Mons that brought me to believe in Spiritualism. . . . I frankly confess that, before that, I was sceptical. . . . But in this very room [Conan Doyle’s study at Crowborough] . . . the spirit came to us of my brother, and I knew that I had got into touch with him.” Arthur Conan Doyle and Jean Conan Doyle, “The Challenge of Spiritualism, Does It Confirm the Christian Doctrine of Immortality? An Interview with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,” interview by Charles Dawbarn, *Daily Chronicle*, August 13, 1919, 4, reprinted in Harold Orel, *Sir Arthur Conan Doyle: Interviews and Recollections* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1991), 241.

42. *The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century* (KCET/BBC Video, 1996), episode 8 “War without End” (see <http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/>).

43. Sir Oliver J. Lodge, *Raymond, or Life and Death, with Examples of the Evidence for Survival of Memory and Affection after Death* (New York: Doran, 1916), vii–viii.



part is made up of psychic communications from Raymond. The third part is a philosophical section that concludes with an effort to reconcile spiritualism with belief in Christ. Toward the end Lodge writes, for example: "Whatever the Churches may do, I believe that the call of Christ himself will be heard and attended to by a large part of humanity in the near future . . . as never yet it has been heard or attended to on earth."<sup>44</sup> However much we may reject spiritualism—its trappings of mediums, séances, automatic writing, and the like—, we can only feel sympathy for the grief that propelled it during this period of such great loss.<sup>45</sup>

The realm of the dead is also obliquely evoked by C. S. Lewis, a convalescing young soldier, wounded in Flanders in April 1918 during the German spring offensive and invalided back to England. Around the same time that Joseph F. Smith began to meditate on the First Epistle of Peter (see D&C 138:5), Lewis chose the title for a book of poetry from 1 Peter 3:19. In the summer and early fall of 1918, he gathered together poems he had written before being posted to France and some while at the Front and arranged them into a collection he proposed to title *Spirits in Prison*. The volume was accepted in the fall and published under the pseudonym Clive Hamilton early in 1919, by which time the title was changed to *Spirits in Bondage*.<sup>46</sup> Although the original title comes from the New Testament, Lewis wrote the poems during his agnostic period. There is little here of the later Christian apologist or, directly, of Christ's visit to the spirits in prison.<sup>47</sup> Indeed the realms seem reversed; this life has become the

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44. Lodge, *Raymond*, 376; on Lodge and spiritualism more generally, see Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, chapter 3, especially 61–62.

45. A not infrequent aspect of grief was a longing for a suitable portrait of the dead. In 1916 artist Florence Upton began painting from photographs portraits for the families of dead soldiers. The families would bring her various mementos of the dead—a canteen, a pocket Bible, letters, etc.—and try to convey a sense of the loved one's character and personality. Upton then tried "to make the person live again—at least on canvas. . . . A simple likeness would not do." As she continued in this work, she was herself drawn to spiritualism, until "the kind of portrait work Florence was doing at the time was so closely allied to Spiritualism that it becomes difficult to separate the two activities." Norma S. Davis, *A Lark Ascends: Florence Kate Upton, Artist and Illustrator* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 134, 157.

46. A. N. Wilson, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography* (London: Williams Collins Sons, 1990), 56, 59–60. See Clive Hamilton [C. S. Lewis], *Spirits in Bondage* (London: Heinemann, 1919); and (more recently) C. S. Lewis, *Spirits in Bondage: A Cycle of Lyrics*, ed. Walter Hooper (San Diego: Harcourt, 1984). Hamilton is Lewis's mother's maiden name.

47. The closest Lewis comes to Christ's visit to the spirits in prison is in "De Profundis," in which, if it be not a dream or vain hope, the distant voice of "a just

hopeless realm of the dead. The last poem, “Death in Battle,” pleads for escape to a different world, “Beyond the tide of the ocean, hidden and sunk away, / Out of the sound of battles, near to the end of day.”<sup>48</sup>

Finally, while we are still considering the war, it may be worth noting a further article on the front page of the *Deseret News* for October 4, column 5: “Prince Maximilian of Baden Appointed German Chancellor” (see fig. 5). Prince Max, a political moderate who opposed unrestricted submarine warfare and who had worked to ensure humane treatment of prisoners of war, was appointed chancellor on October 1, 1918, and installed on October 3. What the article does not say, since it was not then generally known, is that late on the night of October 3—the date of Joseph F. Smith’s vision—the new chancellor, urged by the German High Command, cabled President Woodrow Wilson asking him to intervene with the Allies to arrange an armistice and to begin negotiations for peace.<sup>49</sup> This was the beginning of the formal process leading to the war’s end some five weeks later.

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God that cares for earthly pain” may still be heard again:

Yet far away beyond our labouring night,  
He wanders in the depths of endless light,  
Singing alone his musics of delight;  
Only the far, spent echo of his song  
Our dungeons and deep cells can smite along.  
(Lewis, *Spirits in Bondage*, 20)

48. Lewis, *Spirits in Bondage*, 75.

49. Prince Max struggled with this decision, wanting more time to deliberate and hesitant to have a desperate suit for peace be his first act as chancellor, but, as he writes in his memoirs, “Towards evening [of October 3] the final form of the note was decided upon. I signed it and was appointed Chancellor the same day.” *The Memoirs of Prince Max of Baden*, trans. W. M. Calder and C. W. H. Sutton, 2 vols. (London: Constable and Co., 1928), 2:22. The text of the message to Wilson is:

The German Government requests the President of the United States of America to take in hand the restoration of peace, to bring this request to the notice of all belligerent states and to invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the initiation of negotiations. They accept as a basis for the peace negotiations the programme [the Fourteen Points] laid down by the President of the United States of America, in his message to Congress of 8th January, 1918 and in his subsequent announcements, particularly in his speech of 27th September, 1918. [¶] To avoid further bloodshed, the German Government requests the President to arrange the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land, by sea and in the air. (Signed) Max, Prince of Baden, *Imperial Chancellor*. (*Memoirs of Prince Max*, 2:23)

## The Flu Pandemic

Many more deaths were soon to follow—so many, in fact, that the horrific losses of the last four years of war would more than double within a short period of time. This brings us to our last major context, one which is partly intertwined with the last weeks of the war—the influenza pandemic of 1918. The new killer was the genetically reassorted flu virus, more virulent than any ever known, and even today little understood.<sup>50</sup> In the United States alone, in the month of October 1918—that is, the period between the vision of October 3 and its formal acceptance on October 31—there would be more deaths than in any other month in the nation’s history. Three short excerpts from the American Experience documentary, *Influenza 1918*, will give some sense of the disease’s scope:

In thirty-one shocking days, the flu would kill over 195,000 Americans. It was the deadliest month in this nation’s history. Coffins were in such demand that they were often stolen. Undertakers had to place armed guards around their prized boxes. The orderly life of America began to break down. All over the country, farms and factories shut down—schools and churches closed. Homeless children wandered the streets, their parents vanished. The vibrant and optimistic nation seemed to be falling apart. . . .

In Washington, Victor Vaughn [the government’s chief epidemiologist] came to a frightening conclusion: “If the epidemic continues its mathematical rate of acceleration, civilization could easily disappear from the face of the earth. . . .”

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For the German texts, see Prinz Max von Baden, *Erinnerungen und Dokumente*, ed. Golo Mann and Andreas Burckhardt (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1968), 336–37.

50. Recent efforts to understand it more fully are not without controversy. Researchers have recovered tissue from 1918 flu victims and have reconstructed the virus using reverse genetics, publishing its sequence in 2005, and have now tested its effect on primates, using macaque monkeys, with dramatic results. In addition to producing acute respiratory distress, the virus caused the monkeys’ immune systems to erupt in a “cytokine storm”; all died within days, the last ones euthanized early because of the severity of their symptoms. See Darwyn Kobasa and others, “Aberrant Innate Immune Response in Lethal Infection of Macaques with the 1918 Influenza Virus,” *Nature* 445 (January 18, 2007): 319–23 and the earlier studies by J. K. Taubenberger and T. M. Tumpey therein cited. World health authorities take seriously the possibility that the pandemic could recur. See, for example, the U.S. Homeland Security Council’s *National Strategy for Pandemic Influenza* (November 2005), with cover letter by President Bush, available online at [www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/pandemic-influenza.html](http://www.whitehouse.gov/homeland/pandemic-influenza.html), and the various materials and links at [www.pandemicflu.gov](http://www.pandemicflu.gov).

On November 11, the Armistice ended the Great War. In San Francisco the scene was surreal. Thirty thousand people paraded through the streets—all dancing, all singing, all wearing masks.<sup>51</sup>

To return to the *Deseret Evening News* of October 4 (see fig. 5), consider column 3: “Spanish Influenza Still Spreads over Land”—the surgeon general said that the only way to stop it was to close churches, schools, theatres, and the like. In retrospect, the subheadings adumbrate more than could be known at the time. For example, “Influenza spreads in Philadelphia” refers to 738 new cases in the last twenty-four hours. In the month of October alone, however, eleven thousand people in Philadelphia would die of the flu, 759 on a single day (October 10). Bulldozers and steam shovels dug mass graves. The next subheading, “Influenza Making Headway in New York,” foreshadows a grim harvest: about 1 percent of the city’s population (33,387 people) died of the epidemic between September 1918 and March 1919, over half of them in October and early November.<sup>52</sup>

Notice, too, the references to army camps lower in the column. It was in these that the flu first emerged in a milder form, and it was to these that the deadly reassorted strain of the virus first returned in September. At Camp Devens, near Boston, a doctor described how soldiers arriving at the infirmary with what appeared as ordinary influenza

rapidly develop the most viscous type of Pneumonia that has ever been seen. . . . It is only a matter of a few hours then until death comes and it is simply a struggle for air until they suffocate. It is horrible. One can stand to see one, two, or twenty men die, but to see these poor devils dropping like flies gets on your nerves. We have been averaging about 100 deaths a day, and still keeping it up.<sup>53</sup>

An alarming and still puzzling aspect of the flu was that the most vulnerable age group was twenty-five to thirty-four—people in the prime of their lives.

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51. *Influenza 1918* (WGBH/PBS Video, 1998); a transcript can be found at [www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza/filmmore/index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza/filmmore/index.html).

52. Gina Kolata, *Flu: The Story of the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918 and the Search for the Virus That Caused It* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999), 20; Alfred W. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 60–61.

53. Letter from “Roy,” an otherwise unidentified doctor, September 29, 1918, quoted in Kolata, *Flu*, 13–14. Epidemiologist Victor C. Vaughn later looked back with horror on what he witnessed while visiting the camp: “In the morning the dead bodies are stacked about the morgue like cord wood. This picture was painted on my memory cells at the division hospital, Camp Devens, in the fall of 1918, when the deadly influenza virus demonstrated the inferiority of human inventions in the destruction of human life.” Quoted in Kolata, *Flu*, 16.

In the military camps and on the troop ships, people were perishing at an astonishing rate, their bodies stacked like cordwood in the morgues.

In France, of the 116,000 American soldiers who died in the war, more than half died of the flu or attendant pneumonia.<sup>54</sup> A physician at an American Expeditionary Force (AEF) field hospital describes what it was like to try to deal simultaneously with wounds and flu:

Everything is overflowing with patients. Our divisions are being shot up; the wards are full of machine-gun wounds. There is rain, mud, "flu" and pneumonia. Some hospitals are overcrowded, some are not even working. Evacuation 114 had no medical officer but hundreds of pneumonias and no one to look after them. . . . Every sort of infectious case was there, packed in as close as sardines with no protection. . . . Hundreds of cases of desperate pneumonia that are dying by the score. . . . Rain, rain; mud, blood; blood, death!<sup>55</sup>

One such flu casualty was Stanford Hinckley, Gordon B. Hinckley's older brother, who died on October 19 at a training camp near Bordeaux, attended by B. H. Roberts, chaplain of the 145th Field Artillery.<sup>56</sup> He left

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54. The proportion in the LDS "Died in Service" list published in the *Improvement Era* 22 (December 1918): 148–52 is representative. Of the sixty servicemen listed, thirty-nine (and possibly nine others, who died at camps of unspecified causes) died of the flu or attendant pneumonia, either abroad or in military camps in the U.S.

55. Dr. George Washington Crile, Diary, October 17, 1918, quoted in Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 165–66. Learning of the flu's devastation among the Allied troops, the Kaiser hoped on October 1 that influenza would cripple the opposing armies while leaving his own relatively untouched, but the flu soon spread to German troops and civilians alike. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 158–60. Prince Max, the new chancellor, noted the desperate circumstances in his memoirs: "The misery in the towns about the middle of October was indescribable. No coal, no adequate clothing, a ceaseless hunger. The influenza epidemic was striding over Europe. In Berlin alone on the 15th October its victims numbered 1722. The disease made terrible ravages among our people, who had no powers of resistance left." *Memoirs of Prince Max*, 2:92; *Erinnerungen und Dokumente*, 391. Prince Max himself was stricken and bedridden for two weeks. Having been given a sleeping draft, he slept for thirty-six hours during the time final negotiations for the Kaiser's abdication were underway. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 160; Giles MacDonogh, *The Last Kaiser: The Life of Wilhelm II* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), 407.

56. Roberts, past sixty when the 145th was called up, was initially rejected for active service. In desperation he appealed to Senator Reed Smoot, with whom he had engaged in political quarrels over the years, and, after agreeing to be "broken" from major to lieutenant and to undergo rigorous training at Camp Zachary Taylor in Kentucky, was finally able to rejoin the unit and accompany it to France. Earlier he had been engaged in recruiting, promising parents, "You send your

behind a widow and a six-month-old son and now lies buried at Suresnes overlooking Paris. An account of his death, in the form of a letter from the unit commander Richard W. Young to his friend Bryant S. Hinckley, Stanford's father, appears in the same issue of the *Deseret Evening News* as the Armistice—a melancholy counterpoint to the jubilation.<sup>57</sup> In her biography of President Hinckley, Sheri L. Dew writes that when news of Stanford's death arrived, it was the first time that Gordon, who was eight and was himself just recovering from the flu, had seen his father cry.<sup>58</sup>

Utah was less devastated by the flu than were large urban areas, but it is worth considering the development of the epidemic in the state. In the same October 4 issue of the *Deseret Evening News*, there is a report of Utah's "first authenticated case" of Spanish influenza (as it was then called), contracted from ailing soldiers taken off a troop train in Ogden. By October 9, the number of flu cases had grown so alarmingly that an order was given to close all public gatherings. On October 10, the heading reads: "Many Towns are Closed by Order of Health Board." On the same page we

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sons and I will be a father to them"; it was a promise he kept. Arriving at Camp DeSougé near Bordeaux in late September 1918, the unit, like others, was soon hit by influenza, and Roberts was tireless and fearless in attending his stricken men, fourteen of whom died of the flu. While individuals from the 145th were sent as replacements to the Front (Roberts's own grandnephew, George Day, was killed), the unit itself was not ordered to action until November 9, but a delay meant that the Armistice intervened and the unit did not get to the Front. Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 301–14.

57. "Brig. Gen. Young Tells of Stanford Hinckley's Death," *Deseret Evening News*, November 11, 1918, section 1, 3.

58. Sheri L. Dew, *Go Forward in Faith: The Biography of Gordon B. Hinckley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996), 39. Stanford Hinckley's grave is, in a way, associated with Gordon B.'s mother's death as well. Having had a mastectomy in 1928, Ada Hinckley learned in March 1930 that her cancer had returned, and she underwent radium treatments. Despite her ill health, she insisted on accompanying Stanford's widow, Beulah, on a Gold Star Pilgrimage (at government expense) to visit Stanford's grave at Suresnes. By the time she returned, her condition had deteriorated further, and she died on November 9, 1930, in Los Angeles, where her husband had taken her for further treatments. She was buried on November 13, 1930, two days after Armistice/Remembrance Day. President Hinckley recalled: "My brokenhearted father . . . stepped off the train and greeted his grief-stricken children. We walked solemnly down the station platform to the baggage car, where the casket was unloaded and taken by the mortician. We came to know even more about the tenderness of our father's heart. . . . I also came to know something of death—the absolute devastation of children losing their mother—but also of . . . the certainty that death cannot be the end of the soul." Dew, *Go Forward in Faith*, 48–51.

read: "All collegiate study at the University of Utah suspended by order of President John A. Widstoe."<sup>59</sup>

At BYU, a Student Army Training Corps unit had been established with great fanfare at the Maeser Building on October 1 (fig. 9). Two weeks later, the university suspended classes. The *White and Blue* speculated that the closure might last only a week; in fact, the university did not resume until January 1919.<sup>60</sup> When it did so, students and faculty still wore masks well into winter semester (fig. 10). As the threat seemed to diminish, wags writing for the *White and Blue* began to see amusing sides to this practice with articles on a "masked ball" and "love with a mask on" as well as fanciful mask designs.<sup>61</sup>

Perhaps the most poignant Utah flu story concerns the Goates family. Within three days, in the third week of October, four members of this young family died in Ogden: first Kenneth (age ten), then Elaine (six), then their father Charles Hyrum (thirty-five), and finally Vesta (eight). With each death, Charles's father, two of whose sons were serving in France at the time, drove to Ogden to bring the body to Lehi. He made caskets for the children and buried them in the family plot while, without his knowing it, his elders quorum harvested his sugar beets from his freezing fields on the Saratoga road:

Then father sat down on a pile of beet tops—this man who brought four of his loved ones home for burial in the course of only six days [*sic*]; made caskets, dug graves, and even helped with the burial clothing—this amazing man who never faltered, nor flinched, nor wavered throughout this agonizing ordeal—sat down on a pile of beet tops and

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59. "First Authenticated Case of Spanish Influenza," *Deseret Evening News*, October 4, 1918, section 2, 1; "Order Closes All Public Gatherings in Utah," *Deseret Evening News*, October 9, 1918; "Many Towns are Closed by Order of the Health Board," *Deseret Evening News*, October 10, 1918, front page.

60. Ernest L. Wilkinson, initially rejected by the SATC was formally inducted on October 25, 1918, and billeted in the Maeser Building. Soon stricken with the flu, he sought a priesthood blessing and "promised God that if He would spare his life, [he] would serve BYU . . . in any way he could if ever the opportunity presented itself." When he later became president of BYU his office in the Maeser Building encompassed the room where he had been nursed back to health during the epidemic. Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President* (Provo, Utah: Mrs. Ernest L. Wilkinson [privately published], 1982): 35–36.

61. "Patriotic Program at Maeser Memorial," *The White and Blue* 22 (October 1, 1918): 8; "Spanish Influenza Epidemic—School Closed," *The White and Blue* 22 (October 16, 1918): 21; "Love With a Mask On," "Advanced Styles in Masks (Paris)," "Dying Doings of the S. A. T. C.," *The White and Blue* 22 (January 15, 1919): 43, 45, 50.



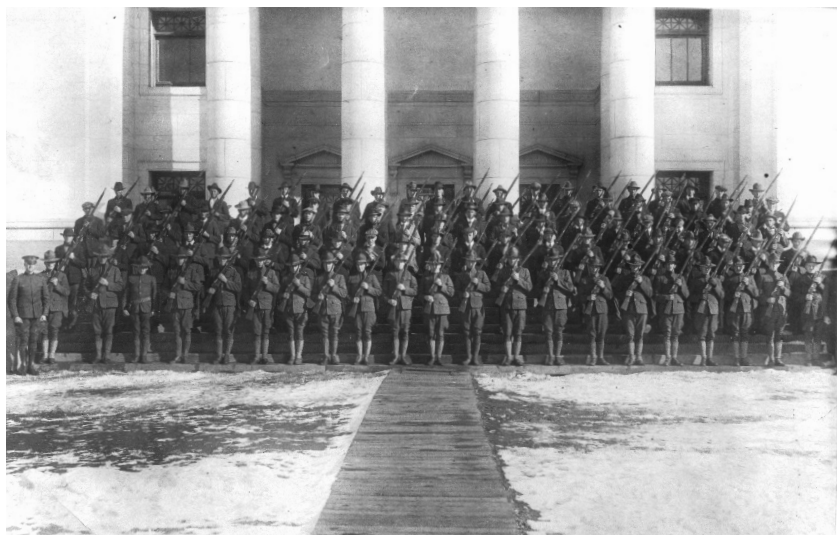


FIG. 9. Student Army Training Corps standing in front of the BYU Karl G. Maeser Building, October 1, 1918. Courtesy University Archives, BYU.

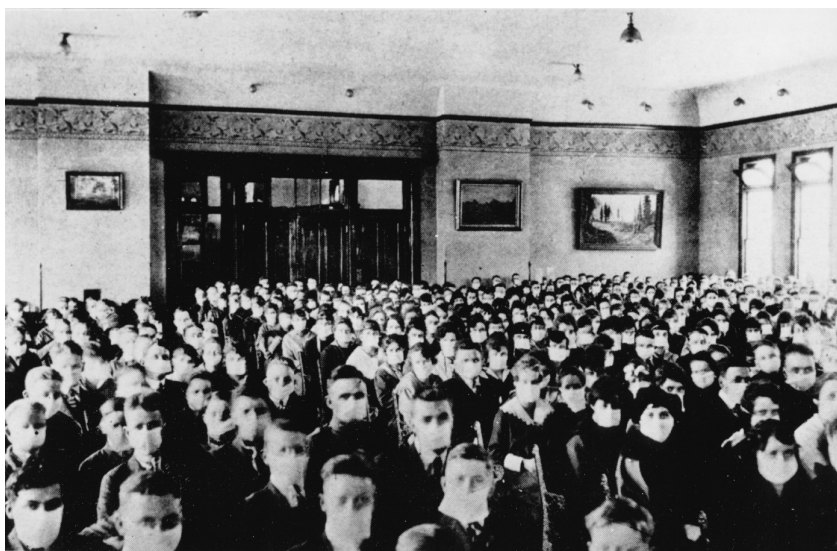


FIG. 10. The 1918–1919 influenza pandemic caused BYU to close in October 1918; when classes resumed in January 1919, students still wore masks. Courtesy University Archives, BYU.



sobbed like a little child. Then he arose, wiped his eyes with his big red bandanna handkerchief, looked up at the sky, and said: "Thanks, Father, for the elders of our ward."<sup>62</sup>

The Armistice was declared on November 11. A few days later, on November 19, just after his eightieth birthday, President Smith died. As the small inset under his photograph in the *Deseret Evening News* account indicates, the General Authorities of the Church and family representatives agreed that "in view of existing health conditions in the community, it would be improper to hold public funeral services."<sup>63</sup> A month later, Church leaders designated December 22 as a day of fasting "for the arrest and speedy suppression by Divine Power of the desolating scourge that is passing over the earth." Shortly thereafter the epidemic seemed to have passed its crest, and the decision was made to resume Church services on January 5 and to reopen the temples on Monday, January 6. But a further wave of the epidemic in the spring caused the April general conference to be postponed until June, the only time April conference has not been held.<sup>64</sup>

In the end, 675,000 Americans died of the flu, more than all the deaths (620,000) suffered in the Civil War.<sup>65</sup> From 1917 to 1918, the nation's average life expectancy dropped by twelve years.<sup>66</sup> Worldwide, the death toll was staggering. The most conservative estimate is twenty million (more than twice the number of combat deaths in the entire First World War); British virologist John Oxford thinks one hundred million is a more likely number, arguing that twenty million died in India alone.<sup>67</sup> The most recent study locates the toll somewhere between these two, at fifty million.<sup>68</sup>

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62. Account by Les Goates, Charles Hyrum's brother (who was serving in France at the time of the deaths), as quoted by Bishop Vaughn J. Featherstone, *Ensign* 3 (July 1973), 37; the four deaths in three days are reported in "Four Members of One Family Succumb to Attack of the Dreaded Spanish Influenza," *Ogden Standard Examiner*, October 22, 1918, 6.

63. Anthon H. Lund and Charles W. Penrose, "No Public Funeral," *Deseret Evening News*, November 19, 1918, front page.

64. "Special Announcement," in Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 5:115–16 (December 28, 1918); and "General Conference Notice," in *90th Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1919), 1.

65. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 206.

66. Kolata, *Flu*, 8.

67. Kolata, *Flu*, 7, 285–86.

68. Niall P. A. S. Johnson and Juergen Mueller, "Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918–1920 'Spanish' Influenza Pandemic," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 76, no. 1 (2002): 105–15.

According to historian Alfred Crosby, “Nothing else—no infection, no war, no famine—has ever killed so many in as short a period.”<sup>69</sup>

### Timely and Timeless: “A Document without Parallel”

Katherine Anne Porter also nearly died of influenza. Her condition was so hopeless that she was left on a gurney for dead; the Denver newspaper for which she wrote set her obituary. She did not know, during her long periods of delirium and unconsciousness, that her fiancé, the lieutenant who had cared for her before she was hospitalized, had himself died of the flu.<sup>70</sup> In her short autobiographical novel *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, her fictionalized self, struggling through hallucination, her face covered with a white cloth, hears a voice in her mind ask: “Where are the dead? We have forgotten the dead, oh, the dead, where are they?”<sup>71</sup> The vision given to Joseph F. Smith on October 3, 1918, answers this question and speaks to the great, worldwide need that underlies it.

D&C 138 first shows us the vast concourses of dead—“the hosts of the dead, both great and small” (verse 11); “innumerable company” (verse 12); “vast multitude” (verse 18); “vast congregation” (verse 38); “great world of the spirits of the dead” (verse 57)—vast, even when (as in verses 12, 18, and 38) the reference is only to the just.

The vision proceeds from and affirms the “great and wonderful love” of God (verse 3) as it is expressed through the Atonement of Christ—an atonement it shows to be universal, proffered to all who have ever lived or died. The vision comes, in a sense, *in medias res*: addressing the unfathomable losses of the war years just past, and anticipating the even greater quantity of dying that lay ahead, not only in the next months of the pandemic, but through the Second World War (which would grow directly out of the First and would, with its millions of civilian casualties, be five times more costly in loss of life than World War I) and beyond—comforting, “bind[ing] up the brokenhearted” (verse 42), and providing hope and reassurance.

The vision shows how the work of redemption was and is organized among the dead. (With respect to the war, the quasi-military language of verse 30—“organized his forces,” “commissioned them”—is intriguing.) In the last weeks of his life, Joseph Smith had alluded to missionary

69. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic*, 311.

70. Joan Givner, *Katherine Anne Porter: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 125–28.

71. Katherine Anne Porter, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider: Three Short Novels* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1939), 255. (This novella, too, ends with an empty room.)

work among the dead, and this teaching was affirmed (speaking of the work by the Prophet himself) by Brigham Young and (more generally) by Wilford Woodruff.<sup>72</sup> Joseph F. Smith had also earlier spoken of such work.<sup>73</sup>

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72. In a sermon on May 12, 1844, the Prophet said, “Now all those [who] die in the faith goe to the prison of Spirits to preach to the ded in body, but they are alive in the Spirit & those Spirits preach to the Spirits that they may live according to god in the Spirit and men do minister for them in the flesh and angels bare the glad tidings to the Spirits & the[y] are made happy by these means.” George Laub Journal in *The Words of Joseph Smith*, ed. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, Religious Studies Monograph Series vol. 6 (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 370. Of the Prophet, Brigham Young declared: “When he died he had a mission in the spirit world, as much so as Jesus had. Jesus was the first man that ever went to preach to the spirits in prison. . . . Joseph has not yet got through there. When he finishes his mission in the spirit world, he will be resurrected, but he has not yet done there.” Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 4:285, March 15, 1857. And in early 1868 Wilford Woodruff wrote: “Those who have died without the gospel will have to receive the gospel in the spirit world from those who preach to the Spirits in Prison & those who dwell in the flesh will have to attend to all the ordinances of the gospel for & in their behalf by Proxy.” Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 6:390, January 24, 1868. The latter two passages are discussed in Richard E. Bennett, “‘Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept’: Reflections of the 1877 Commencement of the Performance of Endowments and Sealings for the Dead,” *BYU Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 38–77, especially 47–48, 59–67.

73. At an MIA conference in June 1910, President Smith said: “This gospel revealed to the Prophet Joseph is already being preached to the spirits in prison, to those who have passed away from this stage of action into the spirit world without knowledge of the gospel. Joseph Smith is preaching that gospel to them. So is Hyrum Smith. So is Brigham Young, and so are all the faithful apostles that lived in this dispensation under the administration of the Prophet Joseph. . . . Not only are these engaged in that work but hundreds and thousands of others.” *Young Woman’s Journal* 21 (1910): 456–60; as cited in Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, 596; He expressed this belief again in a funeral address in 1911, extending the scope to include the original Apostles, as well as women engaged as temple workers during their time on earth:

I have always believed, and still do believe with all my soul, that such men as Peter and James and the twelve disciples chosen by the Savior in his time, have been engaged all the centuries that have passed since their martyrdom . . . in proclaiming liberty to the captives in the spirit world and in opening their prison doors. . . .

[Of women who had served in the temple:] These good sisters who have been set apart, ordained to the work, called to it, authorized by the authority of the holy Priesthood to minister for their sex, in the House of God for the living and for the dead, will be fully authorized

Yet from a purely scriptural perspective, the teaching remained a matter of inference. In *Jesus the Christ*, for example, a work completed in 1915 during the first year of the war, James E. Talmage considers the same passage from 1 Peter that Joseph F. Smith later pondered. Talmage's language is provisional, if assertive: "The fact that the gospel was preached to the dead necessarily *implies* the possibility of the dead accepting the same."; or "Missionary labor among the dead was inaugurated by the Christ; *who of us can doubt* that it has been continued by His authorized servants, the disembodied."; or further, "A continuation of such labor among the disembodied, is so abundantly *implied* in scripture as to be made a certainty."<sup>74</sup> Joseph F. Smith's vision not only affirms that this is so, but it also articulates how such work was established and how it is continued. Although the vision was not officially adopted as canonized scripture until 1976, its formal ratification on October 31, 1918, gave it particular authority. In its grandeur and scope, the vision is the capstone of all teachings on the work of salvation among the dead.

The vision renews the connection of temple work to the redemption of the dead, inviting us, the living, to remembrance and active participation, through seeking after the dead and performing "vicarious baptism" (verse 33) and other ordinances, and in so doing drawing the two worlds together. The references to temples (verses 48 and 54), should remind us that two of them, Hawaii and Alberta—the first outside Utah since the Saints settled in the West—, were begun while Joseph F. Smith was President of the Church.<sup>75</sup> The timing of the Alberta temple, dedicated in 1923, well before the Canadian memorials at Vimy Ridge (1936) and elsewhere, is especially pleasing given the extraordinary valor and losses of the Canadian forces, including LDS soldiers, during the war.<sup>76</sup> It seems a poignant juxtaposition to

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and empowered to preach the gospel and minister to the women while the elders and prophets are preaching it to the men. (*Young Woman's Journal* 23 (1911): 128–32; as cited in Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, 460–61)

74. James E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ* (1915; repr. Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), 675–76; italics added.

75. President Smith dedicated the site of the Alberta Temple on July 27, 1913, and that of the Hawaii Temple on June 1, 1915, but did not live to see their completion. Both temples were dedicated by President Heber J. Grant: Hawaii on November 27, 1919; Alberta on August 26–29, 1923. (Apostle Hyrum Mack Smith also visited Cardston in August 1917, five months before his death, to dedicate the Alberta Stake Tabernacle.)

76. Like those of other nations in the British Empire (now Commonwealth), Canadian troops fought in the war nearly from its outset. They were engaged in almost every major action, suffering the first gas attack of the war near Ypres in 1915

see on the corner across from the temple grounds Cardston's war memorial bearing the names of the small town's fallen. At the unveiling of the memorial in 1925, stake president Hugh B. Brown, who had served in the war as a cavalry officer and who would later become a counselor in the First Presidency, was a speaker.<sup>77</sup>

In an age so painfully preoccupied with absence, especially where the bodies of loved ones had irretrievably vanished—"corpselessness" is the term most often used by cultural historians—,<sup>78</sup> the vision, with its inherent promise that the Atonement opens the way for all to be resurrected, affirms the central and eternal importance of the body in very vivid terms. For after enumerating ancient patriarchs and prophets up to Elijah, whose mission "foreshadow[ed] the great work to be done in the temples of the Lord . . . for the redemption of the dead" (verse 48), it says of this righteous host: "All these and many more, even the prophets who dwelt among the Nephites and testified of the coming of the Son of God, mingled in the vast assembly and waited for their deliverance, For *the dead had looked upon the long absence of their spirits from their bodies as a bondage*" (verses 49–50, emphasis added). Hence their eager gladness at the prospect of being liberated "from the bands of death": "Their sleeping dust was to be restored unto its perfect frame, bone to his bone, and the sinews and the flesh upon them, the spirit and the body to be united never again to be divided, that they might receive a fulness of joy" (verses 16–17).

As an inspired commentary on a scriptural passage (1 Pet. 3–4), which draws upon other passages in its explication (Isa. 61:1 [verse 42], Ezek. 37:1–14 [verse 43], Mal. 4:5–6 [verses 46–47]), the vision—with its representation of "great and mighty ones" (verse 38) from Adam and Eve through the

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and in April 1917 distinguishing themselves spectacularly at Vimy Ridge, now site of the country's most important memorial abroad; they also captured Passchendaele later that year at great cost, bringing to an end the Third Battle of Ypres. Despite its small population, the nation mobilized some 620,000 troops, of whom 241,000 (about 39 percent) became casualties, with sixty-seven thousand slain. On the country's participation in the war, see Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914–1918* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989); on its remembrance of the war, Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997).

77. On Brown's military service, its high points and vexations, see Eugene E. Campbell and Richard D. Poll, *Hugh B. Brown: His Life and Thought* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1975), 52–74. Brown was later LDS servicemen's coordinator during the Second World War.

78. See, for example, Booth, *Postcards from the Trenches*, chapter 1 "Corpselessness"; and Moriarty, "Absent Dead," 8–15.

patriarchs and prophets to Joseph, Hyrum, and their associates—harmonizes Old and New Testaments, the Book of Mormon (verse 49), the Restoration, and the inspiration of the living prophet, at once expanding our understanding and showing us that the gospel is, indeed, everlasting. As Richard Bennett has observed, the section affirms biblical authority in the midst of the “higher criticism” prevalent in the early twentieth century.<sup>79</sup>

As revealed truth, the vision counters and corrects many widespread, well-intentioned but erroneous teachings, such as some found in Conan Doyle’s treatises *The New Revelation* (which also appeared in 1918) and *The Vital Message* (1919). It is fascinating to read Conan Doyle’s treatises in relation to D&C 138. There are many common themes—the reality of a spirit world and of the soul’s existence after death; whether, given the sheer abundance of dying, Christ can appear to all who die; and the evidence of scripture. But these are mostly addressed in opposite ways. For example, Conan Doyle would “tear the Bible in twain,” setting aside the Old Testament, and would emphasize Christ’s life rather than his death and resurrection, believing the idea of redemption to be a mystical accretion which is “hardly ever spoken of” in spirit communications. D&C 138 does the opposite;<sup>80</sup> it harmonizes the Old and New Testaments and reasserts

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79. Bennett, “And I Saw the Hosts of the Dead,” 119.

80. Some short passages from Conan Doyle will suggest the contrast:

Christianity must be modified by this new revelation. . . . People are alienated because they frankly do not believe the facts as presented to them to be true. . . . Above all, many cannot understand such expressions as the “redemption from sin,” “cleansed by the blood of the Lamb,” and so forth. So long as there was any question of the fall of man there was at least some sort of explanation of such phrases. . . . But if there were no fall, then what became of the atonement, of the redemption, of original sin, of a large part of Christian mystical philosophy? (Conan Doyle, *New Revelation*, 54–55)

The whole Christian system has come to revolve round [Christ’s] death, to the partial exclusion of the beautiful lesson of His life. Far too much weight has been placed upon the one, and far too little upon the other. . . .

Reading many authentic spirit communications one finds that the idea of redemption is hardly ever spoken of, while that of example and influence is for ever insisted upon. In them Christ is the highest spirit known, the son of God, as we all are, but nearer to God, and therefore in a more particular sense His son. He does not, save in most rare and special cases, meet us when we die. Since souls pass over, night and day, at the rate of about 100 a minute, this would seem self-evident. After a time we may be admitted to His presence, to find a most tender, sympa-

the centrality of “the great atoning sacrifice that was made by the Son of God, for the redemption of the world” (verse 2).

Finally, the vision affirms the foundations of faith in a world where the faith of so many was shattered by the great calamities they witnessed and experienced,<sup>81</sup> declaring to all the world through the mouth of the Lord’s

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thetic and helpful comrade and guide, whose spirit influences all things even when His bodily presence is not visible. This is the general teaching of the other world communications concerning Christ, the gentle, loving and powerful spirit which broods ever over that world which, in all its many spheres, is His special care. (Conan Doyle, *Vital Message*, 19, 25–26)

After visiting Salt Lake City in May 1923 where he addressed some five thousand people in the tabernacle during a lecture tour of the United States, Conan Doyle wrote of Mormonism in *Our Second American Adventure* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1924), 86–104. Acknowledging in general the authenticity of Joseph Smith’s own narrative, Conan Doyle suggests that because of Smith’s “ignorance of psychic matters, [he] lost all sense of proportion and misinterpreted to a great extent the evidence which was put before him.” He felt that Joseph Smith was honest “but that he was not aware of the strange way in which things are done from beyond” (90–91). After enumerating some analogies between Joseph Smith’s teachings and those of spiritualism (for example, that the Christian creeds had wandered from primitive spiritual truths, that “spirit itself is super-fine matter,” and that “true marriage” carries on into the next life), Conan Doyle concludes: “I believe, then, that Smith was a true medium, but that his controls were not always reliable, nor did he have sufficient character to check them as they should be checked” (103). On Mormonism and spiritualism, see Davis Bitton, “Mormonism’s Encounter with Spiritualism,” *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 39–50, and Michael W. Homer, “Spiritualism and Mormonism: Some Thoughts on Similarities and Differences,” *Dialogue* 27, no. 1 (1994): 171–91.

