

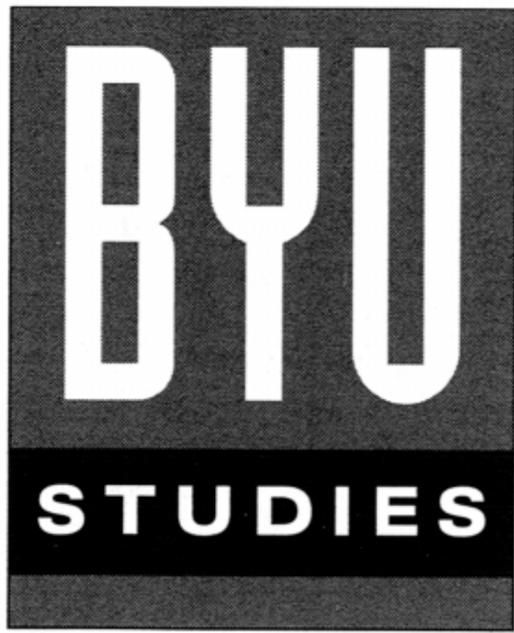


BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN • SALT LAKE CITY, 1890–1930

• SACRED CONNECTIONS IN POTTERY • B. YOUNG ON

THE GUNNISON WAR • LDS VIEWS ON HAROLD BLOOM





A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT
JOURNAL

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

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

- Cooperation, Conflict, and Compromise: Women, Men,
and the Environment in Salt Lake City, 1890-1930 6
Thomas G. Alexander
- Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints
in East Germany, 1945-1989 47
Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis
- Whither Mormon Drama? Look First to a Theatre 80
Eric Samuelson
- Sacred Connections: LDS Pottery in the
Native American Southwest 107
Richard G. Oman
- Four LDS Views on Harold Bloom: A Roundtable 173
Eugene England, Truman G. Madsen, Charles Randall Paul,
and Richard F. Haglund

SHORT STORY

- Father, Forgive Us 41
Randall Hall
- The Great Bean-Count Schism 131
Scott R. Parkin

THE DOCUMENT CORNER

- President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the
Gunnison Massacre Affair 146
Ronald W. Walker

POETRY

- Advice on Correct Astronomy 40
Steve Peck
- Cutting the Last Hay 79
Warren Hatch
- Old Language 105
Dawn Baker Brimley
- Ravens at Island in the Sky, Canyonlands, Utah 106
Dixie Partridge
- When You See Me 129
Donnell Hunter

resurrection day in Tallahassee	143
Casualene Meyer	
Altarpiece	144
Michael Hicks	
Beginning with the Keynote Address on Metaphor and Ideology	171
Kathryn R. Ashworth	
The Revelation	256
Martin B. Hickman	

BOOK REVIEWS

<i>The Democratization of American Christianity</i>	
by Nathan O. Hatch	
<i>Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America</i>	
by James Davison Hunter	205
Ralph C. Hancock	
<i>My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John</i>	
<i>Lowe Butler; a Mormon Frontiersman</i> by William G. Hartley	214
Michael N. Landon	
<i>The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years,</i>	
<i>1886-1903</i> edited by Donald G. Godfrey and Brigham Y. Card	218
William G. Hartley	
<i>Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the</i>	
<i>Short Creek Polygamists</i> by Martha Sonntag Bradley	225
Ray Jay Davis	
<i>The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays</i>	
by Davis Bitton	235
Steven L. Olsen	
<i>The Allegory of the Olive Tree: The Olive, the Bible, and</i>	
<i>Jacob 5</i> edited by Stephen D. Ricks and John W. Welch	238
David B. Honey	
<i>A Storyteller in Zion: Essays and Speeches by Orson Scott Card</i>	247
Thomas C. Clark	

BRIEF NOTICES	251
---------------	-----

Special issue on homosexuality, <i>AMCAP Journal</i>	
<i>Rocky Mountain Divide: Selling and Saving the West</i>	
<i>West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of Immigrant Trails</i>	
<i>across Utah, 1846-1850</i>	
<i>Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails,</i>	
<i>1829-1869</i>	
<i>Leadership and the New Science: Learning about Organization</i>	
<i>from an Orderly Universe</i>	
<i>Behold the Messiah: New Testament Insights from Latter-day</i>	
<i>Revelation</i>	
<i>Tolerance: Principles, Practices, Obstacles, Limits</i>	



Building the North Temple Aqueduct. The rapid growth of Salt Lake City between 1880 and 1930 strained the city's culinary water resources. Between 1880 and 1931, reservoirs to supply additional water from Big Cottonwood, Emigration, and Parley Canyons were constructed. Aqueducts initially brought water for city use and later for private-home consumption. This scene looks west between West Temple and First West. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society, City Engineer's Collection, 1924.

Cooperation, Conflict, and Compromise: Women, Men, and the Environment in Salt Lake City, 1890–1930

Through efforts that crossed religious, political, and gender lines, Salt Lake City citizens realized some success in clearing their acrid air and promoting a “City Beautiful” and functional.

Thomas G. Alexander

When the Mormon pioneers planned Salt Lake City, they expected to live in a garden-plot city of wide streets, comfortable homes, and flourishing vegetation watered by streams flowing down the sides of the roads and emptying into the lower Jordan River, which would serve as a natural sewage treatment facility.¹ As the city grew, businesses and laborers constructed improvements. In 1889, just two years after Richmond, Virginia, inaugurated the nation’s first electric streetcar system, the Salt Lake Rapid Transit Company (previously a mule-drawn system) installed an electric railway. Between 1888 and 1931, the city negotiated a series of exchange agreements and purchases, and workers built reservoirs to supply additional water from Emigration, Parley’s, and Big Cottonwood Canyons.²

By 1890 the city had set aside land for parks for the health and recreation of the people and, like most other cities, had attempted to reconstruct in an urban setting something of the natural world. The parks included Liberty Park (between Ninth and Thirteenth South, and Fifth and Seventh East), purchased from Brigham Young’s estate in 1881; Pioneer Park (bounded by Third and Fourth South, and Third and Fourth West), where the Mormons had established their first fort; Washington Square (the site of the City and County Building); and a nature park in City Creek Canyon.³

Nevertheless, the pains of rapid growth began to take their toll. Population increased 116 percent between 1880 and 1890—from 20,800 to 44,800. The cost of city lots doubled between 1886 and 1891. Between 1890 and 1930, the addition of nearly 100,000 more people strained the city's amenities and services. Although the city had constructed water mains and a settling tank in City Creek Canyon by 1884, the existing system generally fed municipal hydrants, and many people still drew their culinary water from open ditches or wells. Sharing the shame with Stockton and Kansas City, Salt Lake's streets in 1880 were rated among the dirtiest in the West, and, in inclement weather, the people slogged through mud and filth from home to business to church.⁴ The citizens suffered from recurrent epidemics of typhoid fever flushed into the homes and businesses from open-vaulted privies, and they contracted smallpox and tuberculosis due to inadequate vaccination and sanitation. In an initial effort, contractors in 1890 laid sewer pipe along a pitiful 5 miles of Salt Lake's 275 miles of streets in a district bounded by North Temple, Second East, Fourth South, and First West. Had the three-year-old Chamber of Commerce not lobbied aggressively for this rudimentary system, the *Deseret News* believed, the "property owners would have defeated" even this inauspicious start.⁵

The people of Salt Lake drank their polluted water while breathing acrid smoke. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, Utah became one of the nation's most active mining centers, and, by 1919, Salt Lake Valley had become the largest smelter district in North America. These smelters added their disgusting and unhealthy fumes to the coal-generated smoke from railroads, homes, and businesses. All of these noxious vapors turned Salt Lake City into a sinkhole that rivaled Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis in airborne filth.⁶

Into this mixture of mud, disease, and fumes, strode groups of women and men who loved their city and who were inspired by their belief in progress and uplift. Beginning in 1906, they battled like Saints at Armageddon to vanquish these devilish environmental problems. As did progressives throughout the United States, many of these generally middle- and upper-middle-class citizens believed in the ideals of the City Beautiful movement. Inspired by

the prospect of changing cities into beautiful and livable urban paradises, these people adopted a set of notions based on the landscape and urban planning theories of Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of New York City's Central Park. Olmsted thought the construction of parks and boulevards in a setting of competent urban planning could enhance the quality of life for city people while increasing the value of urban property. Others believed in the "city functional" and paid less attention to aesthetics than to the practical needs of an urban population.⁷

Organizational Developments

As in other American cities, people in Salt Lake responded to the large number of problems by organizing into voluntary associations, some of which attacked the environmental problems.⁸ The oldest of these associations, organized in 1877, bore the unlikely name of Ladies' Literary Club. Its founders—Mormons, Protestants, and Catholics—included Georgia Snow, one of Utah's first female attorneys; Eliza Kirtley Royle; Tina R. Jones; Cornelia Paddock; Helena Gorlinski; Sarah Ann Cook; and Vilate Young, a daughter of Brigham Young and Miriam Works. The club leaders organized a number of committees, or sections, to cater to the varied interests of its members.⁹ Perceiving the city's environment as an extension of their homes and working through their sections, some of the women began to agitate for improvement of Salt Lake City's physical environment.

Other organizations joined in the efforts of these public-spirited women. In 1887, Salt Lake's male business and political leaders organized the Chamber of Commerce as a blanket organization to focus on common interests.¹⁰ This step heralded change in Utah. During the nineteenth century, Utahns had suffered through battles between Mormons and Gentiles over religion, politics, and economic development. By 1887, Territorial Governor Caleb W. West and others had come to regret that these religious conflicts had ripped the fabric of Utah's community and retarded its economic growth. After consulting with a number of leading business, political, and religious leaders in April 1887, West called a group of men together to attack this problem. In organizing the Chamber,

the members adopted a rule that banished politics and religion from its activities. Republican, Democrat, or Socialist; Mormon, Protestant, Catholic, or Jew—all were equal in the Chamber of Commerce. The founding members included the Chamber's first president, William S. McCornick, a prominent gentile banker; Heber J. Grant, Mormon businessman and member of the Council of the Twelve; Patrick H. Lannan, publisher of the anti-Mormon *Salt Lake Tribune*; prominent Mormon businessmen such as James Sharp and Heber M. Wells; and apostates such as James R. Walker and Henry W. Lawrence.¹¹

As the men organized their efforts through the Chamber of Commerce, women's clubs, which had proliferated in the early 1890s, began to recognize the importance of coordinating their activities. An umbrella organization, the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs, was organized in Salt Lake City in April 1893 by women from Salt Lake, Provo, and Ogden.¹²

By 1912 a bumper crop of women's clubs in Salt Lake City led to the organization of the Salt Lake Council of Women to correlate the activities of the various clubwomen. The Salt Lake Council of Women organized standing committees to investigate and act on questions of importance concerning libraries, parks, Girl Scouts, public health, city beautification, smoke pollution, women's legislation, and social welfare.¹³

All of these organizational developments fit into a context of change and optimism characteristic of the Gilded Age and Progressive Period of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America. Inspired by commission governments in Galveston, Texas, and Des Moines, Iowa, where citizens had modeled their administrations after the business corporation, many Americans thought they had found a path away from the corrupting influence of political parties to an Eden of efficiency. In the commission system, each commissioner supervised and accepted responsibility for a set of municipal departments. Apostles of the gospel of efficiency believed that by banishing partisanship, they could achieve a quality of life and civic harmony unprecedented in human history.¹⁴

In Salt Lake City, however, the people faced added challenges since they had painted partisanship with the passionate hues of religion. For a decade prior to 1903, Utahns had managed with

some success to suppress religious partisanship as Mormons, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews left the religiously oriented parties of the nineteenth century to join the national Republicans and Democrats.¹⁵ After the state legislature elected LDS Apostle Reed Smoot as United States Senator in 1903, however, a group of non-Mormons tried to persuade the Senate to expel him. The group charged that Smoot and other leaders of the LDS Church dictated both in religious and political matters and that they had encouraged the continued practice of polygamy.¹⁶ In 1904 a group of these protesters, under the leadership of Judge John A. Street and attorney Parley L. Williams, organized the American Party, which captured control of Salt Lake City's government. Under Mayors Ezra Thompson and John S. Bransford, the American Party governed Salt Lake City from 1905 through 1911.¹⁷

In the face of this religious bigotry, people in Salt Lake still continued to dream of a civic paradise. In March 1906, after the American Party took power, a group of like-minded citizens met together to organize the Civic Improvement League and, in the process, to demonstrate that Mormons and Gentiles; Democrats, Republicans, and Americans; and women and men could work together on social, cultural, and environmental matters.¹⁸ Improvement League members included Susa Young Gates, a Republican, Mormon women's leader, and daughter of Brigham and Lucy Bigelow Young; William H. King, a Mormon Democrat and former congressman; Orlando W. Powers, a Protestant Democrat and former federal judge; Bishop Franklin S. Spalding of the Episcopal Church; Frank B. Stephens, former city attorney and the first president of the league; prominent gentile American Party stalwart W. Mont Ferry; and Republican businessman and Salt Lake Stake President Nephi L. Morris. Improvement League members and like-minded people from throughout the state got the legislature to pass enabling legislation, and in the 1911 elections, a new non-partisan city commission dominated by local businessmen wrested control from the American Party.¹⁹

City Beautiful Movement

As the Improvement League fought for a commission government, they also battled to improve the city's physical environment.

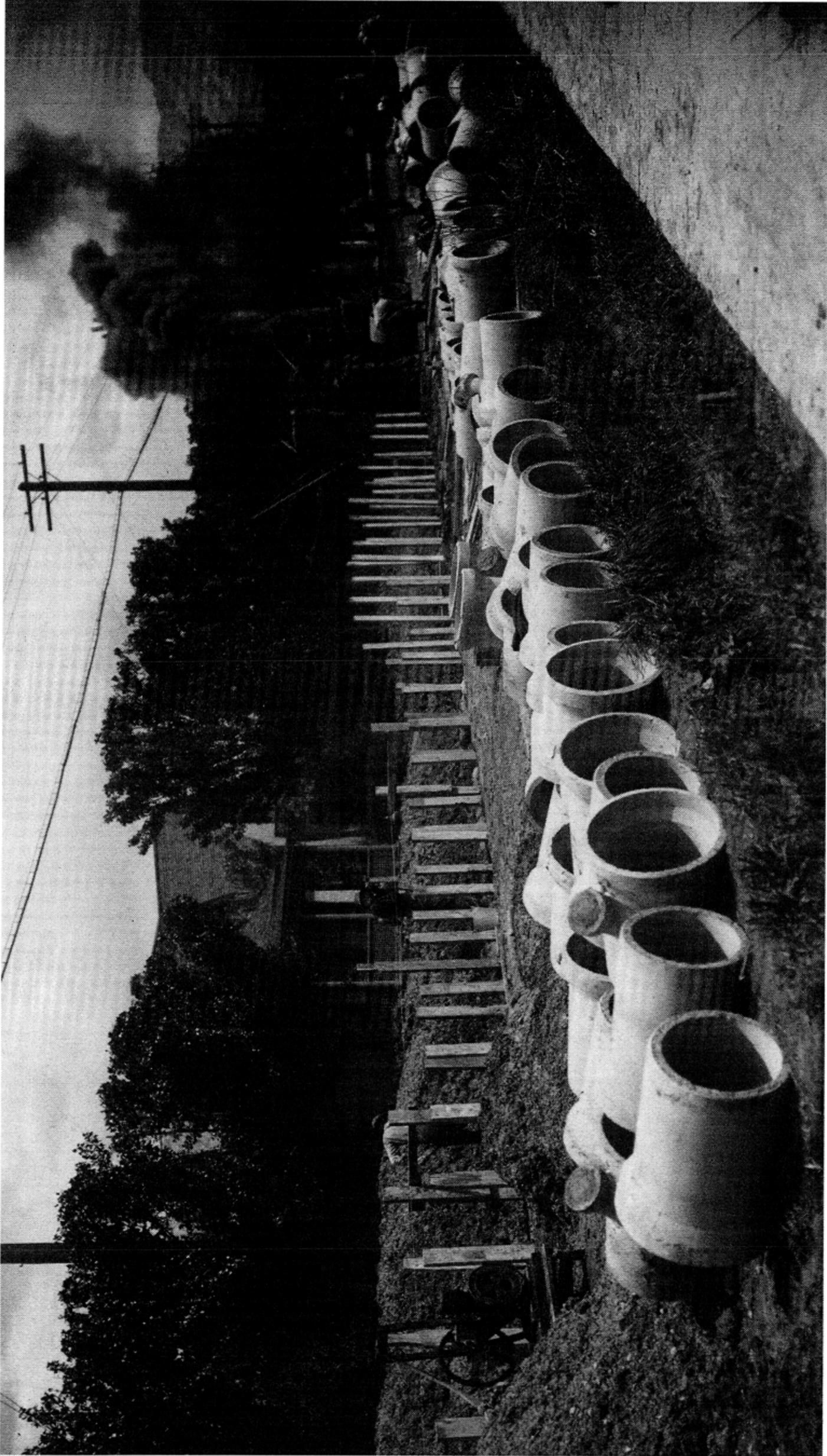
Disgusted with the muddy streets, in 1906 they began to agitate for increased paving. They favored macadam, a compacted conglomerate of gravel bound with asphalt or cement instead of asphalt alone. They also asked for changes in the sewer ordinances, apparently so the city could lay more pipe over the objections of abutting property owners. At the same time, they began a campaign for city beautification and cleanup.²⁰

Inspired by the potential effectiveness of voluntary organizations, people from all quarters of the city organized to refurbish their neighborhoods. From the West Side, the East Bench, Riverside, Sugarhouse, the Liberty Stake, and the Third Ward, men and women organized associations variously called Improvement or Betterment Leagues. These leagues lobbied for cleanup, beautification, paving, parks, and sewers in their vicinity. Often they supported one another in promoting citywide campaigns.

Explicitly adopting the City Beautiful slogan, the Improvement League urged the mayor and council and, after 1911, the city commission to remake the city into a beautiful and functionally planned urban place. In April 1906, Mayor Ezra Thompson and the Improvement League jointly announced plans to convert a number of Salt Lake's streets into beautifully landscaped boulevards by paving them with macadam, by planting parks in the median strips, and by abutting the streets with curbing. Unfortunately, in this early effort, the city did not test the batches of macadam for durability before approving their use. The material soon proved to be of poor quality, and the streets rapidly broke up and fell apart under the pounding of weather and traffic.²¹

Undaunted by this setback, representatives of men's and women's organizations continued to agitate for city beautification. In April 1911, while the city remained in the control of the American Party, Anna Margaret F. Beless, a native of Fountain Green in Sanpete County and president of the Seeker's Literary Club and the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs,²² persuaded George Y. Wallace of the city council to support the employment of "a landscape artist of national repute to plan a 'City Beautiful' for Salt Lake City with parks, boulevards, and public grounds."²³

The proposal to hire an outside consultant failed to attract sufficient support until 1917, but city employees began to plan the City



Laying sewer on Eleventh South, Salt Lake City. As sewer lines such as this one were laid, citizens gradually converted from private privies to the city's emerging sewer system. The viewer is looking east from Seventh East. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society, City Engineer's Collection, May 1, 1915.

Beautiful under prodding from men's and women's organizations. In April 1912, in the second meeting after its inauguration, the Salt Lake Council of Women set up two committees to work on city beautification. Elizabeth M. Cohen, a New York native who had moved to Utah in the 1880s, the president of the Women's Civic Club, and later State Commissioner of Indian Pensions, chaired the committee to abolish billboards. Anna F. Beless chaired the committee on beautification.²⁴ Although they struck out in their attempt to regulate billboards, the women succeeded in promoting voluntary campaigns to clean up vacant lots and school grounds, and their labors led eventually to a citywide beautification movement.²⁵

Cleanup Campaigns. The first citywide cleanup campaign since the efforts of the Civic Improvement League nearly a decade earlier seems to have taken place in 1912 under the auspices of the Salt Lake Council of Women. In planning the cleanup, the clubwomen approached the city commissioners, who agreed to clean and repair streets if the women would promote the cleanup of private property. Continuing the cleanup campaigns from year to year, the city government in 1913 worked with the assistance of the Salt Lake Council of Women, the City Board of Health, the Association of Realtors, the Chamber of Commerce, and the local schools. Both Anna Beless and Elizabeth Cohen spearheaded the work for the Women's Clubs.²⁶ In 1914 the Chamber of Commerce appointed a "Clean Up and Paint Up" committee to promote the annual city cleanup.²⁷ Similar cleanup campaigns continued through the 1920s.

The Ash Can and Garbage Can "Evil." More serious than the annual cleanup campaigns was the attempt to address the perennial problem of filth produced by unemptied and uncovered garbage and ash cans, a condition some people began to call the ash can and garbage can "evil." As early as 1916, women in Salt Lake City, like women in other cities throughout the nation, had begun to complain about uncovered garbage cans.²⁸ Trying to put off the determined women, Chief of Police B. F. Grant said that compelling people to cover their garbage cans would "work a hardship on some."²⁹ By the early 1920s, however, city officials had come to believe that covered garbage cans were an absolute necessity for public health. That accomplished, the Salt Lake Council

of Women began to agitate to get the city to transport the garbage in covered vehicles as well.³⁰ Leah Eudora Dunford Widtsoe, daughter of Susa Young Gates and wife of John A. Widtsoe, led the fight against the garbage can evil in the 1920s for the Salt Lake Council of Women.³¹

By the 1920s, the city had a rudimentary system for garbage disposal. In 1922, using one “covered nonleakable garbage wagon” and anticipating the purchase of six more, the city transported edible garbage to local animal-feed companies. Householders had to segregate their garbage into edible and nonedible units. The city considered incineration of garbage too expensive at the time, but they developed a system for using the nonedible waste as fill in road construction.³²

That the Salt Lake City government believed it could dispose of the ashes and garbage for 140,000 people with just one or even seven garbage wagons seems incredible. Needless to say, the system broke down quite rapidly. In 1926 an investigation for the Chamber of Commerce, chaired by Ben F. Redman, owner of a moving and storage company, showed that garbage and ash cans often remained on the streets for days at a time. Accidents and mischief scattered garbage and ashes along the streets, contributing to filth, ugliness, and disease.³³

The Pest Problem. The garbage and ash can evil was only a part of a much larger problem of ridding the city of filth and pests, including rats and flies. In 1914 and 1915, the city tried to exterminate these disease bearers by offering bounties to children who turned them in. Offering ten cents for each dead rat delivered to the Board of Health and ten cents per hundred flies, the city appropriated \$1,000, hoping to make a major dent in the vermin population.³⁴ The fly eradication program failed to dent the insect population, and although efforts at rat extermination continued into the 1920s without the bounties, it also failed to achieve lasting success.

Apparently the children of Salt Lake City proved somewhat more public spirited in the antily campaign than a similar group at Worcester, Massachusetts. In Worcester when the city offered a bounty for flies, some child entrepreneurs went into the fly-breeding business. Raising the insects in their homes, presumably

on rotting food, they collected the adult flies in bottles and cleaned up on the bounties. In contrast, Salt Lake children organized clean-town clubs in each school district, subdividing themselves into squads responsible for exterminating vermin in their neighborhoods.³⁵

Promoting the City. Cleaning up the town, disposing of garbage, and eradicating rats and flies fit in well with one of the goals of the men's organizations: to promote the city as a destination for business and tourists. Knowledgeable observers predicted that at least a half million sightseers would pass through the city between 1912 and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition planned for San Francisco in 1915. Early in 1912, the same year that the Salt Lake Council of Women started their cleanup campaign, the Chamber of Commerce's Publicity Bureau approached the city commission about undertaking a "City Beautiful Contest." They offered a total of \$650 in prizes for the beautification of residences and vacant lots throughout the city.³⁶

City Planning and Urban Improvement

As early as 1912, the city had begun to draft plans for urban improvement.³⁷ Following on the heels of these efforts by the women's and men's organizations, in November 1913, in a reform similar to those in cities such as Washington, D.C.; New York City; Boston; Cleveland; Detroit; Los Angeles; and St. Paul, the Salt Lake City Commission organized the Civic Planning and Art Commission to coordinate efforts to create a City Beautiful by proposing and implementing a twenty-year improvement plan to beautify the city with boulevards, parks, playgrounds, street parking, and cleanup. The founding members of the commission were Mayor Samuel G. Park, a Salt Lake Jeweler; William H. Bennett, manager of ZCMI; George F. Goodwin, a local attorney; Maude Smith Gorham, President of the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs; Albert Owen Treganza, one of the city's most creative architects; and J. Leo Fairbanks, a painter and sculptor of considerable regional reputation.³⁸ Fairbanks, who chaired the Chamber of Commerce's Civic Improvement Department, served as the commission's executive secretary.³⁹

Although the women failed in their attempts to control the proliferation of billboards, the Planning Commission, the Chamber of Commerce's Civic Improvement Department, the Salt Lake Council of Women, and various voluntary organizations lobbied throughout the first decades of the twentieth century for urban beautification and improvement. They sought, among other things to pave streets, to lay water mains and sewers, to construct curbs and gutters, to improve urban lighting, to cover exposed canals, to repair Eagle Gate, to protect and plant trees and flowers, to clean trash from streets and lots, and to revegetate the city's watersheds.

In April 1914, after the appointment of the Planning Commission, Superintendent of Parks Nicholas Byhower renewed the proposal to designate certain streets as boulevards. The first designations included City Creek from 2nd Avenue and 11th Avenue to the junction of City Creek and 2nd Avenue, 11th Avenue from B Street east to Federal Heights, 13th East from South Temple to 12th South, and 12th South from 13th East to Main Street.⁴⁰ Byhower recommended that the city commission pave, light, and landscape the boulevards; that they induce the property owners to follow a uniform system of streetside landscaping; and that they authorize the department of parks and public property to regulate planting and maintenance along the boulevards.⁴¹

Consultants and Experts. Many cities influenced by the City Beautiful movement hired outside consultants to plan their park and boulevard systems. Salt Lake followed suit. In May 1917, Edward M. Ashton of the Planning Commission attended the National Conference on City Planning where he met with George E. Kessler of St. Louis. Kessler, who had studied in Europe and worked on the design of European cities, had designed parks and boulevards in New York, Kansas City, Denver, and Dallas.⁴² After spending the week of December 15, 1917, in Salt Lake City and returning again in May 1918, Kessler proposed a plan and recommendations for the city which the Planning Commission presented to the city commission.⁴³

Just what influence Kessler's 1918 proposals had on the city's subsequent growth is unclear since planning and improvement had already begun in 1914. Currently available records seem to indicate, however, that the city did not adopt comprehensive citywide plans

until 1927 under the direction of City Engineer Sylvester Q. Cannon; his successor, Harry C. Jensen; and the Planning Commission.⁴⁴ Cannon, a son of Elizabeth Hoagland and George Q. Cannon, had graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He served in the post of city engineer in 1913 until his call as Presiding Bishop of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in October 1925. As in many other cities, the Salt Lake City engineer became a significant player in the development of conscious urban planning.⁴⁵

During the 1920s, Cannon and Fairbanks took pains to emphasize the need for planning. In 1924, after returning from the National Conference on City Planning in Los Angeles, for instance, Cannon filed a report with the city commission urging them to adopt a comprehensive plan for the entire city; the plan should pay particular attention to “major streets and thoroughfares; the eliminating of railroad grade crossings and the compulsory filing of plats of subdivisions.” By the fall of the following year, just as Cannon was preparing to leave to take up his call as Presiding Bishop of the LDS Church, the Planning Commission had begun to adopt zoning regulations for various sections of the city.⁴⁶

To what degree Cannon believed in the City Beautiful movement and to what degree he saw himself as promoting the City Functional is unclear. The two movements were not entirely compatible, though some planners like George Kessler championed both. Best known for his efforts at improving the city’s water supply, constructing sewers, facilitating the city’s smoke abatement program, and protecting and revegetating the city’s watersheds, which had been badly fouled and overgrazed by sheep, Cannon worked vigorously for comprehensive city planning.

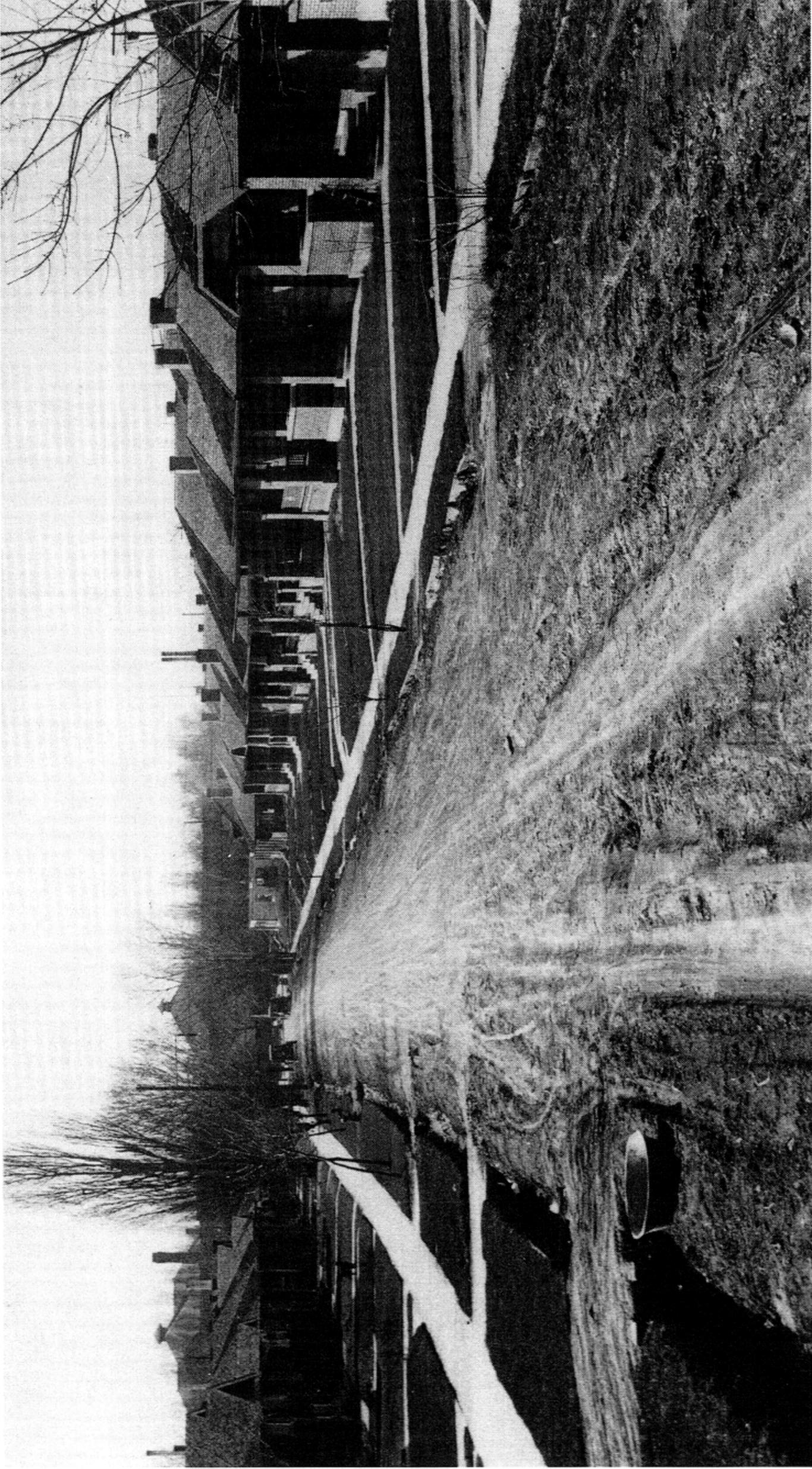
Street Improvements. With the inauguration of commission government and prodding from the voluntary organizations, the city had begun paving in earnest in 1914. Nicholas Byhower’s proposed boulevard plans only scratched the surface. Fighting an unsuccessful holding action against street improvements that threatened to undermine their business, representatives of the Salt Lake street railway company tried to stop the state legislature from passing a bill to remove a limit on cities to pave no more than three miles of street per year. After the legislature had passed the bill, however, Utah’s conservative governor William Spry offered the street railway company a temporary victory by vetoing the act.⁴⁷



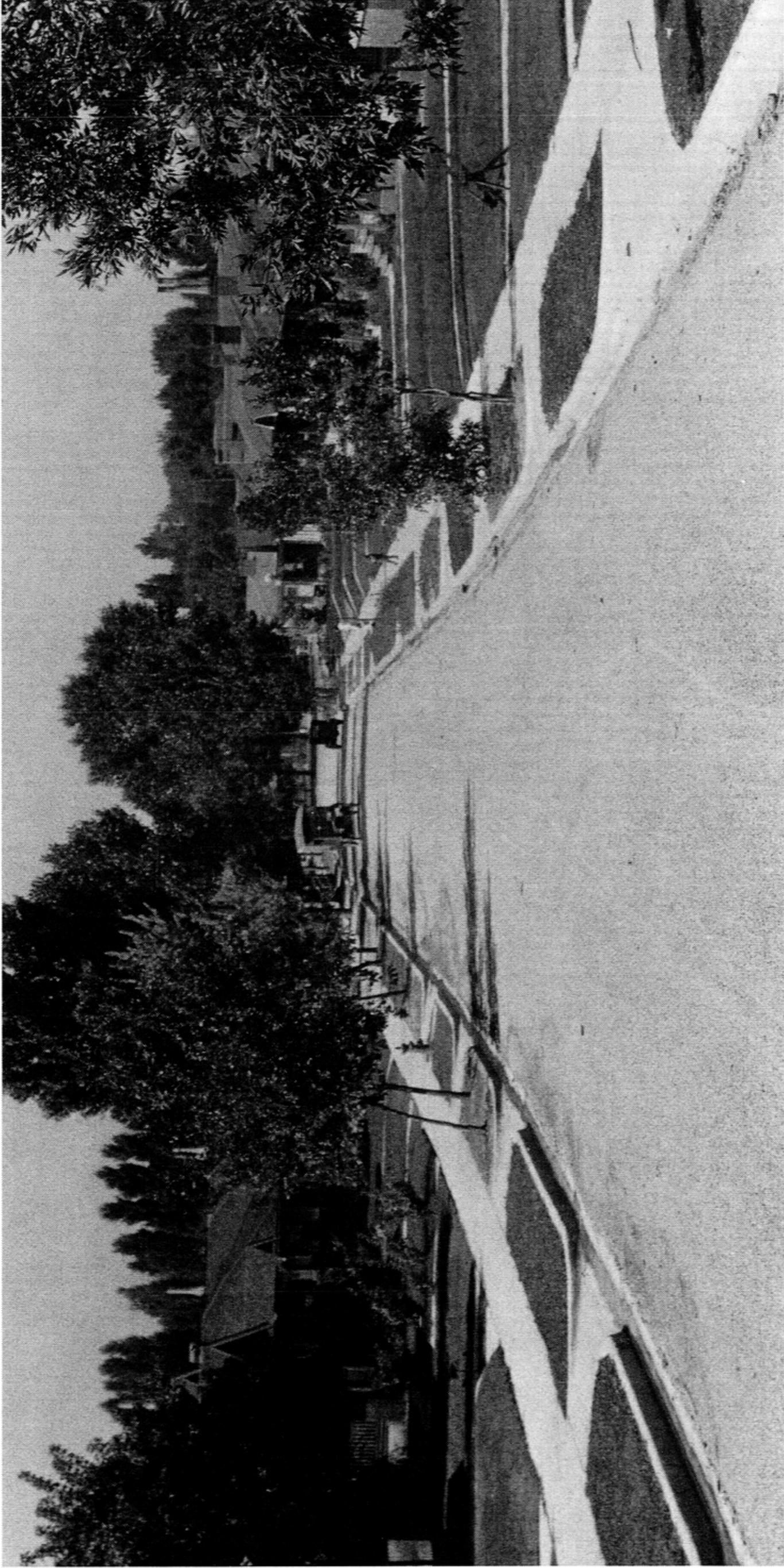
Paving B Avenue, Salt Lake City. Although an early attempt to pave city streets failed, community leaders, including members of women's and men's voluntary associations, remained undaunted in their attempts to proceed with the beautification of the city. Finally, in 1914 the city began paving the streets, including this one west of the Cathedral of the Madeleine. The viewer is looking south. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Salt Lake seems to have short-circuited the limitation through the passage of a municipal improvement bond in early 1914, and the city undertook an unprecedented campaign of paving and improvement. Virtually every week during 1914, one of the local civic improvement leagues, groups of neighbors, or individuals appeared before the city commission to lobby for new streets, curbs, gutters, and sewer and water hookups. Few went home empty-handed.⁴⁸

Parks, Playgrounds, and Recreational Facilities. One of the major features of the City Beautiful movement was the designation and beautification of parks and playgrounds. Under the influence of the Improvement League, the city government established a park board in January 1908.⁴⁹ In December 1909, much like citizens in ninety other cities around the country, a group of men



Emerson Avenue before improvements. Salt Lake, like other western cities, was known for streets that were commonly dusty during the summer and muddy during inclement weather. This photograph shows Emerson Avenue in the process of being improved. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society, City Engineer's Collection, 1927.



Emerson Avenue after improvements. Part of Salt Lake's beautification process was to increase the number of streets with curbs and gutters. This photograph shows Emerson Avenue, viewed from west from Twelfth East, after curbs and gutters were constructed. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society, City Engineer's Collection, 1927.

and women met at the home of Corinne T. and Clarence E. Allen to organize a Parks and Playgrounds Association with a religiously mixed and bigender board of control consisting of George Y. Wallace, Kate Williams, John E. Dooley, Russell L. Tracy, and Willard Young.⁵⁰ In spite of its mixed gender membership, the Parks and Playground Association joined the Utah Federation of Women's Clubs in June 1911.⁵¹

In this spirit, various organizations pressured the city to improve existing playgrounds and to open new facilities. Lobbying by women's groups convinced the city government to agree to open what may have been the city's first designated public playground for children in 1910.⁵² Byhower oversaw improvements in the playgrounds at Liberty and Pioneer Parks, especially during 1912.⁵³ In February 1914, the Free Playground Society leased to the city



Pioneer Park, Salt Lake City. One of the major thrusts of the City Beautiful movement was the designation and beautification of parks and playgrounds. This playground, along with the one at Liberty Park, was significantly enhanced in 1912 under the direction of Superintendent of Parks Nicholas Byhower. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

land at 2nd South between 2nd and 3rd East for a children's playground.⁵⁴ The women's clubs lobbied for improvements on school playgrounds. In December 1915, the Chamber of Commerce appointed a committee to investigate the need for more public playgrounds and parks.⁵⁵

At the same time, various organizations lobbied for adult recreation. In 1914 the Chamber of Commerce Field Sports Committee under R. J. Armstrong endorsed a plan for a municipally owned golf course. The committee members called on Commissioner Heber M. Wells, urging the city to support the plan. They recognized that some opposition might arise from members of the country club, but since only the wealthy could afford country club membership, Armstrong's committee saw the municipal course as a means of introducing people "rich and poor alike . . . [to] a most healthful outdoor exercise."⁵⁶ Apparently fearful of reducing membership in the country club and believing that other public improvements ought to take precedence, the Chamber's board of governors undercut the efforts of the Field Sports Committee by refusing to support the project.⁵⁷

Not until 1922, when the LDS Church's Presiding Bishop, Charles W. Nibley, donated the land for Nibley Park stretching south and west from Twenty-Seventh South and Seventh East, did the city open a municipal golf course. Born in Scotland, Nibley believed "that this generation and the generations of men and women yet to come, shall find healthful enjoyment and rare pleasure here in playing that splendid outdoor Scotch game. . . . That thought," he said, "gives me the highest satisfaction and most genuine pleasure."⁵⁸

While the men worked for construction of a city golf course, the women pressed for the designation and landscaping of more parks. Perhaps their most successful venture was the purchase and creation of Lindsey Gardens between 7th and 11th Avenues and M and N Streets. In February 1921, the Salt Lake Council of Women appointed a committee chaired by Kate May Erskine Hurd, a Latter-day Saint of British descent, to lobby for the park.⁵⁹ Collecting names on petitions and reminding the city commission that the north bench had no parks, the women urged favorable action on the proposal.⁶⁰

Like the Field Sports Committee, they failed at first. The United States and, with it, Utah had sunk into a depression in 1919 that continued well into 1922, and the city fell into such “financial stress” that it could not afford to purchase land for the park.⁶¹ Hurd and her supporters refused to give up, and when better times returned in 1923, they again renewed their petition for Lindsey Gardens park.⁶² In early May, the Auerbach Estate, which owned the land, agreed to lease Lindsey Gardens to the city for seven years. In the bargain, residents from the east bench agreed to pay half the lease cost, and the city commission agreed to pick up the remainder.⁶³ In 1928, largely through Hurd’s continued efforts, the city purchased the park from the Auerbach Estate for \$15,000, and they retained the name Lindsey Park in memory of Mark Lindsey, whose family had previously owned the property.⁶⁴ On May 1, 1934, club members honored Hurd for twelve years of work in promoting Lindsey Gardens. They planted a European Linden tree in her honor and formally presented a sundial for the park to City Commissioner Harold B. Lee.⁶⁵

Air Pollution

Perhaps the leading problem, for which the city managed to offer only a partial solution, was the pollution of the air that Salt Lake City’s citizens had to breathe.⁶⁶ Although in 1890 the city council had passed an ordinance to regulate the burning of soft coal, the ordinance was seldom enforced.⁶⁷ As the farmers of central Salt Lake County entered suits against the smelters, some observers believed that smelter smoke had damaged foliage in Liberty Park and the surrounding residential areas.⁶⁸ In 1908, Mayor John Bransford, who had earned a fortune in mining at Park City, suggested that smoke reduction presented one of the city’s most pressing needs.⁶⁹

Smoke Abatement. Unlike the national antismoke movement, which was dominated by women, in Salt Lake City both men and women fought against what George H. Dern, a Nebraska native who had moved to Utah to manage mining and milling properties and who eventually became the state’s governor, called the smoke “nuisance” that threatened the “lives and property of the people.”⁷⁰



Temple Square, Salt Lake City. This view reveals the smoke "nuisance" that threatened "lives and property" of the citizens of the city. Men and women combined their efforts to deal with Salt Lake Valley air pollution created by industrial and commercial plants, railroads, private residences, and automobiles. Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library Photo Archives, Brigham Young University, George Beard, photographer, ca. 1896.

All groups urged the city to determine the sources of the pollution and eliminate them.⁷¹ In 1912 the worst polluters seemed to be apartment houses.⁷² From 1910 to 1920, leaders in the smoke abatement movement included Lucy M. Blanchard, Corrine T. Adams, and Anna F. Beless of the Salt Lake Council of Women; and George H. Dern, Frank W. Jennings (an insurance agent), and Charles W. Fifield (a special agent for an oil company), who represented the Chamber of Commerce.

By February 1914, the pressure by women and men led the city commission to pass an ordinance modeled after those in force in other cities.⁷³ Instead of trying to get businesses to turn to alternative fuels like coke or anthracite coal, the city required businesses to obtain permits to install efficient furnaces and to train their employees to operate the furnaces properly.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, even though perhaps 65 percent of the pollution came from private residences, the ordinance did not regulate home furnaces. The city appointed Salt Lake native George W. Snow—a son of Federal District judge Zerubbabel Snow and Mary Augusta Hawkins and a graduate of the University of Utah and Lafayette College—as head of the Department of Mechanical Inspection to enforce the ordinance. Active not only in the enforcement and engineering aspects of the smoke problem, Snow lobbied for public support for better enforcement by talking to women's clubs and the Chamber of Commerce about the activities of his department.⁷⁵ His first report in 1915 showed considerable progress in getting businesses to rebuild or replace their furnaces so they burned fuel more efficiently.⁷⁶

Some conservative people feared for the economic consequences of regulating smoke pollution. Duncan MacVichie, a mining engineer, argued that the smelters produced too much wealth to ignore, and he defended the smelters against charges of pollution. Equivocating on the matter like many a politician—nonpartisan or not—Mayor Samuel Park favored smoke abatement but deplored the attack on the smelter industry and radical action.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, because of the support of George Dern and Frank Jennings, the board of governors for the Chamber of Commerce endorsed the ordinance and recommended a larger salary for the chief inspector.⁷⁸ Dern also got the chamber to urge the public schools to teach classes on the dangers of air pollution.⁷⁹

The Monnett Plan. Leaving no stone unturned in his effort to solve the smoke pollution problem, Dern, as a member of the state legislature, proposed legislation in 1914 to set up a cooperative research program in which the state, the city, and the United States Bureau of Mines would investigate the smoke problem.⁸⁰ He failed at the time, but in 1919 the city, the Bureau of Mines, and the University of Utah undertook a research arrangement in part through the influence of Utah Senator Reed Smoot and the well-connected Sylvester Cannon. Under this arrangement, Osborn Monnett, Fuel Engineer for the Bureau of Mines, conducted extensive research and completed a report in 1919 and 1920. In this cooperative effort, 2,000 members of the Salt Lake Council of Women conducted a house-to-house survey of the city to determine the types of furnaces and fuels used by the people.⁸¹

Monnett thought that an expenditure of \$15,000 per year for two years would “largely” rid the city of “the smoke trouble.” Subsequent events would show that he woefully underestimated the cost and the time needed to control air pollution.

As optimistic progressives, the Salt Lake Council of Women and the Chamber of Commerce took the lead in a smoke abatement campaign that included among others the Rotary Club, the Boy Scouts, the realtors association, and school children. In 1920, George D. Keyser, manager of an insurance company and head of the Chamber of Commerce’s Smokeless City Committee, urged the Salt Lake Council of Women to help in pressuring the city commission to adopt the Monnett plan.⁸² The realtors association, in a campaign doubtless inspired by the meatless Fridays of World War I, urged the people to observe “Smokeless Fridays.”⁸³ In November 1921, under the leadership of Emily L. Traub Merrill (whose husband, Joseph F. Merrill, headed the University of Utah’s College of Mines), the Salt Lake Council of Women questioned each candidate for the city commission to learn their views on eliminating smoke pollution and on other issues.⁸⁴

The city began to implement Monnett’s plan in January 1921 under a new ordinance that also regulated residential heating. Throughout the year, officials and leaders campaigned to gain support for smoke abatement. The city appointed a citizens committee to help plan for action; the committee included Leah Dunford

Widtsoe; Joseph F. Merrill; George D. Keyser; mining and newspaper magnate Thomas F. Kearns; Ben Redman; Lafayette Hanchett, a local attorney; and George N. Childs, the city school superintendent.⁸⁵ Men and women spoke to the city Commission and to various city groups. Mayor C. Clarence Neslen; Commissioner Albert H. Crabbe; George D. Keyser; Lewis J. Seckles, engineer for the city schools; George N. Childs; Joseph F. Merrill; Sylvester Q. Cannon, city Engineer; Helen Sanford, and Lulu Kipp of the Ladies' Literary Club; Leah D. Widtsoe and Emily T. Merrill of the Salt Lake Council of Women; and Hiram W. Clark, who had replaced George Snow as inspector in the Mechanical Department carried the message to various groups.⁸⁶ Monnett's continued monitoring showed that a year of effort had reduced smoke from commercial sources by 50 percent during 1921. One hundred businesses had overhauled their heating plants, and the city had begun urging householders to rebuild or replace their furnaces.⁸⁷

Campaigns requiring this commitment of energy are very difficult to sustain, and by March 1922, the city commission had begun to retreat, apparently in the face of homeowner resistance and the mounting cost of enforcement. Still concerned about these conditions, George Keyser and Osborn Monnett, together with the Salt Lake Council of Women through its spokesperson Mrs. Corrine T. Adams, continued to press the city commission to get down to the business of eliminating smoke.⁸⁸ On March 31, the Ladies' Literary Club appointed a committee of Dora M. Peak, Libbie A. Miller, and Edna B. Dayton to meet with the commissioners to call on them to appropriate more money "to carry on the work of fighting the smoke."⁸⁹

This sort of citizen pressure renewed the commission's resolve, and throughout the remainder of 1922 and 1923, the city stepped up its pollution abatement program. In December 1922, Cannon reported that most businesses had rebuilt their heating plants voluntarily, but he also recommended that the city take legal action against several companies who refused to cooperate.⁹⁰ In January 1923, the city approved prosecutions of a hotel and an apartment complex that refused to take steps to reform.⁹¹

On July 10, 1924, Sylvester Cannon reported to the city commission on the status of the program. In the three and a half years

since the implementation of the Monnett report, industrial and commercial plants had reduced their smoke output by 93 percent, railroad locomotives had reduced their production by an indeterminate but considerable amount, but homes had reduced their smoke only “somewhat.” All improvements had resulted principally from the remodeling of furnaces. At the same time, the companies showed a lower cost in their heating bills from the increased efficiency.⁹² Unfortunately, the Ringleman chart used as a measurement device allowed only gross estimates for mobile polluters like railroads and small polluters like residences.

These efforts continued through the remainder of the 1920s. In 1925, J. Cecil Alter, who headed the Weather Bureau in Salt Lake and who wrote several reports on the effects of smoke pollution, assumed the chair of the Chamber of Commerce’s Smokeless City Committee.⁹³ Cannon became the chair of the committee in 1927, after his call as Presiding Bishop.⁹⁴

Under Cannon’s direction, the Chamber organized educators, Boy Scouts, railroads, and various other interests into subcommittees to promote the “smoke abatement work.”⁹⁵ Still concerned about the general failure to reach householders, in 1927 the Smokeless City committee printed cards which they sent out with Utah Power and Light Company bills with information on how to operate home furnaces to avoid excessive smoke.⁹⁶ In 1927 the members of the Chamber also induced the city commission to appropriate \$18,000 to permit five full-time and several part-time inspectors to investigate smoke pollution originating from private residences.⁹⁷

Unfortunately, between 1927 and 1929, the city had hit against a political and technological wall. Virtually all businesses and railroads had redesigned their furnaces or installed new equipment, and City Engineer Harry C. Jessen, who had replaced Cannon, reported that about 75 percent of the smoke during the 1925-26 season came from “residential sources.” Most of the remainder came from mobile sources, particularly railroad engines. Jessen urged the city to adopt “no half way measures,” apparently meaning that they should vigorously enforce the regulations against the pollution generated by people’s homes.⁹⁸

The city attempted to enforce the ordinance against householders during 1928, but that proved extremely difficult, and apparently

because of the political and economic cost of securing compliance, they cut the budget for smoke inspection. Responding to this ill-advised loss of will, Sylvester Cannon sent his resignation to the Chamber of Commerce's Board of Governors, citing the "lack of cooperation on the part of the city commission in the enforcement of the smoke abatement program," particularly in the residential sections. Apparently horrified at the prospect of the Presiding Bishop of the LDS Church resigning in protest, the board refused to accept the resignation, sending instead a representative to plead with the commission to increase the appropriation to enforce the smoke abatement ordinance. By late January 1929, the commission had met with Cannon and agreed to hire an extra inspector, and the Presiding Bishop agreed to remain as committee chair.⁹⁹



Looking east on South Temple (Brigham Street). Although the city tried extensively to eliminate air pollution at the turn of the century, its efforts were relatively unsuccessful. Air pollution continued to destroy property, create serious health problems, and negatively impact the aesthetic appearance of the valley. Courtesy Harold B. Lee Library Archives, Brigham Young University, George Beard, photographer, ca. early 1900s.

Unfortunately, the city seemed to have reached the limit of its capability under the Monnett plan. Further reduction in smoke pollution had to await one of three actions:¹⁰⁰ (1) the city would have to regulate residential heating more effectively; (2) the coal industry, the Bureau of Mines, and the University of Utah School of Mines would have to discover ways of processing coal to remove the volatile elements that produced the pollution; or (3) householders would have to adopt new heating technology.

In practice, the people of Salt Lake tried all three approaches. Researchers searched for a smokeless coal during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰¹ Moreover, after a period of relative inaction during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the city adopted new ordinances in 1941 and 1946 that regulated residential users more effectively.¹⁰²

New technologies eventually gave the city a reprieve that lasted until recent years, when industrial and automobile pollution overwhelmed the entire Wasatch Front region. During World War II, in a technological change proposed as early as 1927, many residences began installing stokers which burned oiled slack much more efficiently than the lump coal burned in the older furnaces.¹⁰³ Finally, beginning in the 1930s and continuing at an accelerated rate after World War II, most residences installed natural gas furnaces which virtually eliminated residential heating as a major source of air pollution.

Conclusions: Now, What Does All of This Mean?

Different historians may find different meanings in the story of the activities of women and men in attacking environmental problems in Salt Lake City during the forty-year period from 1890 to 1930. Several points, however, seem most important to me.

First, in spite of the efforts of groups of generally solid and often well-connected people from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds, the citizens could not accomplish all that they set out to do.

Clearly, Salt Lake City was a much more livable place in 1930 than in 1890, when filth, disease, and air pollution assaulted the citizens' health and comfort. Nevertheless, it was not paradise. In spite of the pressure from environmentally conscious women and men, the city fell woefully short of success in such areas as

collecting garbage and eradicating vermin such as rats and flies. Moreover, air pollution still destroyed property and created serious health and aesthetic hazards for the people.

On the other hand, improvement took place because middle-class and upper-middle-class men and women committed themselves to the City Beautiful and city functional movements. They achieved no civic Eden, but they did realize short-range and partial successes in solving some problems like providing parks, golf courses, water supplies, sewers, and street improvements and in clearing the air of some pollution. Certainly the people benefited from the beautiful streets with parks in the center lanes, from the addition of Nibley Park golf course, and from the beautiful and functional Lindsey Gardens Park.

Nevertheless, if we learn anything from their experience it ought to be that even our successes will provide only short-term solutions to some problems. Moreover, we may fail completely in solving some of the problems we try to address. Still, we can make our lives and the lives of people in our communities better if we offer solutions to serious problems and insist on their implementation.

At the same time, the Salt Lake City experience can teach us something about the way in which women and men can work together and separately for common goals. All too often, we find in our society a knee-jerk opposition by men to women they choose to label "radical feminists" or "feminazis" and similar antagonism by women to men they choose to label "male chauvinist pigs" and "conservative patriarchs." The women and men of early-twentieth-century Salt Lake City did not seem to have worried about such labels. Neither men nor women felt threatened when the other gender led out to address particular environmental problems. When the women proposed to clean up the town, the men joined in. While Monnett and other men researched the damage done by industrial smoke, the women surveyed the city's residences.

Men also recognized the women as a potent political and social force in the city. Organized into individual clubs like the Ladies' Literary Club and into blanket organizations like the Salt Lake Council of Women, the women wielded considerable social and political power. Men and women who ran for office had to reckon with that power as they responded to questions about their

views on environmental questions. Both women and men seemed to take for granted the cooperative and yet independent role that each could play in achieving the common goal of making Salt Lake City a more beautiful and functional place to live. We could certainly learn from their experience.

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NOTES

¹For a general discussion of the history of Salt Lake City, see Thomas G. Alexander and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett, 1984). For a general treatment of the planning of frontier cities, see John W. Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), although Reps's book focuses principally on the eastern United States. For a treatment of the development of urban wastewater technology, see Joel A. Tarr, James McCurley, and Terry F. Yosie, "The Development of Urban Wastewater Technology: Changing Concepts of Water Quality Control, 1850-1930," in Martin V. Melosi, ed., *Pollution and Reform in American Cities, 1870-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 59-82, which deals principally with eastern cities. For an interpretative statement of the relationship between environmental history and the urban environment, see Martin V. Melosi, "The Place of the City in Environmental History," *Environmental History Review* 17 (spring 1993): 1-23.