81. See, for example, Vera Brittain: “That night I prayed earnestly to God to make the dear King [Edward VII] better and let him live. The fact that he actually did recover established in me a touching faith in the efficacy of prayer, which superstitiously survived until the Great War proved to me, once for all, that there was nothing in it.” Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900–1925* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin Books, 1989), 22–23. Focusing not so much on lost faith as on the affect on values, Samuel Hynes writes:

Even as it was being fought the war was perceived as a force of radical change in society and in consciousness. It brought to an end the life and values of Victorian and Edwardian England; but it did something more fundamental than that: it added a new scale of violence and destruction to what was possible—it changed reality. That change was so vast and so abrupt as to make the years after the war seem discontinuous from the years before, and that discontinuity became part of English imaginations. Men and women after the war looked back at their own



anointed that the Father and the Son live and are still earnestly engaged in the ongoing work of salvation for all God's children.

This remarkable "Vision of the Redemption of the Dead" is more than a doctrinal clarification that when Christ visited the spirits in prison (1 Pet. 3–4) he did not go himself among the wicked but "organized his forces" and "commissioned them" (verse 30) to go forth on his behalf. Nor is its audience limited only to members of the Church who may be interested in such questions. It is, as President Hinckley declared, "a document without parallel." In its grandeur and scope, it is, indeed, the capstone of all teachings on the work of salvation among the dead. But it is more than this. Addressed to all the world through the living prophet in the last weeks of his life, the vision came at a time of great, worldwide need. Such a panoply of dying; such universal and unresolved grief, particularly where loved ones had vanished without a trace; such pervasive hunger to know the fate of the dead—all these things give a special resonance to D&C 138, with its great concourses of the dead, its assurance of divine love and of the unspeakable comfort of the Atonement, the blessings of which extend to all mankind, both the living and the dead. Timely and timeless, the vision spoke directly and compassionately to an agonized world in 1918, as it still speaks to us today and will continue to speak in future ages.

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pasts as one might look across a great chasm to a remote, peaceable place on the other side. . . .

The sense of a gap in history that the war engendered became a commonplace in imaginative literature of the post-war years. Poets and novelists rendered it in images of radical emptiness—as a chasm, or an abyss, or an edge—or in images of fragmentation and ruin, all expressing a fracture in time and space that separated the present from the past. (Hynes, *A War Imagined*, xi, xiii)

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# On the Trail of the Twentieth-Century Mormon Outmigration

*G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashby Johnson*

This article gives an overview of a major history research project that is now coming to a close after twenty years of activity. It is the Mormon Outmigration Leadership History Project, sponsored by the Marriott School of Management. Its focus has been to study the great urban outmigration of the twentieth century, as members of the Latter-day Saint community moved from traditional Mormon lands to all four corners of the United States in search of employment and education. The project has compiled in-depth case studies of individuals and families who migrated to twenty “target cities” across the nation (table 1). Their stories furnish the evidence to enable the tracing and analysis of this outmigration and suggest that it was the dominant social movement of LDS society in the twentieth century.

In addition to discussing the methods and results of this outmigration research project, this article announces the creation of a rich new resource for researchers of twentieth-century Mormonism—the Latter-day Saint Outmigration Archive. Housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University, this archive holds over 550 interview transcripts, case studies, and memorabilia of LDS outmigrants. It will be a valuable resource for those interested in Mormon history, family history, migration patterns, sociology of religion, and leadership studies and will contribute to further publications about this facet of twentieth-century Mormon history.<sup>1</sup>

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1. We are now preparing a book tentatively entitled *Mormons Move to the Mainstream: The Reshaping of LDS Society in the Twentieth Century*.

## G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashby Johnson

*BYU Studies:* What exactly is going to be in the Latter-day Saint Outmigration Archive?

*G. Wesley Johnson:* The most valuable thing in the Archive, of course, will be the audio recordings and the transcripts of the interviews with outmigrants. I don't know of many archives that include the recordings like this one will.

*Marian A. Johnson:* Those interviewed have also sent us other materials, like articles, photos, and newspaper clippings, which we hope will be included in the Archive.

*BYUS:* When will the Archive be available?

*W. J.:* We will be winding down our research in the fall of 2007, and then we will transfer it to Special Collections at BYU. There is a lot to prepare with an archive like this, so I would say in about two years.

*BYUS:* Looking into the future, in what other ways will the Archive serve historians?

*W. J.:* Eventually what I would like to see is a larger archive of LDS people in the twentieth century. We hope this project opens up a dialogue with non-Mormons on what modern Mormonism is all about. We hope it stimulates our LDS scholars to get out of the nineteenth century more often. At the last Mormon History Association conference, 95 percent of the papers were on the nineteenth century. Why are people wringing their hands wondering why the public doesn't understand us? Part of the fault is ours. Journalists can't find out about us in the twentieth century because our own scholars don't write about it.

*M. J.:* We need so much more information on what our doctrine and practices are all about today; the public thinks such strange things about what we believe. With more research on the twentieth century, they would realize we are not so different from those people who criticize us.



Beginning around 1900, thousands of young adults from the Mormon Corridor—the primary area of Mormon settlement running from Alberta, Canada, through the Rocky Mountains and down to Juarez, Mexico<sup>2</sup>—began to join other Americans and Canadians who were moving from rural to urban areas in search of economic and educational opportunities. These motives, combined with the reshaping of the Mormon doctrine of gathering, created an atmosphere in which Mormons migrated away from the pioneer settlements of the West. By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of fleeing the scourge that was to come by gathering to the American West had changed to the idea of gathering to multiple Zions and building up the kingdom throughout the world.<sup>3</sup> As communal gathering had separated Mormons from their surroundings, the abandonment of

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2. The most comprehensive discussion of the Mormon culture region is by D. W. Meinig, who, in 1965, laid out a three-layered map of the region, which extended north to Boise, Idaho, south to Juarez, Mexico, west to Elko and Las Vegas, Nevada, and east to just inside the borders of Colorado and New Mexico. The settlements in Alberta were highlighted on his map, but not included in the contiguous corridor. D. W. [Donald William] Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847–1964," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 55 (June 1965): 213–18. See also Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (June 1961): 193; Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), map in pocket, entitled *Religion in America: 1950*; and A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States* (Washington: Work Projects Administration, 1940), fig. 2. Zelinsky writes that the Mormon culture region was one of the "only two possibly three cases of regions whose religious distinctiveness is immediately apparent to the casual observer and is generally apprehended by their inhabitants." Zelinsky, "Approach to the Religious Geography," 165.

3. Doctrine and Covenants 29:8 instructed, "Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father that they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked." See also D&C 42:36; 84:2–4. Although the change in interpretation of gathering began with Joseph F. Smith in the early twentieth century, the following quotes later in the twentieth century capture well the contrast: "The First Presidency and the Twelve see great wisdom in the multiple Zions, many gathering places where the Saints [should gather] within their own culture and nation." Spencer W. Kimball, *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1998), 440. "The place of gathering for the Mexican Saints is in Mexico; the place of gathering for the Guatemalan Saints is in Guatemala; the place of gathering for the Brazilian Saints is in Brazil; and so it goes throughout the length and breadth of the whole earth. Japan is for the Japanese; Korea is for the Koreans; Australia is for the Australians; every nation is the gathering place for

the practice forced the Saints into a new relationship with the world. The Saints had previously been instructed, “Go ye out of Babylon; gather ye out from among the nations” (D&C 133:7). In the twentieth century, many of the Saints would reverse this pattern, and instead of fleeing Babylon, they would purposefully enter it. This is not to say that immigration to Utah ceased or that population growth did not occur there, because growth did take place. From 1918, when George Q. Cannon told Saints not to plan on coming to Utah, to 1930, 117 new Mormon settlements were established in the West.<sup>4</sup>

In this article, we first discuss the history of the outmigration using frameworks that demonstrate the twentieth-century outmigration overall and the growth of the Church in a new locale. Next, we share how the information in the Archive was gathered and analyzed and what is available to researchers. Third, we contextualize the outmigration in religious, social, and historical perspectives in comparison with other migrating populations. Fourth, we review the main research issues that have arisen from the project and questions they raise. And lastly, we present three case studies as examples of what can be found in the Archive.

## HISTORY OF THE OUTMIGRATION

The Mormon exodus of the nineteenth century is well known. The outmigration that brought Mormon leaders to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 was only the beginning. From then until the coming of the railroad in 1869, tens of thousands of the faithful crossed the plains by wagon or on foot; for the next thirty years, the flow continued. By the debut of the twentieth century, the immigration situation was changing. A shortage of jobs and educational opportunities contributed to the choice of many to move away from the Intermountain West. Moreover, many Latter-day Saints, like thousands of other rural Americans, were now attracted by the lure of the city and a different lifestyle. In the spirit of Horatio Alger, humble young men and women migrated, hoping to succeed by “pulling up their bootstraps.” These men and women, filled with ambition and willing to take risks, were worthy successors to their elders, the nineteenth-century pioneers.

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its own people.” Bruce R. McConkie, *Area Conference Report* (Mexico City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1972), 45.

4. Dale Beecher, “The Post-Gathering Expansion of Zion: Mormon Settlements of the Twentieth Century,” in *Times of Transition, 1890–1920: Proceedings of the 2000 Symposium of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History at Brigham Young University*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2003), 103.

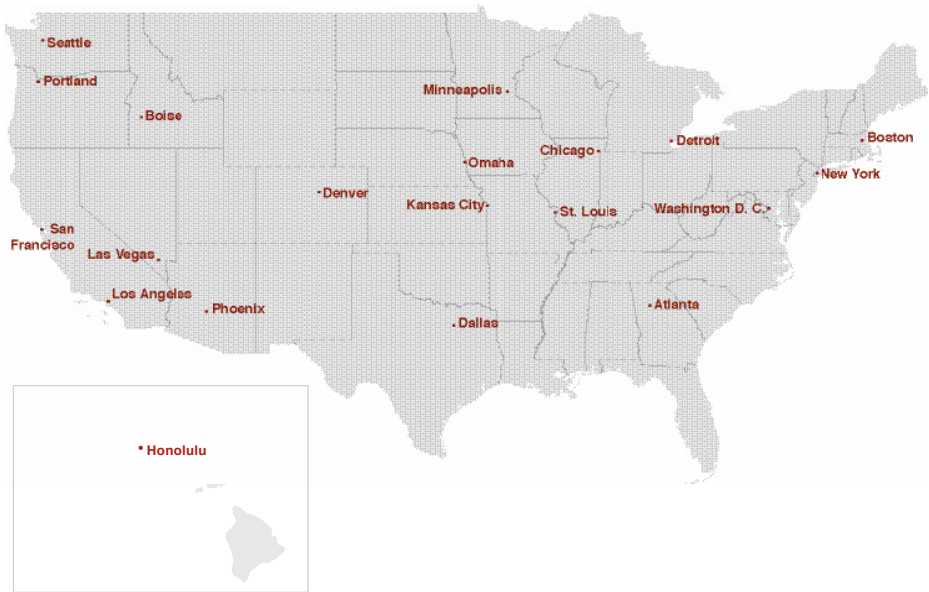


TABLE 1. Twenty Target Cities Studied in the Mormon Outmigration Leadership History Project.

As the new century dawned, changes in Church doctrine helped pave the road for this trend. First, a number of ecclesiastical pronouncements began to suggest Zion was not literally in one place but could be found where the faithful resided. For one thing, as Thomas Alexander points out, “By 1900 the extensive colonization efforts of the nineteenth century had virtually ended. Individual settlement rather than cooperative colonization became the norm.”<sup>5</sup> Soon, statements by senior Mormon officials began to clarify the new situation. For example, in 1910, President Joseph F. Smith told European Saints they did not need to “trouble themselves too much about emigration.” And they should not worry about moving to Utah to receive temple ordinances; President Smith said that “if death should intervene before the ordinances were performed, their children could see to it that the work was done.”<sup>6</sup>

5. Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 201.

6. Both Joseph F. Smith references are quoted by Jan Shipps in *The Scattering of the Gathered and the Gathering of the Scattered* (St. George, Utah: Dixie College, 1991), 5, based on references from a thesis by Douglas D. Alder.

The stories of these urban pioneers are compelling and at times inspirational, especially those of the earliest migrants, who often arrived at their destinations with few funds and no job offers. The challenge of the city brought out the best in many people and made them lively competitors. But living far from kin and friends was sometimes lonely, and so the Church, even though in many instances not fully organized, often became a dominant force in their lives. The networks provided by Church members could make the difference between flourishing in the new environment and giving up and going back home.

Once relocated, these outmigrants put down roots and, along with Church members native to these locales, helped establish and expand the Church and became leaders in their new communities. However, not all Mormon outmigrants remained active or contributed to the building up of their wards and stakes. As Jan Shipps has pointed out, this was especially true shortly after World War II. "Having joined or been drafted into the service at just the age when adult perceptions of identity are in the process of becoming fixed, having been propelled into the fellowship of wartime service units, and having settled outside the Mormon culture region after the war, so many of these young men were, at best, nominal Mormons." A bishop in Pittsburg, California, lamented that he "had a little over 100, at times, inactive Adult Aaronics."<sup>7</sup> While those who did not remain active may be an important factor in fully understanding the outmigration, it is beyond the scope of this project. All of the men and women interviewed remained active in the Church.

### Four Waves in the Twentieth Century

The outmigration seems to have occurred in four different stages or waves during the course of the twentieth century: First, from about 1900 to 1930 there was a slowly increasing interest, often among singles, in moving outward. Second, from 1930 to 1945 many families began to move because of the Great Depression and because of job opportunities caused by the advent of World War II. Third, from 1945 to 1970 (in the midst of a housing boom) a number of new target cities became desired destinations. Only in this period can one begin to speak of mass migrations. And fourth, from

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7. Shipps, *Scattering of the Gathered*, 10. In another essay, Shipps described these differences of activity among Latter-day Saints in the twentieth century. Jan Shipps, "Beyond the Stereotypes: Mormon and Non-Mormon Communities in Twentieth-Century Mormondom," in *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, ed. Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 342–55.



1970 to 2000 greater numbers moved out and even more new destinations became viable options to settle.

The backdrop of these outmigrations was the decrease in available employment in the Mormon Corridor as industrialization spread throughout the Intermountain West and many young people chose to leave their family farms. So, they often left home in search of better jobs. The second major reason was the search for higher education. Until after the middle of the century, those who wanted to attend professional schools needed to leave the region. The magnet cities (New York, Washington D. C., Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles) all had universities where one could study law, business, education, medicine, or science.

It is also true that many outmigrants stayed in their new target city for only a few years to obtain their degrees, or they gained employment experience that could be transferred elsewhere. Some returned to the Intermountain West, many moved to different cities where opportunity beckoned, and others decided to put down roots and make their homes where they had first landed. The important thing was that the outmigration experience, whether five, fifteen, or fifty years in duration, shaped the lives of many persons and their families. Those who returned home had now become acquainted with the wider world; those who moved to other cities had learned lessons in their first target city; and those who stayed became the basic demographic for the expansion of the Latter-day Saint community across the country during the course of the century. The outmigration set in motion a transfer of peoples from one region to all four corners of the nation and established a new tradition of finding Zion wherever they went.

### Three Stages of Local Growth

Some years ago, Richard Bushman made some suggestions for analyzing the way new congregations emerge.<sup>8</sup> From his observations and his own experience as an outmigrant living in Massachusetts, Delaware, and New York, he argued that new congregations pass through three phases before they become fully operational (that is, able to fully replicate the typical wards of the Utah Church): First is a “pioneer period,” characterized by the arrival of “transient elites,” who may be members of the military, graduate students, or business people on temporary assignment who organize local services. In some cases, a place mainly has a “lone ranger,” such

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8. This construct was later employed by Armand L. Mauss in his book *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 11–15.

as George Albert Smith Jr., who for many years was the only Mormon faculty member at the Harvard Business School and who helped find rental locations so the embryonic church could hold regular meetings. Bushman suggests that these pioneers are often responsible for helping create a local congregation before there are adequate converts or before they mature.

Bushman calls the second phase the “settlement period,” during which more permanent migrants move into town, attracted by economic or educational incentives, and many of them decide to stay. During this period, a locally bred leadership begins to function and many parishioners seek to emulate Utah congregations: roadshows are mounted and youth activities become highly structured. However, sometimes tension surfaces between the leadership and the growing locals. And then, ironically, as outmigrants become longtime dwellers in their new city, they often send their children back to Utah for college to discover their “roots.”

Bushman’s third phase is the “entrenchment period,” where the Church now becomes a permanent part of the local scene, new chapels are built and not rented, and the Church is generally accepted. The split between outmigrants and locals tends to disappear over time and in many instances these families intermarry. The creation of LDS institutes causes many college students to stay at local institutions rather than go back to Utah. Much later, as temples begin to appear on the scene, some outmigrants decide to stay put rather than return back to their original home at retirement.

This useful construct has been adapted and modified for this research project. To date, we have found that in some instances, in the third period, the tension between outmigrants and locals continues, although beneath the surface. A further variation can be seen in looking at the Boston area: after three or four waves of significant immigration by Mormons from the West, Boston leadership is still mainly in the hands of the outmigrants, despite the fact that many locals have emerged in the past half-century as valuable resources. This tension in many communities lasts well into modern times, beyond the stages suggested above.<sup>9</sup>

## CREATING THE OUTMIGRATION ARCHIVE

In order to provide a collection of oral histories of outmigrants who became LDS leaders, the Outmigration Project was founded at BYU in the

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9. Richard Bushman pioneered the study of Mormon wards in the outmigration and set in motion the study of a ward in Delaware of which he was bishop. See Susan Buhler Taber, *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

mid-1980s in the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences under the direction of Dean Martin Hickman. Later it was moved to the Marriott School of Management under the auspices of Dean Ned Hill and, accordingly, added emphasis was given to collecting data about the managerial leadership qualities of outmigrants. The project chose twenty communities to serve as “target cities” for this study, which were selected for their population size and geographical diversity and which, by the year 2000, had all become centers of LDS populations. Over 550 interviews have been conducted with outmigrants who became leaders of some sort in their new environs.

As leadership cases were desired by the Marriott School, we adopted four criteria for inclusion: first, people who were leaders in the Church in some way; second, members who were financially successful; third, members who pursued higher education; and fourth, members who were active in the political, social, and cultural life of their new cities. On the whole, most of the leaders selected filled all four of these categories. It is important to note, though, that these categories are not measures of intrinsic value to the Church or measures of spirituality. As Armand Mauss says, “Having grown up in the California Bay Area during the 1930s and 1940s, I can think of scores of spiritual giants who were indispensable to the growth of the Church there, while barely able to support their families economically.”<sup>10</sup>

The transcripts of these interviews and accompanying case studies will be donated to the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, where they will be available for future researchers. As time moves on, the recent past quickly becomes the distant past, and historians of twentieth-century Mormon history will look to interpret the twentieth century in more depth. Some have already started.<sup>11</sup>

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10. Armand Mauss, email to the authors, December 19, 2006.

11. While the majority of study of the twentieth century has focused on the early decades, scholars are starting to focus on the rest of the period. Some of the notable studies include, but are not limited to, the following: Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*; Noel B. Reynolds, “The Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon in the Twentieth Century,” *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 6–47; Jan Shipps, “In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth-Century Mormonism,” in *After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective*, ed. Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry (Provo, Utah: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, 1983), 3–35; Shipps, “Beyond the Stereotypes,” 342–60; Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*; Richard H. Jackson and Mark W. Jackson, eds., *Geography, Culture, and Change in the Mormon West: 1847–2003* (Jacksonville, Ala.: National Council for Geographic Education, 2003); Alexander, *Times of Transition*; Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright,

The interviews were loosely structured, open-ended classic oral history interviews, most lasting a minimum of one and one-half hours. They were taped and have been transcribed. The interviews today are housed in two collections: the original interviews, or Old Series, which number about 350, carried out mainly by teams of graduate history students assigned to visit each of the twenty target cities. The procedure for selecting interviewees was to contact several persons, whether Church or secular leaders, in target cities and ask them to nominate a list of persons, emphasizing that we needed to speak to outmigrants most familiar with the history of the Church in that area. With the lists in hand, interviewers would then phone and screen potential interviewees, seeking diversity of occupations, church assignments, gender, and general background.

In summary, the database can be accessed for a random survey of typical outmigrants in the Old Series and studied for the formation of leadership personalities in the New Series. Lists of pertinent interview questions were given to interviewers, but they were given discretion in how to utilize them. As historians, we were mainly interested in the qualitative and unique biographies of these outmigrants, but the responses to most of the questions make it possible to furnish generalizations about the process of outmigration. Our goal was to put faces and stories together with the outmigration destinations and numbers.

Each one of these interviews has a file that includes the original tape, interviewer notes, edited transcript, and in many cases, supporting materials such as personal resumes, clippings, photos, memos, and copies of letters. In addition to individual interviews, we conducted and recorded several roundtables with outmigrants. These took place in the Barlow Center (Washington, D.C.), BYU, the University of Utah, and Dixie College.

## CONTEXTUALIZING THE OUTMIGRATION

Historians have studied migrations for centuries. In the nineteenth century, one of the earliest scientific observers was E. G. Ravenstein, who classified different types of migrations.<sup>12</sup> Following his lead, theorists have examined many possibilities over the years. They have accepted his dictum

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*David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 2005); Carol Cornwall Madsen and Cherry B. Silver, eds., *New Scholarship on Latter-day Saint Women in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2005); and Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Mormonism*, ed. Reid L. Neilson (New York: Columbia University, 2005).

12. See E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48, no. 2 (1885): 167–227.

that the search for employment is the primary reason for migrations. For example, take a modern restatement of Ravenstein by Cadwallader: "Labor will migrate from low-wage to high-wage areas."<sup>13</sup> But he softens this classical definition for our times: "As history has demonstrated, there is the potential for a good deal of cultural, institutional, and political variation under capitalism." This condition was particularly true in the case of Mormons in the nineteenth century, whose major goal was to find a promised land. It was also true of Jews, who departed first from Germany, and later from Poland and Russia, seeking freedom and to escape pogroms and prejudice. The possibility of improving the way one earned a living was important, but it was not the only factor.

As to why people migrate, demographers White and Woods offer a commonsense explanation:

Migration occurs because migrants believe they will be more satisfied in their needs and desires in the place that they move to than in the place from which they come. An important emphasis must be placed on the word "believe." Migration occurs as a result of decisions made by the individuals in the light of what they perceive the objective world to be like.<sup>14</sup>

Project interviews confirm this observation—outmigrants really believed they could improve their lives.

White and Woods also point out that "migrants are not a random selection from the population of the place of origin. Migrants do not form a random cross-section addition to the population of the place of destination."<sup>15</sup> This substantiates the findings of our study, that Mormon outmigrants were highly individualistic and possessed attributes of flexibility, ambition, love of adventure (or risk-taking), and a strong belief in self, qualities not ordinarily found in the general population. Thus, while in Ravenstein's day economic motivation was the main factor to study, today a more nuanced approach has become acceptable. We have therefore followed White and Woods: "The use of migrant histories can be extended to a recognition that migration is a highly *cultural* experience for all those involved. . . . Migration tends to have meanings for a given society or for

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13. See Martin Cadwallader, *Migration and Residential Mobility: Macro and Micro Approaches* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 39, and 8 for following quote.

14. Paul White and Robert Woods, eds., *The Geographical Impact of Migration* (New York: Longman Group, 1980), 7.

15. White and Woods, *Geographical Impact of Migration*, 12.

a sub-section of that society that cannot be reduced to clear-cut economic or social factors alone.”<sup>16</sup>

The twentieth century brought about new paradigms for migrations for several American groups who were victims of prejudice and oppression. The Jews, crowded in their East Coast ghettos, wanted to strike out for new opportunities across the nation. The Irish, also penned up in cities, now sought ways to move up the social ladder and move to the suburbs. And what of the African Americans in the South, walled in by restrictive Jim Crow covenants, waiting for the chance to move to Northern and Western cities—for jobs, to be sure, but also to be free from societal restraints. Thus it is important to consider the conceptualization of migrations within the wider context of American social history. The study of Mormon migrations can learn much from the factors and issues dominating the analogous migrations mentioned above.<sup>17</sup>

For example, that church congregations welcomed new migrants is an essential part of the stories of African American migrations, especially during and after World War I. These migrants had by far the most difficult challenge. In the analysis of the Mormon outmigration, we draw from many analogies furnished by Jewish, Irish, and African American experiences. All of these groups shared the fact that in 1900 they were disadvantaged, lacked decent employment, and suffered from prejudices against them. Yet all of these groups migrated to improve the quality of their lives through education and job opportunities.<sup>18</sup>

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16. Paul Boyle, Keith Halfacree, and Vaughan Robinson, *Exploring Contemporary Migration* (Longman: New York, 1998), 72. Emphasis in original.

17. For example, on the Jews, see the excellent studies on early migrations by Jack Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto: The Relocation of Jewish Immigrants across America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998); for later migrations see Deborah Dash Moore, *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A.* (New York: The Free Press, 1994); and on the Irish, see Timothy Meagher, *The Columbia Guide to Irish American History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005); and J. J. Lee and Marion R. Casey, eds., *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); and on African-American migrations, see excellent study by James N. Gregory, *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Black and White Southerners Transformed America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and E. Marvin Goodwin, *Black Migration in America, from 1915 to 1960: An Uneasy Exodus* (Lewiston, New York: E. Mellen Press, 1990).

18. How Mormons fit into a rapidly urbanizing American society cannot be explored in detail in this article. Because of its importance, this subject will be covered in a forthcoming article we are preparing based on the project's archives.



Urbanization is also an important factor that drove American migration during the twentieth century. People left their rural homes to find better jobs, to obtain higher education, and to live an urban lifestyle with its cultural amenities (concerts, museums, theaters, and so on). Jewish and Mormon migrants seem to have shared similar tracks in the twentieth century—moving into the middle class via white-collar jobs. Very few Mormons sought factory jobs (except during World War II), a trend similar to Jewish migrants. Both groups were ambitious in education and sought out the best universities; both groups sought out federal government positions, and both groups flocked to professional schools. Jews had to fight ceilings on university enrollments and residential housing restrictions, both of which eased after 1945. The Mormons had the advantage of being perceived as Protestants and hence rarely suffered this sort of discrimination. The important point is that Mormon outmigration took place in a national context of rural people moving to metropolitan areas. The Mormon quest for assimilation was therefore similar to many groups, but it differed in details.

One way of looking at this process is through the paradigm made famous by Harvard business historian Alfred D. Chandler, who won the Pulitzer Prize for his analysis of the emergence of modern management in the American corporation. Chandler reminds us that when Adam Smith, the classical *laissez-faire* economist, wrote *Wealth of Nations*, Smith spoke of the “invisible hand” of the market as the driving force in the emerging world economy.<sup>19</sup> In other words, if every nation were able to engage in free trade, the world economy would be kept in order by the regulating mechanism of the invisible hand. By contrast, Chandler’s study argued that the invisible hand of the market started to disappear around 1900 as great American corporations such as U.S. Steel, Swift, American Tobacco, and others began to dominate the nation’s business. The reason, according to Chandler, was the emergence of the “visible hand” of the new corporate manager who sought to control conditions of the market through vertically integrated firms, cartels, trusts, and mergers.<sup>20</sup>

In drawing an analogy between changes in these macroeconomic trends and Mormon migration patterns, one finds an inverse parallel that is helpful in explaining the twentieth-century migration patterns. While the marketplace became more centralized at the advent of the twentieth

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19. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (New York: Modern Library, 1937), 423.

20. Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977).

century and capital coalesced in the hands of fewer and fewer large firms, Mormon migration patterns became less centralized and more and more population centers of Mormonism sprang up.<sup>21</sup> The directives of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young had served as the visible hand in shaping Mormon migration patterns for much of the nineteenth century. Under Smith, the Saints were to gather to population centers to build up cities of Zion. And under Brigham Young's leadership, the majority of Latter-day Saints immigrated to the Salt Lake Valley. From there, Young dispatched these families to settle in numerous outposts throughout the Mormon Corridor. It is the contention of this article, therefore, that at the turn of the twentieth century, this situation changed. The invisible hand of economic and educational opportunity took over from the visible hand of prophetic directives in shaping Latter-day Saint migration patterns. Mormons now moved out of the pioneer settlements in the West in a random manner to search for professional and educational opportunities in urban centers around the country.

This being said, the teachings of Joseph Smith and administrative decisions of Brigham Young had paradoxically laid a foundation for the twentieth-century outmigration. Joseph Smith had taught that the Latter-day Saints embraced truth from whatever its source. In his letter to John Wentworth, he reaffirmed the Pauline injunction "If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."<sup>22</sup> And in Kirtland, Ohio, he had revealed to the Saints the injunction to "seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning" (D&C 88:118). Brigham Young declared, "We believe in all good. If you can find a truth in heaven, earth or hell, it belongs to our doctrine. We believe it; it is ours; we claim it."<sup>23</sup>

In taking benefit of the resources of the nineteenth-century "host culture," Brigham Young dispatched Latter-day Saints from the Mormon

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21. This is not to say, though, that the Church itself became less centralized over the twentieth century. In many ways, the Church became much more centralized and uniform. As Armand Mauss has written, "The system of governance evolving in the church began to be based far less upon the individual prophetic initiative of a Joseph Smith or a Brigham Young and far more upon the collective, collegial, and bureaucratic model usually associated with large corporations." Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*, 23.

22. 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), 4:541. Philippians 4:8 is the text Joseph Smith was paraphrasing.

23. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 13:335 (April 24, 1870).

Corridor to the East Coast and to Europe to gain education and experience not available to them in the Intermountain West. In preparing for construction of the most recognizable Mormon symbol, the Salt Lake Temple, Brigham Young sent Truman Angell to Europe to study religious architecture. He also sent a group of artists to France to study the most current art techniques in preparation for painting the murals of the Salt Lake Temple.<sup>24</sup> Latter-day Saints like these served as role models for those in the twentieth century who sought expert training outside of the Mormon West.

## DIFFERENT FACETS REVEALED BY THE PROJECT

Standing back and analyzing the interviews collected, similarities arise that help explain the motivations and causes of the outmigration. Doing so also reveals the shared experiences that most of the outmigrants went through regardless of their location. Further research needs to be done to fully understand the implications of this phenomenon, its causes, and its effects. At the outset, though, visible trends are seen. The following is a sampling of some of the important facets that have emerged thus far.

### Assimilation

Many who left the West to study or complete training programs wanted to return home quickly and did so. But others desired instead to stay in their new locales and assimilate into the larger culture of their new residence. Settling far from the Mormon Corridor was facilitated by changes in the Church itself. The face of the Church had radically changed since the nineteenth century with the abandonment of polygamy, theocracy, communitarianism, and anti-American rhetoric. And while struggles still ensued and perceptions were not changed overnight, the more mainstream face of Mormonism fostered an environment wherein Latter-day Saints were accepted in businesses and universities that previously would have shunned them.<sup>25</sup>

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24. The artists were John Hafen (1856–1910), Lorus Pratt (1855–1923), John B. Fairbanks (1855–1940), Edwin Evans (1860–1946), and Herman H. Haag (1871–95). Richard G. Oman, “Arts, Visual,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:70–73.

25. For more on the relationship of Mormons in the Intermountain West to the broader American culture, see Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*; Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*; and Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004).

On the whole, persons interviewed did not perceive that they were moving toward Babylon. They tended to share the American wish to move to the cities and, therefore, simply joined a national process that was rapidly gaining steam by 1900. Moreover, the overwhelming evidence suggests that the outmigration was a positive experience. For example, Ned Hill commented on the benefits of his years as an outmigrant faculty member at Cornell and Indiana Universities as follows: “It was wonderful to know that there were awfully good people who were Catholics, Jews, or atheists—people of very different backgrounds. We developed dear, dear friends whom we still interact with today.”<sup>26</sup> With similar responses repeated hundreds of times in the project’s interviews, the data strongly suggest that most Latter-day Saints participated willingly and wholeheartedly in their new homes, becoming active in their neighborhoods or communities, but never relinquishing their own individual and unique identity.<sup>27</sup>

The changing public image of the Church in the twentieth century is a topic related to assimilation but will only be touched on here in a limited way. Reactions to questions about public perceptions about the Church vary greatly in our interviews, but on the whole, most of the outmigrants fostered positive perceptions of Mormonism. The information gathered from the Outmigration Project suggests that relations were rarely a problem, or, if so, have improved. But work still remains to be done. As Claudia Bushman has written, “As the Church tries to manage its public face and

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26. Ned Hill, interview with the authors, March 8, 2007.

27. The authors have studied a similar phenomenon during several major field trips to West Africa among the Senegalese, the first people in Africa to be colonized by the French in 1659. It was remarkable after three hundred years, in the face of having the French language and law imposed upon them, that these resilient people kept alive in their homes traditional language, dress, and customs, and for many, their Islamic beliefs. Yet at the same time, they had become productive members of a society and economy that was making a transition from colonial rule to independence. Publicly, they had become assimilated; privately, they had clung to their uniqueness for over three centuries. G. Wesley Johnson, *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1971); G. Wesley Johnson Jr., “The Senegalese Urban Elite, 1900–1945” in *Africa and the West: Intellectual Responses to European Culture*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 139–87; Marian A. Johnson, “An American in Africa: Interviewing the Elusive Goldsmith,” *International Journal of Oral History* 1 (June 1989): 110–30.

to build bridges with other groups, tensions flare. . . . Making peace with the larger community continues to be a serious issue.”<sup>28</sup>

## Replication

Woodrow Wilson biographer Andrew George created a construct to help understand the activity of political leaders that he called an “operational code.” He argued that it was important to discern what the politician’s operational code was before one could understand that politician’s career.<sup>29</sup> This framework might be transferred to an analysis of Mormon leaders interviewed in this study. The great value these leaders brought to an organization no longer expanding under the leadership of a visible hand was an operational code approach to community leadership.

It should also be pointed out that although leaders seemed to maintain an operational code, the reality is that all faithful members who migrated carried with them what analysts have called cultural capital—that is, they were bearers of cultural assets that enabled them to help in the process of replicating the LDS Church as it was run in the West. In Rodney Stark’s analysis, this concept is clarified: “Religious capital consists of the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture. [It] has two parts, which can be roughly identified as culture and emotions.”<sup>30</sup>

Other analysts, particularly the French, have recognized this and employ several terms, such as *culture de diaspora*,<sup>31</sup> *capital ethnique*,<sup>32</sup> *ethnité diasporique*,<sup>33</sup> *capital culturel migratoire*,<sup>34</sup> and a phrase that summarizes the concept, traveling culture.<sup>35</sup> These various concepts speak to the same phenomenon one can observe in the Mormon outmigrants: they all arrived at their target cities bearing the imprint of many years

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28. Claudia L. Bushman, *Contemporary Mormonism: Latter-day Saints in Modern America* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006), 146.

29. Alexander George, “The Operational Code: A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leadership,” *International Studies Quarterly* 13 (June 1969): 190–222.

30. Stark, “Rise of Mormonism,” 64–65.

31. Chantal Bordes-Benayoun and Dominique Schnapper, *Diasporas et nations* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006), 69.

32. Jean-Pierre Hassouan, *Hmong du Laos en France* (Paris: PUF, 1997).

33. Martine Hovanessian, *Les liens communautaire: Trois generations d’Armeniens* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992).

34. Alain Taurrius, *Les Nouveaux cosmopolitismes: mobilités, identités, territoires* (La Tour d’Aigues: Editions de l’Aube, 2000).

35. Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001). Cohen and some of the other authors cited recognize the pioneering work of James Clifford, “Diaporas,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 302–38.

of socialization in Mormon doctrine and culture that made it possible to quickly assume a useful role in whatever branch or ward they contacted. The above concepts suggest this role was more than simply knowing how to act during a liturgical event. The *operational code* was something that some outmigrants possessed and contributed to their selection as leaders in their new congregations.

Few other churches have an authoritarian, centralized organization like that of the LDS Church. Consequently, few have more concern for replication in the way in which local congregations are organized and operated than Latter-day Saints do. By the twentieth century, the Church had largely become standardized. In contrast to the way the Church organically functioned during the life of Joseph Smith, it now had Primary, Mutual, and Sunday School. And in contrast to meetings being held in houses or in shady groves, Latter-day Saints now met in chapels and tabernacles. Even the Relief Society had its own buildings. Church meetings became scheduled and the way they were conducted was routinized. Whereas section 27 of the Doctrine and Covenants says that “it mattereth not” what one uses for the sacrament, this and many other things now mattered. This “way of doing things” came to be viewed as the correct way of administering the Church. Branches and wards outside of the Intermountain West that had not adopted all of the characteristics of the way the Church was run in early-twentieth-century Utah were seen as less developed and needing the aid of leaders from the West. Records show that in most instances, new converts were not placed into positions of ecclesiastical leadership but, rather, were trained in apprenticeship-type fashion as counselors to leaders imported from the Mormon heartland.

This caused some resentment on the part of members in these areas who felt condescended to. One factor that complicated this relationship was the fact that waves of outmigrants kept arriving in target cities, which meant that at any given time, a new outmigrant might arrive and be named as bishop instead of a longtime resident being called. Indeed, our interviewees often repeated something to the effect of, “The last Mormon to get off the train from Utah became the new leader.” There is no question that previous experience, whether in the Mormon Corridor or as a missionary, counted, and in some cases, so did close ties with authorities in Salt Lake City. One woman from New Jersey lamented the fact that her husband, a local convert, over several decades was always called as an assistant to the outmigrants, who took the main leadership positions. There were many



instances of privately kept, hurt feelings when local people in the Church, hoping to become leaders themselves, were often denied the opportunity because of the reliance on outmigrants.<sup>36</sup>

### Critical Mass

Another factor in the way local congregations develop has little to do with time periods or phases but is a function of the development of a “critical mass.” This concept has been put forth by Frederick Luebke to help explain the growth of ethnicity in the Great Plains areas of the country. Once a critical mass of the population was in place, a community (or part) could develop an ethnic identity.<sup>37</sup> On studies we carried out in the 1980s on the history of Phoenix, we at first believed the city had few ethnic enclaves. But once we began to investigate what appeared to be largely a WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) community, beneath the surface were many ethnic groups (Jews, Italians, Poles, Germans) in addition to the African Americans and Hispanics, who had higher visibility. These subrosa groups had never achieved enough of a critical mass as had the blacks and Mexicans, and therefore never organized ethnic neighborhoods. Hence to the casual observer, they never appeared to be there.<sup>38</sup>

The critical mass concept seems to be relevant for studying the great outmigration to this extent: it was a key factor in giving Mormons enough self-confidence to participate more fully in their adopted communities, such as entering local politics, serving in voluntary associations such as school boards, library committees, or participating in service organizations such as Rotary Club. Phoenix and Palo Alto were communities where a critical mass of LDS residents developed by the 1960s and 1970s, with Mormons elected as mayors.<sup>39</sup> As applied to the growth of local Mormon congregations, the concept of critical mass seems to be important. After

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36. See an early discussion of this problem in Mauss, *Angel and the Beehive*, 62–66.

37. Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969); Frederick C. Luebke, ed., *Ethnicity on the Great Plains* (Lincoln: Center for Great Plains Studies, 1980).

38. Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, “The Transformation of an Ethnic Community: Phoenix’s Italians, 1880 to 1980,” in *Phoenix in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Community History*, ed. G. Wesley Johnson Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), 69–74.

39. In the 1960s, David B. Haight and later Jack Wheatley each served as mayor of Palo Alto, California, and in 1970 John Driggs was elected mayor of Phoenix.

all, only when certain demographic levels are reached can an area become converted from a district into a stake.

## Leadership

When the Marriott School of Management assumed sponsorship for the Outmigration Project, it was decided to focus most of the subsequent interviews on the experiences of leaders in both the Church and secular arenas. Hence the New Series of more than 200 interviews examines how outmigrants became leaders in their new communities. They faced multiple challenges: how to ascend the ladder in their career efforts; how to balance Church, office, and family demands on their time; how to build a solid reputation in their new city; and how to navigate successfully in largely non-Mormon communities. We have been gratified to study how outmigrants forged ahead and became not only local leaders, but also many became nationally recognized.

Here are some examples: Bruce McGregor, an attorney and stake president in San Marino, California, who in the face of many “Anglo” families moving away, organized banquets and welcoming parties for the newly arrived Asians and Asian-Americans in his area. James Quigley, who upon becoming head of the New York-based accounting firm Deloitte and Touche, notified his employees he would no longer tolerate swearing or telling off-color stories. Menlo Smith, a candy manufacturer from St. Louis, who was appalled by the extreme poverty he found while serving as a mission president in the Philippines, responded to that need by organizing a nonprofit micro-credit society, which spread to a half dozen other countries and has now serviced over 500,000 clients. Dick Peery of Palo Alto, who took over his father’s modest real estate business, doggedly *walked* the length and breadth of Silicon Valley to identify new valuable properties, becoming today one of the principal landlords in that area. In an extremely competitive climate, G. Stanley McAllister, former New York City stake president, presided over the expansion of thirty-four Lord and Taylor department stores across the nation. Linda Crandall of Mesa, Arizona, built up one of the leading dietician services and training programs in the nation. Linda Daines, a college beauty queen from Utah State University, as a young mother took her MBA at Columbia and became a partner in the brokerage firm of Goldman Sachs.

Many lessons on how leaders develop can be learned from these cases. All of these stories of personal success share similar foundations: hard work, creativity and imagination, superior education, the ability to

become role models to others, strong activity in their local churches, and undoubtedly the good luck of being in the right place at the right time.<sup>40</sup>

## Retirement

A somewhat new factor to consider in studying the outmigration is the influence of retirement. In the early years, a great number of outmigrants returned to the Mormon Corridor to set up new households. But during the past several decades, with temples being built in Boston, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Oakland, and Washington, D.C., many outmigrants have elected to stay put. On the other hand, the emergence of St. George, Utah, as a major retirement destination, with an area population of over 100,000, serves as a new attraction for some outmigrants to return to Utah. Moreover, for many years the Salt Lake area had many associations for persons who had formerly lived elsewhere, such as the New York club or the California club, but as time goes on, these organizations tend to diminish. Perhaps the availability of inexpensive air travel, inexpensive phone service, and email means that people can stay connected vicariously and that face-to-face meetings count for less.

## Roles of Women

Another important issue is the influence of women—single and married—in the outmigration process. They came as professionals seeking careers, as heads of Relief Society, Young Women, and Primary auxiliaries, and as homemakers supportive of their husbands in relocating. Case studies are being prepared to illustrate all of these roles. For example, in Newport Beach, California, one finds Marian Bergeson, who was a California state senator and Orange County supervisor; and Debbie Dickson, who heads her own accounting firm. In Manhattan, Michelle Larsen is a professor of microbiology at Albert Einstein College. In Boston, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich is a chaired professor of history at Harvard University. Outmigrant women are not only involved in their careers and education, but many are also wives, mothers, homemakers, and active Church members. They are prime examples of Church members who brought cultural capital with them to their new homes. They accumulated this capital—the experience to lead and organize—during their earlier socialization in the Mormon Corridor or on missions. Without these women serving in Church leadership roles, it is doubtful that the Church as an institution could have been

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40. Compare Jeff Benedict, *The Mormon Way of Doing Business: Leadership and Success through Faith and Family* (New York: Warner Business Books, 2007).

so fully and successfully replicated in these communities. The crucial roles of women in the LDS outmigration experience was confirmed in dozens of interviews with stake and ward priesthood leaders.

### **Military Service**

Military service affected thousands of twentieth-century Mormons. Some of the earliest Mormon outmigrants served in World War I, and, because they visited the wider world, were stimulated to seek education or careers far from the Mormon heartland. Even more important was the period from World War II to the present, when thousands of young men and women served in the armed services. There are countless stories of service personnel stationed at places such as the Presidio in San Francisco, Luke or Williams Air Force bases in Phoenix, and at the Pentagon in Washington, who returned to settling in these places after discharge. Equally important is the fact that many branches of the Church owe their founding to military outmigrants who had the leadership skills to organize religious services in a wide variety of locations, both at home and abroad.<sup>41</sup>

### **Mission Service**

A great number of males interviewed for this project were returned missionaries, and most of them attributed their interest in exploring broader horizons to their mission experiences. Take, for example, G. Stanley McAllister, mentioned above, who grew up in Salt Lake City and served in the Eastern States Mission in the 1920s and later returned to New York to become an executive at CBS and then executive vice-president of Lord and Taylor. Also from Utah, J. Willard Marriott served as a missionary in New England, and on his way home, visited Washington, D.C., which later became the scene for the founding of Marriott Hotels. Places such as Atlanta, Detroit, and Dallas also furnish cases of missionaries who later returned. It can be argued that the missionary experience was critical not only for introducing thousands of young persons to other parts of the country, but also for creating a climate of adventure and willingness to move elsewhere that had less often existed at an earlier time.

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41. See also Jan Shipps, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 264–65.

### Growth of Universities in Utah

Two important developments for changing the outmigration from a trickle to a flood after World War II occurred in a growing Utah. First was the increasing population of students enrolling at Utah State University, the University of Utah, and Brigham Young University. As these students graduated during the next half century, great numbers of them departed from Utah as Latter-day Saint outmigrants seeking better opportunities. The most compelling case study is that of the spectacular growth of BYU under the leadership of Ernest L. Wilkinson, who took over in 1951 when 5,000 students were enrolled and increased it during his administration of twenty-five years to over 25,000 students (table 2). Many of these students heeded the inscription on the west entrance to the campus, which proclaims, “Enter to learn, go forth to serve” and “The world is our campus.” Increasingly, the student body was drawn from children of outmigrant parents who wanted a Mormon academic experience for their children (and perhaps hoped they would meet a Mormon spouse). Once graduated, most of these outmigrant children themselves proceeded to move out to other parts of the country. As for BYU students who came from homes along the Wasatch corridor, an increasing number of them also outmigrated, as table 3 illustrates.

The second factor was the great influx of LDS students who enrolled in graduate and professional schools across the nation. Places such as Harvard, the University of Chicago, and New York University had earlier accepted Mormons, but after World War II a surge of Utah college graduates headed for advanced studies at Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Wisconsin,

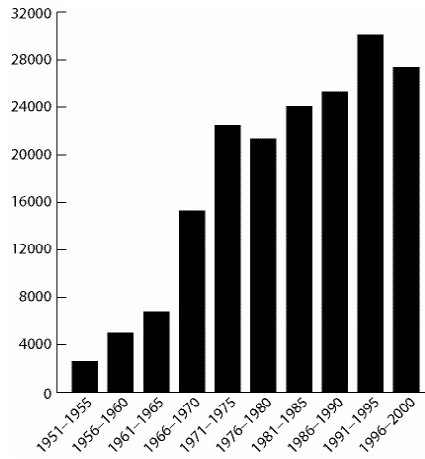


TABLE 2. Enrollment at Brigham Young University.

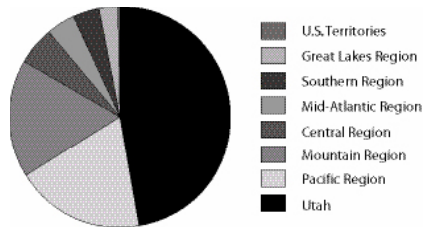


TABLE 3. Demographics of BYU Graduates Living in the United States, 2006.

Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Duke, USC, UCLA, Stanford, Berkeley, and a host of other universities. Dozens of campus wards sprang up in these towns, and the service of these outmigrants helped the Church to grow. It was no surprise that our interviews revealed that most of the early leaders of these campus branches and the resulting wards were outmigrants. Thus, in the second half of the twentieth century, a major starting point for the outmigration is to be found in Utah's universities, from whence tens of thousands of students departed to help found or strengthen LDS communities elsewhere.

### QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The insights discussed above are some of the major factors in our research, but a host of other questions are worth asking of the data in the new Outmigration Archive, such as how did outmigrant families relate to their new surroundings? How did children manage in new schools? How did ward members become surrogate families in faraway locations? How did the outmigrant family stay in touch with Mormon Corridor roots? Did their departure cause more family members to follow them? How did the breadwinner develop networking and contacts in a new locale? Were Church members an important part of the networking? What were the reactions of professors and employers to the Mormon outmigrants? How did intellectuals fare in the outmigration? What perceptions did neighbors and colleagues have of Latter-day Saints? What role did wives of men seeking opportunities have in the decision to not return to the West? How had they assimilated into the host culture while their husbands were at work, school, or both? Did they become active in community affairs? Did they seek employment outside of the home? If so, why? Did class become an issue in urban wards where wealthy and non-wealthy members mixed? How did outmigrants relate to people from races and ethnicities whom they had previously not lived among? For the net result of this process, as pointed out above, was the reshaping of Latter-day Saint society in the twentieth century.

### CONCLUSIONS

The twentieth century was an era of enormous growth and expansion for the Latter-day Saints. In 1900, Mormons were predominantly rural, not overly well educated, not very wealthy, relatively provincial in outlook, with little national influence, standing apart from American society. By the year 2000, Mormons had become mainly urban, living in large metropolitan areas, often highly educated, many quite prosperous, increasingly



assimilated into the American mainstream, spread across the continent with less than a third of them residing in the traditional Mormon Corridor. To say the least, this was an amazing transformation. But how did all this occur? Where are the detailed accounts of the people who forged these new trails? Answering these questions is the challenge faced by the new historians of the Mormon twentieth century.

The Outmigration Project takes a strong step in the direction of stimulating and facilitating new research on Latter-day Saint history in the twentieth century, and perhaps the greatest contribution of the Outmigration Project is to suggest strategies for further research on the reshaping of Mormon society in the twentieth century. At that century's beginning, the focus on Mormon activities was sharply limited to the Intermountain West. By midcentury, with the outmigrants swelling by the tens of thousands, the entire demographic profile of the Latter-day Saint community changed dramatically. As the Church's population doubled and trebled, it changed even more radically by the year 2000. Many Mormons had been transformed from a rural to a highly urbanized people, and many had become upwardly mobile economically, socially, and politically. In national corporations, in many cities and states, in universities, in professional firms, in research centers, and in government, Mormons have become a minority group widely recognized for their achievements. This project takes seriously the need for scholars to look at the broader Mormon society in addition to studying the institutional church. That growing society deserves to have its history told. The Mormon Outmigration Leadership History Project hopes to stimulate the writing of what the late Dean May called "the history of the Mormon people."

Thus, it might well be asked, what are the implications of the outmigration for the interpretation and writing of twentieth-century LDS history? The following are three concepts suggested by the interviews and collateral materials we have collected from twenty cities: First, these materials enlarge the resources for the study of Mormon history outside of the Mormon Corridor. Similar to the way histories have been written about Saints living far from Nauvoo during the early 1840s, so too this project aims to increase our understanding of the Latter-day Saint experience in the twentieth century beyond the Wasatch Front. Second, this research tracks the shift in Latter-day Saint culture from a rural, isolated setting to becoming a nationally and internationally oriented people. During the twentieth century, the Church became multinational and multilingual. Third, this study provides insight into the general process of assimilation of Latter-day Saints into the larger society rather than standing apart from surrounding society, as was typically the case during the nineteenth

century. How Mormons moved toward the mainstream of American society and yet maintained a sense of uniqueness could be the touchstone for understanding how LDS society was reshaped during the course of the twentieth century.

Looking ahead, one might also add that the twentieth-century outmigration prepared many Mormons to become part of yet another movement, the migration of expatriates overseas. Many businesses, law and accounting firms, government offices, military services, and Church divisions have recruited Mormons for overseas assignments, often because of their language capabilities. In many places Mormons, although small in number, have become important players on the international scene. Some, after winning a promotion to New York or San Francisco, decided to continue upward by going to London or Hong Kong. It is fair to say that some talented Mormons have become globetrotters and have carried the outmigration one step further. How all of these migrations and transformations have influenced Mormon society remains a vast field of study in order to capture the history of these people before it is too late.

The perspective of the outmigration can also serve as a platform for understanding how the Latter-day Saints are expanding into an international church. Elder Henry B. Eyring of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles summarized well the experience of outmigrants when he told us, “You know, the outmigration is the story of my entire family. . . . Behind all of this individual activity, I think I perceive the invisible hand of the Lord, to help spread our people across the land.”<sup>42</sup>

Finally, in order to convey a concrete feeling of what happened during the great outmigration, we present below three case studies—each from the Outmigration Project Archive—representing three different geographical areas. These biographies typify the experiences of numerous people. These examples were chosen because they show how outmigrants, starting with nothing or very little, could in time become important leaders in their careers, in their Church callings, and in their communities. Like many others, these three persons had somewhat similar backgrounds—growing up in rural areas or in urban semi-poverty in the midst of loving families. The two men in our example of case studies possessed a desire to leave their humble circumstances in their native Utah and Idaho, to move far away and better themselves. The one woman in our example had to struggle both before and after her first marriage, and yet succeeded against formidable odds. These vignettes demonstrate that one can find as much inspiration in these twentieth-century urban struggles as one finds in the

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42. Henry B. Eyring, interview with the authors, March 2002.

lives of nineteenth-century pioneers. The circumstances and times were different, but faith and courage are still the primary requisites for success.

### WILLIAM F. EDWARDS MOVES TO WALL STREET

Bill Edwards was born in 1906 in Emery, Utah, after his father had died of pneumonia. Edwards later recalled, "The night my father died the sheriff came in and informed my mother that my father's business had gone bankrupt." In fact, his father's creditors arrived the very night of his passing and took over the assets of the business. Bill's mother, Rodellia, soon moved to Richfield to live with a half-sister and took a non-paying position with a millinery shop in order to learn the business; later, with these new skills in hand, she bought a shop in Gunnison and moved her small family there for the next nine years and later moved to Rigby, Idaho. "Mother was able to build a store; we lived in the back and upstairs," Bill said.

Bill grew up attending local schools and later worked part time in a drug store. After becoming disenchanted with his surroundings as a teenager, he had an epiphany that changed his life. Even though no member of his family had ever attended college, he recalls, "I was inspired with the thought that I had to leave Rigby, and I was supposed to go to BYU. This was a manifestation to me from the Lord as real as anything that's ever happened in my life."

By the fall of 1924 Edwards earned \$135 to pay for tuition and books



William F. Edwards

at BYU. Upon arrival in Provo, he found his new roommate without money as his family's sugar beet crop had not yet been harvested. So Bill lent him enough to get started in school. Bill's folks promised to send him \$10 a month, but after Christmas that income ceased, leaving him on his own. Living in poverty, Bill worked on the weekends and was paid in food, and he used broken boxes found on the street for fires. "I learned how to master living on oatmeal," he recalls. "In the morning I would cook it as a cereal . . . then for lunch I would fry it. Then for supper I'd stir it up and bake it. It would be a rather hard biscuit to eat with water, but I got along beautifully." After getting

a job at the Hotel Roberts, Bill's financial situation eased. "That was the beginning of the end of my struggles at BYU. . . . During the next two school years, I worked at the hotel from about six to seven in the evening until after midnight. I had to wash walls; I can tell you everything about the sixty-nine rooms in that hotel!" Still, that job didn't pay enough, and to supplement his income, he stoked the furnaces at the hospital several times a day.

In school Edwards had decided to major in accounting and finance. "I wanted to be in the world of business," he later recalled. He had a chance to work with two outstanding professors in his area: Harrison V. Hoyt and Herald R. Clark. Bill joined the Alpha Delta Commerce fraternity and became a member of the student body council. For both his junior and senior years, he was elected class president. In his senior year (1927–28), his elected vice president was Catherine Eyring, whom he began dating after she asked him out in spring of that year. "It was a lovely evening," Edwards recalled. He never dated anyone afterward, and the couple married the following year.

Upon graduation, Bill received an offer to become the manager of a hotel near the Grand Canyon. He says, "I tentatively was considering that until the concept of going to New York dominated [my thinking] in the spring quarter of 1928. . . . I could go to New York, register at the New York University Graduate School of Business, and I would be able to find work, then in two years get my master's degree." The classes were also held several blocks from Wall Street, which is why many students preferred jobs in that area. He knew several other former students who had done this: "A number of us became aware . . . and there were a number of us that went back at the same time."

In New York, Bill immediately found an apartment in Greenwich Village and obtained employment as a cost accountant with Criterion Advertising, and after Christmas 1928, he was hired by Central Hanover Bank near Wall Street. Everything seemed to be fitting nicely into place. His classes at NYU were practically next door, and he could grab a bite to eat at the Automat: "I specialized in a bowl of beans I could buy for five cents and smother it with ketchup that didn't cost anything. That took care of me until I got home, which was after 9:30."

Meanwhile, he was courting his fiancée through correspondence and planning for their wedding, which took place in the summer of 1929. After Catherine arrived in the city, Bill had to keep the same schedule: leave for work at 7:30 a.m. and attend night classes until 9:30 p.m. "How she survived during this period and with babies as they came (all six were born during our time in New York) I am still amazed." Bill had little time for

any social life beyond church meetings: "We never socialized with non-LDS. I didn't socialize with the people I worked with. I was friendly, but our social life was built around the Church membership." Asked if he were active in the community, even in politics, Bill laughed and said, "We had no motivation to be active in Tammany Hall." He reflected further on the Church in New York:

When you have a group of people like we were, with our relatives all out west, and we back in New York, you build your family around your church group. The babies come, and you know everybody's children, you know every child by name in the ward. And you feel close and intimate to each one. Each one is interested in the welfare of the other person. And remember, you do not have your relatives around. You don't have uncles and aunts and grandpas and grandmas. All of that intimate relationship of life becomes centered around your church group. And therefore we would feel quite like a family.

After two years, the Edwards family began to think of New York City as their permanent home, unlike many of their friends, who looked at it as a temporary experience. After completing his master's degree, Bill contemplated working full time, but Catherine, coming from a family of able educators, encouraged him to enroll in the doctoral program at NYU, which he did, graduating in 1937. He also moved his family from the city to Long Island, following a path taken by most Mormon couples to locate in the suburbs, especially when they had children.

Meanwhile, the Church was reorganizing. President Heber J. Grant created the New York Stake in 1934, splitting the region off from the Eastern States Mission. The stake was the first of the twentieth century to be organized east of the Mississippi River. As part of the creation, a new ward in Queens was organized with Ernest Wilkinson as bishop, and Wilkinson called Edwards to serve as a counselor in the bishopric. Edwards recalled the responsibility he felt as a representative both inside and outside of the Church: "I always felt they expected more from me because I was a member of the Church. I think that all those fine people who remained active felt that we were the image of the Church, and we had to represent it favorably."

In 1935 Edwards obtained a position with Goldman Sachs. He was in an enviable situation, since the company helped him compile much of the research data required for his doctoral dissertation on the transportation industry. In 1938 he left Goldman Sachs to join a partnership with several men who had also worked there to found a new firm. Edwards was put in charge of market forecasting and analyzing potential investments, which became his forte. By 1941 his reputation was such that he was invited to

speak before the prestigious New York Society of Security Analysts. His talk was “extremely well received,” and he was invited again to address this influential group many times. A leading publication of the time, *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, asked to print every talk he gave. He soon was invited to give similar addresses in Boston and Chicago and to other banking groups in New York.

Following in the footsteps of Harvey Fletcher, Edwards was called to become stake president in New York and had become vice president and portfolio manager of a large group of mutual funds. Only in his early forties, Edwards recalled a turning point in his career: “I commenced to have a feeling develop, which controlled the rest of my life. I felt a very strong feeling that I didn’t get the satisfaction that one would want, just earning good money. . . . By 1950, when I was 44, I had just reached the top of my profession. There was no better job in New York for an investment man than I had. I became quite convinced that working for money alone didn’t achieve my goal.” Edwards was interested in service, and he toyed with seeking a teaching position at NYU, which meant he could also continue working as a consultant. “The Lord would not have protected and blessed me so much unless he had something important for me to do,” he recalls.

In 1949 he was consulted by Church General Authorities about the upcoming vacancy in the presidency of BYU. He urged them to consider his longtime friend Ernest Wilkinson, who by now had moved to Washington, D.C. Then, “when he was asked to be president, within two days he was in my office in October 1950 and asked me if I would come to BYU with him as dean of the business college. I felt that I could be a great help to him. I have quite a different way of working with people than President Wilkinson had, and I felt I could help him succeed.” It meant taking a pay cut of 85 percent over his New York salary, but Edwards “prayerfully pondered this for only a few hours” and decided that going to BYU was the answer to his new goal of dedicating his life to be of service to others. He affirmed, “My sweet wife supported me” in this radical change of career and lifestyle.

Edwards became a right-hand man for Wilkinson for several years, not only as dean of the business school, but also as an informal assistant to the president. Several years later, Wilkinson made Edwards a vice president of the university. But the residency of such a well-qualified financial expert soon attracted the eye of President David O. McKay, who asked Edwards in 1955 to come to Salt Lake to advise the First Presidency on financial matters. By 1957 this became a call to move to Salt Lake and work as secretary of finance to the First Presidency. Edwards did this for a while and then worked for First Security for ten years. He returned to BYU for



several years to occupy one of the school's first endowed chairs until his retirement.

Reflecting on the significance of his New York adventure, Edwards recalled:

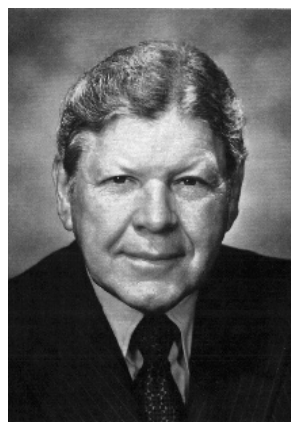
The New York stay was a tremendous experience for me, from the point of view of my academic training, in terms of developing my spirituality. I don't know if I could have made such progress in the West. I may never have had the opportunities I had back there. We had golden opportunities. Living out in the mission field was a great blessing to our family—it held us together. Every Saturday, every Sunday was a family day. So New York had a great impact on us, and it helped me prepare so that we could come back West.

### ROY OSCARSON SELLS SHOES IN ST. LOUIS

Roy Oscarson, the son of Swedish immigrants, grew up in Pleasant Grove, Utah, on his family's fruit and berry orchard. He recalled, "We had all the necessities of life. We lived off what we raised and the fruits. We drove into Salt Lake and sold our produce on the growers' market there." He remembered fondly going to this open air market in a team and wagon, stopping off in Sandy for the night, rising early to get their stand set up. He continued, "We also had cows to herd and milk and weeds to pull and trees to prune. We were very busy with chores. . . . I suppose the greatest heritage we had was the example and experience of industry that was in my father and my mother, who worked from dawn to dusk and even after."

Oscarson graduated from high school and then worked at the Bingham Copper Mine before being called to the Swedish Mission. He was pleased to serve in the land where his father was converted. Roy's mission created an interest in Sweden, its people, and its culture that lasted a lifetime. Upon returning from Europe, Roy found Utah in the midst of the Great Depression. Instead of preparing to go to college, he scrambled to find a job. A former mission companion alerted him to a position in Salt Lake selling shoes at Christensen's for \$10 a week—a hinge upon which the rest of his life swung.

With his meager earnings in hand, Roy married Vera Brown, his high school sweetheart, in the Salt Lake Temple. He and a friend set up their own shoe business, but a



Roy Oscarson

lack of capital proved to be fatal in an economic climate that was growing worse. Roy was left with a family to provide for, debt from a failed business, and no job. A new Baker shoe store had just opened in Salt Lake, and Roy found work there on commission as an extra salesman. He earned a 5 percent commission on every pair of shoes he sold, with the typical price being \$3; with hard work, he was able again earn \$10 a week working part time. Then a regional manager told him that a full-time job was opening up in the Seattle store in August of 1932 for \$18 a week. That sounded good to Roy, although he would have to pay his own expenses to get to Seattle. So he hitchhiked to Seattle and arranged for Vera and the baby to come later when he had saved enough to pay for their trip. Although he had found employment, Roy's debts still took seven years to pay off. They would have preferred to stay in Utah, Roy recalled, but the economy "was disastrous, so while we didn't want to leave, we left because of the necessity of survival."

The Oscarsons found Seattle at first to be "gloomy and depressing . . . but we learned to love the area. . . . We got used to the rain." They made contact with the Church in Seattle, which at that time consisted of a small branch with around 100 members. "I was asked to serve on the district council, and I traveled around that area all the way from Grace Harbor to Vancouver, British Columbia. They were small, tiny branches. That's what it was like in 1932."

The Oscarsons spent seven years in the Northwest. Roy was transferred from Seattle to Spokane three years after his arrival in Washington. He later spent time working in Portland, Oregon; Seattle again; then he was moved to Tacoma, Washington, where he had been hired as the manager of a Chandler shoe store. He received a promotion to be the regional manager over the Los Angeles area. With the passage of time, however, he put this period of travail into a larger perspective: "Going to Seattle was probably the best thing that happened to us. We got launched into a company that was fast growing and promoted from within, with continuous advancement. Eleven years after going to Seattle, I was brought into St. Louis as general sales manager of the entire company."

Although he had visited St. Louis many times on business, moving there was quite a contrast to living in the Pacific coastal cities. St. Louis had formidable challenges, including pollution and poverty. In 1943 people were still burning soft coal, which left the city coated with soot. Air conditioning was not on the scene yet, which left the city "very uncomfortably warm and humid" in the summers. Furthermore, as Roy recalls, "There had not been a new building built in downtown St. Louis for sixty years. It was really the pits; that's what it was. The town was surrounded by slum

areas, with open outhouses in the back: very, very ugly. The city had gone downhill. . . . As [residents] expanded into the suburbs, they sort of abandoned downtown.”

Oscarson arrived not knowing anybody in St. Louis other than his colleagues in the company. But Irving Edison, president and one of the five Edison brothers, founders of the company, made him feel very much at home: “I recall that on the evening I got here, the thirteenth of August, 1943, that Irving and his wife invited me to have dinner with them at the hotel.” Roy was curious to know why the brothers had bypassed older and more-experienced regional managers, some twenty of them, to offer him the position. Irving Edison hesitated to reply, and Roy worried that he had made a major gaffe. Finally the response came: other candidates had more experience, some with outstanding skills, but the brothers were looking for someone who could represent the company in every state of the Union: “We felt we had to have someone with that something extra. I don’t know quite how to define it. I think we’d call it a spiritual quality that you have.”

The LDS community consisted of about 500 members in the metropolitan region—the main branch was on Maple Avenue with two satellite Sunday Schools in East St. Louis and Belleville. But the total attendance at meetings was only about 80 or 90 people. When Roy first walked into the Maple Avenue chapel, a third of the plaster had fallen off the ceiling. “As you sat on the benches, you would get slivers in the calves of your legs. And there was a smell there. Every time it rained, the sewer would back up. Many times before services, my two boys, Dick and Don, would help me hose down the basement to get that smell out of there.” The building had been purchased in 1916, when it already was an old structure.

After being called as branch president, Oscarson decided that the time had come to relocate. He persuaded the members to help fix up the building, to replaster the ceiling, put in new window frames, sand the wood floors, and install new pews. The net result created an attractive building, which the Church was able to sell for \$16,000—the seed money for a building fund. At this point the members rented the Hamilton schoolhouse for two years while building the new chapel. His leadership and vision were valuable to the membership there. He later recalled, “There was a dearth of experienced leadership. . . . I suppose we brought a sense of confidence and assurance to the people that they very much wanted and needed.” The goal of obtaining a new church building “was a unifying force.”

Oscarson created an innovative campaign to raise funds. They bought and resold wooden pencils. The women were taught how to put on bazaars, which proved to be successful. But he determined the cornerstone of

success would come only after several well-off families made strong commitments to give to the fund. Roy got three other priesthood members together and challenged them to ante up: “The best way we’re going to raise money is take it out of our pockets. I will give a thousand dollars if you will.”

Roy was further motivated by the fact that several businesses with LDS executives had visited and thought of relocating in St. Louis, but once they looked at the miserable Maple Avenue chapel, they changed their minds. One executive from Idaho told Roy, “We can’t raise our family in this situation.” Once the new Jamieson chapel was dedicated, the situation radically improved. “It was an insurance that people moving here with family had some identification. It became a big thing, because afterwards, we began to get substantial families to come in here—people who had the same kind of dedication, ability, and confidence.”

As the members collected funds for the new structure, his boss Irving asked how the appeal was going. Roy told him, “We’re down to needing only \$6,000,” at which point Irving pulled out his checkbook and wrote out check for \$600: “I’ll pay my tithing on it,” he said. In later years when Roy was heading up the campaign to build the new stake center, Irving and his brothers contributed \$2,500. “They were that kind of people—very generous, thoughtful, and highly principled.”

Irving Edison later introduced Roy to the chief rabbi of the local Temple Beth Israel. “He used to call me number one Mormon for many years,” Roy recalled. He once was in Irving’s office when the rabbi was soliciting funds; Irving said, “By the way, rabbi, the Mormons raise their money by tithing.” “Well, yes,” acknowledged the rabbi, “but you know, we are the ones who started it.” To which Irving quipped, “Yes, but they made it work.”

Financially, LDS Church headquarters agreed to build a \$100,000 chapel with the local members being asked to contribute 20 percent. So, Oscarson flew to Salt Lake City to meet with Edward Anderson, who grouched, “I don’t think a \$100,000 chapel is worthy of a city like St. Louis.” Roy was stunned. “No,” continued Anderson, “You need something better than that!” Anderson recommended an American Colonial style building more elaborate than the one Oscarson envisioned. But this would cost more, and in the meantime, the Church headquarters changed its share of the construction cost from 80 percent to 70 percent.

Oscarson returned to Salt Lake to meet with the presiding bishop, LeGrand Richards. Oscarson told Bishop Richards that he didn’t have the heart and courage to go back and tell the members about the increased costs, to which Richards replied, “Brother Oscarson, this is not your

church, it's the Lord's church. If you don't have the heart and courage to ask the people, we'll just have to wait until someone does.' I had my hide tanned," Oscarson recalled. To solve the problem, however, Richards took Oscarson to meet George Albert Smith and J. Reuben Clark. After hearing his plight, President Smith said, "Go home. We'll make good on the \$100,000 at eighty/twenty, and you raise the balance." The handsome new Jamieson chapel was built at a total cost of \$175,000 and was dedicated by President George Albert Smith on September 4, 1949. Historian Stanley Kimball noted, "At the time this church was considered to be the finest LDS edifice between Salt Lake City and the nation's capital."

In 1958, Oscarson became the president of the new St. Louis Stake that was created by Elders Harold B. Lee and Mark E. Petersen. The stake consisted of six wards and branches, an impressive growth since the days at the Maple Chapel just fifteen years before. During Oscarson's eleven-year service as president (being released in 1969), the stake added another eight units. One of the reasons was the continuing growth of the economy in St. Louis, increased educational opportunities, and employment in the military.

Not only was the outlook improving for the Church in St. Louis, but a postwar revitalization effort to transform the old downtown got under way, and Roy Oscarson played a leading role. With flight to the suburbs, something needed to be done: "The fight here, which I remember vividly, was whether downtown St. Louis was to progress or decay," Roy noted. "We passed a smoke ordinance, cleaned up the waterfront, and had a competition for building a new monument, which resulted in the arch being built. Once that happened, private capital got interested, and the slums were cleared out. For the general downtown area, it was a whole new world." Roy believed that as these reforms were made, the general attitude of the populace improved, "and as a result, our feeling for the city has changed. . . . We like it here; seems like home to us."

Roy and the Edison brothers agreed to keep their home office downtown and by the late 1980s had built a new \$50 million building. Roy had become active in the Chamber of Commerce as Chairman of the Capital Funds Review Board, which screened all charitable appeals and drives in St. Louis. He was in demand as a public speaker and was very pleased (as a person who had never attended college) to be asked to give lectures at the Washington University Business School and a commencement address at BYU. In addition, Roy was tapped to become Honorary Consul for Sweden for twelve years and was awarded knighthood by the Swedish government. Looking back on these years, he summed up his outmigration experience this way: "Because of my family and others who have come along, working in the schools and universities, the whole attitude towards the

Church has changed. There is much greater tolerance and acceptance by the community.”

### LA DORNA EICHENBERG FINDS SUCCESS IN LOS ANGELES

Some people taste the joy of success only later in life after a series of struggles. Such is the story of La Dorna Eichenberg, born to Lloyd Anthon Larson of Gunnison, and Dora Isabela Hicken of Heber, Utah. Her father, who had worked a few years for ZCMI-owned properties, decided to seek greener pastures in southern California and so moved his small family to Highland Park. So, as a young girl, La Dorna was packed into the back seat of an open roadster to move with her parents from Utah to California with a big collie to help keep her warm. “There were no motels in those days, so at night we slept in the car,” La Dorna recalled.

After a short stay in Mexico—which included living in a tent and learning to brandish a pistol—they moved to Los Angeles, where La Dorna’s Grandfather Larson had found a home for them. La Dorna began to gain an interest in the visual arts and received her first commission in grammar school when a classmate paid her a nickel for a picture of a princess. “It was a big thing,” she recalls. Meanwhile, the family located in Temple City and attended church in Alhambra.

During the Depression her mother fed those who came to her door, but in fact most immigrants pouring into California bypassed their city. Almost all of the men on her street worked for the WPA except her father, who was still employed by the Harbor Fish Company. “I didn’t realize we were poor, but we were. I vaguely remember his salary—it was about \$140 a month. Even then that wasn’t very good.” Her father even soldered the pieces of two old bikes together into one for her.

“There wasn’t any extra money. I had no allowance. I was supposed to ask if I needed something, but I never asked.



La Dorna Eichenberg as a small girl with her mother, Dora Isabela.



That's why I went to work in the dime store." She learned lessons about the treatment of employees during this time. She worked in the men's department where she was required to straighten all the shelves after closing time and without pay. Since La Dorna's mother was ill a great deal while she was growing up, earning money was always a necessity to help maintain the household.