²On the situation in the early twentieth century, see George Frederic Stratton, "Watering a Great City without Pumps," *Technical World Magazine* 19 (July 1913): 672-75; and Fisher Sanford Harris, *100 Years of Water Development* (Salt Lake City: Metropolitan Water District, 1942). For a general study of the impact of streetcars on one city, see Sam Bass Warner Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). For an overview of the problem of developing urban water supplies, see Stuart Galishoff, "Triumph and Failure: The American Response to the Urban Water Supply Problem, 1860-1923," in Melosi, *Pollution and Reform*, 35-57, though it focuses on the southern and eastern United States. For a comparative analysis of the developments of networks of transportation, water, sewage, and other urban amenities, see Joel A. Tarr and Gabriel Dupuy, eds., *Technology and the Rise of the Networked City in Europe and America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

³Judd Hixson, "Municipal Recreation in Salt Lake City, 1890-1920," (manuscript, 1969), 2 (in the author's possession); and *Deseret Weekly*, February 17, 1890. For a general treatment of the background of the development of parks in American cities, see Stanley K. Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 154-61.

⁴*Deseret Weekly*, January 4, 1890. For a general treatment of the effort to provide sewage facilities and paved streets, see Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture*, 167-81. For a comparison with other cities, see Laurence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 59.

⁵*Deseret Weekly*, January 18, 1890.

⁶"Subscriber from Salt Lake City, Utah to Editor," *The Outlook* 109 (1915): 652-53. For a general study of air pollution in American cities, see R. Dale Grinder, "The Battle for Clean Air: The Smoke Problem in Post-Civil War America," in Melosi, *Pollution and Reform*, 83-103.

⁷For a general study of the City Beautiful movement and a discussion of its relationship to the city functional conceptions, see William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989). Olmsted repudiated some aspects of the City Beautiful movement, but its believers drew on his ideas. See also Jon A. Peterson, "The City Beautiful Movement: Forgotten Origins and Lost Meanings," *Journal of Urban History* 2 (August 1976): 415-34, which links the movement to municipal art, progressive reform, and the civic league movement.

⁸The voluntary association had emerged as a decidedly American institution as early as the 1830s. Tocqueville had recognized the significant difference between American pressure groups and religious and philanthropic organizations and their European counterparts. In Europe, governments, the gentry, and aristocracy took the lead in addressing local problems; in the United States, private citizens from all walks of life founded voluntary organizations for similar purposes.

⁹Katherine B. Parsons, *History of Fifty Years, Ladies' Literary Club, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1877-1927* (Salt Lake City: Arrow Press, 1927) in Utah Federation of Women's Clubs Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.

¹⁰Originally named the Commercial Club, the organization also bore the name Chamber of Commerce and Commercial Club before finally adopting the name Chamber of Commerce.

¹¹Ashby Decker, *Histories*, June 22, 1979, in Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce Collection, Manuscripts Department, Marriott Library. See also Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, 105.

¹²Utah Federated Women's Clubs, History Papers, MSS, Collection of materials gathered by E. M. Ledyard, 1940, from Official Yearbook 1918-20, Special Collections, Marriott Library. On the women's club movement, see Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980); and Ann Firior Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). Women's clubs fought against environmental problems in other areas as well. See Carolyn Merchant, "Women and Conservation," in *Major Problems in American Environmental History*, ed. Carolyn

Merchant (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1993), 373–82 (originally published in *Environmental History: Critical Issues in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Kendall E. Bailes (N.p., 1985), 153–70. See also Suellen M. Hoy, “‘Municipal Housekeeping’: The Role of Women in Improving Urban Sanitation Practices, 1880–1917,” in Melosi, *Pollution and Reform*, 173–98.

¹³Salt Lake Council of Women, Constitution, Minutes, Correspondence, 1912–26, Special Collections, Marriott Library, books 1, 2. Originally named the Association of City Clubs, the organization adopted the name Salt Lake Federation of Women’s Clubs in 1915 and Salt Lake Council of Women apparently sometime in the 1930s. In the text of this paper, I will use the term “Salt Lake Council of Women” rather than “Salt Lake Federation of Women’s Clubs” in order to avoid confusion with the Utah Federation of Women’s Clubs.

¹⁴*Salt Lake Herald*, November 30, 1908, clipping in Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church (hereafter cited as JH), Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). On the commission government movement, see Bradley Robert Rice, *Progressive Cities: The Commission Government Movement in America, 1901–1920* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977). On the movement in Salt Lake City, see Isaac B. Humphrey, “Commission Government in Salt Lake City” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1936).

¹⁵In the nineteenth century, virtually all Mormons belonged to the People’s Party and non-Mormons belonged to the Liberal Party.

¹⁶This discussion is based on Reuben Joseph Snow, “The American Party: A Study of Political Party Struggles During the Early Years of Statehood” (master’s thesis, University of Utah, 1964); Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); and Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1990).

¹⁷On the American Party administration, see Snow, “The American Party.”

¹⁸JH, August 24, 1908.

¹⁹Afterward, they worked for commission government. *Deseret News*, March 24, 28, April 4, September 26, 1906; February 11, March 11, 1907; November 28, 1908.

²⁰*Deseret News*, April 1, 4, 1906; *Salt Lake Herald*, March 29, April 8, 1906, in JH; *Intermountain Republican*, April 12, 1906, in JH; and JH, December 30, 1906.

²¹*Deseret News*, April 5, July 3, December 18, 21, 1906; July 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1907.

²²1920 Federal Census, Salt Lake City, Utah; and Obituaries, *Deseret News and Telegram*, September 11, 1954.

²³Minutes, April 27, 1911, Utah Federation of Women’s Clubs Papers.

²⁴The billboard committee consisted of Cohen and Eardly. The women’s beautification committee consisted of Beless, Travis, Williams, Stewart, McCurtain, and Hawxhurst.

²⁵Minutes, May 5, 1912, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library. In April 1913, the women threatened to publicize filthy conditions around the city’s theater exits if the managers did not clean them up. Minutes, April 7, 1913, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

²⁶Minutes, 1912-26, Booklets on Achievements; Minutes, March 17, 1913, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers; and Minutes, March 28-April 5, 1913, Ladies' Literary Club Papers, Ladies' Literary Club House, Salt Lake City.

²⁷Minutes, March 23, 1914, Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce Board of Governors Papers, Salt Lake Chamber of Commerce Collection, Manuscripts Department, Marriott Library (hereafter cited as Board of Governors Papers).

²⁸Minutes, April 3, 1916, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers. For a treatment of the development of garbage disposal systems in the United States, see Martin V. Melosi, *Garbage in the Cities: Refuse, Reform, and the Environment, 1880-1980* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1981).

²⁹Minutes, May 1, 1916, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

³⁰Minutes, March 7, 1921, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

³¹Minutes, April 4, 1921, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

³²Newspaper clipping, October 2, 1922, Scrapbook, 1921-25, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

³³Minutes, March 11, 1922, Board of Governors Papers.

³⁴Minutes, March 9, April 30, 1914, City Commission Minutes, Salt Lake City Recorder's Office, City and County Building, Salt Lake City; and clipping, *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 2, 1914, Samuel C. Park Papers, Special Collections, Marriott Library.

³⁵"An Anti-Fly Campaign," *National Municipal Review* 4 (October 1915): 674.

³⁶"Salt Lake—the City Beautiful," *Municipal Record* (Salt Lake City) 1 (May 1912): 7; and "City Beautiful Context, 1912," *Municipal Record* (July 1912): 5.

³⁷"Salt Lake Adopts Plan for Parking," *National Municipal Review* 1 (1912): 491.

³⁸Clipping, November 7, 1913, newspaper clippings, Samuel C. Park Papers. For a discussion of the development of city planning in other cities, see Schultz, *Engineering the City*, 200-205. For a consideration of the first of America's city plans, see Jon A. Peterson, "The Nation's First Comprehensive City Plan: A Political Analysis of the McMillan Plan for Washington, D.C., 1900-1902," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51 (spring 1985): 134-50.

³⁹J. Leo Fairbanks, "The Civic Planning and Art Commission," *Municipal Record* (June 1915): 5.

⁴⁰In today's context, the designation of 12th South makes little sense since it is virtually nonexistent and 13th South is the major boulevard in the region.

⁴¹Minutes, April 1, 1914, City Commission Minutes.

⁴²Wilson, *City Beautiful*, 106-12, 261-69, 181.

⁴³Minutes, May 3, December 1917, January 28, 1918, City Commission Minutes; and *Municipal Record* 7 (May 1918): 4-5.

⁴⁴J. Leo Fairbanks, "City Planning," *Municipal Record* 9 (January 1920): 4-7.

⁴⁵For a general discussion of the role of engineers in urban planning and development, see Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture*, 151-205; and Schultz and Clay McShane, "Pollution and Political Reform in Urban America: The Role of Municipal Engineers, 1840-1920," in Melosi, *Pollution and Reform*, 155-72.

⁴⁶Minutes, April 24, 1924; September 24, October 14, 1925, City Commission Minutes.

⁴⁷*The Progressive* (Salt Lake City), March 19, 1913, 10, 12.

⁴⁸Minutes, 1914 passim, City Commission Minutes.

⁴⁹*Deseret News*, January 11, 1908.

⁵⁰*Deseret News*, December 13, 1909. For a consideration of the development of playgrounds in cities, see Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 39–40.

⁵¹Minutes, 1909–13, July 28, 1911, Utah Federation of Women's Clubs Papers.

⁵²Annual Report, September 15, 1909, Scrapbook, Utah League of Women Voters Collection, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.

⁵³Hixson, "Municipal Recreation in Salt Lake City," 8–10.

⁵⁴Minutes, February 10, March 18, April 6, 20, 1914, City Commission Minutes. Other playgrounds included Central Playground on 2nd South between 2nd and 3rd East.

⁵⁵Minutes, December 17, 1915, Board of Governors Papers.

⁵⁶Minutes, April 27, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁵⁷Minutes, April 17, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁵⁸Minutes, January 9, 23, 1922, City Commission Minutes.

⁵⁹Minutes, February 7, 1921, Minutes, 1912–26, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers. The genealogical information on Kate May Erskine Hurd comes from FamilySearch, Personal Ancestral File (PAF), version 2.20, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987, 1994.

⁶⁰*Telegram* (Salt Lake City), Scrapbook, 1921–25, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁶¹Minutes, September 12, 1921; May 1, 1922, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁶²Clipping, March 6, 1923, Scrapbook, 1921–25, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁶³Minutes, May 7, September 10, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁶⁴Minutes, May 14, 1928, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers; and Minutes, June 7, 1928, Board of Governors Papers.

⁶⁵Undated entry, Scrapbook, 1921–25, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers. Though the entry is undated, it was probably in 1934. The Salt Lake Federation also worked with indeterminate success for the construction of a playground near Riverside School to provide nearby people with a community center. Booklet for 1913, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers; and Minutes, March 18, 29, 1914, City Commission Minutes. The sundial has since been stolen, but the base is located in the southeast section of the park and contains the following dedication: "Presented by the Salt Lake Federation of Women's Clubs, May 1, 1934."

⁶⁶For an overview of the smoke problem, see Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles*, 180–82; and Walter E. Pittman Jr., "The Smoke Abatement Campaign in Salt Lake City, 1890–1925," *Locus* 1 (fall 1989): 69–78. Court decisions in 1905 and 1906 in favor of farmers whose crops had been ruined by smelter smoke had forced central Salt Lake County smelters either to transfer their operations elsewhere or pay damages. John E. Lamborn and Charles S. Peterson, "The Substance of the Land: Agriculture v. Industry in the Smelter Cases of 1904 and 1906," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (fall 1985): 319–21. For a general study of smoke pollution in American cities, see Grinder, "Battle for Clean Air," 83–103.

⁶⁷Pittman, "The Smoke Abatement Campaign," 72.

⁶⁸*Deseret News*, September 5, 1906.

⁶⁹*Deseret News*, February 5, 1908.

⁷⁰On this question, see Grinder, "Battle for Clean Air," 83-103. Grinder observes the role of men in smoke pollution abatement but believes it was basically a women's movement during the early years. The situation in Salt Lake City, however, demonstrates that perceptions of the problem cut across gender and class lines.

⁷¹Minutes, October 31, 1912; March 13, 1914, Ladies' Literary Club Papers; Minutes, October 6, 1913, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers; and Minutes, February 2, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁷²"Getting Rid of the Smoke," *Municipal Record* 1 (October 1912): 3.

⁷³Minutes, February 4, 5, 1914, City Commission Minutes.

⁷⁴George W. Snow, "Smoke Elimination in Salt Lake City," *American City* 13 (September 1915): 196-97. The inspectors used a Ringleman chart to measure the density. The law did not require the measurement of the contents of the smoke.

⁷⁵Minutes, March 1, 1915, Women's Republican Club of Salt Lake City Papers, Utah State Historical Society Library; Minutes, October 29, 1915, Ladies' Literary Club Papers; Minutes, March 6, 1916, Board of Governors Papers.

⁷⁶George W. Snow, "Smoke Abatement in 1915," *Municipal Record* 4 (January 1916): 16-19.

⁷⁷Minutes, February 11, 16, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁷⁸Minutes, February 28, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁷⁹Minutes, March 16, 1914, Board of Governors Papers.

⁸⁰Minutes, September 9, October 26, 1914, March 15, 1915, Board of Governors Papers.

⁸¹Minutes, July 6, 1920, City Commission Minutes; and *Municipal Record* 8 (December 1919): 3-6; 9 (October 1920): 2-8.

⁸²Minutes, September 13, 1920, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸³Minutes, December 6, 1920, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸⁴Minutes, November 7, 1921, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸⁵*Municipal Record* 9 (October 1920): 8.

⁸⁶Scrapbook, 1921-25, probably an entry for December 7, 1921, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸⁷Minutes, December 5, 1921, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸⁸Clipping, March 6, 1922, Scrapbook, 1921-25, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers; and Minutes, March 6, 1922, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁸⁹Minutes, March 31, 1922, Ladies' Literary Club Papers, 1920-27.

⁹⁰Minutes, October 11, December 5, 1922, City Commission Minutes.

⁹¹Minutes, January 18, 1923, City Commission Minutes.

⁹²Minutes July 10, 1924; and Sylvester Q. Cannon, "Annual Report of the City Engineer for the Year 1924," 12.

⁹³Annual Report, June 20, 1926-June 21, 1926, Board of Governors Papers; and *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 18, 1928, in JH.

⁹⁴Minutes, June 30, November 10, 1927, Board of Governors Papers.

⁹⁵"Report of the Smokeless City Committee of the City Federation, 1927-28," in Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁹⁶Minutes, August 25, 1927, Board of Governors Papers.

⁹⁷“Report of the Smokeless City Committee of the City Federation, 1927-28,” Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

⁹⁸Minutes, September 1, 1927, City Commission Minutes.

⁹⁹Minutes, December 6, 13, 1928, January 24, 1929, Board of Governors Papers.

¹⁰⁰On the information on the health hazards, see Minutes, September 22, 1927, Board of Governors Papers.

¹⁰¹Minutes, November 23, 1927, Board of Governors Papers; *Deseret News*, December 17, 1927, in JH; *Salt Lake Telegram*, December 18, 1928, in JH; and Thomas G. Alexander, “From Dearth to Deluge: Utah’s Coal Industry,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 31 (summer 1963): 243.

¹⁰²Pittman, “Smoke Abatement Campaign,” 77, 78.

¹⁰³Minutes, October 10, 1927, Salt Lake Council of Women Papers.

Advice on Correct Astronomy

Stars should only
be viewed from the curved
rear window of a station wagon.

The stuttering two dimensionality of
binoculars makes the
delighted glimpse worthless
if mystery and wonder are the
object, and a telescope
worst of all. To view them
outside on your back with the
whole universe sitting on top of you
is too frightening and frameless and
can entertain only a shallow dark despair.

No, there is only one way to view
the stars—

on your back staring out of the
rear window of a station wagon,
being driven on a cool night
late,
down a desert highway,
the side-windows only slightly cracked, stirring the air and
wailing lowly.

A radio on a lonely station
plays softly
such that an entire song cannot be discerned
but occasional snatches of mood sneak in on notes
unnoticed.

—Steve Peck

Father, Forgive Us

Randall Hall

Richard Nelson's troubles started Tuesday evening when he picked up his scriptures and sat back in the rocker-recliner he had received on his fortieth birthday several years before. The scriptures, brown leather and indexed, were a gift from his son and daughter-in-law who lived in Seattle. He liked the heft of the large-print edition. It seemed to match the weight of the scriptural message, a message that struck him squarely in the heart that evening: "And again, believe that ye must repent of your sins and forsake them, and humble yourselves before God; and ask in sincerity of heart that he would forgive you."

He had read the passage in Mosiah many times before, but this time King Benjamin's words were painfully clear. It said *sins*. Not shortcomings, weaknesses, or imperfections. For almost thirty years, Richard had been praying that the Lord would help him overcome his shortcomings and imperfections, with an occasional acknowledgment of his weaknesses. The phrase, he realized, staring out the window toward a darkening horizon, was a very safe one: "And help us to overcome our shortcomings and imperfections."

His parents had always used the phrase. It seemed so natural. And comfortable. There had never been any real sinners in town, much less in his family. Just people with shortcomings and imperfections. Even when Sheila Johnson left her family to run off with a sales representative from the computer company she had been working part time for, Richard hadn't seen her as a sinner. "She must have had a weakness in that area," he had told Loretta.

But that evening, reclining in the warmth of the leather chair, he saw sin for what it was. And he was struck hard as if by a blast of cold wind that robbed him of breath. He, too, was a sinner—not a shortcomer or an imperfectioner—but a sinner.

He squirmed and headed for the kitchen for some bread and milk. He ate mechanically, thinking all the time about how, even though he was the high priests group leader, he still used some cusswords when the occasion warranted and how he had missed a few home-teaching visits in the last several months and how he hadn't accepted it very gracefully when the Vietnamese family moved into the old Larsen place.

Sin was still on his mind several hours later when he and Loretta knelt down together for their nightly prayer. It was her turn, and he listened carefully. There it was: "And please help us to overcome our shortcomings and imperfections." Richard coughed, masking a sudden desire to laugh.

The next night he met things head on. "And please forgive us for our sins," he prayed earnestly. Richard didn't look up, so he didn't see his wife's eyes shoot open nor her staring at him with a peculiar expression on her face for several seconds. He had no idea he was in trouble.

Perhaps he should have sensed it the next morning when Loretta was still in bed after he had showered and shaved. He couldn't remember even three such occasions in their marriage of twenty-one years. She was always up getting breakfast and making sure he had a freshly ironed shirt. He dressed and hemmed and hawed around, but even when he casually reminded her of the time, she only mumbled something about cornflakes in the cupboard and turned over, pulling the covers tightly around her. And so he had fixed his own breakfast and made a feeble attempt at ironing his shirt before heading downtown to the hardware store he owned with his brother Art.

Loretta, who had spent a miserable night, spent a miserable day. What could Richard have meant? What could he have done? It was 2:30 in the afternoon when it came to her. Feeling faint, she sat down in his big leather chair to collect her breath and her thoughts. The new part-time bookkeeper at the store. That was it. Clive Sorenson's cousin Rhonda, a young divorcée, had moved into town three months ago with no ring on her finger, two little girls, and a smile that'd make any woman question her motives. And Richard had hired her.

“No,” she thought, trying to calm herself. “Richard would never do such a thing. I’ve got to get hold of myself.” She spent the rest of the afternoon cooking a roast and baking the coconut cream pie that Richard and the judges at the county fair relished.

Then he called. “I’ll be home a bit late tonight. Got some inventory that has to be taken care of.”

“Couldn’t it wait until tomorrow night?” she asked with a catch in her voice.

“Nope. Some things just can’t wait.”

She thought of going down to the store and having it out right then and there, confronting the two of them in their sin. But she didn’t. The roast and the pie went to the neighbors.

She was in bed when he got home and wasn’t any too happy when he roused her out to pray. Blaming a sore throat, she declined to take her turn. So Richard prayed again. And when he asked forgiveness of sins again, she felt like throwing up.

By the end of the week, he was acquiring a taste for corn-flakes and had made some real improvements in his shirt-ironing technique.

Richard was home the next night sitting in his rocker-recliner when the phone rang. “It’s for you,” Loretta called from the kitchen. There was something in her voice that wasn’t quite right, as if she had stepped suddenly into subzero weather from a too-warm room. And she turned just a little red around the ears when she handed Richard the phone.

“It’s the bishop,” she said, looking right at him, watching his eyes.

“Hi, Grant. What’s up?” Richard was a bit surprised, but yes, he thought he could get away from the hardware store a little early and go up the canyon for some fly-fishing. Grant and Richard were second cousins, only two years apart. They had done a lot of fishing in their growing-up years, but it had been quite awhile since they had last gone together.

The next afternoon found them on the river with the sun going down and the light resting golden on the water. They fished in silence for almost twenty minutes, waiting for the first strike.

“How’s the business, Richard?” Grant asked casually.

“Fine,” Richard replied softly.

He could see a big brown circling, and with a practiced flick of his wrist he dropped the fly about ten feet above the fish and let the current drift it slowly down.

“How are things working out with Rhonda Howard?”

“Fine.”

“She’s a mighty fine-looking woman.”

Richard glanced up. There was something constricted in Grant’s tone, like only half the air was getting through his vocal chords. Grant had his head down and was looking away, playing his line. He spoke again. “Pretty enough to turn a man’s head.”

“I suppose,” Richard said, looking over at his friend, wondering where all this was leading. Grant was as decent a Christian as he knew. He had been married to the same woman for over twenty years and had five wonderful kids. Somehow Richard just couldn’t see Grant being tempted. But you never knew.

Just then the brown hit, thrashing the surface of the water. Richard jerked his rod. Too late. He almost swore, but caught himself. “Dang.” If Grant hadn’t rambled on, I might have had him, he thought to himself. There must be something lying heavy on Grant’s mind. He was usually the most silent fisherman Richard knew. Maybe someone in the ward was being tempted. Maybe that temptation was Rhonda, and Grant was just thinking out loud. Well, thought Richard, I sure don’t want to know anything about it. That’s bishop’s work.

They headed home an hour later. Richard had caught four nice German browns. The bishop hadn’t caught a thing. “How was fishing?” Loretta asked as he came in the door. Her eyes were red. Had she been crying? he wondered.

“Fine,” he said. “I caught four. Grant didn’t get a thing.”

“Talk about anything in particular?” she asked, looking out the window.

“No,” he said, taking the creel off his shoulder. “Can’t say as we did.” He figured it best not to mention what Grant had said about Rhonda. Loretta was a good woman, but you never knew what conclusions she might jump to with a tantalizing prod like that. He got a glass of water from the kitchen tap. “You feeling all right?” he asked.

She nodded yes, but not very convincingly, and when Richard came upstairs after putting away his gear, Loretta was already in bed. She was lying in a straight line just an inch and a half from the far edge. Richard wasn't quite certain what to do. Nobody seemed to be acting normal anymore.

After two more days of cornflakes, partially ironed shirts, and suspiciously red eyes, Richard called home again. "Loretta. I'll be a little late tonight. Some bookwork that can't wait."

"Fine," she replied, so calmly she surprised herself. "Take all the time you need." She hung up the phone slowly, feeling like she was floating. She took the frying pan from the sink and with one blow dented the new Formica countertop. "Bookwork my eye," she said to herself. "I thought that's why you hired that dreamy-eyed tramp."

Fifteen minutes later, Richard heard pounding on the side door. "What in the hell?" he thought, then caught himself. "I mean heck." This sin stuff just didn't go away that quickly. He got up from his chair and walked down the hallway. The pounding continued until he opened the door. It was Loretta. There were no tears in her eyes, but they were red.

"How's the bookwork coming?" she asked, her voice thick with sweetness. "Need some help?"

"No," he said, not knowing quite what to make of it all. He knew she wasn't happy. He should have paid more attention to her, but the last week or so had been so busy with meetings, inventory and all. Gently he took her elbow, guiding her toward the door. "Why don't you go home and get some rest," he said in his kindest, most protective voice, "and I'll come home in a while and fix you some of the herbal tea Margaret sent us."

She shook his hand off her arm and looked him right in the face. Her eyes got wild. "I'm going back to that office with you," she said quietly through clenched teeth. He shrugged, and the two of them headed toward the office. She stopped at the doorway and looked around. On the hat rack was a woman's white sweater. Loretta reached out to touch it, then jerked her hand away. "Whose is this?"

"Oh, I think that's Rhonda's."

"And where is she?" Loretta asked, looking around the room. Her eyes stopped on the closed door leading to the stockroom.

“Sacramento, I think,” Richard replied. “Been down there almost two weeks taking care of some kind of legal fiddle faddle about custody of her kids. Be nice when she gets back so I don’t have to work overtime.”

There was a long silence. When Loretta turned around, she had tears in her eyes. Something’s out of whack, Richard thought. “Let me take you home, Loretta. I can finish this another night.”

She took out a handkerchief and wiped her eyes and shook her head no. She looked at him and smiled. It had been almost two weeks since he had seen her do so, and he was more confused than ever. She shook her head again, took a deep breath, kissed him on the cheek, then left without saying a word.

When Richard got home that night, it was almost ten o’clock, but he was greeted by a kiss, the smell of pot roast, and the sight of two huge coconut cream pies on the counter. He noticed a dent in the Formica but decided not to ask. He wasn’t sure he wanted to know, and he wasn’t sure he would understand even if she told him.

And it was his turn to look up wide-eyed during the prayer that night when he heard Loretta pleading earnestly, “And, Father, please forgive us for our sins.”

Randall Hall is Director of Seminary Teacher Training at BYU. “Father Forgive Us” won first place in the first BYU Studies Writing Contest, short story/essay division. A slightly different version of this story has been published in Orson Scott Card and David Dollahite, eds., *Turning Hearts: Short Stories on Family Life* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1994).

Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-day Saints in East Germany, 1945–1989

Personal interviews with East German Saints, who survived World War II and rebuilt Zion under Communism, document moving stories of faith and dedication.

Garold N. Davis and Norma S. Davis

INTRODUCTION

In 1939 when Hitler's armies marched into Poland, the LDS missionaries marched out—out of Germany and eventually out of all continental Europe. The missionaries left a strong and thriving Church in the eastern part of Germany. The major cities of this area—Berlin, Leipzig, Chemnitz, and Dresden—were among the few cities in Europe with multiple branches, many of which were old and well established. In Dresden, for example, the Church had been established longer than most wards in Utah; the Dresden Branch was organized in 1855 with a young convert, Karl G. Maeser, as its first branch president. Many of the people in these congregations were second-, third-, and fourth-generation members of the Church. The Dresden area of Germany had been sending a continuous stream of converts to Utah for almost one hundred years, yet approximately ten thousand members were still in Germany when the missionaries were forced to leave in 1939.

When Hitler's armies were defeated in 1945, the missionaries returned to Germany, but not to *these* members. A new geographical term now described the area in which they lived: *Soviet Zone of Occupation*. The Iron Curtain had been lowered, enclosing the members of the Church in eastern Germany. They had survived six years of war. On February 13–14, 1945, the city of Dresden had been burnt to the ground by several bombing raids,

and what happened in Dresden was representative of what had happened to all the major German cities. Many of the branch meetinghouses had been destroyed by the bombings, and many priesthood holders who had survived the war had been taken to prisoner-of-war camps. Members from the eastern branches had fled westward, and many ended up in refugee camps. The Church was battered and scattered but not defeated. Members had to be gathered; meeting places had to be found; missionary work had to go on. The Church had to be rebuilt.

For a time after the war, Berlin provided a door between East and West. Mission presidents and General Authorities entered through this door; many members exited. In 1961 the government of the German Democratic Republic (GDR, communist “East Germany,” founded in 1949) decided to replace the door with a solid wall—the Berlin Wall, officially called *antifaschistischer Schützwand*, the Anti-Fascist Wall of Protection. Now entrance into Germany became more difficult for mission presidents and General Authorities, and except for the elderly and retired, exit was nearly impossible. The Church struggled on, but with no missionaries, no teaching manuals, no Church magazines, and no temple. In spite of their isolation, the members inside the wall carried on the programs of the Church with even greater determination.

At first slowly, and then more and more rapidly, a brighter day began to dawn. On October 22–24, 1969, President Thomas S. Monson visited the GDR, and at a meeting in the little branch meeting place in Görlitz, a city on the Polish border, he promised—as reported in the May 1989 *Ensign*—that members of the GDR would have all of the blessings other members of the Church enjoy. On April 27, 1975, President Monson offered a dedicatory prayer for the country on a small hill near Dresden. In August 1977, President Kimball held a special conference in Dresden. The Freiberg and Leipzig stakes were organized in 1982 and 1984. In June of 1985 came a day the Saints in the GDR had never dreamed would come—the dedication of a temple in their own country. In April 1989, the first foreign missionaries in fifty years entered East Germany, and by the end of that year, the newly organized Germany Dresden Mission reported 669 convert baptisms. On the night of November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall fell, and the long

years of isolation were over. Following are selected excerpts from the stories of a few of the members living in the GDR. Many more of their stories will soon appear in a book published by BYU Studies.

THE BOMBING OF DRESDEN

Dresden was the oldest area of the Church in the Eastern part of Germany. In 1939, at the beginning of the war, two branches thrived, one located in the older part of the city, the Altstadt Gemeinde, and the other located across the Elbe River in the “newer” part of the city, the Neustadt Gemeinde. In 1945, toward the end of the war, these two branches persisted in Dresden in spite of the loss of many men who were away serving in the German army.

The bombing of Dresden on February 13-14, 1945, was as unexpected as it was destructive. Because of its location far to the south and east, Dresden had been spared the bombings German cities further to the north and west had experienced. By 1945 the war was essentially over. The German armies were retreating rapidly. The German air defenses were gone. The Russian armies were closing in on Berlin and were at the outskirts of Dresden. But then the unexpected and unthinkable happened. The “Florence on the Elbe” was destroyed, and with it went one of the branches of the Church. The following eyewitness accounts of the bombing are in many ways representative of the experiences of Church members throughout Germany.

I Saw the Opera House Burning — Erika Hermann

The air raid report came over the radio hourly. At eight o'clock, they reported no air activity, but at nine we got the report again, and it said, “Heavy enemy aircraft approaching over northwest Germany. Further information will follow.”

By ten o'clock, we hadn't heard anything, but suddenly the sky became pale and then bright. Those were the first flares; we called them the Christmas trees [*Christbäume*]. I had experienced that in Berlin. When you saw the “Christmas trees,” then you knew you were going to get it.

So the flares were out, and a moment later we heard the sirens—full alarm. We headed for the cellar. We took an old lady with us who could hardly walk, and then it started. It was terrible. The window panes were bursting in everywhere, and soot came out of the furnaces. And the bombs that didn't hit, the ones that went over you, had this whistling sound. You could hear this shrill whistling and then it stopped, and then you heard the explosion. Finally, we were so happy to hear the "all clear" sirens, and we went upstairs.

We swept up the broken glass. In the living room, a piece of the ceiling plaster had come down, and we cleaned that up. There was not much we could do about the windows at the time. We put up something, paper or cardboard. It wasn't long before the first dazed survivors started straggling out from the city. We had gone out into the street, and I even went down to the Elbe to have a look and saw this terrible ocean of fire. But The Church of Our Lady was still standing; I could see it lit up by the flames. And then I said—to show you how stupid we are—I said, "At least the opera house has been spared. Shouldn't we make some coffee?" I loved the opera.

Many who were coming out from the edge of the city were exhausted. We made this malt coffee [*Malzkaffee*] and some tea and stood outside the front door (the windows in the door were all gone) and distributed warm drinks. But this was nothing compared to what was about to come. Then came the night attack, and it was much, much worse. We really never thought we would survive it. But we did. Our Father in Heaven protected us. But the people who started coming out of the city then! So many fateful events!

Across from us there lived a couple, an older couple, and they had a daughter who had a crippled hand. But through the Association for the Disabled, she had been able to find a husband. The parents were so happy that their daughter had finally been able to be married, so after the first attack, they went into the city to check on the couple. They never came back. None of the family ever came back.

I walked down to the river, where I could see the city, and I saw the opera house burning.

The Dead Need No Water — Edith Krause

I was living at the time in Dresden-Neustadt. But on the evening of February 13, 1945, I was in Dresden-Altstadt with the Hubold family, Winterberg Street 86, doing genealogy work with the members. I was just saying good-bye when the sirens went off, so I hesitated a moment and then went into the basement of the apartment house with the other members. The so-called lighted Christmas trees were dropped from airplanes, and so we knew that Dresden would experience a bombing attack. It was horrible, but fortunately only one firebomb fell on this building. It fell directly onto a feather bed, which started a sulfur fire, but by working together we were able to put it out, and the building was saved. All around us the buildings were burning, and the sparks were flying through the air so that other fires were breaking out. We all joined in prayer. I lay on the couch—it was about four in the morning—and said, “Heavenly Father, now it is your turn. There is nothing more we can do.” The water pressure was all gone. After a few minutes, it began to rain, and that was our salvation.

The next morning I started for home—on foot, naturally. It was chaos. All the streets were torn up and covered with rubble from the fallen buildings. I had to cut through the “Great Garden,” a park about one kilometer long. Many people were assembled there with blackened faces and burned clothing. The wounded were lying on the ground moaning, “Water.” There was no water, and for good measure a fighter plane came swooping down and shot at the helpless, confused people. The dead need no water.

At the branch on Sunday, we were able to determine that we had lost only one sister in the bombings and that the number of those who had been bombed out was limited. We young people of the branch organized an emergency service to get food and supplies to the older members. When the streets became passable again, the members from the Altstadt Branch came over to the [Church] services in the Neustadt Branch. Their branch house on Circus Street 33 had been bombed and was destroyed right down to the cellar. We also visited the members in the Altstadt Branch in their homes and held Bible studies and youth firesides. It was a time of great faith and inner harmony, but the marvelous old city of Dresden was no more.



Rubble-filled street in Dresden. After the bombing of Dresden, Edith Krause had to pick her way through streets like this one to get home. Source: Richard Peter, *eine Kamera klagt an* (Leipzig: Fotokinoverlag, 1982).

It Was the Hunger — Wilfried Kießling

After the war, the suffering in the GDR and in the other parts of Germany was terrible. The cities were destroyed. There was no money. The suffering was terrible. They had no widow's pension or survivor's pension then, so I got nothing from the government. [Sister Kießling's husband had been killed in the war.] Then when political conditions changed, that is, when the Communists took over the government, all the men who had been in the German army were declared war criminals, and so we women got nothing from them, either.

In 1948, I was called to be the Relief Society president in the Dresden Branch. I was the youngest Relief Society president around, only thirty-four years old. It wasn't so easy. I had only been president for a short time when the first welfare shipment came from the Church in America. Oh, you just can't imagine how this welfare aid helped us. We were literally starving to death at the time. Many people were cooking and eating coffee grounds with a little flour mixed in. Many of the children were not getting any supper. They were put to bed with just a cup of coffee. Conditions were terrible. We had never been so thin, that's for sure. The children would come in around two o'clock in the afternoon and say, "Mommy, I'm hungry." Well, what were we supposed to give our children to eat? We just had to say, "Go out and play, we don't have anything to eat." Oh, that hurt right down to the soul. But we couldn't help it; we couldn't help it. We didn't have anything.

But then, then the shipments came from the Church in America. Oh, what an indescribable blessing that was! Of course, our chapel was filled like it had never been filled before. If you came late, you had to stand up in the back, there were no more seats. That is the truth; I experienced it myself. Well, we had big sacks of food and got fat on it: peaches, canned milk. Oh, that helped us so much.

Of course, after the welfare shipments from America stopped coming, several members dropped out. Week after week, they stopped coming, they stopped coming, they stopped coming. It was very noticeable. And then from 1949 until about 1954—'53 or '54—there were ninety members from the Dresden Branch

who emigrated to America. That left a very big hole in the branch. They were all young people, too. That was the future of the branch, wasn't it?

REBUILDING ZION

By the time the war ended, the members had been scattered, and the meeting places destroyed. The Church had to be rebuilt. Many of the men who were returning from the war or from POW camps were immediately called on missions to help put the Church back together. No missionaries were coming from the West since they could not get inside the Soviet Zone of Occupation.

If the Lord Needs Me, I'll Go

— **Walter Krause (edited by Manfred Schütze)**

[Homeless like the others, Brother Krause and his family lived in a refugee camp in Cottbus and began to attend church there. He was immediately called to lead the Cottbus Branch of the Church. Four months later, in November of 1945, District President Richard Ranglack came to Brother Krause and asked him what he would think about going on a mission for the Church. Brother Krause's answer reflects his commitment to the Church: "I don't have to think about it at all. If the Lord needs me, I'll go." Here, Brother Krause describes the beginning of that mission.]

I prayed about it and then set out on December 1, 1945, with twenty marks in my pocket, a piece of dry bread, and a bottle of tea. One brother had given me a winter coat left over from a son who had fallen in the war. Another brother, who was a shoemaker, gave me a pair of shoes. So [with these and], with two shirts, two handkerchiefs, and two pairs of stockings, I left on my mission.

Once, in the middle of the winter, I walked from Prenzlau to Kammin (a little village in Mecklenburg), where we had up to forty-six members at our meetings. I arrived long after dark that night after a six-hour march over roads, paths, and finally across plowed fields. Just before I reached the village, I came to a large, white, flat area which made easy walking, and I soon arrived.

The next morning the game warden came to the house of the member where I had spent the night. "Do you have a guest?"

“Yes.” “Then come and take a look at his tracks.” Some time earlier, the warden had chopped a large hole in the middle of the lake for fishing. [The large, flat area Brother Krause had crossed was actually a frozen lake.] The wind had driven snow over the hole and covered it so that I could not have seen my danger. My tracks went right across the edge of the hole and straight to the house of this brother, without my knowing anything about it. Weighed down by my backpack and my rubber boots, I would certainly have drowned. This event caused quite a little stir in the village at that time.

Finding a Meeting Place — Elli Polzin

Our first meeting place [in Schwerin] was a rented room on the square called Pig Market [*Schweinemarkt*]. Brother Walter Schmeichel, a refugee from Schneidemühl in Pommern, was our branch president until 1952. By that time, we had exchanged our meeting place for one on Schloss Street. My husband was now the branch president, and the branch had to move again, this time to a place on Bornhöwitz Street. But we weren't able to keep this for long, and the branch leaders had to start looking for something else. Once more we rented rooms in a tavern on Goethe Street. At the Church's expense, we had to remodel the tavern to fit our needs. After two years, this tavern was taken over by the government, and we were obliged to give up our rooms once again. This time we were without any meeting place for more than a year and had to hold our meetings at the home of Brother and Sister Schüller, who made their living room available to us.

After many attempts, we succeeded in 1956 in buying a piece of property from a private owner on the Schloßgartenallee, number 18a. Since the Church was not allowed to own property, it was bought in the name of the branch president, Brother Hans Polzin. Naturally, this caused a multitude of problems. On the property, there was an old business establishment which had one apartment and an old horse barn. When we bought the property, the intention was to tear down the old building. But the application to tear down the building was not approved because it contained an apartment with a family living in it. Our plan was to build a chapel on the property. Toward the end of 1956, the branch acquired an

old workers' barracks, 12 meters by 20 meters, which we could tear down for material to build a new chapel so that we could finally have our own place to meet. On June 11, 1957, the work of tearing down the old barracks began. In a pouring rain, all the brethren set out on their bicycles for the barracks, which was about eight kilometers out of Schwerin. The work was under the direction of our district president, Brother Krause, and of Brother Wiese from Wolgast, whom he had brought along to assist us. The brethren all assembled for prayer to ask the Lord for protection and help.

With the help of all the members of the Schwerin Branch, we put in an average of twelve to fifteen hours a day. Brother Krause and Brother Wiese stayed at the site at night in a tent. The sisters were also active. A meal for the working brethren was prepared in Schwerin and was taken out to the work site on a bicycle by Sister Schade. Altogether, we hauled twenty-three truck loads of material to our building site in Schwerin. On Saturday, June 15, 1957, this difficult and dangerous work was completed without accident through the help of the Lord. Now all the members assembled at the building site in Schwerin to clean up and stack the building material, and as soon as all the required bureaucratic formalities had been completed, the building of the branch meeting place could begin.

On the twenty-fifth of June 1957, the branch presidency submitted their request for permission to build the branch house, indicating that they already owned the property and already had the necessary building material. . . . Unfortunately, this application was denied by the authorities. Consequently, the members turned to the local government officials with the request that they be permitted to remodel the horse barn into a meeting place. All the members and the district presidency fasted and prayed that this request would be granted, and it was granted.

Since the horse barn was old and falling apart, there were many difficulties to be overcome. We laid up blocks for new walls and a new chimney and built door and window frames. A new toilet, including drain pipes and water connections, had to be installed. We paneled walls and ceilings, brought in floor joists, and laid a new floor. Two new stoves for heating were installed. Most of the material came from what was salvaged from the barracks.



Schwerin Branch meetinghouse. Using a wheelbarrow as a delivery truck and the hand labor of all the members, the Schwerin Branch converted an old barn into a meetinghouse. Courtesy Edith Krause.

The city building commission had given permission to build only because the branch would not have to request building materials. Now, however, we needed cement, lime, gravel, and lumber, all of which could be obtained only from the Commission for People's Needs [*Bevölkerungsbedarf*]. That meant that the branch president had to pick up everything in small quantities by standing in line and by carrying it off in a wheelbarrow. He could not do this himself since he was working. And since all the other brethren in the branch were also working, Sister Elfriede Pawlowski said that she would take charge of getting the building materials. [Sister Pawlowski went every day to stand in line to get the necessary building materials. She then delivered these materials to the building site in a wheelbarrow.]

LIVING WITH THE COMMUNISTS

The following excerpts are mostly from interviews with younger members who were born shortly before, during, or after

the war, and who went on missions in the 1950s and early 1960s. These are the members who grew up in a communist country, went to communist schools where atheism was officially taught, and made their way carefully between church and state. Some of them hardly mention politics, the State, or communism in their interviews; for them politics were merely a background to their normal life in the Church. In some cases, this silence was, they informed us, out of a habit of avoiding any discussion of a political nature. Others were more anxious to talk about their confrontations with a political system that was in large part antagonistic to their religious beliefs. The following excerpts are from those members who kept the Church together in the 1960s, '70s, and '80s.

**Book Burning — Joachim Albrecht,
Kurt Nikol, and Marianne Nikol**

Joachim: Until about 1949, it was permitted to bring [printed material] across the border in Berlin, but after 1949 it was strictly forbidden. When I was on a mission and was working in Rattenau, near Berlin, we had a lot of contact with the mission office in West Berlin, Dahlem. We local missionaries had to take the manuals in our pockets and get them from Berlin into East Germany. This was always done with a certain amount of fear and trembling and with a pounding heart. But then one day our mission president, Henry Burkhardt, said, "No more of that. That's forbidden, against the law; we simply can't do it. Period."

Before that, we smuggled in a lot of teaching materials. We had a saying in the mission: We go out without purse or scrip but come home with a box of books. I remember that I was sending new books here to Bauzen and had a box so big I couldn't get it to the train station because it was so heavy. I had to unpack it and put the books into three boxes when I sent all my things home from my mission.

But then suddenly one day I received a message from our mission president that all of the manuals, books, tracts, etc., we had smuggled into the country somehow, illegally, could be very harmful to the Church. The authorities had already searched a few of our apartments, and we were instructed that we had to destroy all of these materials. I sat down in front of our open stove with a big pile of books and kept telling myself, "You have to keep that one," and "You have to keep that one," and "You can't burn that one," but for two days, we kept the fire going without coal, just paper. In the end, I did keep one book. It was four years of priesthood manuals I saved and had bound into one volume. "I don't care if they throw me in prison," I thought to myself, "This is one book I am not going to burn!"

I can say that at that time I was actually an obedient person. I did it because I was told to. But somehow I couldn't see how anyone could get into trouble because of these manuals. And then one day I received an unexpected visit from a certain office.

G. Davis: Secret police?

Joachim: Of course! They asked me a few questions about the branch and wanted to know this and that. Then they wanted to have a look at my bookcase and wanted to know what kind of books I had. And I was able to open my bookcase without a pounding heart and show them what books we had.

G. Davis: What about those four years of priesthood manuals?

Joachim: I didn't show them. But I had the *Stern* [Church magazine in German] which we were permitted to receive up until 1949, and they wanted to see the later volumes. I told them I didn't receive them. Then they asked me if anyone from "over there" (West Germany) was sending them to me, relatives, etc. "No," I said, "You can see that this is all I have." I was so happy that

I was finally shown a reason, some sense, for burning my books. And I must say that I really mourned over my books. But in the end, this actually gave us more encouragement to study our lessons more thoroughly from the standard works. The whole thing made us a little sulky, but it taught us a good lesson.

Marianne: At the time, everyone here was saying, “Well, religion, that’s going to be abolished. In this country, there will be no more churches. Religion will be abolished.” That was really the big concern we had here, that there would be no more religion. Especially those in the government were saying it. We had a relative, a brother-in-law, who was a big party member. He was always spouting this rubbish. “Sooner or later, mark my words . . .” And when we were interrogated, it was always a frightening experience. What do they really want? Where did they get that information?

Political Isolation — Erich Ortlieb and Marianne Ortlieb

Erich: The Church was relatively small, and we were always isolated. We were not isolated because we wanted to be, but because at first the people in the government wanted to isolate us. They didn’t want people to believe in God. They didn’t want people to have ideals. Later on they decided that our ideals were not so far from their political aims, and then they tried through the media and also through individual politicians to get the Church to go along with them. That’s the point at which we remained neutral.

The Church teaches—and this is an important point which I consider correct—the Church says that the State and the Church should remain completely separate from one another. And so, if we as a church attempted to have a strong influence on the politics or on the economy of the State in which we, as members, became politically engaged—well, in the GDR

that would have meant that we identified ourselves with communism or with atheism, because Marxism is fundamentally atheistic. And as members of the Church, we didn't want that. And so that is why we withdrew ourselves, and as a consequence, we were naturally quite isolated for several years.

Now as a result of this isolation, not only could we not get permission to build regular church buildings, but it also meant that very few members of the Church were allowed to attend the universities or choose the profession they wanted to follow. Wanting to become a teacher, for example, was out. "Maybe you could be very good teachers, but you could never educate the children properly in the Marxist philosophy." That was the program of all the schools, in all educational institutions. It was that way in the pre-school, kindergarten, elementary school, high school, trade school, and university. This Marxist philosophy was always in the foreground, was always the basis for the educational methodology.

Marianne: Yes, that was more important than anything else. If you got an "A" in these areas, then it didn't matter if you did poorly in your other studies; that was no sin. But if your grades were the other way around, that was bad. You couldn't continue.

Students at the university were actually obligated to spend three years in the army. Everyone had to spend one-and-a-half years anyway, but if you wanted to study at the university they wanted you to do three years and become an officer. Our Olaf, our oldest son, really wanted to go to the university. At first they wouldn't let him, and then he applied again and applied for an area where they really wanted students.

Erich: Construction engineers who specialized in equipment installation.

Marianne: Yes. And he was accepted, and then they wanted to make him serve three years in the army. He had

already served his one-and-a-half years before he went to the university—that was obligatory. And now they wanted another year and a half from him, and he was supposed to enter officer training. He wouldn't do it, and there was a big fuss about it. They called him in for consultation. In the end, they finally let him become a student, but they told him that he would never receive a leadership position in the profession. There was nothing he could do about that. Someone who goes to church and does not follow the party line would never get a leadership position.

Erich: You see, as a Church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, we were a very small group inside the GDR. And it was quite natural that the State authorities who decided on the admissions policies for the university looked on us as an American sect. The Protestant and the Catholic churches had a lot more influence in these matters, in political matters. They took advantage of this influence insofar as it was possible, whereas we were, as a church, quite isolated. In the early years, we never attempted to make any contact with the local or with the state authorities, and consequently there was no possibility that we could do anything in the way of influencing them. That was simply not possible for us. In the beginning, we were only about four-and-a-half or five thousand members in the GDR, and that is a small percentage out of a population of seventeen million.

Church or School — Wolfgang Zwirner and Karen Zwirner

[Not all families in the Church stayed together. In some cases, communism separated families.]

Wolfgang: My father joined the Church in the 1930s through my mother, but he was never very active. He is a very nice man, very nice. He is still living, but he never

received the priesthood. During the war, my father ended up in a Russian prison camp. He had something to do with Marxism, with Communism, but he didn't have any trouble with the National Socialists as far as I know. But he was still thinking about these things when he ended up in the Russian prison camp, somewhere beyond Brual. He was sickened by the war and had seen so much suffering. The suffering of the children was particularly abhorrent to him. He wanted to do something for peace so that there would never be another war.

Well, the Russians had their own ideology. He said he was standing in a row of POWs, and he was called out. He didn't know why they selected him, but he was sent to the party school in Moscow, and so he went in that direction. He became a Communist. But he is a good man. He has never said anything negative about the Church. He has kept the Word of Wisdom. He has never smoked. He told me once that he always spoke well of us with his party comrades. In 1949 he returned from his prison experience, and we have always had a good relationship with him, but he no longer came to church. He has never been excommunicated; his name is still in the records, but his experiences have led him in another direction.

When I was in high school—that must have been 1953, when I was seventeen—those were hard times. I remember it was just before the uprising of June 17, and the authorities were pretty hard on the churches, and several young people had to leave school.

I was in the tenth grade, and I really didn't like school much anymore. I wanted to quit. Well, we had a conference coming up, and the Church had permission to print flyers announcing the conference. I was given the assignment of distributing the flyers, which was something of an honor to me. So I passed them out at school. I came up to one of my teachers—he

was a fine man—and I gave him one. He said to me, “Watch out. You can give that to me, but don’t give them out to anyone else.” He warned me, but I was too thickheaded to pay attention. There was no explicit reason for not distributing them, but I shouldn’t have done it.

The next teacher I gave one to, a white-haired woman, went straight to the director’s office. While I was in class, in the class of the teacher who had warned me, my biology teacher, someone came in from the director’s office and said that I should see him during the class break. I went, but didn’t realize what was up. When I entered, there was the white-haired teacher and right beside her was the secretary of the FDJ [*Freie Deutsche Jugend*, Free German Youth, a communist youth organization] and they laid into me, first about distributing the flyers—What did I think I was doing?—and so on.

And then it occurred to them that I was not a member of the Free German Youth. They knew my father; they knew that he was a Communist. He was a loyal Communist. A fine man. He really believed in what he was doing, that he was fighting in his way for peace, and I have to emphasize that here since nowadays it is easy to defame the Communists. But he was very sincere in his beliefs. He wanted to give. I know that he would not even take money for his lectures. Well, anyway, they knew him and thought that since I was his son I should have been in the Free German Youth from the time I was fifteen. But I had never joined. I was a member of the Church.

And there had been another matter. My class had gone for a weekend into the country. My teacher was a very nice woman, and she wanted everyone to go. But for me the problem was that we would be gone over Sunday, and I wanted to keep the Sabbath day holy. Looking back I know that was a little pharisaic

on my part, but that's the way it was. What was I supposed to do? I wanted to be at church on Sunday. I should have talked to my teacher about it. She would probably have fixed it up for me so that I could keep the Sabbath holy even on this outing; I could study or something. She was a nice woman, but I didn't do it. What a thick skull I had then.

Anyway, this all came out, and my teacher told me I would have to choose. Either I would have to go with the class on Sunday, or I could go to church. She couldn't force me to make this decision, but why had she sent me to the director's office? She probably had her instructions, and they wanted to put some pressure on me. They said they would never forbid me to go to church, but they never gave me any instructions in writing. Anyway, they gave me the alternative, school or Church. I left school and never went back. I didn't graduate; there was no going back.

[We asked what they did for teaching manuals for the classes in the Church.]

Karen: Yes, I was right in the middle of this because I had wearily copied these teaching manuals. Brother Burkhardt had provided us with a typewriter, and Dori Menzel and I had to copy the teaching manuals. Oh, that was hard. With carbon paper, six or seven copies, and they were hard to read. But then Brother Burkhardt got some good carbon paper from the West, and they were a little easier to read, but it was still a wearisome work.

[We asked Sister Zwirner about the problem of depletion of the branches through emigration before the building of the Berlin Wall.]

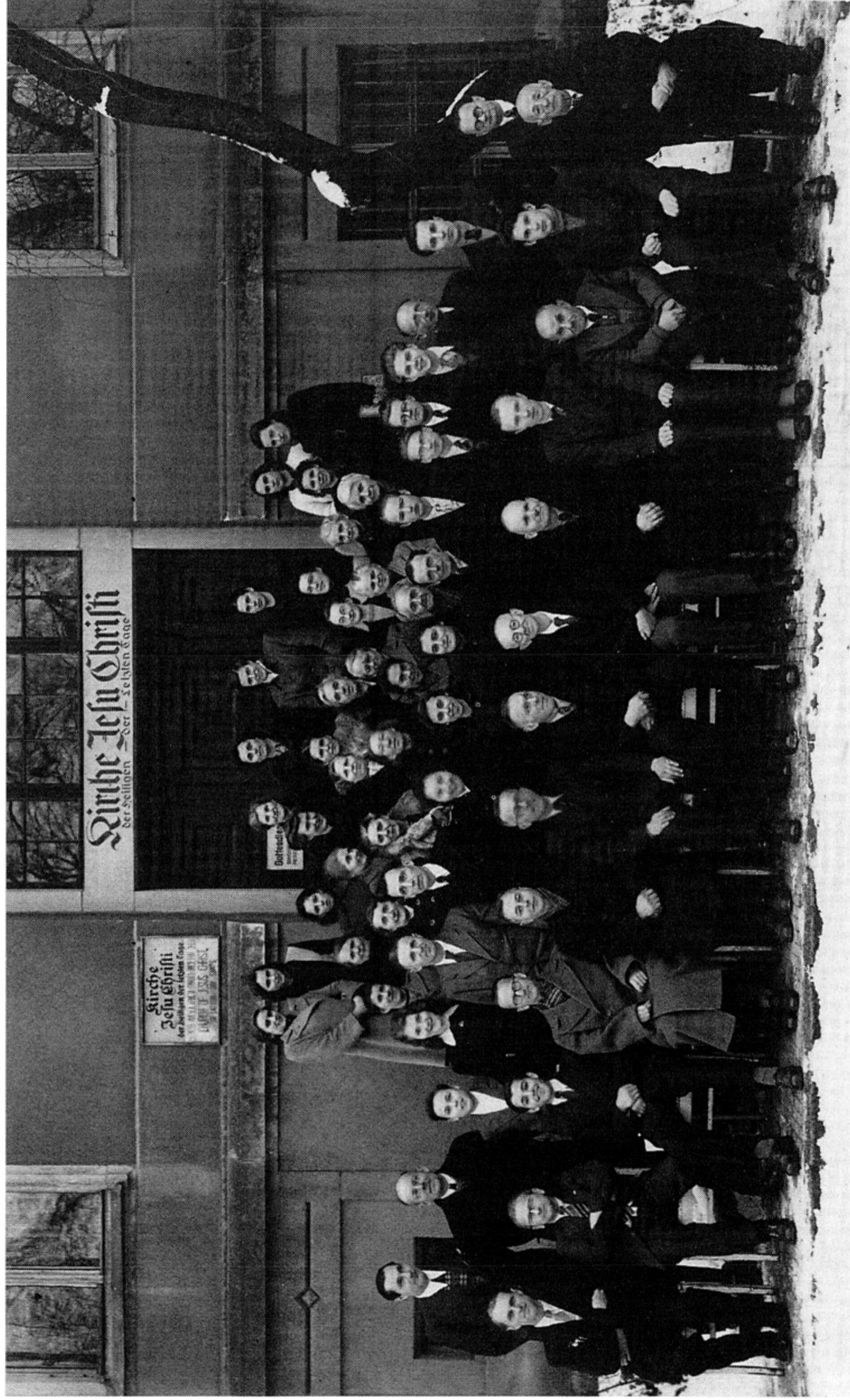
Yes, the problem with emigration. Well, I had a personal experience with that; it was in the 1950s at a district conference. I don't remember which year exactly. Our district president left. And on the Sunday

before, he had stood before the congregation and had said, "Brothers and sisters, stay here. Stay where you are; that is where the Lord has put you." And on Monday he left with his whole family. That left a lasting impression on me. They were my friends, my same age, and from one day to the next, they were gone. I will never forget that. I can still see his face as he stood there at conference. That was the first time in my life that I understood clearly that a man's word and his actions were not always one and the same thing. That was a big shock in my life.