La Dorna attended Alhambra High because of its superior art program. After high school she attended Pasadena Junior College, where in 1941 she won a competition and was selected to participate in the Rose Bowl parade atop a float, to attend the ball, and was given tickets to the game on the fifty-yard line. It was an exciting time, but after looking forward to these events she was crushed by the advent of the war when most of these activities were cancelled—a great disappointment for La Dorna and a sad time as she watched men go off to war.

After junior college, she enrolled at the Chouinard Art Institute. She was particularly attracted to the study of fashion illustration. "We had to take figure drawing every day. If you can draw a figure you can draw just about anything." Her main teacher was Hardy Gramatky from New York, a well-known illustrator who had been part of the commercial art colony in southern Connecticut; he had been brought to California to design posters for the war effort. Hardy had previously served on Walt Disney's original art staff and went on to specialize in illustrations for men's magazines. He believed in La Dorna's talent and encouraged her to come to New York after the war was over.

Meanwhile, La Dorna did her bit to help the war effort. She was recruited to draw portraits of servicemen who were hospitalized, to send back to their families. Many of them were seriously injured, in casts, in traction, and maimed. "I was very flattered. I was so pleased to be seeing these guys. But this was one of the saddest things I've ever done even though they were so happy with the drawings. They'd say, 'You made me look better, my girlfriend will like this.' It was so sad—I wished I could have done something more to help them." When the war ended and La Dorna graduated from her three-year program at Chouinard, she decided to accept Hardy Gramatky's invitation to New York. In fact she went to Westport and stayed with him and his wife, an illustrator of children's books, until La Dorna could find a place in New York.

La Dorna had an unusual experience in New York because Hardy introduced her to many of his artistic colleagues in the city who welcomed her visits to their studios. She was also taken to dine at a place known as the illustrator's club, of which Norman Rockwell was a member, where she met many of the top fashion models and got a good overview of the entire

New York commercial art scene. “It was an exciting thing for a young girl. Hardy was very good to me and thought I was going to make it.” To earn enough to live she became a model herself for \$25 an hour, when ordinary illustrators were paid \$2.10 an hour. “They were very nice to me. I can tell people now that I posed for *Cosmopolitan* magazine—at that time, it was a nice, sweet lady’s magazine, like the *Ladies Home Journal*.” The warm reception she found extended beyond the artists and into the streets of New York. “People said they were so unfriendly in New York,” she says, “but I would go into a place and young people would say, ‘Hi, California!’ I was blonde when I was young and very tan.”

La Dorna was active in the Church in New York. She recalls, “I had a very adventurous time in New York. The church was in a wonderful old building. There was only one ward in Manhattan, and it was mainly for young people who came to the city to have a career. They were all so talented and so much fun. . . . I lived in the East End Women’s Hotel, in a ten-by-fifteen-foot room with two twin beds, but no desk for me to draw. . . . I would put my stuff on the floor . . . and draw . . . on my hands and knees. That’s how I did my samples.”

She went home for Christmas and intended to return to New York, but instead married Robert Perine, who had courted her for the past five years. Although her husband was a successful artist, her art career was put on hold. They moved to Emerald Bay, where she enjoyed being near the beach and ocean. When they got married, Bob was not a member of the Church, but two years later he joined. These were happy years for the young family that came to include three daughters. But the marriage ended soon after the girls were out of high school.

By this time, La Dorna knew she would have to earn a living. Two of her daughters were living away from home pursuing careers, so she decided to go back to school to get her credentials as an art teacher. For this purpose, both she and her youngest daughter, Terri, enrolled at BYU. Terri had always been an outstanding student, an athlete, and an artist as well. La Dorna was proud of her and her other two daughters and was delighted to be studying with Terri at BYU. However, while Terri was on a BYU study tour in Spain, she was stricken by a lethal form of cancer (Ewing Sarcoma) and came home. She passed away the next year.

La Dorna had already suffered with the divorce, but when “they told me my daughter had seventeen months to live, I think that was the worst time of my life.” Along with these two terrible blows in a short time, La Dorna had a number of other things occur to hurt her. “I was angry. Everything negative was happening to me. I stopped going to church. I was mad at the priesthood for the way they treated me after my divorce—no

one ever visited me or my daughters for counseling. . . . Then I realized the reason I wasn't getting through to God was because I wasn't behaving well. . . . I finally straightened it out, and I was okay."

At this point, La Dorna had been single for five years. After graduating from BYU, she decided to go back to California and start looking for a job. She got a job as a fashion illustrator for Nash's and Buffum's department stores. But this employment was seasonal, so she sent out her resumes in search of a teaching position. "Nobody would see me. . . . When they realized I was fifty, they wouldn't even look at me. . . . Finally an old bishop who was in education got me a job as a home school teacher. I worked a year then I was hired by the school district, with his influence." In this capacity, she traveled to different elementary schools, carrying her supplies, and taught art five days a week. But she wanted to be teaching her own art class.

During this time she decided to take a class in writing where she met Bob Eichenberg, a former pilot, who had become an aide to a California state senator. "I had decided to never marry again. . . . I didn't even care if I went out with him or not. He did not feel the same way. He was wonderful. He was a very nice person. I dated him once, then found out that he was separated from his wife and they were getting a divorce. . . . So I said, 'I'm sorry, but no more dates.' . . . About six months later he showed up at my door with a certificate." And Bob had been baptized.

La Dorna and Bob were married, but La Dorna did not want to hold a reception. "We had nothing," she says. "Then a dear thing happened. I had a lot of friends in Corona del Mar—many of them were well off, beautiful women—they put on a reception for me. They brought in huge azalea plants to decorate. They brought wonderful food, such as crabmeat in little shells. And we didn't finish until ten o'clock at night."

A major turning point in her life occurred while visiting the school district's media center one day. Preparing for her round robin visits, she noticed a woman with bleeding fingers and a large bump on her hand—evidence of excessive scissoring. She had just cut out two hundred paper shamrocks and said, "I only have two hundred to go." La Dorna was shocked by this scene and recognized a need for a better method of creating visual aids for the classrooms she visited. When she returned home she was still thinking about this experience and described the incident to Bob. "If you take a cookie cutter and put a top on it, and put it under something like a paper cutter and pull down, and it cuts things out—why wouldn't that work? Bob agreed, 'Yes, we ought to do that for those teachers someday—when we have a little more time.' Well, we suddenly had more time, since . . . Bob's job with the state senator was phased out, and then he had

to have heart surgery and was forced to retire . . . and I was laid off because we got a new superintendent who cut all the music and art people out except for the band.” This was a crisis for them. They were both in their fifties, and although La Dorna had faced many obstacles in her life, how were they going to meet this challenge?

“We decided we’d better do that machine, if not for the teachers, for us.” They formed a company and developed their ideas for an invention that could be marketed to school teachers, with La Dorna designing and Bob implementing. Between them, they scraped up \$12,000 from their savings, borrowed \$6,000 from an aunt, and cashed in some bonds La Dorna had purchased when she was single. Bob worked with craftsmen and engineers to figure out how to build the machine they had in mind. “One man who built parts for cars let Bob use his machine shop for free. Ted made many suggestions. For his help, he got a lemon pie, since we didn’t have any money.”

“It was rough. Bob couldn’t get a job, but I was eventually recalled to teach junior high.” With this meager capitalization, they set out to produce their invention. But how could they market it? La Dorna heard about school district conferences where vendors could exhibit their wares. With no experience, she drove one hundred miles to her first conference and stayed at a Motel 6 (“that’s when they really were six dollars a night”). She found this experience difficult since she had to carry and set up heavy machines to demonstrate. “We had a table at first since we couldn’t afford a booth. We showed how it worked. I had to be a showman, but I’m the world’s worst salesman. However, when I put the die in the machine with five pieces of paper, pulled down the handle and five “Rs” came out, they would say, ‘I’ve got to have this!’ Then they would run and get their principal, or whoever could buy it for them.”

La Dorna attracted attention for these demonstrations with a large cartoon poster she had drawn, showing a lady holding a huge pair of scissors captioned: “Are you tired of cutting out letters?” This was put behind the demonstration table to catch the eye of passersby. However, the most important draw was the fact that she demonstrated the machine. No one stopped to inquire about the machine until they saw it at work.

The original machine sold for \$300; a starter set of upper- and lower-case letters cost an additional \$695. “The dies were extremely expensive to make, but many orders came in at more than a couple of thousand dollars.” About this time, Bob lost a part time job, and he too, started exhibiting the machines at schools and conferences. During their first year of business, they sold a total of 12 machines. “We couldn’t live on that income! We were barely making it.” But the next year, things picked up, and they sold 120

machines, and the following year almost 400. From then on, they averaged about a 50 percent growth each year.

La Dorna decided not to advertise. She believed that word of mouth and demonstrations would continue to sell the machine, but finally she was talked into an expensive ad in a national magazine. "It drew 2,000 letters, which was very good, but I hadn't listed the price. When I wrote back and told the price, we didn't sell a single machine."



Bob and La Dorna Eichenberg

Bob and La Dorna considered hiring salesmen but decided they would still do better by demonstrating the machine. So their lives became a great whirl, doing as many as 140 shows per year. They finally decided to hire teachers who knew how to demonstrate the machines and could get away from teaching for a few days. This turned out to be very enticing for these teachers: "They get to stay in a nice hotel for a few days. They like the people. They like doing it. They like the machine. They're proud of it. The same ones are still doing it. They don't quit." The business expanded both in the United States and outside as international salespeople were hired to sell the paper-cutting machines.

As for production, it was a slow move upward. "Bob was really good at producing the [early] machines. He found sources and somebody to build the parts. We had a little apartment over in Baywood where we would make and paint [the machines] on the patio . . . and store them under our bed. Our next space we got was 400 square feet. We were so proud of that. We grew fifty percent a year. We moved about six times in twelve years." They were finally able to afford a new center with over 130,000 square feet. Today, that is supplemented by six other production centers.

As entrepreneurs, they realized they could market smaller and less expensive machines to be used in the expanding scrapbooking market, and Sizzix was developed. "We had to have those made in China, which was not something I really wanted to do, but that's the only way we could do it. It's gone like mad," La Dorna says. Besides being pirated, the machines were copied and the Eichenbergs have paid high legal fees in litigation. In one instance, they had to spend more than \$450,000 in order to retrieve 50 machines. Patent problems presented another challenge.

As time went by, La Dorna recognized that advertising would bring greater growth. Word of mouth and demonstrations had been successful,

“but now everybody knows us. It’s wonderful that we have a really good reputation. That’s why the people came to us.” With advertising and growth came a larger product line, especially moving into the market for scrapbook enthusiasts. The company has also branched out into soft-cover handbooks to go with the products. One book on math for elementary school has been very successful. They are looking for ways to improve education and aid teachers in their classrooms.

Today, the company is run by Lisa, La Dorna’s daughter, who is also an artist. Although Lisa had no previous training in running a business, she has been successful in this position. Lisa’s husband works as the head of producing the machines. The company is mainly mail- and telephone-order oriented, but La Dorna observes that the women who answer the phones have to be good, since “today, we have thousands of articles the public can buy. We have thousands of different dies, thousands of numbers, and more than a dozen alphabet styles. . . . If you went to our plant, you’d be absolutely amazed . . . to see three stories up, the dies line the walls all the way up. . . . It is miraculous that Bob and I got into this. We had no business experience. We hardly had any money. And our employees are absolutely wonderful. They don’t cheat. They don’t steal. Most of them are not LDS but we gave them all a day off to visit the new San Diego Temple.”

La Dorna explained that during her life, going back to those early days at the dime store and when she was a fashion illustrator, she had been mistreated as an employee. “When Bob and I started the company, we agreed that we would never treat our employees unfairly. We pay higher rates and furnish a pension plan. We pay for all of that. We give bonuses at the end of the year, and some people make as much as \$10,000. We also have both a health and dental plan.”

La Dorna has lectured at conferences on how to become an entrepreneur, where the audiences listen closely to find out how this remarkable, yet unlikely couple, have prospered here and in the international market. Not only have their machines saved time for thousands of teachers, but they have given teachers possibilities of creative new ways to improve their teaching. Besides these benefits, the Eichenbergs have provided a pleasant workplace for employees now numbering over two hundred. Furthermore, the Eichenbergs have become generous philanthropists for many causes, including strong support for the Church and BYU’s programs.

La Dorna’s life has shown how Mormon culture has been of special relevance in her personal and business life. Although she was disappointed and hurt by church authorities during her divorce, she returned with a strong testimony of what her responsibilities were. Subsequently, she was



supported, encouraged, and benefited from the influence of other church leaders, and has given back the kind of support she received. She has enriched the lives of many people and in turn has been enriched.

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We invite further research of the LDS outmigration via the Latter-day Saint Outmigration Archive, which is anticipated to be ready by 2009 and housed in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University.

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Ms. A. 9.2.34  
2/63.  
Agnes O'Neal  
to Young

Patterson West-County Virginia  
Feb 4, 1863

Brigham Young, D.D.  
President of Church of  
Latter Day Saints Great Salt Lake City Utah Terr.  
Dear Brother & Sisters.

I take the present opportunity of addressing you an  
epistle. It is fifteen years since I have had  
any communication with any of the Saints. & I have  
had a great deal of trouble one way or another, but in the  
midst of all my troubles I have always lookt with an  
eye of glory to the promised land of Zion. I come from  
Perth Scotland some sixteen years ago along with  
some more of the Saints. We came on board a ship  
Among ~~with~~ ~~with~~ us were Elder Huston & Teedy. I have  
forgotten a great many of their names, I can't think  
of. We had some pleasant times on board the ship. But one  
death. It is more than eighteen years since I was baptised.  
I brought my certificate with me of the church. I was  
baptised by brother Spruel. I consider myself as  
member of the church of Latter Day Saints. Dear Brother  
Young. I do not know whether you consider me a  
member of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day  
Saints or not, I submit to your wisdom as  
you are an instrument in the hands of God &  
trust to your dictation. I desire your prayers  
& the rest of the Saints. Although far from  
each other in body yet present in spirit; by  
our supplications. Dear Brother it is my desire that  
you should not cut my name out of the books, I  
plead with you as I have ~~pleaded~~ ~~pleaded~~ for the children of  
Israel not to be cut off from you & the good church.

Letter from Agnes O'Neal to Brigham Young, written February 4, 1863. In this four-page letter, Agnes shares her heartache at not being able to join with the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley and pleads with President Young for her name to be kept on Church records. Courtesy LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

# “I Long to Breathe the Mountain Air of Zion’s Peaceful Home”

## Agnes O’Neal’s Letter to Brigham Young from War-Torn Virginia

*Fred E. Woods*

As the Civil War raged in America, thousands of Latter-day Saints hazarded the trip west through this war-torn land.<sup>1</sup> For a variety of reasons, however, some Saints did not reach their desired haven in the Salt Lake Valley, which lay safely within the borders of Utah Territory.<sup>2</sup> One was a Scottish sister named Agnes, who, at age thirty, embarked from her native town of Paisley. Accompanied by her husband, Hugh Campbell, and their three sons, Agnes crossed the Atlantic in the fall of 1845, bound for Zion.<sup>3</sup>

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1. For the story of Mormon migration during the Civil War, see Fred E. Woods, “East to West through North and South: Mormon Immigration during the Civil War,” *BYU Studies* 39, no. 1 (2000): 6–29.

2. At this time, there was a perception that the Saints would be protected from the negative effects of the Civil War if they gathered to Utah. For example, in an editorial titled “Civil War in America—Its Importance as a Warning to the Saints,” *Millennial Star* 23 (May 11, 1861): 297–300, the editor stressed that those gathered out west in Zion “shall be the only people that shall not be at war,” and that those who journeyed Zionward would be nestled “in the bosom of a vast continent, far removed from the scene of strife, and encompassed by lofty mountains and interminable deserts and plains, the country they inhabit will be but little affected by the battles and dissensions of the outer world.”

3. For more information on the story of nineteenth-century Scottish Saints gathering to America, see Frederick Stewart Buchanan, “The Emigration of Scottish Mormons to Utah, 1849–1900” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1961). See also Fred E. Woods, “Conveyance and Contribution: Mormon Scots Gather to an American Zion,” *History Scotland* 5, no. 4 (2005): 48–54; and Fred E. Woods, “Conveyance and Contribution: Mormon Scots Gather to an American Zion, Part 2,” *History Scotland* 5, no. 5 (2005): 37–42.

At that time the gathering place for the Latter-day Saints was Nauvoo, Illinois, but the Campbell family never reached Nauvoo; they were delayed for years in St. Louis. Following Hugh's untimely death, Agnes remarried and eventually migrated further east to Virginia with her new husband, Henry O'Neal.<sup>4</sup> There, in a region riddled by war, Agnes wrote an emotional epistle to Church President Brigham Young pleading for fellowship with the desert Saints. Sadly, evidence strongly suggests that Agnes never joined her covenant people who had gathered to a new western Zion. Instead, it appears she remained alone in her faith alongside her Irish husband, left with only dreams of a future land of promise.<sup>5</sup>

The following letter was written to President Brigham Young in 1863. It serves as a heartfelt example of a godly woman who longed to be with the Saints but was kept from her righteous desires by circumstances that prevented her from obtaining the Zion she longed for. Brigham Young's outgoing correspondence for 1863, preserved in Church Archives, does not include an answer to Agnes O'Neal or her son.

Agnes pled in her letter, "I beg . . . for this to be read out in the Church in my behalf." In publishing this letter, however belated, Agnes's petition is at last made public. Agnes's spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and grammar have been maintained. Her strikeouts are interlined ~~like this~~; her insertions are in angle brackets <like these>. Editorial insertions are in brackets [like these].

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4. The 1860 U.S. Federal Census lists a forty-six-year-old Irish farmer, possessing personal property worth \$150.00, named Henry O'Neal. The census further reveals that Henry is married to a woman named Agnes (age thirty-four) from Scotland. In addition, they have living with them a fifteen-year-old son named Hugh Campbell, who was born in Scotland. Although the age does not fit the ship manifest of the *Oregon* (#187), which lists Agnes at age thirty when she came to America in 1845, it does come within two years of matching the age of Hugh Campbell, who apparently was named after his father Hugh, Agnes's first husband. The author expresses appreciation to volunteers Dianne Holley and Elsie Cook for their help with research of this and other census records used in this article.

5. According to the 1870 U.S. Federal Census Record, by this time Agnes and Henry O'Neal had moved from Wood County, West Virginia, to O'Brien County, Iowa. A decade later they are listed in the 1880 census as living in the town of Cherokee in Cherokee County, Iowa. Five years later, the 1885 Iowa State Census also has them in Cherokee County.

## Agnes O'Neal's Letter to Brigham Young

Rathbone Wirt County Virginia<sup>6</sup>

Feb. 4, 1863

Rev. Brigham Young D. D.

President of church of Latter Day Saints Great Salt Lake City Utah Ter.

Dear Brothers & Sisters.

I take the present oppertunity addressing you an epistle. It is fifteen years since, I have had any communication with any of the Saints & I have had a great deal of trouble one way another, but in the midst of all my troubles I have always looke[d] with an eye of glory to the promised land of Zion. I come from Paisley Scotland<sup>7</sup> some sixteen years ago, along with some more of the Saints. We came on board <ship> Oregon [Oregon].<sup>8</sup>

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6. Rathbone was named after the Rathbone brothers, who owned property in this area also known as the Burning Springs, located in Wirt County, West Virginia. The Rathbones had petroleum wells that produced 1,200 barrels of petroleum a day. This production led to the creation of a town that had several thousand people by 1861. See West Virginia Geological and Economic Survey, "History of WV Mineral Industries—Oil and Gas," adapted from an article by Jane R. Eggleston, <http://www.wvgs.wvnet.edu/www/geology/geoldvog.htm>. This region of Virginia became part of the state of West Virginia a few months after this letter was written.

7. Andrew Jenson, comp., "The Manuscript History of the Paisley Branch," Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, notes that the first LDS missionaries to Scotland were Canadian Scottish Saints named Samuel Mulliner and Alexander Wright. They arrived in Glasgow on December 20, 1839, and, as the new year dawned, Elder Mulliner went alone to the Paisley region to do missionary work, as Elder Wright was too ill to accompany him. This record also notes, "On May 8th, 1840, the Paisley Branch was organized under the direction of Robert McArthur, a local brother." Andrew Jenson further notes, "In the beginning of May, 1840, Apostle Orson Pratt arrived at Paisley and assisted to organize a branch of the Church there on May 8, 1840, the first branch of the Church organized in Scotland." Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 782.

8. According to Andrew Jenson, "Church Emigration," *Contributor* 12 (October 1891): 450, the *Oregon* was the thirty-first company (second to the last) to voyage to Nauvoo between 1840 and 1846. He notes, "*Oregon*, about 125 souls. Some time in September, 1845, the ship *Oregon*, Captain Borland, sailed from Liverpool with about one hundred and twenty-five Latter-day Saint passengers, bound for Nauvoo via New Orleans. We have been unable to glean any information about the voyage." According to the ship manifest, the master of this vessel was James Borland. This manifest indicates that the *Oregon* arrived in the port of New Orleans

## Fred E. Woods

Several years ago while doing research on Latter-day Saint emigration from Scotland, I came across this touching correspondence. As I read Sister Agnes O'Neal's plea for fellowship with the Saints, I pondered over the question of how many other converts there may have been who longed to come to Zion, but simply were not able to due to circumstances beyond their control. This touching letter seems to serve as a composite testimony of those who never reached their desired haven but whose hearts were full of faith in the restored gospel of Jesus Christ.



Among ~~with with~~ us were Elder Huston & Leavy. I have forgotton a great many of their naines [names], I cant think of,<sup>9</sup> We had some plesent times

on October 28, 1845. Inasmuch as the average time for a voyage to New Orleans in the 1840s was about fifty-four days, it seems reasonable to suppose that this voyage left Liverpool the first week of September. The ship manifest also reveals that both Agnes and her husband, Hugh Campbell, were thirty years old at the time of the passage. It also notes Hugh's profession as "weaver." Hugh may have been employed making shawls of the Paisley design at the time the Campbells immigrated to America. At this time, Paisley, Scotland, was the chief producer of shawls modeled after those from Kashmir. See Meg Andrews, "Beyond the Fringe: Shawls of Paisley Design," [www.victoriana.com/library/paisley/shawl.html](http://www.victoriana.com/library/paisley/shawl.html); and Louise Coffey-Webb, "Paisley Passion," <http://www.fidm.com/academics/majors/textile-design/articles/paisley-passion/index.html>. The ship manifest also lists the Campbells' place of destination as "Illinois" (referring to Nauvoo, Illinois). Also noted immediately beneath the names of Hugh and Agnes are the names of their children: William, age five; Hugh, age two; and John, infant.

9. The ship manifest reveals the names of the Saints who were destined for Illinois. They have been extracted, and the list is available on *Mormon Immigration Index CD* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000). Among the names on the list is James Huston, age twenty-eight, noted as a "preacher," which appears to be the Elder Huston whom Agnes mentions in her letter. Although the name of Elder Leavy does not appear on the list, he may have worked as a crew member, and therefore (as was then customary) his name does not appear on the passenger list.



on board the ship. But one death.<sup>10</sup> It is more than eighteen years since, I was babtised. I brought my certificates with me of the chirch. I was babtised by brother Sprowel.<sup>11</sup> I consider myself a member of the chirch of Latter Day Saints. Dear Brother Young, I do not know, whither you consider me a member of the chirch of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints or not, I submit to your wisdom as you are an instrument in the hands of God I trust to your dictation. I desire your prayrs & the rest of the Saints. Although far from each other in body. yet present in spirit, By our suppli-cations. Dear Brother it is my Desire that you should not cut my name out of the books, I plead with you as Moses did for the children of Israel not to be cut off from you & the good church<sup>12</sup>

As, I said to you before, I say to you again, In the name of the father Son & Holy ghost do not cut me off.<sup>13</sup> Oh symphathize with my weakness. I know it is the church of christ of Latter Day Saints ~~of the~~ as in these the last days I have relized the power of the spirit. What I have received, I can never give it up. I have been blessed with the healing power. But yet, I am

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10. The one death is documented on the passenger list: Elisa Robinson, age two, "died on the passage." Her parents were William and Rebecca Robinson, and Elisa's siblings were George (age eight), William (age seven) and Joseph, who is listed as an infant. The ship manifest recorded that this family was destined for Illinois (Nauvoo, Illinois).

11. This is either Francis Sproul, who was branch president of the Paisley Branch in the early 1840s, or perhaps his son or brother, Andrew Sproul (also spelled "Sprowel" and "Sprowl"), who served as a missionary in this region during this same time period. See Andrew Sproul, *Diary (1840–47)*, typescript, 2, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. In reference to the early Scottish Saints Agnes associated with, she wrote, "I have forgotton a great many of their names," and it is quite possible that she was not baptized by a Brother Sproul, but rather by another early Church leader in the Paisley Branch named Elder Jaap. At the back of the journal of early LDS missionary Alexander Wright there appears a list of baptisms that took place during his mission to Scotland. The list notes the baptism of Mrs. Agnes Campbell in Paisley on the date of March 15, 1841, by a Thom Jaap, who is also listed in the Sproul diary (65) as "E. [Elder] Jaap," as representing the Paisley Branch at the annual Glasgow Conference on May 1, 1842. Alexander Wright, *Journal*, 493, Church Archives.

12. After Moses returned from Mount Sinai and saw the golden calf made by his brother Aaron for the children of Israel, Moses declared unto the people: "Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the Lord; peradventure I shall make an atonement for your sin. And Moses returned unto the Lord, and said, Oh this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written" (Ex. 32:30–32).

13. "Cut off" was a common phrase used by nineteenth-century Mormons to mean excommunication.

weak in faith, My desire is to be in the midst of the Saints, & if it is not the will of God for us to meet in this world, I hope we will meet in the day of the resurrection. & enjoy a thousand years again on the earth. Oh what a blessed time it will be for those whom trusts in the Lord. My Son was up as far as St. Joseph,<sup>14</sup> & he brought me a Millennial Star all bound up nice. he got it from one of the sisters who was on her way to Zion. It gives me great pleasure to read it.<sup>15</sup> Some time I get down hearted because, I am not with the people that it belongs to, But I am glad, I have heard the sound of the everlasting Gosple Oh Brothers & Sisters consider my weakness, I

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14. Saints gathering to Utah during 1859–66 often traveled by train across Missouri on the Hannibal and St. Joe line. Many then took a steamboat ride on the Missouri River to frontier outfitting posts at Florence (1859–63), or Wyoming, Nebraska (1864, 1866). For more information on Mormon transmigration through Missouri and particularly through St. Joseph, see Fred E. Woods, “Two Sides of a River: Mormon Transmigration through Quincy, Illinois, and Hannibal, Missouri,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001): 119–47; and Woods, “East to West through North and South,” 6–29.

15. Reading a copy of the LDS weekly British periodical *The Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* may have inspired Agnes to write this letter. Though it is not known which issue of the *Millennial Star* she was reading, various articles on LDS Church history and doctrine covering such items as gathering to Zion and news concerning the international Church (including Scotland) were a common theme throughout the nineteenth century. Such topics would have no doubt caught the attention of Agnes. For example, in volume 24, which covers the year 1862, and the volume that Agnes was probably reading from, we find the following articles: “To Presidents and Emigrating Saints,” *Millennial Star* 24 (February 22, 1862): 122–23; “Emigration,” *Millennial Star* 24 (February 29, 1862): 138; “Hints to Emigrants,” *Millennial Star* 24 (April 26, 1862): 264–68; “Emigration and Its Trials,” *Millennial Star* 24 (May 17, 1862): 305–306; “Edinburgh Conference,” *Millennial Star* 24 (April 12, 1862): 235–36; David Scott, “Scotland,” *Millennial Star* 24 (April 12, 1862): 239; David Stuart, “Scotland,” *Millennial Star* 24 (April 19, 1862): 254. All of these issues would have been available to at least some of the European Saints prior to embarking from their homelands inasmuch as nine known sea vessels of LDS immigrants sailed to Zion between April 9 and May 18, 1862. See 1997–98 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996), 162. It is likely that a female convert who had been aboard one of these voyages gave a copy of the *Millennial Star* to Agnes’s son on her way to Utah. However, it is also possible that Agnes read a later issue of the *Millennial Star* that triggered her desire to write President Young. One issue that appears to be especially poignant is volume 24 (August 9, 1862), which deals with topics such as “Consequences of Rejecting the Message of Truth” (497–99); “Why Do the Saints Gather?” (508–9) and especially an article written by Elder J. C. Graham titled “The Sacrament” (500–501). This article is particularly interesting inasmuch as it seems to relate well with Agnes’s later plea to be able to partake of the sacrament. In his article, Graham specifically deals with issues pertaining to the importance of partaking of the sacrament worthily.

was acquainted with Mrs. Hay of St. Louis, her hosband was sun struck, I was at his funeral, I have the book of Doctern & covenents that she gave me. I enjoy my self very well sometime reading over them. My husband was a priest & was in good standing when we left Scotland.<sup>16</sup> But when he came to St. Louis he got acquainted with some that left the church & he turned aside with them.<sup>17</sup> He took up with company that was not very profitable to him. He did not do any good for his body or soul. he went away the time of the Mexican war. & I heard in a very short <time> that he had been shot.<sup>18</sup> My children & I are alltogether. one of my sons is in

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16. Sproul, Diary, June 26, 1842, 79, notes that Mathew Hunter was “baptized by Priest Hugh Campbell & confirmed by E. Jaap on the above date.” This appears to be the husband of Agnes. A “B. [Brother] Cambel” from the Paisley region is mentioned several times in Sproul’s diary as an active local missionary. See Sproul, Diary, 6–12.

17. While St. Louis was generally an oasis of tolerance and security for members of the Church, it was also a gathering place for anti-Mormons and thus a potentially dangerous place for passing immigrants young in the faith.

It was also, in the words of a local Saint in 1846, “the first [place] where apostates vomit their venom and explode their spleen”—a reference to the trend of dissatisfied and excommunicated Mormons to settle in St. Louis, and especially to the anti-Mormon activities of Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, John C. Bennett, and Oliver Olney after their excommunication. In passing it may be noted that Charles B. Thompson (The Baneemytes) lived and published in St. Louis (1847–1848). (Stanley B. Kimball, “The Saints in St. Louis, 1831–1857: An Oasis of Tolerance and Security,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 [1973]: 491)

Perhaps it was the Baneemytes whom Hugh Campbell became acquainted with in St. Louis.

18. Hugh Campbell enlisted as a soldier in the U.S. Army on June 21, 1847. No record of his death has been discovered, and it remains unknown whether he died in the Mexican War or left his wife and family. Enlistment Papers United States Army 1798, box 108, RG 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C. The author wishes to thank L. Reynolds Cahoon, former Assistant Archivist for Human Resources and Information Services and Chief Information Officer at the National Archives, as well as Cahoon’s colleagues at National Archives: Connie Potter, Carl Rauscher, and Rebecca Sharp, for their assistance in locating the military records of Hugh Campbell.

If Hugh did die in battle, he was probably the first Latter-day Saint ever killed in an American war. Over five hundred Latter-day Saints fought in the Mexican War with the Mormon Battalion, but there were no deaths as a result of fighting with the enemy. The only battle that occurred was a conflict involving hundreds of cattle known as the “Battle of the Bulls.” According to historian John Yurtinus, this battle “occurred December 11, 1846, when several of the battalion’s hunters opened fire on wild cattle that had stampeded into the rear companies. The toll

College. he is at home now. But expect to leave in a short time to return to college. I got married the second time, & have a young family,<sup>19</sup> I dont feel so very well some times, I am troubled with my side, I often wish, I was near the elders so that they could lay their hands on me & anoint me with oil. I believe in the healing power. Dear Brothers & Sisters, I crave for your prayers both for Soul & body as I am here alone<sup>20</sup> & I neve[r] have had the

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was ten to fifteen bulls killed, two mules gored to death, three men wounded. When the battalion later neared Tucson, Mexican soldiers and residents chose to flee rather than fight.” John F. Yurtinus, “Mormon Battalion,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:935–36. For a more detailed account of this conflict, see Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846–1847* (Glorieta, N.M.: Rio Grande Press, 1969), 218–21.

19. The 1860 U.S. Federal Census lists four children living with Henry and Agnes O’Neal at this time: Hugh Campbell, age fifteen; Richard O’Neal, age ten; Agnes J. O’Neal, age eight; and Henry O’Neal, age five. There are tally marks under the word “Scotland,” which is written beside the name of Agnes. However, they should apply only to Hugh Campbell, who was born in Scotland and is noted on the ship manifest (as cited in footnote 4) as being age two in the late fall of 1845. The tally marks besides the name of the O’Neal children are incorrect; the 1850 U.S. Federal Census shows that Richard O’Neal was born in Virginia to his parents, “Henry and Agnes O’Neil” [O’Neal]. At this time, the other two O’Neal children, Agnes and Henry, had not been born. It is likely that Agnes met Henry O’Neal (an Irish immigrant) in St. Louis and that they left St. Louis in the late 1840s. The last known reference to Agnes living in St. Louis is evidenced by the January 31, 1847, St. Louis Conference. According to records clerks took at the time, Agnes was one of 599 Saints who attended the conference out of the total 1,478 living in the St. Louis conference region. See Sheri E. Slaughter, “‘Meet Me in St. Louie’: An Index of Early Latter-day Saints Associated with St. Louis, Missouri,” *Nauvoo Journal* 10 (Fall 1998): 52, 61.

20. Despite early missionary work in this region, there was no organized branch of the Church in West Virginia at the time Agnes wrote this letter because of the gathering of the Saints in the West.

Missionary work in that part of the state of Virginia now included in the state of West Virginia was commenced in January, 1832, when Luke S. Johnson and Wm. E. McLellin were appointed by revelation to go on a mission to the South; they preached in Ohio and in Cabell Co., Virginia [two counties southwest of Wirt County]. During the same year the Prophet Joseph Smith, accompanied by several other Elders, en route from Ohio to Missouri, in order to avoid mob violence, made a detour, traveling through the town of Wheeling [in the northern tip of West Virginia], and while there purchased a quantity of paper needed for the press in Jackson Co., Mo. In the same year (1832) Elders Amasa M. Lyman and a Brother Johnson labored in Cabell County and baptized forty converts. In the fall of 1836 Elders Lorenzo D. Barnes and

oppertunity of conversing with any of the members of our church for fifteen years, But, I feel thankful to God that, I am a spared monument yet over my family. I thank God for his kindness to me. It is my desire that with the help of God to be with the Saints on this earth yet. I should like to meet you at the lord's sacrament. & receive the blood & body of the son of God, this is my mind & will. if not I hope we will take it a new in our fathers kingdom when he shall come to meet the Saints Dear Brothr I want to know if there is any way we can break breat [bread] in <remembrance> of the lord's suppe[r]. I want to be counceled in these things. I want to know if I could not relize the power of the healing power, oh please advise me on those things.<sup>21</sup>

I long to breath[e] the mountain air, of Zion's peacful home,  
where free from sorrow strife & care the Saints of may God, rome [the  
Saints of God may roam.]  
Oh Salt Lake City when I think of thee, I long for pinions like the dove.  
that I should be so for [far] from thee & distant from that place I love.  
In hopes to join you soon I say adieu. May Israel's God my path with  
blessing strew  
guide me in safety for to gain. & bring me to Zion there to reign.

I Beg the prayers of Sisters & brothers & for this to be read out in the church in my behalf. I pray God my eternal father to bless the church & all the branches of the Latter Day Saints, & may he bless me an unworthy daughter. Formaly [formerly] my name was Agnes Campbell. But my second husbands name is O'Neal, which changes it. We are living in a place where there have been a great deal of trouble. where man has ben

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Samuel James raised up a branch of the Church in Shinnston, Harrison Co. [two counties east of Wirt County], and a conference held in that place the following year was attended by about twelve hundred people. That year (1837) Elder George A. Smith, who afterwards became one of the Twelve Apostles, taught a grammer [sic] school in or near Shinnston and labored as a missionary as opportunity offered. There were at that time about 75 members of the Church in the Shinnston Branch.

After the headquarters of the Church had been established in Salt Lake Valley, most of the saints in the Eastern States migrated west and the early branches of the Church in Virginia were consequently discontinued. (Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church*, 943)

21. It appears that Agnes is asking President Young for permission to partake of the sacrament, although no mention of priesthood authority to administer the ordinance is made.

slaughtered down like beasts.<sup>22</sup> We are living in that part of Virginia where they get so much oil out of the earth. one well had produced in two years 30,000 barrels & I suppose that there are 500, well[s] in the area of four miles, some well produces 200 barrels of oil per day.<sup>23</sup> It is a great pity that inhuman war is, or we would have good times here, Direct your answer<sup>24</sup> to my son William Campbell Marietta College Ohio.

I remain your affectionet sister in Christ. Agnes O'Neal

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22. At the time Agnes wrote this letter, Rathbone (Burning Springs) was a border town in the midst of the Civil War. Howard B. Lee notes, "When war finally broke upon the bewildered Nation the political differences among the people of the border town of Burning Springs became intense. Not infrequently an argument between a Rebel sympathizer and a Union adherent ended in death for one of the disputants. If the Rebel survived he hurriedly fled the town to escape mob violence. If the Union supporter prevailed he was regarded by many as a public benefactor." Howard B. Lee, *The Burning Springs and Other Tales of the Little Kanawha* (Morgantown: West Virginia University, 1968), 30. About two months after Agnes wrote her letter, Rathbone was invaded by General William E. Jones of the South. The town's oil supply was burned. One eyewitness described the fires as "an awesome sight. . . . Eventually the river became a sheet of flame as far as the town of Elizabeth—13 miles below." Lee, *Burning Springs*, 37. These events likely inspired Agnes with a greater desire to be with the Saints in Utah.