Wolfgang: But when he said, "Stay here," that was in quotation marks, you know. He was always a good example to me. He had political problems and had to get out. They were after him. There were cases like that. They had to go. I heard that from another brother. He was really afraid. He had to get out.

But I never wanted to go. I am not a man of action. I am not one who wants to do something adventuresome like that. I am more settled, you see. I just want my peace and quiet, to be able to think and to read. . . . But I have to be honest. I didn't want to leave, either. But once I prayed, once I wished, "Oh Father in Heaven! Just for once let me be able to buy all the things that the people who have been in the West tell about, all the things they can buy over there. They tell us the stores are full of everything."

A brother who was permitted to go to the West once told me that he got physically ill when he saw all the tools in a hardware store. He was a craftsman, you see, and the hardware store was full of tools, and he so wanted to just hold some of those tools in his hands. "I got sick and had to sit down," he told me. And I said, "Father in Heaven, I want to have that experience, just once." Oh, I wanted that experience. To never have to stand in a line again. Never stand in a line. Always these long lines.



Dresden Branch, December 1953. Wolfgang Zwirner is in the next-to-the-bottom row, third from the left. The branch is posing in front of their meetinghouse. Courtesy Käthe Wöhe.

[The following conversation came in answer to a question about their children's schooling.]

Karen: We never had any trouble with our children at school. We always had our own strategy. Right at the beginning of the year, when they were having new school orientation, we went in with the children so they could get better acquainted with our family. We told them right from the beginning what church we belonged to and that they shouldn't make a big fuss when they had an outing on Sunday because our children would not be there. They accepted that, and from then on, they left our children alone. Our children always knew where they belonged, and they got along very well with this procedure. From the first grade on, all the other students and all the teachers knew where our children belonged, that they attended church and conducted their life accordingly. That's the way they were raised. But your behavior has to be in order before you can stand up and say that.

Wolfgang: Let me add that we had the impression that many of the teachers were also Christians, you know. Inwardly, you understand. Inwardly, they were good people and inclined toward God. I often had this impression. Many of them as much as told me so, that they only, that they had to make a living. They were not all inhuman or dedicated atheists. They all wanted to survive. And then there were some who were, I must say, noble Communists. I got to know them and can say they were fine people. They really believed in what they were doing. I mean, they believed like Mormons and Catholics believed. And after the political change took place, many of them were mistreated by those who came to power, when everything fell apart.

Housing and the Economy — Manfred Schwabe and Elke Schwabe

[Housing was always a major problem in the GDR. All apartments were assigned by the Central Housing Authority. Whether or not the people in the apartment were married often had little to do with the assignment, as the following conversation indicates.]

N. Davis: Did I hear you say that your former husband was still living in your apartment in Potsdam with your family after you were divorced?

Elke: Yes, I was living in Potsdam, and my former husband was still living in the apartment. He had one room to himself, but we had to share the kitchen. And he always had to come through my room to get into the kitchen. It was a little difficult. And besides, the apartment had been tacked on to make it larger, for a doctor's family I believe. There were actually five or six rooms. Two families lived on that floor. The back part was divided off. We had the back part, and another family lived in the front. There was only one bath for both families, and it was just divided off by a curtain. It was a little complicated.

[We asked Brother Schwabe what youth did for entertainment.]

Manfred: We had very little money, so there were not many possibilities. But we traveled. We traveled by bicycle. On Saturdays we worked until noon, and then we jumped on our bicycles. We rode out to see the Fuchs family. They had seven boys. They belonged to the Naumburg Branch. They lived about twenty kilometers away. And then, if there was someone there, we took them along. We went on to Jena. Sister Kolbin's sister lived there. At that time, her name was Bock, Anna Rose. And, well, we visited. Then we went on to Weimar. That was another twenty kilometers. That makes forty, sixty kilometers on a Saturday afternoon. Oh boy, the members in Weimar were happy to see

us. "Man, we were just going for a bike ride, over to Badberger. Come with us. We'll make a picnic out of it." Of course, we went along.

We had a good relationship with the members in Weimar, and they always invited us over to the National Theater. They got good tickets for us, and the Naumburgers and the Weimarers went to the theater together. I can still remember as well as I remember today my first great opera performance, *Tannhäuser*, organized by the Church. Well, there was always something going on. We were always going somewhere. There was no TV. We didn't have that problem, yet, of sitting in front of the TV. And we put on plays or did a little scene or just spent the evening talking. At MIA there was always something, but we had to do it ourselves. Oh, that was a lot of fun. Everyone brought out whatever talent he or she had. Everyone did what he or she could. One person set up the stage and decorated it a little. The others put on the play. Oh, there were many, many, many beautiful hours that we spent together.

[We asked Brother Schwabe if he had problems at work because of his membership in the Church. He answered this question and then went on to describe the economics of the last days of the GDR.]

Manfred: Well basically, I could say that when one makes a firm decision for the Church, when one makes it clear where one stands, then they watch you pretty closely. You are not looked up to like those who join the party. That much is clear. The party comrades had their own circle, and I was not a part of it. And whatever was decided by the party leadership became the law in our firm. Consequently, there was not much of an opportunity to influence what was done. But, all in all, when you did your work, there were no major problems.

There were disadvantages, however. Your "social contributions" were also evaluated, and when

it came to bonuses, well, you would have to figure that you would earn considerably less money in comparison to those who belonged to the party or who went along with the party. That was normal procedure. I might have done just as much work as the person next to me, who was a member of the party, but we both knew that when our “social contributions” were evaluated, we, who did not belong to the party, would be rated lower and consequently would be left out when the bonuses were distributed. It made no difference how hard you worked. The other guy could be a terrible worker, but if he belonged to the party, then he would get just as much as you. That’s the way it was.

Well, getting back to the political developments; they began coming to a head in 1989. You could see from the economy how things were developing. There were a lot of people who were saying openly that we were returning to a “natural” economy, that is, an economy based on the barter system. You give me that, and I will give you this in exchange. Money had become useless, you see. The system was I need this and that for my firm, and if you can get that for me, then I can provide you with this in return. One firm needed heaters, and the other firm needed heating elements. And one firm had the elements, and the other had the heaters, or he knew where he could get them, from a guy who needed something else. The whole economy was being run by this method. You needed something for your work and you had to get it one way or another and that was usually by knowing someone who needed something you could supply. The whole thing was very official, no deception, no smuggling. We called it “mutual socialistic assistance” [*gegenseitige sozialistische Hilfe*].

Here’s how it worked. I go to this firm from which I need something, and he gets from me a piece of paper which says, “We request in the form of mutual

socialistic assistance the following,” and then we declare that we are prepared to exchange this thing or the other. In that way, each firm had a bill, and the bill was marked “paid in full.” The value of the goods was immaterial; it was just a formality. It was just our goods for your goods.

Public Schools — Ursula Schlüter

Ursula: It is no accident that less than 40 percent of the people in our area, in the former GDR, are religious at all. The large majority of the people are atheists, and this is a direct result of forty years of education. Because whether a child in school was Protestant, Catholic, or whatever, the others were always of the opinion that she was a little strange. Someone who could believe that must not be all there. That’s the way it was, and it was very hard on the children, and it was not so easy on the parents either, to be hearing these remarks all the time and that “those people who go to church have something wrong with them.” That was the opinion. And in my profession [elementary school teacher], it was made very clear to me that I was not to talk about religion if I wanted to keep my job.

G. Davis: Yes, I wanted to ask you about that. You became a teacher. That is a little unusual for someone who belongs to a church, isn’t it?

Ursula: Yes, but I became a teacher back at a time when things were not so strict. When I was a student, I put my religion on the application. They asked about your religion then, but later, in the ’60s, it started to get even harder. There was a girl who had been in my class at the university, for example, who made a little mistake. She sat down in the school cafeteria and prayed over her food, in full view of everyone. We usually did that very privately without drawing any attention to ourselves. Well, she was told that she

would have to give up her profession. That could not be tolerated in this State, which was raising the children to be atheists, that someone would do something like that in public. That's the way it was, and I must say I was always a little uneasy when I met a colleague in the streetcar on Sunday morning when I was on my way to church. Because, well, as I have said, we were always under a little pressure, you see.

Church and Profession in the GDR — Reiner Schlüter

I conscientiously avoided the party, and I went to the university anyway. Of course, I have to add we could not come out against the State. That would have been unthinkable. We would never have had a chance. And we had to at least give the appearance of doing one's duty for the State. That would be recognized, but at the same time it was recognized if one was a Christian.

In my professional career as a doctor, it was assumed I would have certain administrative responsibilities. For that reason, they came to me and said that if I would become a member of the Party [Communist Party] I would have a chance to advance to these administrative posts. Of course, I declined, and they knew exactly why. Without going into detail, I can say that I was watched very carefully. But in the later years of the GDR, say after 1984, after we had the temple, they trusted in the people who were Christian or who belonged to a church a little more. There was a clear tendency in that direction. As a result, even though I could not officially assume an administrative position, as I have said, I was unofficially given full administrative responsibilities. That was, of course, somewhat contradictory. On paper I was not permitted to do what I was actually doing, which was acceptable. It was all officially recognized. I had no fears.

[We asked Reiner Schlüter what he felt about the Church making what some have called "compromises" with the communist government in the GDR.]

It was very important to make compromises at that time, or we could never have had the development we had with any security. The way it was done was the right way. In addition, I believe that

such compromises actually hastened the political changes. For the Church here in this part of Germany, the willingness to make compromises was the only way these things could be possible. And the results have shown this was right. I would give my approval to this procedure any time. Without question. To have taken a hard line would have made it much more difficult for the members of the Church to do anything.

It should be understood that this willingness to compromise was not done by the State only out of the goodness of their hearts. They could see the economic benefit to them just as we could see the spiritual benefit to us. They could see that we could build chapels with hard currency and that they would naturally benefit in some ways from that. On the other hand, what the Church officials told the government at that time was not unknown to them. We members of the Church had gained a reputation in our own society as people who could be relied upon, as people one could look up to, as a people who did not need to be restricted merely because of their religious philosophy. Those who performed their church service loyally were “seen” as people who were reliable citizens of the State. And there was no contradiction in that. Our Church was composed of reliable people. The State officials were more afraid of other religious organizations where the leadership can exert less control. Certain parts of the Evangelical Church, for example, where the reform movement is particularly encouraged. But political reform and nothing else has little to do with religion. That is simple political engagement.

I accept the Article of Faith given by Joseph Smith that tells us to be subject to rulers and magistrates. I still accept it today as we are moving in a more democratic direction. Of course, there were exceptions, and I don't want to say that everything that glittered in the GDR was gold, but I did find this decision at that time to be the correct one. I have no criticism on this point whatever.

[We asked Reiner Schlüter about the problem of emigration, about members leaving the GDR for the West.]

On this matter, I do not want to generalize. There was a particular time for me when this question was connected to my profession, in 1988, 1989. Things were reaching the point economically where many were certainly saying to themselves, “I have

a responsibility to my children and cannot guarantee that my roots will remain here.” There were certainly cases where raising this question was justified. We had discussed this in our family and, right or wrong, there was this saying going around that maybe it was time to “put out the lights” in the GDR. It would be wrong for me to say now that this question did not come up in our family. It wasn’t just a personal decision. We had the responsibility for our family and our children. Under what conditions would they grow up? We haven’t talked about these things yet, about how socialistic the educational system was and such fine points. At some time, one had to make a decision. Nowadays this decision doesn’t have so much to do with the Church, but back then it could divide you in half.

And, of course, there were some families who emigrated, families who belonged to the Church. And I must say that the Church at the present could have been much, much stronger if these families were still here. And I don’t mean only the parents, but the entire family. It’s too bad they finally made the decision to get out. But, personally, I must say if that was the decision they came to then I accept it. That is, I would never say what they did was not right. That is something hard to evaluate, and I would never feel so confident of myself that I could say whether he or she should have stayed or not. There were also cases I could point to where families came back.

THE REWARD OF A TEMPLE

During the forty years of the German Democratic Republic a major problem members of the Church faced was their inability to attend the temple and receive temple ordinances.

A Temple in Our Country! — Elke Schulze

On Sunday, October 10, 1982, our entire family was together—my parents [Günter and Hannelore Schulze], my brothers Olaf and Bernd with their wives Heidrun and Maja [Ortlieb]—and our papa invited us to go with him on a drive, an outing, on the following Saturday. Of course, the questions began then: “Where?” “Will we need to pack a lunch?” “What should we wear?” “How far

are we going?” But we got no answer to any of these questions out of him. He just sat there silently smiling. We tried our questions out on Mom, but she just said, “I’m sorry, don’t ask me. I’ve just heard about this for the first time myself.” That seemed somewhat strange to us, since our parents nearly always did things together. Suddenly we were all talking about a “pilgrimage,” but no one knew where we were going, how far, or when we were coming back.

In the course of the week, my brothers called Papa to find out when we would be leaving. The week went by much too slowly to satisfy my curiosity. Finally it was Saturday, October 16, 1982. Our pilgrimage began at 9:30 A.M. When we were all seated in the car trying to guess which direction we would be going, we soon found ourselves on the little highway leading over to Freiberg. At a special conference held on August 29 that year, the Freiberg Stake had been organized. The stake president [Frank Apel] lived in Freiberg, but why were we going over to see him, or would we be going further? No. Papa stopped the car outside the city overlooking a small, rising piece of ground surrounded by a hedge and bordered by a small sports field. We all got out. We crossed the deserted street and walked out onto a large field. At the far end of the field, we could see a small housing development.

Papa became very serious, and with tears in his eyes he put his arm around Mama’s shoulder and said to us, “On this piece of ground, a new chapel will be built for the Freiberg Ward—and—a temple of the Lord.” It was unbelievable. A temple in our country! He then explained to us when the construction would begin and where the buildings would stand. We were speechless, and then the words from my patriarchal blessing came to mind: “You will experience the covenants, the holy covenants in the house of the Lord, which are necessary.” Now this promise was going to be fulfilled so soon? I had often thought of these words. What possibility would I ever have of going to a temple—unless it would be after I was old enough to retire. This promise, which had always seemed something far, far off in the future, would now be fulfilled before any of the others. It was all so wonderful!

Then Papa said to me, “Elke, now you can understand why I could not satisfy your curiosity, but had to be silent. I was not

even allowed to tell Mama. Since 1978 negotiations have been going on between the Church and representatives of our government, and we—the mission presidency of the Dresden Mission (Papa was second counselor at that time; Henry Burkhardt was president)—gave President Monson our word that we would not discuss this with anyone until the prophet made an official announcement about the building of the Freiberg temple. And that is what he did at the fall general conference.”

I was so proud of Papa. Mom didn't even know, and she had never asked him about it in spite of the many rumors that were going around. I had often thought to myself, Papa must know, he works for the Church. And after he told me, I was ashamed of myself because of my curiosity. And then Papa answered all of the many questions that were buzzing around in our heads. In the true sense of the word, this had been a wonderful and beautiful pilgrimage for us. We were very happy.

The ground breaking took place in the spring of 1984, and the construction on these beautiful buildings began.

The beautiful time of the open house was June 1-16, 1985, and I had the privilege of doing “temple duty.” I helped people get their overshoes on and off in front of the temple, or I helped maintain silence in the temple, or I helped do missionary work in the chapel and on the temple grounds. It was a beautiful time of service and sacrifice. On a single day, there were seventy thousand visitors, and in all, ninety thousand people stood up to five hours in the rain and storm in terrible weather in order to see our temple. The earlier prayer of Apostle Monson as he dedicated this country, that the people would come and ask about the gospel, was now being fulfilled.

The laying of the cornerstone of the temple was held on June 28, and dedicatory sessions were held on June 29 and 30, 1985. It was so wonderful to see the General Authorities and to hear everything and to be permitted to participate!

Thursday, July 4, 1985, was a beautiful, sunny day. This was the day on which the members of the Dresden Ward were permitted to go to the temple for the first time. My mother had a responsibility in the nursery, and so I went through the temple alone. I needed a lot of strength, and I received it as it beamed forth from



Open house for the Freiberg Germany Temple. June 1–16, 1985, long lines of people waited their turn to tour the temple, sometimes in rainy weather. Elke Schulze was one of the Saints who helped host the visitors. Courtesy Elke and Manfred Schwabe.

the brothers and sisters in the temple. It was so beautiful to see all of the members of our ward united there together.

It is beautiful to receive the blessings of the temple. Since that day, I have been to the temple often to do work for the dead, and it is also beautiful to do something for others. But the thing that has brought me the greatest happiness has been that I have been able to feel a peace, a calmness, and a security about my own future. Because now I know that if we are true to our Heavenly Father then all of the promises he has given us will be fulfilled.

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Cutting the Last Hay

She stands on a tractor that pulls a swather, floating,
careening softly over purple heads of alfalfa,
silver under the harvest moon.
She balances on the grating over the axle,
her arm across her father's shoulders.
They orbit a vast field, spiraling in to its undisclosed center.
At each corner she and her father observe a station of their faith.
She pulls the hand clutch to her, and he disengages the swather blade,
spinning the wheel to pivot the tractor, not braking.
This is the rhythm of their worship. North, East, South, West.
Sometimes she leans against the wheelguard
on the long passages between corners.
The metal of the wheelguard sweats with dewfall.
There she traces fine rust etchings that seem to whisper to her.
Sometimes, the field ahead of the cutter bar grows a furrow—
a running pheasant.
Her father brakes for pheasants when he sees them—look there, he says.
Often she sees only bent alfalfa closing on their passing.
They never fly—and some crouch before the blade.
She considers the moon.
At times she feels vertigo or dozes.
Several times she dozes, sometimes missing her part with the clutch.
And on one long passage, her father stops,
takes both her hands in his one and swings her free of the wheel,
to the ground.
She crosses the ditch. A meager fall stream speaks in its bottom.
She follows it to a weir gate
where the water is high enough to drink with grace.
She is tired and has not reached the center,
but she is glad to have seen pheasants running,
cleaving the fields under a harvest moon.

—Warren Hatch

Warren Hatch won the 1995 Eisteddfod Crown Competition.



Joseph Riddle as Hugo Huebener and Blaine Sundrud as the Interrogator. The BYU Theatre production of Thomas F. Rogers's *Huebener*, directed by Ivan Crosland, 1992.

Whither Mormon Drama? Look First to a Theatre

We need drama that looks with clear eyes at the Mormon world while occasionally seeing beyond to celestial glory. But such a drama would require a subsidized theatre to nurture it.

Eric Samuelson

The history of Latter-day Saint involvement in the fine and performing arts is long and distinguished. While American Puritanism was almost unanimous in its rejection of the stage—particularly in New England—both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young held remarkably enlightened views of dramatic art. Nauvoo boasted a small hall called “the Fun House,” which was used for performances, and the lower room of Nauvoo’s Masonic hall was likewise used as a stage.¹ Brigham Young often mentioned church opposition to “pastimes and amusements” as a distinguishing feature of the apostate Protestant tradition of his youth.² Brother Brigham was a great fan of the theatre, even appearing in Thomas A. Lyne’s Nauvoo production of a popular melodrama of the day, August von Kotzebue’s *Pizzaro*.³ President Young’s support for the theatre led to the 1861–62 construction of the Salt Lake Theatre, one of the most important theaters of the period in the American West. And of course, Church presidents ever since have strongly supported various kinds of youth theatre, road shows, pageants, drama festivals, and other similar theatrical and quasi-theatrical activities.⁴

Given this remarkably supportive history, LDS playwrights have in recent decades begun to entertain thoughts of creating a more substantial body of dramatic literature. In fact, this dream of a Mormon drama was prophesied by Elder Orson F. Whitney, who talked of the coming of a “Mormon Shakespeare” and spoke of a dramatic literature “whose top shall touch heaven,”⁵ a prophecy

which has been echoed by Elder Boyd K. Packer, President Spencer W. Kimball,⁶ and others. As a result, a number of Mormon writers and scholars—myself included—have dared to share the hope that someday we will be able to point with pride to plays of genuine substance and interest, written by and perhaps, but not necessarily, about Mormons; plays which unapologetically demonstrate the richness and profundity of the teachings of our prophets, while honestly and forthrightly exploring elements of our culture which fall short of those teachings. We hope in time to have a drama with sufficient universality and power to become as much a part of the canon of world drama as the plays of Sophocles, Shakespeare, or Shaw, or, perhaps more accurately, we hope that as the canon expands, room will be found in it for plays with Mormonism at their center, as, in fact, Elder Whitney's prophecy suggests. With characteristic Mormon optimism, we have managed to cling to the hope, in the face of all existing evidence, that such a drama will someday be written and performed.

At the same time, when we honestly and objectively assess the present state of Mormon playwriting, we must admit that we seem to be as far as ever from realizing such a dream. I remember my astonishment and pride when, as an undergraduate playwriting student at Brigham Young University, I attended a production of Tom Rogers's fine play *Huebener*; and my dismay when I realized that for most of the Mormon public at large the apex of our achievement in this field was *Saturday's Warrior*. When I joined the faculty at Brigham Young University in 1992, my colleagues pointed with pride to a recent revival of *Huebener*, while acknowledging with dismay the commercial success of the recent videotape of *Saturday's Warrior*.⁷ Small wonder that a flyer advertising the 1993 conference of the Association for Mormon Letters suggested that someone take up the question: Mormon Drama, Whither or Wither?

Certainly, the Mormon Shakespeare will come in God's good time; we must have patience, and we must continue to hope. But we must also begin doing what we can to prepare the way for future genius. Perhaps we must serve in the role of artistic Eliases for the Shakespeare who will come. Yet, when I look at the question of building a Mormon drama today, I feel a greater sense of urgency than ever before. As the Church moves into greater prominence in

American and world society, I am convinced that we, as a people and a culture, must begin defining ourselves dramatically.

The difficulty is not, I acknowledge, that we lack dramatic and theatrical forms that express our culture. All those road shows and pageants do serve to define us; some aspects of Mormon culture have indeed produced their dramatic double. But the culture such works reveal—a culture of kitsch, spectacle, and bombast—poorly represents either the genuine spirituality of the gospel or the kind of profound insight into the human condition the gospel provides. Surely we can do better. If we do not at least make the effort, I am concerned that Mormonism could be perceived as trivial and sentimental or, worse, that outsiders might view the childishness of Mormon drama as masking something genuinely oppressive. I am arguing for a drama educated adults can take seriously.

Such a drama could well include searching examinations of Mormon society—plays that explore the culture while affirming the faith. By the same token, one of the more significant recent Mormon plays, James A. Bell's 1993 award-winning *Prisoner*, does not directly deal with Mormonism at all. Bell's fine examination of the lives of American prisoners in Vietnam is nonetheless a "Mormon drama" because it clearly reflects Bell's beliefs as a Latter-day Saint. Thus, I am arguing for the emergence of two kinds of Mormon drama: first, plays written by Mormons that deal with specifically Mormon characters, situations, or issues and second, plays that do not use Mormonism as subject matter, but do reveal thematically the values and ideals of their Mormon authors.

Of course, a third kind of "Mormon drama" also exists: plays which are written by non-LDS playwrights and which treat Mormon themes or characters. Generally, we ought to welcome the searching examination of our culture and beliefs from those outside both. But human nature, as well as wisdom, prompts us to view such works with a humility tempered by skepticism. Surely we are justified in looking at plays that attempt to define us and seeing how well the definition fits.

This question of cultural definition and the future of Mormon drama becomes even more urgent when we consider the recent, highly publicized success of Tony Kushner's Pulitzer Prize-winning two-part epic *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on American Themes*.⁸



“Shiblon, thou art avenged.”



Welcome to Zarahemla.

Scenes from a road production of *Corianton*. The play, written by Mormon Orestes Utah Bean, opened in the Salt Lake Theatre in 1902 and was presented there annually for several years. The play was a great success locally but, when taken to New York, was panned by critics. A flowery melodrama, *Corianton* was more pageantry than significant drama. The photographs are from a poster for a proposed movie, which was never produced. Courtesy Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

Angels in America: A Case Study on the Need for Mormon Drama

Angels in America is perhaps the most celebrated American play in recent memory. The first half of Kushner's seven-hour marathon, subtitled *Millennium Approaches*, won nearly every major award or honor available: Drama Critics Circle Award, a Tony, and the Pulitzer Prize. While the second half, *Perestroika*,⁹ generally was not as well received, it likewise won the Tony, and much of the criticism of the play was based on a premature and unsuccessful preview in Los Angeles; its New York reception in December 1993 was far more positive. While it has become axiomatic to say, as Robert Brustein did, that the two parts together have "received unanimous critical praise at every step in [their] journey,"¹⁰ this perception is not true; a great many critics have been ambivalent toward both plays, and a few (most notably the acerbic John Simon of *New York* and Richard Grenier of *The National Review*) have been actively hostile. Nonetheless, even those critics who have disliked *Angels* have agreed that *Angels'* critical and popular success has established it as a genuine phenomenon: "a landmark in American theatre";¹¹ "the most important play in a generation";¹² "the biggest, most intelligent, most passionate American play in recent memory";¹³ and "the most thrilling American play in years."¹⁴

The play's success has been particularly remarkable given the subjects with which it deals: AIDS, homosexuality, legal and political aspects of gay rights, Reagan Republicanism, New Age theology, and Mormonism. Unlike such important American plays as John Guare's *Six Degrees of Separation*, whose two Mormon characters are dealt with in a perfunctory fashion,¹⁵ Kushner weaves his version of Mormon history, Mormon theology, Mormon cosmology, and Mormon social attitudes into the essential fabric of his play. Three of the play's main characters are Mormon, and they talk directly about their beliefs—or lack thereof. One of the central characters is an active LDS attorney whose main conflict is the struggle between his faith and his homosexuality. Several key scenes in the play take place in the LDS visitors' center in New York. Finally, much of the plot of *Perestroika* paraphrases the

Joseph Smith pamphlet: a young man, confused about religious issues, is visited by an angel, who gives him a holy book, the contents of which are intended to form the basis for his prophetic message. Mormon themes and concerns make powerful dramatic material in the hands of a skilled playwright.

Nevertheless, Kushner's cosmology is, to a large degree, a distortion of LDS cosmology, although the play is not anti-Mormon in the sense that, say, the film *The Godmakers* is. And while some scenes in the play would certainly cause most Mormons to wince, to say the least, Kushner treats his Mormon characters compassionately and their beliefs sympathetically. At the same time, Kushner is a self-proclaimed leftist gay activist; his obvious agendas and his sometimes offensive misunderstandings of Mormon theology and culture serve as a prime exhibit of the need for a rich and perceptive Mormon drama. In order to grasp both the problems and the potentials presented by this situation, a basic understanding of Kushner's efforts and errors is needed.

Angels centers on two groups of characters living in New York City. First, the play discusses the complex relationships between three gay men: Prior Walter, the play's central prophetic figure, who has been afflicted by AIDS; his lover, Louis Ironson, a sensitive Jewish intellectual who finds himself unable to deal with the pain and mess of Prior's illness and yet is racked with guilt when he leaves his friend; and Belize, a wisecracking Black nurse, close friend and confidant to both men. The second group consists of Joe Pitts, an LDS attorney and conservative Republican, who is struggling with his own homosexuality; his wife, Harper, a desperately lonely Mormon woman who has become a Valium addict; and Joe's mother, Hannah, a strong-willed woman who sells her home in Salt Lake and moves to New York when Joe tells her of his sexual confusion. These two groups are tied together by two other main characters, one actively evil and one good. First of these characters is the historical Roy Cohn, former attorney to Senator Joseph McCarthy. Over the course of the play, Cohn battles and succumbs to AIDS. Portrayed as an amoral, monomaniacal power grubber, Cohn is Joe's mentor and friend. He also becomes a patient under Belize's care. The second linking character, particularly in *Perestroika*, is an angel who becomes a focal point of the play as she visits both Prior and Hannah.

These characters interact in a number of ways; some interactions are realistically portrayed, and others involve fantasy, dream states, and other elements of magical realism. On the mundane level, Joe leaves Harper and meets Louis, who is distraught over having left Prior; Joe and Louis have an affair. Joe has a number of scenes with Roy Cohn, in which Roy tries to persuade Joe to take a job in Washington, D.C.; Joe refuses because of his concern over Harper's health (a concern which does not prevent his relationship with Louis). Later Belize nurses Roy, who has used his contacts to acquire a personal hoard of AZT; Belize and Louis steal the medicine, and use it to nurse Prior. At the visitors' center, Hannah meets Prior, who has become very ill indeed, and in her best brusque, sergeant-major fashion, nurses him back to health.

Other meetings and connections are less prosaic. Early in *Millennium Approaches*, for example, Harper and Prior meet in each other's dreams, and have the following conversation:

- HARPER: Valium. I take Valium. Lots of Valium . . . It's terrible. Mormons are not supposed to be addicted to anything. I'm a Mormon.
- PRIOR: I'm a homosexual.
- HARPER: Oh! In my church we don't believe in homosexuals.
- PRIOR: In my church we don't believe in Mormons (*Millennium* 1.7).

Later in this scene, each has a revelation about the other: Prior, that Harper's husband is gay; Harper, that Prior will be visited by an angel. Both of these revelations turn out to be true.

While the dream-like, visionary quality of the play gives it much of its theatrical interest, Kushner is perhaps even more appealing in his exploration of the mutual misunderstandings and attempts at genuine communication between these flawed but richly human characters. In *Perestroika*, when Prior discovers that his formidable but loyal friend Hannah is Mormon, she tells him a somewhat distorted version of the Joseph Smith story. They then have the following conversation:

- PRIOR: . . . that's preposterous, that's . . .
- HANNAH: It's not polite to call other people's beliefs preposterous.

He had great need of understanding. Our Prophet. His desire made prayer. His prayer made an angel. The angel was real. I believe that.

PRIOR: I don't. And I'm sorry but it's repellent to me. So much of what you believe. . . .

HANNAH: What do I believe?

PRIOR: I'm a homosexual. With AIDS. I can just imagine what you. . . .

HANNAH: No you can't. Imagine. The things in my head. You don't make assumptions about me, mister; I won't make them about you.

PRIOR: Fair enough . . . (*Perestroika* 4.6).

Kushner creates a cast full of interesting, fully fleshed-out human beings who are quite unforgettable in their humanity. The Mormon characters, on the other hand, while perfectly rounded, are much less convincing as Mormons. Kushner is, for example, remarkably successful in describing a close-knit, mutually supportive gay community in New York. But he seems to discount the possibility of an equally supportive, close-knit support system among Mormons in New York. Joe and Harper seem to live in a vacuum; not only their beliefs, but their lives form in complete solitude. Joe talks like an active member, but without reference to Church callings or service. The depressed and Valium-addicted Harper is a compellingly drawn woman. Compelling, yet not altogether convincing. While I do not mean to suggest that lonely Mormons do not exist or that loneliness is not a Mormon problem, for her to be left so completely alone as Kushner describes it would, to put it in the most banal of terms, require that at least seven people in her ward have not been doing their jobs (bishop, Relief Society president, elder's quorum president, visiting teachers, and home teachers). Of course, such a thing is possible; there are wards where the organization struggles. Nor do I mean to imply that a deeply disturbed woman would be all right if only her home teachers would visit her regularly. But when Harper declares that she is *completely* alone, that *no one* ever visits her, she is not describing the usual

experience of Mormon communities outside the Wasatch Front. One wonders, in fact, just why Kushner so strenuously avoids any depiction of the larger Mormon community.

These are not Kushner's only cultural errors. Hannah, for example, is described as an active LDS woman, at least active enough to be employed by the LDS visitors' center, but Kushner also describes her smoking. In an early scene with Roy Cohn, Joe asks Roy to stop taking the Lord's name in vain. But both Joe and Harper regularly profane the name of the Savior. Hannah sells her home on the east bench in Salt Lake City for forty thousand dollars. Given that location and the mid-eighties Salt Lake City real estate market, a sum four or five times that amount would be closer to reality.

These errors call into question how well Kushner knows Mormon culture, a crucial point, given the remarkably subtle distortions of Mormon theology that become part of his cosmology. Certainly in the one scene of the play that most members of the Church would find the most difficult to take, Kushner blasphemes quite knowingly. In this scene, a sexual encounter between Joe and Louis, Joe wears nothing but his temple garments, which he calls his "second skin" (*Perestroika* 3.3). Again, Kushner seems to understand Mormon theology, without understanding the culture. The image of the temple garment as a second skin is an insightful one, especially when equated with a lifetime of belief. But what Kushner does not seem to understand is the seriousness, for a Mormon, of any sexual encounter outside of marriage. Kushner misses the significant fact that Joe, an endowed member of the Church, has violated his covenants in his affair with Louis and could very well be excommunicated.

Perhaps most significantly, Kushner creates (especially in *Perestroika*, in which Prior encounters the Angel) a very peculiar and specific cosmology for the play which echoes and distorts LDS doctrine. The Angel gives Prior a book to read and asks him to make the book the basis of his doctrine. Briefly, the Angel tells Prior that God abandoned heaven immediately following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. The angels have been trying unsuccessfully to run things in God's absence; and as a result, humans have been sliding gradually downward towards a final catastrophic destruction.

The angels' message to Prior, therefore, is one of stagnation—stasis. He (and through him, everyone) is told to stop moving. Kushner's heaven is more than a little tongue-in-cheek; and in a play with so many LDS references and connections, it is difficult not to see a kind of vestigial Mormonism in the cosmology as well. While Kushner's intention is clearly part and parcel with his political agenda—showing even heaven under the thrall of malign 1980s conservatism—it jibes poorly with Mormon theology, for one of the remarkable differences between Mormon and other Christian concepts of the afterlife is precisely the Mormon insistence that Heaven is *not* static, but a place of eternal progression.

Even more offensive are the depictions of the Angel herself. Kushner seems unable to imagine heaven or heavenly beings in any other than sexual terms. Every time a character in the play is visited by the Angel—Prior frequently and Hannah once—they immediately have what Kushner describes as an enormous orgasm. The Angel herself is described as having multiple male and female sex organs, and heaven is portrayed as a place of ceaseless sexual activity. This echoes a typical anti-Mormon distortion of Mormon cosmology. Such distortions have, of course, no scriptural justification, and, to his credit, Kushner does not describe it as a Mormon idea. It is nonetheless disturbing to see so crude an anti-Mormon theme appear in a play which claims to treat Mormonism evenhandedly.

In many ways, *Angels in America* is an exceptionally difficult play for a Mormon to assess. But in other ways, the play preaches a remarkable compassion and forgiveness for all its flawed human characters and ends in a note of optimism and charity. Prior's last line, "Let the great work begin," could very well serve as a clarion call for LDS ideals of freedom, progression, and change. Tony Kushner is a genuinely brilliant playwright and one whose intentions seem basically benign. His distortions of Mormon cosmology are all part of his larger political agenda and are not directed toward the destruction of the Church. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that non-Mormon viewers of the play would gain any kind of a positive appreciation of Mormon theology or culture from it. Indeed, the play's distortions and blasphemies could seriously damage the mission of the Church.

I have not belabored this point in order to wring my hands over Kushner's artistic liberties or to offend by spelling out the realities of this situation in some detail, but only to argue that such productions show clearly just how important is the creation of a genuine Mormon drama. While I don't know just how much Kushner has read in Mormon scripture, he has been exposed to at least one Mormon attempt at cultural self-definition: the visitors' center dioramas. And his parody of one diorama skewers it precisely. Lacking any more substantive Mormon theatrical expression as a frame of reference, I am not surprised that Kushner assumed that the dioramas express Mormon culture as a whole and found Latter-day Saints such convenient sitting ducks for his dialectic. Nor can I blame him for not taking seriously a culture which, if judged solely on the face of existing theatrical evidence, does not take itself seriously either.

To me, the distortions and blasphemies of *Angels in America* profoundly illustrate our need for a drama that offers a counter vision, a more culturally accurate frame of reference for audiences and playwrights both. But that drama should also have a richness and subtlety to match or even surpass the talented work of the Kushners of today. It should be a drama of genuine insight, a drama that looks with clear eyes at the world while occasionally seeing beyond to celestial glory.

The Possibility of Great Mormon Drama

Can such a dream become reality? Or is great art based on equivocation and iconoclasm? Does the very fervor of our religious commitment hinder a genuine artistic expression or accomplishment? Certainly the makers of dioramas and pageants do so with earnest sincerity and devotion, with the very best of intentions. Is their devotion a barrier to more substantive expression?

The question is an intriguing one. While such Jewish novelists as Chaim Potok and Isaac Bashevis Singer are able to represent their faith and culture unapologetically without lapsing into sentimentality or dogmatism, they are also not afraid to be poignant and critical; their task is not to promote Judaism, but to explore the beauty and spirituality as well as the tensions and difficulties

within Jewish lives and communities. Drama intended to proselyte has its place, but drama by its very nature deals with the beneficially molding pressures of struggle and strife. Our Mormon dramatists, when they arrive, will not write works with a direct missionary purpose or application, nor should we expect them to do so. Perhaps we can find a way to balance works that serve a valuable missionary function, such as the *Hill Cumorah Pageant*, with works more like that essential Mormon Ur-drama, the temple endowment ceremony, which includes chastisement, conflict, and renewed commitment.

The Development of Playwrights

In fiction and in poetry, we can point to LDS works of genuine accomplishment: Patricia Nelson Limerick's recent Tanner lecture at the 1994 meeting of the Mormon History Association cited "a remarkable and impressive flowering of Mormon literature," as evidence for the creation of "a clear cultural identity," all expressing what she called "Mormon ethnicity."¹⁶ I find it significant, however, that so perceptive an observer as Limerick could point to few if any works of Mormon drama to prove her point.

Once again, drama—an art form that is unusually indicative of culture—remains the poor stepchild of Mormon letters. And so we must ask the question, Why have none of the writers who have shown promise in drama ever progressed beyond mere potential? I am convinced that the fault lies neither in a lack of talent nor in an excess of religiosity. Rather, our best writers in this field have, in my view, suffered from the lack of a sustaining theatrical environment in which they could flourish.

Playwrights, unlike composers or romantic poets, tend to develop in their middle to late thirties. Aside from the occasional Georg Buchner, there are few examples of theatrical Mozarts astounding the world as child prodigies. Playwrights seem to require a greater knowledge of the world and their own societies, of how human beings are likely to behave and what they are likely to say in response to the universal travails of the human experience, than artists in other fields. Ibsen's first masterpieces, *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, were written when he was thirty-seven and thirty-eight

years old. His great prose dramas, beginning with *Doll's House*, were the products of a man in his fifties. Chekhov wrote *The Seagull* at thirty-six, and Shaw wrote his first play, *Widower's Houses*, when he was thirty-six as well.¹⁷ Playwrights who produced their first masterpieces after the age of thirty include Strindberg, Arthur Miller, Tennessee Williams, Eugene O'Neill, Molière, Shakespeare, and even Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripedes. Apparently, the crucial period in the development of a playwright is the years from the age of eighteen to thirty-five; mature playwriting follows.

In the playwriting program of Brigham Young University's Department of Theatre and Film, we see a constant stream of young writers who show tremendous promise in their early twenties. I assume the same is true of LDS students at other universities. But when we look at their subsequent careers, we find they turn to writing novels or movie scripts if they are lucky, while most pursue other walks of life. The environment we have tried to create at BYU has no corollary outside our program. While we can provide playwrights with a fairly rigorous theatrical education, we cannot provide career opportunities for them following graduation. And no outlets exist with professional actors and directors capable of, or interested in, communicating the mature vision of a major Mormon playwright while remunerating such an artist sufficiently for him or her to survive. Those few LDS playwrights who have attempted careers in this difficult field—Neil Labute, Elizabeth Hansen, Julie Boxx Boyle, Tim Slover, Susan Lewis—would all, I think, attest to just how difficult mere professional survival has been and just how many professional compromises have been necessary.

Great Drama Emerges from Theatre

What such playwrights need is a theater. The great eras of the world's dramatic literature have tended to come after the establishment of theaters and theatre companies sufficiently robust to support them. Further, those theaters have always been subsidized to some degree—either financially underwritten or politically supported—and the reality is that the need for such subsidies is greater now than ever. In short, we will never develop a satisfying Mormon drama until we have established and supported a theater

from which such drama might emerge. The Mormon Shakespeare needs a Mormon Globe.

This point has ample support from theatre history. I have mentioned Shakespeare, but similarly, can we imagine Marlowe without the Rose? Can we think of Shaw without Archer, Grein, and the Independent Theatre? Would Molière have been possible without the Hotel de Bourgogne? Would Eugene O'Neill have emerged apart from the Provincetown Players? Can we think of Synge and O'Casey without the Abbey Theatre? Chekhov without the Moscow Art Theatre? Even today, the lifeblood of the American theatre is such developmental theaters as New Dramatists or Playwright's Horizons or the Eureka, which have been instrumental in nurturing and supporting such outstanding contemporary playwrights as Wendy Wasserstein, August Wilson, Terence McNally, and Kushner.

As we seek historical blueprints for our own efforts, three great theaters seem to me to be particularly instructive: Den Norske Scene, Ibsen's theater in Bergen, Norway; the Abbey, the Irish theater of the early part of this century; and the Moscow Art Theatre. All these theatre movements came from societies which seem strikingly similar to Mormon society of today. Each of these explosions of dramatic significance was the product of what had been regarded as a cultural backwater; each came from an area and culture from which a renaissance must have seemed most unlikely. In each of these periods of dramatic achievement, the major artists quite specifically and intentionally sought to explore and represent their own cultural heritage, just as our Mormon self-consciousness must certainly find expression in our drama. Such writers as Ibsen, Chekhov, and Synge wrote plays of universal appeal and truthfulness; that is why we continue to study them today. Yet each did so within the confines of very specific cultural matrices. And in each of these eras, the playwrights of consequence were the products of theaters specifically created with the intention of encouraging them.

To a very large degree, the establishment of those theaters represented something of a leap of faith. When Frank Fay, William Butler Yeats, and Augusta Gregory established the Abbey, they did so in the hope that such playwrights as Synge and O'Casey would

emerge, as in fact happened. By the same token, Nemirovich-Danchenko and Stanislavsky hoped their Art Theatre would attract talented young playwrights such as eventually emerged in the persons of Chekhov and Gorky. Chekhov had decided to give up playwriting altogether when *The Seagull* failed in an 1896 production by the mainstream Alexandrinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg, but his career revived with his storied partnership with the Moscow Art Theatre.

Both the Moscow Art Theatre and the Abbey were equally fortunate financially. The Abbey, of course, succeeded only because of the largess of the wealthy and eccentric A. E. Horniman. By the same token, the Moscow Art Theatre was saved by the generosity of Savva Morozov and other wealthy patrons. While both the Abbey and the MAT were intended as financial ventures and the hope was that both would become economically self-supporting, the fact remains that both theaters received significant patronage in their early years and survive today through state subsidies.

Ibsen strikes me as the exception that proves the rule. Although he did not write for any specific theater during his mature period (his primary source of income throughout his life was the sale of his plays as books), he was sponsored and supported as a young writer.¹⁸ Ibsen would almost certainly have been condemned to the life of an obscure country doctor or university pedant without the fortuitous intervention in 1851 of an eccentric, self-taught violin virtuoso, Ole Bull. Bull became obsessed with the idea of establishing a Norwegian national theatre, free from the pervasive influence of Danish culture and language and decided, on the scantiest of evidence, that the young Ibsen was just the man to serve as artistic director. Bull founded his theater and shortly thereafter lost interest in it, moved to the United States, and attempted to found a quasi-religious communal society with himself as prophet and mayor. Nonetheless, Bull's money and other private donations kept the theater solvent, and Ibsen spent the next six years learning his craft as a writer and director. Both of the main Ibsen biographers, Halfdan Koht and Michael Meyer, agree that it is nearly impossible to imagine Ibsen's success as a playwright in later years without the experience he gained as a young man in Bull's theater.¹⁹ During the crucial years of his development

as a writer, he was employed as a playwright and director. He was able to make ends meet while perfecting his craft.

Of course, the idea that Mormonism might produce playwrights of the quality of Ibsen, Synge, or Chekhov seems arrogant or preposterous today. But could the impartial theatrical observer of 1870 have possibly predicted the course of the subsequent half century of dramatic history? Could it have seemed likely the exhausted and impoverished Ireland of Synge's youth would ever have mustered the resources for any real theatrical achievement? Given the brutal czarist censorship of Russia's previous half century, who would have imagined the Moscow Art Theatre would transform the world's theatrical practice? When Ibsen wrote *Catiline* and submitted it to the Christiania Theatre in 1850, it was the first new play that theater had received from a Norwegian in eight years. Could anyone have foreseen that the author of *Catiline* would today be lauded as the Father of Modern Drama? I would like to believe Mormon drama may be standing on a similar threshold.

While theatrical practice has changed a great deal in the past hundred years, the change is towards heterogeneity, developmental theatres, and theatres of cultural self-definition, with an explosion of Hispanic theatre companies, African-American troupes, and other theaters serving an increasingly diverse theater-going community. While these theatres often appear in their infancy somewhat narrow in focus and strategy, they often not only move into, but redefine the mainstream as they mature. There is no reason why Mormon drama cannot do likewise.

For all these reasons and more, it is evident that, if there ever is to be a Mormon drama, the members of the Church—and especially those of some means—must consider the need for a Mormon theatre. Specifically, there needs to be a professional repertory theatre company, charged with the task of discovering and nurturing new playwrights, capable of supporting the best and most creative of our theatre artists, and dedicated above all else to furthering a mature Mormon drama. Certainly no Mormon drama—or any drama of cultural self-definition—can ever arise from the present commercial theatrical establishment, either in Utah or elsewhere. Utah's only professional repertory theatre company, Pioneer Memorial Theatre has received grants from the LDS Foundation for

years, as have most other arts organizations in the state. Yet Pioneer Memorial Theatre has never produced any plays of significance dealing with Mormon culture or society or indeed any original scripts other than adaptations of classics. Even the justly revered Hale Center Theatre has done only three plays in its history dealing with Mormon topics. Drama of lasting quality cannot come from even the most dedicated amateur theatrical ventures. Such a drama only comes from a professional theatre dedicated to discovering it.²⁰

Is such a theatre really necessary? Shouldn't we simply hope that playwrights who happen to be Mormon will write such fine plays that playhouses throughout the world will want to do them? Such a dream is a worthy one. It is also hopelessly naive. Great plays and great playwrights simply do not rise out of a vacuum. Most contemporary plays—in fact, nearly all contemporary theatrical successes—are either commissioned by a theater or come out of playwriting workshops sponsored by theaters.

Again, Kushner's *Angels in America* provides an outstanding example of the kind of nurturing an outstanding but previously unknown contemporary playwright requires. Kushner first workshopped the play at the New York Theatre Workshop, then at the Center Theatre Group/Mark Taper Forum in 1990. It was subsequently performed at the Eureka Theatre company, the British National Theatre, and at the Mark Taper Forum prior to its Broadway opening. Along the way, Kushner received grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Gerbode Foundation, and the Fund for New American Plays.²¹ This is the gestational process of a new play—not just long hours spent hunched over a word processor, but equally long days workshopping in small theatre groups funded by grants.

Film Can Emerge from Successful Drama

In addition to its stage success, one hears persistent rumors that the noted director Robert Altman is planning a film version of *Angels*. Whether or not the Altman film project succeeds, the very fact that it is being discussed at all indicates the way in which a successful stage play can transfer to other media—film or video—that might reach broader audiences.

Another possible model for a Mormon theatre might be found in the work of the famous Swedish director Ingmar Bergman. Bergman began his work as a theatre director and playwright at the Royal Dramatic Theatre in Stockholm (popularly known as Dramaten). He staged his own works at Dramaten and then used the summer months to direct those same works again as films, using the Dramaten company of actors in both projects. I can see many advantages to this approach, including the ability to work with an acting troupe with a cohesive sense of ensemble, the ability to polish material out in one medium before transferring it to another, the relatively low cost of failure on stage as opposed to film, and the fact that a successful play will have already created an audience for a subsequent video or film.²²

Theatre is a literary art form, built on the spoken word. Film is a visual art form, built on the moving image. Film, therefore, provides a very poor platform for the creation of dramatic literature of genuine merit; it tends not to lend itself to a very writer-friendly environment. And the reality is that film tends to be prohibitively expensive, which makes the cost of a single failure enormous. On the other hand, I believe that a successful theatre company can lay a solid and impressive foundation for later successes in film and/or video.

Creating a Mormon Theatre

Cannot the universities provide such support? Could not a Mormon drama arise from professors or students at BYU, the University of Utah, Utah State University, or many other campuses? I think it unlikely. I do not mean to imply universities in our community can do nothing to foster such a drama; on the contrary, I believe they can and ought to do a great deal. But university support can take a play only a certain distance. Nor do I believe that our great writer, when he or she emerges, will be either a student or university faculty member. Teaching is a full-time job, and my experience has been that even in the best of times it is difficult for anyone at a university to spend more than two or three hours a day playwriting. And those hours are usually stolen from family and religious responsibilities in the evenings, at times when would-be writers are hardly at the peak of their artistic powers.

I am quite aware the creation of such a theater involves a certain leap of faith. But I am not invoking the image of *Field of Dreams*—“If you build it, they will come.” Rather, history convinces me that if we do not build it, they will not come. I fully anticipate that starting such a theater will involve a great deal of difficulty, require enormous dedication, and entail considerable sacrifice. And I do acknowledge that the financial support for the establishment of a theater must remain a formidable obstacle. William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen’s 1967 book, *The Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma*,²³ Harold Vogel’s more recent studies of *Entertainment Industry Economics*,²⁴ and particularly Wallace Dace’s *Proposal for a National Theatre*²⁵ suggest that even the most prosperous and successful repertory theaters require an annual subsidy of 50–75 percent of their annual budgets, beyond the initial cost of construction. As Baumol and Bowen conclude in their ground-breaking study twenty-five years ago, “The economic pressures which beset the arts are not temporary—they are chronic. If things are left to themselves, deficits are likely to grow. Any group which undertakes to support the arts can expect no respite. The demands upon its resources will increase, now, and for the foreseeable future.”²⁶

Time has confirmed these conclusions, yet how can Mormon theatre find such subsidies? While the LDS Foundation, a philanthropic arm of the Church, gives grants to several art organizations in the Salt Lake City area, these monies are limited, and direct financial support from the Church is not likely. At the same time, hardly a general conference goes by without some expression of General Authorities’ concern about the deleterious effects of the images and ideas of pop culture. On this score, the concerns of the General Authorities and the concerns of the serious Mormon artistic community are not as far apart as they might seem on the surface.

Finally, a theatre is more than just a building and an acting troupe. A theatre is an audience. Seemingly, there always exists a theatre audience hungry for modestly priced family entertainment. The question is whether an audience exists for a drama that would inevitably treat challenging or difficult subjects or take an unsentimentalized view of Mormon history and society. Effort will be needed to build an audience that will tolerate, even applaud, such challenges.

How can we build this audience? First we must establish a theoretical basis for such a theatre and state it in terms accessible to the Mormon reading public. Numerous books are published providing a gospel perspective on managing one's personal finances or food storage. Little if any writing attempts to find a basis in scripture for a Mormon aesthetic. Even so basic a topic as "protecting one's family from the bad effects of bad television" has seen little scholarly or informed discussion.

Second, of course, Mormon playwrights will need to stretch the boundaries of audience understanding without exceeding the limits of audience acceptability. Such playwriting might not result in the Mormon *Hamlet*; it may, however, result in a Mormon *Cambyzes*, *Gorbaduc*, or *Spanish Tragedy*—dramatic Eliases all. True learning usually involves a degree of discomfort: being corrected by a piano teacher, unlearning bad habits, or admitting prior ignorance. Even Joseph Smith had to first learn that the churches of his youth were wrong. Mormon playwrights, too, as they build an audience, must make room for tough-minded, challenging works and not shy away from inevitable controversy. At the same time, they also need to combine both faith and talent and give no quarter for the impression that Mormon artists are by nature rebellious, at odds with the authorities of the Church. The fact remains that Mormon novelists, essayists, or poets can generally push the boundaries of audience acceptability far further than playwrights can, for, as a popular art form, drama cannot offend too greatly and still survive.

Language and subject matter will be two major pitfalls. The Mormon audience has a strong language taboo; even relatively mild profanity and obscenity are disproportionately disturbing to the Mormon public. While I have enormous admiration for such forthright contemporary playwrights as David Mamet and Sam Shepherd and while obscenity can sometimes serve a legitimate artistic purpose, artists must acknowledge audience concerns. Thus, the use of language solely to shock sets back the cause of Mormon drama as a whole. Likewise, plays that attack or question official Church doctrines are at odds with the objectives of a Mormon theatre. Certainly Mormon playwrights can and ought to deal with tough or controversial cultural subjects. For example, a play dealing with the

plight of battered Mormon women strikes me as responsible and engaging. I would welcome plays discussing suicides among Utah teens; the odd propensity Mormons seem to have for being taken in by con artists; the crowded condition of Utah public schools, or the challenges faced by isolated LDS youth in a non-Mormon high school; the struggles of the single parent Latter-day Saint, or the older single adult; even the issue Tony Kushner explored—the wrenching dilemma of a Mormon homosexual. These all strike me as remarkably rich and promising topics for dramatization. But if charity is the guiding value, then even these topics need to be handled with sensitivity to audience concerns.

The dream of a Mormon drama must be realized step by step, line upon line. If that dream is to become a reality, we must do more than simply write plays, sponsor contests, or deliver papers—although those are helpful steps. Efforts must first be concentrated on the immediate task at hand: the building of an audience, the building of a theatre. Years from now, when a Mormon drama does arise, it will not only articulate, but also constructively transform Mormon culture. It will be a drama of prophetic power and courage. If a Mormon drama is not created within the household of faith, the dramatic role of Mormonism will remain a bit part oddly cast on the stages of strangers and foreigners.