23. Rathbone had quickly become a hub in the oil industry after the Rathbone family struck oil in July of 1860. Howard Lee indicates that during this period "it was the second oil-producing well in world history. . . . The wide publicity given the first well set the country agog. But when wells Nos. 2 and 3 came in, each with a daily production in excess of 600 barrels, they started a 'wild rush' to Burning Springs comparable to the stampedes to the 'gold strikes' of the early West. In fact, so great was the influx of people that within a few months the village had mushroomed into a city of 6,000 population—with people living in huts, shanties, tents, or any place that afforded shelter from the elements." Lee, *Burning Springs*, 17, 21. Apparently Henry and Agnes moved to the vicinity as part of this oil rush.

24. Unfortunately, the Brigham Young outgoing correspondence (Church Archives) for the year 1863 does not contain any letters written to Agnes O'Neal or her son William Campbell. We do not know if President Young ever responded. However, it is likely that such a plea did not go unnoticed.

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# “It Seems That All Nature Mourns”

## Sally Randall’s Response to the Murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith

*Jordan Watkins and Steven C. Harper*

Sally Carlisle was born in New Hampshire in 1805. She married James Randall, and they settled in Warsaw, New York, where they had two sons, George and Eli, and converted to Mormonism. They moved to Nauvoo in 1843. A collection of Sally’s letters addressed to friends and family has been preserved.<sup>1</sup> The letter she wrote July 1, 1844, less than a week after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, has a remarkable provenance (see sidebar).

Sally wrote to her “dear friends” in the East, explaining her perceptions regarding the Martyrdom, and thus provided one Latter-day Saint woman’s response to what she described as “one of the most horrible crimes comited that ever history recorded!”

The historical record is rich with such accounts, but Sally’s letter is remarkable for several reasons: in it we hear a believing woman’s voice, and in it we have captured a very early response to the tragedy, a raw and revealing reaction. Because Sally wrote so shortly after the event, historians can distinguish between what Saints in Nauvoo believed at the time of the Martyrdom and later traditions that characterize reminiscences composed years after the event took place. She clarifies that Saints in Nauvoo believed the city council’s decision to destroy the *Expositor* press was a catalyst for the antagonism leading to Joseph’s death.<sup>2</sup> They faulted

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1. Kenneth W. Godfrey, Audrey M. Godfrey, and Jill Mulvay Derr, *Women’s Voices: An Untold History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 134–46.

2. Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Knopf, 2005), 539–41.



the governor of Illinois, Thomas Ford, for not protecting Joseph, and they believed that Joseph and Hyrum voluntarily suffered martyrdom to seal their testimonies with their blood. She even reports that Joseph foreshadowed his death by urging Saints to read chapter 6 of the book of Revelation. Sally's letter has a remarkably detailed description of the Martyrdom itself.<sup>3</sup> She corroborates the many historical accounts that describe the awful feelings experienced by the Saints and the faith and fortitude that characterized their response.<sup>4</sup>

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3. Compare Vilate Kimball's report in Ronald K. Esplin, "Life In Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (1979): 231–40; for other accounts of the Martyrdom see Ronald D. Dennis, trans., "'The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum' by Dan Jones," *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 78–109; Paul D. Ellsworth, "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 20, no. 1 (1979): 71–82; Warren A. Jennings, "The Lynching of an American Prophet," *BYU Studies* 40, no. 1 (2001): 205–16; David H. Pratt, "Oh! Brother Joseph," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 1 (1987): 127–31; Jan Shipps, "A Little Known Account of the Murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (1974): 389–92; Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (1983): 3–18.

4. Davis Bitton surveyed responses to the Martyrdom written by Mormons in *The Martyrdom Remembered* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1994), 3–21.

## Sally Randall's 1844 Letter<sup>5</sup>

Nauvoo July the 1<sup>st</sup> 1844

Dear friends I take this oportunity to write to you to let you know that we are all as well as usual and hope these lines will find you enjoying the same blessing we have had a verry wet season so far it is hard times especally for poor people I expect you will have heard of something of our trouble before you get this and will want to know the truth and I will write it as near as posible it has been about three weeks since the fuss begun in the first place thare <were> six or eight apostates cut of from the church and from that time the devil has been raging with all fury they got up a printing press and went to printing all manner of lies and abominations that could be thought of against the prophet and the heads of the Church and the Citty Council held a council and agreed it was a nuisance and ordered it destroed and it was done we have been expecting the mob upon us ever since the goviner was sent for by Joseph he came to Carthage the County seat about fifteen miles from here and thare he stoped the mob ware then gathered thare and the apostates with them I would like to give you all the procedings of the govonor but my pen would fail me he sent for Joseph and all that ware concerned in destroying the press and said if they would come thare thay should be protected and have a trial acording to law thay all gave themselves up and went but instead of haveing a trial thay were put in prison the goviner then sent and took away the states armes and sent in a company of troops he said to protect us the prisoners ware all set at liberty except Joseph and his brother hiram and two of the twelve elder tailor and elder Richards and thursday the 27 of June the govonor came to this town and said he had disperced the mob from Carthage and the same day about 6 in the afternoon was one of the most horrible crimes comited that ever history recorded thare ware about one hundred and fifty of the mob made an attack upon the court house and the guard and went into the Jail and the first one thay shot was hiram he was killed dead on the spot elder tailor was badly wounded Joseph then jumped out of the window thay shot him I know not how many times the mob then fled as quick as posible thay were painted thare ware some crosed the river the

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5. This transcript is based on the photocopy James Nowa made of the original holograph while serving in the Northern States Mission. The transcript he made on his mission provided the basis for the portion of the letter that we no longer have. Randall's spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and grammar have been maintained. Her insertions are in angle brackets <like these>.

### James Nowa's Account of Obtaining the Sally Randall Letter

In 1962, I was serving in the Northern States Mission, headquartered in Chicago. While my companion and I were tracting in the western suburbs of Chicago one day, we tracted out a sister member living in the ward boundaries. She said she had just received the Church magazine the *Improvement Era*, and it was not her family's name on the mailing label. She did not recognize the person's name, but the address was on the same street a block or so away. She gave us the magazine and we went to the address.

The person whose name was on the magazine invited us in. Unfortunately, I did not write down his name in my journal. Being nineteen at the time, I guess I didn't think it was important. He told us his father used to live in Utah and was friendly with the Mormons but was not a member. To keep abreast of what was going on in the Church, he [the man's father] had subscribed to the Church magazine. His father was a doctor and used to buy old trunks at estate sales. One of the trunks he purchased had Sally Randall's original letter in it. We talked this man into letting us take the letter and make a photocopy of it. Unfortunately, the equipment at that time was not very good—hence the poor quality of the copy. The letter was also old, and the paper somewhat faded.

I can find only two of the three pages of the letter. I think that when I was being transferred around in the mission field I misplaced the last page, but the bulk of the letter is contained in the first two pages. I typed up a copy of the full three pages while I was in the mission field with the help of a member of the Church who was in the media, so the typed copy is accurate.

next morning and the paint was to be seen on them there was only eight men left to guard the Court house the govonor left this place the same day about sundown and took his troops with him thay got about four miles from here thay met a man comeing to fetch the sad news and took him back would not let him come so we did not get the news till the next morning if you can imagine yourselfs how the apostles and saints felt when the Saveior was Crusified you can give some thing of a guess of how the Saints felt here when thay <heard> that thare prophet and patriarch were both Dead and murdered to by a lawles mob never has thare been such a horibll crime commited since the day Christ was Crusified it seams that all nature mournes the earth is deprived of the too best men thare was on it thay have seald thare testamony with thare blood Joseph sent word to the church after he went to prison to read the 6 chapter of revelations and give particular notice from the 8 to the 12 verses I have no doubt but that he knew he should be killed when he gave himself up he told his wife when he left here he was going as a lamb to the slaughter and many other things give us reason to believe he knew what would befall him he gave himself up to die for the church that thay might not be destroyed for it seamed all thay wanted was to kill him and thay have done it but I dont know as thay will let us alone now but I hope thay will be easy a little while thay say there is nine more thay are determined to have and when it will end I dont know<sup>6</sup> I expect there are many that will rejoice and think mormonism is down now but thay will be mistaken for the Lord has begun his work and he will carry it on in spite of all mobs and devils now one and all of my friends is honest people I entreat of you if you have any influence to use it now in our behalf among all people and in all places I dont know how long we shall be permitted to stay here or whare I shall be next time I write if I ever have another oportunity I am not sorry I am here at this time I want you should write to me I have not had but one letter from you since I came here I have written you a long one this time give my respects to all inquiring friends I have been braiding some this summer but it is hard getting palm leaf I intend to braid straw I shall write no more at present

Sally Randall

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6. A rumor circulated that the enemies of Joseph and Hyrum would not be satisfied until eleven leading men of the Church were dead. Vilate Kimball feared, therefore, for her husband Heber's life. Sally's language here echoes Vilate's in a June 30 letter to Heber: "Every heart is filled with sorrow, and the very streets of Nauvoo seem to mourn. Where it will end the Lord only knows." Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, June 30, 1844, in Stanley B. Kimball, *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 108.

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# “God Works in Mysterious Ways”

*Roger Terry*

James died on April 8, 2005. He was not quite seventy. I always thought James was a rather unusual name for a German, but then again, his name wasn't really James. It was Hans. But it wasn't really Hans either. Because of the personal details of James's story, I need to disguise certain names and places. So I'll call him Hans. Hans Meister. But he went by James, and sometime in late April 2005 I opened a letter from Germany and found inside a single sheet of off-white paper with a heavy, black border and a rough cross in the upper left-hand corner.

James's second wife (or perhaps third or fourth for all I know), was thoughtful enough to send me notice of his passing. She was not a member of the Church. I had never met her. Before he remarried, James had moved far from the city where he and I met. So I was surprised his widow would think to send me word of his death. Surprised and glad. And sad.

I sat for some time, thinking back to the utterly bizarre events that eventually led to the off-white, black-bordered paper I held in my hand. Of all the people I met on my mission, James was the one who made me angriest. And saddest.

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It was early autumn 1976. I was serving in a small city near Hamburg, a smelly place with four large factories—oatmeal, apple wine, carpet, and coffee—and a public works department determined to dig up every sewer line in town. On windless days these five incompatible aromas would hang over the city and blend together, making nasal inhalation almost unbearable. It was also the ugliest city I'd seen in beautiful Germany. No old buildings. Lots of newer apartments. Quite a few drab houses. But not the

house next door. Every time I looked out the window my eyes burned. The owners had painted the formerly white stucco exterior a shade of orange just south of Day-Glo.

Missionary work in this particular city matched its outward appearance—drab, with a few dramatic exceptions. When I arrived, we had few promising investigators, so we spent much of our time ringing doorbells. Most evenings we tried to set a teaching appointment for eight o'clock. If we failed, or if an appointment fell through, we either visited members unannounced or wandered the deserted streets of the pedestrian zone pretending to look for window shoppers. Or we simply came home early. We tried tracting once after eight o'clock, and somebody threatened to call the police.

One particular evening we got stood up. We weren't in the mood to look for imaginary window shoppers, and we'd pretty much worn out our welcome with the members. So we went home to "clean out the golden box." The golden box was a card file where we and our predecessors kept records of our visits with every serious investigator. Most of the cards were not worth reading. But one caught my eye.

"Elder Longstaff," I said, "look at this one." It was crammed with entries. As I read through the accounts left by four previous sets of missionaries, I had an odd feeling. They all said basically the same thing: "Frau Sievers is beautiful and golden. Her husband is a deadbeat." Apparently Frau Sievers had come close to baptism on several occasions, but her husband was like a ball and chain dragging on her ankle. "We've got to visit this lady," I concluded.

The next day we found her apartment. She was home. We set an appointment, but it fell through. For some reason—neither my missionary journal nor my memory can provide it—we weren't able to reschedule for about three weeks. This time, however, my new companion, Elder Sessions, and I did teach her. And she was everything our predecessors had claimed. Elsa Sievers was a beautiful, slender blonde. Her hair was golden, and so was she. She was a "dry Mormon": didn't smoke, didn't drink, had a wonderful personality, and was eager to listen to the missionary discussions again.

Over the next few weeks we taught her and her mother (who was there quite often) but never had a chance to talk to her husband. She made decent progress as I noted in my journal.

*October 26, 1976, Tuesday. We visited Frau Sievers. She's coming along fine. She's talking like, "If I joined your church, I'd have to. . . ." She asked us how the Church stood in respect to the pill. She also told us she isn't really married. We knew it already.*



By this time we had five investigator couples who were living together without the benefit of matrimonial vows. Two couples had previously been married to each other, had divorced, and were now living together. Elsa's deadbeat ex-husband had begged his way back into her apartment. He couldn't hold a job and was a compulsive gambler, but he knew her soft spot. He somehow persuaded her to give him free room and board while he looked for work—or didn't. We tried to convince her that adultery wasn't such a great idea, but she took her merry time ending it.

*November 19, 1976, Friday. We dropped in on Frau Sievers. She was in need of a listening ear, so we stayed 1¾ hours and heard it all. Her ex-husband has gone one step too far, and she's finally fed up and is kicking him out. She really wants to come to the WW Fireside Tuesday, so we lined up a ride with a member. She is looking real pos, and I don't see anything standing in her way, especially if she comes to the fireside.*

The WW Fireside had nothing to do with either the Kaiser or Hitler. WW referred to Wilford Woodruff, who, we were told, spoke with such power that people would hear him once and beg for baptism. Of course Wilford was not available for speaking engagements in 1976, but our mission president was, and he had a similar gift.

As for me, I was doing cartwheels. Frau Sievers had finally taken the step she had needed to take. Her deadbeat ex-husband was gone. I could envision a red carpet rolled out in front of her that led directly to the baptismal font.

*November 23, 1976, Tuesday. Well, today was the day. We rode into Hamburg for the Wilford Woodruff Fireside. Frau Sievers came. President Roylance talked for about 1½ hours, and it was awesome. Afterward Frau Sievers was almost ready to have a nervous breakdown. Things are going bad at home. Her ex-husband moved out, her new boyfriend has almost moved right in, and she's very upset and confused.*

The new boyfriend was a guy she had met at a bar a couple of weeks earlier. Frau Sievers didn't drink and didn't frequent bars, but she was out one evening with a friend who needed to pick up something from a man who owned a bar, so they stopped in for just a minute or two. Somehow, as fate (or Satan) would have it, Frau Sievers met a man there, and they started seeing each other. She had mentioned him briefly, but now it appeared to be more serious and complicated than she initially had led us to believe.

*November 24, 1976, Wednesday. Frau Sievers called this morning. She said she had slept well and had a very calm feeling. We went over at 11:00 and talked. She has changed. She offered to say the prayer. She has come to love the gospel, and it means something in her life now. She is so thankful to the Lord for showing her the way.*

I had never experienced a visit quite like that one. I had seen people accept the gospel. I had seen baptisms. But Elsa Sievers was different. She simply glowed. I can't describe it any other way, but even her apartment seemed to be filled with light. I'd been there many times. The simple rooms had always looked rather ordinary, but that day the walls seemed to shine. A feeling of light filled her home.

*November 26, 1976, Friday. I fell asleep praying again and awoke at 1 a.m. to the telephone ringing. I staggered to the phone half asleep, and all I could think was, "This can only be Frau Sievers." I mumbled something like, "Kirche Jesu Christi; Terry spricht." It was Frau Sievers, and she had a few questions. Since the fireside everything seems to be falling into place—the puzzle is starting to take form, and she can see the picture. She is really excited about the things she is understanding. She is full of joy and wants to tell everybody about it. She especially wants to convert her new friend, so he'll be there tomorrow when we come, and he wants to come to church with her too. We talked for 1½ hours. I finally got in bed at 2:30 and fell asleep at 3:00.*

*We had zone conference today, and I'm worried. President Roylance talked about Satan, the adversary, and how he works. I'm afraid for Frau Sievers. She is in a very vulnerable position. I know Satan will try his hardest to have her soul.*

President Roylance had mentioned one of Satan's favorite tactics: the counterattack. After we climb a rung on the ladder and feel a bit self-satisfied, he knocks us down two rungs. The next day when we visited Frau Sievers, we knew immediately that something was terribly wrong. Two rungs? Not a chance. She'd fallen clean off the ladder. Her apartment, which before had seemed filled with light, was now dim and growing darker. It was as if someone had painted the walls a deep shade of black. We tried to teach her and her new friend, a certain Herr Meister, or James, as she called him, but the Spirit stayed far away. And when I finished with my meager attempt at a gospel message, the two of them started talking together. A very bad spirit entered the room, and I knew in my heart that he had moved in with her. We had to talk with her alone. We had to warn her.

*November 28, 1976, Sunday. Frau Sievers and her boyfriend came to Sunday School. I talked with her afterwards about Satan while Bruder Müller, the ward mission leader, entertained Herr Meister. I don't know if she understood. She is losing ground.*

We tried to teach them together, but it was futile. Two starker opposites had never attracted each other. She was blond, beautiful, and spiritually alive. Herr Meister looked dim and unhealthy; he was weather-worn,

grim, and spiritually dead. He looked at least twenty years older than Frau Sievers. His speech was slurred and hard to understand. His was the darkest spirit I'd ever encountered. The feeling wasn't particularly evil. It was just nothing, emptiness. He was a spiritual black hole. No light could survive in his presence. He sucked it into himself where it simply disappeared. He chain-smoked and drank and was an adulterer, or, more technically, a fornicator. And I hated him. He was destroying the brightest soul I had met on my mission. He was preventing a sure baptism.

I tried to convince Frau Sievers she was making an enormous mistake. "God works in mysterious ways," she countered. "Yes," I agreed, "but he doesn't work in this way! If God wanted you to meet a man, do you think he'd lead you to a bar? Do you think he wants you to commit adultery?" She begged to disagree. "It was the only place James and I could have met. I think God brought us together." I just shook my head in disbelief and disappointment.

We taught the two of them for a month or so, but in the end we gave up. It was like teaching the walls. I wrote one last entry on Frau Sievers's golden card. "She is beautiful and golden. Her boyfriend is a deadbeat." A short time after that, I was transferred. I did hear before I finished my mission (four months later) that my replacement had eventually convinced them to get married. But they wanted nothing more to do with the Church. End of a sad story, or so it seemed. Satan had won another battle.



Seven years later my wife and I were honeymooning in Germany. We happened to be in that particular city on a Sunday and attended church. As we approached the meetinghouse, a man greeted us. He was so excited to see me. He looked vaguely familiar, but I couldn't put a name to the face. This puzzled me. I'd served for seven months in that city, so I should have known him. Finally I had to ask. "I'm Bruder Meister," he said with a laugh. I about fainted. "Elsa's inside." James simply glowed. He looked so different I didn't recognize him. The dark, empty spirit was gone. He had become a Saint.

Another missionary had apparently "cleaned out the golden box" and happened upon their card. Elsa and her son had been members now for two and a half years. James joined them a year later.

They invited us to dinner that week, and we had a memorable visit. Her son had received his mission call. James was in the elders quorum presidency. Elsa was Primary president. They were Latter-day Saints, through and through, a typical though very atypical LDS family.



I returned to the United States and got on with raising a family of my own, and every now and then James wrote to me. Elsa never did. James and I developed a friendship through our letters, and one day he wrote, broken-hearted, to tell me that Elsa had left him for a man half her age. She also left the Church. I sent him a few platitudes in my inadequate German. What could I say? He, better than anyone, should have understood her greatest weakness.

Eventually James moved from the north to central Germany. He married a good woman who wasn't a member of the Church. But he stayed active. And he continued to write me. He even called once or twice. How ironic, I thought, that of all the people I knew and loved from my mission, he was the most faithful. The man I had hated, who had given me the greatest pain and sorrow, was now my most loyal German friend.

The years passed, and in 1998 I received an unusual request from James. He had run into a dead end in his genealogy. He had traced one line to a small village in Germany, but the local Catholic parish wouldn't give him access to its records. Years earlier, he learned, LDS microfilmmers had somehow obtained permission to capture the records on film, but with the strange provision that this particular roll of microfilm never be made available in Germany. It could be viewed at BYU, James informed me, and asked if I might be able to photocopy the records and send the copies to him. "Of course," I wrote back. When I received five hundred-dollar bills from him to cover copying and shipping costs, I knew I was in trouble. The microfilm copier at the Family History Center could produce about six pages a minute, and there were four thousand pages. It took forever, and every time I advanced the film and punched the button and waited, I thought of my friend James and wondered if perhaps it had been a bad idea to look up Elsa Sievers's golden card all those years ago. But when the box had been shipped and I received his letter thanking me profusely for my sacrifice, I had a warm feeling inside.



I am tied to James by four thousand photocopied pages of a Catholic parish record, by his miraculous conversion, and by Elsa's unlikely declaration that God works in mysterious ways. Now James is gone. But sometimes I wonder what his reception in the spirit world was like. Surely some of his ancestors, whose names I painstakingly photocopied and shipped to Germany, were there to greet him and thank him for releasing them from spirit prison.

Sometimes I think about James, and I consider the fact that God sees the end from the beginning. He knew that James would join the Church and that he would remain faithful, even when Elsa betrayed both of them. God knew the work James would accomplish. And he knew all this on that fateful night when Elsa Sievers walked into a bar with a friend to pick up an eternally inconsequential item from the owner and found instead something far more consequential. Certainly God knew that fornication would follow. He knew that a sure baptism would be delayed by a few years. But he knew something else. He knew that his Son had already paid the price for the inevitable sin. And he knew that when James eventually stands before him to be judged, the memory of that sin will have long since vanished, washed away by blood shed in Gethsemane. Perhaps Elsa was right. Perhaps it *was* God who brought them together, as impossible as that explanation seemed at the time to an inexperienced twenty-year-old missionary who was quick to judge and slow to see. Now, thirty years later, I am less inclined to tell God how he can or cannot accomplish his eternal designs.

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In August 2006 my wife and I returned to Germany to pick up our son from the same mission where I had served. After visiting the cities and some of the people my son and I had come to know, we left the mission boundaries and drove south to fly home from Frankfurt. On our way we passed the city where James had lived before he died. It's a beautiful, picturesque place, and I thought about him as we drove by. I know his address by heart. We could have tried to find his house and his widow, but she doesn't know me, and we didn't have time anyway.

Someday I hope to see James again. If I do, I'm sure he'll glow. And we'll both know that Elsa was right.

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# Watermark: The Reservoir

From the new mountain highway,  
we have watched the narrow road below  
lapped up by the lake, water rising  
all the way to Hyde's place:  
now the tips of Lombardys  
point above water like sable brushes.

I am ten, and wood slabs float  
into haphazard rafts at Cresent Cove;  
I am certain they rise from barn roofs  
collapsing upward:

*Surely the road beneath  
still winds,  
strange, stringy plants  
waving upward in the current  
where wild roses  
pale toward green light.*

*Aspens quake for a season  
under the ripples.  
Persistent birds  
bubble songs to the surface,  
holding to branches  
washed of leaves.*

*Trout from streams of Wind  
River Range find the limits  
of the lake exotic—  
ground nests of larks  
hatch spectacular birds  
to climb the liquid sky.*

Title poem from Dixie L. Partridge, *Watermark*  
(Upper Montclair, N.J.: Saturday Press, 1991).

# Generous Poetry

## A Conversation with Dixie L. Partridge

*Casualene Meyer*

*Dixie L. Partridge is a regular contributor to BYU Studies, a poetry editor, and widely published poet. Her willingness to agree to an interview, and her ample patience during the process, all speak of a generosity of spirit that matches her generous verse.*

*I hope you will enjoy learning more about Dixie L. Partridge as a person and poet. Additional information on Partridge and her publications is now available by visiting the Mormon Literature Database through BYU's Harold B. Lee Library, at [mormon.lit.byu.edu](http://mormon.lit.byu.edu).*

**Meyer:** Your biographical notes at the back of your collection *Watermark* say you began writing poetry after the birth of your fifth child. That sticks with me. Why did you choose this event as your poetic year zero? What was it about that time that set your poetry in motion?

**Partridge:** Well, that was a defining moment for me about writing, although it was also a quiet moment. To set it up a little: when I majored in English at BYU, I had a few hopes, not of becoming a writer really, but of writing a little and doing it well. I had attempted some poems and stories in high school and was encouraged by my teachers. I chose my major mainly because I liked reading and literature, but I did want to develop as a writer.

My junior year I took a class in modern poetry from Clinton Larson. I was awed and a little intimidated by the poems we studied, by the wonderful language, the layers, and by the professor also, a writer himself. I remember thinking after



reading some of that poetry, “If this is how you have to write to be a ‘modern poet,’ then I won’t be able to do it!” However, a deep impulse to write remained, and I would try, when that impulse grew very strong, to write poetry. I was so swamped as a young mom that it was difficult to find the quiet and a little space in time to get a few words onto paper and to work on them. But every few months I would try again, and give up in frustration.

So the moment you ask about came when our son, our fifth child, was just a few weeks old. I was nursing him in the wood rocking chair, and as was my habit because I had so little time for reading at that point in my life, I was hungrily reading some magazine or journal. I read a poem there, which I liked, but I remember saying to myself, “I think I can do better. And I am going to!”

It sounds like a small thing, but it was a turning point. I had been frustrated about writing, and I felt a determination very strongly then. After that day, I did not abandon writing. The need to do it was greater than the need to do many other things. I made it a habit to write when the baby slept. What had been my time to catch up on housework or other things became my time for writing, and I would let the dishes or laundry go when the baby napped. I learned to write with things going on around me, such as our other children playing nearby. I learned to partially shut out noises and be tuned only to the ones that really needed my attention.

Within a few months I had joined a writers’ group. From then on, although there were a few discouraging times, I sensed I would not stop writing. The need had become too great.

**Meyer:** Another question about your biographical notes. You attended poetry workshops and a—I emphasize the singular—graduate course. How important has academic training and working with others been to your poetry writing?

**Partridge:** Working with others has been a most important part in developing as a writer. It was largely circumstance and the location in which I lived that kept me from more graduate studies. But we had a very active writers’ group in our area, which included a teacher from the local junior college. He would arrange through the college to bring in major writers to give readings,

speak to his students, and to teach workshops, which were opened to public registration. Also, the Washington Poets Association at that time sponsored workshops and readings, which I could sometimes travel to for the two-to-three days they were scheduled. So I attended many workshops in which we listened to and were taught by these wonderful poets such as Richard Hugo, William Stafford, Tess Gallagher, Robert Haas, Sandra McPherson, Linda Beirds, David Wagoner, Naomi Nye, David Lee, and Marvin Bell. I don't know in what ways my writing would have been different had I pursued a graduate degree.

When I've been a poetry editor I've appreciated getting a wide variety of subject matter in submissions, and I have noticed that most who submit have strong academic backgrounds in English or creative writing. But some of the variety of subject matter that comes from those in other backgrounds is needed, and I look closely at that, always hoping for good writing also from those whose main work and experience is in other fields.

In the thirty-plus years I've been writing, I have always met regularly with writers for the sharing of information and for critiquing one another's work. That has been very valuable.

**Meyer:** So poetry creation is not a solitary act. Why are people so "secretive" about their poetry writing sometimes?

**Partridge:** I think initially poetry creation is quite often a solitary act, although, of course many influences from others are inevitable, given that we are social beings and shaped by others. And the initial creation of a poem can feel exhilarating and very private. For some it stays that way more than for others. But to know whether the form and language are valid in a communicating way—that is, in what they convey—one has to share and have feedback. And in that process, new perspectives and recognitions can come to the writer, which can tell a lot about whether the poem is working for readers other than the poet.

**Meyer:** Related to the first two questions is, perhaps, one you would prefer not to answer. What advice would you give to other people—say the *BYU Studies* audience—about writing poetry, in terms of using life experience and training to be a poet?

**Partridge:** The first advice would be to read much . . . all different kinds of writers and poetry. I think poetry is somewhat like music: there are so many kinds. I do not like it all. Just as with music, in which you have classical, pop, country western, rock, folk, and so on, in poetry you have such a great variety. Read what you like, but also read a variety and good amount of what you don't like. Sometimes continued reading opens up new appreciation and understanding.

The second is to write much. William Stafford used to say that you have to write the "bad stuff" too. He wrote every morning, he said, without fail. And related to writing much, is to be open to revising. Connected to that is feedback from others, both writers and good readers. You have to develop a thick skin about criticism, but also to develop a sense of what in the end to discard from that criticism and what to keep and try to use. After a long time in this process, you learn a little better which parts of your writing inclinations to trust and which to let others influence.

As for using life experiences in writing, I can say that I have noted that my better poems, and those with which others are most likely to connect, are rooted in my own real experience, real places and things and people. It was helpful getting the traditional advice from an early poetry workshop: write about what you know. But in doing that, you discover sometimes that you don't know what you thought you did, and then your writing moves into more than what you know; your range and your subject matter expands.

**Meyer:** What is the relationship between your religious faith and your art? I don't see your work—what I've seen of it, that is—as being overtly "religious" in terms of immediate topic, rhetoric, or symbolism.

**Partridge:** For some reason, as a writer I haven't felt much confidence with overtly religious topics; perhaps I'm not a good enough writer yet to trust myself to write often about things directly related to religion, or to that which feels more sacred to me. A few of my earlier poems were published in the *Ensign*, and the *Christian Science Monitor* has published a few that touch on religious subjects. But in general, when I have approached such subjects, it has been very much at a slant. It occurs to me also

that perhaps I have avoided those subjects somewhat because I don't want to write bad religious poetry. If I'm going to write my "bad stuff," I'd rather it be on other subjects.

Also, early on I may have avoided religious subjects because the writers with whom I shared and critiqued were either not particularly religious or not of my religion. So when I approached such subjects, I did it more subtly than I would have done for an LDS audience. For example, my poem "Luggage" (see page 118), in *Watermark*, is about saying goodbye to my youngest missionary brother, and others I have seen off on missions. Perhaps overall, that approach was good for my writing, because I think subtlety can be very important in poems of a religious nature.

All that said, I must say that I think underneath much of what I write is a strong sense of things that last, or a sense of holiness in creation, and often of the meaning of our existence and our relationships. When my work includes some of life's hard hours and the sometimes "loneliness of being," it is usually with a sense of seeking, of trying to see things, face things, and also with a sense of going on, of trying again, and of taking comfort and hope in the spiritual partly by perceiving the physical world and doing the physical things. This is related to what's referred to in the Doctrine and Covenants, that that which is temporal is in the likeness of that which is spiritual.

**Meyer:** You live in eastern Washington; I grew up in western Washington. I have always loved the openness of the eastern part of the state compared with the overgrowth—both in terms of vegetation and population—of my part of the state. What is the relationship between open western landscapes and your poetry?

**Partridge:** It's hard for me to realize just how much influence the landscape has had on my writing, but I know it is very strong. Wallace Stegner said, "Whatever landscape a child is exposed to early on, that will be the sort of gauze through which he or she will see all the world afterward." When I read that, after I had been writing a few years, I recognized its truth, that there is something indelible about early landscapes and the current ones in which you live that influences the way you respond to and see things. But I don't know how to analyze it. I know I

am uncomfortable in cities and large crowds, and my poems seldom deal with those subjects directly.

William Stafford has a poem that says, “The earth says have a place, be what that place requires” and refers to “a landscape that proclaims a universe.” There again, I see a relationship to my writing as well as to other aspects of my being; I’ve felt those words strongly.

**Meyer:** I consider your poem “Watermark: The Reservoir” (see page 108) eerie and beautiful as you imagine the submerged landscape of a reservoir—what was there before the flooding and how it is now. When I read it first I thought: this is *donné*—a gift. I get the feeling this poem, or its vision, unfolded to you all at once; if it didn’t, you’ve crafted a fiction that is great for appearing that way. Can you tell me the history of that poem?

**Partridge:** I wrote it over twenty years ago, fairly early in my writing, but as I recall: the images came flowing about the underwater things; the poem was about 50 percent longer at first; and the problem came in form. I was dealing with the way things used to be, the way they were now, and the way I imagined them to be. So the drafts the poem went through were mainly in arrangement and excluding the extraneous. I think I alternated at first between the literal and the imagined, in small stanzas that went back and forth. But in the end, having the more literal first and the imagined italicized after it, was what felt right. I remember taking it to just one writers’ group for feedback, where there was disagreement about the imagined part. One writer, considerably older and more experienced than I, objected strongly to that imagined section: what was going on with birds underwater, and so on. I think I was right in that instance to decide to ignore that particular critique; a child’s mind, I thought, does those sorts of things, so why couldn’t a poem include it?

**Meyer:** I’m glad you didn’t give in. You could say it is the child’s mind, but it is a mind for the fantastic, a phenomenal thrust into beauty and mystery. Now for a related question: Generally speaking, how do your poems come to be? Do you notice a common pattern of genesis?

**Partridge:** Sometimes I've realized a poem has been brooding for a long time, and it's triggered into formation by a word, an image, an event; and then it comes pouring forth with that stimulus.

Most often what generates a poem is a phrase or an image or a place that stirs up something in me, and I want to follow, to see where it takes me in language. I can't often follow the impulse on the spot, but can usually jot down the phrase or the image—such as how something looked or smelled, and perhaps part of what it connects with in the mind and senses.

My poem, "Pool of Aspen" (see page 117), for example, began after I read and jotted down a line from James Richardson: "Why should the whole lake have the same name?" That resonated; I knew I had something to say or explore about that, but didn't know what. Later, when I could sit down and write, I started a poem which connected with a small lake far up the canyon in the mountains behind our farm, where I went with my younger brothers for the first time when I was a young adult. A lake looks different from various perspectives on shore, and changes with the seasons; areas of a lake give different impressions. That was an unnamed lake, so in the poem I call the lake by different names. By the end, the poem is connecting at a slant with why the sound of trickling water is appealing, why I'm drawn to bodies of water, and with thirst of various natures. When I began the poem, I did not know, of course, where it would end—that is most often how my poems develop.

**Meyer:** A final question. How do you wish to be perceived and ultimately remembered as a poet?

**Partridge:** I have never thought about that before, other than occasionally to hope my poems would be well done enough to connect with those interested in reading poetry. I write because I need to write—I can't not write—and because it helps me uncover layers of myself and my surroundings and perhaps understand things better. It's also good therapy for me, a creative outlet as well as a frequently introspective one. And that sense of creation is invigorating—that sense related to what you get from words in Genesis when a day of creation is completed, and it is good.

It was validating when I began to have poems published, but I've never thought I would be a great writer of any sort. And

I know I'll be remembered as a poet only by such a few, mostly a few writers with whom I've shared, and of course some family members who have broader interest in what I write.

But of my poems, I would be happy if some of them made connections with a few people; that some would say the poems uncovered or rediscovered or named things hard to name, or revealed meanings and layers not expected, and that in a few instances (I know I've not many) my poems approached on some level "saying the unsayable" and were—as vague as the term is—good.

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Dixie L. Partridge (who can be reached via [byustudies@byu.edu](mailto:byustudies@byu.edu)) is one of *BYU Studies*' most frequent poetry contributors. Graduating from BYU in 1965 in English, her poetry has appeared widely in anthologies and journals such as *Poetry*, *Georgia Review*, *Ploughshares*, *Southern Poetry Review*, *Northern Lights*, and *Nightsun*. Her published books include *Deer in the Haystacks* (Ahsahta Press: Boise State University, 1984), and *Watermark* (Saturday Press: Upper Montclair, N.J., 1991).



# Pool of Aspen

## After Forty Years

*"Camp where you can hear water."*

*—my father*

The grove in the lake now  
shimmers like hammered gold.  
Farther on, the lake skin darkens, tightened by shadow  
and slate blue light before dusk,  
as though the water striders stitch its surface  
taut enough to be walked upon.

My father claimed he could walk on water as a child  
in hip boots worn by my grandfather  
when he died from a seizure, falling face down  
in a ditch before my father turned three.  
I try to believe now  
in buoyancy—that yearning . . .

which connects to the farm, just sold,  
and to the field pond, gone before I was born.  
That it might someday come back  
was my father's dream and my own:  
his out of memory and drought, mine  
out of romance with bodies of water

like this high unnamed lake where my brothers  
once brought me, where their pebbles turned  
the silt of the south end smoky,  
but the north side over rock stayed clear  
through any weather I've seen.  
We might have spoken names  
like *Slate Water*, *Smoke Cove* . . .  
Now it's *Gold Lake* below aspen,

and I imagine waking in the dark  
to a pale glow of white trunks,  
autumn leaf-tremble discernible

to night vision, where the outlet  
offers its faint pouring  
over all we name thirst.

—Dixie L. Partridge

## Luggage

### for one leaving

You are required to keep the poundage low:  
two large cases and a carry-on,  
what you take for months overseas.  
In a year of famine, you have volunteered  
for hunger in a strange language  
you begin to force onto your tongue,  
words affirming ways of irrigation:  
seeds salvaged, sprouts toward green  
in the fields.

What you need most was there  
before you packed, not fire in the eyes,  
but deeper, not things you have  
but what you enjoy.  
You've planted vegetables and flowers  
in old tires—a family's garden;  
pruned massive lilac trees and honeysuckle  
that crowded paths; painted fences  
and repaired collapsing sheds  
in that dying farm town.

When I walk back  
toward my car and education, the acquiring  
of whatever will allay my dread of poverty,  
I carry nothing from the airport  
but an ache and tremble in my hands.

From Dixie L. Partridge, *Watermark*  
(Upper Montclair, N.J.: Saturday Press, 1991).

# From This Ground

## Where a Continent Divides

Dixie L. Partridge

*"The earth says have a place, be what that place requires."*

~ William Stafford

If you stand on a certain hollow-sounding outcrop far up Swift Creek Canyon in Wyoming, a sound of water can be felt in your feet. Here where you lose direction in mountain shadow, a reliable pulse rises hourly from earth: moments later a trickle and stream, then small rapids over stone, the rush and falls of icy springs.

Here I sensed as a child the underground histories of things, a pull of myth turned strong as roadbed realities. The high needles and bark of forests became canopies over stories unheard and waiting, like the one that might explain a ball rolling uphill in that steep place beneath pine near the Snake River. Nothing in school would quite touch or validate my fascination for such lore until we memorized the closing stanza of Bryant's "Thanatopsis," and began readings full of dark tide and rhythm from Longfellow. Hearing his poems "Seaweed" and "The Tide Rises, The Tide Falls," I was stirred back to that sense of water sounding up through my limbs. Longfellow's words were flow and beat: "From each cave and rocky fastness, / In its vastness / Floats some fragment of a song."

In years to come, it was words like *hair root* and *heartwood* I found in poems that kept me thinking beneath and toward what I craved to know but sensed unfathomable: all those levels of event and connection. A National Geographic map of land beneath the ocean drew me to read about mountain ranges and deeper places in the sea than the peaks seen above it: trenches and rivers under waters; the ocean's weather and canyons and long windy places. My concepts of the ways of earth, and of life upon it, were layered more in mystery than geography.

It was like a revelation of things I once knew when I read somewhere that mountain ranges have huge segments submerged in the earth that



Photo by Kimberly Partridge Morris and Lezlee Partridge, 2005.

Salt River Pass, entering Star Valley, Wyoming, from the south.

hold together and reemerge many miles farther on, that beneath wonders of Yellowstone the secrets of such ranges evolve. Where I grew up not far from the Great Divide, lodgepole pine and aspen textured the rugged landscape. White trunks of the aspen seemed to emit a faint glow through high altitude nights far from any city light. In the Hoback wilderness, where I went to girls' camp for a few summers, a hot springs pool bubbled up among boulders and trees, and we swam till easily exhausted, overheated in those beryl waters—a wonder to us in a place where even in summer the nights could turn to freezing, and our breath was visible in the forenoons.

Not far from the Hoback, in Yellowstone, deep disturbances in earth and waters drew thousands every year, the crowded park more city-like than other places I knew as a child. The contrast is startling after you leave those peopled areas and climb over the Great Divide. Distance turns pines to dark thatch above the canyon's plunging. Everything in the landscape seems to be listening. You can't help thinking back to the crowds at geysers and mudpots, pressing their footprints across the protective boardwalks as though searching for a pattern that includes them, for meaning in places where the earth gives back a heat and surge they haven't known before.

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Out of the park, high in Wind River Range, the first trickles of river divide, each to a different sea. My father always said, "Camp where you can hear water," and I think of that, still, when traveling through canyons

where rock erupts through snow high above timberline, where immense silences engender caution. It was with my father in that kind of trailless spot I first heard the word *wild* in *bewilder* . . . in *wilderness*.

Years later, in drives back to Wyoming with our children, we felt the pull of migration: the bird and animal kind, in which one passes periodically between homes, a return that flows in the veins. Reaching the farm below Greys River Range, our children seemed to become a different form of creature—as if bordering on wilderness did indeed stir up something more wild. They would head for pastures, trees and foothills, hike the canyons of Spring Creek and Wickiup.

And some of them managed the steep climb up Red Top, thick with trees on its north side all the way to timberline, red shale capping its expansive peak, the highest visible from the valley floor. In that climb, they passed small falls and rivulets from the upper snow melt—stream patterns that varied year to year. Some disappeared again into crags, some must have flowed south all the way to Lake Alice, the rest north to Dry Creek, water my father used to irrigate crops. The new headgate he built on a lower hillside joined his land and will to the mountain, although it did little to channel spring runoff those years it grew high and rapid and into flooding low places like the one near our barn.

From the peak of Red Top, you can see where three rivers join in their run toward the Columbia—where we live now—and the western sea. I will always carry an image from that time when our children were young, of the bright pinpoint of a single flashlight beam, with which our twelve-year-



Photo by Kimberly Partridge Morris and Lezlee Partridge, 2005.

West Red Top in Salt River Range, viewed from the Henderson family farm.

old signaled, at the appointed night-time hour, that he had made the summit with my brothers. I was amazed at the clarity of such small light through the great distance and high thin air, more distinct than any star I'd ever seen, but so like one, blinking the mysteries of connection and yearning.

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It's been over twenty years since that moment, and it remains clear as the Milky Way appeared that night, far from encroachments, from housing developments and highways. My widowed mother has of necessity sold pieces of the farm, homesteaded in the 1880s by my great-grandfather, engendering a kind of panic in some of our grown children, who sense what may be lost to them. It becomes clear that their grandmother, in her late seventies, may not be able to remain on the foothill acreage that has held the spirit of home for them as much as the place where they were born. They long to keep the option of return—for summer holidays and the occasional winter amazements of altitudes far above 7,000 feet. They have learned the awe and cautions that come from the weathers of high places and that deepen their sense of linkage and lore.

In the Rockies one summer when they were young, something in a morning's light seemed changed, but no one could expect to look out at snowfall . . . snowfall in August. Summer green receded under a meshwork of white: the long droop of boughs and leaves, faint stripes on the lawn from

a mower's path the day before—the lay of grass like white corduroy. Long fingers of cloud raveled from the mountainside. For all this beauty, something solemn drifted surely downward and inward. Certain mountain passes, closed at times during winter, seemed suddenly more crucial, their passages deserving renewed respect.

Traveling out, as traveling back, we are taken by the power we sense in high rugged landscapes, all that slowly goes on evolving in the earth as we move upon it. The Rocky Mountain ranges remain a symbol of vastness in and outside us. They draw and challenge and leave us quiet. With their eruptions and brawn, their forests, boulders, heats, flows, and glaciers, they stretch beyond our knowing . . . rooted to one another like ancestors.

*See Dixie L. Partridge's byline on page 116.*



Photo by Kimberly Partridge Morris and Lezlee Partridge, 2005.

Much photographed old poplar in south pasture, Henderson family farm.

# Pandemonium

## A Review Essay of Douglas J. Robinson, *Who Translates? Translator Subjectivities beyond Reason*

Daryl R. Hague

In 1975, Cambridge's George Steiner published *After Babel*.<sup>1</sup> That book, now in its third edition, is considered a classic for several reasons. For translation scholars, however, *After Babel*'s principal contribution is that it legitimized translation studies as a discrete academic field rather than as a mere appendage to comparative literature, linguistics, or language studies. Shortly after Steiner's work was published, two other influential works on translation appeared: Louis Kelly's *The True Interpreter* (1979) and Susan Bassnett-McGuire's *Translation Studies* (1980).<sup>2</sup> Together, these three works provided a historical and theoretical foundation on which translation scholars could build.

During the thirty years since *After Babel* first appeared, translation research has seen tremendous growth. Many books and articles have appeared, along with several translation-specific journals. Scholarly associations—as opposed to professional associations—have been organized in the United States as well, even though the first did not appear until 2002. That association, now known as the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association, published the first issue of its journal, *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, in March 2006.

Douglas Robinson, an English professor at the University of Mississippi, is a significant and prolific contributor to the growth in translation studies. His publications have addressed a wide variety of topics, including translation history, translation theory, and the translation profession. In addition to being a translation scholar, he is an active professional translator, and he enjoys integrating theory and practice. Such integration is evident in his *Who Translates? Translator Subjectivities beyond Reason*. In that book, Robinson explores how translator subjectivity—the translator's



self—is constructed. This exploration goes far beyond what other translation scholars have done. Robinson poses the following questions to introduce the book: “Who translates? Who is the subject of translation? Is the translator allowed to be a subject, to have a subjectivity? If so, what forces

### Daryl R. Hague

I met Douglas Robinson at the founding meeting of the American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association in 2002. When he saw my nametag indicating that I was from Brigham Young University, he immediately introduced himself to me and asked if I had read his new book. I said that I had not. His response, which I do not pretend to remember word-for-word, was something like “Well, I basically say that Joseph Smith is a fraud but not in so many words.” When he said this, I did not sense that he was trying to be antagonistic in any way. He was simply informing me about his book.



Robinson explained that in his book, he reviewed the stories behind several well-known translations, including the Book of Mormon. In these stories, the translator is treated as a spirit channeler or medium who lacks subjectivity—a self. I felt the metaphor of translator-as-medium captured Western traditions quite well. As Robinson and I continued talking over dinner, I asked him if the stories of translator-channelers ever involved a translator editing the finished work. He said no, obviously unaware that Joseph Smith had done that very thing. I decided right then that I needed to read Robinson’s book and perhaps do a review. This essay originally began as that review, but over time I became more and more convinced that Robinson’s new theory of a pandemonium subjectivity described the general translation process more effectively than anything else I had seen. I therefore decided to write an essay applying Robinson’s pandemonium theory to Joseph Smith as translator and revelator.

are active within it, and to what extent are those forces channeled into it from without? That is the main concern of this book.”<sup>3</sup>

In developing his account of the translator’s self, Robinson responds to what he considers the Western model of translator subjectivity. That model, he believes, posits translators who somehow set their own subjectivity aside and allow the source-text author’s intentionality to flow through them. This process sounds very much like spirit channeling, and Robinson uses stories of spirit-channeling translators to illustrate the Western tradition. Interestingly, Robinson includes Joseph Smith’s account of translating the Book of Mormon as one of these stories. After reviewing the stories of Joseph Smith and other translators he considers spirit channelers, Robinson persuasively argues that the translator-as-medium tradition does not reflect translation practice at all. As an alternative, Robinson proposes “disaggregated-agency” or “pandemonium subjectivity.” This pandemonium subjectivity seeks to reflect the highly complex reality translators face as they engage texts.

This essay describes Robinson’s pandemonium subjectivity and uses it to evaluate Joseph Smith’s role as a translator. Part I briefly reviews opposing theories of human subjectivity. Part II describes pandemonium subjectivity, contextualizing it within research on translator subjectivity. Part III, the heart of the essay, evaluates Robinson’s claim that the Book of Mormon represents a case of classic spirit channeling. Contrary to Robinson, this part concludes that Joseph Smith’s translator subjectivity represents a hybrid, a combination of divine inspiration (“channeling,” as Robinson would say) and human pandemonium. This hybrid subjectivity illuminates how Joseph viewed the process of revelation.

## **I. Differing Accounts of Subjectivity: Humanism and Antihumanism**

During the last several decades, the concept of subjectivity has provoked substantial discussions in literary studies, cultural studies, and the social sciences. Humanism and antihumanism mark the poles of this discussion. Humanists, as one author defines them, advocate the “notion of a core humanity or common essential features in terms of which human beings can be defined.” Those essential features include “‘consciousness,’ ‘agency,’ ‘choice,’ ‘responsibility,’ ‘moral value.’”<sup>4</sup> Such features indicate that rationality and subjectivity characterize human existence. Humanism thus assumes that human beings “have epistemological (and moral) autonomy and a capacity to act as free and responsible agents.”<sup>5</sup> In other words, humanists emphasize autonomous subjectivity, the self of Descartes’ *cogito*.

In contrast to humanists, antihumanist theorists emphasize the social construction of subjectivity. The social “structures” or systems of thought that construct subjectivity may be discourse practices (as seen in Michel Foucault’s work) or ideology (as seen in Louis Althusser’s), but antihumanists would nevertheless agree that subjectivity is constructed, an effect of social structures. Foucault, for example, asserts the need “to dispense with the constituent subject, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework.”<sup>6</sup> In a similar vein, Althusser affirms that humans’ perception that they are subjects—agents capable of acting and taking responsibility for action—“is an ideological effect, the elementary ideological effect.”<sup>7</sup> This antihumanist notion of purely constructed subjectivity cannot be reconciled with humanism’s unencumbered subjectivity.

While one cannot reconcile humanist and antihumanist views of subjectivity, neither can one consistently choose either view over the other. As Sonia Kruks points out, consistently choosing one of these views invites “persuasive criticism from the other.” As to humanism’s autonomous subjectivity, Kruks notes the following:

Anti-humanist works and much other macro-analytic social science . . . offer considerable evidence in support of the critique of the autonomous subject. We are to some degree the products of external circumstance, not only in the sense that, for example, economies or state systems develop functions that are beyond individual control, but in the stronger sense that . . . what we experience as personal values, beliefs, tastes, etc., [is] culturally specific.<sup>8</sup>

Humanism’s autonomous subjectivity, in other words, does not account for how social structures—discourse practices and ideology—shape subjectivity.

While antihumanism reveals humanism’s limitations, humanism likewise illuminates those of antihumanism. Kate Soper, for example, shows that Althusser’s notion of subjectivity as ideological effect is circular because it presupposes autonomous subjectivity.<sup>9</sup> Specifically, Althusser claims that ideology “hails” or “interpellates” subjects,<sup>10</sup> who recognize themselves in an Absolute Subject (the Absolute Subject of religious ideologies, for example, being God). The ability to recognize oneself, however, presupposes a self capable of recognizing. “Who does the recognizing,” Soper asks, “if not the subject as conceived within humanism?”<sup>11</sup>

Like Althusser, other antihumanists have not been able to rid themselves of the autonomous subject. The explanation lies in antihumanists’ failure to account for the very activity they champion most: critical thought. In other words, strict antihumanism asserts that subjectivity

(and therefore reason) is purely constructed, thus eliminating any basis for exercising judgment. Kate Soper summarizes this problem as follows:

[I]f one accepts the anti-humanist cast of thought according to which affective response, whether of acceptance or rejection, is entirely constructed for subjects by the very cultural forces to which it is responding, then it becomes impossible even to question whether scientific development is conducive to human happiness; whether our needs and inclinations do simply follow upon our economic advances; whether we have the rational and moral resources to administer the effects of the technical mastery over nature now at our disposal.<sup>12</sup>

The need for critical thought—for analyzing truth claims—explains antihumanists' failure to eliminate the autonomous subject. The course of Foucault's thought illustrates this point. Foucault moved from rejecting autonomous subjectivity to affirming something very much like it near the end of his life. This change occurred when Foucault became an advocate for prisoner and homosexual rights.<sup>13</sup> Such advocacy implied the ability to determine truth as something other than local or culture-relative. That is, Foucault could not simply argue that *for him* prisoner and homosexual rights were right. Instead, he needed to identify arguments that would—or should—be right for everybody. Consequently, Foucault required a means of identifying non-cultural-relative truth. The means he required, of course, were reason and critical thought. Accepting this implication, Foucault defined *thought* as “freedom in relation to what one does, the motion by which one detaches oneself from it, establishes it as an object, and reflects on it as a problem.”<sup>14</sup> This definition is “strikingly Cartesian,”<sup>15</sup> and it certainly suggests the possibility of autonomous subjectivity.

In summary, strict humanism does not explain the social structures that shape subjectivity, while strict antihumanism never completely escapes the autonomous subjectivity it seeks to deny. One cannot, therefore, consistently choose one over the other. If one cannot consistently favor either, however, what option remains? Kate Soper suggests that the “best we can offer” is to affirm the “interdependence” of subjects and social structures.<sup>16</sup> This answer suggests a middle ground between humanism and antihumanism, although Soper does not explore the issue further. However, Douglas Robinson's *Who Translates?* makes just such an attempt. Furthermore, Robinson specifically does so in terms of translator subjectivity.

## II. Studies in Translator Subjectivity: Nobodies, Habitus, and Pandemonium

With its focus on translator subjectivity, Robinson's book occupies a rather unusual place in modern translation studies. While a few scholars have addressed subjectivity in one way or another, most have done so only tangentially. In 2003, for example, Italian linguist Umberto Eco published a fascinating collection of essays entitled *Mouse or Rat?* That collection included an insightful and amusing essay in which Eco evaluated AltaVista, a machine-translation program. Eco concluded that AltaVista's performance was analogous to that of a Morse code operator. Morse code operators do not need to understand the message they send; they simply transliterate a natural-language message into Morse. Similarly, AltaVista employs "a list of correspondences" or "alleged synonyms."<sup>17</sup> AltaVista, in other words, performs like a dictionary (a transliterator) rather than an encyclopedia (a translator).

Eco addresses the need for translator subjectivity but does not evaluate that subjectivity beyond translators' need for encyclopedic knowledge of language and culture. Other researchers have studied translators' mental processes, but those studies have not specifically addressed subjectivity. The *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, for example, contains no articles on translator subjectivity. Articles on translators' mental processes do appear ("Decision making in translation," "Game theory and translation," "Psycholinguistic/cognitive approaches," "Think-aloud protocols"), but none addresses subjectivity specifically.<sup>18</sup> Instead, these articles present research about how translators solve specific translation problems.

The few scholars who have actually addressed translator subjectivity have approached the topic in two ways. The first considers how a translation's *readers* construct translator subjectivity, while the second considers how translator subjectivity reflects what translators do. Concerning the first approach, Anthony Pym and Lawrence Venuti are influential. Pym argues that for readers, the translator is "nobody in particular." The translator is "nobody" because the translated text functions as an "ideal equivalent" of the source text.<sup>19</sup> Lawrence Venuti recognizes this preference for translator nobodies, but unlike Pym he opposes the kind of "fluent," or idiomatic, translations that make translators invisible to readers. Venuti believes that fluent translation creates two negative situations: first, it "reinforces" the perception that translation is a "marginal" or derivative activity; second, it elides "linguistic and cultural difference," providing target readers the "narcissistic" experience of seeing themselves reflected in the translated text. Venuti's solution to these perceived problems is to

make the translator visible through foreignized translations—translations that deliberately maintain source-text features.<sup>20</sup>

While Pym and Venuti reach opposite conclusions about how visible translators should be, both nevertheless focus on how *readers* construct translator subjectivity. The question of translator subjectivity in practice—“Who translates?”—simply is not germane to that focus. A few scholars, however, including Moira Inghilleri and Daniel Simeoni, have addressed this question. These scholars view translators as socially constituted within a “translatorial habitus,” the habitus being a “set of durable dispositions to act in particular ways.”<sup>21</sup> Translators perpetuate these “particular ways”—normative translation behaviors—as they produce what others consider acceptable translational discourse. Whether translators can question or change these normative behaviors is the subject of sharp disagreement. Simeoni, for example, promotes a strongly antihumanist view of translator subjectivity, characterizing translators as “nearly fully subservient” to normative behaviors.<sup>22</sup> Inghilleri, in contrast, believes norms both shape and are shaped by practicing translators. This view seems similar to Kate Soper’s argument for a middle ground between antihumanism and humanism—the “interdependence” of subjects and social structures. Such interdependence is vital in Douglas Robinson’s theory, although he clearly favors the antihumanist emphasis on socially constructed subjectivity.

In addressing translator subjectivity, Robinson posits that translator subjectivity is scattered (as a sower scatters seed) “across wide psychosocial networks.”<sup>23</sup> This scattering suggests a mutual permeability between interior (psychological) and exterior (social, ideological) forces. Concerning these forces, Robinson cites current cognitive theory to assert that no “executive ‘mind’” mediates them.<sup>24</sup> In lieu of an executive mind, Robinson suggests a “pandemonium”—a place where demons gather. In this context, “pandemonium” does not refer to a gathering of evil spirits; rather, it simply means “agents, forces, in the Greek sense of *daimon*.”<sup>25</sup> Concerning speech, these agents or word demons spring up and seek utterance. Some of these demons act like “spirits speaking through a channel,” while others act as “ideological agents operating through a subject.”<sup>26</sup> We utter some of these demons; some we do not. Robinson argues, however, that our attempts to explain why particular word demons escape our mouths are hopelessly “*ex post facto* reconstruction[s].”<sup>27</sup>

If no executive mind exists, how does one characterize what translators do? Robinson suggests something he calls “demon-sifting.”<sup>28</sup> These demons will be of numerous kinds. However, all are imaginary. That is, the translator imagines them while working. “Imagined-source-author-demons,”<sup>29</sup> for example, will flow from the translator’s “imagining what the

source author was trying to say,”<sup>30</sup> while “imagined-colleague-demons”<sup>31</sup> will arise as the translator imagines “how another translator in the same language combination . . . would render this or that.”<sup>32</sup> Similarly, “imagined-native-speaker-demons” will produce all kinds of subdemons: “lexicon-demons, syntax-demons, collocation-demons, text-type-demons, relevance-demons, etc.”<sup>33</sup> These demons (and many others) bombard the imagination, “each carrying a bit of remembered experience, an interpretation, a suggested rendition, etc., and all of them overlapping, conflicting, fine-tuning each other, suppressing or resisting each other.”<sup>34</sup>

This process of demonic bombardment reflects “*multiplicity* and *functional redundancy*”: *multiplicity* because the demons are seemingly numberless; *functional redundancy* because different demons approach the same problem—e.g., rhetorical patterns, syntax, lexicon—from different perspectives. Of course, the demons’ sheer numbers mean that many demons “make serious mistakes about the text” and will never appear in print. Other competing demons, however, may well be “equally correct.” Robinson’s point is that in this pandemonium, no particular type of demon ever takes the role of an executive mind: “There is no Satan, no king of the demons, to lay down the law. The demons just continue to compete until a coherent and (hopefully) accurate or otherwise successful translation emerges.”<sup>35</sup>

While the pandemonium model rejects an executive mind, Robinson grants that the role of experience—habit—at least approaches humanist models. Specifically, translators become more efficient at demon-sifting as they gain experience. Beginners, for example, may sift many demons without producing “significant emergent patterns.” Experienced translators, in contrast, will quickly produce a “‘stock’ or ‘standard’ transfer pattern.” These quickly produced patterns reflect the power of habituation. Such habituation, one might argue, supports the rationalist account of an executive mind. Robinson asserts, however, that habituation simply makes the process of demon-sifting more efficient: “Pandemonium ensues anew with every new translation. It’s just that [with experienced translators] the pandemonium is a bit more streamlined, a bit less like a barroom brawl.”<sup>36</sup>

### III. Robinson and the Book of Mormon

Before developing the theory of pandemonium subjectivity, *Who Translates?* critiques what Robinson considers Western translation tradition. In terms of translator subjectivity, that tradition reflects Pym’s argument that readers expect translators to be “nobodies.” Robinson finds an analogue for these translator nobodies in spirit channelers or mediums:



“The dead writer ‘inspires’ or ‘overshadows’ the translator’s work on his or her text. The translation is a joint project undertaken by the translator’s body and the author’s spirit.”<sup>37</sup> One example of a translator-channeler is Ion, the Greek rhapsode whom Socrates characterizes as possessed by Homer’s spirit.<sup>38</sup> Another example comes from the legend of how the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, a translation known as the Septuagint. According to the legend, seventy-two rabbis independently produced seventy-two identical translations. These identical translations imply divine inspiration or possession.<sup>39</sup>

After discussing Ion and the Septuagint, Robinson devotes eight pages—more than any other channeling story—to the Book of Mormon. He does so because he considers the “creation” of the Book of Mormon as “the most striking story of spirit-channeled translation we have.”<sup>40</sup> The Book of Mormon represents spirit channeling, Robinson says, because Joseph Smith could not have been translating in any “modern, rationalistic sense.” Rather, he says, Joseph “was only the human channel of an essentially divine act of translation.” The seerstone and the Urim and Thummim functioned as a “spiritualistic MT [machine-translation] program.”<sup>41</sup>

Interestingly, Robinson suggests that even in this “most striking” account of spirit channeling, Joseph Smith must have “exercised agency in the translation process.”<sup>42</sup> Robinson offers two reasons to support this conclusion: first, a normal translator would not have had a friend named Martin Harris who lost 116 pages of the manuscript, meaning that Joseph is directly responsible for the Book of Mormon being shorter than it otherwise might have been; second, the fact that God chose to have a translation done at all, instead of simply providing an English text to Joseph, indicates that Joseph’s “human agency was in some significant way crucial to the success of the undertaking.”<sup>43</sup>

Robinson offers no textual analysis to indicate how Joseph’s agency might be manifested in the Book of Mormon. He obviously feels no need to do so. Robinson is primarily interested in the story of how the Book of Mormon came to be, and he apparently considers the Book of Mormon an extraordinarily successful hoax, a hoax made possible by the fact that the plates Joseph claimed to have translated are not available. Indeed, with something of a smirk, Robinson notes that the only proofs for the plates’ existence are “‘testimonials’ from upright citizens,”<sup>44</sup> an apparent reference to the Three Witnesses and the Eight Witnesses. Of course, other witnesses have affirmed the plates’ existence, but Robinson seems unaware of that fact. This unawareness reflects Robinson’s general unfamiliarity with LDS studies, which sometimes leads him to choose sources poorly as he reconstructs the story of the Book of Mormon translation.

An example of poorly chosen sources is Robinson's heavy reliance upon David Persuitte's unabashedly anti-Mormon and decidedly unscholarly *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon*.<sup>45</sup> Persuitte paints Joseph Smith as an inspired con artist who cribbed Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. This claim is not new, but Robinson's uncritical reliance on Persuitte leaves him unaware of important facts that cut against Persuitte. For example, Persuitte never mentions the fact that as editor of *Times and Seasons*, Joseph Smith himself quoted *View of the Hebrews* several times in an article published twelve years after the Book of Mormon.<sup>46</sup> By omitting this fact, Persuitte avoids the question of why a plagiarist would call attention to the very source of his fraud. In addition, Persuitte never considers the possibility that such luminaries as Pomeroy Tucker and Obadiah Dogberry—both of whom Robinson quotes in reliance upon Persuitte—might be unreliable witnesses. Finally, Persuitte argues that Joseph Smith must have concealed crib notes in his hat while dictating the manuscript.<sup>47</sup> Aside from the fact that no evidence supports the claim that Joseph had ever seen *View of the Hebrews* before dictating the Book of Mormon, eyewitnesses to the translation process flatly deny the possibility that Joseph could have used hidden notes.<sup>48</sup> For that reason, Terryl Givens labels Persuitte's position "rather imaginative speculation."<sup>49</sup>

While Persuitte's argument for crib notes requires an unconvincing series of "would haves," "could haves," and "must haves," the substance of his plagiarism claim is weak as well. *View of the Hebrews* is a treatise designed to prove that the American Indians are the Lost Ten Tribes. To prove this thesis, Ethan Smith describes numerous purportedly Hebrew practices common to American Indians.<sup>50</sup> In doing so, Ethan Smith was not doing anything new. Indeed, belief in Israelite migration to the Americas reflected a "well-established tradition" that can be traced back to the 1500s.<sup>51</sup> Given this tradition, Joseph Smith would not have needed to plagiarize Ethan Smith for the idea of Israelite-Indian parallels. To have any weight, therefore, the plagiarism claim requires more than superficial resemblances between *View of the Hebrews* and the Book of Mormon.

Both texts affirm that Israelitish peoples came to the Americas—the Lost Ten Tribes per *View of the Hebrews*, and descendants of Joseph (Lehi's family) per the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 5:14). As John W. Welch illustrates, however, the two works are far more dissimilar than they are alike. Welch describes 84 significant differences, most of which concern supposed Hebrew/Indian practices claimed in *View of the Hebrews* that are absent from the Book of Mormon. For example, *View of the Hebrews* contains a 34-item table listing American Indian words with purported Hebrew equivalents. Welch argues that if Joseph Smith were a plagiarizer, he would

have “jumped at such a ready-made list.”<sup>52</sup> None of these 34 words, however, resembles “any of the 175 names that appear for the first time in the Book of Mormon.”<sup>53</sup> Similarly, among many examples that could be cited, *View of the Hebrews* identifies the following Hebrew-Indian parallels that do not appear in the Book of Mormon: using the word “Hallelujah”;<sup>54</sup> preparing for battle by feasting, making sacrifices, and abstaining from marital intercourse;<sup>55</sup> conducting religious dances before wars;<sup>56</sup> carrying small boxes representing the ark of the covenant into battle;<sup>57</sup> believing the air is filled with good and evil spirits;<sup>58</sup> believing that gods control human destiny;<sup>59</sup> having priests wear “buttons, shells, antlers, feathers, bells, mocasins and rattles”;<sup>60</sup> burying furniture with the dead;<sup>61</sup> working to earn wives;<sup>62</sup> and practicing “mechanical arts” such as pottery and painting.<sup>63</sup>

Aside from the foregoing differences, the most striking is how the Book of Mormon specifically rejects Ethan Smith’s “sole thesis,”<sup>64</sup> namely, that the American Indians are really the Lost Ten Tribes. The Book of Mormon rejects this thesis in two fundamental ways. First, the Book of Mormon implies that the Ten Tribes “are *not* the same as the American Indians.”<sup>65</sup> Second, rather than emphasizing Mosaic law and ritual among indigenous peoples, the Book of Mormon privileges Christ and the Resurrection.<sup>66</sup> Specifically, the Book of Mormon describes Christology and Christian ritual among peoples who view Mosaic law as merely preparatory to Christ’s coming; indeed, Book of Mormon peoples abandon Mosaic law after Christ’s appearance. This Christian emphasis simply does not fit the Mosaic tradition represented in *View of the Hebrews*. For these reasons, LDS scholars are confident that Joseph Smith did not plagiarize Ethan Smith. Indeed, that confidence was underscored when Brigham Young University published *View of the Hebrews*, copies of which had become increasingly difficult to obtain, in 1996. Douglas Robinson appears unaware of this publication, not to mention Welch’s “Unparallel” and Richard Bushman’s analysis in *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism*. Knowledge of any of these works would have improved Robinson’s presentation.

To his credit, Robinson counterbalances Persuitte with LDS sources (Neal A. Maxwell and Preston Nibley)<sup>67</sup> who believe Joseph Smith’s account of how the Book of Mormon came to be. But these sources are neither scholarly nor current. Robinson would have been much better served if he had consulted solid scholarly sources recognized as such by both LDS and non-LDS academics. Richard L. Bushman’s *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism* would have been the most obvious candidate. In that book, published one year before Persuitte’s work, Bushman reviews Joseph’s translation process<sup>68</sup> as well as many theories about Book of

Mormon origins,<sup>69</sup> including, as mentioned above, the *View of the Hebrews* theory. Two better sources for reviewing Book of Mormon theories are now available: Terryl Givens's *By the Hand of Mormon*, which was published one year after *Who Translates?*, and Bushman's recently published *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*. Both of these works provide comprehensive and evenhanded approaches to Joseph's translation process.

Joseph Smith never explained how the translation process worked. Instead, he simply affirmed that he translated "by the gift and power of God."<sup>70</sup> Some who were close to the translation process report the following: Joseph completed the first 116 pages using the golden plates themselves and the Urim and Thummim.<sup>71</sup> After Martin Harris lost the 116 pages, Joseph no longer used the plates directly. Instead, Joseph variously used translation instruments, such as the Urim and Thummim or seerstones.<sup>72</sup> English words appeared on the instrument, and Joseph then dictated the words to a scribe.<sup>73</sup>

As Robinson constructs the story of the Book of Mormon translation, Joseph Smith simply read aloud an English text that appeared before him. If so, then Robinson's conclusion about spirit channeling is right: the translation instruments acted as a spiritual machine-translation program, and Joseph was a mere transcriber. Robinson's account would find plenty of support among eyewitnesses to the translation process. After all, eyewitnesses undoubtedly "understood translation as transcription."<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, after Martin Harris lost the 116 manuscript pages, Joseph seemed to believe that he could reproduce those pages, a belief that would support a transcriber hypothesis. But if Joseph had been simply a transcriber, he would have had no translator subjectivity at all. For this very reason, Robinson wonders why Joseph was even needed:

We might also ask why translation was even necessary—or rather, why human involvement was required in the translation process. Couldn't the Angels Mormon and Moroni have written the golden plates in English in the first place? Or, having written them in Egyptian and buried them in the hill in New York, couldn't they have simply rewritten them in English? If angels can write in Egyptian, surely they can write in English too? After all, the Angel Moroni *spoke* to Smith in English. Why did they need Joseph Smith and the whole apparatus of the divine instrumentalities?<sup>75</sup>

These are good questions. But all of them address *product* rather than *process* or *purpose*. Indeed, Robinson's attempt to answer his own questions focuses exclusively on product:

The only plausible explanation from within the spiritualistic paradigm—that is, again, setting aside the issue of authenticity—is that

Smith's human agency was in some significant way crucial to the success of the undertaking. Smith cannot have been the mere passive instrument of God, or the Angels, or the divine instrumentalities. He must have contributed *something* to the end result.<sup>76</sup>

Robinson does not suggest *how* Joseph contributed to the final result, but that reticence is understandable. Robinson simply cannot fathom what Joseph's contribution might be. He cannot do so because of his dogmatic commitment to Joseph as a spirit channeler. That commitment prevents Robinson from considering translation processes that do not involve channeling. In addition, that commitment blinds Robinson to the possibility that Joseph's translation work served a purpose unrelated to producing the Book of Mormon itself.

While Robinson appears fully committed to the hypothesis that Joseph is a classic channeler, several points cut against that hypothesis. Interestingly, these points weaken Robinson's argument regardless of whether Joseph's story is objectively true. That is, based strictly on Joseph's own story—Robinson's principal interest—these points undermine a classic channeling hypothesis.

The first point undermining Robinson is that the translation did not occur spontaneously or easily; it required work. After acting as Joseph's scribe, for example, Oliver Cowdery attempted to translate but failed. Doctrine and Covenants 9:7–8 seems to indicate that Oliver expected translation to proceed easily:

Behold, you have not understood; you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me. But, behold, I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind; then you must ask me if it be right, and if it is right I will cause that your bosom shall burn within you; therefore, you shall feel that it is right.

Joseph's translation efforts apparently succeeded because, unlike Oliver, he worked to "study things out" in his mind. What was Joseph studying out? Stephen Ricks suggests that Joseph wrestled to render divine promptings—the ancient text's content—into "felicitous English."<sup>77</sup> This process would be analogous to that of a translator who understands the concepts of a source text but struggles to express them in the target language. This struggle to "study things out" does not fit well with Robinson's channeling hypothesis.

A second point weakening Robinson's hypothesis concerns the many editorial changes Joseph made in the 1837 (second edition) and 1840 (third edition) printings of the Book of Mormon. Granted, these editorial changes were "mostly of a grammatical nature."<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, as Jeffrey R. Holland points out, Joseph made changes unrelated to grammar that "could limit,

change, or clarify the meaning of [a] passage.”<sup>79</sup> Holland identifies 97 such changes in the 1837 edition and 15 more in the 1840 edition.<sup>80</sup> These numbers could easily be reduced, however, for one can reasonably argue that not all the changes Holland identifies actually “limit, change, or clarify.” For example, Holland notes a change in Mosiah 3:19. The 1830 edition reads as follows: “But if he *yieldeth* to the enticings of the Holy Spirit. . . .” In contrast, the 1837 edition reads: “But if he *yields* to the enticings of the Holy Spirit. . . .”<sup>81</sup> This change seems nothing more than a change from an archaic form to a modern form, and several of the changes Holland identifies are of this type.<sup>82</sup> “Hath” becomes “has,”<sup>83</sup> for example, and “shew” becomes “show.”<sup>84</sup> Other changes, however, definitely represent changes in meaning. For example, 1 Nephi 13:32 concerns how the “abominable church” has withheld the “plain and most precious parts of the gospel” from the Gentiles. The verse affirms that God will remedy this situation. Specifically, the 1830 edition says that God will not allow the Gentiles to remain in a “state of awful *woundedness*.” “Woundedness” suggests an injury of some kind. The 1837 edition, however, describes an “awful state of *blindness*.”<sup>85</sup> This change specifies the Gentiles’ injury: they cannot understand the scriptures as they have them.

While one might quibble over whether a particular change affects meaning, Joseph’s changes clearly indicate that he did not consider “only one rendering acceptable.”<sup>86</sup> In other words, the English text that appeared on the translation instruments represented *Joseph’s* formulation, not God’s. That formulation, Stephen Ricks suggests, occurred as Joseph wrestled—experienced pandemonium—to render divine promptings into English. Divine approval of Joseph’s mental formulation then became manifest when the words appeared on the instruments. This suggestion fits well with the pattern described in D&C 9:7–8, where the translator must first study things out and afterward receive confirmation. Such confirmation apparently permits editorial changes. Robinson’s channeling hypothesis, however, does not appear to allow editorial changes, whether they be merely grammatical or clearly semantic.