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NOTES

¹Harold I. Hansen, *A History and Influence of the Mormon Theatre from 1839-1869* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1967), 5; Noel A. Carmack, "A Note on Nauvoo Theater," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 1 (1994): 95-100.

²See, for example, John A. Widtsoe, ed., *Discourses of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 238-39.

³Hansen, *A History and Influence of the Mormon Theatre*, 6. Kotzebue's play was translated into English by Richard Sheridan.

⁴For previous discussions of Mormon drama in *BYU Studies*, see Richard G. Ellsworth, "Pro-Mormon Drama," 12 (spring 1972): 336; Eugene England, review of *God's Fools: Plays of Mitigated Conscience*, by Thomas F. Rogers, 26 (summer

1986): 114; Preston R. Gledhill, "JB: Successful Theatre versus 'Godless' Theology," 3 (winter 1961): 9; Arthur Henry King, "Some Notes on Art and Morality," 11 (autumn 1970): 37; Jean Anne Waterstradt, "Making the World a Home: The Family Portrait in Drama," 19 (summer 1979): 501; Lael J. Woodbury, "Mormonism and the Commercial Theatre," 12 (winter 1972): 234; Lael J. Woodbury, "A New Mormon Theatre," 10 (autumn 1969): 85; and Lael J. Woodbury, "A New Mormon Theatre," 16 (autumn 1975): 65.

⁵Boyd K. Packer, *That All May Be Edified* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 276.

⁶See, for example, Edward L. Kimball, ed., *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 393.

⁷I do not mean to denigrate the remarkable popularity of *Saturday's Warrior* nor the genuine impact it has obviously made on the lives of the many for whom it was the first introduction to the gospel. But its clichéd and flatly drawn characters, overt sentimentality, and contrived happy ending disqualify it, in my mind, from genuine distinction as a work of dramatic literature.

⁸Tony Kushner, *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes. Part One: Millennium Approaches* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1992).

⁹Tony Kushner, *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes. Part Two: Perestroika* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1994).

¹⁰Robert Bernstein, "The Great Work Falter," *New Republic*, December 27, 1993, 25.

¹¹John Lahr, "Beyond Nelly," *The New Yorker*, November 23, 1992, 126-30.

¹²William A. Henry III, "Celebrating Gay Anger," *Time*, November 23, 1992, 72-74.

¹³Jack Kroll, "A Seven-Hour Gay Fantasia," *Newsweek*, November 23, 1992, 83.

¹⁴Frank Rich, *The New York Times*, February 2, 1992.

¹⁵Guare does not, in fact, even identify his characters as Mormon, only as being "from Utah."

¹⁶*Deseret News*, May 29, 1994.

¹⁷While Strindberg wrote *Master Olof* in his twenties, his breakthrough plays, *The Father* and *Miss Julie*, came when he was thirty-eight and thirty-nine. Arthur Miller was thirty-two when he wrote *All My Sons* and thirty-four when he wrote *Death of a Salesman*, and Tennessee Williams did not produce his first stage triumph, *The Glass Menagerie*, until he was thirty-four. While Eugene O'Neill began in his mid-twenties, his first major success, *Beyond the Horizon*, came when he was thirty-two. Molière was forty when *The School for Wives* became his first masterpiece, and Shakespeare's greatest works date from the early years of the Globe, 1599-1608, his thirty-fifth through forty-fourth years. Aeschylus did not win the Festival of Dionysus until he was forty or forty-one, and all of the extant plays of Sophocles came after he was fifty. Euripides was at least forty-three when he first won the competition.

¹⁸In addition to his salary as artistic director of the Bergen theatre, he repeatedly received government and private grants which enabled him to research and work, and he received a government pension throughout most of his career.

¹⁹Halvdan Kont, *The Life of Ibsen* (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1931); Michael Meyer, *Ibsen: A Biography* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971).

²⁰The recent opening of the Tuacahn Arts Center in St. George could well lay the foundation for just such a Mormon theatre. The first announced production of Tuacahn, a mammoth pageant-type play called *Utah!* complete with a huge cast and special effects by Disney, is certainly a discouraging sign. But Tuacahn has a number of important advantages, including a superb theatre complex, lavishly funded, run by able people with the very best of intentions. The Tuacahn project is certainly a venture worth watching.

²¹Kushner, *Millennium Approaches*, v-ix.

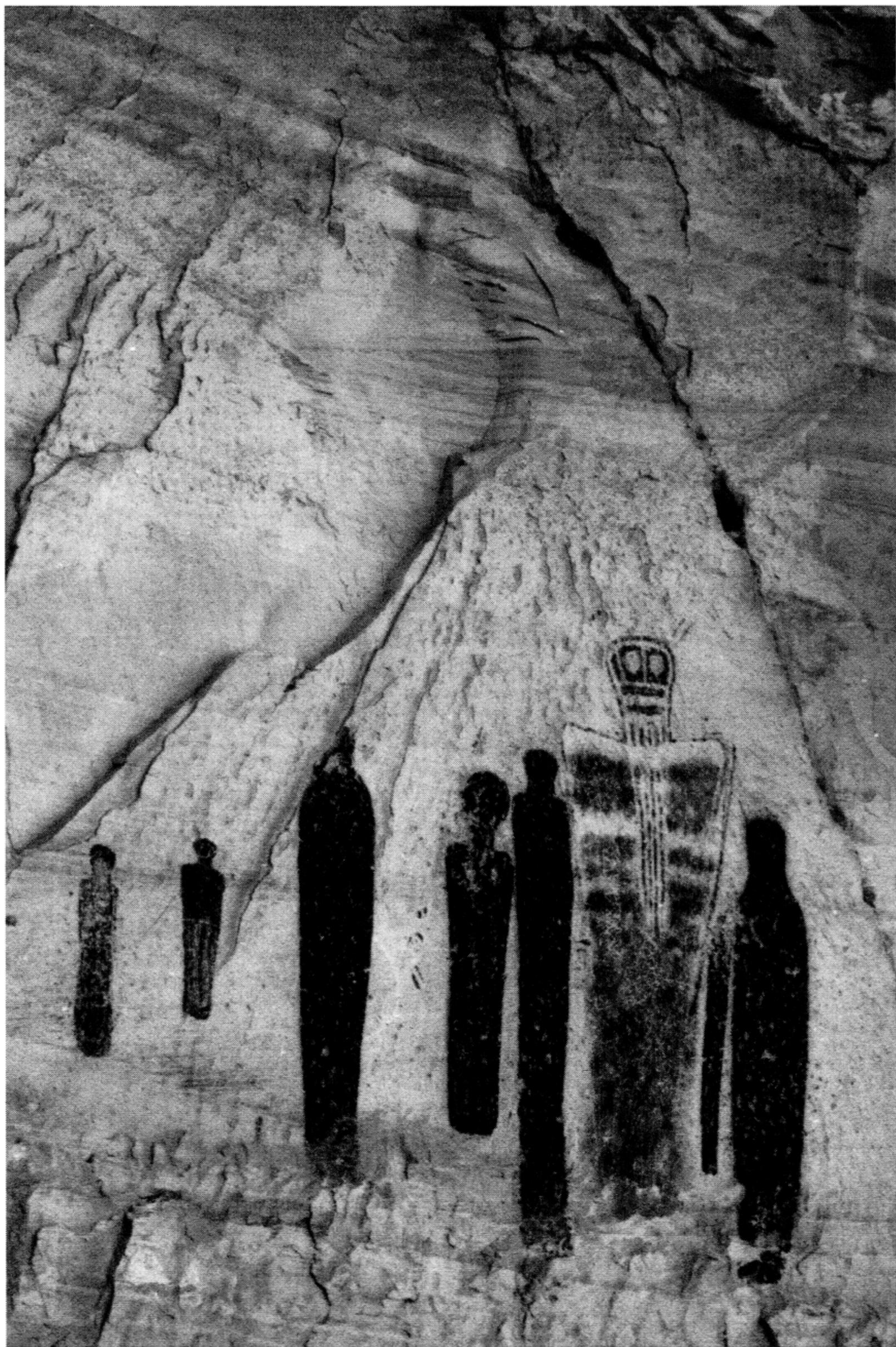
²²I might mention the financial success of the video version of *Saturday's Warrior* in this regard, which has succeeded despite the fact that the video itself is of generally poor quality.

²³William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, *The Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966).

²⁴Harold L. Vogel, *Entertainment Industry Economics: A Guide for Financial Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

²⁵Wallace Dace, *Proposal for a National Theatre* (New York: Richards Rosen, 1978).

²⁶Baumol and Bowen, *The Performing Arts*, 10.



Pictographs in Canyonlands National Park, Utah. Courtesy Lynn M. Radeka.

Old Language

We canyoned in early, on wheels,
and now have little time, we think;
but sandstone pulses red on all sides
and the town, the business of the town,
trails off like a lost thought.

Here is a place of memory.
A small boat streams and arrows us
in deep where sacred datura seeps
on the shoulders of the water
and a salamander like an icon
bronzes in orange clay, orange light.

At last the boat hushes, slows
and brushes cathedral walls
of the Anasazi and the Fremont,
one of which spirited seven figures
here, imagined them large, draped
them sparely, hammered or blooded
them into life, floated or angled
them in mystery.

We have a few hours here.
Box elder trees tendrils the walls,
hanging like unspoken words;
an old wind breathes on the water.
Light flares high on the paintings,
the sun of another near-nighttime,
another arrival back and inward
on the river, in the slickrock,
in the heart of all that is changed
but must not change in this land
that glides us through our deepest dreams.

—Dawn Baker Brimley

Ravens at Island in the Sky Canyonlands, Utah

Some mornings I don't want
to be the planner anymore, to pack the water,
the cameras and binoculars, to read the maps.
I want to stand in one high spot
and be comfortable in mystery
as the unstained figures that rise
for miles—temples with worshippers
cast in reddened stone.

We can't be sure whether what we sense here
is part of desire or fear.
Maybe what we haven't known is that it's all right
to be part of an apparent emptiness—
the unseen landscape between us and the extremes
of horizon, or between this gnarled piñon
and the bottom of the deepest canyons
we have ever seen. What vanishings
would prompt our dreams
if we stayed the night on this ground,
the Milky Way a slush path
above the high, sheer dark?

On the trail back, two ravens startle out
from cedars, their synchronized wingspan so large
we shrink in our tracks
as they sweep into canyon depth
and disappear, literally, into the thin air.
And it feels right to say the word
eternal, to wonder what comes next
on the plain road to Moab.

—Dixie Partridge

Sacred Connections: LDS Pottery in the Native American Southwest

LDS themes expressed via tribal art traditions provide a path to appreciating the Native American artists' connections to the land, the family, and a spirituality in and through all things.

Richard G. Oman

In the fall of 1994, an exhibition, "Sacred Connections, Art and Latter-day Saint Native Americans in the Southwest," opened at the Museum of Church History and Art. Among the scores of objects on exhibit were eight clay pots that express Latter-day Saint themes. This article examines those pots and attempts to put the pottery into a cultural context. Some of the pots were commissioned by the Museum of Church History and Art; all are in its permanent collection.

Latter-day Saints came into contact with Native Americans in the Southwest in the nineteenth century. In 1858, Jacob Hamblin and a small group of fellow missionaries made their first proselyting expedition to Arizona. Initially, their missionary focus was the Hopi, who inhabited a series of dry, windswept mesa tops in northern Arizona. Eventually some Hopi became Latter-day Saints.

Chief Tuba (or Tuvi in Hopi) presided over a small summer village of Moencopi, located about fifty miles west of the main Hopi villages. After he and his wife joined the Church, they spent several months in the St. George area of southern Utah, where they went through the newly completed and dedicated St. George Temple. In 1873, Tuba invited the Mormons to settle near Moencopi. This settlement, named Tuba City in honor of this Hopi chief, was the first Latter-day Saint settlement in Arizona.¹

Since that time the Church has continued to grow among the various tribes of the Southwest, with the largest growth occurring after 1946, when the Church established the Navajo-Zuni Mission (later known as the Southwest Indian Mission) with Ralph Evans as the first mission president. Today there are many LDS chapels, branches, wards, and even a stake among the Southwest Native Americans.²

The Indian Southwest is an area with limited economic resources. Little industry is there other than coal mining and power plants. Low rainfall precludes an extensive agricultural economy. Desert conditions create limits to the livestock-carrying capacity of the fragile ecosystem. Most of the area is distant from any major cities, making urban employment very difficult. Today, one of the most viable economic activities among this people is the arts. Built on cultural and artistic traditions, Native American art is perfectly suited to the limited economic resources of these people because its production requires little or no capital for an artist to begin.

Native American art in the Southwest connects to the land, tribal traditions, the family, and the transcendent spirituality in and through all things. The home is the art school; and the family, the art faculty. The artists use materials that come mostly from the earth. They dig and hand process the clay and use local minerals for dyes, paints, and gemstones. Plants native to the area provide weaving materials for baskets and for some dyes and paints. Sheep provide wool for weaving rugs. The Navajo and Pueblo usually fire their pots in a wood fire, the Hopi use sheep dung, and the Santa Clara use horse dung. The artists' tools are very basic—simple looms, no potters wheels, and usually no kilns. Most of the basic techniques and the decorative designs and forms have ancient roots that relate to tribal traditions. The visual symbols of this art frequently reflect a spiritual world view.

Some Anglo-Americans find in Native American art an antidote to many of the physical and social pathologies in the dominant American culture. This Anglo interest in acquiring Native American art helps give the most competent of the Southwest Native American artists a ready market for their art. For the artists, this market provides a stimulus to continue to produce art whose original functionality has been eclipsed by mass-produced consumer items. (For

example, most Native Americans now use plastic pails instead of large handmade pottery jars for carrying water.) Thus the production of art provides a cottage industry that reinforces cultural roots rather than fragmenting the artists with secularism.

This flourishing contemporary, and yet ancient, Native American art tradition in the Southwest includes many fine Latter-day Saint artists. Their art is rich in religious message, yet the artists frequently express themselves with the visual symbolism of their own cultures. This visual language can be almost as enigmatic to those from a different culture as are unfamiliar verbal symbols.

While we are accustomed to realizing the need for translators in a linguistically diverse Church, we sometimes forget other potential pitfalls in communication. However, once understood, Latter-day Saint art in the Native American Southwest exemplifies spiritual transcendency in a cross-cultural environment. Following is a guide to some of their art pieces, which bond all Latter-day Saints together by celebrating their shared beliefs and spiritual commitments.

***Corn Pot* by Iris Youvella Nampeyo**

***Miniature Corn Pot* by Charlene Youvella**

The elegantly formed *Corn Pot* (see figure 2a) celebrates corn as a unifying symbol. For the Hopi, corn has deep symbolic meaning. Corn is the Hopi “staff of life.” The seeds for corn were first brought to the Hopi by Corn Maiden, who taught them how to plant the corn and who continues to send the necessary rain for the corn when the Hopi pray diligently.³ When a Hopi prays, he or she sprinkles cornmeal on the ground as a sign of reverence before Deity. One of the Hopi clans is the Corn Clan. Iris Youvella Nampeyo is a member of that clan. She signs her pots with an ear of corn.

Hopi potters usually learn by watching their mothers make pots at the kitchen table. Iris Nampeyo learned to make pots while watching her mother, Fannie Nampeyo Polacca. In turn, *Miniature Corn Pot* (see figure 2b), made by Charlene Youvella, Iris Nampeyo’s daughter, shows the obvious influence of the maternal model. Such conscious imitation is typical of folk artists, who sink their roots deeply into their tradition and their family to draw strength. Change happens in any art tradition, but it happens much more slowly among the folk arts of traditional societies.

In this sense, folk art is an artistic world view. For example, much of the avant-garde “fine art” tradition of the West awards critical acclaim to innovation and individualism. Artistic energy often comes from fighting against tradition. The folk art celebration of continuity connects the artists and their work to their societies and other generations. This difference in values is one of the great divides between the world views of the folk art tradition and the contemporary western fine art tradition.

***My Son, Await the Coming of the
Mormon Missionaries* by Thomas Polacca**

Tom Polacca, the grandfather of the artist, was an early Latter-day Saint convert among the Hopi. This remarkable man spoke several languages, was the leader of the Corn Clan, founded a trading post at the foot of First Mesa, established a post office and a school nearby, and was one of the principle Hopi informants for the Smithsonian ethnographer, Walter Jesse Fewkes (1850-1930), in documenting Hopi traditions and ceremonies. A town grew up around his trading post and was named Polacca, Arizona, in his honor. This pot represents the spiritual legacy of Tom Polacca and his family.

When Polacca was an old man, he called his children around him to tell them about his faith. He bore his testimony of the gospel and told his children that someday the Mormons would return with the book that told the story of their people. He made them promise that they would not join any other Christian church, but would wait for the Mormons.

On the pot (see figure 3), Tom Polacca is the man praying. A feather, the Hopi symbol for prayer, is coming from his mouth. The stylized eagle above him represents the Holy Ghost, and the figure behind him represents his guardian spirit. The Book of Mormon and the Bible are shown because they are the spiritual guides for life. The hills and tree represent the Polacca family ranch, where Tom gave the speech to his family and where Mormon missionaries eventually came to baptize his descendants. The tree also represents the Tree of Life. The footprints represent the visits of President Spencer W. Kimball to the ranch. The stone base with the plaque represents a monument which tells Tom Polacca’s story

at his ranch grave site. The great feathered disk represents the sun, the traditional Hopi symbol for the Lord,⁴ who smiles down on this historical experience.⁵

My Testimony Pot by Gary Polacca

My Testimony Pot (see figure 4) gives Gary Polacca's personal interpretation of part of the Hopi migration pattern, a traditional pattern that has been used by generations of artists in the Polacca family. Migration is an important aspect of Hopi cosmology and history. The Hopi believe that they lived in worlds previous to this one and that they will go to other worlds after they die. They also have a tradition that they migrated across water and then traveled north to their present homelands on the tops of the windswept mesas of northern Arizona.⁶

The kneeling figure is the brother of Jared holding stones in a basket. The Lord (depicted in the traditional Hopi deity symbol of the sun) reaches out his finger to touch the stones to give them light for the Jaredite barges. The barges are entered from the top with a kiva ladder. The numerous figure groups are migrating people; the footprints represent their migration. The two-story buildings link this migration to Polacca's own Hopi people.⁷

The next major figure is Nephi holding the sword of Laban. Above him are feathers representing the communication of the Lord ordering Nephi to slay Laban to obtain the plates of brass. Nephi's family needed these records before they set out on a migration to the promised land.⁸

Gary Polacca is the son of Thomas Polacca. The family continuity in art is readily apparent in the similarity of style of their two pots.

Three Degrees of Glory Pot by Les Namingha

The artist, Les Namingha, served a mission to England and graduated from Brigham Young University. He is a cousin of the Polaccas and the Youvellas, all of whom descend from the great Hopi potter Nampeyo.⁹ But Namingha grew up in Zuni, a Pueblo neighboring the Hopi. This pot (see figure 5) shows the influence of both Hopi and Zuni cultures. The form, technique, materials, and style are Hopi, but some of the iconography is Zuni.

The sun, moon, and stars represent the three degrees of glory. The small faces with rays represent the inhabitants of those kingdoms. The expressions on the faces and the amount of light in their rays reflect the level of glory. The form of these faces was derived from ancient Zuni kiva murals familiar to the artist. In the center is a depiction of Christ standing on an altar. His face is covered because Namingha felt that the face of Christ was too sacred for him to depict.¹⁰

***Echoes of the Ancient Ones* by Lucy Leuppe McKelvey**

After growing up on the Navajo Reservation, Lucy McKelvey served a mission and graduated from Brigham Young University. While she was a college student, she became friends with a Hopi man and visited his family in Arizona. His mother was a potter and shared her knowledge of Hopi pottery techniques with McKelvey. These circumstances are significant for two reasons: (1) Traditional Hopi pottery techniques are much more refined than traditional Navajo techniques. By incorporating Hopi techniques into her pottery, McKelvey was able to create far more sophisticated and complex works of art than she might have otherwise. (2) The Hopi and the Navajo have been battling about land rights for several decades. As a result, the feelings between these two tribes are at best very cool and frequently hostile. For McKelvey, the Church and BYU provided environments that bridged these ancient hostilities. The result is the development of a new tradition in Navajo art that combines Hopi technique and largely Navajo forms and symbols.

This pot (see front cover and figure 1) represents McKelvey's feelings about the Book of Mormon, which she expresses in symbolic elements drawn mostly from the native peoples of the Southwest. The migration to the promised land is represented by four Mimbres figures¹¹ symbolizing Laman, Lemuel, Nephi, and Sam. The figures cross the waters on whirling logs such as those depicted in the Nightway Chant.¹² The promised land is shown by the four sacred mountains that mark the traditional home of the Navajo—Hesperus Peak (the north mountain), Mount Taylor (the south mountain), Blanca Peak (the east mountain), and the San Francisco Peaks (the west mountain). In the center are the gold plates from which the Book of Mormon came. Radiating from these are step

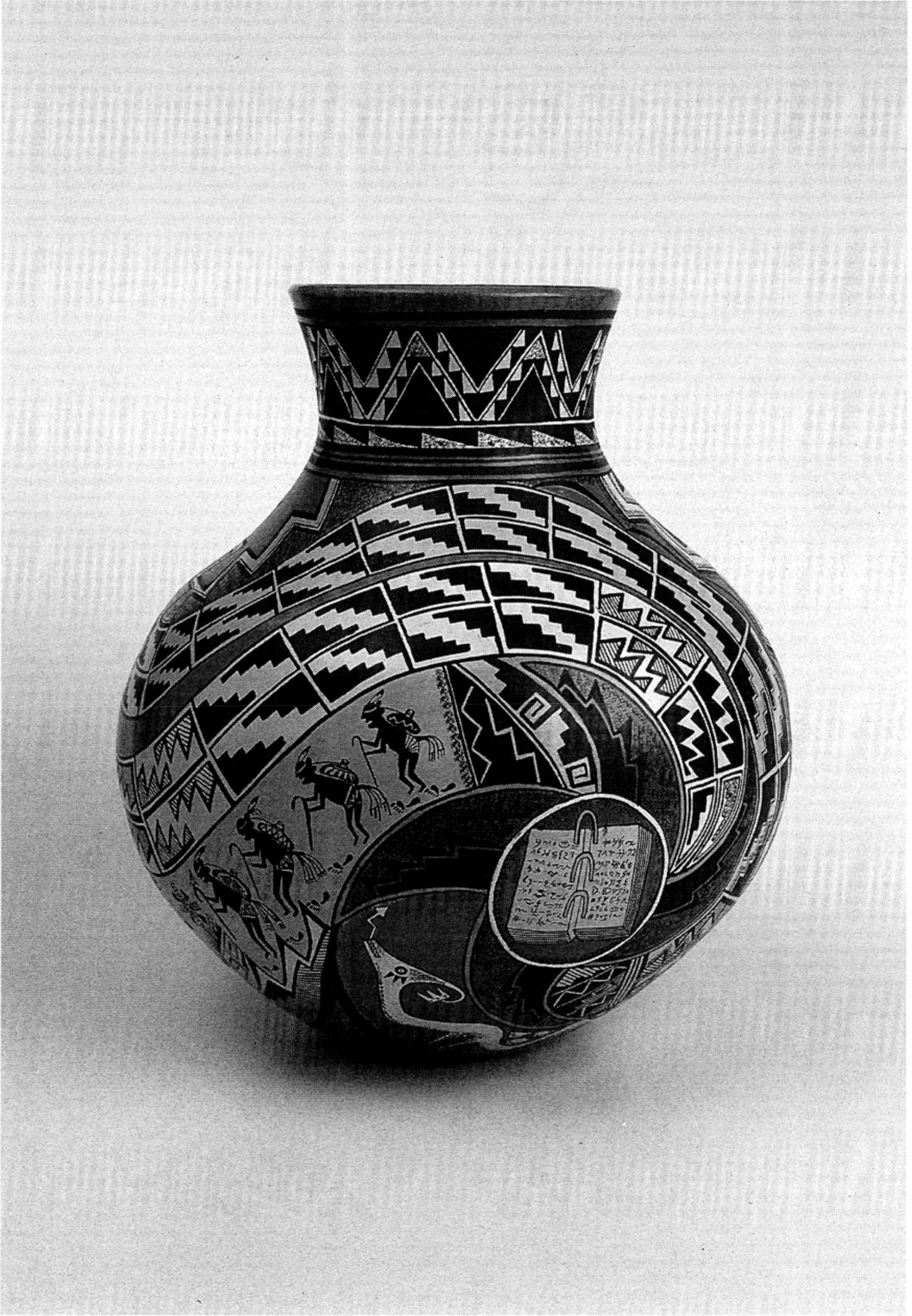


Figure 1. Lucy Leuppe McKelvey (1946-), *Echoes of the Ancient Ones*. Fired clay, 12 ³/₄" x 11 ¹/₂", New Mexico. 1988.

patterns that are the Navajo symbol for rain clouds; in the arid Southwest, rain is an expression of heavenly blessings.

Below the plates is an Avaju, or plumed water serpent. This plumed serpent represents the traditional god of the Santa Clara Pueblo—the god that taught farming and was the arbiter of morals. The Avaju is the equivalent of Quetzalcoatl of Meso-America.¹³ The imagery of the water serpent also brings an association with the blessings of rain and life.

On the other side of the pot is a deep indentation with a bas relief of Mesa Verde-like structures, which echo the ancient ones as does the Book of Mormon. Uniting these structures as well as the forms on the opposite side of the pot are swirling rain clouds representing blessings from the Lord.

***Whirling Rainbow Goddesses Pot* by Lucy Leuppe McKelvey**

Whirling Rainbow Goddesses Pot (see figure 6) is a moral diagram. Navajos have a spiritual concept known as *hozho*, which combines aesthetic and moral principles. The most general definition of *hozho* is “beauty.” But beauty in this context includes good health, long life, reverence for the aged, and an imperative to radiate and create harmony. Above all else, *hozho* implies being self-controlled, spiritually centered, and dynamically active in hard work.¹⁴

The form and pattern on this pot are perfectly symmetrical, reflecting self-control and spiritual centeredness. The curvature of the forms express energy and movement. The rainbow figures represent the blessings from the heavens (rain seems to be the universal metaphor for blessings in arid climates) that come from being spiritually centered and dynamic. The plants represent the direct benefits of these heavenly blessings. Thus, this aesthetic system brings with it a moral imperative of how we should live our lives. It also combines the symmetry of the Renaissance and the dynamics of the Baroque—no small contribution to the history of world art.

***Plan of Salvation Pot* by Shirley Benn**

Shirley Benn is also part of the “royal family” of Hopi potters. Her great grandmother was Nampeyo, and her mother is Daisy

Hooee. Fannie Nampeyo Polacca, Thomas and Gary Polacca, and Iris Youvella are her cousins. Les Namingha is her nephew.

As a young woman, Shirley Benn joined the Church but eventually became inactive. A few years ago, her son died tragically, throwing Benn into deep depression and longing. She began looking for ultimate answers about life. This search led Benn and her husband, Virgil, back to the Church. In the Benns' search, the plan of salvation was the most powerful element. When I approached Benn about doing a pot for the Museum, she said she wanted to create one that depicted the plan of salvation. I initially tried to dissuade her from that theme, thinking it was too monumental to depict on a single piece of pottery, but she insisted that this was the theme that reflected her deepest spiritual experience. She has chosen to depict this sacred plan using mostly traditional Hopi imagery.

The first image (see figure 7) shows the Lord, dressed as a Hopi priest, playing a flute that calls forth his spirit children and sending them through the veil into this mortal life. The next scene shows the hand of the Lord creating this world with animals (a stylized parrot); the sun; plants; and the blessings of rain, depicted by a rainbow arching over the beans. Veils bracket the next image, death, which is portrayed as a huge beetle.

Following the death image, the spirit world is represented by a maze pattern showing the further-searching path. After the next veil is a Hopi sash with step patterns that go up and down. Benn explains that this section represents the possibilities for those that did not have the opportunity to hear the gospel in this life. Their willingness to embrace the gospel in the spirit world determines whether they advance up the steps or go down.

The final panel depicts the Resurrection, the Judgment, and the assignment to degrees of glory. Michael, the archangel, is blowing his trumpet and shaking a rattle to call forth the dead from their graves. The Lord, represented only by his hand, is sending his children to the three degrees of glory. The final vertical band is dark; it is the journey to outer darkness, represented by the bottom half of the pot. The contrast between the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness is represented in the vertical bifurcation of the pot.

***Lebi's Vision of the Tree of Life* by Harrison Begay Jr.**

Of all the pots depicted in this article, *Lebi's Vision of the Tree of Life* (see figure 8) is the most straightforward in its symbolism. The artist shows male and female figures, dressed in traditional clothing of the Southwest, holding onto the iron rod, which represents the word of God. Below them are waves of the filthy stream, which represent the depths of hell. At the end of the rod is the tree of life with its bright fruit representing the love of God. The style and composition of the pot combine with economy of form and jewel-like perfection to make a statement that is powerful in its simplicity.

Harrison Begay's development as a potter has some similarities with the evolution of Lucy McKelvey's art. Begay is also a Navajo, whose tribe has no carved blackware pottery tradition. While on his mission, Begay was given special assignments to create paintings about missionary work. He met his wife, a Santa Clara Pueblo, while attending school in Provo. Most of the Indian tribes in the Southwest are matriarchal, which means that when a couple is married they go to live with the wife's people. When Begay moved to Santa Clara Pueblo, he learned pottery making from his wife's family.¹⁵

Santa Clara pottery is completely hand formed and carved. It is then polished with a smooth stone to give it a lustrous finish. Where a matte finish is desired as part of the design, it is left unpolished. Afterwards, the pot is fired in a wood fire. When the fire has burned down to coals, it is smothered with powdered horse dung, which causes a reduction atmosphere. The fire then sucks the oxygen out of the clay and replaces it with carbon, changing the natural redware to black.

Because Begay's Navajo tradition was different from that of the Santa Clara Pueblo, he was freer to experiment with a variety of forms while using Santa Clara techniques.

***Lebi's Vision of the Tree of Life* by Tammy Garcia**

Like most traditional artists in the Southwest, Tammy Garcia learned pottery making from her family. She comes from a long line of distinguished Santa Clara Pueblo potters, including two of the most prominent, Margaret Tafoya¹⁶ and Terrisita Naranjo.¹⁷ Garcia digs her clay from the hills near Santa Clara, cleans the clay,

and mixes it with the temper of volcanic ash also obtained from the area. She and her husband, Leroy (who runs an art gallery), live in Taos near the pueblo of his family.¹⁸ Garcia has won virtually every award possible from the various Native American art competitions in the Southwest.¹⁹ Her work is included in the collections of the Museum of the American Indian in New York City and the Heard Museum in Phoenix.²⁰

Garcia is known for three distinctive aspects in her art: (1) She makes very large pots completely by hand with no potter's wheel and fires them without the use of a kiln. Very few Pueblo potters attempt such large pots using these primitive techniques because several month's work can be lost in an instant if the pot breaks in firing. (2) She uses design elements from many Native American sources in the Southwest in addition to the Santa Clara Pueblo. This openness to new forms made it much easier for her to create a pot as symbolically demanding as the one depicting Lehi's Vision. (3) Garcia carves a much larger proportion of the pot than is usually done by Santa Clara potters. This technique gives her a more expansive field upon which to depict a complex story.

The symbolism of Lehi's vision is quite obvious, but two design elements stand out (see figure 9 and back cover). The path and the iron rod are dramatically highlighted by a light-cream slip. The great and spacious building is represented by basic pueblo architecture. This second aspect seems to follow Nephi's admonition, "I did liken all scriptures unto us, that it might be for our profit and learning" (1 Ne. 19:23).

Conclusion

As we look at the growth of the Church around the world, it is the non-Anglo cultures that are experiencing the most dramatic growth curves. Since art is a direct way of understanding peoples and cultures, it behooves us to look carefully at the art of these new Latter-day Saints in order to gain a greater understanding and appreciation of what is rapidly becoming the future majority membership of the Church.

In addition, the study of these eight pots from Native Americans in the Southwest can expand our understanding of contemporary religious art in several ways. Significant art is not limited to

oil painting or bronze and marble sculpture. Art can be linked intimately with the land. The home and family can be an art studio and school. Art can draw upon rich visual symbolism when it is rooted in an ancient artistic tradition. Art can be a significant connection between many generations of a family rather than becoming a cultural fracture line. Art can also cross cultural boundaries and still maintain its artistic integrity. Art and the Church can facilitate a peaceful bonding among peoples that are normally at odds with each other. There is more to artistic significance than innovation for the sake of innovation. However, when innovations do develop within an artistic tradition, that art can still remain connected with tradition through the continuity of techniques, materials, forms, and iconography. In the midst of modern breakneck changes, some of the contributions of such art are continuity, connectedness, and spiritual values.

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NOTES

¹This LDS settlement continued until the early 1900s, when it was incorporated into the Navajo Reservation by the federal government. For the extension of the Navajo Indian Reservation, see United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Correspondence, 1902-1903, letters relating to the purchase by the federal government of claims of settlers around Tuba City, Arizona; photocopies courtesy of Ralph Evans, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). Three general, but useful, books on early Mormon contact with Native Americans in Arizona and the Southwest are Charles S. Peterson, *Take Up Your Mission: Mormon Colonizing along the Little Colorado River, 1870-1900* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973); Pearson H. Corbett, *Jacob Hamblin: The Peacemaker* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952); and Helen Bay Gibbons, *Saint and Savage* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1965). The most concise source on this subject is David Kay Flake, *A History of Mormon Missionary Work with the Hopi, Navajo and Zuni Indians* (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965).

²David Kay Flake, *History of Southwest Indian Mission* (n.p., 1965), photocopy, LDS Church Archives. This manuscript is a useful reference, particularly for the post-World War II period.

³Howela Polacca, "The Hopi Corn Maiden," as told to Lucy Bloomfield, 1936, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

⁴The scriptures frequently use symbolism to communicate feeling as well as physical description. The symbolism of the sun as the Lord is not without precedent in sacred writ. Modern revelation teaches that the “fire” of the Second Coming is the actual presence of the Savior—a celestial glory comparable to the sun (D&C 76:70). The prophet Joseph Smith saw the Father and the Son in a pillar of light that was “above the brightness of the sun” (JS—H 1:15–17). When the Savior was transfigured before Peter, James, and John on the Mount of Transfiguration, “his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light” (Matt. 17:2). Psalms 84:11 states, “For the Lord God is a sun and a shield.” In Malachi we learn, “But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings” (Mal. 4:2). In describing the Lord, Revelation tells us that “his countenance was as the sun shineth” (Rev. 1:16).

⁵Museum Acquisition Record Form, October 18, 1990, Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City.

⁶Gary Polacca, conversation with the author, Polacca, Arizona, August 23, 1994.

⁷Museum Acquisition Record Form, Museum of Church History and Art; and Polacca, conversation.

⁸Museum Acquisition Record Form, Museum of Church History and Art; and Polacca, conversation.

⁹Nampeyo was the half-sister of early Mormon convert, Tom Polacca. In the late nineteenth century, factory-made containers had almost displaced traditional Hopi pottery as utilitarian containers. The few remaining Hopi potters had nearly lost the traditional tribal style; most Hopi potters were doing pale imitations of Zuni pottery. In 1895, Walter Jesse Fewkes hired Nampeyo’s husband, Lesou, to help in the excavation of a sixteenth-century ruin. Lesou occasionally showed his wife some of the pots and potsherds that he was digging up. Nampeyo began incorporating some of the old patterns into her pots. Her brother Tom and traders in the area began selling her pots to tourists and art collectors. This combination of ancient forms and expanded markets for the pottery created a renaissance in Hopi pottery. Nampeyo taught her children to make pots, and the skill was passed down through the family. The Nampeyo family (they frequently take the name of their esteemed ancestor) have become the most significant family of Hopi potters. To claim descent from Nampeyo is to claim the tradition of the Hopi pottery renaissance. Harry Clebourne James, *Pages from Hopi History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974); and Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975).

¹⁰Museum Acquisition Record Form; and Les Namingha, conversation with the author, Polacca, Arizona, September 19, 1994.

¹¹The Mimbres were agricultural peoples that flourished in southwest New Mexico between A.D. 1000 and 1250. An essential and completely unique aspect of Mimbres pottery painting is its representational character. About one quarter of existing Mimbres pottery paintings—almost two thousand examples—carry images of animals, humans, and objects, all of which are often shown in narrative interaction. See J. J. Brody, ed., *Mimbres Pottery: Ancient Art of the American Southwest* (New York: Hudson Hills in association with the American Federation of Arts, 1983).

¹²The traditional Navajo use their sacred history as part of their healing rituals. A person who is sick is assumed to be out of balance. To restore balance, the patient must make his or her life parallel with the ancient sacred hero figures of the past. This alignment is accomplished by a chant or “sing”—a story from sacred history told through sung poetry. The chant is accompanied by a symbolic sand painting that visually tells the same complex story and takes several days to perform. Much of Navajo sacred history is preserved and regularly used in this way. The Nightway Chant or Sing is one of the stories used as a healing ritual.

¹³Betty LeFree, *Santa Clara Pottery Today* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1975), 94.

¹⁴For example, an elderly person of good character but bent and wrinkled would have *bozho*. This person would be seen as beautiful in the Navajo society. On the meaning of *bozho* and its relationship to Navajo art, see Gary Witherpoon, *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977).

¹⁵Harrison Begay Jr., conversations with the author, Santa Clara, New Mexico, 1985–1995.

¹⁶Gallery 10, Inc., *Tammy Garcia* (Scottsdale, Ariz.: n.p., n.d.), brochure.

¹⁷Tammy Garcia, conversation with the author, Taos, New Mexico, April 10, 1995.

¹⁸Gallery 10, Inc., *Tammy Garcia*.

¹⁹Ron McCoy, “The Youthful Age-Old Pottery of Tammy Garcia” *Southwest Profile* 16, no. 1 (February/March 1993): 33–35.

²⁰Garcia, conversation.

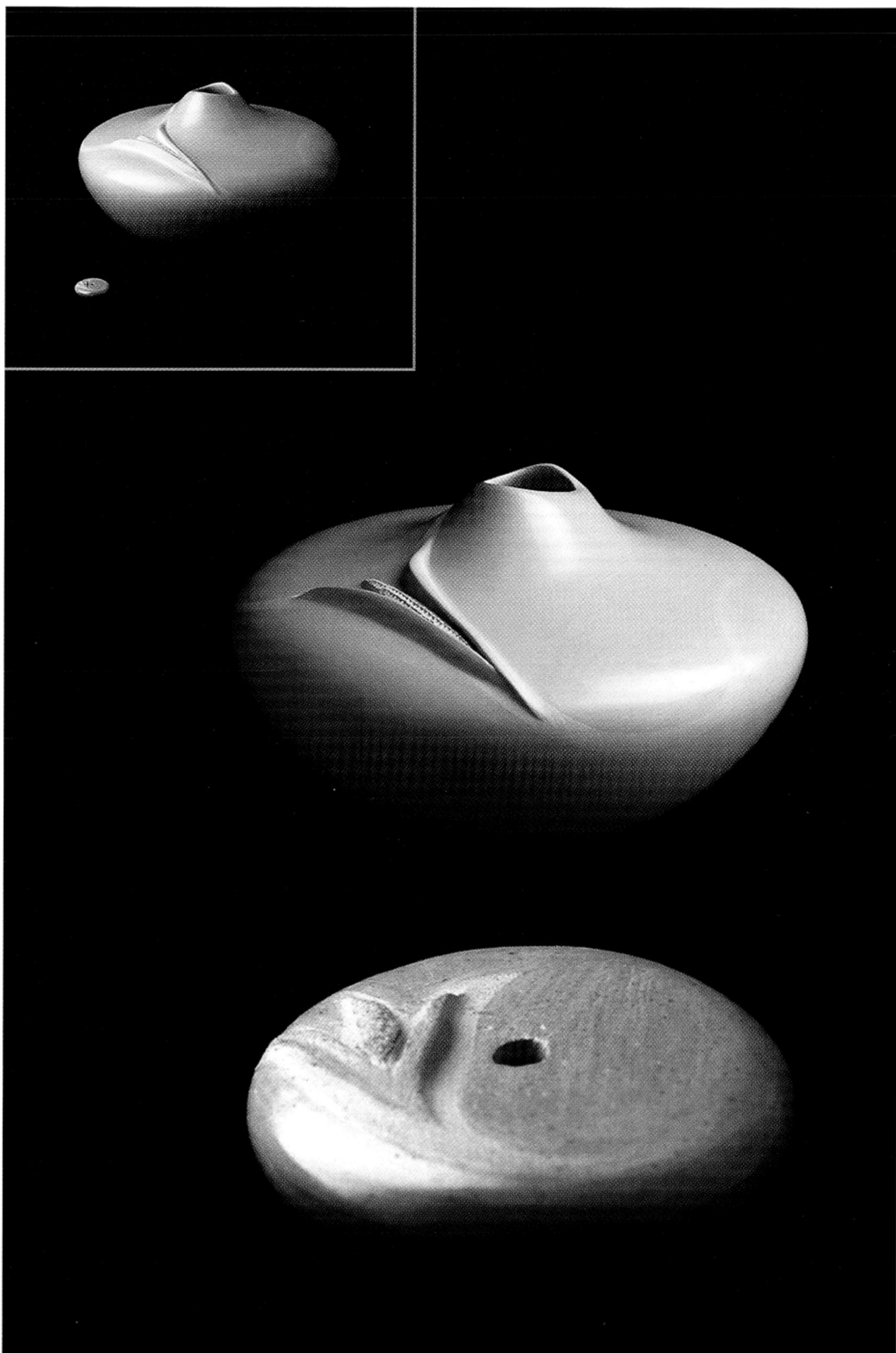


Figure 2. *Inset*: Relative size of the two pots shown below. **Figure 2a. Middle**: Iris Youvella Nampeyo (1944–), *Corn Pot*. Fired clay, 6" x 9 ³/₄", Polacca, Arizona, 1994. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art. **Figure 2b. Bottom**: Charlene Youvella (1968–), *Miniature Corn Pot*. Fired clay, ¹/₂" x 1", Polacca, Arizona, about 1990. Courtesy Charlene Youvella.



Figure 3. Thomas Polacca (1934-), *My Son, Await the Coming of the Mormon Missionaries*. Carved and fired clay, 12" x 11", Polacca, Arizona, 1990. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.



Figure 4. Gary Polacca (1955-), *My Testimony Pot*. Carved and fired clay, 10 1/2" x 6", Polacca, Arizona, 1994. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.



Figure 5. Les Namingha (1967-), *Three Degrees of Glory Pot*. Fired clay, 3 ³/₄" x 13 ¹/₂", Polacca, Arizona, 1994. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.



Figure 6. Lucy Leuppe McKelvey (1946-), *Whirling Rainbow Goddesses Pot*. Fired clay, 12 ³/₄" x 11 ¹/₂", Bloomfield, New Mexico, 1988. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.

Figure 7.
Shirley Benn (1936-),
Plan of Salvation
Pot. Fired clay,
8 1/2" x 13 1/2",
Gallup, New
Mexico, 1994.
Collection of the
Museum of Church
History and Art.

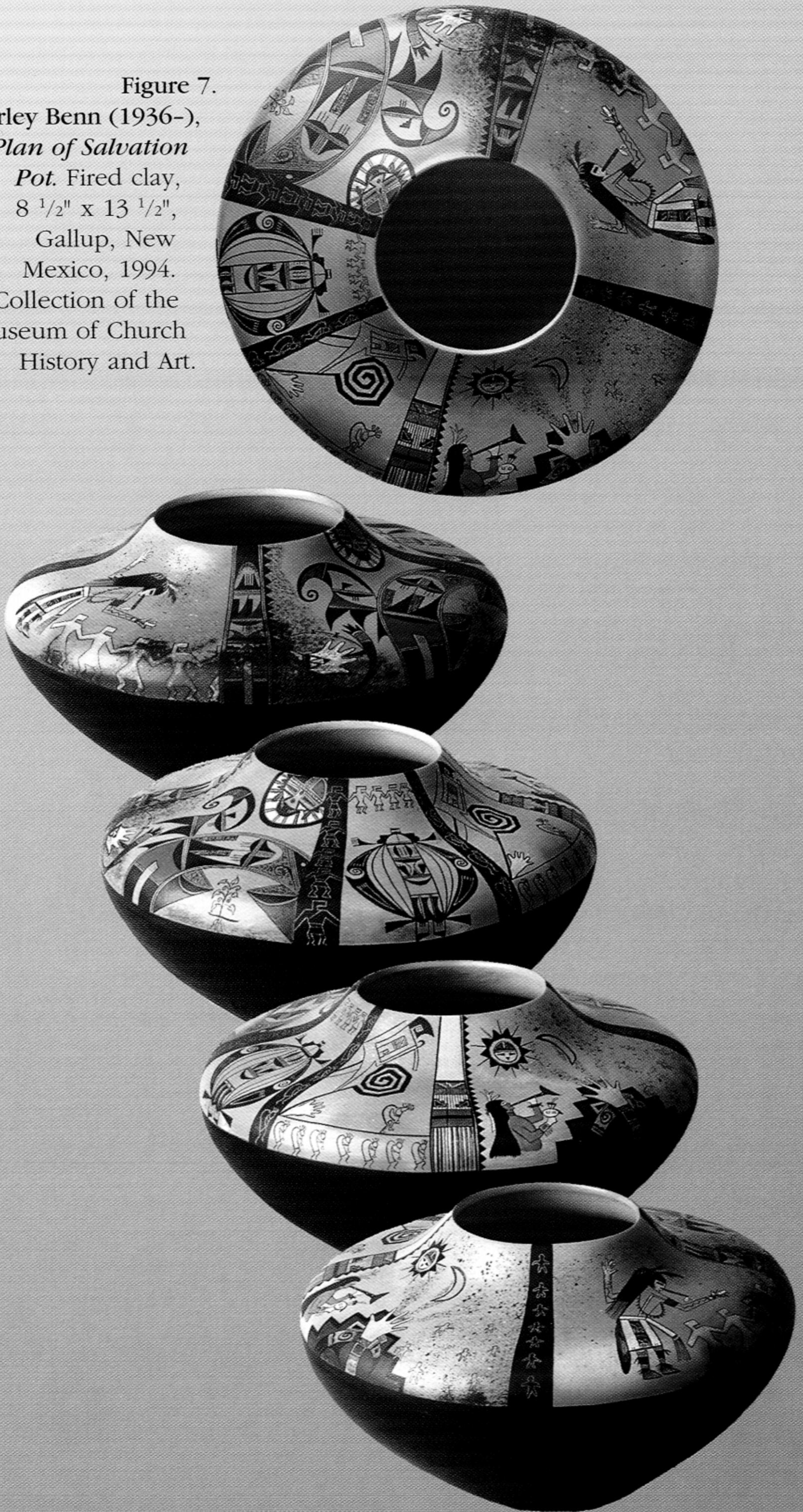




Figure 8. Harrison Begay Jr. (1961-), *Lehi's Vision of the Tree of Life*. Fired clay, 9 1/4" x 9 1/4", Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico, 1993. Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art.



Figure 9.
Tammy Garcia (1969-),
*Lebi's Vision of the Tree of
Life*. Fired clay, 15" x 14",
Taos, New Mexico, 1994. Col-
lection of the Museum of
Church History and Art.

When You See Me

in some dream and don't
believe your eyes
are closed, there
is a sure way to tell
if I am real.
Give me your hand.
You will feel the same
chill I feel when the sky
wants to open before
it starts to rain,
the chill a man who is about
to die finds in the cone
of the lily a girl cuts
to put on his grave.
She tries to wake him.
The anther smears its pollen
on the back of his wrist
where the scar doesn't show.

The lines in his palm
spell out your name
except for the *t*
which is not crossed
and looks like the *i*
with no dot or like
the stem of the lily
now that the girl is gone.
The veins run parallel
to my life. Under the surface
roots form a sweet bulb
like those Shoshone women
dug with their camas sticks
and saved to roast
over tipi fires on cold nights
when their men had gone
to war or to follow
the west trail home.

—Donnell Hunter

The Great Bean-Count Schism

Scott R. Parkin

It happened five years ago at the Hunt family reunion. That's my wife's side. More specifically, my wife's mother's *mother's* side. Marny and I were newly engaged, and this was to be my grand unveiling before her family.

It was a traditional western reunion. They'd rented a campground at the state park about sixty miles southeast of Panaca, Nevada—that's where most of her family was from. And, like every other event of its kind, the only people who knew anyone were the old folks, the ones who organized it. There were six of them altogether: Aunt Jay, Aunt Edna, Aunt Myrna, Aunt Joyce, Uncle Arch, and Uncle Leroy. (No one knew how to count the proper number of "greats" to go before the name, so Marny instructed me to simply refer to them as "aunt" and "uncle" something-or-other and not to worry too much about it.) They were brothers and sisters, and they'd started the whole reunion thing fifty years ago as a grand birthday party for their mother where all the kids got together and celebrated. She died twenty-odd years ago, but they enjoyed getting together so much, they just kept doing it.

Over the years, though, the little family gathering turned into a major event involving a cast of hundreds and a budget of not inconsiderable proportions. And because no one knew all of the cousins and nephews and granddaughters by sight, a method was devised to keep tabs on who was who and how they were related to the original six.

It was Aunt Myrna's idea. Before you could gain entrance to the event, you had to write your name on one of those "Hello, my name is . . ." badges, along with a pedigree showing your relation to one of the six. I copied Marny's and added "(soon to be husband of)" at the bottom. Aunt Myrna laughed and shook my hand and explained who she was, but I missed most of what she said.

After the greeting and hugging with Aunt Myrna was over, she led us to a table on which sat a mason jar full of red beans. "Guess how many beans are in the jar and write it on the bottom corner of your name tag," she said and tapped the top of the jar with her pencil. "Whoever guesses closest gets a prize at the awards ceremony after dinner."

I questioned Marny about what kind of awards one receives at a family reunion. I couldn't imagine anything like "Best Grandson" or "Most Influential Second Cousin," but I had heard of stranger things. She laughed and told me they were gag gifts and I need not worry, I wasn't nearly old enough to get one. Then she turned her attention to the beans.

Marny is a math teacher, and she approached the jar of beans with great determination and use of the scientific method. She turned the jar this way and that, her lips moving quietly as she considered the best method of accurately guessing the bean count. First she estimated the height, in beans, of the jar. Then she counted width, in beans, of the jar and divided the number by two to get the radius. Then she went to work with her pencil and a paper place mat to determine the volume of the jar in cubic beans. When she was done, she subtracted 2 percent to account for the slight tapering at the top of the jar and wrote down her estimate: 1,823 beans.

I looked at the jar and scratched my head and added fifty to Marny's guess to get my own. How can you beat the scientific method?

It was still early, and people hadn't quite integrated yet. Each family unit had its own little piece of the campground, and each had marked its territory with folding chairs and ice chests. The adults from each group talked to the adults in the group next to them. The children had long since become bored and ended up down the hill at the creek splashing water on each other. The teenagers all sat in folding chairs with sullen looks on their faces at having lost an entire Saturday to a stupid family reunion.

Marny dragged me from family to family, introducing me to anyone who looked familiar to her. I nodded and smiled and tried to be charming, but I don't think I was doing very well; people had a tendency to look at me funny, then whisper to Marny, who shook her head emphatically. I overheard one of them—I don't recall the

name—ask her if I was related to the Emersons. Marny replied that I certainly was *not*, and he seemed satisfied. I never got a chance to ask her what the question meant. Fifteen minutes later, we had talked to everyone of note, and I still didn't know who anyone was—except the original six; they were the ones whose name tags sported only one name.

Someone had brought a dog. It was a cute miniature collie with white paws and a tendency to drool. But it was friendly, so I scratched its ears and patted its head and wiped the drool off my shoes every once in a while. And I was a little disappointed when the collie ran off to meet the black mutt someone else had brought.

The collie was back in less than a minute, the mutt close on her heels. She was in heat, and the mutt was interested. The adults pretended not to notice its overly friendly advances, the children tugged at their parents' shirts and asked why the black dog was chasing the collie like that, and the teenagers hid their heads in shame at the brazen lust of animals.

That's when Aunt Myrna let loose with the scream.

I turned in time to see Aunt Myrna take the bean jar away from a tall, potbellied man in a checkered shirt and coveralls. She checked the lid on the bean jar and put it down on the wooden camp table with a loud thump, then promptly began to cuss the man out. It was somewhat of a shock to see a sweet old lady like Aunt Myrna going at someone that hard, so I moved in a little closer to try to pick up what she was saying. I caught a glimpse of the tall man's name tag; his name was Burt, and there was only one name besides his own on the pedigree list at the bottom. I couldn't see what his bean count guess was.

"You're not allowed to look inside the jar. You know that!" Aunt Myrna said.

Burt shook his bald head and crossed his arms over his chest. "I most certainly do not know that. Why shouldn't I look inside?"

Aunt Myrna flushed. "It's not fair. No one else looked in the jar, so you can't either."

Burt shrugged. "So is it my fault no one else was smart enough to look? I just wanted to see if you'd done something to throw off the count, like put a toilet paper tube in there or something."

Aunt Myrna sputtered and turned red. “I resent that accusation,” she said and tore his name tag off his chest. She took her pencil and scribbled over his bean count guess until it was obliterated under a heavy layer of gray lead, then stuck the tag to his chest again. “You are disqualified. You cheated.”

“I did not cheat!” Burt shouted and reached for a blank name tag from the table. Aunt Myrna smacked his hand and told him to git, and Burt looked at her for a long moment before he turned and stalked away. As he passed me, I heard him mutter, “Just like a Hunt to change the rules when someone smarter’n them comes along.”

I wandered to the area Marny’s parents had staked out and told her what I had seen. She got a cloudy look on her face and said, “Burt’s an Emerson. They’ve had it out for the Hunts since I don’t know when. If Aunt Myrna says he cheated, he cheated. You can’t trust an Emerson for anything.”

I stood there, shocked. I had known Marny for almost two years before we got engaged, and in all that time I had never heard her say something bad about someone—it wasn’t in her nature. But the scowl on her face was unmistakable; she didn’t like Emersons.

“What makes Emersons so bad?” I asked.

She shook her head. “Ooh, they’ve been at it for years. It all started when Aunt Joyce married one named Andrew. They got married and moved away and never bothered to come to family events at Christmas or Easter. They didn’t even come back for the family reunion every year. They completely abandoned the Hunt side of the family.

“Until they wanted something.

“They’d been married for five years before they ever showed their faces in Panaca again, and then it was only to beg for money. They came for the family reunion and pumped each of the brothers and sisters for money—they said the copper mining operation upstate was running dry so they were tight for cash.”

Marny sighed. “I don’t know the exact details of it all, but the end result was that no one lent them any money. Times were tough everywhere, and no one had extra.

“Well, they left the reunion in a huff, claiming that it was a conspiracy to keep them down and that the Hunts were just jealous cheapskates who didn’t know the true meaning of family.”

Marny began to pace, and I just stood back and listened. I still hadn't decided whether to be amused or alarmed at her display. But I had decided that the fact I apparently bore some family resemblance to the Emersons was not good. She continued. "They disappeared after that. No one saw them for another five years. When they finally did come back, they were rich. They had a big car and fancy clothes and lots of cash, and they made sure everyone knew it."

Marny stopped pacing and looked up at me. "Now that wasn't bad in and of itself. What got everyone so mad was that they spent the whole reunion bragging about all the stuff they had and how they weren't cheapskates like some other people they knew, and if anyone needed money, they'd be glad to help out because family came first. It was really rude.

"Well, it turns out no one wanted their help, and that made them mad again. They left the reunion in a huff and didn't come back again for another five years."

I smiled. "They seem to have a thing about five-year cycles. Think it's hereditary?"

Marny glared at me, and I shut up.

She continued. "When they came back again, it was all apologies and excuses. They still had the big car and the fancy clothes, but now they had five children, too. Well, the children ate more than their fair share, and the food ran out. Aunt Jay went to the store and bought hot dogs and buns with her own money, and everyone ended up getting something, at least.

"When Aunt Myrna asked the Emersons to pay for part of the extra food—Aunt Myrna was in charge of the budget, and Aunt Jay wouldn't have asked for the money if Aunt Myrna hadn't offered—Andrew got all indignant and huffy again and wanted to know why he suddenly had to pay for food when he'd never had to pay for it before. Aunt Myrna reminded him that it had been five years since he last darkened the doorstep and that things had changed; now people paid for the food. And besides, their kids had eaten as much food as the rest of the family put together, and they ought to be happy at only being asked to pay for part of it."

Marny started pacing again, and I stifled a grin at the silliness of what some people could hold a grudge over. She stopped at the

far end of her family's area and looked out across the campground at Burt, then turned back to me. "Well, as you can expect, they got mad again and took off—without paying for the food." She paced again. "It's not the money, it's the attitude. They ignore the family until they want to show off or try to prove a point; then they come back and find something new to get mad at.

"Well, they came back the next year and made a big show about not eating too much food; they even made one of their kids put some fried chicken back in the pan. And they brought a bag full of hot dogs and buns and gave them to Aunt Jay and made a big deal about that. And when they paid for their share of the food, they made a big deal about that, too. It was like they wanted everyone to see how much better they were than the rest of us, when all they were doing was their fair share."

Marny stopped and clenched her fists. "All the Emersons are like that—it's in their blood. They're always trying to show how much better they are than the rest of us. And they taught it to their kids. And to make matters worse, the Emersons started coming every year. It's like they see it as their sworn duty to come every year and act like their bums are made of gold."

I shrugged at her. "Isn't that what family reunions are for? Aren't you supposed to show off a little?"

Marny stared at me, her mouth agape. "It most certainly is not! Family are the only people you *don't* have to show off for. Reunions are to relax and have fun and mingle with the family, *not* to show off."

"Oh."

She looked out across the campground. "Look at them. There's Burt over there making a big deal out of Aunt Myrna disqualifying him."

I moved to Marny's side and looked. Sure enough; Burt stood in the midst of a group of people, waving his hands and pointing at his chest and making a show.

Marny sniffed. "You can always tell an Emerson; they look like a bunch of rednecks."

I coughed and gagged and did what I could to squelch my laughter. I had grown up in the suburbs of Chicago, and to me all these Westerners looked equally redneck.

Marny patted my back and looked at me with a hint of disapproval in her eye. "Are you okay?"

I coughed a few more times and patted my chest. "Sorry. I swallowed a bug or something. It just flew right in and caught in my throat."

She looked at me dubiously, then took my hand and led me to a jug full of water. She poured the water into the plastic cup that lay next to it and gave it to me. I dutifully swallowed the water. "Thank you," I said.

Marny nodded and put the jug and cup back on the ground. Burt and crew broke out laughing, and Marny looked up at them. "They just sit over there and make fun of the rest of us. It isn't right," she said.

I nodded. "True. But that still seems like a silly thing to condemn an entire family for."

Marny shook her head. "You haven't survived a lifetime of tainted family reunions. They do something every year that ruins it for the rest of us. Sometimes I wish they just wouldn't come at all."

Marny was clearly bothered by the situation, and I couldn't think of anything to say that wouldn't sound flippant or accusatory, so I just hugged her and whispered, "I'm sorry. I guess I don't know what I'm talking about."

She hugged me back and smiled up at me, and I was happy all over again that she had agreed to marry me. We stood there for a long moment and just enjoyed each other; then she squeezed me again and stepped back. "I better mingle. You want to come?"

I shook my head. "No, I think I'll just stay here and be anti-social. It's always a little strange to go to other people's family reunions. And people keep looking at me funny."

She smiled impishly. "Well, you *do* look like an Emerson."

I hooked my thumbs in my belt loops and spoke in my best hick accent. "Just like a Hunt to be jealous of my staggerin' beauty."

She touched my hand. "Cute. Back in a few minutes."

I sat down in a blue lawn chair and looked out over the campground. Some of the carefully segregated family units had started to lose their separateness as old acquaintances were renewed and warm feelings were slowly rekindled. Many wandered freely from unit to unit, striking up conversations with people who had once

been only relatives but now were also friends. I sat back and smiled. Maybe this wouldn't be so bad after all. Even some of the sullen teenagers had begun to notice that there were other sullen teenagers and maybe they weren't as alone as they had thought at first.

I heard a yipping off to my left and looked up to see the miniature collie darting among the trees and coming right for me, a look of abject terror in her eyes, the black mutt close on her heels. The collie reached the clearing where I sat, put on a burst of speed, and leaped through the air and into my lap. It burrowed its tiny head into my armpit and shivered, and I stroked its thin fur with my left hand.

Just moments later, the black mutt bound into the clearing and came straight for me. I leaned forward and put my foot out, and when the mutt recognized the hazard placed in its way, it tried to stop. But the thick layer of last year's leaves on the ground proved to be slicker than expected, and the mutt slid face first into the bottom of my shoe.

He let out a yelp and scrambled backwards. He eyed me, then the collie, and gingerly stepped forward, but I shouted and waved my arm and he skitted back to the edge of the clearing. No matter what I did I couldn't get him to go away altogether; he just stood there sniffing at the air. The little collie seemed satisfied with my protection and pulled her nose out of my armpit.

I continued my survey of the reunion and discovered that Marny was right. You *could* tell an Emerson by sight. Everyone wore the traditional western baseball cap and blue jeans, but the Emersons pushed their caps back just a little further, and their jeans were just a little bluer, like they considered these to be their Sunday-go-to-meeting blue jeans or something. And even though I knew it was impossible, it seemed like all the Emersons I spotted chewed nervously on a toothpick that dangled from their lips like an ersatz cigarette.

Someone rang the dinner bell, and I stood up and put the collie down on the ground. She immediately took off into the woods, and the black mutt chased after. I felt a little sorry for the poor thing.

I headed for the big clearing where forty-odd tables were all lined up. Marny's family had saved two of them, and Marny stood

waving her arms at me. I went to the table and took her hand. “Hi,” she said.

“Hi,” I responded. “What’s for lunch?”

Marny pointed to three big fire pits over by the outhouses. “Chicken.”

I gawked at the spectacle. In each of the three fire pits was an enormous, three-foot-diameter Dutch oven. A gray-haired old man—Uncle Leroy, I think—stood directing traffic while younger men stuck broomsticks through the handles on the giant lids and heaved them up. Great gouts of steam erupted from the Dutch ovens, and the old man poked at the mounds of chicken pieces inside one. After a moment he looked up and kissed his fingertips. “Perfect,” he pronounced, and the younger men started piling chicken parts in big broiler pans and bringing them to the four buffet tables.

I was still staring at the sheer size of the Dutch ovens and the amount of chicken in each one. Finally, I touched Marny on the shoulder. “How many people are we feeding here?”

She smiled. “Somewhere around three hundred, I think.”

“Oh. Isn’t that still a little too much food?”

Marny laughed. “Maybe a little, but not by much. Watch, it’ll be mostly gone by four o’clock.”

I shrugged and moved with her to the buffet. “If you say so.”

It was good, plain food, the traditional family picnic fare: potato salad, tossed greens, baked beans, fried chicken, green jello salad, stale dinner rolls. I took a heaping plateful and headed back to the table, thinking I could go back and load up another plate. Then I remembered Marny’s story about the Emersons and decided against it. No reason to tempt the fates—or the Hunts—to have bad feelings about me the first time they met me. My resemblance to the Emersons already put me one step down on that account.

We all got situated—Marny has eight brothers and sisters, so it took most of both tables just to hold us—and waited for Aunt Edna to say grace. She did, and before the “amen” had a chance to die out, we started eating.

I am always surprised at how much fun it can be to just sit around with people and eat. I read in a book once that eating together was a sort of bonding ritual, that the aborigines or someone

ate every meal as communal groups in an effort to build societal unity and strength. I don't know much about bonding rituals, but I do know that I felt at home and that these multitudes of strangers were no longer quite so strange.

With the possible exception of Burt and the rest of the Emersons.

I don't know if it was accident or design, but the Emersons taken tables along the outside edge of the picnic area, almost like they were trying to place themselves between us and the exits. After Marny's stories of the unsavory Emersons and their familial exploits, it made me nervous.

As dinner ended, Burt started talking overly loudly about how Aunt Myrna had cheated him on the bean-count contest. At one point, he shouted, "Hey everybody! The reason Myrna wouldn't let me look inside the bean jar was because she stashed a toilet paper tube inside the jar. The whole middle of the jar is empty; it's only half-full." A few minutes later, he shouted, "Actually, the toilet paper tube is full of . . ." He let the pause hang in the air for a long moment, and I was afraid he would say something gross. "The toilet paper tube is full of even littler beans than the ones on the outside. They're little, scrawny beans; kinda like Hunts." And a minute after that, "I lied. The jar is full of normal red beans, just like it seems like from the outside. But then again . . ."

Someone off to my left said, "Put a sock in it, Burt. It's just like an Emerson to be a sore loser."

Burt stood up and peered out over the crowd. "Who said that? Who's the chicken-liver what can't keep his nose out of other people's private conversations?"

There was a long pause; then a voice to my right said, "Try acting civilized for once, Burt. Shut up and sit down and let the rest of us eat in peace."

Burt stood there swiveling his head back and forth trying to figure out who'd said what, and after a minute he sat down heavily and said in a loud voice, "Just like Hunts to hide in a crowd and not own up to what they've said."

I looked at Marny; she just sat there and glowered toward Burt. After a minute, people started talking again, and it looked like the issue had passed.

It hadn't.

Dinner broke up, and people started mingling again, but there was still a lot of gesturing and loud talking coming from Burt's side of the campground. People were walking up to him and telling him to lay off, but Burt just blustered and told them to mind their own business and leave him alone.

So people did, and after an hour, Burt finally shut up.

It was an odd thing. Until Marny told me about the Emersons, I wouldn't have been able to pick one out of a crowd of two. But now I could tell just by looking at them. As I walked around the campground, I would pick people out and try to guess whether they were Hunts or Emersons before I got close enough to see their name tags. I guessed right every time. The redneck factor was that obvious, even to a city boy.

Late afternoon rolled around, and someone rang the dinner bell again. The buffet tables were still set, but the amount of food left on them looked a lot more manageable. I was still hungry from lunch, so I filled a plate, found the two tables Marny's family had staked out, and sat down.

Aunt Myrna stood in the middle of the picnic area and waited for people to get quiet. She held a sheet of paper in one hand and the jar of beans in the other. Before she could even open her mouth, Burt shouted, "There shouldn't be a bean-count contest at all if you're not gonna do it fair and let everyone take part. 'Course you wouldn't of disqualified a Hunt, would you?"

Aunt Myrna stood there, red-faced. She worked her mouth, but nothing came out, and someone in the Emerson section shouted, "Spit it out, Myrna. Or are you still eating crow for cheating poor Uncle Burt?"

Someone on the Hunt side shouted, "It's just like an Emerson to make a jerkwater comment like that. Who let you people off the farm, anyway?"

Well, it degenerated quickly after that. People started shouting insults and making slanderous comments about each other's heritage and whose mothers bore legitimate children. Burt got in a fist fight with Uncle Arch and just about got the tar knocked out of him before he was rescued. Someone went after Aunt Myrna and the bean jar, but rather than let an Emerson get hold of it, she

threw it on the ground, it broke into a thousand pieces, and beans scattered all over the campground. For just a moment, she had a look of triumph on her face; then she realized what she had done and tried to gather up the beans.

In an hour it was over. Everyone packed up their cars as fast as they could and left. A few muttered apologies to Aunt Myrna, but most just peeled rubber and didn't look back. It turned out the miniature collie belonged to a Hunt, and the black mutt belonged to an Emerson. It figures.

That was five years ago. They haven't had a big reunion like that since. We've received letters from both the Hunts and the Emersons inviting us to separate gatherings but never to a "traditional" reunion like they had had for over fifty years before the great bean-count schism broke the family apart.

I can still see Aunt Myrna on the ground trying to gather up those beans; she did what she could to get the family together again, but she just didn't have the power—the damage was too great, and the family had scattered too far. Aunt Myrna died last year, and Burt is in the hospital with heart trouble. They never did iron out their differences.

Marny and I don't talk much about it. I think she's embarrassed by the whole thing, but she doesn't need to be. I understand these things. I haven't been to a Parkin family reunion since the great butter-squeezing fiasco of '83. I still think it was one of those shifty-eyed Manns that did it, although I know they'll never admit it. They're always doing that kind of thing and then blaming it on good folks.

I never did find out how many beans were in that jar.

Scott R. Parkin is National Training Specialist for On-line Products at Jostens Learning Corporation in Orem, Utah. "The Great Bean-Count Schism" won fourth place in the first BYU Studies Writing Contest, short story/essay division, and will be the first chapter in a novel. His story "Die Mauer," which appeared in *BYU Studies* 34, no. 1, won second place in the same contest.

resurrection day in Tallahassee

it seemed like
an accident—
the crash landing
of flight 6667
as it skimmed over
Capitol Circle,
just missed
the airfield
and slammed
into the nearby cemetery,
its wings plowing up
the gravestones and
their corresponding dead
who applauded
the flawless landing

—Casualene Meyer

Altarpiece

I. Eve

It was easier
to sleep then,
before the wolf
in the pasture
had learned to howl
and only the river
sang at night
behind the fresh orchard
where she reclined
amid acres of stars.
So this was sleep,
to unloose the senses
like horses in the field
and dream herself
across that first day
of pruning and staking
the long rows of trees
whose tides of leaves
bobbed with fruits
only she and he
could name.

But tonight
in her sleep
one fruit named her,
its voice like
peeling a branch,
its flesh thick
with syllables
as if to say
that with one bite
her body might ripen,
her hair become
a crown of blossoms
whose scent could
worm its way into
some extravagant dawn,
maybe tomorrow,
indistinguishable
from yesterday,
except for
a thought.

II. Adam

Lately the fields
turned to hay.
The wind gusted
in his bones,
his skull blowing
with sentences:
The clothing would not last.
His children would outlive him.
It would be harder to sleep.
So this was death,
to walk all day
among frosted apples
and cakes of ice,
wondering how arms
once hard from raking
could soften like
yesterday's fruit,
how eyes once
sharp as branches
could cloud
in a blizzard of cells.

But even so,
when he walked with her,
flocks of melody
crowded his brain
and he felt a fresh
swarm of praise,
not the old kind,
but one ringing
in his whole body,
a hum of recognition
that the whole earth
forever after
would sing of him
and sing of her,
not with tunes alone,
but with metaphors
clanging in the wind
and the crazy blows
of word against word,
hammered out
on a page.

—Michael Hicks

Michael Hicks was one of two first-place winners in the BYU Studies Poetry Contest.

Executive Department
Utah Territory
Great Salt Lake City
September 8th 1855.

Sir: (Preface)
Contrary to my usual custom, in regard to the various false, malicious, and slanderous Reports, set in motion against my Character, by wicked and designing men, I consider, the one in regard to the Gunnison massacre, and my alleged interference with the Jury, influencing their minds in their decision of that case.

As one calling for a reply, and vindication on my part, I am often made aware of the utter uselessness, and folly of seeking to vindicate my Character, from such general aspersions, as are occasionally raised against me; from the simple fact, that although, the general aspersion can be trotted far and wide, held to the fluttering breeze by every press, and rolled as a sweet morsel under every tongue, yet when the vile slander is fairly refuted, and truth appears in the most incontrovertible manner, it is permitted to lie quietly upon the shelf to slumber, the

Page one of the preface to the Young-Davis letter, September 8, 1855. On this page, Governor Brigham Young despairs of being able to successfully counter the "false, malicious, and slanderous Reports" about his role in the Gunnison Massacre. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair

*Detailed evidence, some published here for the first time,
suggests the Mormons were not guilty of conspiracy
and complicity in the 1853 Gunnison Massacre.*

Ronald W. Walker

John W. Gunnison was a West Point graduate who had been sent to Utah 1849-50 as an assistant for Captain Howard Stansbury's topographical survey. Wintering in the Utah territory, Gunnison found time to study his unusual hosts and their singular religion. The result was his influential book, *The Mormons*,¹ in which he attempted to navigate the usual extremes of the time, Mormon polemics and gentile censure. Three years later in October 1853, Gunnison returned to Utah as a newly named captain of his own government survey. Gunnison divided his command and led eleven men into the Sevier basin for what he thought would be the last mapping session of the season. The expedition had a much greater finality. At daybreak on October 26, a band of Pahvant Indians surprised and killed Gunnison along with seven of his men. Four others fled and narrowly escaped.

A century and a half after the event, the Gunnison Massacre may seem to be a footnote in Utah's unfolding. But footnotes in history often reflect or even determine larger issues. In the nineteenth century and recently with the publication of a new book dealing with the event, the Gunnison Massacre has been used to suggest that the Mormon kingdom was guilty of criminal acts and conspiracy.² Reflecting the rumors of the alleged violence of pioneer Mormonism, the various conspiracy theories suggest that Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders, supposedly angry with Gunnison for his recent book, either killed the soldier and his

party, or they directly or indirectly created a climate which led their followers to do so. Then the Mormons allegedly tried to conceal their role by manipulating the trial of the Pahvant Natives who were charged with the atrocity.

In the document below, President Young tells his side of the story. In the fall of 1855, almost two years after the massacre, Young wrote to Jefferson Davis, U. S. Secretary of War at the time and Gunnison's former superior. When Young wrote his letter, the Gunnison trial had already been held—with less than favorable repercussions for the Mormon people. An all-LDS jury refused to follow the judge's instructions to convict or acquit on a first-degree murder charge and found the indicted Pahvants guilty, instead, of the lesser charge of manslaughter. The verdict outraged government officials and many American citizens, who clearly hoped the Indians might be executed. The Mormons, it was charged, were disloyally coddling the Indians for their own purposes. So strong was the public outcry that the episode became a turning point in Utah-Federal relations.³

Obviously disturbed over the continuing rumors linking Mormons with the event, Young penned a strongly worded letter which ran twenty-two handwritten pages (not counting several long appendices). Utah's Congressman, John M. Bernhisel, received the letter from Young and dutifully sent it to Davis. But the cautious territorial delegate never published it. He wrote President Young expressing his feeling that "there is not an individual to be found at present who gives any credence to the libelous charge that Captain Gunnison was massacred by some of our people."⁴ Bernhisel may have had additional reasons for his decision. Since it documented the tawdry conduct of some of Utah's Washington-appointed officials, the report undoubtedly would have embarrassed the administration. With Young's pungent temper also on display, Bernhisel likely felt the letter was better left to a private circulation. It is published here for the first time.

Young's letter is a good place to begin a study of the Gunnison affair. The letter summarizes what Mormons at the time believed had taken place and therefore contains important, unpublished data about the episode. It also gives a glimpse into the personality and concerns of Brigham Young. The reader, for instance,

will not have to probe too deeply to find evidence of Young's beliefs that he and the Mormon people were chronically misunderstood and that their opponents were sometimes indiscreet or even malicious. Once more, the nineteenth-century Mormon sense of embattlement is clear.

In terms of history, Young's manuscript holds up well. Even without the careful documentation that a modern scholar might give these events, the letter gives a broad outline of what actually happened. In addition to Young's data, the edited text as printed below appends in endnotes further information drawn from Church records, militia reports, and private and government documents. Together, this old and new evidence confirms President Young's basic conclusion: the Mormons were not protagonists in the affair.

Copies of Young's report are found among the Jefferson Davis Papers at Rice University and also among the Governor's Papers, Brigham Young Collection, at the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City. The typescript that follows maintains the original spelling, capitalization, punctuation, and grammar insofar as the sometimes faint writing can be accurately read.

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Utah Territory
Great Salt Lake City
September 8th 1855.

Sir

(Preface)

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As one calling for a reply, and vindication on my part, I am often made aware of, the utter uselessness, and folly of seeking to vindicate my character, from such foul aspersions, as are occasionally raised against me; from the simple fact, that although, the foul aspersion can be bruited far and wide, held to the fluttering

breeze by every press, and rolled as a sweet morsel under every tongue, yet when the vile slander is fairly refuted, and truth appears in the most incontestable manner, it is permitted to lie quietly upon the shelf to slumber, the *[page 2]* sleep of death or if by chance, it should get published in some obscure nook, or corner of this great Republic, be most religiously suppressed, as though in fear that the truth should be Known, and beleived.⁵ Still in this case under consideration, I feel it incumbent upon me, for my own satisfaction, and that of my friends, as well, as the relatives of the lamented Gunnison, who have desired me to furnish all the details, and particulars of that unfortunate occurrence, and the subsequent trials, before the U.S. Court, of the Indians supposed to have been engaged therein; to gather up, and publish to the world, all the facts in the case. so far as it is possible at the present date.

After premising so much, I will proceed to the details, only remarking, that I did furnish as full a detail of the massacre, and the attending circumstances at the time to the War Department, dated G.S.L. City Nov. 30, 1853. and which I find by comparing with facts elicited since that time, and now before me, literally true, so far as it goes.

A Copy of that Report, marked A, is hereby subjoined.⁶ *[page 3]*

The War

On the 18th of July 1853, the Utah Indians⁷ commenced open hostilities, by killing a man by the name of Kiel at Payson, and driving off a few cattle;⁸ they continued waylaying, and shooting who they could find. During the remainder of the summer, and fall, men were frequently killed while going to the Kanyons for wood, traveling from one settlement to another, and in various places in the Territory, while pursuing their peaceful avocations.

The Pauvan Indians, are a band of Utahs, inhabiting Millard County, about 150 miles south of this City. Soon after hostilities had commenced, they visited Walker Indian Chief, and the Utahs, who had taken to the mountains with the view of joining him, and his party in the war against the whites. For some reason unknown to us, but probably attributable to the uniform Kindness extended to them by the settlers in Millard County; they soon returned, and said, that they were not going to fight, unless Walker,

[page 4] and the Utahs made them do so, and appeared to be greatly under their influence when they were ranging in their neighborhood, and not so much when farther away.⁹

The principal scenes of actual hostilities, transpired at Sanpete, Juab, and Utah Counties, although, one person was shot while on guard in Fillmore City, & many Cattle were Killed.¹⁰ Kenosha,¹¹ the Pauvan Chief, who was always peaceably disposed, finally concluded, that to take some of his braves into the mountains, on a hunt, would be productive of better feeling than to remain in the settlements, where they were continually excited by accounts of bloodshed enacted elsewhere in the Territory.

It is a difficult matter for an indian, to restrain his natural propensity; slaughter when the breath of war is on the breeze. It kindles a flame in his bosom, which is only quenched by the flow of blood.

Captain Hildreth & C[ompany],¹² before the massacre, during the absence of the Pauvan Chief Kenosha, upon his hunt, were going the Southern route to California, arrived at at [sic] Fillmore, in Millard County, about the 23rd of September A.D. 1853. For corroborating [page 5] testimony, see statement of Saml P. Hoyt herewith subjoined, marked, B.¹³

On that night, this Company which traveled under the direction of a Captain Hildreth encamped on Meadow Creek, about Eight miles south of Fillmore City; while encamped some Indians came to their Camp, for the purpose, (as they say) of trading with them as is their usual custom; they were roughly treated; told to leave, &c; but they concluded that it was their land, and they had a right to remain. The whites then required them to give up their arms, which they all agreed to, but one Tonif, who had only bow, and arrows, upon which one of the Company of the name of Hart¹⁴ endeavoring to force them from him, he stabbed him in the abdomen, upon which, Hart shot Tonif with his revolver, who, after running a few rods, dropped down, and died.

The Company also fired several times at the Indians, wounding one, or two others, and Kept one in Camp tied to a wagon wheel all night, who said, that he suffered severely with the cold. It is presumable, however, that his sufferings was partly from fright, as the weather was not very cold. [page 6] During this affray,

Captain Hildreth was absent from his camp, taking care of his stock. Upon learning the facts, he regretted exceedingly what had transpired, and said, if he had been present, he might have prevented it. He further said, that he would settle it, if he could by giving presents, not so much upon his own account, as he was able to take care of himself, and Company, but being acquainted with Indian character, he feared that some other persons, or company would have to suffer, in consequence of it. Thus inadvertently predicting the revenge, which, shortly after, was poured out upon the devoted heads of Captain Gunnison, and party.

Kenosh, having been sent for, came in, and succeeded in measureably quieting the excitement, although Kenosh, & Quent¹⁵ said, they would not fight, but they stated, at the same time, that some of the "Pauvan Boys," as they called them were mad, and might fight; among these, the sons of Tonif, were the principal, although there were many who [held] him in high esteem. Tonif, was an elderly man, of considerable influence among his tribe, and considered one of their head men. It was not supposed, that those who still felt dissatisfied would commit any hostilities upon the whites, except it might be Captain Hildreth's company. [page 7] They followed them to seek an opportunity of revenge, nearly out of this Territory.¹⁶

The excitement died away, and Kenosh went out again upon his hunt, and all appeared quiet.

On the 24th of October Captain Gunnison arrived at Fillmore City, at which place, he visited with a few men, leaving the main party camped at Cedar Springs. about 10 miles north of the City, he transacted various business in that place,—was informed of the peaceable disposition of the Indians in that region, as well as what, had previously occurred with them, at Captain Hildreth's camp.¹⁷ He returned to his camp, and on the next day, 25th of Octr, started for the "Sevier" where the party was divided, Captain Gunnison with his scientific, and guide; a Mr. Wm. Potter,¹⁸ () [parenthesis material erased] who he had employed at Manti, in all 12 persons, proceeded down that stream towards the Sevier Lake, intending to survey the same, and the remainder passing up that river, some fourteen miles, where they encamped, intending to remain, until they should be required by Captain Gunnison & party.[page 8]



Pahvant Chief Kanosh. Kanosh (or Kenosh) came to the chieftainship as a young man and steadily increased his influence to become one of the half-dozen most prominent Native Americans of pioneer Utah. Peacefully inclined to the Mormons and to most whites, Kanosh tried to prevent the revenge killings of the Gunnison massacre. When they occurred anyway, he cooperated in recovering the stolen U.S. property and turning over the suspects. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

The Massacre

Captain Gunnison, arrived at the first small Lake, or pond, about 3 P.M. and encamped on a small grass plat, almost entirely surrounded by willows. Mr. Potter, his guide, remonstrated with him, and proposed a more open encampment, a short distance off, but was overruled by Capt. G.¹⁹ Some of the party went shooting ducks, in and about, the river, and Lake. There were no Indians in sight, but an Indian heard the shooting and crept up, till he could see the hunter, and then followed him, till he saw, where the party were encamped,—he observed their numbers and returned to his tribe. Here he raised the war cry! raised a false scalp upon a war pole, & excited the Indians to revenge upon the Americans, (as he called the party, and which he averred he knew to be Americans, because he had heard them swear,)²⁰ the Killing of Tonif, who was his father.²¹

The Indians held a war dance until about midnight, when they proceeded (about thirty five in number) to the camp of Captain Gunnison, where they remained quiet until after daylight, and when the party were all collected together, eating their breakfast, raised a terrific yell, and made a sudden [page 9] and deadly attack upon them.

Captain Gunnison, having every confidence in his knowledge of the Indian character, and ability of Commanding a good, and peaceful influence,²² immediately sprung upon his feet, and ran out of the tent, raised his hands, and called upon the indians as friends, assuring them of the fact that they were friends, until he fell covered with wounds. The party, were all killed except 4 persons who succeeding in obtaining their horses, made their escape. Mr William Potter, of Manti city employed by Captain Gunnison, as guide, was among the number who were slain. The entire amount of property, field notes, papers, instruments, firearms, and ammunition in the hands of the surveying party, fell into the hands of the Indians.

After the Massacre

Captain Morris,²³ who was waiting in camp about 28 miles up the Sevier river, waiting the return of the scientific party, upon hearing the horrid news, immediately jumped upon his horse, ordering the party to follow, and proceeded with all haste to the fatal spot. He arrived at the first bodies that were found dead about dark, and encamped for the night; his command were considerably [*page 10*] scattered, many of the horses giving out, and not able to keep up, with those belonging to the officers, which were better fed. Those who came into camp passed a sleepless night, holding their bridle reins in their hands, and others who did not succeed in arriving at the Camp wandered about some two days without a morsel of anything to eat, and were finally found by some travelers, in the most destitute condition, without gun, ammunition, horse, and almost without clothing.

Captain Morris, passed on the next morning to where the other dead bodies were lying, and immediately returned to Cedar Springs, the place where he had left on the morning of the 25th with Captain G. & party. He reached this place on the 28th, and on the 29th forwarded by Express furnished by the citizens of Fillmore city, the particulars to me at Great Salt Lake City, which arrived on the evening of the 31st of October 6 P.M.²⁴ Upon the receipt of the sad intelligence, I immediately sent an Express, accompanied by an Interpreter, and a few presents, to aid Captain Morris, in the recovery of the lost property, and in any such matters as might be needful.²⁵

I learned by the Express that Kenosh the Pauvan Chief was not at the massacre, and probably knew nothing of it, until it was [page 11] accomplished. I therefore considered that through him, the property might be recovered, if the proper influences, and appliances were used, and advised, that an effort be made through him for that purpose. This party met Captain Morris, with his command, at Nephi, Sixty-five miles north of Fillmore, with his command proceeding to Great Salt Lake City, where he intended to go into Winter Quarters. They were surprised that no effort had been made to recover the lost property, and also, that the bodies had been left upon the ground, a prey for wolves, and other ravenous beasts, and birds of prey,—not even having received a temporary burial. Captain M. sent one man with the Express, who arrived at Fillmore on the 3rd of November, and proceeded immediately to carry out their instructions, by gathering that portion of the lost property, brought in by friendly Indians, embracing all the Note books, and all the instruments, except the Odometer,²⁶ and on the 4th dispatched Mr. Call,²⁷ with two friendly Indians, and nine men including the man from Captain Morris party, to bring in the remains of Captain Gunnison, and Mr. Wm. Potter, (of Manti) [page 12] the Guide, and bury the rest on the spot.

The soldiers, who knew where the dead bodies were located, this being the only manner of identifying them, as the wolves, and beasts of prey had completely torn off their flesh. The remains were all buried upon the spot, except Captain Gunnison, and Wm Potter. The remains of Captain Gunnison, although the most thorough search was made for it, could not be found, except on[e] leg bone, and some of the hair, the bone, and what was found of Mr. Potter was taken to Fillmore, and decently interred.

Why Captain Morris did not bury the dead bodies, before he thus left them a prey to the ravenous beasts of the Desert, I do not know. True, it is as he said, that he had no tools for digging a grave, but a guard could have been placed over them, or an Express could have been sent to Fillmore for tools, or teams, to have conveyed them thither, which would have been the proper course. Upon having interrogated Captain Morris upon this point, he replied, that he had thought of throwing the bodies into the River, but had no means of burying.²⁸ Kenosh, exceedingly regretted the

occurrence, and said, had he been there, he would have prevented it, [page 13] but it is thought, that it would have been a difficult matter for him. He is a young man, and many of those engaged in this affair, were old men, particularly friendly to Tonif, who was Killed by the emigrants under Captain Hildreth, and although nominally under Kenosh, were considered rather a detached band.²⁹ In the absence of emigrants or travelers, whereon to wreak their vengeance, these Indians were gathering as many of their tribe as possible, with the intention, of making an attack upon Fillmore, and then passing on join the hostile Utahs, who were still in active hostilities against the whites.

It was not known to the inhabitants of Millard County, that there were any indians in that particular region. It was known that a portion were off hunting, and so far as known at the time Captain Gunnison visited Fillmore City, that they were generally peaceably disposed.

The excitement consequent upon the Killing of Tonif, having measurably subsided; in this however it appears, the inhabitants were mistaken, as they would probably find out, or have soon learned to their cost, had not the arrival of Captain Gunnison & party in their immediate vicinity furnished them the opportunity of venting their pent [page 14] up vengeance.³⁰

The Arrest

During the fall, and winter of 1854 & 5 Col E. J. Steptoe, who was with this command wintering in this, (G.S.L. City) conceived it his duty, to bring to justice those Indians engaged in this deed of blood.³¹ He conversed with me upon this subject, and I freely gave him my views, and advice in relation thereto.

It was my opinion, that inasmuch, as the massacre took place during war, that no Court acting in accordance with Law, and Justice, could convict those Indians before any Court, where, the Laws of either the Territory, or the United States were fairly administered. If it was desirable to bring them before the Courts, it was decidedly my opinion, that they could be obtained much cheaper, and easier, in an amicable, and peaceful manner by presents to Kenosh, and others, than by making any hostile demonstration against them.³²

The Colonel, in my Judgment very properly pursued the peaceable course. He employed Mr. George Bean, Indian Interpreter,³³ to go to Fillmore, and ascertain the probable success of the undertaking. Mr. Bean, found Kenosh [*page 15*] willing to do as he was required, and finally succeeded in securing in Fillmore, Seven men, the number required by Col Steptoe to be given up for trial. The Col considered that number satisfactory, and upon the return and favorable report of Mr. Bean, sent a small detachment of troops to receive, and guard the prisoners to this city. They were accordingly brought here, accompanied by one Squaw, the wife of one of the prisoners, and quartered in the Barracks of the soldiers, whose shameful conduct in abusing this Squaw, was made a matter of Complaint by her husband to me, and several others.³⁴ He said, he wished that she might be removed, fearing, that the soldiers would actually Kill her: the prisoners were removed to another place, as soon as the Complaint came to the Knowledge of Col Steptoe.

It was during the imprisonment of those Indians, in this city, that it was suggested by Col Babbitt,³⁵ and others, to have the indians under the Habeas Corpus act, upon the ground that they were illegally held, not being in the Judicial District, in which the crime was committed, and being held exclusively by [*page 16*] the Military without an indictment, and not by Judicial Authority. Mr. Babbitt, did ask my opinion upon the subject. I advised him, to leave the whole matter with the court; the very reverse of what was alledged against me, of instructing the Attorney General of the Territory to have them so released.³⁶

The Trial

On the 10th March Hon John F. Kinney³⁷ Officers of Court, and Col Steptoe with a large escort of soldiers, with prisoners in charge, met in Nephi City to hold the court, which from various words, and sayings, such as selecting the place of execution on their way down &c was supposed would undoubtedly result in the execution of the Indians; judging from all that was said, a listener would have come to the conclusion, that the case was, (to say the least), prejudged it appeared to be the entire object, and intent of the principal portion to slay some indians; seeming to think, that it would reflect, more, or less Glory upon somebody and a

small share upon all who should act any conspicuous part in the forthcoming tragedy.³⁸

The first two days, after the arrival at Nephi, there was more drunkenness than sobriety, Bacchus, much to our surprise, found among [page 17] his worshippers, and devotees, the highest, as well as the lowest; the civilian clothed with Judicial ermine, as well as Gallant Militaire, first paid their humble adoration to the God of inebriation. The misfortune was, that they all considered themselves capable of doing business: hence, the insults, and abuse to the jurors by the prosecuting Attorney, and others, as shown in the accompanying documents, marked (C).³⁹

Three only of the prisoners were indicted, and just put upon their trial. It appears, that Kenosh, with Indian shroudness, was for making the best bargain that he could; therefor replied, when asked, why he did not deliver those who were the most guilty, that he would rather spare old decrepit men, and even Squaws who were of little account, than his young men. It is worthy of remark, that those indians who were the very leaders, were known by all the Officers to be at Nephi, as also at Fillmore, while Judge Kinney, and Col Steptoe, with escort were visiting that place in the fall previous, soon after their arrival in the Territory; at which time, Kenosh proposed to give them up, if they would give him some presents,⁴⁰ but they declined to take them for this reason, as they avered "owing to [page 18] the unprotected situation of the Southern Settlements."⁴¹ It will also be observed, that they required man for man; for so many Americans, as they called them as was slain, must be paid by claiming so many of that tribe of Indians who committed the deed. This mode of dealing was well understood by the Indians, as it is a custom with them to settle differences in the same manner; with this difference, when they are not very mad, they will substitute horses for men,—taking a horse, instead of a man. To have carried out this policy strictly, eight should have been required, as there were eight men killed, but one of them being a citizen of Utah, Mr. Potter, of Manti. It was not considered of importance sufficient, to require the atoning blood of an Indian, to compensate, unless, indeed, the killing of Tonif by the Americans was considered a set off, of one in the trade as understood by the Indians.⁴² The Indians, however, soon found out, that the Americans were not very mad, as they soon released all but

three of the Indians, for the release of which, Kenosh would have been extremely reluctant, to have given a horse each to have them redeemed. Nevertheless the trial went on [*page 19*] and it was shown, that the prisoners were more or less engaged in the massacre, by Indian testimony alone, but none of them were the leaders. It was shown, that the massacre took place, during the existence of actual hostilities between the Utahs, and whites; that this band had not participated in the Killing of any of the whites, but had suffered the loss of one of their principal men by the whites, during the war.⁴³ It has been stated in the public prints, by a Report said to be made by a Reporter at the time upon these points, and testimony leading thereto, was over=ruled by the Court, but Judge Kinney, who Presided, said to me that they were not. I therefore rather give credit to his own words, than the report alluded to.⁴⁴

The court did finally charge the Jury, that they must find the prisoners guilty of murder in the first degree, or acquit them entirely. The Jury did find a verdict of manslaughter, and were told by the Court, and other members of the bar, that they had violated their Oaths.⁴⁵ But the court finally accepted of the verdict, and sentenced the prisoners to the extent of [*page 20*] the Law of the United States for that crime; stating to the Indians, that had it been left to the Court to say, they would have been hung.

There was other business before the ~~Court~~ Grand Jury, and before the Court; one item of which was to indict those men who had killed Tonif; but contrary to all usage, and custom, the Court dismissed the Grand Jury, and adjourned the Court.⁴⁶

Not having tis true, hung up the Indians, as was manifestly their wish and design, but being partially compensated & mollified by successful worship, and adoration at the shrine of venus, and Mrs. Ammon.⁴⁷ they had successfully tried some of the indians, and some of the Squaws, see accompanying documents marked (D).

They were tried by the Laws of the United States, instead of the Laws of the Territory. An effort was made by Mr. Babbitt, on the part of the defence, to have them tried by the Laws of the Territory, but was over=ruled by the Court; when however, the verdict was given, the Court enquired, if he could not sentence them under the Law of the Territory, as the punishment for the crime of manslaughter [*page 21*] was greater under these Laws, than the

Laws of the U S. The argument of the defence was, that inasmuch as the Court had over-ruled them in their attempt to get the trial before the Court under the Statutes of the Territory, that now it should not depart from its own ruling; this argument, prevailed with the court.

After the Trial

The convicts, were delivered into the Penitentiary near Great Salt Lake City on the 26th day of March A.D. 1855 and made their escape on the night of the 31st ~~on or about~~ of the same month.

After waiting a few days, to see if any one would take interest enough in the matter, to re=apture them, and finding there was not, I sent for, and obtained them, and they are now, and have been since their re=apture in the prison of the Territory according to the sentence of the Court.⁴⁸

So far as influencing the Jury in their verdict, I utterly disclaim having anything to do with it, neither did the Jury admit that they had received any such instruction from me, or been so influenced in any manner whatever, as alluded, or alledged in the reports [page 22] given, and published, that charge is an unmitigated falsehood, made without the least shadow of proof,⁴⁹ and we consider, the whole affair, a Judicial farce, unworthy of honorable men, and reflecting no credit upon any of the parties concerned; neither resulting in any good influence upon the Indians.⁵⁰

Thus I have given, an unvarnished statement of the whole affair, as it is generally understood by all who have any Knowledge of the matter.

The accompanying papers, though not as full and complete as they might be, still most conclusively show all the main facts in the case; whatever is not fully shown therein is of notorious truth, such as Mr. William Potter a citizen of Manti, having been slain with the rest of the party; which fact seems to have been studiously left out in all the reports of the late trials.⁵¹

I have the honor to be

Hon. Jefferson Davis
Secretary of War
War Department
Washington City
D.C.

Most Respectfully
Your Obed Sert
signed Brigham Young.

Gov. & Ex=officio Supt of
Indian Affairs.

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NOTES

¹John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1856).

²Robert Kent Fielding, *The Unsolicited Chronicler: An Account of the Gunnison Massacre, Its Causes and Consequences* (Brookline, Mass.: Paradigm Publications, 1993).

³David Henry Miller, "The Impact of the Gunnison Massacre on Mormon Federal Relations: Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe's Command in Utah Territory, 1854-55" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 1968).

⁴John M. Bernhisel to Brigham Young, December 18, 1855, Bernhisel Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

⁵Young often expressed frustration over the unkind and untrue rumors surrounding the Saints—and his inability to do much about it. Several years earlier, he caustically asked Bernhisel if a "standing army of scribes and clerks" might stem the tide? Or failing that, perhaps a newfangled device could be found? "I wish you would just step into the patent office and see if you cannot find some kind of machine or yankee contrivance [to combat the rumors] approximating as near a perpetual motion as possible, and put it connection with the telegraph wire, and let it roll." Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, May 27, 1852, Brigham Young Letterbooks, Young Papers.

⁶Brigham Young, "An Account of the Massacre of Captain J. W. Gunnison, and Seven of His Party on the Sevier River, on the 26th of October 1853," November 30, 1853, Executive Department, Utah Territory, Great Salt Lake City, copy in Governor's Letterbooks 1:22-29, Young Papers. Young included a copy of this earlier report, which had been sent to Bernhisel for submission to President Franklin Pierce and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as an appendage to the current document. Young had also informed Davis about the massacre on this same date. Brigham Young, "An Account of the Massacre," Governor's Letterbooks 1:8-9, Young Papers.

⁷"Utah Indians," or Utes.

⁸This Indian turmoil, later called the "Walker War" after the Ute headman, Wakara, had its origin in the usual frontier Indian-white friction over resource control—the Mormons settled and farmed on Indian lands and in the process destroyed game and natural foodstuffs. As a further cause of the war, Mormons had moved firmly against the Ute slave trade, which had enriched the "horse Utes," who sold Indian adolescents, especially young women, in the Californian and New Mexican slave marts. The Indian-white tension climaxed in Utah County during the summer of 1853. After entering the town of Payson to eat with the settlers, several Indian men killed the unsuspecting picket guard, Alexander Keele. Rumor said the killing had been done by Wah-woon-oh, who was furious over the

whites' slaying of a kinsman a few days before. Wakara, after some initial raiding, soon left the territory and was not responsible for the later events of the "war." The eponym nevertheless stuck.

⁹The Pauvan or Pahvant Native Americans were usually not closely allied with Wakara's band, who regarded the Pahvants as their inferiors and at times treated them so. The excitement of the first skirmishes of 1853, however, drew the two groups into a brief alliance that the Mormon militia had worked to sever. During the summer of 1853, the Mormons sent almost fifty militiamen among the Pahvants to "counteract the influence of the Utahs with them, and for the defense of the settlements of Millard County against marauding parties of the Utahs." See ledger of expenses in papers dated July 24 to August 26, 1853, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, Young Papers. Later in the summer and fall, some of the Pahvants, who were described as "friendly," helped the fledgling Fillmore settlement harvest its crops. They were paid in provisions. Despite these peaceful acts, the wary settlers paid them close watch. Anson Call Manuscript Autobiography, in Andrew Jensen, *Journal History of the Church*, October 26, 1853, 5-8, LDS Church Archives (hereafter cited as JH).

¹⁰On September 10, 1853, Indians shot William H. Hatten, or Hatton, who was described in a contemporary document as "Sentinel No 4 at the Cattle Corral." Conflicting records of the time identify Hatten either as a Mormon elder or as a non-LDS California emigrant passing through the territory. Young fails to mention the violence that some central Utah citizens engaged in prior to the Gunnison incident. Angered by Hatten's death and by the killing and mutilation of several Sanpete County men, settlers at Nephi summarily shot at least eight Native Americans, whom militia commander George Bradley had asked to come into the town. Hatten's widow ambiguously asserted that this killing of "Lake Pahvants" was "the cause of other hostilities between the indians and whites"—perhaps a reference to the Gunnison tragedy that soon followed. If true, this information becomes an important and unused document in explaining the unfolding of the massacre, but neither the Native American or white sources repeat Mrs. Hatten's claim. Bradley said that only two of the mixed-member band were Pahvants. See Henry Standage to George A. Smith, September 10, 1853; George W. Bradley to Daniel H. Wells, October 2, 1853; and Henry Standage to James Ferguson, October 30, 1853, Utah Territory Militia Papers, Nauvoo Legion, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; and "Memoirs of Adelia Almira Wilcox," in Stanley S. Ivins, "Notes Relating to Utah History," Notebook 12, 78-79, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City. For further detailing of the Fillmore shootings, see Martha Spence Heywood, *Not by Bread Alone*, ed. Juanita Brooks (Salt Lake City: Utah Historical Society, 1978), 97.

¹¹One of the several spellings for the Pahvant chief's name, now usually styled "Kanosh." Kanosh was peacefully inclined to the Mormons and to most whites. Nineteenth-century tradition has him born near the eastern mountains of California and trained as a youth at a padre mission. Whatever his origin, he came to the chieftainship as a young man and steadily increased his influence to become one of the half dozen most prominent Native Americans of pioneer Utah. According to some travelers, Kanosh's penetrating eyes and Roman nose were set off by a thick thatch of black hair which, contrary to the usual Indian style, was brushed to the side of his forehead. See E. L. Black, "Life Story of Indian Chief

Kanosh," manuscript, Marriott Library, University of Utah; *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1939–1951), 1:101, 2:350–51; Elizabeth Wood Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Philadelphia: n.p., 1874), 72; and S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1860), 195–97.

¹²Thomas Hildreth was the captain of a company of Missouri emigrants, while his brother John played a leading role in the fray with the Indians. The party was described as "breathing everything but a healthy spirit towards Indians, Mormons, &c." Henry Standage to George A. Smith, September 29, 1853, George A. Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives. Part of the company's bad temper may be attributed to an earlier attack upon it by a band of warring Utes. Call, Manuscript Autobiography, JH, 5–8.

¹³Samuel P. Hoyt to Hosea Stout, August 14, 1855, Governor's Letterbooks 1:355–60, Young Papers. For an important, on-the-spot account of the Pahvant difficulty, see Standage to Smith, September 29, 1853. Overlooked by previous historical studies, Standage's letter is possibly the first contemporaneous account of the Hildreth difficulty and effectively sets aside the idea that reminiscent Mormon accounts made up or magnified the difficulty with the company. In addition to reporting other significant details, Standage noted that at the time of the letter's composition both the Hildreth company and the Pahvants were seeking Mormon help in their altercation with the other.

¹⁴James Hart.

¹⁵Quent, or Queant, was a "Lake band" notable, two of whose sons may have been at the massacre. He was later described as a "good Indian," perhaps because he made an attempt at white man's farming. Hoyt to Stout, August 14, 1855, Governor's Letterbooks 1:355–60; *Deseret Evening News*, September 27, 1870; and Peter Boyce to Jacob Forney, October 31, 1858, Records of the Utah Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1853–1870, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

¹⁶Pursuing the wagon train and seeking an opportunity to punish the white men, the angry Pahvants reportedly killed a mule and drove off some cattle. But they could inflict no greater damage. Despite this action on the Hildreth train, the Native Americans still seemed as "friendly as ever" with the Mormons. See Standage to Smith, September 29, 1853.

¹⁷When Gunnison entered the village of Fillmore, he had already seen the embattled measures being taken by the Saints in Sanpete County and elsewhere and therefore knew firsthand of the Indian threat. In addition, the citizens in Fillmore told him of the recent difficulties with the Hildreth company. According to Young, Gunnison nevertheless showed "much confidence in his ability to preserve peaceful relations" with the local Natives. Young, "An Account of the Massacre," Governor's Letterbooks 1:29.

Gunnison, however, may have had an additional reason for confidence. The Mormons thought the Pahvants had been pacified and probably told him so. Acting as Utah's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Young, in mid-October, had dispatched government interpreter and Mormon scout, Dimick B. Huntington, to settle any remaining difficulties with the Pahvants. Huntington's superior, Indian Agent Edward A. Bedell, was too sick for the assignment. In explaining Huntington's mission to local militia leaders, Young was unequivocal: "We must cease our

hostilities and seek by every possible means to reach the Indian with a peaceful message, which shall extend a salutary influence over them which shall cause them to consider us their friends.” Brigham Young to P. W. Conover, and others, October 16, 1853, Miscellaneous Indian Affairs Collection, Young Papers. For a few weeks in October, it seemed that Huntington’s mission had been a success, though events would later prove otherwise.

Young’s explicit letter, not cited in Fielding’s *The Unsolicited Chronicler*, is an important document. It directly counters Fielding’s suggestions that the Huntington mission was part of an anti-Gunnison conspiracy. In dispatching Huntington, Young was likely responding to news of the recent killing of Indians by Mormons in Nephi and in Sanpete County, which reportedly had left him feeling “very indignant.” “Memoirs of Adelia Almira Wilcox,” 78–79, Utah Historical Society.

¹⁸Earlier, when passing through the Sanpete valley, Gunnison had secured the services of Gardiner G. Potter and William Potter as guides. Since the land through which the Gunnison party was scheduled to travel was reasonably well charted, the employment of the brothers may have had more to do with their ability to speak the Pahvant dialect and their acquaintance with several of the Pahvants. William, for example, was counted as a friend to Kanosh. See James Ferguson to Jefferson Davis, March 28, 1854, Nauvoo Legion Letterbook, Young Papers. William’s service to the party was later praised by Lieutenant E. G. Beckwith, who found the Mormon to be “resolute and determined.” E. G. Beckwith, “Report of Exploration for a Route for the Pacific Railroad, . . .” in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 11 vols. (Washington, D.C.: War Department, 1855), 2:10.

¹⁹Gunnison’s decision probably had something to do with the winter-like conditions. The willows afforded some relief from the icy, westerly winds.

²⁰The Mormon president seems anxious to place this detail into his narrative. Probably coming from an Indian informer, it favorably contrasted his people with the rougher-speaking military.

In their dealings with the Indians, the Mormons were often accused of drawing such a distinction between themselves and other Americans—they were “Mormons,” who helped and sympathized with the Natives, while the others were unfriendly “Americats,” or more simply “Merocats.” Government officials understandably often voiced displeasure over this tendency, which they saw as self-serving or even disloyal.

For his part, Young claimed the distinction arose during the California gold rush, when the Indians learned that the non-LDS travelers might shoot at them: “Finding that the Mormons fed them and clothed them instead of killing them [the Indians] soon learned to enquire of every party they met whether they were Mormons or Americans a distinction which they have and probably always will make.” Brigham Young to John M. Bernhisel, November 4, 1856, Young Papers.

²¹The leadership of this band of Pahvants remains uncertain. Some believed that Moshuquop, Toniff’s son and Pahvant war chief, dominated this semi-detached group, with his brothers Pants and Mowquick assisting him. Moshuquop later befriended the Mormons and spoke at Kanosh’s funeral. *Deseret Evening News*, December 12, 1881; “Biographical Sketch of Charles Reuben McBride,” Tooele Stake History, comp. Andrew Jenson, LDS Church Archives. Other evidence

points to an older Pahvant headman, Parashant. While white men's records often confused Indian relationships, one claimed that Parashant was another of Toniff's sons. Standage to Smith, September 29, 1853. Still other sources claimed that Parashant was Kanosh's uncle. For more than twenty years, Parashant played a major role in Pahvant affairs and was especially active in demanding that the Hildreth emigrants be punished for Toniff's death. Standage to Smith, September 29, 1853.

²²Again, Young speaks of Gunnison's confidence, even as the Indians attacked. The point is important because of suggestions that the Mormons had entrapped Gunnison by conveying to him "an unusual feeling of security." See Fielding, *Unsolicited Chronicler*, 145-54. Certainly some of Gunnison's confidence was of his own making.

²³Brevet Captain Robert M. Morris of Washington, D.C., had distinguished himself in the Mexican War engagements of Contreras and Chapultepec. He knew the Mormons. He had previously entered Utah territory as an escort to Indian Agent John Wilson in September 1849. He now commanded more than two dozen noncommissioned officers and men, charged with protecting Gunnison's surveyors and scientists.

²⁴Included with Morris's express was the hastily composed letter of Apostles Erastus Snow and F. D. Richards, October 29, 1853, now on file in the Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, Young Papers. If the Mormons had been involved in the killing of Gunnison, this first dispatch from Fillmore should have given some hint of it. Instead, Snow and Richards, who seemed distressed by the killing, sketched the facts of the massacre largely as Young now expressed them. Several crucial sentences of their dispatch stated: "The Pauvan chiefs are here and are very sorry about the murder of the Americans. They deny all previous knowledge of or participation in the affair. They say it was the unruly boys of the Lake band." Snow and Richards also noted that Kanosh already had secured a government horse from the raiding Indians and was attempting to secure other lost U.S. property.

²⁵Dimick B. Huntington was once more Young's emissary. Fielding suggests, without documentation, that Huntington may have been sent south to "make sure that everyone at Fillmore had their facts 'straight,'" the intimation being that the Mormon role in the massacre had to be suppressed. Fielding, *Unsolicited Chronicler*, 172. Fortunately, Young's specific instructions to Huntington are a matter of record, as is Huntington's later report. Brigham Young to Dimick B. Huntington, October 31, 1853, Governor's Letterbooks 1:10, Young Papers; Report of Huntington, Miscellaneous Indian Affairs Files, Young Papers. Neither give the slightest support to a conspiracy hypothesis. For instance, on returning to Salt Lake City, Huntington wrote: "I ascertained from other friendly indians of the Pahvante tribe that the cause of this massacre was the killing of an Indian of the Pah-vantes and the wounding of two others by a party of emigrants who went through the Territory on the southern route to California with a flock of sheep." Report of Huntington.

²⁶Returning to Salt Lake City, Huntington made a list of the recovered property: "1 barometer; 2 compasses; 4 mules; 2 rifles; 2 colt's revolvers; 2 dragoon pistols; 1 double barrel gun; 1 spy glass; 1 old watch; 1 pocket book; 1 note book; 1 pocket book; 1 pass book; 1 small empty case; 1 book." Inventory of Property

Recovered by D. B. Huntington, n.d., Governor's Letterbooks 1:12, Young Papers. Later more of the articles were recovered, including a rifle, finger ring, and portions of the odometer. Brigham Young to R. M. Morris and E. G. Beckwith, February 28, 1854, Governor's Letterbooks 1:55, Young Papers.