The third point undermining Robinson’s channeling hypothesis concerns Joseph’s role as a revelator. Throughout his experience as a revelator, Joseph did not usually claim that the words of his revelations were God’s. Consider, for example, Joseph’s approach to the revelations eventually published in the Book of Commandments:

The editing process uncovered Joseph’s anomalous assumptions about the nature of revealed words. He never considered the wording infallible. God’s language stood in an indefinite relationship to the human language coming through the Prophet. . . . Recognizing the pliability of the

revealed words, Joseph freely edited the revelations “by the Holy Spirit,” making emendations with each new edition. He thought of his revelations as imprinted on his mind, not graven in stone.<sup>87</sup>

Joseph’s willingness to “freely” edit the Book of Commandments suggests something like Robinson’s pandemonium. Such pandemonium also appears in Joseph’s revision of the English Bible, known as the Joseph Smith Translation, or the JST. Granted, the JST is not a traditional translation. After all, Joseph’s source text was his English Bible, not an ancient document. He reworded passages, added material, and omitted material. Some of these changes appear to be revealed, while others appear to be Joseph’s (or another’s) personal efforts.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, Joseph called this process “translation,” apparently considering that “conveying [the Bible] in a new form” qualified as translation.<sup>89</sup>

Concerning the translation process, many JST changes reflect “reading and rereading in search of flawed passages.”<sup>90</sup> Those changes, Richard Bushman affirms, “did not always come in a flash of insight or a burst of revelation. The manuscript shows signs of [Joseph] searching his mind for the right words, as a regular translator might do.”<sup>91</sup> Joseph’s search for the right words is particularly conspicuous in two JST passages that he unknowingly translated twice: Matthew 26:1–71 and 2 Peter 3:4–6. The duplicate translations are not identical. Instead, they reflect Joseph’s “varying responses to the same difficulties in the text.”<sup>92</sup> Based on these differences, Kent P. Jackson and Peter M. Jasinski suggest that Joseph received divine “impressions” but “supplied the words” himself.<sup>93</sup> This suggestion fits well with the model Stephen Ricks describes for the Book of Mormon. Jackson and Jasinski, however, do not believe these JST passages reflect the same process as that of the Book of Mormon or the Book of Commandments: “In those cases, the Prophet was not beginning with another translation that needed consideration and possible revision, so the process was different.”<sup>94</sup>

One can reasonably argue that Joseph’s attitude toward revealed words in the JST and the Book of Commandments reflects his prior experience with the Book of Mormon. If the Book of Mormon’s language is Joseph’s language, then editing revealed words would seem perfectly natural to him. This argument is strengthened by Joseph’s first experience with the angel Moroni. During that visitation, Moroni quoted biblical verses in language slightly different from that of Joseph’s English Bible (JS–H 1:36–39). From this experience with Moroni, Joseph could easily infer that revealed language is not fixed. The translation of the Book of Mormon may simply have applied that inference. By translating the Book



of Mormon, Joseph learned how revelators use their own language to express divine promptings.

This last point, translation as revelatory tutelage, provides an answer to Robinson's questions about why humans were needed at all for the Book of Mormon translation. Specifically, if the translation process taught Joseph how to understand divine communication, then translating had a purpose unrelated to simply producing the Book of Mormon. In other words, God might not have needed a translation performed, but Joseph Smith did. Joseph's efforts to understand divine communication reflect the truism in translation studies that all communication is translation. George Steiner describes this truism as follows: "Translation is formally and pragmatically implicit in *every* act of communication, in the emission and reception of each and every mode of meaning, be it in the widest semiotic sense or in more specifically verbal exchanges. To understand is to decipher. To hear significance is to translate."<sup>95</sup> By translating the Book of Mormon, one might say, Joseph learned to hear *divine* significance.

The foregoing points—Joseph studying things out, Joseph making editorial changes in the Book of Mormon, Joseph learning to understand a revelator's role—cut against Robinson's assumption that Joseph's story about the Book of Mormon represents simple spirit channeling. Ironically, these points suggest something much more like Robinson's pandemonium model. To the degree that Joseph translated concepts into English words, he would have experienced the pandemonium other translators experience. Stephen Ricks's description of a struggle to formulate "felicitous English" suggests as much. For two reasons, however, Joseph's pandemonium would be different from that of other translators. First, the concepts he had to formulate into English were revealed to him; they came from God, not Joseph's own reading. Second, God acknowledged approval of a particular formulation by making the words appear on some instrument. Therefore, while one should reject Robinson's assumption that Joseph was a classic channeler, one should not completely discard the channeling hypothesis. After all, Joseph could not translate without divine participation. Joseph's translation process thus combined elements of both channeling and pandemonium. The subjectivity required for this hybrid translation process could be labeled "revelator subjectivity."

## Conclusion

In the conclusion to *Who Translates?*, Douglas Robinson concedes that he may be wrong about the specifics of his disaggregated-agency theories: "Maybe discarnate spirits don't control translation. Maybe ideological

norms are figments of our imagination. Maybe our cognitive processes are not controlled by what Daniel Dennett calls inner ‘demons.’ Maybe the ‘invisible hands’ that Adam Smith postulated don’t exist either, and economic processes are regulated in some other way” (195). Robinson concludes, however, that even if his theories’ specifics are wrong, something similar to pandemonium occurs in translation. Furthermore, Robinson argues that disaggregated-agency reflects translators’ reality far more accurately than humanist models in which the translating self controls everything.

Robinson’s conclusion illustrates how he has tried to seek a middle ground between the irreconcilable extremes of humanism and antihumanism. Pandemonium subjectivity—disaggregated-agency—acknowledges how interior and exterior forces shape each other and shape subjectivity. Furthermore, as this essay has attempted to show, Joseph Smith’s revelator subjectivity represents a special case of pandemonium subjectivity. Thus, while Robinson incorrectly considers Joseph Smith’s translator subjectivity essentially nonexistent, the pandemonium model actually illuminates how Joseph’s translation process worked. That process’s hybrid subjectivity appears to have laid the foundation for how Joseph viewed revelation throughout his prophetic career.

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David Daniell. *The Bible in English:  
Its History and Influence.*

New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003

Reviewed by Richard Y. Duerden

The question “Is the Bible true?” may not be the most important or most interesting question about the Bible. After all, for the Bible’s first millennium and a half as canonical, the question likely would have elicited the response, “What a silly question. Of course it’s true; it’s the word of God.” And to demonstrate that the Bible is indeed the word of God, your respondents probably would not try to illustrate how accurately the Bible narrative corresponds with history. Rather, they would remind you of what the Bible has done and what it can do for you, your family, your community, and your culture; the question they would ask is, “What hath God wrought?” Rather than a correspondence test of truth, they would presuppose a more direct, pragmatic test of truth. The tactic is sound; the practical efficacy of God’s word as the demonstration of its truth was recommended by the Savior himself (John 7:17 and 8:31–32). The point of the Bible is not to describe the world; it is to change it.

David Daniell’s *The Bible in English* is an engaging, readable, and argumentatively forthright survey of what the Bible has done in the English-speaking world. He discusses 190 complete or partial translations of the Bible from seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England through late twentieth-century America, but he also argues, sometimes by inference and sometimes quantitatively, for the overwhelming transformative impact of this book on our culture. As Yeats said, “That is no country for young men”: the erudition required to survey all of English-speaking culture for a millennium and more can only be the product of a lifetime of devoted scholarship. The stunning contribution here is not only to survey the history of how and how many Bibles were made, but to dare map their routes through the literature, culture, and thought of Anglo-American societies—not just how we got the Bible, but what it did to us once we had it.

Though comprehensive chronologically, the book narrows its focus polemically. Daniell wears his predilections lightly, but on his sleeve: he champions the Reformation over Roman Catholicism and gives relative emphasis to the New Testament over the Hebrew scriptures. His study is an immensely learned scholarly and cultural history by a committed Pauline Christian, and in that commitment Daniell inaugurates another round of argument in early modern historiography, directly confronting the revisionism of the last generation of Reformation historians, particularly Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy. To assert that ritual-based Catholicism remained vital well into the Bible-based Protestant Reformation, revisionist historians have drawn their arguments from festivals and church architecture, from wills and churchwardens' account books. Daniell successfully dwells instead on the sheer numbers of printed texts and the accessibility of the vernacular: at least two million Bibles printed in the century after 1525, in a nation with a population of six million; the New Testament read all the way through in church services three times a year, the Old Testament once a year, and the Psalms every month; duodecimo New Testaments in the pockets of apprentices and shepherds; biblical phrasing permeating the language of English law, poetry, fiction, hymn, and oratorio.

Daniell tracks both recent discoveries and ongoing scholarship with brief discussion in the text and elaborations in endnotes, but his book is also readable and rewarding for a popular audience. So let us face the question raised for Latter-day Saint readers by our eighth Article of Faith: how far is it translated correctly? In general, the Bible has been transmitted and translated remarkably well: "The Greek New Testament is the best-attested document in the world, surviving in about five thousand manuscripts," but "there are still problems" for translators (3–5). Early Latin manuscripts of the Bible vary widely. In 1516, Erasmus noted hundreds of errors in the Vulgate and therefore offered a new Latin translation alongside his issuance of the first printed critical Greek text. Erasmus had one of the greatest minds of the Renaissance, but his critical Greek text was necessarily a rush job with errors of its own. He could find no Greek manuscript with the last verses of the Book of Revelation, so he back-translated them from the Vulgate's Latin into Greek. He also announced that he could find no Greek manuscript authority for the "Johannine comma," the added passage in 1 John 5:7–8 saying that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one. Someone produced a Greek manuscript that did give authority for it, and he therefore included the passage in his critical text. He later concluded that someone else created a forgery to deceive him. Nevertheless, Erasmus's Greek text came to be regarded as the *Textus Receptus*, or "received text," the



basis of all Greek New Testament translation until the 1880s, including the King James Version. The *Textus Receptus*, in turn, has been challenged and improved in many details by later textual discoveries and scholarship. The process of “translating correctly” goes on.

Daniell analyzes all the major translations, but their accuracy is only part of his story. Above all, he traces their impact on English language, art, belief, and culture, and he pauses often to reflect on modern scholars’ astonishing neglect of the Bible as cultural force, as if the book had been airbrushed out of the cultural portrait.

The Bible is the core, the heart, of Anglo-American culture. The earliest substantial bodies of written Old English include the gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels and translations from Exodus in the law codes of King Alfred, who even saw himself in terms of Old Testament kings. Almost all of the 30,000 lines of extant Old English poetry are explicitly Christian; three-fourths of Middle English lyrics are religious.

In every age, Daniell urges, a proliferation of Bible texts stimulates thought and creativity, and the suppression of biblical reading dries up thinking generally. The earliest complete English Bibles appeared in manuscripts circulating in the 1380s. (Daniell discusses the possibility that it was John Trevisa rather than Wycliffe who was behind the translation.) Because the translation was attributed to religious dissenters, it was forbidden, and in 1401 reading scripture in English was made a heresy punishable by burning alive. The effect of religious censorship, Daniell argues, was to diminish writing and thinking of all sorts; the age of Chaucer petered out in a century of repression. On the other hand, the outpouring of scripture that began with William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, with the first printed New Testament in English in 1526 and the first complete printed English Bible in 1535, opened up “a vast, rich sunlit territory, a land flowing with the milk and honey of new images and metaphors, and the rediscovered ancient monuments of God-given religious, political and social revelation” (160). An old historian’s proverb says, “Without Erasmus, no Luther.” Daniell adds, “Without Tyndale, no Shakespeare” (772).

Daniell works to reverse old prejudices: the Bible used by Shakespeare and Milton, the Geneva Bible of 1560 and after, despite its reputation, was neither combative nor tendentious (only ten of its thousands of marginal notes even refer to the Roman Catholic Church); the Catholic Rheims-Douay translation of 1582, on the other hand, was adversarial indeed, large parts of its preface “written in bile” (367). Although Daniell is consistently Protestant in his tone, he offers no comfort to the more conservative evangelicals who cling to the *Textus Receptus* and the King James Version as the sole word of God. (For the arguments of these ardent adherents to one

translation only, enter “King James Version” and “authority” or “history” into any internet search engine.) On the contrary, he regards the “systematic destruction” of the Geneva Bible “for political and, above all, crude commercial reasons” and its replacement by the King James Version as “one of the tragedies of our culture” (319, 347, 442). The revision spurred on by King James was intended from the start to silence religious dissent and was overseen by the ruthless Archbishop Richard Bancroft; it stripped away the scholarly aids to readers provided by the Geneva Bible; it turned its back on advances in textual scholarship from the Continent; and it retained and even increased the use of a diction that was already archaic in 1611. Even so, enough of Tyndale’s directness and the Geneva translators’ understanding shone through to make the KJV not only a monument of English prose style, but “the bestselling book in the world” (427). How did the KJV achieve its triumph over other translations? Not through its superiority, but through very mundane commercial maneuvers: a printing monopoly and a decades-long legal battle over the printing rights, with large sums of money at stake. The ensuing centuries ring with recognition of shortcomings in the KJV, defenses of it, and principles driving revision and fresh translation.

Across the Atlantic, in America, the biblical fervor that accompanied the dissidents who settled beginning in 1620 gradually declined over the course of a century until the Great Awakening of the 1740s. Bible printing in America began in Philadelphia in 1777; by 1800 there were seventy available printings of the Bible; by 1840 over a thousand. What spirit drove this new outpouring of scripture? The first Congresses refused to have anything to do with the printing of Bibles: though one resolution of 1782 did “approve” of Robert Aitken’s printing endeavors, no support was offered. Daniell’s examination of many individual editions and his characterization of the larger trends of Bible publishing in America, as well as his attention to the surprising paucity of indigenous American translations, should be of great interest to students of the Restoration.

Students of the Restoration, however, will be disappointed by the author’s treatment of the Book of Mormon. Daniell has been a friend of Brigham Young University for over a decade; the journal of the Tyndale Society, *Reformation*, of which he was the founding editor, was edited and prepared for publication at BYU, and he has been invited to speak on campus on a few occasions. But his LDS audience will be dismayed at his discussion of the Book of Mormon: in two pages, rife with errors, sandwiched between *Ben Hur* and Hollywood Bible epics, he dismisses the Book of Mormon as a biblical fiction. The best reply to such a slight may

be the words of Hermione in *The Winter's Tale*: "How will this grieve you, when you shall come to clearer knowledge!"

Daniell might have had a brilliant book if he had heeded the final proposition of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*: "What we cannot speak about we must pass over in silence." The superficiality of his treatment of the Book of Mormon is symptomatic of his book's last three hundred pages: presuming to speak with authority while transparently dependent on the scholarship of others. While his first thirty chapters are often bold, insightful, and innovative, his last ten chapters take him too far from his expertise, and the book ends not with a bang but with a drawn-out whimper. He is a fine surveyor of others' scholarship (for several years he wrote the chapter on Shakespeare for *The Year's Work in English Studies*), and his book's last chapters could serve as a good bibliographic review essay or a fine introduction to the study of translations in the last two centuries, but they offer nothing new. *The New English Bible*, *The Jerusalem Bible*, *The New American Bible*, *The New International Version*, *The Good News Bible*, *The Revised English Bible*—none receives more than a page or two. On modern translations, Daniell will not supplant F. F. Bruce's *The English Bible*, or S. L. Greenslade's *Cambridge History of the Bible*. However, he holds his finger on the pulse of a certain kind of authority, an authority that comes from association with origins and foundings. For the Bible in the English language, those origins lie in Tyndale and Coverdale, and Daniell resoundingly endorses their authority.

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Jaroslav Pelikan. *Whose Bible Is It?*  
*A History of the Scriptures through the Ages.*

London: Viking Penguin, 2005

Reviewed by Gary P. Gillum

The answer to the question posed by the title of this praiseworthy volume should be obvious to Latter-day Saints: neither Jews nor Christians possess the word of God. Only God does. And by using the same logic and deep feeling Jaroslav Pelikan so humbly shares with us, the same holds true for the Book of Mormon. Pelikan puts it so well in the final words of the book: “The Tanakh and the New Testament are agreed: ‘What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder!’” (251)

I hasten to add that the journey to the last page is more remarkable than any simple answer a theologian could possibly offer on the subject of continuing revelation. While reading, I was reminded of visits to BYU by two biblical scholars, one Christian and one Jewish: Bruce M. Metzger<sup>1</sup> and Chaim Potok.<sup>2</sup> Both scholars were very open with the BYU religion faculty and treated Mormon culture with respect and its people as true “people of the book.” Potok even ventured to ask whether our Book of Mormon had its own official commentary, or Talmud, leaving himself open for a discussion about continuing revelation and all that is implied by that doctrine.

With his present book, it is as if Dr. Pelikan is continuing Potok’s dialogue on revelation with Latter-day Saints, even though Mormonism is never mentioned. Pelikan paints “continuing revelation” with broad strokes that do not engage LDS scholars specifically, though they will still find his discussion relevant. For example, in chapter 4, “Beyond Written Torah: Talmud and Continuing Revelation,” the author reminds the reader that

there was an oral tradition preceding and underlying the New Testament, and by no means all of that tradition is contained in the New Testament or exhausted by it; the ongoing presence and guidance of the Holy Spirit in the church, moreover, can carry with it the authority of continuing revelation. Therefore, the relation between tradition and Scripture—their origin, their content, their authority—has often

become controversial throughout the history of the Christian interpretation of the Bible. (69)

Pelikan then analyzes those commentaries considered inspired, or the “Torah beyond Torah”: the Apocrypha, Gemara, Haggadah, Halakhah, Kabbalah, Midrash, Mishnah, Talmud, Targum, and Tosefta. This is followed by a discussion on a phrase Ralph Waldo Emerson coined, “not spake but speaketh,” to express his “deepening conviction that divine revelation was not to be confined to any sacred book or inspired individual but continues into the present” (72–73). Lest anyone misunderstand Emerson’s intent, however, Pelikan qualifies the phrase as meaning “the ongoing revelation of the word of God that has come over and over again and that still continues to come now, not in some kind of high-flying independence from but, to the contrary, in a devout and persevering engagement with the pages of the Sacred Book” (73). No Latter-day Saint would quibble with his qualification, even though we can be certain Pelikan does not have Mormonism in the back of his mind when he complements our religion with his “unorthodox” biblical scholarship.

I have admired Jaroslav Pelikan since learning about him in 1968 through his book *Spirit versus Structure* (on Martin Luther) while studying for the Lutheran ministry. An ordained Lutheran minister himself, as well as one of the world’s leading scholars in the history of Christianity and medieval intellectual history, Pelikan has written over forty books, including a massive multivolume set on the creeds of Christendom. He is also the editor of several volumes of Martin Luther’s complete works. *Whose Bible Is It?* is a fitting end to a great career, for Pelikan died in 2006. He was recognized throughout the twentieth century as one of a pantheon of great names in Christian religious scholarship, which included Mircea Eliade, G. K. Chesterton, C. S. Lewis, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Marty, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Hugh Nibley. All of these men had one thing in common: they wrote with an uncommon internal authority others lacked. Speaking for myself, it is wonderful to read an author like Pelikan, who wholeheartedly and wholemindedly respects the scriptures of both Judaism and Christianity, quite a relief from those twentieth-century theologians who spent a great deal of effort de-mythologizing and de-eschatologizing the scriptures—which was my experience in my pre-seminary days in the 1960s.

According to reports, before his death Pelikan delivered the last in a lifelong series of unforgettable aphorisms: “If Christ is risen, nothing else matters. And if Christ is not risen—nothing else matters.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed. His healthy love for the scriptures is exemplary to the Latter-day Saint reader, who can deduce from his book that Mormonism has as great a connection

with the Tanakh (Old Testament) as it does with the New Testament, solidifying the belief in a general pattern of continuing revelation through the ages. In fact, the Book of Mormon is more like the Tanakh than the New Testament, for it is a combination of Torah (laws), Nevi'im (prophets) and Kethuvim (writings).

Other insights into Pelikan's research and thinking that may be significant to LDS readers: (1) Pelikan's genealogy of the Bible includes an uncharacteristic (for Protestants) view of the Bible's many errors in translation and transmission; (2) Pelikan would have agreed with J. Reuben Clark on the practicality of the Book of Mormon being translated into King James English; and (3) Pelikan emphasizes the theology of covenant—a "covenant that begins . . . with the promise of God to Abraham and Sarah that their descendants would always participate in that covenant relation" (29–30).

Such a readable and eminently "underlineable" book could be labeled as nearly perfect, except for its unexplainable lack of a subject index, precluding it from becoming a layman's reference work on the history of the Bible. Yet any reader's bookshelf would be served well by *Whose Bible Is It?* alongside Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler's *The Jewish Study Bible, Featuring The Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation: Torah, Nivi'im, Kethuvim* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), as well as Zachary Karabell's wonderful new *Peace Be upon You: The Story of Muslim, Christian, and Jewish Coexistence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007).

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1. Bruce M. Metzger was a professor emeritus at Princeton Theological Seminary and an authority on Greek manuscripts of the Bible. He died at age ninety-three on February 13, 2007, the week I began writing this review.

2. Chaim Potok is author of *The Chosen* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967) and *My Name is Asher Lev* (New York: Fawcett Crest, 1984). His visit to BYU on December 15, 1982, was very memorable. Bruce C. Hafen, Truman G. Madsen, and others quoted him during the next decade.

3. *Wikipedia*, "Jaroslav Pelikan," [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaroslav\\_Pelikan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaroslav_Pelikan). Pelikan's unorthodox stance in this volume is not surprising, though I learned from the above web page that in 1998 he and his wife, Sylvia, were received into the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) at St. Vladimir's Seminary Chapel. Members of Pelikan's family remember him saying that he had not as much converted to orthodoxy as he had "returned to it, peeling back the layers of my own belief to reveal the Orthodoxy that was always there"—a resemblance of my own experience as a Lutheran converting to Mormonism.

Simcha Jacobovici and Charles Pellegrino.  
*The Jesus Family Tomb: The Discovery, the Investigation,  
and the Evidence That Could Change History.*

New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2007

Reviewed by Kent P. Jackson

A secret marriage between Jesus and Mary Magdalene, a secret child born to their union, and a secret society of believers who maintained those secrets. To these can be added the Templars, the Masons, esoteric symbols in architecture, persecution by the Catholic Church, startling new information about the origins of Christianity, and ancient and modern efforts by the establishment to cover up the truth. If these features of *The Jesus Family Tomb* are reminiscent of Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, there probably is a reason.

In 1980, a tomb was discovered in Talpiot, a southern suburb of Jerusalem, during the construction of an apartment complex. Archaeologists arrived at the scene, but not before children were found playing with skulls they had found inside. In accordance with established archaeological protocol in Israel, a salvage excavation was undertaken, and the content of the tomb was removed. Specialists drew plans of the tomb, catalogued the artifacts and human remains, stored the artifacts for later research, and then reburied the bones elsewhere. As the new neighborhood was built and the homes were inhabited, the tomb was covered by a garden, and the entrance was capped with a large metal lid. The excavation report, written by archaeologist Amos Kloner, was not published until 1996.<sup>1</sup>

The tomb is typical of many other Palestinian Jewish tombs from the first century AD. It contains a square central room (about 8 by 8 feet) with an entrance on one side and two body-length burial niches cut perpendicularly into each of the three other sides. Horizontal benches are found in the main room on two of the sides. In Jesus's day, the dead were wrapped in burial shrouds and placed on the benches or in the niches. Some were interred on the floor as well. Space considerations often led to the practice of secondary burials in ossuaries—stone boxes in which the bones were placed after the tissues had disintegrated, usually about a year after death. The ossuaries needed to be only as long as the longest bone in the body, and



thus they allowed the space in the tomb to be used more efficiently. Many ossuaries eventually contained the bones of several people. On about 25 percent of the ossuaries, names were inscribed identifying the deceased.<sup>2</sup>

The Talpiot tomb contained ossuaries with the following inscriptions: “Mariame and Mara,” “Judah son of Yeshua,” “Matya,” “Yoseh,” “Marya,” and “Yeshua (?) son of Joseph.”<sup>3</sup> *Mariame* and *Marya* are two forms of *Mary*, *Yoseh* in the New Testament is *Joses*, *Matya* is *Matthew*, and *Yeshua* is the Aramaic original of *Jesus*. Thus the tomb contained a *Joses*, two *Marys*, a *Matthew*, a *Jesus* son of *Joseph*, and a son of *Jesus*.

The original archaeologists made nothing of the names, but shortly after the excavation report was published, a BBC documentary discussed the names and hinted that the tomb of *Jesus Christ* might have been found.<sup>4</sup> Then in March 2007, the Discovery Channel broadcast *The Lost Tomb of Jesus*, and HarperSanFrancisco published *The Jesus Family Tomb*. The book was authored by Simcha Jacobovici, an Israeli-Canadian documentary filmmaker, and Charles Pellegrino, a scientist-novelist. The documentary was conceived and directed by Jacobovici, and its executive producer was filmmaker James Cameron, creator of *Titanic* (1997) and the *Terminator* motion pictures (1984, 1991, 2003). In short, their claim is that the tomb of *Jesus of Nazareth* has indeed been found and that it is “the most stunning archaeological find of the last century” (viii) and “the greatest archaeology story ever” (xiii). They assert that *Jesus’s* bones were contained in the ossuary labeled “*Yeshua son of Joseph*”; *Yoseh* was *Jesus’s* brother *Joses* (see Mark 6:3) or maybe even his father, *Joseph*; one of the *Marys* was *Jesus’s* mother; and the other was *Mary Magdalene*, who they argue was the wife of *Jesus*. Their son, *Judah*, was buried in the tomb, as was one of *Mary’s* relatives, a *Matthew*. The book and the documentary go through the story of the discovery of the tomb and of these conclusions, depicted as a great adventure of forensic detective work. In the documentary, Jacobovici is the ever-present seeker of the truth, appearing in virtually every scene as he goes from one clue to the next. Along the way, he and his associates argue their case with the use of statistics, DNA evidence, passages from the New Testament and noncanonical texts, and, above all else, with unlikely speculations that build one upon the other until they arrive at their conclusions.

The documentary and the book created an uproar even before they were made public. Christian apologists came to the defense of the biblical resurrection story, and Bible scholars and archaeologists found immediate fault with the claim that the tomb had anything to do with *Jesus of Nazareth*. Academics have been virtually unanimous in their rejection of the

assertions of Jacobovici and his team.<sup>5</sup> Following are my own observations and responses to some of the authors' many claims.

1. The fact that Jesus's body was placed in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea tells us that his family did not have a tomb in the Jerusalem area, otherwise he would have been put there. Archaeologist Jodi Magness believes that this fact alone goes far to disprove the book's claims.<sup>6</sup> If Joseph's family had a tomb, it would have been in Nazareth, where the family lived, or perhaps in his ancestral home, Bethlehem.

2. Building on the identifications described above, Jacobovici and his team use statistical arguments to prove that there is only one chance in six hundred that the tomb could belong to any family other than Jesus's family. They multiply probabilities based on the frequency of names attested in the Jewish population at the time. Smarter mathematical minds than mine have attacked the statistical argument successfully.<sup>7</sup> Statistics work only as well as the assumptions on which they are based, and the assumptions our writers present have serious flaws. For one thing, they assume that the names come from one nuclear family, whereas the ossuaries may as well have come from several different generations over a century. They also assume that all occupants of the tomb must be related, either by blood or (in the case of Jesus's supposed wife, Mary Magdalene) by marriage. Whereas it is commonly assumed that these were family tombs, nothing precludes other options as well, including non-family burials, purchased space, purchased tombs, or burials by unrelated opportunists after the first century. Jesus, after all, was buried in someone else's tomb according to the New Testament. The authors make assumptions about the names chosen for the two Marys, concluding that one must be the mother of Jesus and the other Mary Magdalene. The assumptions about the Marys not only are unprovable but they are based on a false reading of the text (see below). In fact, the names found in the Talpiot tomb are among the most common of the time, and the statistical argument comes across as mostly wishful thinking.

3. The book builds a great portion of its claim on the argument that Mary Magdalene was buried in one of the ossuaries. Mary was the most common name among Palestinian Jewish women in Jesus's day, a fact reflected in all the Marys in the New Testament.<sup>8</sup> The name usually appeared in one of two forms: the Hebrew form *Maryam* (*Mariam* or *Mariamē* in Greek) or the Hebrew form *Marya* (*Maria* in Greek). Noting that one of the ossuaries bears the name *Marya*, they argue (apparently from Latin Christian tradition) that the mother of Jesus was always known as Maria, thus confirming that Jesus's mother was in the box bearing the name *Marya*. But in the Greek text of the New Testament, the Gospel of

Luke always calls Jesus's mother *Mariam*, whereas the Gospel of Matthew calls her *Maria* in every case but one.

Drawing from fanciful biblical geography and late apocryphal texts (the Gospel of Mary and the Acts of Philip), the authors conclude that Mary Magdalene was an apostle, spoke Greek, and went by the name *Mariamne*. But in the Greek New Testament, she is called *Maria* ten times, *Mariam* three times, and never *Mariamne*. In the excavation report, one of the ossuary inscriptions, the only one written in Greek, was read as "*Mariamēnou (ē) Mara*," with the translation "of Mariamene, [also called] Mara."<sup>9</sup> *Mara* (not related to the name Mary) was another common Jewish name in Jesus's day, but Jacobovici and his team interpret it as the Aramaic word for "master." Thus they have "Mariamene the Master." They argue that the presence of the name Mariamene is evidence that it was Mary Magdalene in the box. And the presence of her ossuary in the Jesus family tomb is evidence that she and Jesus were married. The film shows re-creations of Mary Magdalene teaching and guiding the other disciples of Jesus, and one of the scholars, whose sound bites garnish the film, announces her belief that Mary Magdalene was the true founder of Christianity.

Aside from the fact that they misuse the languages and build their case by rejecting the first-century Gospels and using late fictional texts, Jacobovici and his team have an even greater problem. The original epigrapher, L. Y. Rahmani, misread the inscription. It actually reads *Mariamē kai Mara*, "Mariame and Mara." The first name is the original inscription, perhaps placed on the box when the remains of one Mariame were placed in it, although we have no way of knowing if she was the box's first occupant. After some time, other bones were placed in the box, and in a very different hand, someone else wrote "and Mara."<sup>10</sup>

The identification of the misread Mariamene with Mary Magdalene is one of the lynchpins of the authors' argument, "the key to the whole story," Jacobovici writes (204). Its disappearance, made possible by the better reading of the text, damages their claims beyond repair.

4. No early Christian would call Jesus the "son of Joseph." Fundamental to the Christian message from the beginning was the belief that Jesus was the son of God. For the sake of argument, even if Joseph were Jesus's father, Jesus's followers would not write that on his bone box, because it contradicted the story that they were telling publicly. For the same reason, early Christians would not put Jesus's name on a bone box at all while they were announcing far and wide that his dead body had risen from the grave and ascended into heaven. Rock-cut tombs were not sealed permanently but were reopened regularly as new bodies were placed inside. Early

Christians would not have produced evidence like that to contradict their own claims.

5. The New Testament reflects the culture of ancient Jerusalem by identifying Jews from elsewhere by their hometown. Thus we have Joseph of Arimathea (Mark 15:43), Simon of Cyrene (Matthew 27:32), Saul of Tarsus (Acts 9:11), Mary Magdalene (Mary of Magdala; Matthew 27:56), and Jesus of Nazareth (John 19:19 and sixteen other passages). Rahmani points out that ossuary inscriptions follow this same practice, identifying non-Jerusalemmites by their home of origin.<sup>11</sup> Yet no one in the Talpiot tomb is identified in this manner, even though, according to Jacobovici and Pellegrino, they were all from out of town.

6. The inscription on the Yeshua ossuary presents problems. Some names inscribed on ancient ossuaries were written with a careful hand, seemingly to honor the deceased. Four of the six ossuaries in the Talpiot tomb have such inscriptions, inscribed in block letters rather neatly. The Greek Mariame inscription is an exception, not being particularly carefully done. But the Yeshua inscription is extraordinarily sloppy and chaotic, carelessly and thoughtlessly written amidst apparently random scratches. It is difficult to imagine followers and family members of Jesus Christ marking their Lord's final resting place in that manner, making it all the more unlikely that the box could ever have contained his remains. Nor is the reading certain. When Rahmani read the inscription, he reconstructed the first and second letters, *y* and *š* (sh), as conjectures. He did so based on the fact that there was another Yeshua inscription in the same family tomb.<sup>12</sup> From Rahmani's drawing, it appears that the letters of Yeshua (transliterated *yšw'*) are probably present, written in some cases partially on top of each other. But I do not rule out the possibility that later on-site examinations may suggest a different name. *The Jesus Family Tomb* and its accompanying documentary are built on a reading of the name Yeshua, Jesus, that is not entirely certain.

7. Jacobovici and his associates make much of an X mark immediately before the name Yeshua and a mark that looks like a star or asterisk on the lid of the box. They argue that the X is a cross that identifies the deceased as a holy person, and Jacobovici suggests dramatically that the star identifies him as the fulfillment of a messianic promise in the eyes of his followers (211–12): "There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel" (Numbers 24:17). From the photograph published in the book, it does not seem that the X and the name were incised at the same time. I doubt that they have anything to do with each other at all. Usually such marks provided instructions for aligning the lid in the correct position.<sup>13</sup> The marks may mean any number of other things, including which niche

to put the box into or that the box is full. We do not know, but nothing in the authors' arguments is compelling in the least.

8. The authors emphasize DNA tests conducted on human remains in the ossuaries of Mariame and Yeshua, and the documentary depicts the tests with considerable drama. According to the laboratory that tested the remains, the surviving mitochondrial DNA proves that Mariame and Yeshua did not have the same mother. Based on the presupposition that Mariame was Mary Magdalene and that only family members could be in the tomb—unless one was the spouse of another—they conclude that the DNA analysis shows that Mariame and Yeshua were husband and wife, again confirming that Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene were married. But in this argument their assumptions have no foundation at all. The fact that there was no maternal match does not rule out a host of other possibilities, including sharing the same father, Mariame's marriage to any of the other men in the tomb or any of the thousands of other men in Jerusalem in her day, contamination with someone else's DNA in either of the ossuaries, and the possibility of a non-family member being buried in the same tomb. Even more damning to their case is the fact that the reading of the woman's name was wrong to begin with, and another woman, Mara, had her bones placed in the same box.

The Talpiot tomb was, in fact, the equivalent of a contaminated crime scene. In the excavation report, Kloner estimates that there were remains of about seventeen people found in the ten ossuaries, so some boxes were shared. He suggests that about eighteen others were interred in the tomb outside the ossuaries (conveniently not discussed by Jacobovici and Pellegrino).<sup>14</sup> The tomb had been opened and disturbed in antiquity and perhaps on other occasions since then, and it is possible that the bones removed from the box by the archaeologists in 1980 belonged neither to Mariame nor Mara anyway. Nor is there any way to know whether the human remains used in the DNA testing came from the people called Mariame or Yeshua. In answer to the obvious question of why DNA tests were not made from the "Judah son of Yeshua" ossuary to see if its occupant was indeed the child of Yeshua and Mariame, Jacobovici states that no human remains were available from that box. I found the DNA discussion to be among the least convincing parts of Jacobovici's claim.

9. No scripture states that Jesus was married. Nor does even any ancient apocryphal text claim that Jesus and Mary Magdalene were married. Yet their supposed marriage is central to *The Jesus Family Tomb*, as is the existence of a son named Judah, who is even identified by the authors as the beloved disciple in the Gospel of John. "Clearly, the Gospels harbor a deep secret" (207). Recent history shows that ideas like this sell books.

10. The authors make much of two shapes carved above the entrance of the tomb, a circle under an inverted V that looks like a gable. They found a medieval analogue and argue from it that the symbol represents the royal family, thus announcing that members of the Jesus dynasty were buried inside. They fail to notice that they make that claim at the same time arguing that the burials inside of Jesus and his family members were secret. In fact, the decoration is probably of no consequence whatever. It looks like the short end of an ossuary with a pointed lid and an unfinished rosette or wreath, both found very commonly on ossuaries.<sup>15</sup> The purpose of the decoration, if there was a purpose, was probably to show that the place was a tomb.

11. Ten ossuaries were found in the tomb, yet only nine were placed in the storage facility of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The authors attempt to create a mystery over the absence of the tenth box and suggest that it was the one that is now owned privately and bears the inscription "James son of Joseph brother of Jesus." That ossuary created a sensation when it surfaced in 2002. Scientists have identified the James inscription as a modern forgery carved into an authentic ancient ossuary.<sup>16</sup> My own examinations of it (behind glass) led me to the same conclusion. But that ossuary did not come from the Talpiot tomb. The archaeologists who excavated the tomb have stated that the tenth ossuary was plain, with neither decoration nor inscription, so it was not stored for research but placed with other plain boxes in the courtyard of Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum. It apparently is still there today.<sup>17</sup>

12. The authors tell of early followers of Jesus who rejected the theology that later became orthodox Christianity and accepted a simpler view of the Christian faith, including knowledge that Jesus did not ascend to heaven with his body but was buried in the Talpiot tomb. Those Christians preserved the secret Christianity through the centuries. During the time of the Crusades, they shared it with the Templars, who became converted and were consequently persecuted and eventually slaughtered by the Catholic Church for their beliefs. Needless to say, this kind of intrigue attempts to spin a good story, but it is not based on history.

13. Perhaps the most important argument against the whole idea of *The Jesus Family Tomb* is the fact that the first Christians did not believe that Jesus's bones were ever contained in an ossuary. The New Testament presents multiple accounts that Jesus's body lay in a tomb and was resurrected on the third day. The passages in Paul's writings and in the Gospels are the earliest sources for the story, all dating from the first century AD and reflecting the beliefs and experiences of Christians from the beginning.

They are the closest evidence there is to the events they describe, and they tell the story in a remarkably consistent way.