²⁷Anson Call (1810-1890) was a native of New England and converted to Mormonism during its first years. While appointed in the 1850s to be one of the leaders of the Fillmore settlement, he centered much of his Utah activity in northern Utah, where he served as bishop of one of the Bountiful wards.

²⁸Morris's failure to bury the remains led to rumors that he and Gunnison had had a falling out and were personally alienated. A more likely reason lay in the natural panic and uncertainty that reigned immediately after the massacre. Morris must have wondered if the attack didn't foreshadow a widespread hostility that would have endangered any men left to guard the bodies.

²⁹Like most Native American chiefs in the Great Basin, Kanosh had little power to enforce his suggestions, other than the Pahvants' own willingness to obey. And this situation was especially difficult. Young's account importantly notes that many "older" bandsmen were active in the massacre—not simply the quick-to-anger, younger men who were sometimes given the responsibility for the attack. Kanosh's ability to influence these tribesmen was minimal. Besides, many came from a "detached" band that apparently was not accustomed to dealing with the young chief directly.

³⁰Young wished to underscore Mormon innocence in the massacre and therefore suggested that when Gunnison visited Fillmore the settlers were unaware of any impending Pahvant danger—an error, Young suggested, they came fully to understand after the massacre. While Young's depiction was accurate, it revealed little of the fluid and dangerous flow of events that had taken place at Fillmore.

Immediately after the Hildreth incident, many of the Natives had remained at peace with the Mormons. See Standage to Smith, September 29, 1853. These Pahvant men and women likely included those most directly associated with Kanosh. On the other hand, other bandsmen became increasingly restive. This latter group was angry over the Mormon refusal to aid Pahvant attacks on the Hildreth company and may have been further estranged over the recent Indian killings at Manti. Above all, these hostile Pahvants wanted the death of white men to balance the death and wounding of their own relatives.

By mid-October rumors spread of a threatened Indian skirmish at Fillmore (frontal attacks on Mormon towns were virtually unknown). Such intelligence may have prompted Huntington's first mission, which for a moment quieted Mormon concerns when he reaffirmed amicable relations with Kanosh. An important letter written by a militiaman, Henry Standage, later connected these various strands: "Br Dimick B. Huntington was convinced when he left . . . [Fillmore] that Canosh would do his best to break up the party of Indians that were to come against this post." Henry Standage to James Ferguson, October 30, 1853. Thus, when Gunnison entered Fillmore, the settlers thought the immediate threat to their community had passed and probably told him so. Nevertheless, they remained living in their tightly drawn defensive positions, guarded workers in the outlying fields, and generally travelled in armed groups. Whatever the success of Huntington's recent mission, they knew the general "war" continued.

³¹In the spring of 1854, Colonel Edward Jenner Steptoe was ordered to lead an expeditionary force of several hundred men to the West Coast. His orders were later modified to include a stop in Utah, where he was to secure the prosecution of the killers of Gunnison and his party. Steptoe was a native of Virginia, a graduate of West Point, and a veteran of the Mexican War. He later would be offered the governorship of Utah Territory but would decline.

³²Young had another, perhaps more basic reason for not wanting to use military force against the Pahvant warriors—and, for that matter, for not wanting them brought to court. As he had earlier written to Steptoe, a non-confrontive policy “would . . . leave a much better impression upon the Indians, and better preserve the influence which it has been my constant aim to exercise among them, than to take a course which might end in a collision, which if even successful, would leave with them the impression that we were their enemies.” Brigham Young to E. J. Steptoe, February 9, 1855, Young Letterbooks, Young Papers. In short, Young wanted a long-term solution rooted in good feeling and white-man control, which was characteristic of his Indian policy. He sometimes, in cases like this, overlooked and “forgave” Indian depredations in the hope of stable, peaceful relations.

³³George Washington Bean (1831–1897), one of the first white settlers of Utah county, became a frequent and trusted Mormon intermediary to the Great Basin Natives. An accident left him with a stub for a left arm and the Indian name of “Poorets” or “One-Arm Man.” See *Autobiography of George Washington Bean*, comp. Flora Diana Bean Horne (Salt Lake City: Utah Printing, 1945). For a record of his service under Steptoe, see “Diary of George W. Bean’s Mission to the Indians at Las Vegas, 1855–56,” February 8, 1855, Manuscript Collection, Brigham Young University.

³⁴The woman’s name was “Arich” or “Ar-Wich,” which in English meant “Midsummer.” By some accounts, she was a handsome woman, about twenty years of age. Affidavits of George Peacock, July 18, 1855, and Elijah Averett and Warren S. Snow, July 21, 1855, Governor’s Letterbooks 1:343, 346, Young Papers. By citing this incident, Young again underscores American misbehavior.

³⁵Almon W. Babbitt (1813–1856) was an early convert to Mormonism and an early pioneer to Utah. Ambitious, articulate, and independent-minded, Babbitt frequently found himself at odds with Mormon leaders. One of Joseph Smith’s revelations reads: “With my servant Almon Babbitt, there are many things with which I am not pleased; behold he aspireth to establish his counsel instead of the counsel which I have ordained, even that of the Presidency of my Church; and he setteth up a golden calf for the worship of my people” (D&C 124:84). During the Nephi trial, Babbitt served as the counsel to the accused Pahvants. He was Territorial Secretary when killed by Cheyenne Indians in 1856. Young did not mourn his passing. See Bullock’s Minutes of Meetings, October 4, 1856, LDS Church Archives.

³⁶These details were confirmed by a May 24, 1855, letter of Thomas S. Williams, a Mormon merchant but no friend of Young’s, which was published in the St. Louis *Luminary*, June 30, 1855:

One of the prisoners, a woman, ravished by the soldiers before the husband’s eyes. The latter ‘wanted to know if this was the way that white men treated their prisoners.’

As soon as Col. Steptoe learned of this, he at once removed them, and Col. Babbitt, applied to Judge Shaver for a writ of habeas corpus, which was also the duty of their counsel; as the Indians were held in prison, out of the district in which the crime was committed, for which they were on trial. This writ, however, was denied by the Court upon the grounds that the evidence was not properly before them. — This last I had from Judge Shaver himself, and I know that Gov. Young had nothing to do in the matter. But justice demanded that those prisoners should be removed from that den of infamy and corruption.

³⁷Non-Mormon John F. Kinney (1816–1902) was twice chief justice of Utah territory and later congressional delegate for the territory. Like most of the gentile officials directly involved in the case, Kinney found no LDS culpability in the massacre. According to Kinney, the “evidence showed conclusively that the Indians committed the crime of their own volition.” Memorandum, 3, John Fitch Kinney Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³⁸Young once more expresses his antipathy for the proceeding, which he believed was improper, perhaps immoral. Earlier he had written at greater length:

It cannot be expected of the Indians, in their present low and ignorant condition, with all their traditions and ferocious natures upon them, to understand and act in accordance with the provisions of law which they never had the least knowledge of, nor any opportunity for obtaining such information. Therefore it becomes those who profess civilization to set them an example, and not, while pretending to execute law upon them, be more brutal and murderous than they are with each other. Let all such persons consider these facts and act wisely, lest the blood of their victims be found upon their own skirts. (“Twelfth General Epistle,” April 1855, *Messages of the First Presidency*, ed. James R. Clark [Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965], 2:166)

³⁹This appendix contained a series of sworn statements by members of the Mormon jury. These affidavits charged State Attorney Joseph Holeman and other Washington-appointed officials with drunkenness and verbal abuse at the trial.

⁴⁰The comment is confirmed by an entry in Brigham Young’s Office Journal, November 3, 1854, Young Papers: “Col Steptoe had a talk with Kanosh and made him some presents. The murderers of Lieutenant Gunnison were there wearing the clothes of the whites they had killed.” Apparently, the “presents” mentioned in this passage were meant as an enticement to Kanosh to begin negotiations, not for the capture of the malefactors.

⁴¹Here Young seems unduly harsh. He condemns Steptoe’s cautious policy, which, in truth, was not unlike his own. Both men realized that if the army vigorously pursued the Gunnison killers, the southern settlements, as well as travel on the south California trail, would be put at risk. For Steptoe’s explanations on the question, see Col. Edward Jenner Steptoe to Colonel Cooper, November 20, 1854, November 24, 1854, February 1, 1855, February 24, 1855, and March 26, 1855, in “Selected Letters from E. J. Steptoe, 1854–1855, from records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General,” microfilm #MIC/A/106, Utah State Historical Society.

⁴²Young was bothered by Steptoe's apparent failure to count Potter, a Mormon, in his man-for-man negotiations with Kanosh. However, the soldier likely meant no discourtesy. In the rough justice of the times, Steptoe wanted Kanosh to turn over seven of his men—or the same number of men killed at the massacre (eight), minus one (due to the earlier killing of Toniff). Kanosh complied, but officials believed only three of them had been at the massacre. These were the three put on trial.

⁴³This statement suggests that the "Lake band" that attacked the Gunnison Party had not been involved in the earlier killing of Hatten or with the death of the Indians at Nephi. In strongly attacking the Nephi proceedings, Young likely glosses over the guilt of the three Pahvant Indians. They probably had been involved in the assault.

⁴⁴Young's point here is unclear. Arguments such as this about the trial's proceeding unfortunately could not be sorted out; no official transcript of its proceedings was made, or at least none was preserved. However, one of the government attorneys, Sylvester Mowry, bitterly anti-Mormon, published one of his own making.

⁴⁵Fearing injustice would result and trying to pursue a middle way, the Mormon jurors had voted to convict the Indians of manslaughter and, in the process, violated the customary oath to accept the judge's charge to the jury. Kinney had ruled that the jury had to convict or acquit on the narrow first-degree murder charge. More than equity was involved in the Mormons' act. Clearly, the interests of the local settlers and the federal-appointed officers diverged. The former wanted Indian pacification, while the latter hoped for a first-degree murder conviction that would please Eastern sentiment.

⁴⁶A later grand jury issued indictments against the alleged killers of Toniff, but no guilty verdicts were ever obtained.

⁴⁷Once more, Young indicted the entire proceeding by alluding to official misconduct at the trial, which was considerable. LDS affidavits claimed that Holman and other military and territorial officials paid Ammon, a Ute chief, for the prostitution of his wives. According to Samuel Pitchforth's notarized statement: "While Ammon the Indian was following Mr Holman for his Whiskey and Blankets as pay for seducing his Squaw Holman turned round and said he never was . . . in such a damned fix before, as to have such buggars hunting him for they kept him on the Trot." "Testimony of Samuel Pitchforth," July 16, 1855, Governor's Letterbooks 1:350, Young papers. Martha Spence Heywood gave additional detail:

Just previous to the breaking up of the court and while liquor was plenty, there was a debauch celebrated by some of the Gentile exquisites of both parties, to wit — military and judicial. The subjects were some squaws who were known by their lawful owner to have the power of transmitting [venereal] disease to the said exquisites and the circumstance boasted of by the Indian (who was Ammon) all over the settlement.

Several of Steptoe's officers had begun the revelry before the trial. Heywood, *Not by Bread Alone*, 108.

⁴⁸Several Eastern newspapers charged that the Mormons had allowed the Pahvants' escape—but said nothing about their recapture. See, for instance, *New*

York Times, May 18, 1855, p. 4. col. 1. Young apprehended the Pahvants by requesting several leading Indians of the territory, including the Ute chief Arapeen, to bring the men in. William B. Maxwell to Brigham Young, April 22, 1855; and John A. Ray to Brigham Young, April 25, 1855, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, Young Papers. The recapture of the Indians was Young's responsibility as governor.

⁴⁹At a meeting in Young's office, the Church leader showed equal petulance over the rumor. Young confronted Kinney, who was present during the discussion, and drew the following denial: "I never thought that you . . . ever did anything, or thought to influence the jury in the Gunnison trail," Kinney responded, "and never did say so to any one." Kinney also claimed he had urged compassion for the three Indian defendants when issuing his charge to the Mormon jurymen. Notes taken by David O. Calder, Brigham Young's Office Minutes, July 10, 1855, Young Papers.

⁵⁰Steptoe was also bitter about the trial. But in his view, it was the Mormons who had subverted the legal proceeding in the hope of gaining favor with the Indians. For years, he complained, Young had pursued "a singularly pacific Ind[ian]. policy (much too pacific in my opinion, . . .)" that ignored national authority. Steptoe to Cooper, March 26, 1855, and April 15, 1855, "Selected Letters from E. J. Steptoe."

⁵¹The matter was important because the death of Potter, an active Mormon, lessened the charge that the Mormons were involved in the massacre.

Beginning with the Keynote Address on Metaphor and Ideology

I

A light rain is falling on the snow.
The stream accepts its channel over stones.
Spruces grow from hollows in the snow,
And figures stand against the snow and light.

The rain is straight; no wind disturbs the words
Or pods that hang upon the trees.
The words are straight; the words explain the snow
And walk the pale hill like flowers:
English lavender, a Spanish rose.
They grapple with a range so white, so vast
Not even the eye can cover it all.

II

We are met to summarize the snow,
And words festoon the open hall.
Great doors of glass replace
Whole sections of the wall
Beyond which snow is falling straight.

The snow is the central metaphor
By which one world intrudes into
Another. It falls from eastward in
Eden into structure that has no secrets:
Wires, pipes, lights, and fans
Ornament pine beams. The walls
Begin to disappear in trees and snow
As if the snow were words.

III

In the valley birds are calling,
Proposing flowers as fragile as the snow.
The willow by the stream softens into brass,
And we infer the snow from flowers.

Sunlight rides the clouds' round road
To write pale names upon the northern snow,
The mountain to the east leaves its print upon the face,
And prophets bow beneath the snow's white load.

—Kathryn R. Ashworth

Four LDS Views on Harold Bloom

HAROLD BLOOM. *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation*. New York: Touchstone with Simon and Schuster, 1993. 271 pp. Index. Paperback, \$12.00.

Introduction

M. Gerald Bradford

Every now and then a book is written about Mormonism which by all accounts is fascinating, meaning that it both attracts and repels its readers. On the whole, the insights in such books override their points of inaccuracy. The authors of such works usually stand outside the LDS tradition, are recognized as intellectuals, and come from the world of academia.

Nearly forty years ago, for example, Thomas F. O'Dea wrote *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957). His treatment of Latter-day Saints, ostensibly from a sociological perspective but going far beyond any single discipline, was just such a book. Coming to his subject from a somewhat modified Marxist view, O'Dea revealed, between the lines, that he had a soft spot in his heart for the Mormons and that, in some important respect, he had genuinely understood what was distinctive and worthwhile about the religion.

Another equally fascinating book about the Mormons and other religious groups in the United States is Harold Bloom's *The American Religion*. Bloom is an internationally recognized literary critic. What he says about the LDS tradition, Joseph Smith, and the future of the Church, has engendered a wide range of responses. Accordingly, BYU Studies has gathered four discussions of this book, one by an essayist, another by a Mormon

philosopher, a third by one of Bloom's current students, and a fourth by a physicist.

Eugene England, for instance, adopts without reservation Bloom's postmodern notion that it is never possible to perfectly interpret a text or the ideas of another person. Every interpretation is but a "misreading"—either "strong," meaning going beyond and expanding upon what was originally said or written, or "weak," in that what is said about the initial insight is distorted or perverted. According to England, Bloom's "misreadings" are on the whole "strong," getting Joseph Smith's teachings and Mormonism's orientation within the canopy of religions in America basically right. England's focus is on what many believe is Bloom's major point—that the American Religion (by which he means mainly Protestant Fundamentalism and, even more so, Mormonism) is becoming, in England's words, "increasingly conservative, anti-intellectual, powerful, resentful, and repressive of diversity" with all that this foreboding picture portends for the future. While disagreeing with the prophecy, England believes we should nevertheless take warning from Bloom's assessment of what England believes to be our abandonment of the "social gospel."

Truman Madsen, on the other hand, refers only in passing to the political agendas of *The American Religion*, seeing Bloom's Americanized orientation toward Mormonism as out-of-date. The Church's rapid growth in becoming a worldwide movement significantly alters Bloom's predictions about its future trends. Instead, Madsen focuses on Bloom's analysis of Mormonism in terms of some lost, ancient "gnostic" view of the world. The more plausible explanation, according to Madsen, is to see the essence of Mormonism as the restoration of ancient things that had been lost sight of, even though they were present all along in the scriptures and other sacred texts. Still, in spite of this weakness in Bloom's approach, Madsen sees value in Bloom's implicit recognition that a successful explanation of Mormonism must reach beyond nineteenth-century American factors.

With Randall Paul's discussion, we return again to postmodernism for a celebration of all things Bloomian. Paul rightly shows

that Bloom's desire to know how we should face the inevitability of death animates Bloom's interest in the power of human imagination, which explains Bloom's fascination with the LDS doctrine of the eternal self. So fully does Paul share Bloom's enthusiasm for this view that he gets carried away in praising Bloom as a religious critic and in seeing Bloom as the first outside intellectual both to admire and criticize the teachings of Joseph Smith. Among other such critics, O'Dea jumps to mind as a counter example. Still, Paul is correct in stressing the importance of having someone of Bloom's stature pay attention to Joseph Smith. But only time will tell whether Paul's prediction about Bloom's very popular book bringing Mormonism out of darkness will be any more accurate than Bloom's prediction written in 1991 that a Democrat would never again be elected President of the United States.

Richard Haglund is less sure that Bloom ranks in the grand tradition of religious critics. How, Haglund asks, could Bloom miss the main point of the Latter-day Saint faith and thereby claim that LDS references to Jesus Christ are simply a facade behind which "post-Christian" ideas hide and develop? Haglund suggests at least a partial answer by exploring the question: Can someone for whom the sacred, the transcendent, and particularly the idea of God, amounts to nothing more than metaphysical flourishes and "spilt poetry" ever engage in meaningful religious criticism? Maybe, Haglund argues, religious critics have to be in some sense religious themselves to understand the subject they are studying.

Which brings us back to the example of O'Dea. What he would never express publicly, but what he said more than once privately about the Mormons, evidenced that whatever openings to the sacred he may have experienced during his Roman Catholic upbringing were never fully abandoned. Maybe those centers of influence were awakened in him, on occasion, when he lived with the Mormons and shared some of their religious experiences. Perhaps that is why sometimes what he said rang true to some insiders. If so, O'Dea becomes both a test case for Haglund's thesis and a critical threshold that people like Bloom have yet to pass. Based on the views of our panel, the jury is still out on how religious a productive religious critic needs to be.

I

Eugene England

For me, Harold Bloom's address at the University of Utah on November 15, 1990, was a fascinating and unique cultural experience. His reputation as America's most distinguished literary critic and his announced topic, "The Religion-Making Imagination of Joseph Smith," brought a huge crowd, which included many University of Utah professors and students. At least some of these, I had reason to believe as a graduate of the "U" myself, came to hear Bloom roast Joseph Smith and local Mormon culture in the grand style. You can imagine, then, the shock as Bloom began by calling Joseph Smith "an authentic religious genius [who] surpassed all Americans, before or since" (96-97). He stated baldly, "If there is . . . any authentic version of the American Religion then, as Tolstoy surmised, it must be Mormonism, whose future as yet may prove decisive for the nation, and for more than this nation alone" (97).

Imagine how this tension increased among those who had come to see the Prophet excoriated when Bloom confessed he could not explain Joseph Smith's recovery of ancient insights into the theomorphic nature and divine potential of men and women except as revelation and pronounced him not only an authentic prophet for Mormons, but also our *national* "prophet and seer."

Those of us in the audience who were believing Mormons also felt some shocks, even embarrassment. I came with trepidation, then experienced surprised joy (and, I confess, some satisfaction at the discomfiture around me) as Bloom moved with extraordinary insight to what I have long felt are the heart of Joseph Smith's genius and the central empowering truths of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ. But I was also surprised at how terribly wrong a person with such insight could be about other aspects of Mormonism. Nevertheless, all of Bloom's address made me think again about the Americanization and resulting ethical decline of some of us Mormons.

Bloom is perhaps best known for his ideas about "misreading," especially his notion that all we can do with texts and historical figures is misinterpret them; the question is whether our

misreadings are “strong” or “weak”—producing even more insight than the original or merely parodying or perverting it (108).¹ *The American Religion* provides a very strong misreading of Mormon theology and history. Sometimes this misreading is misguided, even dangerous, but I believe it is potentially a very encouraging and helpful challenge to Mormons and others precisely because of Bloom’s political emphasis, though that is what some of his critics have found most objectionable.

That remarkable address at the University of Utah became the second of four chapters on Mormonism that appeared in Bloom’s book a year later. There he focuses appropriately on the Mormon concept of an eternal, uncreated, and thus noncontingent, free, and indestructible intelligence in each of us: our nature is godlike, and our destiny is to become literal gods.

But Bloom goes wrong by going too far. He sees that in many ways the climax of Joseph Smith’s increasing understanding of the essential relatedness of God and humans is sections 131 and 132 of the Doctrine and Covenants, where the new and everlasting covenant of marriage is revealed. Bloom is dead right, I believe, in seeing that “sanctified human sexual intercourse essentially is theurgical” (105); in other words, the ultimate and most powerful insight into the genuine interrelatedness and interdependence of godhood and humanity is Joseph Smith’s understanding of divine beings ultimately as embodied, divinely heterosexual couples whose creativity is in part a function of their sexuality and of human sexuality as both a necessary part of God’s “work and . . . glory” in giving us “immortality and eternal life” and a preparation for godhood like that of our Heavenly Parents (Moses 1:39). And Bloom is dead right, I believe, in saying that for Joseph Smith and Brigham Young “Celestial Marriage and consequent progression towards godhood were the true essence of becoming a Latter-day Saint, the heart of Mormon religion making” (108). Bloom is dead wrong, however, in taking an extra step and equating *plural* marriage with celestial marriage. These two principles are independent and separable. Bloom, however, insists, “Male nature being polygamous, the restoration of all things demanded a sanctification of that polygamy, rather than an abolishment of a nature that could not be corrected” (109). Bloom’s insight into Joseph’s supreme insight—that

male, female, and divine natures are all sexual and are fulfilled through their sexuality—is marred when he reduces that insight with the unproven, sexist, and degrading rationale that male nature is polygamous.

Bloom perceptively hints at what I believe was one of the reasons why God inspired Mormons to practice polygamy when he quotes R. Laurence Moore’s claim, “Mormons [learned] . . . that one way of becoming American was to invent oneself out of a sense of opposition” (88). Bloom writes, “Marked by the glory and stigma of plural marriage, the Mormons of 1850 through 1890 indeed became a peculiar people, a nation apart” (106) and were thus able to preserve a coherent and powerful identity in the formative period. But he goes far wrong again, I believe, when he writes, “I cheerfully do prophesy that . . . not too far on in the twenty-first century, the Mormons will have enough political and financial power to sanction polygamy again. Without it, in some form or other, the complete vision of Joseph Smith never can be fulfilled” (123).

At one point, arguing that a rational theology is not needed for the growth of religion in Fundamentalist, anti-intellectual America, Bloom claims that the Southern Baptists flourish despite a negative and minimal theology and that the fast-growing Mormons have a “theology that is so jerry-built that no one can hope to get it straight” (67–68). Part of my “misreading” of Bloom is to perceive in his response to Mormonism the outlines of what Bloom himself does not see, a remarkably cohesive and empowering theology—but a theology that is indeed threatened by the increasing influence of Mormondom’s anti-intellectual extreme right wing, who, as Armand Mauss shows in his recent book *The Angel and the Beehive*,² controls much of Mormon education and popular thought.

Bloom demonstrates uncanny understanding of the nature and power of what for me is the beginning point and foundation of any uniquely Mormon theology: what he calls the “gnostic” sense of a “self” within the self that existed before creation, that can *know* rather than merely trust or believe. For Mormons, that uncreated “intelligence” is the ground of human relations to a similar, ultimately uncreated self within God and is what ultimately makes us free—but also potentially terribly alone unless we make bridges of love to other selves, such as spouses, neighbors, all humans,

and God. And that emphasis on our eternal self can make us destructively selfish if we fail to build such bridges. Almost all Mormon theology, as B. H. Roberts, John A. Widtsoe, and Lowell Bennion have shown, builds in a rational and systematizable way from that foundation. In fact, built firmly on that foundation are the two other insights of Joseph Smith—and consequent Mormon activities—that Bloom is most moved by: (1) the record gathering and temple work for the dead, which seals together and potentially unites in healing love the whole human family of intelligent spirits in fulfillment of Malachi's prophecy and (2) the eternal vista of "sexual theurgy" (126), in which godhood includes and is even defined by the joys, exaltations, and sorrows of creating spirit bodies for unborn intelligences and then creating universes for their development—a "continuation of the seeds forever" (D&C 132:19). In other words, Bloom is simply uninformed and wrong about the supposed "incoherence" of Mormon theology. (He also—especially as a supposed careful reader—wildly misjudges the nature and value of the Book of Mormon.)

My final "misreading"—I hope a "strong" one, that is, a powerfully useful reinterpretation—is of Bloom's subtext, his general concern expressed throughout the book that the American Religion is becoming increasingly conservative, anti-intellectual, militant, powerful, resentful, and repressive of diversity—and his very specific concern that the chief institutional form of the American Religion, the LDS Church, will continue to increase in size and influence until it will afflict the United States and possibly the world with increased tyranny and violence. I believe he is quite wrong—but I believe Mormons and all Americans can learn from his misreading.

Mormonism did indeed (as Thomas Alexander has documented in books on Wilford Woodruff and on the transitions in Mormon thought at the turn of the century³) compromise a good deal of the social gospel of Christ, especially its proscription against joining in America's wars, in order to survive and become accepted as part of the American mainstream. Hugh Nibley, in *Approaching Zion*,⁴ has documented our tragic turn in the twentieth century from the gospel of Christ towards militarism, materialism, and anti-environmentalism. And President Kimball warned at the time of the American bicentennial that we Mormons, like

other Americans, had become idolatrous both in our materialism and in becoming a “war-like people” who depend on missiles, gods of stone and steel, to protect us rather than trusting the Lord’s call to change our enemies through love.⁵ Increasing evidence exists now to support Bloom’s fear that we may join the political extreme right in militant disregard of others’ social needs and join the religious extreme right in militant anti-intellectualism and disregard for others’ basic rights of action and expression—that our emphasis on uncreated, potentially divine selves may indeed become selfish.

Though I believe Bloom is wrong in his prophecies, my misreading suggests he can be a warning to us as we stand at the crossroads one hundred years after our earlier necessary, but dangerous and costly, compromise. Prophets—particularly President Gordon B. Hinckley⁶ and President Howard W. Hunter⁷—have regularly called us in the past twenty years to return to the religion of Jesus. As the most hopeful sign, the Church has, in the past fourteen years, moved more dramatically into humanitarian service—including fasts and food for starving Africans, relief projects all over the world, weekly community service days for all missionaries, and the assignment of some full-time service missionaries to simply helping others. Perhaps Mormon historians, theologians, and cultural critics at the very least can find in Bloom incentive for further studies that will help us understand how some of us have strayed in our cultural and political perversions of Joseph Smith’s restored gospel, and perhaps all of us can find incentive to join the prophets in returning to the straight and narrow, more excellent, way of unselfishness and mercy.

II

Truman G. Madsen

Harold Bloom is the audacious author who generated a stir in recent times with his *Book of J* (1990), which assigns to a woman responsibility for the alleged J-strand of the Pentateuch. This is the Harold Bloom of no less than one hundred books, a professor at both Yale and New York universities who is—as at least one dust

jacket affirms—the leading literary critic of our time. Due to his “involuntary” enchantment with ancient gnosticism, Bloom has followed his own lights, spent five years looking at interpretive accounts of the lesser-known American religious groups, and then produced a book called *The American Religion*. Emphasis on “The.”

Bloom approaches religion as he approaches poetry, for religion is, according to Bloom, “spilled poetry” (80). It is a product of creative imagination, more stimulating if it is off-track, arcane yet with some flair of originality. He is a Jew who has disposed of normative Judaism and of God, because if there were a God he would not permit Auschwitz. Bloom’s reputation as a broad-stroke literary critic enables him to ignore or wave off the empirical study of religious movements as well as their textual pedigrees, that is, the ways they consciously link themselves to sacred texts. So he has trouble with doctrinal fixities, traditions, hierarchies, establishments, sacraments. Latter-day Saints will also note that he brackets, if he does not negate, all appeals to supernatural origin or influence. He takes the history of religion as the ebb and flow of conventional human stresses, notably the quest for immunity from death, for “death, in life, is the father of religion” (257). He finds Freud, Kafka, and Scholem to be more significant, or at least more interesting, figures than Jesus, the Apostles, or Rabbi Akiva. He labors to isolate something that all born-in-America religions have in common, thereby defying their primary differentia. Thus in his survey Bloom ignores almost three-fourths of the religious groups in America: Roman and other Catholics, Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and even his own people, American Jewry. All are sidestepped in advance because they are mainstream and have European roots.

Bloom’s overall conclusion, given these postures, is perhaps predictable. But it is also exotic: American religions, if they are really American, are a revival of certain admirable ancient gnostic heresies. What if their adherents explicitly reject Bloom’s labels? No problem. One can be a self-centered gnostic unaware, even after being informed by Bloom. Heavy weights are put on pivotal words like “private, inner, innermost” (for Bloom something is more inner, even, than the soul) so that authentic religion is utterly solitary and therefore humanly incommunicable (31, 264). Yet on

nearly every page he puts into words his privileged insight into these hidden regions.

What would such a man with such a background say about Joseph Smith and the Latter-day Saints?

Comparatively speaking, as an American visionary and charismatic, Joseph Smith excels everyone, before or since, even Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William James, and Edward Young Mullins, all Bloom's heroes. Whatever their vision, "Not one of them came near him in courage, vitality, or comprehensiveness, or in so honest a realization of the consequences of a charismatic endowment" (109). Bloom recognizes his "genial and loving nature" (109) and his "genius for restoration" (104), describing the Prophet as one who "moves and alters my own imagination" (127). "Where in all of American history can we find his match? . . . In proportion to his importance and his complexity, he remains the least-studied personage, of an undiminished vitality, in our entire national saga" (95). And Joseph Smith stands out from all other American luminaries with a further distinction: he created men in his own likeness, notably Brigham Young. Joseph Smith was "so rich and varied a personality, so vital a spark of divinity," that he is "almost beyond the limits of the human. . . . I end as I began, with wonder" (127).

Bloom's superlatives sometimes clash with each other. We read that Joseph was a man whose "life, personality, and visions far transcended his talents at the composition of divine texts" (82). Yet Joseph Smith's writings are also transcendent; verses from the Doctrine and Covenants carry his "authentic religious genius" and are transliterated by Bloom into some electric passages of kabbalah (82). On the other hand, the Book of Mormon—the product (not the translation), Bloom believes, of this same genius—is, Bloom alerts us, pedestrian, "tendentious . . . tedious" and is no longer and should no longer be given attention even by Mormons (85). This is all clear to Bloom, though he acknowledges he has never read the book. On still another hand, Joseph the writer is excelled by Joseph the reader. "Joseph Smith's subtlest insight was an exercise in repetition; he absorbed the Bible, and he understood implicitly the burden of Jewish history: the religion preceded, and produced, the peculiar or set-apart people" (88-89). Yet

again, Bloom is confident Joseph did not need to read, for Bloom considers it more likely that Joseph reinvented his insights: “I hardly think that written sources were necessary” (100).

Bloom’s own prepossessions lead to his main thrust: Joseph Smith managed to circumvent centuries of accumulation and tradition and revive understandings found only in hidden pockets of ancient lore. Thus Bloom “can only attribute to [Joseph Smith’s] genius or daemon his uncanny recovery of elements in ancient Jewish theurgy that had ceased to be available either to normative Judaism or to Christianity, and that had survived only in esoteric traditions unlikely to have touched Smith directly” (101). Theurgy, at its worst, is the occult attempt to manipulate God or the gods. But Bloom reads theurgy to mean “strengthening . . . God” (253). Joseph envisioned “a God within us whose best efforts were needed to reinforce the exalted Man in the heavens” (102). God is as dependent on man in some ways as man is dependent upon God.

So is that new, or a departure, or distinctly American? Bloom insists that Mormons are almost alone in such beliefs, since Joseph Smith’s vision takes one back to the original religion of Yahweh, to the J-document, where God is related to space and time and process. It also leads to theomorphism. Primal man (and as Bloom notes from Jewish lore, primordial Adam) himself has a soul or self that “is no part of the Creation, . . . older than the Bible, and is free of time, unstained by mortality” (15), free, and even after the fall, not wholly separated from the divine nature. Here, Bloom fleetingly acknowledges, Joseph Smith’s teaching reflects pretheologized Torah and the New Testament rather than the later and dominant traditions of Rabbinical Judaism and classical Christianity. He does not observe that with modifications Joseph Smith’s teaching on the divine in human nature is the *theosis* of Greek orthodoxy and can be found in the fine print of Roman Catholic theology.

For such achievements, Bloom assures us, Joseph Smith is an authentic prophet (read “authentic religious genius” (82) and speculator). And he is worthy of such terms as “uncanny,” “unique,” and “extraordinary” (83, 82, 85).

Bloom sometimes imposes upon American religion the gnostic Demiurge, an evil-disposed creator identified with the primordial Abyss. Matter is *the* evil. Embodiment is imprisonment;

salvation or redemption is escape. But Bloom should know that this will not do for LDS faith. For the New Testament (and therefore for Joseph Smith), the contrary is true. The body is a temple, a sacred vessel; resurrection is glorification, not a return to the “outlandish slough”; and God himself, as God, overcomes the assumed radical distinction between temporal and spiritual. These are heresies to most gnostics. Why, then, call them gnostic heresies?

Bloom’s further reading of “American gnostics” is a parody: this amorphous group is a creedless and even Bibleless group intent on Americanizing Jesus so that he is a friend near at hand identified with one’s essential private inward solitude and quite reachable by human effort alone. “Soul competency” is the word he uses approvingly for the Baptists (41). Such seek esoteric knowledge not of God but of the sacred self within themselves as uncreated sparks of divinity. But to affirm a sacred self and turn away from a sacral God is a self-contradiction for both Mormons and Southern Baptists. And Bloom seems unacquainted with authentic senses of dependence upon God.

Is “gnostic” then mainly a purr-word for ideas and practices that have a distinct fascination for Bloom? One can make that case. But he does not see that one need not resort to archaic pockets, kabbalah, or the primal self to find such ideas and practices in scriptural sources. For example, Bloom is enchanted in Mormon thought with primal materials in creation. Nothing is more “American,” he argues, than the view that God did not bring all that is into being by fiat, but “organized” elements (101). But the Hebrew creation narratives say that this world was formed out of previously existing matter. The dogma of *ex nihilo* creation was invented later.

He repeats, even revels in, the kinship reintroduced in LDS thought between God and man (and stands among the few who recognize that Joseph Smith did *not* teach that God is “human all too human”). He shows that this kinship undercuts typical views of original sin and doctrines of total human depravity. So it does; but so also do the more extreme Jewish views of the evil inclination which are, again, a later importation. And this kinship, too, is in the earliest texts. *Likeness* and *image*, *tselem* and *demuth* in Hebrew, mean that man resembles God as a statue resembles a person, a point that was embarrassing to later interpreters who often reduced the similarity

between God and man to the single trait of rationality. Even the Exodus text on the Divine name, “I am that I am,” which has been cited for centuries as the foundation of the monoliths of Plato and Aristotle, may read “I will become what I will become.” The Platonic absolute, the static, the utterly unconditioned was later written into the official theology. It is absent in the biblical texts. Indeed the kinships Joseph Smith affirmed are present in Psalm 8. The man of whom God is mindful is “a little lower than the Eloheim (the Divine)” — not, as the KJ translators have it, than “the angels” — and is “crowned with glory and honor” (Ps. 8:5).

Bloom is attracted to the LDS teaching of the “sacredness of human sexuality” and finds similar teachings in archaic sources (106). He explains this with references to Freud and to the much earlier Sabbatai Zvi, whose doctrine of the holiness of sin (“redemption through sin” [106]) was the betrayal of his Messianic claim. Bloom argues (as Joseph Smith did not) that if marriage is sacred then plural marriage is inevitable. And there is hidden eroticism in Bloom’s argument. But he misses the point. Abraham was not promised a harem, but a lasting and glorious posterity. All this is likewise Hebrew-Biblical. But since Augustine, the sacredness of human sexuality is unfamiliar or heretical.

Intrigued by the prominence of Enoch in Mormon sources, Bloom claims with poetic license a “virtual identity” between Enoch and Joseph Smith (100). Enoch created a city-Zion, did not die, and will bring it anew. He is Metatron in the pantheon of kabbalistic lore. But there is no hint in Joseph Smith of this identification nor of reincarnation. If one is serious about the past, present, and future of David’s “congregation of the mighty” (Ps. 82:1), he must add Adam, Eve, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, John, and Elijah, plus others who have received renewed prominence in the Restoration (D&C 138:38).

Bloom ascribes to Joseph Smith the ancient Hebrew sense that “word, event and thing” are one and calls this transumption (100). He does not note that, by this definition, the Old Testament prophets, the New Testament Apostles, and Jesus himself were gnostics. In other company, including religions, this is often taken as a misguided quest for certainty, or as a mystical retreat from reality, or a bromide to palliate brooding about death and despair. For Latter-day

Saints, it is none of the above. In affirming the present possibility of face-to-face communion with God like that of Moses, Joseph Smith was not a radical revolutionary nor an original. He was, instead, what he said he was: a restorer. On a comprehensive scale.

Bloom sometimes reverses his implicit-to-explicit mode, as is illustrated by one telling example. The absence of the cross in Mormon architecture shows, Bloom says, that Mormons and the American Religion in general have lost touch with the historical Jesus (40). Bloom, who asserts the primacy of the interior, might have intuited what he could not see. The earliest Christians placed Easter ahead of the Crucifixion and so do Latter-day Saints. A glorified Christ who bears the nail prints is in all ways the embodiment of the new beginning. The cross testifies most of the mortal end. Precisely what Bloom says is absent in LDS faith is present: one may hypostatize the cross, as in classical theology, or he may take it up inside and “deny himself of all ungodliness” (Moro. 10:32; Alma 39:9). In the Book of Mormon, more than in any other document, the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus are vividly combined both in anticipation and manifestation. Bloom’s stumbling here and elsewhere is incompatible with what he himself avers: namely, that the reunion of the historical, the literal, and the actualized—and with symbols that deepen rather than evade—is at the heart of Joseph Smith’s mission.

Another example. Bloom has discovered that Joseph Smith organized a Council of Fifty in Nauvoo, some of whose members were men of other faiths, pointing toward the extension of constitutional government. (One might add that few others have given such a religious dimension to the American Constitution). This, at Bloom’s instant touch, is transmuted into something sinister, “the gradual, subtle growth of the Mormon Kingdom of God in America” (94). Who in the Jewish-Christian world does not pray, “Thy Kingdom come”? The Latter-day Saint pattern is the same as that in ancient Judaism—as Bloom himself says, “a religion becomes [became] a people” (106). The Mormon people became a community, which, like the New Testament community, sought and continues to seek to become a kingdom. The Saints are the last people on earth to be confused on who the King is or how, in contrast to petty despotisms, he will govern.

Other inversions beset Bloom's exposition: For Bloom, *The American Religion* is all about a loneliness related to the American "experience of the abyss of space" (103). But the New Testament model and the faith of the Latter-day Saints is—through and through—about togetherness, the solidifying and hallowing of relationships in a way that reaches eternity and the experiencing of the endlessness of time. Thus, there has never been an isolated self; there have always been relationships, family, community. God himself was never completely alone.

Bloom's subtitle is "The Emergence of the *Post-Christian* Nation." But the faith of the Latter-day Saints is the *pre-Christian* religion of Christ. It is Judaism at its crest and the religion of disciples of Jesus before they were victimized by diaspora—by dilution and embellishment, addition and subtraction—and by official amalgamation to the state, all of which pulled the faith from the moorings of Jesus into metaphysical monoliths.

"Mormonism . . . of today is not my subject," says Bloom (106). But then he proceeds as if it were. What attracts him religiously appalls him politically. Much of the book is strident and erratic sociopolitical commentary. Mormons, Baptists, and Christian Scientists receive their share; Christian Fundamentalists and Pentecostals, more than their share. As for the Mormons, Bloom becomes altogether conventional and repeats the journalistic stereotype: the present-day LDS Church is stunningly wealthy, respectable, politically monolithic, and too much an influence in government: "It began as a scandalous heresy and now is an eminently respectable, established church, wealthy, vaguely Christian, and mostly right-wing Republican" (53). Yet the verifiable consequences of the international growth of the LDS community stand this stereotype on its head. The LDS Church today—clearly Christian in its full embrace of the law of tithing and its full rejection of professional caste—is financially stretched. Nevertheless, it is doing many of the very things for the underprivileged worldwide that Bloom says it cannot do. As an organization and community, it remains widely misunderstood and maligned. Has not Bloom himself joined that choir? Moreover, the Church is politically diverse in ethnic, national, and party allegiances. In fact, its international diversity, had he recognized it, would have cost Bloom his title and

his topic. Pigeonholing the Latter-day Saints, even those of the first generation, as “American” is as anachronistic as describing Jews or Christians or Moslems as Jerusalemites.

Bloom also urges, indeed labors, what has now become another flawed claim in recent literature about the Latter-day Saints (and Bloom extends the lament to other American religions): that they have lost touch with their origins. Plainly, he argues, the present-day religion “is only a compromise with gentile America, rather than being the authentic vision of Joseph Smith” (106). If they were faithful to “the most crucial teachings” (91), the Latter-day Saints he says would be utterly different. How can a writer be so sensitized to the subtle and so oblivious to the palpable? The melancholy failure to live up to their high estate is the story of the Jews, as it is of Christians, including Mormon Christians. But “not now” is not necessarily “not ever.” Religion need not abandon what it postpones. It may even intensify the inner ideal while weighed down by impediments.

Moreover, with a clipboard and a gifted interviewing style, Bloom might have consulted a fair sample of recent converts to the LDS Church. If he did not impose his paradoxical indifference to self-awareness, he could glimpse what is stirring and moving their lives. Recent studies show that the dominant moving appeal among the Mormons is the thrust toward experiential religion—more so, in fact, than in the Baptists whom Bloom says still retain the Puritan quest for the “inner light” (54, 204). And it is the Jesus of the New Testament—the one who said he would not be locked within that time or place—along with what he was, what he promised, what he portrayed and taught, that is sought by these new adherents. Their religious experience is a kind of knowing. It is life eternal, the whole of life, and the relationships of life—life that begins now and here with Christ. A creative “misreading” of Bloom’s message is that persons the world over are unconsciously striving toward this faith (which was also Joseph Smith’s faith), spawned by an innate and archetypal religious awareness.

Finally, Bloom steps unabashedly into the realm of forecaster. His expectations discourage him: the Jehovah Witnesses will be increasingly pathological, the Christian Fundamentalists will dominate the political process, and moderates among the Baptists will lose to the fundamentalists, who make an idol out of an inerrant

Bible. Pentecostals will continue to be noisy and ineffectual. The Latter-day Saints, “the Established Church of the American West” (263), will, by the year 2020, compose more than 10 percent of the population of the United States. Though they have traded their “original vision” for business suits, Mormons will become the wave of the future. Here he is not speaking parables. Time will confirm or discredit him.

Can, then, a determined or ambivalent outsider, even with the wit, brilliance, and verbal virtuosity of a Harold Bloom really enter into the sovereign realm of individual religious faiths? On that issue, this book is not reassuring. But it is notable that a man who has spent his life studying and trying to identify with the great literary figures finds visions and vision of great depth and wide-ranging pre-eminence in Joseph Smith and the movement that arose under his leadership. This may encourage some literary or religious minds to look again at LDS source materials—including dehellenized manuscripts and the Book of Mormon—and find what Bloom only touches in an eccentric, piecemeal, and at best one-sided way.

Meanwhile, Latter-day Saints recognize what both attracts and repels Bloom: Joseph Smith was in the profoundest ways a Christ-intoxicated man. At the end of his life, Joseph Smith described the Restoration as encompassing all the truth the Jewish-Christian world possessed and, in addition, renewed access to its ultimate source. Thus Latter-day Saints have every reason to understand Bloom’s minimal thesis: that Joseph Smith and his heirs were neither chronic borrowers from a nineteenth-century milieu, nor *ex nihilo* creators of something wholly outside the Jewish-Christian heritage. But if these alternatives are in apropos, then who were these people, and who are they now? If Bloom stirs any interpreters of this religion to open or reopen that question, both academically and religiously, that will be a service.

III

Charles Randall Paul

Harold Bloom is a husband, father, teacher, scholar, and a life-long addict of the written word, who said if he were marooned on

an island for the rest of his life and could bring only three books, he would choose the Bible, Shakespeare's complete works, and—paralyzed at the horror of abandoning all but one of his other literary loves—he declined to select a third.⁸ Wayne Booth says we can tell about people from the written company they keep. If so, Bloom, whose favorites are Yahweh and Falstaff, is a man of extremes: dour and playful, spiritual and earthy, uncanny and hearty. Acquaint yourself directly with Harold Bloom by reading *The American Religion*, *The Book of J*, *The Gospel of Thomas*, and *The Western Canon*.⁹ I recently discussed Bloom's last four books with him during a visit to New York University.

Each of these books treats the big question: As we face death, how should we live? He believes this is the energizing subject of all poetry and religion. Bloom appreciates religious writings because they transmit God as a literary character in a text, making the Almighty partially accessible to a devout reader. He has extensively read the Hebrew scriptures, the early gnostic pseudepigrapha, and many American religious and poetic writings to complement his ample knowledge of classic Western literature. His Mormon reading emphasizes Joseph Smith's revelations, especially the books of Moses and Abraham; Joseph Smith's personal history; and Doctrine and Covenants sections 1, 10, 76, 88, 93, 121, 122, 128, 130, 131, and 132. As a critic, he quotes very little and assumes his readers have an extensive knowledge of the primary texts. He is not a theologian or historian of religion, but he is a broad and deep reader and an eloquent respondent. His scope is so wide that he might be granted a plenary indulgence for his inevitable errors of perspective and detail. Most scholars have avoided directly criticizing particular religions because of fear of offending or a lack of sufficient evidence about supernatural matters. Bloom's open, candid criticism elicits counterargument, begging the reader to engage him with cheers and jeers.

Reading Bloom is a difficult pleasure. His feisty style invigorates if you lean, like a fighter, right into his audacity, punching and embracing at the same time. His signature is arresting overstatement tinged with a mordant, sympathetic, heavyhearted humor. He is not coy. One learns in a few pages whom he hates (anti-intellectual know-it-alls) and whom he loves (hearty, poetic/spiritual

originals). His religious criticism is never snootily contra naturalism or supernaturalism but is instead openly skeptical, allowing for—even wishing for—things that to him seem too good to be true.

Bloom cannot be dismissed as a secular humanist, a rational idealist, a mechanistic naturalist, or a mystical absolutist. He, like Milton, is a unique mix, a religion of one: a gnostic Jewish existentialist reader who experiences beauty, truth, and goodness by textual comparison; who quarrels impatiently with coercive, authoritative individuals or organizations; who is bewildered and disappointed at uninvolved or uncaring divine powers; and who still hopelessly desires that something like Joseph Smith's visions of eternity might be fulfilled in reality. He trusts his readers enough to reveal all these aspects as he invites them into his mind for a serious discussion about how we might live religiously in the face of death.

Harold Bloom is the first intellectual outside the Mormon tradition to both passionately admire and carefully criticize the writings and life of Joseph Smith. Bloom joins Tocqueville, Emerson, and William James as a serious practitioner of religious criticism. No author since James (and even he avoided criticizing specific religions) has written an appreciative yet critical exposition of American religions' responses to these religious questions: Where were we? Where are we journeying? and, best of all for Americans, What makes us free?

The American Religion lauds an American elite of poets and prophets in the following order of eminence (the critic must prioritize): Joseph Smith, Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Emily Dickinson, Edgar Young Mullins, William James, and Jonathan Edwards. The names Smith and Mullins on this short list are the scandal of American religious history by their absence from serious discussion—until now. The book, written to a broad intellectual audience, attempts to disclose the genius of Smith, Mullins, and other religious originals who have often been misunderstood. Like an enthusiastic treasure hunter who alone has uncovered a pearl of great price, Bloom runs at us urging us to come see what he has found by close reading and meditation.

What he displays, glimmering within us, is the free, uncreated individual, the center of the human soul. This center is the self's self, Walt Whitman's "me myself" (26), or Joseph Smith's

“intelligence”—a self so free as to be coequal in eternity with God’s self. This radical self-knowledge is the basis for the unique American religions and poetics that were created in the early nineteenth century by and for modern “gnostics,” those who know that before heaven and earth were organized, they were already there. Our treasure hunter concludes that anyone, regardless of creed, who looks inward can rediscover this truth of the ages: we have always been; we are radically free; we are lone individuals.

Kirkegaard and Sartre found the radical freedom of an uncreated self somber knowledge, whereas the Americans from Walt Whitman to Joseph Smith found in it a romantic adventure of open, upward possibilities. Bloom sensed what Richard Hughes discovered in comparing restoration movements; namely, Latter-day Saint restorationism focused on the ancient *method*—opened heavens pouring down new revelation—making their religion a creative adventure, whereas the Campbellites’ Disciples of Christ centered more on the ancient *form*—a restored organization functioning correctly, legally assuring salvation to its adherents. The open canon of Mormonism allowed for romantic perfection through everlasting progress, whereas the Campbellites sought perfection through their disciplined, retrospective conformance to biblical law. The former was for Bloom the best example of the American Religion, the latter a case of traditional European revivalism.

Bloom’s historical thesis is that imported European religions (except for rarer gnostic, kabbalistic religious forms) emphasized the question What is our final destination? For them, predestined heaven or hell was the typical answer. In contrast, the American Religion—which came to maturity at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the orphic outpourings at Cane Ridge and western New York revivals—emphasized implicitly the primal question Where did we originate as free selves? The American need for personal salvation derived from a feeling of ignorance, not of depravity. At the core, successful seekers found themselves uncreated collaborators with Deity, radically free from ultimate coercion by God, the devil, or other humans (recalling Joseph Smith’s “three independent spirits” of God, man, and the devil).¹⁰ These American gnostic revivalists welcomed Jesus (or the divine) to settle with them as a friend, thus rejecting without overt

rebellion their prior vassalage to a sovereign God. They came to adopt a spiritual peerage system, of becoming coinheritors of the kingdom of God. When Americans lauded Jesus as King of kings and Lord of lords, subtle self-praise was right there too. Tocqueville missed this spiritual toryism when he democratized the American Religion, but had he visited the kingmaker Joseph Smith in 1831, he might have smelled an aristocratic familiarity in the western air. A nation of soul sovereigns serving with their high king Jesus was the actual vision for the Mormon Zion and the Baptist's spiritual kingdom of God.

In American religion, Jesus—our persistent, divine friend—is the one calling us to courageously face ourselves. This lonesome showdown is solid Mormon doctrine: “Behold the way for man is narrow, but it lieth in a straight course before him, and the keeper of the gate is the Holy One of Israel; and he employeth no servant there . . . and he cannot be deceived” (2 Ne. 9:41). Personal particularity is at the root of ancient Christian thought, yet in its American religious mode, it becomes uniqueness. We are not just different; we are singularities.

Truman Madsen once quipped that the Declaration of Independence used imprecise terms; Jefferson should have written that all men are uncreated unequal. Such “unequality,” according to Bloom, spawns resentment. As eternal, uncreated individuals, we go beyond our close Freudian family resentments to resent our powerful cultural forefathers. Their intimidating excellence impedes our own original creativity. With our uncreated freedom, we self-critically ask why we have not done more—we must somehow be responsible for our own situation—and we resent those who surpass us merely by their greater desire. Inexcusable human differences cause the resentment of competition for eminence that is the burden of radical freedom.

Bloom's school of resentment can be healed only by a friendly, personal God that sits down with you and says, “Okay, I know you are not as strong as Atlas, as beautiful as Helen, as bright as Pythagoras, or as talented as Homer, but what makes you divinely interesting, after all, is your desire to become something original. What interests me is your next creative move, your unique new self.” What keeps the gods interested and interesting is the next miraculous moment of change: *creatio ex libertas*.

When visiting Utah, poetic writers from Twain to Emerson could not grasp that the cold gray granite of the Salt Lake Temple cloistered the sacred fire of the ages: the romantic quest for eternal life and love. Bloom says, “American religion, like American imaginative literature, is a severely internalized quest romance, in which some version of immortality serves as the object of desire” (40). This religious/romantic motif was epitomized by Dante’s religious poetry and Joseph Smith’s poetic religion. Isolated pilgrims can find their true loves and together create their rightful paradisiacal kingdom where they reign as kings and queens. Until religious critics understand the power of the Mormon marriage rite, they will never quite understand why polygamy was a voluntary sacrifice or why a 10 percent tithe is a pittance compared to what a committed Mormon questor is willing (almost aching) to give. Those like Bloom who know the power of the romantic quest in fictional literature stand in awe of the motive force it has in nonfictional religion. The sincere audacity of Mormons, who eternally seal themselves in love and then do the same vicariously for the entire human family, motivates a massive effort, unparalleled in history, of genealogical research and vicarious ritual. The practical Latter-day Saints are uncannily impractical about this quest—they spend millions of dollars each month assisting the dead.

This reach beyond the grave was consistent with Joseph Smith’s eros for increase, his divine desire for expansion: “Thy mind, O man! . . . must stretch as high as the utmost heavens, and search into and contemplate the darkest abyss, and the broad expanse of eternity—thou must commune with God.”¹¹ To expand, the Prophet stretched himself and his people beyond any prior American mold. Recognizing this expansion is one of Bloom’s best insights and the force behind his fascination with the Mormon doctrine of celestial marriage. According to Bloom, Joseph Smith enjoyed the pleasure of sacred marriage, but his great passion was for new and more life in a time without boundaries. Bloom’s cheery prophecy for polygamy’s return (123) shows his wish for a living religion so vital in originality and abundance that it continually explodes its previous limits—continual revelation indeed. He would that all Israel were prophets—that there were not just three Nephites, but millions of Enochs, men and women together, living translations of the mysteries of godliness.

Using Hebrews and Enoch and personal experience as texts, the Prophet taught that “our God is a consuming fire”¹² who dwells in everlasting burnings, who dwells in bodily temples. His language for deity was as fiery as the kabbalists’ and Zoroastrians’. Fire signifies transformation and freedom, purity and power, conflict and desire. He sensed that the character of God included all these. Joseph Smith’s temple was always on fire. Images of his glowing Kirtland and blazing Nauvoo temples pale beside the pyrophoric bodies of the Father, the Son, Moses, Abinadi, Moroni, and the American prophet who communed with them all.

No man knows Joseph Smith’s history,¹³ and none would believe it if they did. Nevertheless, due to Harold Bloom’s literary talent and spiritual audacity, I predict that in twenty years, when selections from the *Joseph Smith Reader* are required in any college American history class, millions (who otherwise might not have) shall know Brother Joseph again.¹⁴ It will not have been the biographical psychohistories, nor the critical exposés, nor eloquent philosophical explanations, nor incisive historical syntheses, nor faithful histories, nor sociological surveys, nor comprehensive encyclopedias that bring Mormonism intellectually out of obscurity. Though all the above will have been influential, finally, the most illuminating breakthrough will have begun with a book that was unacceptable to any religious camp or academic persuasion, a book that experts first ignored, later decried, and finally accepted as seminal to a serious understanding of the doctrine of the uncreated, free individual that was restored to American religion most powerfully by Joseph Smith. It will be *The American Religion* and Harold Bloom, who actually read Joseph Smith’s revelations and life with the reverence and awe they deserve compared with other great poetic and religious writings of the world. Hear Bloom summarize his thoughts about the American prophet:

So self-created was he that he transcends Emerson and Whitman in my imaginative response, and takes his place with the great figures of our fiction. . . . So rich and varied a personality, so vital a spark of divinity, is almost beyond the limits of the human, as normally we construe those limits. To one who does not believe in him, but who has studied him intensely, Smith becomes almost a mythology in himself. . . . We do not know Joseph Smith, as he prophesied that even his own could never hope to know him. He requires strong

poets, major novelists, accomplished dramatists to tell his history, and they have not yet come to him. He is as enigmatic as Abraham Lincoln. . . . We cannot be certain what baffles us most. As an unbeliever, I marvel at his intuitive understanding of the permanent religious dilemmas of our country. . . . Our deep need for originality gave us Joseph Smith. . . . There is something of Joseph Smith's spirit in every manifestation of the American Religion. (127)

Bloom believes that "the Mormon perspective is available only to Mormons, or to those few who can imagine themselves into that people" (126). Great virtue exists in such an imagination, one that can get close to becoming something other than itself. Empathetic, imaginative criticism is the only kind that is effectively heard. It creates new possibilities for loving one's enemies as they are, as we are, without the facile separation of sin and sinner. Further, it lets us regret that another's religion is not our own, even while we criticize that religion's weaknesses and affirm our own faith. We can argue in light and truth without resorting to wimpy relativism.

Most nineteenth-century European thinkers (even the few who remained theists) felt fearful and betrayed by their forefathers' religion as they stared sullenly into the empty abyss and saw no God, whereas American gnostics, seeing nothing in their way, freely looked around and found God himself gazing into the vast openness, exhilarated at its limitless possibilities.

In the eighteenth century, the founders crafted American liberal democracy on Montesquieu's and Locke's assumption of non-intercessory Providence. "Freedom from" the other, especially the other's religion, was derived fundamentally from the observation that since Deity had not clearly established one religion in the world men would try to rectify that oversight. It was expected that competitive American religions would vie for hegemony and thus create an oligarchical balance of power that neutralized religious influence on politics and avoided European-style religious wars. However, America's second founders, Joseph Smith being their Jefferson, envisioned that religion, and one in particular if possible, should become the most powerful element in social and political life. Bloom celebrates (and fears) the chutzpa of the Saints, who considered American society fallen and actually offered a new and living political-theocratic alternative in Zion.

Madison's wisdom was to disestablish political religion, hoping that various separate religious fires would contain each other due to their equal size and power. That plan worked until the powerful nineteenth-century religious forces consolidated into new cross-denominational religious expressions that pressed for a coup d'esprit that evaded religious and political checks and balances. In the twentieth century, the waning of mainline Protestant power and the pervasive assumption that secularization is inevitable have lulled many into thinking that religion is impotent energy. For the well-educated, too often "intelligent believer" is an oxymoron and "religious' fanatic" is redundant. Bloom wants this sophisticated simplemindedness to cease. He wants to create a new public awareness of intelligent, passionate religion that will act as a defensive crossfire to the violent totalitarian varieties flaring around us. Perhaps his critical book will show one way to vent our perennial, competitive, religious hegemonic desires and to avoid massive uncontrollable explosions.

IV

Richard F. Haglund Jr.

Even physicists have heard of Harold Bloom, and his compelling title, suggesting a sociological or cultural study of religion in America, was enough to persuade this physicist to investigate. If, as Bloom implies, there have been no criticisms of "the American Religion" analogous to Nietzsche's critique of traditional European Christianity, it is high time we had one (38). However, the agenda of *The American Religion* turns out to be less sociological and cultural, let alone religious or spiritual, than frankly political. As befits the author of a political tract, Bloom has ignored all that does not fit his peculiar, gloomy vision of an America taken over by the right wing of its diverse religious communities.

Nevertheless, in analytical enterprises—science being a prime example—one can make progress on thorny problems even when the initial attempts are off the mark, provided one clearly identifies the errors in the incorrect attempt. If Bloom's attempt is unsuccessful, as I think it is, we ought to understand why so the enterprise of religious criticism can go forward.

One of Bloom's recurring, egregious methodological errors is letting his prejudices interfere with a careful analysis based on logic and cause-and-effect. A notable example is his fear and loathing of Protestant fundamentalism, which fairly drips off the pages. His fervid attacks on the political views of the American Religion do not appear at first glance to be motivated primarily by contempt for Fundamentalists, though he does not mind an occasional poke at those who, in H. L. Mencken's words, "are everywhere where learning is too heavy a burden for mortal minds to carry" (56). But he finds it so easy to entertain himself with clever asides on the personal foibles of Fundamentalist televangelists that he neglects to analyze the origins and evolution of this variety of the American Religion.

Though he may be moved by Fundamentalist religious fervor and while he lusts for their political power, he still can find nothing worthy of thought in their beliefs or practices. Thus, he reflects the current impoverished state of American intellectual or political discourse, which seems incapable of engaging anything except caricatures of people and ideas. For this problem, religion, ethics, and the re-creation of real civic virtue are the only cures, but these cannot flourish in an atmosphere of fear, contempt, and recrimination. Whatever else religious criticism may be, or should be, it cannot be an exercise in ridicule or free association masquerading as analysis.

A second error which dogs Bloom's analysis of the American Religion is his evident willingness to overlook evidence which fails to support his view. Bloom admires Joseph Smith, the Prophet, as he admires Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Sage of Concord, and Edward Young Mullins, the Baptist savant whom Bloom sees now as a prophet without honor in his own country. However, his selective reading of the evidence leads him to draw conclusions that are simplistic and unsupportable. He misreads Mormonism, leaving its complexity unheeded. His tack reminds me of Ambrose Bierce's definition of *critic* in *The Devil's Dictionary*: "A person who boasts himself hard to please because nobody tries to please him."¹⁵

Leaving aside the pejorative references to organizations which are anathema to his liberal political creed, Bloom essentially re-treads the now familiar claim that gifts of original charismatic leaders

are routinized in the lives of their followers by a straitjacket of institutionalization. Bloom argues that Joseph Smith's re-creation of scripture and primitive Christianity is too radical for modern members of the Church he founded in 1830—who are today, he is pleased to note, found in disproportionate numbers among the ranks of the FBI and the CIA. His wildly incorrect innuendoes about the tentacles of the Mormon octopus curling into American corporate boardrooms are part of the same picture of a once heretical sect become respectable.

But Bloom's misreading of the doctrinal and historical record of the Latter-day Saints goes beyond these titillating tidbits from tabloid journalism to imaginative generalizations that completely ignore masses of evidence that contradict his thesis. Bloom observes that

pragmatically, the Mormons are allied in warlike patriotism, opposition to abortion, and refusal to seek economic and social justice to their doctrinal enemies: Southern Baptist Fundamentalists, Assemblies of God Pentecostals, Evangelicals of every denomination. (88)

The data on which such a generalization might be based are nowhere revealed in the book. In this particular case, those data would show a complicated picture. Conscientious objection to war is sometimes approved in the Book of Mormon. Spencer W. Kimball, the president of the Church, whom Bloom quotes on Mormon temple activity, also opposed the siting of the MX missile in Utah,¹⁶ presided over the extension of the Mormon priesthood to blacks, and put in place a massive effort to call Mormon retirees with appropriate expertise to serve health and welfare missions to improve conditions in developing nations. With regard to economic and social justice, Latter-day Saint skills and programs for the temporal welfare of their members are nothing short of legendary.

The errors in perspective introduced by Bloom's selective reading of the evidence are compounded by his failure to see when complexity is an essential feature of the landscape. The Mormon community is complex—paradoxically, especially because of its missionary fervor, which, like Matthew's gospel net, "gathered of every kind" (Matt. 13:47). Such a community defies simplistic generalizations. No one who knows Mormon communities outside the intermountain West—communities that increasingly outnumber those in

the historic heartland of the Church and rival them in influence—can fail to see the simplemindedness of Bloom’s broad generalizations. For example, Joseph Smith is pictured by Bloom as the dictatorial ruler in a world kingdom governed by the Mormon priesthood and crowned in secret rituals. Yet the same Joseph Smith, when asked how he ruled his people, responded in theory and in practice: “I teach them correct principles, and they govern themselves.”¹⁷

The combination of these methodological errors and skewed perspectives is most visible in Bloom’s predictions of the approaching Fundamentalist political hegemony in the United States. Central to his view of the future is the idea of the literal Mormon kingdom of God, which he suggests might be established in the United States in the twenty-first century. The secret coronation of Joseph Smith as head of an earthly kingdom of God is reported by Klaus Hansen in his *Quest for Empire*¹⁸ and has been a subject of great interest to historians in recent years. Whatever may have occurred—and I stress that the matter of what did occur is still a matter of dispute because of the scarcity of reliable sources—LDS theology clearly regards all earthly kingdoms that fail to acknowledge God as their lawgiver to be more or less illegitimate. For the present, we are obliged, as was Jesus himself, to “render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar’s; and unto God the things that are God’s” (Matt. 22:21).

Bloom’s obsession with what he perceives as the Fundamentalist conspiracy to stamp out all that is socially and sexually liberal in American democracy leads him from the picture of an imaginary theocracy to the claim that “the Mormons fully intend to convert the nation and the world; to go from some ten million souls to six billion” (94). Yet Brigham Young pointed out repeatedly that Latter-day Saints must not expect to be the only ones who will live on the earth during the millennial kingdom and that part of our preparation for that kingdom was to understand and be at peace with people of goodwill from many different religions.¹⁹ I can only explain Bloom’s appalling misreading of the data by assuming that he has fallen victim to a single vision and a crass literalism which is, ironically, a hallmark of the “Know-Nothing” Fundamentalists (56) against whom he rails in his book.

Latter-day Saint theology, whatever else it does or does not teach, explicitly states that in mortal life we work out our individual salvation through God's grace and our own best efforts in a dynamic, soul-stretching tension between the polarities of human experience: sickness and health, pleasure and pain, joy and sadness, ignorance and enlightenment. Above all, this is a complex vision, not easily captured by the facile generalization based on carelessly selected data.

Bloom appears to have turned to gnosticism to explain the vitality of the American Religion because he is himself unable to find meaning in the "mainline" (217) denominations that came to these shores from elsewhere. Misplacing the context, however, leads him to reduce various religions to caricatures. While gnosticism involves knowledge of God, a felt personal relationship with the object of belief, and a belief in a Manichean universe where good and evil are at war with each other, these same elements can be found in conventional Christianity in contexts that are clearly *not* gnostic. Bloom's hypothesis that gnosticism is essential to the American Religion fails because Baptists, Mormons, and Pentecostals alike believe in the Jesus of the New Testament, not the one we find in the apocryphal, gnostic texts. By missing this point, Bloom is forced into implausibly arguing that the American believer reads the Gospels from a gnostic standpoint.

Whereas the ancient gnosticism was or is an ascetic, elite, "insider" religious activity, Bloom's American Religion is a community of the middle class, offended by the intellectual posturing, moral bankruptcy, and sexual permissiveness of the cultural elite and largely shut out, as individuals, from the largesse of the affluent and the politically powerful. The desire to be with Jesus is the desire for the promised new life and for the inward power to control and shape the destiny of the human soul. Bloom is farthest off the mark in failing to understand that this thirst for control is the key to the vitality of the American Religion.

While *The American Religion* disappoints in many respects, we must not be diverted from the serious question posed by this book: Can there be, and do we now need, an informed religious criticism of the American Religion? Let us assume that religious criticism is not what Bloom has written in this book, but what he

says it is—an earnest engagement of all the force of philosophy, theology, and history in pursuit of the roots of the spiritual. If this definition were accepted, the answer to this question is clearly affirmative. But if we are to have a religious criticism worthy of the name and of its subject, it must have a different base and a different methodology than what we see between the covers of this book.

The most important purpose of such criticism can perhaps be clarified by an example. For me, the most offensive line in Bloom's book was his statement that "the current Mormon rhetoric in invoking Jesus Christ does serve as a perhaps deliberate veil behind which a post-Christian religion continues its complex development" (88). This sort of sentiment might have made Walter Martin, that veteran warrior against the "Kingdom of the Cults," a proud and happy man. True, Latter-day Saints do not accept the philosophical strictures of the traditional creedal formulations about Jesus Christ. Latter-day Saints believe that the theological formulas of conventional Christianity have less to do with the Jesus of the New Testament than with Greek philosophy—a position increasingly tolerated by at least some biblical scholars. But both the Book of Mormon and the revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants make plain the Latter-day Saint commitment to the Christ of the New Testament. The issue is one of definition.

It seems to me that religious criticism ought to address just such issues. The methodological challenge is to do so, if possible, in a neutral way that allows for the development of an informed consensus on concepts and facts, as nearly as we are able to ascertain them. The interpretation of these facts, as in science, would have to be viewed as provisional and open to continual review. The method of this discourse, as Hugh Nibley has pointed out, is "to talk about the material at hand, hoping that in the course of the discussion every participant will privately and inwardly form, reform, change or abandon his opinions . . . and thereby move in the direction of greater light and knowledge."²⁰

One of the key elements of religious criticism should clearly be to develop paradigms for such an enterprise. The first task in developing the paradigms for any analytical enterprise involves a struggle with language. "In the beginning of the investigations," writes Heisenberg, ". . . the words are connected with old concepts,

the new ones do not exist yet.”²¹ Just as a dispute about grammar cannot be resolved by the rules of spelling,²² so the paradigm must be grounded in a suitable conceptual framework. Bloom seems to lack the subtle language and experience for this task because of his extreme bias toward secular interpretations of the religious community and its beliefs. We may yet have to admit that religious criticism will be most productive when its protagonists are chiefly, though not exclusively, religious, much as we subscribe to the notion that electromagnetic theory is best carried out by those who know Maxwell’s equations.

The practice of experiential, charismatic, and prophetic religion, as Bloom notes in his comments about Joseph Smith, is a dangerous one, given the imminent potential for martyrdom. It is also, however, a practice that bears little fruit without a framework for sustained retelling, reexperiencing and reenacting the creative revelation that stands at the heart of the American Religion. The ultimate role of religious criticism is to make possible growth in both personal faith and institutional vitality by reexamining the foundations. A religious criticism of this stamp, by helping religious communities to understand the roots of belief as well as experience, might even be a stimulus to greater toleration and cooperation.

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NOTES

¹See also Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

²Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

³Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986) and *Things in Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993).

⁴Hugh W. Nibley, *Approaching Zion* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1989); see especially “We Will Still Weep for Zion,” 366–67.

⁵Spencer W. Kimball, "The False Gods We Worship," *Ensign* 6 (June 1976): 6.

⁶Gordon B. Hinkley, "The State of the Church," *Ensign* 21 (May 1991): 52-53.

⁷"A More Excellent Way," *Ensign* 22 (May 1992): 61-63; "Jesus the Very Thought of Thee," *Ensign* 23 (May 1993): 63-65; and his first statement as the new Prophet, *Ensign* 24 (July 1994): 4-5.

⁸Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon: The Books and School of the Ages* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1994), 525.

⁹Harold Bloom, *The American Religion* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992); *The Book of J* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); "A Reading," in *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus*, trans. Marvin Meyer (San Francisco: Harper, 1992), 111-21.

¹⁰Joseph Fielding Smith, *Scriptural Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1993), 215.

¹¹Joseph Smith Jr., *The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 3:295.

¹²*History of The Church* 6:366; Hebrews 12:29.

¹³Fawn Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1945).

¹⁴"Praise to the Man," in *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), 27.

¹⁵*The Devil's Dictionary* (New York: Printed for the members of the Limited Editions Club, 1972), 36.

¹⁶Ironically, Ronald Reagan also misread the Mormon view of the MX issue.

¹⁷*Millennial Star* 13 (November 15, 1851): 339.

¹⁸Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967).

¹⁹See Brigham Young and others, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855-86), 2:316-17; 11:274-75; 12:274, 279. See also Arnold Green, "Jews in LDS Thought," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 3 (1994/1995): 159-60 n. 27.

²⁰Hugh W. Nibley, *Since Cumorah*, vol. 7 of *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and F.A.R.M.S., 1988), xiv.

²¹Werner Heisenberg, "Tradition in Science," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 29 (December 1973): 4.

²²Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1967), 33-37.

Book Reviews

NATHAN O. HATCH. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989. xiv; 312 pp. Notes, index. \$15.00.

JAMES DAVISON HUNTER. *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*. New York: Basic Books, 1991. xiii; 416 pp. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.00.

Reviewed by Ralph C. Hancock, Associate Professor of Political Science, Brigham Young University.

Nathan O. Hatch, Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame, is a leading scholar of religion in American history. In an earlier book, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England*, he explores the mingling of religious and political understandings of freedom in the birth of the American republic. In *The Democratization of American Christianity*, he further revises significantly our understanding of the role of religion in American democracy in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the period often identified as the Second Great Awakening of the evangelical impulse in American Protestantism.

Hatch believes that a prevailing view of “the Second Great Awakening as a conservative force [has] obscured the egalitarianism powerfully at work in the new nation” (5). While distinguished scholars like Perry Miller and Richard Hofstadter have seen the revivalism of this period as a force of order and consensus that repaired a defect in the new democratic society by supplying traditional social control and religious establishment (222–23), Hatch is determined to emphasize the disorderly, antiauthoritarian, and conflictual aspects of religious upheaval in the early republic. In this context, he argues that a democratic or populist transformation of

American Christianity was decisive in shaping the new nation and that such populism continues to mark the distinctive character of religion in America: “Religious populism, reflecting the passions of ordinary people and the charisma of democratic movement-builders, remains among the oldest and deepest impulses in American life” (5).

Focusing less on “the specifics of polity and government” than on “the incarnation of the church into popular culture” (9), Hatch isolates three main aspects of democracy that informed the development of religion in the early republic: first, the rejection of the clergy as a separate and elite order of men; second, the empowerment of ordinary people to reject doctrinal orthodoxy “by taking their deepest spiritual impulses at face value” (10); and finally, the “upsurge of democratic hope” (11) in the dreams of “a new age of religious and social harmony” (10) arising from the overthrow of traditional authority. The author skillfully illustrates the wide influence of the democratic spirit in American religion by focusing on five movements: the Christian movement, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Black churches, and the Mormons. Between two chapters (2 and 7) that provide chronological overviews of the rise and decline of revivalism, Hatch devotes two chapters to the five movements and their leaders. He then offers two chapters treating revivalism from the standpoint of its audiences and of the media (oral, print, and musical) and forms of rhetoric appropriate to such audiences. The eighth and final chapter, an epilogue, briefly traces “The Recurring Populist Impulse in American Christianity” up to the present day.

Throughout the book, Professor Hatch amply and persuasively deploys quotations from primary sources, including pamphlets, booklets, tracts, hymnbooks, journals, and newspapers, to document the pervasive presence of democratic motifs in the revivalist experience. He vividly portrays a populist revolt against traditional religious and social structures. Such a tracing of distinctly populist themes in five distinct religious movements contributes to the reader’s understanding of American Christianity. LDS scholars, in particular, will find here much to consider in developing a more concrete sense of the social and religious context of the Restoration. The Mormon reader will be interested to

learn, for example, that a half century before the First Vision, a certain young Caleb Rich, later to become a leader of the Universalist movement,¹ reported “having a series of visionary experiences in which celestial persons counseled him to avoid all other denominations and all other human advice” (40). LDS readers will similarly prick up their ears to hear Methodist bishop Francis Asbury call in 1814 for a “return to ‘the apostolic order of things,’ which had been lost in the first century ‘when Church governments were adulterated’” (82).

However, Hatch’s treatment of the Mormons as one among many varieties of religious populism is not likely to satisfy readers more familiar with the distinctive character of LDS beliefs. At times the author’s determination to demonstrate “democratization” becomes a procrustean bed which leaves Mormonism appearing somewhat mutilated.

In his most extensive treatment of Mormonism as a case of democratization, a section entitled “The Populist Vision of Joseph Smith” (113–22), Hatch sets an interpretation of the beginnings of Mormonism against the background of the Smith family’s financial difficulties: “In the face of . . . wretched luck, [they] looked in vain for solace from the institutional church” (113). Thus, he sees the rise of Mormonism as a result of class resentments reflected first in Joseph’s “severe skepticism about external institutions” and his turning “inward, toward a firmer reliance on religious dreams and visions that were typical of the Smith family” as well as on “various forms of folk magic and occult sciences” (114). Hatch then offers a reading of the Book of Mormon itself as “a document of profound social protest, an impassioned manifesto by a hostile outsider against the smug complacency of those in power and the reality of social distinctions based on wealth, class, and education” (116).

Certainly, the Book of Mormon has no shortage of passages condemning the pride of prosperity, and so perhaps it is not altogether implausible for Hatch to claim that “the single most striking theme in the Book of Mormon is that it is the rich, the proud, and the learned who find themselves in the hands of an angry God” (117). Still, even setting aside Hatch’s rather smug assumption that Joseph Smith was involved in “*constructing* a grand and complex narrative,” or that he “*chose* to quote extensively from Old Testament prophets” (116; italics added), Hatch’s argument strains to

the breaking point when he asserts that “Smith’s overall vision” with its “distinct class bias. . . . convey[ed] the unmistakable claim that common people had the right to shape their own faith and to take charge of their own religious destiny” (121).

In this evocation of the people’s “right . . . to take charge of their own religious destiny,” we see clearly the author’s enthusiasm for democratization, an enthusiasm that undergirds his whole presentation of Christianity in the early republic. Hatch sometimes evinces an awareness of the risks involved in populism (the new authority of rootless popular “leaders,” the temptations of democratic conformism; see, for example, pages 16, 183, 186, 208, 219), but his dominant tendency is sympathy for the democratization he documents. He rather serenely accepts the “exaltation of public opinion as a primary religious authority” (81) or “as an arbiter of truth” (162). Hatch’s differences with influential interpreters of the Second Great Awakening such as Perry Miller and Richard Hofstadter finally turn on his greater readiness to share the populist enthusiasms of his subjects: Where other historians are concerned about the erosion of institutional and intellectual structures, Hatch cheers the populist assault on authority. Where people like Miller and Hofstadter (and Tocqueville) see the Federalists’ high-minded reasonableness giving way to a populist enthusiasm contained only by a reinforced democratic morality, Hatch prefers class analysis to intellectual scrutiny and thereby accepts at face value the “eclectic character of popular faiths” or the “blurring” of democratic and Christian worldviews (36; see also 81, 135, 122–23, 254–55 n.79).

The trouble with this “eclecticism,” or what Hatch himself once described as a “graft[ing]” onto evangelical enthusiasm of potentially “alien” democratic values (255), is that the cultural force of populism may in the end overwhelm all sense of transcendent authority—the democratization of American Christianity may end in democratization, pure and simple. Hatch seems to recognize this danger when he observes that “men . . . committed to the separation of church and state used political structures as a church model. . . . [A] government so enlightened as to tell the churches to go their own way must also have prophetic power to tell them which way to go” (186).

But Hatch seems to overlook a connection between this democratic politicization of Christianity in the early republic and

the “polarization” (219) of contemporary American culture briefly discussed in the epilogue. Here Hatch argues that, under pressure from a “new class of professionals whose cultural authority is rising” (218), religious people today “are pressured to make accommodations to the secular definition of values at the core of the university” (219). But he again seems not to notice that this new class of intellectuals, in their distrust of the authority of religious traditions, would appear to be taking seriously the very principle of Hatch’s “democratization”: the idea that human opinion is the final “arbiter of truth” (162). If believers feel compelled to defer in the public arena to the dominant secularism among contemporary intellectuals, it may be because they have already accepted the intellectuals’ distinctly modern premise, the “right to think for oneself” (162), understood as the denial of any truth superior to human opinion.

The contemporary conflict over the very meaning of truth is central to James Davison Hunter’s *Culture Wars*. The author, professor of Sociology and Religious Studies at the University of Virginia, argues persuasively that “America is in the midst of a culture war that has had and will continue to have reverberations not only within public policy but within the lives of ordinary Americans everywhere. . . . *At stake is how we as Americans will order our lives together*” (34; italics in original).

Hunter introduces his argument with a prologue consisting of three “dispatches,” or case studies, that vividly represent both sides of a deep cultural conflict as it erupts on the contemporary political scene: the issue of gay rights and the proposed domestic partnership law in San Francisco, the protests surrounding an abortion clinic in New York City, and a controversy in Tennessee concerning the moral content of public school texts. These cases nicely illustrate central features of the struggle that Hunter explores in the remainder of the book: in each example, both sides see themselves as acting in the name of high moral principles, and each side believes its principles to be fundamental to the meaning of America. Thus, a conservative activist named Chuck, vigorously opposing the San Francisco domestic partnership law, believes he is defending the Christian moorings of the Declaration of Independence; his rival, Richmond, just as strenuously affirms the cause

of gay rights as the fulfillment of the Declaration's teaching that "all men are created equal."

These and many other political and cultural conflicts described by Hunter reveal not simply different viewpoints on particular moral and political questions, but a fundamental difference concerning the very meaning of moral truth. The basic issue that threatens to divide Americans into two hostile camps speaking alien moral languages is this: Is morality ultimately grounded in "an external, definable, and transcendent authority" (the point of view Hunter labels "orthodox")? Or is moral truth "a process, . . . a reality that is ever unfolding" (the assumption of "progressives") (44)? And this question threatens not only the basic moral consensus underlying American politics, but also describes a fault line within American religion. This intrafaith rupture first made itself felt as early as a century ago and now threatens to open into an abyss separating more orthodox from more progressive believers of every faith. Hunter thus documents a trend toward political alliances that bring together more "orthodox" or conservative Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in opposition to more "progressive" members of these same faiths.

Hunter's exploration of the structural forces driving the culture wars recalls Hatch's concluding observations on the growing prestige of what he calls "secular" values in contemporary society. "Public discourse," Hunter observes, "is largely a discourse of elites," and the rise of an "information-oriented" social system in recent decades has produced "a huge expansion in the number of people who derive their livelihoods from the economics of knowledge, information, ideas, and the like" (59, 62-63). This development seems to give a cultural advantage to the "progressives," "who tend to draw popular support from among the highly educated, professionally committed, *upper* middle classes" (63; italics in original). Thus, the association between populism and progressivism that seems, in Hatch's account, to have characterized American Christianity in the early nineteenth century has broken down: the elites now march under the banner of truth as progressive liberation from every restraint of tradition and orthodoxy, while the less educated are left in the role of reactionaries who cling to scraps of belief in some truth transcending the "right to think for oneself" (Hatch 162).

What will be the outcome of this struggle over the moral basis of law and politics in America? Hunter considers this question in his final chapters (“Part V: Toward Resolution”). Surveying the relative advantages of each side in the conflict, he finds formidable momentum and intensity in an ongoing “conservative cultural revolution” but finally appears to judge these strengths less decisive than the hold of “progressives” on the “knowledge industry itself—the ‘reality-defining mechanisms’ of contemporary American society” (300). The access of progressive intellectuals to the most powerful means of defining the terms of public debate (research and education, media, and government) means that more conservative forces run a constant risk of being co-opted by the often subtle but steady currents of progressivism. “There is the distinct possibility,” Hunter writes, “that orthodox communities may become so assimilated to a progressive political (and linguistic) culture that they will not be capable of offering any effective opposition to the world view that currently plagues them” (306).

How do Latter-day Saints stand in relation to the culture wars described by Hunter? The author’s only sustained discussion of LDS issues is an interesting reflection on the limits of pluralism as reflected in Supreme Court decisions in polygamy cases (208–9); beyond this, he includes only scattered and brief references to Mormon participation in the culture wars. These few examples leave the impression that Mormons are as much threatened by division on the orthodox/progressive aspects as other faiths—a question that thoughtful Latter-day Saints should consider. Certainly recent troubles surrounding the discipline of some Mormon intellectuals should remind us that we are not immune from the tensions we see in other faiths between those whose understanding of truth is shaped by elite culture and those who retain a more traditional understanding. Thus, some dissenters from mainstream Mormonism deplore the “forms and observances, catechisms and orthodoxies” which in their view characterize the official Church—while proclaiming instead “the exuberant expansiveness of Mormon theology,” a form of belief which allegedly promises a “liberation from all limitations.”² Hunter would clearly recognize such rhetoric as “progressive,” but it will also ring familiar for those knowledgeable about the style of argument used in some Mormon circles.³

For Latter-day Saints, the practical question of a proper stance towards the culture wars remains. Lofty indifference to political strife is attractive to those who value equanimity and moderation, but Hunter makes a convincing case that no one can afford to claim neutrality in a conflict which concerns the basic terms of our common life as Americans. Not only as individuals and families, but as a religious community, we have a large stake in how the meaning of moral truth is settled in areas such as abortion, education, sexuality, and the nature of the family. Moreover, as Hunter points out, a posture of “quiescence” tends toward “an acceptance of the privatization of faith,” a position that may at the extreme be indistinguishable from the essentially progressive belief in “radical subjectivism” (321).

It seems inevitable, then, that Latter-day Saints who believe in moral truth above individual preferences or intellectual fashion will be drawn into alliances on moral-political issues with others in the “orthodox” camp—even with many whose particular orthodoxy (such as biblical fundamentalism) may be a continuing ground of considerable mutual suspicion. The challenge in these alliances for thoughtful Mormon citizens will be to develop a certain political and intellectual sophistication capable of appreciating common purposes without losing sight of insuperable differences, of holding firm to the teachings and commitments of the restored gospel while cultivating a greater sensitivity to both differences and commonalities with other groups seeking what is virtuous, lovely, of good report, and praiseworthy (A of F 13). Faithful, intellectually alert, and responsible Latter-day Saints will have to know how to make and sustain political and cultural friendships without compromising their distinctive religious commitments.

There is certainly food for thought here for all Latter-day Saints: a warning both to those involved in the “knowledge industry” and therefore continually exposed directly to its culturally “progressive” undertow and to those who stand apart from all intellectuality and believe they can escape the influence of progressive assumptions without carefully examining such assumptions in relation to their own moral and political vocabulary.

In any case, Hunter himself seems to conclude with a wish for a victory of neither party but for a kind of standoff or “peaceful

coexistence" (297) in which "agreement around a renewed public philosophy could establish a context of public discourse . . . to sustain a genuine and peaceable pluralism" (307). However, given his own description of the abyss separating the "progressive" from the "orthodox" frame of mind, the author's concluding call for "rational deliberation, . . . genuine debate" (320), and a "recognition of the 'sacred' within different moral communities" (322) rings rather hollow and raises further questions. Isn't the problem precisely that the two sides in the culture wars have unreconciled, maybe irreconcilable, understandings of the meaning of "sacred"? Rather than attempting to stand above and apart from the fundamental issues that divide progressive and orthodox parties in contemporary America, a higher partisanship might begin by constructively engaging the ultimately unavoidable questions raised by the "progressive" challenge to the traditional understanding of transcendent truth: How can we be faithful to truth conceived as transcendent and eternal while recognizing the imperfection of our present understanding, framed and conditioned as it is by the vocabularies and paradigms of our day? How can an openness to that elusive range of goods we indicate by the term "sacred" actually be sustained within a framework which views truth only as "a process" and thus "tends to resymbolize historic faiths according to the prevailing assumptions of contemporary life" (44-45)?

NOTES

¹Universalists teach that every member of the human race will be saved.

²Lavina Fielding Anderson, "The September Six," in *Religion, Feminism, and Freedom of Conscience: A Mormon/Humanist Dialogue*, ed. George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 7.

³See my "What Is a 'Mormon Intellectual,'" *This People* 15 (fall 1994): 20-34.

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY. *My Best for the Kingdom: History and Autobiography of John Lowe Butler, a Mormon Frontiersman*. Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1993. xiii; 511 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$24.95.

Reviewed by Michael N. Landon, Mormon Trails Association, Salt Lake City.

William Hartley originally intended to write a biography of John Lowe Butler just for the Butler family organization. At the urging of colleagues at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, he has fortunately made available to a much broader audience his highly readable account of Butler's life. Using two versions of Butler's autobiography as core documents included in a sixty-five-page appendix, Hartley thoughtfully reconstructs Butler's life and provides fresh perspectives and new insights into a number of neglected areas of Mormon history.

John Lowe Butler, an early convert from Kentucky, figured prominently in the Gallatin voting riot, participated as a Danite in the Missouri conflict, fled with the Saints to Illinois, served two brief missions to the Sioux, and practiced polygamy beginning in Nauvoo. He became a member of the James Emmett and George Miller companies, traveled to Utah in 1852, served as a bishop of Spanish Fork during the Reformation and the Utah War, and died in 1860 at the age of fifty-two. Hartley's careful research expands on each of these experiences, using them as springboards to examine Butler's life in its broader historical context.

Organizationally, the book reads well and includes numerous illustrations and maps. An additional and helpful feature is the family genealogical information included inside the front cover. The book is well indexed and includes an extensive bibliography.

Those interested in the dynamics of the Mormon westward migration experience will find the chapters describing Butler's involvement with the James Emmett expedition and the George Miller company particularly intriguing. Hartley adds significant insight to these often misunderstood aspects of Mormon history. Emmett, supposedly acting on orders given by Joseph Smith but irritating Brigham Young and other Church leaders, led a group of Saints across Iowa and into present-day South Dakota to preach to

the Indians and to find a place of refuge. In an effort to maintain ties with the group, Brigham Young sent Butler and his family to join the expedition. Even so, Butler suffered criticism because of his association with Emmett, complaining of other Saints who “looked down upon us in Emmett’s Company” (224–25).

Hartley writes that “Emmett’s controversial venture is not unknown, but what has been written is based on limited research. A consensus among historians is that James Emmett was a ‘renegade,’ his expedition an act of disobedience, and his followers ‘misled’” (137). Finding this assessment too simplistic, Hartley devotes a full four chapters to unraveling the complexities of the Emmett venture. Based on his extensive research, Hartley paints a much more balanced picture of Emmett and the company, examining in detail the motives of those who joined his expedition. Hartley points out that the Emmett company’s rationale for entering the wilderness and many of their communal economic practices were later adopted by the main body of the Saints in their trek westward.

In two additional chapters, Hartley provides the reader with a careful examination of the George Miller company’s winter encampment among the Ponca. At the direction of Brigham Young, Miller led an advance company up the north side of the Platte River to the site of a Pawnee village raided and burned by Sioux. Ponca Indians visiting the site persuaded Miller and the company that they would be safer to travel north and winter at a Ponca village on the Niobrara River in present-day northern Nebraska.

Hartley takes exception to the long-held notion

that the Ponca decision was an act of rebellion against Church leadership and that Miller went north in order to “gratify his roving disposition.” Such judgments about Miller at the time stemmed from some Church leaders’ fears that Miller was “running wild through the Council of Emmett.” (215)

Again, Hartley’s research clarifies misunderstanding and provides a much more objective account of Miller’s activities and the decision to move to the Ponca camp.

Hartley rejects the suggestion that Emmett’s and Miller’s ultimate apostasies makes their motives in these early migration activities suspect, and he bases his reevaluation of the principle participants in these lesser-known episodes of Mormon history

on solid archival research. In each case, the impact of the events on the life of John Lowe Butler is carefully chronicled.

In addition to his efforts to bring a balanced image to the events surrounding Emmett and Miller, Hartley uses Butler's autobiography to propose a fresh perspective on the activities of the Danites in the 1838 Missouri conflict. Devoting a chapter to examining the negative image attached to the Danites—and, by extension, to the Church—he offers an explanation for their acts within the context of standard nineteenth-century war tactics. He then uses this framework in subsequent chapters to analyze John Butler's participation in pivotal Missouri events.

Hartley argues that

the secret, oath-bound, militaristic Danite activities are understandable only if it is recognized that Latter-day Saints by mid-1838 had adopted a wartime mentality. They felt they were being pushed into war, and, fearing attack, they determined to defend themselves. Most of the seemingly sinister Danite practices . . . are hardly strange if seen as military preparations for war situations. (49)

To some who are critical of Mormon policies in Missouri and elsewhere, this view may seem to be just apologia, but it will not be easily dismissed. Whether Hartley has moved the Danite debate away from polemical excess or just added fuel to the fire remains to be seen.

While sympathetic to Butler, Hartley cannot be accused of producing a hagiography. The brief five-and-a-half-page closing assessment of Butler's life seems somewhat clinical and detached, almost as if Hartley felt he had overstated Butler's considerable achievements in the main text. Also, Hartley tends to assume that the reader is familiar with LDS terminology or theology. Although he often points the reader to an endnote source for further clarification of such terms, an appendix with a small glossary could have been a partial solution to the remaining problem.

In addition to Hartley's analysis of the historical events of Butler's life, the reader is provided with a fine sense of John Lowe Butler's character and experiences. Indeed, the reader knows John Butler at the conclusion of the book, identifying with his search for spiritual meaning and his struggle against debilitating illness, anguishing over his personal and family privation and his

death from a “life worn out early” (347). Bill Hartley is to be commended for producing a history that not only adds to an understanding of important aspects of Mormon history, but also takes the reader on an emotionally satisfying journey. Getting to know John Lowe Butler is time well spent.

DONALD G. GODFREY and BRIGHAM Y. CARD, eds. *The Diaries of Charles Ora Card: The Canadian Years, 1886-1903*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. xxxviii; 644 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, index. \$45.00.

Reviewed by William G. Hartley, Associate Professor of History and Research Historian at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

As a diligent diarist, Charles O. Card provided a banquet table loaded with rich and nutritious historical information about the period 1886 to 1903. These diaries in published form are a monumental contribution of source material on the Intermountain West, western Canada, the LDS Church, and late-nineteenth-century family life, society, and folklore. The book presents the diaries in seven sections covering two to five years each: exploration, migration, the Canadian Mission, Church and community business, irrigation development, completion of the settlements, and closing years.

Before these diaries began, Card was a stake president, school board member, businessman, teacher, supervisor of construction of the Logan Tabernacle and Logan Temple, and Logan, Utah, city councilman. He married Sarah (Sally) Birdneau in 1867 and Sarah Jane Painter in 1876 and lived with both wives for seven years. Birdneau divorced him in 1884. That year he married Zina Young Williams, a daughter of Brigham Young and Zina D. H. Young. In 1885 he married Lavinia Clark Rigby and planned to move to Mexico to avoid federal marshals, who were earnestly trying to arrest him. Instead, Church leaders sent him to explore western Canada for LDS colony sites—at which point the diaries published in this book commence. Cardston, Alberta, is named after him.

Dust-jacket enticements correctly state that these diaries make “a major contribution” to studies of the Canadian West and are “the single most important resource for Southern Alberta history.” The settlement of that area and the development of its industries, irrigation, agriculture, politics, society, customs, and LDS culture are richly documented.

Card’s almost daily entries also deal extensively with himself—his beliefs, personal ups and downs, struggles to earn a living, concerns about being a husband and father to three families—and his

efforts on behalf of Church and community in Utah, Idaho, and Canada. In these pages, I met a quality human being who shored up my faith in humankind and won my respect and admiration for his balanced capabilities and wisdom. I learned from his attitudes, manner of reasoning, and the choices he made. While reading these diaries, I caught myself more than once thinking about my own life and asking, “How would Card handle this situation?” His diaries give especially useful information on the following topics:

People and Personalities. Card comments on the LDS and non-LDS people he interacted with regularly in Cache Valley, Salt Lake City, Idaho, Alberta, and Winnipeg—family members, friends, business leaders, government officials, and Church officers, particularly Apostles John W. Taylor and Moses Thatcher.

Transportation. Card’s many trips from Alberta to attend general conference and visit his families in Utah and Idaho produced diary details about railroad routes, schedules, and equipment and about hotel stopovers between trains at Butte, Great Falls, and other towns. He also describes shorter local trips by buggy and wagon, as well as sled and train trips to Winnipeg.

New Technology. His diaries mention his awareness of the camera (June 17, 1898), his use of a telephone (April 23, 1893), and his first purchase of a typewriter (December 28, 1899; January 22, 1900).

Health and Medical Realities. Card mentions climate and frontier conditions, along with illnesses, epidemics, attempted remedies, dentistry, unreliable doctors, alcoholism, and deaths. His diary tells, for example, about his use of a painful catheter for a time to help his prostate problem (July 1900). In Salt Lake City, he had four corns extracted from his toes “by a lady corn doctor” (March 17, 1896). Mounted Police brought an LDS man to him, “our wayward brother becoming insane” (November 30, 1894), causing Card to research relevant laws and finally decide it best to send the man to the asylum (December 1, 1894). Card notes that the poor man from his youth “had been addicted to drinking Spirituous Liquor Hence his Sad condition” (December 1, 1894).

Upon the death of an LDS boy whose father did not call for a physician, Alberta government officials investigated (July 31 and August 3, 1899). Card, as stake president, then advised the Saints “to always apply for a Dr as it was required by Law in confinement

& dangerous illness & we could afford to observe the Law agreeable to our articles of faith” (August 5, 1894). He advised Relief Society sisters to send for elders first and then “if necessary you could call a physician” (September 2, 1899).

Community and Social Life. Entries reveal everyday events including community celebrations, dances, holidays, birthdays, people’s generosity and meanness, commerce, voting, setting up schools, banking, and law enforcement. Card enjoyed watching a “game of Base Ball” between Cardston and Mountain View area boys (May 24, 1895). At Great Falls, Montana, he “went to a ball game between the Boston Girls & the Lethbridge 9” (July 18, 1900).

Current Events, Trends. Card particularly notes political changes, land-use policies, new farming technology, road development, new buildings, and economic shifts, such as the depression of 1893—“In these days men of cash rule as it were especially in the way of high interest” (May 5, 1893). In 1895, Card’s store had to discontinue granting credit to customers (November 30) because “through sympathy the credit system has been extended too far & people fail now to pay” (December 21).

Personal Testimony. Card’s comments constantly reflect and embrace LDS beliefs and values. He was a devout believer. Often he recorded expressions such as “I have just laid it before the Lord in my secret prayers this morn & expect to continue until relieved” (November 14, 1895). He records numerous answers to prayer.

Polygamy from a Male Viewpoint. These diaries provide insights into the ways polygamous males responsibly handled relationships with spouses and children, housed and provided for families, and dealt with separation and loneliness. His entries regarding family should temper those who ignorantly smirk that males in polygamy “had a good thing going.” His affection for his wives and children is evident in his writings, as is his sometimes desperate concern about how he can see them again and provide for them. Some particularly poignant entries read: “As I am sitting alone my thoughts turn homeward to my wives, children, parents and many friends. . . . Would like to enjoy a sacrament meeting with them. I would enjoy the caresses of my wives and children could we be free from the hand of tyrants” (November 7, 1886). “Feeling weary . . . I have had to toil very hard to keep the wolf [*sic*] away from my door of my 3 families” (July 31, 1898). In 1897 he wrote, “I have been here

now over 10 yrs apart from 2 of my families only visiting them occasionally & Seemingly close[d] almost the sadest week of all. No hope of living with either family for several yrs” (June 19).

In 1891, Card attended a Young Ladies’ Mutual meeting where a sister read an essay on the situation of young ladies, which “showed that the females were in excess of the males and as many males were miners and many of our boys partook of the habits of the world, what were the pure daughters of Israel going to do for good Later Day Saint husbands?” (May 2).

LDS Church Organizational Operations. Entries throughout the diaries describe conferences; ward and stake operations; ordinances; uses of tithing; meeting schedules; activities of Relief Societies, Sunday Schools, Mutuels, Primaries, priesthood quorums, home missionaries, and block teachers; and the roles of bishops, high councils, and visiting General Authorities.

General Conference. In order to report back home on the general conferences he regularly attended, Card diligently summarized talks given at the semiannual gatherings. Several of these talks are not otherwise readily available to researchers. Some intriguing historical details mentioned in these talks include comments in the 1890s that Joseph Smith’s face shone like amber when he met with the Twelve for the last time (April 7, 1895; October 4, 1896), that Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith were attacked by devils in England and saved by three messengers in robes who laid hands on the missionaries, causing the spirits to depart (October 5, 1896), and that when Wilford Woodruff and George A. Smith were ordained Apostles after the Far West temple dedication, they were kneeling on the temple cornerstone (April 6, 1891).

LDS Doctrine and Theology. Card recorded numerous statements about Church policies and practices or about doctrinal and theological teachings of the day, particularly tithing, the return of wayward children, paid ministers and Church officers, second anointings (October 8, 1900), and the impending redemption of Jackson County, Missouri. For example, President Lorenzo Snow taught: “Many of you who are here will have to go back to Jackson C[ou]nty if you will keep the word of wisdom & do right” (April 6, 1898; see also October 7 and 21, 1900). Card’s diaries document several priesthood blessings that healed and fasts that seemed to miraculously bring rain.

Speaking in Tongues. Card's diaries contain numerous mentions of meetings where Saints, almost always sisters, spoke or prophesied in tongues. With Elder Lorenzo Snow present at a fast meeting in Cardston, several sisters spoke in tongues, prophesied, and blessed Card and "also the apostles." Other sisters interpreted tongues, after which "Prest Snow led in the shout of Hosanah, Hosanah, Hosanah to God & the Lamb amen & amen & amen, repeated 3 times" (September 3, 1896).

Rebaptisms. Although rebaptism had been customary for people going to the temple or coming home from abroad, Card heard President Joseph F. Smith preach, "This is not required. It is not necessary except he or she has sinned especially" (April 8, 1895). With Apostles Lorenzo Snow and John W. Taylor attending the service, one new member was baptized, four were rebaptized, and one was baptized for health (September 1, 1896). A year later, Card's general conference notes say President George Q. Cannon "spoke against Rebaptism, it Should be [for] Repentance" (October 6, 1897; cited in February 5, 1898, entry).

Fast Days. Card documents the change in fast days from Thursday to Sunday, noting he "had the clerk read the address of the first Presidency changing fast day from the first Thursday to the first Sunday in each month" (November 29, 1896).

Prayer Circles. Stake presidencies and high councils held prayer circles on many Sunday mornings (1897-1901).

Public Repentance of Serious Transgression. In a Church meeting, a sister asked forgiveness for adultery and fornication she had committed two years before. She had been "severed" from the Church. The Saints in the congregation forgave her and consented to her rebaptism (November 13, 1898).

Guardian Angels. Card told lesser priesthood youths they should do right and not offend the Spirit "that they may not offend & cause their guardian angel to with draw" (September 13, 1896).

Birth Control. During a visit to Canada, Apostle Ruder Clawson "spoke of the forms & sins of the world. Curtail not posterity. The curse of God will rest upon such" (October 21, 1900).

Tithing in Kind. At a Cardston stake conference, Saints were urged to "pay tithes & offerings in their kind & best" (November 21, 1898).

Tithe Handlers' Pay. Church custom then was to allow bishops and stake clerks some remuneration for expenses incurred

to “receive & disburse” tithing. Card notes the high council decided how to divide among bishops and the clerk the 10 percent of tithes earmarked for that purpose (October 7, 1899).

Sacrament Meeting inside the Temple. Card met with General Authorities in the Salt Lake Temple in 1893 and after prayer circle together, moved to the Presidency’s room and had a sacrament of bread and wine (April 20, 1893).

Sealing Ordinances outside a Temple. Card notes Apostle Francis M. Lyman sealed a couple “for time & all Eternity” in a member’s home. The couple had been married by a Mormon official two days before (October 28; cited in October 30, 1900, entry). Apostle George Teasdale similarly sealed a couple for time and eternity at Cardston long before a temple was built there (September 4, 1901).

Dancing. Card agonized about an improper dance held at Leigh’s Creek, involving eight LDS, five gentile, and several part-member families. The dance opened with a waltz instead of prayer and continued until 5:00 A.M. “Many of the ladies were completely exhausted,” Card wrote, “for about 3/4 of the dance was round dancing” in opposition to First Presidency counsel. “I felt I had fallen [in]to the midst of unbelievers” (February 22 and 23, 1895). Later that year, Card advised Saints in Aetna “to curtail dancing to one round dance aside from the square dances & quit at midnight but they could commence at 1 P.M. if they desired” (November 17, 1895).

Calling Each Other Brother and Sister. One of Card’s general conference notes records that Apostle Francis M. Lyman “spoke of the digression of [not] calling each other Brother and sister. Latterly many called each other Mr & Miss or Mrs. Preferred [is] Brother & sister among the Latterday saints” (October 4, 1896).

Setting Apart. Card recorded George Q. Cannon as stating that “it is not necessary to set teachers apart in our S.S.” (October 6, 1895).

Paid Temple Workers. Card said Elder Rudger Clawson told general conference attendees, “Put more of your means into the Temple & give the poor work in the Temple” (October 5, 1900).

This is a big book devoted almost totally to diary text. A preface, introduction, biographical note, and prologue introduce the diaries. Each of the seven sections of the diaries has its own table

of contents prepared by the editors. Creative typesetting allowed for the original diaries' inserts to appear in the margins sideways or in other patterns (see February 10 and 14, March 12, 1890). The editors include several samples of original handwriting (see August 4, 1887; May 27, 1890; November 4, 1894; and January 1, 1896). Maps are useful but would serve readers better if printed on end papers so they could be consulted easily. The appendix lists helpful information. The index works well for personal names but includes only a perplexing selection of a few social topics.

In assessing this “must” reference book, a few limitations should be noted. Minimal footnote commentary and explanation by editors saved on book costs but shortchanged readers. Granted, to keep the diary within one cover, the publishers used narrow margins and small typeface and still filled 644 pages. The value of these diaries would increase at least 25 percent if the editors provided thorough explanations in footnotes—like Juanita Brooks' notes on Hosea Stout's diaries in *On the Mormon Frontier*—even if it meant publishing Card's diaries in two volumes instead of one. But even without the crucial commentary, this book is invaluable.

A few historical lapses show that the editors are not veteran historians. For example, they misread Card's handwriting and give the LDS Church a new Apostle named Elder M. Fleweling (April 7, 1898), who in fact is M. F. Cowley. Also, in square brackets, they interpret an assignment for two young men to labor together as a call to missionary service, but in fact the men were called to be the equivalent of today's home teachers (April 4, 1891). The editors should inform readers if the life sketch Card finished on November 25, 1902, and mailed to the Church is in the Historical Department's biographical sketch file today. And the editors could have compared Card's summaries of general conference addresses with transcriptions of those talks and assessed in explanatory footnotes how his versions compare.

These Card diaries will generously reward all who will consult them for historical information about particular times or subjects but especially those who will plow through them thoughtfully during a long, slow read.

MARTHA SONNTAG BRADLEY. *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993. xii; 260 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.95.

Reviewed by Ray Jay Davis, Professor of Law, Brigham Young University.

At 4:00 A.M. on July 26, 1953,¹ two quite different men met face-to-face on the dusty street in front of the schoolhouse in the northern Arizona border town of Short Creek. Each protagonist was backed by a phalanx of supporters. Sheriff Fred Porter of Mohave County, Arizona, had an army of sixty to seventy Arizona deputy sheriffs, highway patrolmen, liquor control agents, and national guardsmen who had entered the town in a pincers movement. One group from the west had driven from Arizona, through Nevada and Utah, and back into Arizona at Short Creek, and the other one came over the Kaibab Plateau and through the town of Fredonia² some thirty miles to the east. These lawmen originally had assembled at Williams, Arizona, south of the Grand Canyon, for what the rumor mill had labeled a special traffic school. They were given instructions and divided into the two groups, and after lengthy overnight travel around both ends of the canyon to the Arizona Strip, they burst into the isolated village with strident sirens and flashing lights. Leroy Johnson, the elderly spiritual leader of the fundamentalist polygamist community, had been alerted to the invasion by a dynamite blast set as a signal by lookouts, who had spotted the lights of the eastern cavalcade coming off the Kaibab. Johnson had many of his people lined up behind the picket fence around the schoolyard singing patriotic songs.

The scenario was ripe for violence, but neither side had a taste for it. The Johnson fundamentalists were clothed with religious zeal and the knowledge that they had survived intact two prior official “raids.” They probably believed this incursion was like an anti-Jewish pogrom in eastern Europe before Hitler’s “final solution”—they would suffer, but the community would survive. They were correct on both counts. The lawmen were under strict no-bloodshed orders from Arizona’s governor, Howard Pyle, who had ordered the operation, and from senior law enforcement officials.

Rather than making martyrs, the state officials hoped for public and voter approval in rescuing the women and children of Short Creek from what they believed were the grinding poverty and the unspeakable horrors of life in a plural marriage setting. Judges, lawyers, and social workers accompanied the police. The press, which was also on hand, had fallen into line behind the eastern peace officer convoy at Fredonia.

Patriarch Johnson declared his people's willingness to stand their ground, and Sheriff Porter asserted that, although the officers did not want violence, they had come to do a job and intended to accomplish it. Then the moment of high tension faded as the peace officers served the 122 arrest warrants for crimes such as rape, statutory rape, carnal knowledge,³ adultery, polygamous living, cohabitation,⁴ and misappropriation of school funds.⁵ By 4:30 A.M. the town was "secured" (130). Within hours those persons arrested were being arraigned before the judges brought into town, the children were taken under the protection of the juvenile court, and the removal of adults and children to the more populated parts of the state had commenced. Short Creek was left a ghost town attended by three boys.⁶ There was to be no "shoot-out" at the Short Creek corral (130-39).

This 1953 episode is the dramatic core of Martha Bradley's book *Kidnapped from That Land: The Government Raids on the Short Creek Polygamists*. Bradley, a visiting professor of architecture at the University of Utah, has written widely on Mormon art, architecture, current polygamist groups, and western history.⁷ The book encapsulates several years of on-the-scene experience, interviews with the principals and other participants in the 1953 events, and extensive library research. Although there have been other accounts of the Short Creek events,⁸ Bradley's book is the first book-length, in-depth analysis of the legal history of the town.

The author first examines plural marriage in nineteenth-century mainline Mormonism and in subsequent splinter sects. The focus is on the theology and practices of the so-called fundamentalists—a significant portion of whom live in Short Creek.⁹ Bradley looks at the settlement of the town and efforts in the 1930s and 1940s to prosecute fundamentalist leaders for violating state and federal laws. Finally, Bradley considers the aftermath of

the 1953 raid and looks at Short Creek (now Colorado City) today. Over forty years after the 1953 disruption of the community, the temporary detention of its population, and the year's probation of twenty-six of the men, the polygamist settlement has survived and grown to a population of over 4,500. Stubborn faith, hard work, and "benign neglect" by officialdom have all played their parts in the town's survival—a contrast to the demise of religious communes we have seen more recently. The fiery end of David Koresh's Branch Davidian compound at Waco,¹⁰ the mass suicide-murder by poison of the Peoples Temple followers of Jim Jones at Jonestown,¹¹ and the exodus from Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh's central Oregon settlement of Rajneeshpuram¹² are illustrations of recent failures.