14. I found reading *The Jesus Family Tomb* to be a tedious and unpleasant experience. It is not a captivating read like many found in *The Da Vinci Code* and other such books on which it is modeled. The mood of conspiracy, cover-up, and discovery of secrets that it attempts to depict just does not work. It is far from being a good detective story. It is full of excessive feigned pathos, attempts at clever language, and dramatic overkill.<sup>18</sup>

But the weakest part of the book is not its writing but its attempt at scholarship to reconstruct history. After Jacobovici and Pellegrino describe in the chapters how they discovered and confirmed the secrets about Jesus's tomb, Jacobovici adds a lengthy conclusion in which he restates all of the arguments of the book. Unfortunately, with each telling of the story, it becomes less convincing. James Cameron calls the discovery "electrifying," "a veritable avalanche" of evidence, proving, "beyond any reasonable doubt that a first-century Jewish tomb found in Talpiot, Jerusalem, in 1980 is the tomb of Jesus and his family" (vii). It is based on "hard physical evidence, evidence that cannot lie" (x), "brilliant scholarly research and forensic lab work," and it is "virtually irrefutable" (xi). Cameron writes as though these discoveries will do Christians a favor: heretofore, no physical evidence of Jesus had ever been found, but this find proves his existence (vii–viii). Then, in what appears to be a condescending tone aimed toward Christians, he writes, "There are those who will find the results of the investigation revealed in this book to be too challenging to their belief system. For these readers, no amount of scientific proof would be sufficient" (xi). But this book is not science, let alone scientific proof. Scholars who know the archaeology, the languages, the writing customs, and the ancient texts are not finding it convincing at all. Scholarship is presented in scientific meetings and published in academic journals. The key to both of those venues is peer review, which is scrutiny by specialists to determine if a proposal or interpretation is worthy of publication. Peer review includes, and is followed by, rigorous discussion before ideas are accepted and become viewed as legitimate. Jacobovici, Pellegrino, and Cameron chose to skip those necessary steps. They went instead directly to marketing—first to a television audience with stories on network and local news all over the world and with a well-produced documentary. A day or two later, they entered the popular book market with *The Jesus Family Tomb*, bearing the eye-catching subtitle, *The Discovery, the Investigation, and the Evidence that Could Change History*. But history is not being changed. With the benefit of all the publicity, the book sold well for the first week. But in the absence of positive responses from readers, its



sales dropped precipitously after that. I predict that the whole episode will be forgotten very soon.

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1. Amos Kloner, "A Tomb with Inscribed Ossuaries in East Talpiyot, Jerusalem," *Atiqot* 29 (1996): 15–22.

2. L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority and Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 11, 304–7.

3. Kloner, "A Tomb with Inscribed Ossuaries," 17–20.

4. The documentary, *The Body in Question*, aired at Easter in 1996.

5. Among the many who have weighed in on the topic, the only exception of which I am aware is James D. Tabor, who recently entered the field of religious sensationalism with a book of the same genre, *The Jesus Dynasty: The Hidden History of Jesus, His Royal Family, and the Birth of Christianity* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006). Tabor helped with Jacobovici and Pellegrino's book and appears in the film.

6. Jodi Magness, "Has the Tomb of Jesus Been Discovered?" Society of Biblical Literature Forum (online), <http://www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleId=640>.

7. See the excellent treatment by Randall Ingermanson, "Statistics and the 'Jesus Family Tomb,'" <http://www.ingermanson.com/jesus/art/stats.php>.

8. From the known women from 330 BC to AD 200, 25 percent were named Mary; see Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, Part I Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 55, 57.

9. Kloner, "A Tomb with Inscribed Ossuaries," 17.

10. The corrected reading was first posted by Stephen J. Pfann, "Mary Magdalene Is Now Missing: A Corrected Reading of Rahmani Ossuary 701," <http://www.uhl.ac/MariameAndMartha>. Brigham Young University colleagues Eric D. Huntsman and Thomas A. Wayment confirm the corrected reading.

11. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries*, 17.

12. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries*, 223.

13. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries*, 19.

14. Kloner, "A Tomb with Inscribed Ossuaries," 22 n. 2.

15. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries*, plates, ossuaries 14, 37, 60, 208, 222, 282, 294, 311, 392, 407, 408, 418, 490, 569, 596, 597, 604, 626, 654, 841, 844, 893.

16. The entire inscription is modern. The report from the Israel Antiquities Authority is posted on their web site at [http://www.antiquities.org.il/article\\_Item\\_eng.asp?module\\_id=&sec\\_id=17&subj\\_id=175&id=266](http://www.antiquities.org.il/article_Item_eng.asp?module_id=&sec_id=17&subj_id=175&id=266).

17. Joe Zias (archaeologist and curator at the Rockefeller Museum, 1972–97), “Viewer’s Guide to Understanding the Talpiot Tomb ‘documentary’ to be aired on the Discovery Channel,” <http://www.joezias.com/tomb.html>.

18. Some examples: “In the subterranean night, ten ossuaries lay facing the vanished Jewish Temple, as if waiting for rediscovery, or rebirth, or both. And on one of them, these words seemed poised to endure forever: ‘Jesus, son of Joseph’” (67). “The Tomb of Ten Ossuaries was a mystery beyond imagining, emerging as if by sheer accident, into their own time. Like a message in a bottle, the cluster of ossuary inscriptions had sailed a gulf of two millennia, bringing its odd mixture of archaeology and the sacred, of DNA and patina, of Jesus and Magdalene” (92). “Another century came and went. And another. And another. Everything in the world was changed, and changing, and yet, except for a slowly deepening patina, everything in the Tomb of Ten Ossuaries remained the same” (103). “The Tomb of Ten Ossuaries was as silent as the deserts of space. But silence was only a respite. It could not last forever. Nothing lasts forever” (109). “As I left the edit suite and emerged into the Canadian cold, far from Jerusalem and the secrets beneath its soil, my mind wandered to many unanswered questions” (211).

Norman Russell. *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

Reviewed by Jordan Vajda

The media attention given to the publication of *The Gospel of Judas* by the National Geographic Society<sup>1</sup> as well as the continuing success of *The Da Vinci Code* by Dan Brown<sup>2</sup> both indicate an enduring fascination in the popular mind with the ancient, and often convoluted, history of Christianity. And while it may have come as a surprise for many, the fact remains that the ancient Christian world was as splintered and diverse as is the modern Christian world. One of the most basic distinctions to arise among the followers of Jesus of Nazareth in the century after his death had to do with the language spoken by the common person—Latin in the western parts of the Roman Empire, Greek in the east—and the ways that linguistic reality translated into different cultural and religious experiences of a common Christian inheritance. The ramifications of the split in thinking between the Greek-speaking east and the Latin-speaking west is quickly illustrated by examining that branch of Christian theology known as soteriology, which concerns itself with those doctrines having to do with the salvation of the human person.

Greek-speaking and Greek-writing churchmen in the east came to understand the doctrine of salvation in Christ as one that involved the deification of the human person; but what exactly did they mean when they described those redeemed by Christ as *gods*? The publication of Norman Russell's *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, based on his 1988 Oxford doctoral dissertation, is the definitive answer that provides an in-depth analysis of the Greek Fathers (church leaders and writers) through the seventh century CE.

The last comprehensive overview of the Greek Fathers on the question of salvation as deification was *The Divinisation of the Christian According to the Greek Fathers*, published in French in 1938 by Jules Gross and translated into English in 2000. While Russell reconfirms the central thesis of Gross, that the doctrine of deification is essentially biblical and not a

Hellenistic importation (*contra* Adolf von Harnack), he expands upon Gross by taking into account the nearly seventy years of scholarship that has arisen since 1938. Further, unlike Gross, Russell concerns himself with the questions prompting the ancient writings he studies, as well as the evolving nature of the actual vocabulary chosen to express the doctrine in question (chapter 1).

This study of the divine potential of the human person reviews the Graeco-Roman and Jewish parallels (chapters 2 and 3) and, after examining the first two centuries of the doctrine (chapter 4), concludes that “the idea of human beings becoming ‘gods’ entered Christian thought from Rabbinic Judaism” (112). The foundations established by Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyons in the second century CE are then developed by the Christian Church in Alexandria, Egypt (chapters 5 and 6), first by independent teachers such as Clement and Origen in the third century CE, then by bishops such as Athanasius and Cyril in the fourth and fifth centuries CE. Next, the contributions of the fourth-century Cappodocians—Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa—are presented (chapter 7). While the doctrine of deification “disappears from view” by the mid-fifth century CE (237), it is ultimately reclaimed in a definitive way for Christianity by Maximus the Confessor in the seventh century CE (chapter 8). Finally, an epilogue charts the course of the doctrine of deification into the modern period (chapter 9).

Special mention needs to be made about two parts of this book that will serve as aids for further study on the topic of deification: its second appendix and its bibliography. Appendix 2, *The Greek Vocabulary of Deification*, is an exhaustive listing through 500 CE of all the Greek nouns and verbs that express the concept of deification, their use by both Christian and non-Christian authors, as well as how those uses compare and contrast. The bibliography is, quite simply, exhaustive on the subject of deification in the Greek Fathers; and the entries include works published through the year 2004. Taken together, appendix 2 and the bibliography provide invaluable resources that no professional academic or educated layperson can afford to neglect.

For the Latter-day Saint reader in particular, two topics that appear only tangentially in the course of Russell’s analysis merit closer attention and will provide opportunities for new research and exploration: the evolution of church authority and hierarchy in ancient Alexandria, Egypt, and the unique role of those desert fathers as embodiments of an authority that flowed from revelatory experiences. When beginning to describe the development of the doctrine of deification in Alexandria, Russell briefly highlights the unique history and origins of the Christian church in

Egypt (115–16). He notes that no reliable evidence exists for the structure of the Egyptian Christian church prior to the last decade of the second century of the Christian Era precisely because of a Jewish revolt in the years 115–117 CE which, in its overthrow, had the effect of destroying not only Jewish life but that of the nascent Alexandrian Christian community as well.

Without a doubt, by the year 117 CE something had been lost. Russell comments:

The Church's recovery between 117 and 200 was slow. . . . In the development of the episcopacy, Bishop Demetrius is a key figure. He has been described as "clearly the first 'monarchical bishop'" in Alexandria (Pearson 1990: 209), or even "the Second Founder of the Church in Alexandria" (Telfer 1952: 2). Later tradition reports that at the start of his episcopate [189 CE] he was the only bishop in Egypt. By his death [232 CE] he had appointed three suffragans [assistant bishops]. His successor, Heralcas, consecrated a further twenty (Pearson 1990: 211 no. 64). These suffragans enhanced the power of the bishops of Alexandria. (116)

While it is a matter of certain faith among the Latter-day Saints that there was, in fact, a great apostasy in ancient Christianity—an apostasy that resulted principally from the loss of apostolic ministry and leadership—the descriptions provided by Russell on the fall and subsequent rise of the Christian church in ancient Egypt suggests lines of evidence that could be used to provide support for the LDS truth-claim that a “falling away” did occur (2 Thes. 2:3), which then necessitated “the restoration of all things” (D&C 86:10).

Another topic which will be of particular interest to Latter-day Saint readers revolves around the subject of ancient Christian monasticism. While summarizing the influences of Judaism with respect to the Christian doctrine of deification, Russell describes in passing the unique role and influence of the first monks in ancient Christianity and provides, by way of example, an incident in the life of Abba Pachomius (c. 292–348 CE):

Pachomius, for example, is credited with a heavenly visit during an ecstasy in which he witnessed Christ expounding the parables of the Gospel from a raised throne. Thereafter he was a man endowed with supernatural power. Whenever “he repeated the words and their commentary which he had heard from the Lord’s mouth, great lights would come out in his words, shooting out brilliant flashes” (*V. Pach.* 86, trans. Veilleux, cited Frankfurter 1996: 178). Pachomius and those like him were men who had seen for themselves, who spoke with personal authority of the things of heaven. (78)

Thus, from an LDS perspective, the question can be raised: If the ancient Christian monks grew to be influential and revered figures among ancient Christians, was it because the monks lay claim to an

authority rooted in direct revelation from the heavens, the experience of which had passed away from the bishops (the emergent leaders of second-century Christianity) but which was nonetheless remembered as once having been existent and normative among earlier leaders of the Church, namely, the Apostles?

In a similar vein, appendix 1 (“Deification in the Syriac and Latin Traditions”) is suggestive of new possibilities for advanced, yet heretofore undone, research. Russell deliberately limits his area of focus: “This study aims to be as comprehensive as possible within reasonable limits, which would have been exceeded if the scope of the book had not been confined to the Greek Fathers” (9). Nevertheless, he does provide thumbnail sketches of the doctrine of deification among the Syriac and Latin Fathers. Clearly, then, the way remains open for other researchers and writers to mine the riches of Syrian and Latin Christianity and to do for them what Russell has done for the Greek Fathers. And in this arena of doctrine which, arguably, has so much in common with the LDS doctrine of exaltation—which also speaks to the divine potential of the human person—why should the work not be undertaken and pursued by the Latter-day Saints?

For anyone interested in ancient Christianity, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* by Norman Russell is required reading: whether summarizing trends of the last century, or providing a detailed examination of the first centuries of the Christian era, Russell masterfully provides a readable and yet thoroughly researched contribution to the question of human salvation as understood by the Greek Fathers. Ultimately, the topic under review is of the utmost importance, or so thought the Christians of centuries gone by—Maximus the Confessor once wrote, “The only real disaster that can befall us is the failure to attain deification” (295)—and with this publication Norman Russell helps all of us understand why so many in antiquity wrote so much about a doctrine that can still sound so foreign to the modern Christian ear.

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1. Also to be noted: the publication of the text involved a cover story for the May 2006 issue of *National Geographic Magazine*, an accompanying TV special, and the publication of still more books on this ancient Gnostic text. See also “A Latter-day Saint Colloquium on the Gospel of Judas,” *BYU Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 5–44.

2. As of Sunday, May 5, 2006, this novel had been on the *New York Times* bestseller list for 162 weeks.

Martha Sonntag Bradley. *Pedestals and Podiums:  
Utah Women, Religious Authority, and Equal Rights.*

Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005

Reviewed by Andrea G. Radke-Moss

The story of the modern battle over the Equal Rights Amendment from its 1970 passage by Congress to its ultimate defeat in 1982 is an important one in the history of American women. Inextricably linked to this fight were Mormon members and leaders, who represented the mobilization of religious organizations against its passage. It can be argued that, next to Phyllis Schlafly's Stop ERA movement, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints exhibited the strongest voice to defeat ratification. In spite of the Church's official stance against the amendment, a significant number of Mormon women supported ERA. *Pedestals and Podiums* is the story of Mormon women and leaders against ERA who confronted their pro-ERA Mormon sisters. In the telling, Bradley has explored some of the emotional, political, and religious damage during the ERA movement that still lingers close to the surface of Mormon society. Bradley has provided an important contribution to women's history, political history, and the New Mormon History. This work is a riveting and well-researched volume that I recommend as a must-read for any student or professor interested in the history of Latter-day Saint women.

Although Bradley herself is an admitted feminist and ERA supporter, she has sought to tell this story with balance and fairness to both sides, especially in representing each camp's realistic perceptions of the ERA. She suggests that proponents and resisters alike drew upon historical Mormon women as examples to support and justify their points of view, and thus "women on both sides of the battle over the ERA believed they were fighting for a better world for all women" (2). Still, the prolonged ratification effort highlighted opposing ideologies such that Mormon women found themselves divided. Pro-ERA women feared for the failure of women's equality if the ERA was not passed, while those opposed feared that its ratification would lead to the destruction of stable families and traditional motherhood. The divisions were so pronounced that



Feminists [were] pitted against homemakers, Mormons against Mormons, conservatives against liberals, heterosexual marriage against homosexual union. These dichotomies were seemingly irreconcilable. Demonized by ideas or labels that burned like cattle brands, feminism was the catch-all for modern society's woes, the scapegoat for citizens who were apprehensive about what the next change would be. Women struggled to decide for themselves who they were in the context of a new world they did not recognize and almost certainly did not trust. (81)

Bradley's research is exhaustive; she culled material from participants' interviews, personal writings, newspaper editorials, official LDS Church statements, Church leaders' talks, transcripts of radio and television programs, official documents and voting records of numerous women's organizations, International Women's Year meetings, and the U.S. Congressional Record. The actors include pro-ERA Sonia Johnson, Algie Baliff, Teddie Wood, and Jan Tyler, as well as Mormons opposed to ERA like General Relief Society President Barbara Smith, Senators Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch, Beverly Campbell, and a long list of Mormon apostles, regional representatives, stake presidents, and bishops. Still, even in the amassing of so many events, personalities, and details, Bradley's narrative never loses its punch, especially when she directly quotes those involved. Aside from a few laborious and wordy sentences, most of Bradley's writing is succinct, ironic, and catchy.

Bradley's most significant methodological tool is her use of rhetorical analysis to describe how ERA proponents and opponents employed strong language to fight for their respective causes. For instance, Mormons for ERA called actions by those opposed to ERA as anti-woman, blindly following authority, or as supporting what Sonia Johnson unfairly called "savage misogyny" (366). In turn, Church leaders often couched their opposition to the ERA by calling it a moral issue worthy of the Church's political intervention. Leaders argued that the ERA would lead to the destruction of the family and motherhood, and the introduction of unacceptable social norms like unisex bathrooms, coed dorms, and a genderless draft. Many women could not reconcile the widely opposing views and found themselves ultimately marginalized.

Bradley's conclusions in the early chapters indicate that she presumes LDS leaders worked against the ERA mainly because of a cultural motivation to maintain a traditional paradigm within the home. According to Bradley, the ERA battle showed how the "true womanhood" ideology of submission to male authority still held sway in Mormon culture. This is where Bradley takes the most liberty in her argument. While some Mormon leaders may have had a history of making what can be construed as culturally infused statements about the roles of women, many leaders had legitimate and viable legal arguments against the ERA, including the potential loss of protective legislation for

divorced women and custody rights for mothers, and the decriminalization of spousal abuse and rape. Indeed, the ERA battle highlighted the dilemma of absolute equality versus protectionist legislation for women.

Bradley further argues that the mostly conservative Mormon leaders also voiced their ERA warnings in terms of the New Right's fears of socialism, "a Republican distrust of big government," and the extremism of Vietnam-era protest groups (208). Although Bradley deals extensively with this Cold War-era political context to ERA opposition, she gives far less attention to the potential legalistic results of the ERA than what they deserve, especially considering repeated warnings and discussions about these issues. It is clear that she often holds "ecclesiastical directive" (424) responsible for creating the divisions, marginalizing pro-ERA women through subtle intimidation, and playing on faithful women's sense of obedience as a call to confront issues they did not understand. Although readers might suspect a tone of distrust and disappointment with many leaders' actions and statements, still other readers will find that Bradley convincingly argues that some leaders advocated strong political and financial influence over groups against ERA.

This rhetorical, political, and religious battle of ideologies between feminists and traditional Mormon women came to a culmination at the 1977 International Women's Year meeting in Salt Lake City. Bradley describes how thousands of Mormon women were mobilized by their local Church leaders to oppose the ERA and address other women's issues at the conference. She argues that because women were invited in Church meetings to attend the IWY conference, many participants implicitly received direction from "the Brethren' at church headquarters" (189). The Church's influence was apparent as 13,800 men and women entered the Salt Palace—more than the total attendance at similar IWY conferences in California or New York. The results were disruptive to the IWY agenda as well as to the civility of the conference itself, and Bradley places most of the blame on the behavior of Mormon attendees. Bradley describes legions of women who, in the words of one attendee, understood that they were "to vote no on practically everything" even though some had not received proper education on vital issues (190). In their attempts to defeat progressive feminism they even voted against less politicized issues like education and sexual assault defense for young women. Some attendees even resorted to boos, hisses, shouting, and interrupting speakers (198–201).

Bradley confesses that "there were times when it was impossible for me to research this book due to the force of the story, the aborted dreams and pain, which seemed to slap me in the face and knock me to my knees" (444). The reader may feel this pain with her, especially during her descriptions

of abusive and rude behaviors. In spite of her feminist sympathies, Bradley displays balance in describing both sides of many heated events and issues. Though the author's hurt is still palpably close to the surface when discussing the IWY conference, she offers a larger context to this event, describing how earlier state IWY conventions in Colorado and Idaho had blatantly marginalized Mormon women, so the faithful Mormon delegates entered the Utah conference prepared to act in a self-protective manner.

Bradley admits that pro-ERA activists casually dismissed the very legitimate fears felt by conservative Mormon women of the pro-abortion, pro-homosexual, anti-marriage agenda of the 1970s radical feminist movement. At the same time, she sometimes portrays the arguments of the anti-ERA groups as irrational and uninformed. Although her tone in describing Mormons for ERA suggests admiration for their cause, she still admits that they often alienated their potential audience through confrontational letters, marches, flying banners, and chaining themselves at sacred Mormon sites like temples. Bradley feels a shared frustration with pro-ERA groups never getting an audience with Church authorities who might have softened their stance, but she also concedes that "Mormons for ERA was the more radical in spirit and staked out its position in a way that all but precluded an objective examination of issues" (373). Finally, Bradley's sympathetic portrayal of Sonia Johnson's famous excommunication ends with a cautionary tale of Johnson's divorce and eventual retreat "to a lesbian commune in a secluded area of New Mexico." Bradley summarizes: "For some, the unraveling of her former life touched chords of sympathy, but for others, it was the fulfillment of authoritative warnings about feminism and the predictions about what befell the enemies of the church" (368).

Still maintaining in the end that "those on both sides thought they were doing what was right for the world . . . [and that] they were on the right side of a good fight," Bradley reminds readers that "it remains for us to decide if their vision of the future was well advised" (448). Regardless of where readers' sympathies lie after reading this volume, perhaps Bradley's greatest contribution comes down to an important and timely suggestion for all Mormon women: In an almost buried statement by first-year law student Margaret Woodworth in 1978, Bradley quotes, "There needs to be more mutual respect between [women] on their individual choices. . . . Women should not make judgments against each other. In many respects we need to be more sisterly toward each other" (418). ERA or no ERA, this hope still remains.

Claudia L. Bushman. *Contemporary Mormonism:  
Latter-day Saints in Modern America.*

Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006

Reviewed by Armand L. Mauss

This book is a welcome addition to a growing list of solid introductory works on the Latter-day Saints. The increasing number and prominence of Saints in the United States and the emerging academic discipline of Mormon studies have combined to necessitate a variety of such one-volume introductory texts, each aimed at a somewhat different kind of audience. Among the most recent of this introductory genre is Terry Givens's *The Latter-day Saint Experience in America*, which combines history, literature, and contemporary LDS life in a dignified but readable academic style.<sup>1</sup> In contrast is the lighter *Mormonism for Dummies*, by Jana Riess and Christopher Bigelow, which, despite its whimsical title and style, is both thorough and reliable.<sup>2</sup> Claudia L. Bushman co-authored two earlier historical overviews with her husband, Richard L. Bushman,<sup>3</sup> but the present book, with Claudia as sole author, focuses less on history and more on contemporary LDS experience. It takes an appealing middle ground between the lighter *Dummies* and the more academic *Latter-day Saint Experience*. It is not only a thorough introduction to the Saints and their religion for the curious and intelligent non-Mormon in general, it would also make an ideal textbook for an upper-division or graduate college course in Mormon studies.<sup>4</sup>

Claudia Bushman is among the most productive and knowledgeable scholars in the field of Mormon studies today. Those of us in her generation will always remember her and her distinguished New England colleagues for the early and wonderful collection of historical essays *Mormon Sisters*, and for the periodical *Exponent II*, which they founded in the 1970s.<sup>5</sup> More recently she was the editor of a distinguished set of graduate seminar papers produced under her tutelage during a summer seminar at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute at Brigham Young University.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Claudia brings to her work not only a lifetime of research and study of the Latter-day Saints, but, like her husband, Richard, she is also

a seasoned scholar in Americana more generally, having authored two books based on early American personal journals plus a commemorative book for the quincentennial of Columbus's voyage of discovery.<sup>7</sup> Probably less well known among LDS readers in the western United States is Claudia's personal civic involvement in many important historical commemorations and projects during the years she has been living along the eastern seaboard. All of this rich background in American and Mormon history lies behind Claudia's work, including this present book.

*Contemporary Mormonism* has eleven chapters, a preface, a very useful chronology emphasizing the modern period, thirty-three pages of endnotes, and a relatively brief index. The chapter headings are indicative of the contemporary (as contrasted to historical) focus that is the book's main difference from the earlier introductions to Mormonism: (1) Encountering the Mormons; (2) Identity, Beliefs, and Organization; (3) Families; (4) The Missionary Experience and the International Church; (5) Temples and Genealogy; (6) Race, Ethnicity, and Class; (7) Gender and Sexual Orientation; (8) The Public Faces of Mormonism; (9) The Intellectual Activities of Recent Years; (10) The City of Zion; and (11) The Church at One Hundred and Seventy-Five. With neither the length nor the intention that would make this an encyclopedic work, it nevertheless is rich in reliable and interesting information about the Saints and the Church.

The book has three features in particular that sustain reader interest from beginning to end: First, the book takes on some difficult and touchy issues in today's LDS Church with balance and fairness but without flinching; second, the author is refreshingly candid about the problems, dilemmas, conflicts, and diverse opinions that surround many of the doctrines, practices, and policies of the Church, making it clear that Mormons do not all march in lockstep; and third, the main points of the book, whether touchy or not, are often personalized with illustrations taken from oral histories or interviews, conducted either by Bushman or by others whose writings she samples liberally for these personal voices.<sup>8</sup> Readers may come away feeling that they have had an inside glimpse of what Mormons as "real people" think and feel and discuss among themselves. The author thus succeeds in her stated desire to approach her work "with the eye of an amateur anthropologist observing her native people" (xiv).

Space will permit only a few examples: Chapter 3 juxtaposes the official "The Family: A Proclamation to the World" against the realities of trying to live up to the ideals in that document, particularly in the face of widespread singleness, divorce, and changing family dynamics. Bushman cites statistical studies showing four ways that LDS families differ from other middle-American families: "Mormons (1) are more conservative

about sexual behavior before marriage; (2) are more likely to marry, less likely to divorce; (3) have larger families; and (4) have families marked by more male authority and traditional division of labor” (46). But these differences are not as dramatic as Mormons might expect; Mormons and their families are “just a little different than other Americans and are squarely within the standard norms for the United States” (49). The ideals in the Proclamation set high standards and induce a certain amount of pressure—not to say guilt. “Many hard realities work against Latter-day Saint family ideals,” but “even Mormons who cannot rise to ideal behavior defend the Proclamation as the way things should be. Like many LDS aspirations, this is a tough one, but one that many strive for and some may have achieved” (51, 55). Chapter 3 includes a brief but candid overview of modern polygamy and its origins, distinguishing appropriately among the various styles and networks in today’s polygamous landscape.

These days, some discussion of race, class, and gender is *de rigeur* for social scientists and social commentators on almost any group or community. Chapter 6 provides a candid explanation for the traditional LDS struggle with racism, not only where black people are concerned, but also with Native American and Spanish-speaking Church members in the United States. The author rightly attributes the ban against ordaining blacks to the priesthood before 1978 to Brigham Young rather than to Joseph Smith. The discussion of class in this chapter deals not so much with socioeconomic differences among LDS members (which, in fact, are not very extreme in the United States), but rather with various projects undertaken by the Church to assist the very poor in this country and elsewhere.

Chapter 7 takes on the two hot-button topics of gender and sexual orientation. On the first of these issues, Bushman writes as much out of personal experience as out of historical understanding. She analyzes the changing posture of Church leadership toward the roles and prerogatives of LDS women, arguing that the posture was expansive during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and more conservative during the second half of the twentieth century, with some effort made in recent decades to accommodate the aspirations of modern LDS women. The overt intervention of Church leaders during the 1970s in the International Women’s Year and Equal Rights Amendment campaigns is candidly explained and some of its consequences identified. Having noted in chapter 3 the strain between the family ideals in the Proclamation and the realities of actual experience, Bushman points out in chapter 7 the related contradictions in the normative roles for women in the Church. “Women feel they are sometimes given contradictory lessons,” she notes, citing differing counsel from Presidents James E. Faust and Ezra Taft Benson about whether LDS

women belong in the employment marketplace (116–17). Yet Bushman’s discussion of the women’s situation in the Church is carefully nuanced to take into account the gospel values at stake and the varieties of attitudes, aspirations, and needs among different Mormon women.

Bushman demonstrates candor and balance especially well in her treatment of the Church’s concern for homosexuals. She cites again the proclamation on the family as the doctrinal basis for the rejection of homosexual relationships by the Church, but distinguishes (as does the Church) between homosexual acts and homosexual orientation. She candidly outlines LDS efforts in the political arena to prevent same-sex marriage from being accepted in public policy but notes that the Church also recognizes the ambiguity around the question of whether homosexual orientation can be changed. She acknowledges differences among Mormons at the grassroots over whether and how the Church might somehow accommodate same-sex unions. Acknowledging that “the powerful image of a faithful family” makes this an especially difficult issue for “a basically conservative Church to respond to positively,” she also recognizes that members “wish to avoid hurting those caught in the crosscurrents” of the controversy over how to deal with the condition of homosexuals in the LDS Church and in Mormon society (129).

This is a truly engaging introduction to real life among today’s Mormons in the United States. It deserves widespread adoption in college classes, and it will inform general readers from a grassroots perspective, which is not always possible with official Church literature.

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1. Terryl L. Givens, *The Latter-day Saint Experience in America* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2004).

2. Jana Riess and Christopher Bigelow, *Mormonism for Dummies* (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2005), part of the well-known Wiley *Dummies* series.

3. Claudia L. Bushman and Richard L. Bushman, *Mormons in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); and *Building the Kingdom: A History of Mormons in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). Both of these are rather short overviews focused mainly on Mormon history.



4. Like other publications from the Greenwood Publishing Group, however, *Contemporary Mormonism* is relatively high priced, which might unfortunately reduce its appeal as an undergraduate textbook.

5. Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Mormon Sisters: Women in Early Utah* (Cambridge, Mass.: Emmeline Press, 1976; 2d edition Logan: Utah State University Press, 1997). *Exponent II* is published quarterly when possible, otherwise occasionally, at Arlington, Massachusetts. The most current volume is No. 28 (2006–07). After the first two issues of that volume, the publication is to be published electronically only—no longer in print.

6. Claudia L. Bushman, ed., *Latter-day Saint Women in the Twentieth Century* (Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2004).

7. Claudia L. Bushman, *A Good Poor Man's Wife: Being a Chronicle of Harriet Hanson Robinson and Her Family in Nineteenth-Century New England* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1981); Claudia L. Bushman, *In Old Virginia: Slavery, Farming, and Society in the Journal of John Walker* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); and Claudia L. Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became an American Hero* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1992).

8. One of the author's most common resorts for these personal voices was to Susan Buhler Taber, *Mormon Lives: A Year in the Elkton Ward* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), a ward in which the author once lived with her husband, who was the ward bishop. Other ward histories were also occasionally cited.

*"Proving Contraries": A Collection of Writings in Honor of Eugene England*, edited by Robert A. Rees (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2005)

This collection reflects what its editor, Robert Rees, Director of Education and Humanities at the Institute of HeartMath, calls the "broad scholarly and expressive interests that characterized Gene's professional life."

Eugene England (1933–2001) had wide-ranging influence as a literary critic, theologian, historian, creative writer, and educator as is evident in this collection of writings by his friends, colleagues, and former students.

The reader should not be misled by the title; it is not a series of recollections of England's life but rather a collection of poetry, history, fiction, drama, and personal and scholarly essays that offer their own fresh insights into a variety of issues such as education, scriptural exegesis, faith, the Atonement, and the Mormon experience. The only pieces that refer directly to England are Rees's own explanatory introduction, poem, and final essay and Margaret Blair Young's personal tribute to England. To readers unfamiliar with England personally or who are undecided about his standing in Mormon culture, Rees's and Young's writings may seem overly sentimental and somewhat out of step with the spirit of the other pieces.

The collection includes stunning, crystalline poetry by Bruce Jorgensen and Dian Saderup Monson; a devastatingly powerful short story that refuses facile sentimentality by Douglas Thayer about a boy-scouting crisis in the Uinta Mountains of Utah; a fascinating reflection on democratic education by one of the past century's greatest educators, the late Wayne Booth; a thought-provoking essay on the rise of religious emotionalism in Mormon expression by Armand Mauss; and a wonderful

personal essay by Mary Lythgoe Bradford. Excellent pieces by Levi Peterson, Tim Slover, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, and Lavina Fielding Anderson are also presented. The collection offers a fascinating, if at times uneven and somewhat thematically scattered, melange of writings that demonstrate that the intellectual passions of Eugene England are strong and fertile in the minds and hearts of these talented thinkers.

—George Handley

*The Mormon Way of Doing Business*, by Jeff Benedict (New York: Warner Business Books, 2007)

This volume highlights a number of very successful LDS businessmen who effectively juggle work, family, and time-intensive Church callings. The findings of the work are based on interviews with eight LDS executives, including David Neeleman, founder and CEO of JetBlue; Kevin Rollins, former CEO of Dell; Jim Quigly, CEO of Deloitte and Touche USA; Dave Checketts, former CEO of Madison Square Garden Corporation; Gary Crittenden, CFO at American Express; Rod Hawes, founder and former CEO of Life Re Corporation; Kim Clark, former Dean of the Harvard Business School; and Clayton Christensen, a leading Harvard Business School professor and consultant to Intel, Eli Lilly, and Kodak.

These LDS executives each have a similar set of priorities that largely dictate the way they manage their time. They have pressing demands, so they have learned to manage their time in a way that allows them to do the things that are more important and delegate the things that are less important. Generally quality time spent with their families is the most important use of their time. These leaders recognize that the stability and love of their family allows them to succeed in their careers.

This volume adds to the huge market of business and self-help books available today. It is unique in that it incorporates biographical insights from Mormon business leaders. The author found a commonality among these leaders that is worth noting: acquisition of leadership skills largely developed in the mission field, in positions of Church service, from obeying Church teachings, and by allowing gospel values to govern time management. The author demonstrates this commonality by retelling inspiring stories and experiences from these accomplished businessmen in the context of subjects such as tithing, family, honesty, scripture study, prayer, the proper use of power, and observation of the Sabbath. This book is suited to anyone who would value insight as to how to better incorporate their religious convictions into their personal and professional lives. It is also insightful to anyone—in business or not—who struggles with managing their time and attending to the most important demands on it.

—Sarah Prete

*Reflections of a Mormon Historian: Leonard J. Arrington on the New Mormon History*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Ronald W. Walker (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2006)

This compilation of essays written by Leonard J. Arrington provides numerous insights into the life and work of the first president of the Mormon History Association and the first non-General Authority Church Historian. The volume brings Arrington's essays, and thus much of Arrington's thought, into one place. Most of the essays—which are largely speeches—have been published previously. Two of them are being published for the first time in this volume: "Clothe These Bones: The Reconciliation of Faith and History" (1978) and

"The Marrow in the Bones of History: New Directions in Historical Writing" (1975). The book also has a complete biography of Arrington's writings, compiled by David J. Whittaker, and fifteen pages of photographs.

The collection of essays is divided into three sections: first, Arrington as historian; second, reflections on Mormon history; and third, Mormon historical writings. The items in part one discuss Arrington's calling as Church Historian, the founding of the Church Historical Department, and the creation of the Mormon History Association. The essays in part two discuss the personal sides of scholarship: tensions between faith and intellect, the place of the "questing spirit" in writing history, and the search for truth and meaning in history. The essays in part three deal directly with Mormon historiography, methods, and the particular challenges to Mormon historians.

Students of Mormon history will find here a convenient window into the life and thought of Arrington, whom Ron Walker, in his introductory essay, calls "The Happy Warrior." This book also sheds light on other important events of the latter part of the twentieth century, including the reorganization of the Church Historian's Office, the founding of the Mormon History Association, and the era of the New Mormon History. It will be of interest to those who worked during the Arrington years and those wanting to better understand him and the New Mormon History that he has come to symbolize.

—Sarah Prete

# The Artwork of Ron Richmond

## *Catharsis no. 27* and *Triplus*

*Josh E. Probert*

The artworks of Ron Richmond are christological metaphors that induce stillness and reflection. The rich colors and the juxtaposition of photo-real forms against muted, simple backgrounds draws viewers into Richmond's sacred spaces and invites them to "meditate upon these things" (1 Tim 4:15).

Like many of Richmond's other artworks, *Catharsis no. 27* creates a metaphorical reflection on the processes of repentance and change. Through cathartic release and atoning abandonment, light and life are gained. The rough-hewn altar is draped with a crimson cloth, which brings to mind the directive of Isaiah, "though your sins are like scarlet, they shall be like snow; though they are red like crimson, they shall become like wool" (Isaiah 1:18–19). A palm tree—an ancient sign of victory and a tree of life motif—is bathed in light in the distance through the opening in the wall. Nobody is in the room, only the altar with a vestige of the past atop it.

In *Triplus*, Richmond illustrates Moses 6:60, "For by the water ye keep the commandment; by the Spirit ye are justified, and by the blood ye are sanctified." Playing on the same metaphor of purity overcoming its opposite, the use of a white cloth over a red one is made possible through the cleansing power that the bowls contain: water, blood, and spirit.