Although *Kidnapped from That Land* is not a tract for polygamy as it is practiced in this schismatic Mormon context, it is sympathetic with the Short Creek people. For example, in one chapter Bradley discusses how the women of fundamentalism "triumphed by accepting limitations" (111). This view is especially interesting in a time of widespread academic political correctness. Even the title of the book is supportive of the townspeople. They were not "kidnapped," as the title suggests. Rather, they were taken into official custody under carefully prepared warrants and detained after judicial proceedings. Such actions do not constitute kidnapping under the common law,¹³ the Arizona statutes,¹⁴ the Utah code,¹⁵ or the Lindberg Act (the federal antikidnapping law).¹⁶ Bradley's use of the word "kidnapped" is appropriately congruent with the antiestablishment tone of the book.

The book contains some useful photographs of the town and the 1953 arrests. Together with these photographs, the inclusion of maps would have helped to demonstrate the depressed economic conditions (Short Creek looked and still looks more dilapidated than most of rural Arizona or Utah), the geographic isolation (an advantage if you do not want official snooping), and the harsh beauty of the land, whose scenes are like those in the great state and national parks in the region.

The discussion of the economic workings of this community raises further questions. More information is needed to comprehend how the "United Effort Plan" (189–92) functions and has allowed this polygamist enclave to survive as an economic entity.¹⁷

Further inquiry would have been useful to explain how a fringe settlement in the twentieth century with an abundance of human resources and virtually no other visible means of support has managed to maintain its economy. For example, some outside income comes from construction labor by male members of the group in St. George, Utah, and other booming desert communities as far away as Nevada. Suspected “tote” of unwanted building materials from these sites to assemble houses by stages (the “added upon” look) may be a partial explanation of how the town was built. (It is unfortunate that with her insight as an architecture teacher and writer the author did not explore the unique appearance of Short Creek housing.) A significant source of income for other American communes is the capital that converts bring into the groups with them.¹⁸ If they spend that capital rather than investing it and living from the proceeds, the organizations stumble.¹⁹ But not much is said in the book about the newcomers to fundamentalism adding to the wealth of the town.

Polygamy has long fascinated many people; and Bradley, with a social historian’s interest in the common folk, focuses on the people of Short Creek, who apart from their marital practices were not particularly newsworthy. However, many of their opponents were notable, or at least became so, yet neither the stories nor perspectives of those officials are told by Bradley. After losing reelection as governor, partly because of backlash from the Short Creek episode, Howard Pyle became the very articulate national spokesman for the National Safety Council. His campaign manager, Barry Goldwater, is the most prominent symbol of the Arizona Republican Party renaissance that revitalized a moribund party by giving it a presidential candidate, a United States Attorney General, and the first female United States Supreme Court justice, Sandra Day O’Connor. Lorna Lockwood, the juvenile court judge who handled the Short Creek children’s cases, became the first woman in the country to serve as the chief justice of a state supreme court. The Arizona officialdom associated with the event included many others who have had distinguished careers.²⁰

An appendix sets forth Governor Pyle’s statement announcing to the people of Arizona the reasons for the raid at Short Creek. The statement, of course, does not list the legal or historical precedents which formed the basis for the state officials’ belief they

could get away with the raid. Official heads did not roll after the arrests and prosecutions by Utah, Arizona, and federal officials in the 1930s and 1940s, but then neither did Short Creek and fundamentalism suffer more than temporary annoyance. Two particular precedents could have given the officials particular assurance—one from Mormon history and one from Arizona history. After the shooting of James Strang in 1856, his Mormon splinter group followers were “deported” from their Beaver Island homes in Lake Michigan and relocated around the lakeshore cities. Strang died, his polygamous lifestyle passed with him, and his kingdom was cleansed.²¹ Closer to home and only three decades earlier—in the so-called “Bisbee Deportation”—Arizona successfully ended a violent copper miners’ strike by hauling a trainload of strikers out of the state. Unions, easterners, and civil libertarians were outraged at the action,²² but it worked, and the sheriff and his men who perpetrated it were exonerated on the grounds of the “law of necessity” in subsequent legal action.²³ Pyle, Sheriff Porter, and Mohave Superior Court Judge Jesse Faulkner (in whose jurisdiction Short Creek is located and who was the moving spirit behind the whole affair) had at least some reason to believe that similar success would crown their efforts.

Officialdom has never cared for religious groups that are different and powerful enough to make people angry, hurt, or afraid. John of Leyden, who took over Münster and practiced polygamy in Germany during the Reformation, was exterminated by the forces of the ruling bishop, who was supported by the conservative elements of the empire.²⁴ However, late twentieth-century America is neither the place nor the time to eradicate an entire community as did the troops of the Reformation. Today in Montana, county and state officers do not like the Church Universal and Triumphant and its adherents who have settled outside Yellowstone National Park. But officials have not moved in on the place. Rather they have nibbled around the edges with minor complaints.²⁵

Despite official disapproval, residents of Short Creek as well as any reader of this book need not think that an event such as the raid on Short Creek is likely to happen again, as should be fairly clear for several reasons. First, Short Creek has too many people and is

too well entrenched. In the 1950s, Judge Faulkner urged action on the ground that, if the state did not act then, it would take an army to root out the polygamists later. A small army was used and was unsuccessful. It would be even less successful today.

Second, the operation would cost too much. Even the 1953 attempt was expensive. Money was appropriated to pay Burns Detective Agency operatives, who posed as people seeking movie extras, to investigate Short Creek. Then a sum of \$50,000 was ostensibly granted by the legislature for “insect control” (121). This money was used for the raid under the name “Operation Seagull.” The legislature appropriated \$10,000 of the “emergency funds” for planners’ salaries, \$6,000 for travel expenses, \$8,000 for food during the operation, and \$6,000 for food during the holding period (121-22). Subsequent costs to deal legally with an entire community simply were unacceptable; they could not be hidden from fiscal watchdogs. Following the raid, there were cries of outrage from people like conservative democratic state senator and gubernatorial hopeful, Jim Smith. Today the costs would far exceed those of forty years ago because of such factors as inflation, growth of the town, and the ACLU.

The high risk of violence is a third reason for the unlikely recurrence of the 1953 events. Fundamentalists are generally a peaceful people. The LeBaron clan²⁶ and the Singer/Swapp family²⁷ are sad and rare exceptions. In the case of the violent Waco affair, only Janet Reno, who forthrightly assumed responsibility, came out with reputation intact. The public was appalled by the violence. Even if another raid resulted in no breaches of the peace, as the Short Creek project demonstrated, the cost in social disruption would be too high.

The fourth reason is that societal attitudes have changed in the past forty years. The “rotten revolution”²⁸ has softened American attitudes toward unconventional living arrangements. People who are tolerant of such things as homosexual “marriage,” “significant others,” serial polygamy via no-fault divorce, and abortion on demand, are not likely to get excited by religiously-motivated polygamy and demand governmental action to bring it to an end. While there is now more condemnation of child abuse and sexual

harassment than in the past, people today are generally more tolerant of peaceful dissent.

Fear of unfavorable news coverage is a fifth reason for American officials to avoid moving against a dissident community. In 1953 the press leaked news of the impending operation to the fundamentalists. As a result, there was no tactical surprise. Some fundamentalists escaped to Utah, but Governor J. Bracken Lee returned them. Today, national news coverage of the event would be comparable to coverage of the O. J. Simpson low-speed freeway chase.²⁹ The press may be owned by conservative capitalists, but news personnel appear to have acquiesced in the “rotten revolution” agenda. No sane government official courts bad press.

Legal change is a final reason for polygamists and other cultists to take comfort in the fact that 1953 will not be repeated. The civil rights movement and changes in criminal procedure provide a different legal environment for arresting, officially detaining, and trying persons accused of crimes. In 1953 warrants were drawn up for persons arrested at Short Creek, and judges were present to arraign them. Today, convicting them would be more difficult. For example, the *Gault* case from Arizona changed juvenile proceedings from the prior therapeutic model, which did not require full procedural due process, to the present judicial one, which does.³⁰ Arizona still has no antipolygamy statute, but even if it did, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act³¹ would make successful prosecution of fundamentalists much more difficult. Today, it is not as easy to confidently predict that the law would be on the side of the government.

The future confrontations between fundamentalists and the government are likely to be individual cases for specific legal violations. Firearms violations were the excuse to go after leaders of the Church Universal and Triumphant. Fraud and tax cases have successfully put some fundamentalist leaders out of business. Bradley explores the use of child custody as a weapon against specific polygamists. A massive operation against an entire town is not the way to go. But it is interesting to explore in a book such as Bradley's.

NOTES

¹This was just before the standard time hour of dawn during late July at that latitude. (Arizona, quite sensibly, has secured an exemption from daylight savings time under United States Code, title 15, §260a.)

²Fredonia is named for its handy location just across the state border in Arizona from Kanab, Utah. Southern Utah nineteenth-century Mormon leader Erastus Snow suggested the name "Fredonia" to describe the use of the community as a place to stash plural spouses outside the reach of Utah territorial officials intent upon enforcing the Edmunds Act, which criminalized bigamous cohabitation in territories; 22 Stat. 30 (1882). They were free. Will C. Croft, *Will C. Barnes' Arizona Place Names*, rev. and enl. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1960), 71. Short Creek was to play a similar role for border dodgers in the twentieth century.

³Arizona Revised Statutes Annotated §§13-1405 and 1406.

⁴Arizona Revised Statutes Annotated §§13-1408 and 1409. *See also* §13-3606.

⁵Arizona Revised Statutes Annotated §13-1802(A)(2).

⁶One of the lookouts, Sam Barlow, subsequently became the "law north of the Colorado" as the town marshal of Short Creek. His adult plural marital status led to one of the more recent confrontations between a person from Short Creek and Arizona authorities. Arizona law requires bonding peace officers. The bonding agency, the Arizona Law Enforcement Officer Advisory Council, initiated proceedings to revoke Barlow's certification because he was a polygamist. The agency contended that such conduct violated his oath of office and jeopardized public trust in the law enforcement profession. Barlow went to court to block the administrative proceedings. The judge issued an injunction, citing one of the reviewer's articles, Ray Davis, "Plural Marriage and Religious Freedom: The Impact of *Reynolds v United States*," *Arizona Law Review* 15 (1973): 287, which questioned the continued viability of that nineteenth-century cornerstone of judicial approval of antipolygamy laws, *Reynolds v United States*, 98 U.S. 145 (1878). The Arizona Court of Appeals, not possessed of sufficient chutzpah to contradict the High Court, reversed and decided that Arizona's antipolygamy constitutional provision, although not also enacted as a criminal statute, expressed the state antipolygamy public policy and that the state had a compelling interest in enforcing reasonable qualifications for peace officers, at least to the extent of holding an administrative hearing. *Barlow v Blackburn*, 798 P.2d 1360 (Ariz. App. 1990).

⁷See Martha Bradley, "Mormon Art: Untapped Power for Good," *This People* 13 (fall 1992): 20-26; Martha S. Bradley, "Protect the Children: Child Labor in Utah, 1880-1920," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (winter 1991): 51-71; Martha Bradley, "The Women of Fundamentalism: Short Creek, 1953," *Dialogue* 23 (summer 1990): 14-37; Jessie L. Embry and Martha Bradley, "Mothers and Daughters in Polygamy," *Dialogue* 18 (fall 1985): 98-107; Martha S. Bradley, "The Cloning of Mormon Architecture," *Dialogue* 14 (spring 1981): 20-31. Current projects include writing a guide to Utah architecture for the American Institute of Architecture and editing a work on Utah's ecclesiastical architecture for the Utah Heritage Foundation. Bradley is coeditor of *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*.

⁸See Edward A. Geary, *The Proper Edge of the Sky: The High Plateau Country of Utah* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1992), 197–200; Patricia Wendel, “Red Letter Day at Short Creek: July 26, 1953” (J.D. thesis, Arizona College of Law, Tucson, 1976).

⁹There are also religiously based polygamist groups in the Salt Lake Valley—some of whose connections with Short Creek come up in Bradley’s book. For an account of a recently organized (by excommunicated Mormons) polygamist church in Sanpete County, see *Provo Daily Herald*, August 21, 1994, sec. A, p. 7. Big Water, Utah (near Lake Powell), is another community catering to plural marriage.

¹⁰*Los Angeles Times*, April 20, 1993, sec. A, p. 1, 12–16.

¹¹*Washington Post*, November 21, 1978, sec. A, p. 1, 12–15.

¹²Frances Fitzgerald, “A Reporter at Large: Rajneeshpuram,” parts 1 and 2, *New Yorker*, September 22, 1986, 46–96; September 29, 1986, 83–125.

¹³See *People v Wesley*, 421 Mich. 375, 388, 365 N.W. 2d 692, 696 (1983); William Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book IV, 218–19.

¹⁴Arizona Revised Statutes Annotated §13–1304.

¹⁵Utah Code Annotated §76–5–301(1).

¹⁶United States Code, title 18, §1201.

¹⁷The practice of the group was to contract with the reviewer’s uncle, Owen Davis, to buy his entire fruit crop at Fruita, Utah, on the trees. This is an illustration of how the plan actually functioned in practice. My uncle Owen got a reasonable price for his product without needing to hire pickers and then market the fruit. The polygamists were able to use family labor for harvesting and processing the fruit, thus acquiring it at a much cheaper cost than purchasing retail canned or bottled goods. (Uncle Owen was not pleased when government officials would hassle the Short Creek people and thereby disrupt his profitable arrangement with them.)

¹⁸See the report by Catherine Collins and Douglas Frantz in *Modern Maturity*, the voice of the American Association of Retired Persons, warning retirees that cultists are after them for their money. Collins and Frantz, “Let Us Pray,” *Modern Maturity* 37 (June 1994): 22–32.

¹⁹As a missionary in Mexico, the reviewer witnessed the decline and fall of a commune of polygamist former Mormons. A significant reason for its demise was poverty brought on by mismanagement of the resources brought into the group by its adherents. Economics, rather than philosophy, brought about the commune’s collapse.

²⁰Kent Blake, one of the two major planners of the raid, is a cousin of the reviewer. He has recently retired after a lifetime of practice with one of the major Phoenix law firms. The other principal planner, Paul La Prade, served with distinction as a judge. Harold Giss, who got the necessary appropriation through the legislature, was one of the dominant figures in the Arizona legislature for many years. The list can be multiplied. The Arizona officials involved were and continued to be major players in the affairs of the state.

²¹Roger Van Noord, *King of Beaver Island: The Life and Assassination of James Jesse Strang* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 257–66.

²²On July 12, 1917, a county posse loaded 1,186 members of the International Workers of the World and other suspected undesirables onto boxcars and cattle cars at gunpoint. They were taken to Columbus, New Mexico, unloaded,

and told never to return to Bisbee. James Byrkit, *Forging the Copper Collar: Arizona's Labor-Management War of 1901-1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), as cited in *Arizona Republic*, July 19, 1992, sec. C, p. 1. Among those who futilely investigated the deportation was a federal commission dominated by Harvard law professor Felix Frankfurter. Michael Parrish, *Felix Frankfurter and His Times: The Reform Years* (New York: Free Press, 1982), 90-95.

²³*State v Wootton*, Crim. No. 2685, Cochise County, Arizona, September 13, 1919. The instructions to the jury by Judge Samuel Pattee may be found at Comment, "The Law of Necessity as Applied in the Bisbee Deportation Case," *Arizona Law Review* 3 (1961): 264.

²⁴Will Durant, *The Reformation: A History of European Civilization from Wyclif to Calvin: 1300-1564* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 398-402. The episode is the basis for the Meyerbeer opera "Le Prophete." A tax was levied on all Germany to raise funds to finance the siege of Münster and to exterminate King John's anabaptist polygamist group. Regarding the different sort of response by the United States government to Mormon polygamy in the nineteenth century, see Ray Jay Davis, "Antipolygamy Legislation," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:52-53.

²⁵For example, the Internal Revenue Service lifted the tax-exempt status of the survivalist church and then restored it when the leaders of the group agreed to stop stockpiling weapons on its ranch near Yellowstone Park. *Deseret News*, June 4, 1994, sec. A, p. 5. Environmentalists have also challenged the group.

²⁶For an insider's account of the activities of the Ervil LeBaron family, see Rena Chynoweth and Dean Shapiro, *The Blood Covenant* (Austin, Tex.: Diamond Books, 1990). During his missionary experience in Mexico, the reviewer contended with one of the more peaceful members of the LeBaron family. He was a very formidable adversary but not at all like his brother Ervil.

²⁷The shootout at Marion, Utah, which brought the siege to an end by law enforcement officials of the Singer/Swapp family is reported in *Deseret News*, January 28, 1988, sec. A, p. 1. The siege was mounted in an effort to arrest those responsible for bombing a Mormon chapel.

²⁸The phrase is that of President Gordon B. Hinckley. I like it. It expresses the erosion of traditional values and secularization of American society.

²⁹In the unlikely event that some reader was not watching the live broadcast of the "chase," an account of it may be found in Nancy Gibbs, "End of the Run," *Time*, June 27, 1994, 28-35. Phoenix, Las Vegas, and Salt Lake City television station helicopters could bring live coverage, assuming that the officials saw fit to act during daylight hours.

³⁰In re *Gault*, 387 U.S. 1 (1966).

³¹107 Stat. 1488 (1993). The statute was intended to alter the impact of *Employment Division v Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), which "virtually eliminated the requirement that the government justify burdens on religious exercise imposed by laws neutral toward religion" and restore the "compelling interest test as set forth in *Sherbert v Verner*, 374 U.S. 398 (1963) and *Wisconsin v Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205 (1972)." Religious Freedom Restoration Act §§2(a)(4) and 2(b)(1).

DAVIS BITTON. *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994. xii; 194 pp. Index, bibliographies. \$27.50.

Reviewed by Steven L. Olsen, adjunct faculty, Department of Anthropology, Brigham Young University.

Davis Bitton is one of Mormonism's most influential teachers and writers. In the 1970s and early 1980s, Bitton was at the center of arguably the most progressive period of Mormon historical scholarship in the twentieth century. Most of the nine essays in this collection come from this remarkable era. All the essays have been updated to encompass some of the subsequent scholarship and include ample bibliographies.

These essays reflect a particular point of view that is akin to "the new social history" and "the new urban history," which refocus historical inquiry from society's central institutions and elite individuals to ordinary folks and their daily activities and associations. Thus Bitton writes about Brigham Young Jr., not his illustrious father; about the preservation and dissemination of Mormon history in popular pageants and community celebrations, not in institutional or academic scholarship; and about the poetic legacy of member Charles Lowell Walker, not that of Elder Orson F. Whitney.

These "new" histories have also drawn heavily from the social sciences and humanistic disciplines that are concerned as much with articulating individual cultural perspectives as with establishing objective facts. Thus Bitton does not analyze the historical origins and sociological functions of polygamy. Rather, he analyzes some nineteenth-century polemic on plural marriage in an effort to explain why so many good people believed so deeply in a practice that ran counter to mainstream American values. Likewise, Bitton addresses Utah Mormonism's first indigenous generation, not to determine whether they were good or bad or the degree of their civility, but rather to determine how and why they were perceived so radically differently by various groups. Bitton also reviews the B. H. Roberts case, not to prove or disprove Roberts' worthiness to join the U.S. House of Representatives, but rather to reveal the subtle and complex assumptions central to the arguments in this controversy.

Another dominant theme in Bitton's studies is human adaptation to changing environments and circumstances. In these essays, Bitton suggests that Mormons adapt when the discontinuity between experience and expectation threatens physical survival or group or individual identity, or places deeply held beliefs in direct and seemingly unalterable contradiction. From this perspective, we see early Utah Mormons meeting the challenge of raising children in a demanding frontier environment, abandoning and later repudiating polygamy for the sake of peaceful coexistence with Victorian America, adjusting social dance practices to avoid alienating the rising generation, and inevitably selecting marginalization over confrontation in a secular, national political arena.

In the end, Bitton sees Mormons as sharing a great deal with the rest of humanity—being good-hearted and hardworking and trying to fulfill basic human needs for existence, companionship, and meaning in life. He sees them facing personal, social, and natural limitations at every turn and needing a good dose of humor and compassion.

Bitton's Mormons are also thoroughgoing Americans—but Americans of a particular and peculiar stripe. This distinctiveness makes these people interesting to study and fascinating to know. Reading these essays, one senses that Bitton is not only a historian of the first rank, but also a lifelong explorer of the human condition. His expeditions have yielded much insight—which is especially remarkable since the insights are revealed by a relatively small religious group in the American West whose influence and intrigue on the national scene have been disproportionate to the size of the group.

Some critics might respond to all of this by exclaiming, "So, tell me something I don't already know!" The temptation to take for granted the subtle insights of these essays is to underappreciate their influence among the community of scholars of Mormonism in the years since they first appeared. Those familiar with the transformation of Mormon historiography in the 1970s and 1980s cannot forget the difference Bitton made, in both scholarly and personal terms. That difference is amply woven throughout these essays.

To the question of relevance, however, another remark would likely sound more reasonable to Bitton himself. If the insights of these studies seem close to the lessons of daily life, he might simply respond, "Eureka!" Revealing the essence of life as lived by ordinary Latter-day Saints of the past is a central thrust of Bitton's intellectual explorations. That the conclusions may seem self-evident is a credit to the success of his effort.

To those who may see in these essays much that seems ordinary, I challenge them to list the prior historical scholarship on Mormon adolescence, literary traditions, leisure activities, political rhetoric, community celebrations, and public ritual. Research like Bitton's breaks new ground in Mormon studies by demonstrating the value of applying to the Mormon past new approaches that have proven crucial to the understanding and appreciation of other times, places, and peoples. Contemporary students of Mormonism could do worse than pursue and refine such fruitful avenues of inquiry. One may quibble with Bitton on the relevance of some pieces of evidence, the accuracy of certain conclusions, or with the publisher on the selection of a particular essay. It is incontrovertible, however, that Bitton has left an enviable intellectual legacy to students of Mormonism. This volume is a fitting tribute to that contribution.

STEPHEN D. RICKS and JOHN W. WELCH, eds. *The Allegory of the Olive Tree: The Olive, the Bible, and Jacob 5*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: F.A.R.M.S., 1994. xiv; 624 pp. Illustrations, appendix, 2 indexes. \$28.95.

Reviewed by David B. Honey, Associate Professor of Classical Chinese, Department of Asian and Near Eastern Languages.

The olive, that most useful and symbolic of trees, is treated to an unprecedented degree of scholarly and literary attention in this massive conference volume. The original 1992 F.A.R.M.S. conference presentations have been amply expanded and assembled in a volume that seems to include everything relevant to the olive and its symbolism in the Book of Mormon and the Bible. As with most conference volumes, the contributions overlap considerably, but since each approaches the topic from an individual angle—from history to theology, from botany to philology—the overlap rarely seems tedious. I cannot recall reading a volume of similar length on a unified theme that sustains the interest of the reader as well as this work.

The Meaning of Zenos's Allegory of the Olive Tree

The book is divided into five parts. Part one, "The Meaning of Zenos's Allegory of the Olive Tree," contains five introductory pieces interpreting the allegory from the historical perspectives of Palestine, the Nephites, nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints, and modern Mormons. The contributions in this section are more elegiac than analytic, more theological than theoretical. Truman Madsen's "The Olive Press: A Symbol of Christ" is a revision of a previous publication that effectively introduces many of the themes developed in depth elsewhere in the book. Catherine Thomas takes a rhetorical approach to yield inspirational conclusions, discovering in Jacob's allegory "The Mystery of Christ." Noel Reynolds concludes that Nephite prophets, chiefly Lehi, Nephi, and Jacob, borrowed language and imagery from Zenos to express and verify their own revelations, and such prophets viewed Isaiah as having done the same thing. Grant Underwood asserts that "nineteenth-century [Latter-day Saint] discussion of the

parable can be divided into two broad categories—historical and homiletical,” with the latter view predominant.

Part one concludes with Paul Hoskisson’s piece, “The Allegory of the Olive Tree in Jacob.” Hoskisson declares that the allegory “is the most beautiful prose expression of God’s aspirations for the house of Israel” (70). He regards an allegory as one way of explicating actual events; hence, he seeks to locate the events of Jacob’s allegory in time and space. His historical periodization, based on an earlier publication, is reasonable and convincing.¹

Textual Analysis of Zenos’s Allegory of the Olive Tree

Part two, “Textual Analysis of Zenos’s Allegory of the Olive Tree,” partakes of a more philological and rhetorical bent. Royal Skousen presents his collated version of Jacob 4–6 with textual notes. However, the editors tacitly acknowledge the difficulty in relying on a formidable critical text bristling with an embedded apparatus when they opted to append the familiar, unaggregated text of Jacob 5 to the end of the volume.

More meaning is derived from the rhetorical analysis of Arthur Henry King’s “Language Themes in Jacob 5” than from minute attention to textual variants. Unlike Hoskisson, King does not approach the allegory historically: “Like the dream, too, it is not a parable of exact allegorical equivalencies, but symbolic equivalencies” (140). Rhetorical truth, not logical truth, is his goal, which he reveals through close attention to the niceties of narrative technique—phraseology, repetition, distribution of elements, and the like. King concludes that Zenos’s “rhetorical buildup is complex and rich. There is no passage like this in the Bible” (170). There is also no other contribution like this in this volume, with its combination of inimitable style and persuasive insight.

John Welch uses a more mechanical approach to rhetoric in “Words and Phrases in Jacob 5,” which tabulates vocabulary distribution in the allegory. But mechanical operation does not necessarily yield trivial results, for several conclusions are of interest. First, much of the allegory’s vocabulary is distinctive, making scriptural allusions to the allegory possible with just a phrase or two. Second, few vocabulary items are shared with the New

Testament. Third, Zenos and the writers of the Old Testament use many of the same vocabulary words in similar significant contexts. Finally, based on diction, a tentative date for the composition of the allegory can be hazarded: “early in the Israelite monarchy, perhaps in the latter half of David’s kingship” (181).

Ancient Historical and Religious Backgrounds to the Symbolism of the Olive

Part three, “Ancient Historical and Religious Backgrounds to the Symbolism of the Olive,” expands our understanding of the economic and religious importance of the olive in the ancient world. John Gee and Daniel Peterson in “Graft and Corruption: On Olives and Olive Culture in the Pre-Modern Mediterranean,”² initially treat lexicography,³ but the thrust of this lengthy contribution is historical, not linguistic. Gee and Peterson present a well-researched, wide-ranging survey of the olive and olive cultivation, exhausting the historical and economic background of the olive in the premodern Mediterranean world. The authors plumb sources from the classical to the Semitic world and cite secondary authorities in abundance. As with every entry in part three, this contribution could be submitted with confidence for publication in an academic journal, so solidly grounded is its research.

Two by-products of Gee and Peterson’s piece are noteworthy. First, since wild olives grow only in northern Israel, the fact that Zenos is familiar with the science of grafting lends credence to the supposition that this enigmatic prophet hailed from the north: “This may help to explain why Lehi, with his background in the northern kingdom, appears to have had access to a parable of olive growing and why our modern Bible, with its background in Judea, lacks the parable of Zenos” (201).⁴ Second, the article creates a reasoned response to Arthur Henry King’s easily misconstrued conclusion that “to experience language is more than to abstract messages from it. Rhetoric is not an added decoration; it is the thing itself” (172–73). The authors posit instead that “parable is the medium and olive culture is merely the particular idiom. A knowledge of the idiom enhances understanding and appreciation of the nuances of the message, but it is not itself the message” (225).

Among many insights from John Hall's "The Olive in Greco-Roman Religion" is the Athenians' reverence toward the olive tree, the symbol of the life and vitality of their race, "a striking real life parallel to the scriptural allegories of the olive tree" (256). Neither Hall nor any other author addresses the admittedly tangential issue of the Roman introduction of olive cultivation in Spain, "the greatest producer of olive products in the modern era" (249). This topic is nevertheless worthy of further treatment, for the historical and intellectual contribution of this region in many areas has been profound. To take an example from the realm of philosophy, both Seneca the Younger, the leading intellect of Nero's reign, and Maimonides, the foremost mind of medieval Judaism, were born and educated in Cordoba, Spain, a city based on olive cultivation.

Next, Donald Parry and David Seely each explore the olive in the Old Testament, but from different perspectives. Parry studies the ritual anointing of both inanimate objects, such as vessels and temple implements, and important personages, like priests, prophets, and kings, with olive oil; both practices presage the anointing of the Messiah. Parry summarizes with admirable economy many scriptural citations and describes the various rites and rituals, all supported by references to important scholarly studies.

Seely concentrates on the nature of the figurative language in Jacob 5 as both allegory and parable: an allegory of Israelite history and a parable of God's love (a position supported by James Faulconer later on in the volume⁵). Seely's attention to parables throughout the cultural world of the Mediterranean region, including ancient Greece, is a laudable approach and, of course, could have been made at greater length⁶ but only by destroying the restrained symmetry of his compact study. At any rate, his musing that Zenos may have been drawing on an ancient tradition is indebted to a new approach developed in biblical studies of paying attention to possible Greek influences on the writing of Hebrew prophets.⁷ Seely hints at a new direction for future research when he concludes that "while Jacob 5 is unique in its sophistication, there is evidence in the ancient Near East that Zenos's allegory of the olive tree does not come out of a vacuum" (301).

The Olive in Early Jewish and Christian Texts

From the general literary milieu of the ancient Near East, part four moves us to “The Olive in Early Jewish and Christian Texts.” John Welch focuses on a specific text, the *Pseudo-Philo*, with his article comparing the last words of Cenez with Jacob 5. This effort is representative of all of the unabashedly philological contributions of part four. Called *Pseudo-Philo* because of its provenance among the works of Philo of Alexandria, this text possibly contains materials far antedating its Christian-era redaction. Welch concludes that while its protagonist, the prophet-hero Cenez, was probably not the historical-but-unknown prophet Zenos, striking affinities exist between the allegory of the vineyard in *Pseudo-Philo* and Zenos’s allegory of the olive tree.

Seely and Welch then combine forces as they align and analyze the main Old Testament texts relevant to olive trees and conclude that olive trees symbolized both blessing and cursing, prosperity and judgment. They further posit that “Zenos was a relatively early prophet who stood near the head of this persistent and powerful Israelite literary theme” (322). The texts exploring this theme include Exodus 15, Psalm 52, Psalm 80, Hosea 14, Isaiah 5, and Jeremiah 11.

James Faulconer also draws on some of these same texts as he compares Zenos with Paul’s words in Romans 11. His reasonable reading of these texts confirms a “common rhetorical tradition” based in part on the Old Testament passages cited above rather than a direct relationship to account for the similarities shared between Zenos and Paul. However, Faulconer does hypothesize the existence of an unidentified text with features similar to Zenos’s parable that Paul could have accessed for his epistle; both Zenos and Paul therefore are similar, if not on a textual level, then on the “anagogical level, the level of spiritual significance” (358).

Part four, unfortunately, falters midway with a curious inclusion: a bibliography of commentaries on Romans 11:17–24 compiled by Gary Gillum. Not only is the text of secondary interest to Jacob 5, but the entries are mostly limited to English. No French or Italian commentaries are listed, and the only study in German, arguably the most important modern language for New Testament

scholarship, appears in a *festschrift* published at Oxford. At most this piece merits no more independent existence than as an appendix to Faulconer's piece.

John Tvedtnes, in the first of three appearances, again treats Romans 11. His expansive coverage of Luke and Isaiah justifies the separate inclusion of this sprawling, but comprehensive, study, which is energetically detailed and enthusiastically documented. Particularly noteworthy are his citations of Christian fathers. In light of the earlier coverage in this volume, some sections on anointing and the Messiah in his next entry, "Olive Oil: Symbol of the Holy Ghost," should have been reworked or deleted to avoid tedious overlap. Still, the remainder of this study, especially the central section on the Holy Ghost, is well done and worthy of careful consideration.

A refreshingly short entry concludes part four. Stephen Ricks's "Olive Culture in the Second Temple Era and Early Rabbinic Period" reads like an ideal conference paper: short, well-researched and presented, based on primary sources, with an original contribution. The commonalities in the horticultural details of Jacob 5 and Judaic literature of late antiquity—as seen in the apocrypha, the pseudepigrapha, the Mishna, and Talmud—support the symbol of the olive as a sign of kingship, authority, and the tree of life. Although the article overlaps somewhat with Tvedtnes's first paper, Ricks has a more narrow temporal focus and garners extensive support from secondary authorities. Like Seely, he is sensitive to the cosmopolitan cultural climate of the age (for example, "the wearing of an olive wreath as a sign of victory was a Greek not a Jewish symbol, and probably an indication of Hellenistic influence on Jewish practice" [461-62]). My only complaint is that Ricks never identifies the second temple period and only hints at it on page 465 when it is paired with the early centuries of Christianity.

The Botany and Horticulture of Olives

Part five, "The Botany and Horticulture of Olives," closes the volume. Tvedtnes offers a short study concluding that the term *vineyard* is used appropriately and is not an error in the Zenos account in Jacob 5. This piece, too, reads like an ideal conference

paper. But it is misplaced in its section, for the horticultural question is resolved with a philological answer. Only the concluding entry in this volume truly deals with horticulture.

Wilford Hess, Daniel Fairbanks, John Welch, and Jonathan Driggs's "Botanical Aspects of Olive Culture Relevant to Jacob 5" covers almost eighty pages of very interesting and pointed commentary on many technical aspects of the olive that escape the nonspecialist. The article is divided into two sections: a short introductory narrative and a lengthy catechism based on the text of Jacob 5. Half of the introduction is redundant, since, after some 450 pages, we know enough of the etymology of the term *olive* and the various views of its domestication. But the other half offers a bracing baptism into the scientific world of the olive: botany and cultivation; fruit and oil; pathogens, pests, and nutrition; and botanical anomalies and unusual circumstances mentioned in Jacob 5 that indicate the expertise of Zenos in olive cultivation. This last part is a sensitive reading of the rhetoric of Jacob 5 played against the horticultural restraints of olive cultivation and is in itself a worthy capstone to this volume. But there is more. A catechism of questions and answers continues the insightful textual analysis and fully validates the authors' assertion that "there are many detailed horticultural practices and procedures that were not likely known by an untrained person, and may not have been fully appreciated by professional botanists or horticulturists at the time the Book of Mormon was translated. Even today, outside of olive-growing areas, professional horticulturists may not fully appreciate some of the unique aspects of olive culture" (552).

After the appended text of Jacob 5 come two indices: the first, a very useful index of passages cited in the book from the scriptures, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, Mishna and other Jewish literature, various Christian sources, and the classics; the second, a subject index.

Despite the bulk of this volume, two aspects deserve deeper coverage if the book is to truly serve as "the most comprehensive collection of materials ever published about the olive in the world of the Bible and the Book of Mormon" (ix). First, since the target text is the allegory of Zenos, one might expect the nature of allegory to be developed more than it was. For instance, could the three

levels of allegory isolated by the Neoplatonists, namely, the literal, the ethical, and the metaphysical, be applied with profit to Zenos?⁸

More importantly, the medical aspects of the olive are touched on but not treated. Yet the olive is one of the most universal and potent of herbs and forms the base of most salves and ointments. In early Latter-day Saint history, its medicinal value was recognized on a wide scale. For instance, olive oil was taken internally much like the cod liver oil of my childhood:

At one time in Mormonism, it used to be quite the thing to take consecrated olive oil internally, as part of the general good medicine suggested by God. Saints thought no more of consuming it internally as [*sic*] they did of drinking herbal teas, and felt that it was as proper and right in its place to take as botanic medicine was.⁹

In fact, the ordinance of anointing the afflicted with olive oil was regarded as much as a medicinal application as a religious rite. Joseph F. Smith is quoted in one early journal as thinking it “absurd for men to pour a little drop of oil on the top of the head and pray that it might permeate the whole being. We should anoint the sick all over and give them oil inwardly.”¹⁰ Some exploration, therefore, of the standard handbooks such as Grieve’s *A Modern Herbal* or Culbreth’s *A Manual of Materia Medica and Pharmacology* to elucidate this important function of the olive would have been welcome.

But overall, most aspects of the olive and its cultivation, history, economy, and symbolism are amply treated in this volume, usually from multiple angles. No serious student of the Bible or Book of Mormon can afford to neglect the factual information, insights, and inspiration to be gleaned from this book. And for those who, like the present reviewer, do not enjoy the taste of actual olives, the allegorical approach is all the more appreciated.

NOTES

¹See Paul T. Hoskisson, “Explicating the Mystery of the Rejected Foundation Stone: The Allegory of the Olive Tree,” *BYU Studies* 30 (summer 1990): 77-87.

²The table of contents errs in placing this article in part two.

³The authors stumble on p. 187 and p. 227 n. 12, forgivably, when they state that the name for olive in Chinese is *ci-tun*. This name, hardly recognizable

in Berthold Laufer's idiosyncratic orthography, is more commonly spelled *tz'u-t'ung* in Wade-Giles romanization (*zitong* in pinyin), is pronounced something like **tsiedong* in the Middle Ages, and is nothing more than the Chinese attempt to spell the Persian loan word for olive, *zeitun*, a product first introduced to the Chinese by Persian merchants.

⁴The possibility of a northern extraction of Zenos is again suggested by Stephen Ricks on p. 467, with documentation.

⁵"It may be more accurate to call Jacob 5 a parable rather than an allegory, but the terminology is sufficiently loose that it isn't important to insist on one term or the other" (363 n. 2). Faulconer chooses to use the term parable in his study.

⁶Among other examples, I have in mind Hesiod's "The Battle of the Frogs and Mice."

⁷On the genetic relationship between Hebrew and Greek historiography, consult John Van Seters, "Early Greek Historiography," *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 8-52; Giovanni Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 82-86; Robert G. Boling, *Judges*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975), 19-23; and the studies cited by Robert Morgan and John Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, Oxford Bible Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 216.

⁸For these three levels, consult Robert Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 47.

⁹John Heinerman, *Joseph Smith and Herbal Medicine* (Monrovia: Majority of One Press, n.d.), 68.

¹⁰Ruth May Fox, Diary, June 3, 1900, cited by John Heinerman, "And They Shall Be Healed! Herbal Medicine and Faith Healing on the Early Frontier," unpublished manuscript, kindly furnished to me by Dean Morris.

ORSON SCOTT CARD. *A Storyteller in Zion: Essays and Speeches by Orson Scott Card*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1993. 215 pp. \$11.95.

Reviewed by Thomas C. Clark, an attorney and Gospel Doctrine instructor in Northern California.

Orson Scott Card is possibly the most versatile, the most prolific, the most read, and the most highly compensated Mormon author to date. His credits include poetry, essays, a dozen plays (that have been produced in regional theater), a revision of the Hill Cumorah Pageant, hundreds of audio plays based on scripture, a dozen scripts for animated videos, more than two dozen *Ensign* articles, a volume of humor (*Saintspeak: The Mormon Dictionary*), an award-winning historical novel (*Saints*, previously published as *A Woman of Destiny*), and a novelization of a motion picture (*The Abyss*)—in addition to the science fiction novels and short stories for which he is best known. Card was the first author to win both the prestigious Hugo and Nebula awards for best novel two years in a row. Card is a true man of letters, if not a literary man for all seasons. He is the Latter-day Saint answer to Frank Herbert and C. S. Lewis.

A Storyteller in Zion is a collection of speeches and previously published articles, essays, and reviews by Card. Three of the speeches were presented at BYU, two articles come from the *Ensign*, six essays and reviews come from *Sunstone*, and a comment comes from *Dialogue*.

A Storyteller in Zion is an impressive literary smorgasbord with something for everyone. Most of the menu (particularly parts two, three, and four) is the intellectual equivalent of prime rib or trout amandine. However, as with all smorgasbords, *Storyteller* has its inevitable green Jell-O salad (see the first chapter, “The Coming of the Nonmembers”).

Like any book, *A Storyteller in Zion* has its flaws. Some of them are trivial: we would like to know when and where the review of John Gardner’s *On Moral Fiction* was published, and we wonder why mention is not made that “Consecration: A Law We Can Live With” and “Eugene England and the Lighted Lamp” were originally published in *Sunstone*.

A more serious deficit for such a personal work is its lack of a biographical introduction. Except for sycophants, most readers will judge Card's essays by the essays' own merits and not on the basis of his fame. Nevertheless, readers would benefit from a better sense of who the "storyteller" is and where he is coming from. Of particular interest would be knowing more about the apparent tension, alluded to in the dedication and in the acknowledgments, between Card and *Sunstone* and Signature Books. (The acknowledgments are placed, curiously, at the conclusion of the book and not at the beginning.)

Some could perceive the advertisement of Card's business enterprises as promotional and problematic: Hatrack River Publications, specializing in "Mormon fiction that, while absolutely loyal to the Church and the gospel, nevertheless points out our foibles and weaknesses" (7); and *Vigor*, a newsletter not about "doctrinal or historical issues," but about "practical issues that matter in the day-to-day life of active Latter-day Saints." (The latter advertisement appears on a tear-off following page 215.)

Aside from such basic critiques, Card can be difficult to survey. In his review of Eugene England's *Why the Church Is As True As the Gospel* ("Eugene England and the Lighted Lamp"), Card remarks that he "cannot read England's essays as a critic": "I am too much a part of the natural audience for his words. I can't step outside and dispassionately watch his transaction with his readers. I am caught up, captured, possessed, and for a time I see the world through his eyes" (175). One of the reasons anyone may have trouble reviewing England's book is that such a book presents the author's testimony. Faithful Mormons can find it difficult to evaluate or critique testimonies of fellow Saints. We can scrutinize nonfiction easily enough; we measure the theories and arguments against the evidence. We can test fiction by how convincingly the writer transports the reader into the realm of imagination. However, testimony, as Card puts it, "def[ies] criticism by any detached standard" (175). Testimony is best examined by searching within ourselves to see if our hearts and spirits resonate on the same chord as the testimony. Reviewing Card's book presents the same challenges.

Orson Scott Card bears testimony principally through his discussions of art, morality, and several gospel topics. Much of his

comment on the arts is a technical and protracted defense of the depiction of evil in his novels. Although readers may grow weary of this subject, Card is, as a moral (and Mormon) storyteller, obviously sensitive to the problem of evil. Those who are not artists or writers may find these chapters less appealing.

On the other hand, Card's insights, as a science fiction writer, into the authorship of the Book of Mormon are fascinating. If the Book of Mormon is what Joseph Smith claimed, then the Prophet's influence would be minimally evident. If Joseph manufactured the book, his influence as the work's author would be pervasive: "All of the ideas and events in the book [w]ould come out of the mind of an 1820s American" (16). Joseph's fraud would be unconsciously betrayed by conventions of language, preoccupations with contemporary issues, and cultural assumptions. Card demonstrates in detail how daunting such a task of deceit would be: "Writing something that purports to be an artifact of another culture is the most complicated, difficult kind of science fiction, because not only is it *about* strange things, it must also in itself *be* a strange thing" (18).

Perhaps the most compelling chapters are those that focus more on Zion than on the "storyteller." Card's consecration parable, "Consecration: A Law We Can Live With," is trenchant and persuasive. "Living in Zion" raises a cry similar to those that have usually been heard only from the lips of Hugh Nibley or Avraham Gileadi. Card urges us not to wait for Zion to be established by decree, but to create it on a grass roots level by examining ourselves and repenting of our oppression of the poor. Such action requires that we radically change our values and teach our children "to honor most those who contribute the most to the community, not those who withdraw the most and use it for themselves. . . . We should pity the wealthy and teach our children the worthlessness of their amassing of possessions" (204). We must acknowledge that we are merely stewards and that we are not necessarily "the proper ones to decide where to bestow the possessions and goods that the Lord has blessed us with" (205). Card's speculation as to where Zion will first reappear is intriguing. (Hint: It will not likely be in Utah or California.)

The most striking and controversial article is “The Hypocrites of Homosexuality.” This brave essay (Card’s last to ever appear in *Sunstone*) is one of the reasons his books have been boycotted (at least by one San Francisco bookstore) and his speaking appointments have been picketed by gay activists.

Orson Scott Card presents himself as a conservative intellectual. In several of his essays, Card appears to serve as an apologist for the Brethren. While General Authorities have no need of self-appointed defenders, Card’s advocacy of the Brethren was a rare counterpoint in *Sunstone*—the forum in which “Walking the Tightrope” and “Prophets and Assimilationists” first appeared.

But whether apologist or not, Orson Scott Card proves by this anthology of fifteen essays to be more than a gifted storyteller. He is also a critic, a soothsayer, a gadfly, and an inspired defender of the faith. Card’s final assessment of England’s book is a fitting summation of his own:

[The] book cannot be read safely. You cannot receive even a portion of the value of this book if you do not put yourself at risk in the reading of it, if you are not willing to be changed. But if you place yourself in his hands and receive his words with an open, undefended heart, he will bring you closer to the Spirit of God and closer to the community of Saints. That, and that alone, is the work worth doing. (181)

Brief Notices

Special issue on homosexuality,
AMCAP Journal 19, no. 1 (1993)

Few subjects offer more opportunities for missteps by Christian-oriented professionals than discussions of male and female homosexuality. It is a credit to the integrity and the ability of those who produced this special issue of the journal of the Association of Mormon Counselors and Psychotherapists that they avoided such missteps. One misstep would have been to produce a parochial apology for LDS views. The second most tempting misstep would have been to give undue space to the politically driven views of homophilic clinicians. Instead they have brought under one cover useful articles about the ongoing biological debate, secular clinical approaches that apply to Latter-day Saint clients, historical perspectives on policies of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and insights from people who personally have struggled with homosexual thoughts and behaviors.

This volume is a necessary tool for any responsible student of the subject, any competent therapist, and perhaps most usefully, for those who have experienced homosexual emotions.

The effectiveness of this edition underscores a larger need, however. Those who insist on using the term "homosexual" as defining a

complete human being and "homosexuality" as a functional culture betray the hopes of so-called homosexuals who would reorient themselves to a full range of life-giving emotions and relationships. Homosexuality no more defines the complete person than does heterosexuality!

One anticipates the day when LDS social scientists address the far larger subject of *human* sexuality and its encompassing ramifications.

—Victor Brown Jr.

Rocky Mountain Divide: Selling and Saving the West, by John B. Wright (University of Texas Press, 1993)

John B. Wright's *Rocky Mountain Divide: Selling and Saving the West* contains a unique examination of Mormon attitudes toward land conservation. In spite of inaccurate statements about Mormon history, doctrine, and practice, the book is a valuable resource on land conservation in the West and a careful examination of the present status of conservation efforts in Utah and Colorado.

Wright's book is intended to be a call to arms for voluntary land conservation through land trusts—"private, nonprofit citizen groups which engage in land protection activities" (14). The mission of the

land trust is to conserve private lands of significant natural, scenic, and historic value. Most land trusts receive tax-exempt status from the U.S. Treasury Department's Internal Revenue Service. At the time Wright's book was written, Utah had only one land trust while Colorado had twenty-seven (14).

Wright seizes upon the dramatic contrast in land trusting in Colorado and Utah and recounts, as a historical geographer, the evolution of land use and land conservation in the two states. As one would expect, Wright finds Utah's Mormon heritage its most significant distinction. Recounting the initial settlement efforts of Utah, Wright notes the reverential attitude of the early pioneers toward their new territory: "Over and over in their diaries, pioneers noted streams, flood-plains, excellent soils, tall grass, and a dry climate tempered by cooling canyon winds" (162). He also finds that early Mormon statements on land use were very high-minded.

But the book also contrasts the Saints' early idealism with the reality of their monopolization, deforestation, and overgrazing and recounts the land and water exploitation that has now filled the Salt Lake Valley with development. Wright contends that Utahns conserve only incidentally, not as a matter of focus. He blames the Mormon belief in millennialism for Utahns' attitude toward their lands. If "earth will appear as the Garden of Eden" and "be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory" (A of F 10), there is little reason to

pay attention to the state of the land now.

Wright is also disturbed that little has been done by the Church in land conservation leadership. He suggests that the LDS Church sponsor a Mormon Trail land trust and a Sanpete County cultural park to simultaneously exemplify Mormon values and land conservation (242; see also 246, 255).

Wright's book represents an important opportunity for self-examination as Utah finds itself with one of the highest growth rates of any state in the nation. The unfortunate factual errors and use of controversial sources will impair Wright's ability to reach the general Mormon audience he needs to persuade. Nevertheless, the book's overview of land conservation efforts in Utah and Colorado makes it a valuable resource.

—David Nuffer

West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of Immigrant Trails across Utah, 1846-1850, edited by J. Roderic Korns and Dale Morgan; revised and updated by Will Bagley and Harold Schindler (Utah State University Press, 1994)

Trailing the Pioneers: A Guide to Utah's Emigrant Trails, 1829-1869, edited by Peter H. DeLafosse (Utah State University Press, 1994)

For the earliest pioneers making the overland journey to the west coast, Utah was a problem that most chose to go around. By providing excerpts from early explorers' journals and reports, *West*

from *Fort Bridger* documents the pioneering of emigrant trails (1846-50) that did cross Utah. The editors include notes and commentary to clarify the journal entries.

West from Fort Bridger, first published in 1951, has a tangled genealogy. In 1941, Dale Morgan started an eight-year correspondence with J. Roderic Korns, a Salt Lake businessman, and Charles Kelly, an amateur explorer who rediscovered the Salt Desert trails in the 1920s. The three men performed the research at the heart of the book and argued out facts, theories, discoveries, and problems through "hundreds of pages of letters" (ix). When Korns died in July 1949, Dale Morgan compiled and published the book in the name of his friend. It was an instant success but was published in a very limited edition, and it has always been difficult to find.

Working from extensive notes left by Morgan, who died in 1971, the current editors have clarified and expanded the work. One of the stated purposes of the new edition is to update the geographical descriptions to reflect modern highway routes and names. Nevertheless, the maps (or lack of maps) accompanying the volume are perhaps its greatest weakness.

The book offers a thorough discussion of the route south of the Great Salt Lake, the "Hastings Cutoff." Perhaps in his desire to promote the road which carried his name, Hastings consistently misrepresented the length of the waterless crossing of the "Salt Plain," resulting in losses of ani-

mals for most of the early travelers. For the Donner Party, the losses were disastrous (55).

West from Fort Bridger is a companion to Peter DeLafosse's *Trailing the Pioneers*, which attempts to correlate the old trails with modern roads and highways. The book, which describes itself as a "series of automobile tours . . . intended for the general tourist traveling in an ordinary passenger car" (1), includes five trail tours, each written by a different author: the Spanish Trail from Monticello to St. George; the Bidwell-Bartleson Trail from Soda Springs, Idaho, to Wendover, Nevada; the Pioneer Trail from Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City; the Hastings Cutoff from Salt Lake City to Wendover; and the Salt Lake Cutoff from Salt Lake City to City of Rocks, Idaho.

Using *Trailing the Pioneers* as my guide, I recently took a visitor from England on a circumnavigation of the Great Salt Lake. We followed the Hastings Cutoff tour to Wendover. Then we backtracked the Bidwell-Bartleson Trail and Hensley's Salt Lake Cutoff to Salt Lake City. The tours are not set up well for backtracking, and we frequently felt like the pioneers, looking at our vague, nearly featureless maps and scratching our heads in dismay.

This, however, was a minor problem, and we made it back to Salt Lake City having gained an appreciation for this handy little guidebook and for the pioneers we trailed across Utah's rugged terrain.

—Fred C. Pinnegar

Leadership and the New Science: Learning about Organization from an Orderly Universe, by Margaret J. Wheatley (Berrett-Koehler, 1992)

Margaret Wheatley states that she is “at heart a lapsed scientist, still hoping that the world will yield up its secrets to [her] in predictable formulation” (6). Having harvested a number of secrets from recent popularizations of science, Wheatley applies these secrets as insights into her own field of organizational leadership. The result is an unabashed, almost euphoric, affirmation of quantum physics, self-organizing systems, chaos theory, and the philosophical lessons that are routinely drawn from those disciplines.

Most books can be experienced at more than one level of understanding; this book works best at the celebrational level. Although Wheatley deals with some abstruse concepts, she is not overly cerebral, and her larger message attempts to liberate us from outmoded ways of thinking. She postulates that the new science, in all its ideological upheaval, sends a clear signal to managers and organizational specialists: because attitudes shape organizations, no better way exists to achieve organizational reform than persuading people that their personal attitudes are not sacrosanct. Some may find this a frightening prospect, but, on the other hand, loss of rigidity can also be cause for exultation.

Wheatley ends her book by discussing chaos theory, a move that allows her to wrap things up with

the assertion that while the universe is strange, uncertain, and bizarre, it remains “a universe of inherent order” (151)—a point that must be made if Wheatley is to establish her claim that we can learn about organization from an orderly universe.

—David Grandy

Behold the Messiah: New Testament Insights from Latter-day Revelation, by Robert J. Matthews (Bookcraft, 1994)

Now that Gospel Doctrine teachers are provided only a set of questions and a quotation for each lesson, many are on the lookout for additional resources. Other Church members are seeking new insights and “a wider appreciation of the life and ministry of the Savior” (ix). This relatively slim volume aims to provide such an appreciation via a discussion of many, but not all, of the episodes reported in the Gospels and Acts. Matthews draws primarily upon the Latter-day Saint cannon, the teachings of Joseph Smith, and, of course, his own observations.

The book is organized thematically instead of chronologically. But the reader can find specific discussions through the scripture index and a fairly detailed index. One valuable chapter is a collection of quotations from the *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* concerning Jesus.

The contributions or lack thereof of the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST) are usually highlighted rather than those from the

Book of Mormon and Doctrine and Covenants. Such an emphasis is no surprise coming from a man who has devoted much of his life to studying the JST. However, since the current LDS edition of the Bible includes most of the significant changes in the JST, this emphasis is not as useful as another might be.

As is usual in commentaries, the discussions vary in depth and freshness. Nevertheless, the general reader will find many passages that are both instructive and inspiring.

—Doris R. Dant

Tolerance: Principles, Practices, Obstacles, Limits by John K. Carmack (Bookcraft, 1993)

Readers familiar with Elder John K. Carmack's levelheaded and common-sense approach to explaining gospel principles will not be disappointed with his thoughts on tolerance. Written in light of his experiences as a Church leader in California and Asia, this book is a plea for broader understanding and practice of tolerance in its Christian context. Experience has convinced Elder Carmack of the increased need for tolerance in our encounters with people of diverse backgrounds. To grant the timeliness of the message, one need only consider recent outbreaks of violence across the world as previously segregated religious and ethnic groups rekindle prejudice and hatred.

The strength of this book lies in its straightforward approach, although its rhetoric and style are

sometimes unpolished. Laying a scriptural and prophetic foundation, this work presents tolerance as a virtue taught and practiced by the Savior, our exemplar in matters of tolerance. Elder Carmack wisely counsels that, in order for tolerance to become an antidote for the poison of worldwide hatred and strife, individuals must adopt attitudes and practices appropriate to the Savior's teachings. The book then offers advice about how principles of tolerance may be applied in family, church, and public life.

But tolerance is not a principle without limits. It does not signify indiscriminate, and therefore meaningless, respect for all actions and ideas. Elder Carmack offers strong counsel on the limits of tolerance as he discusses a variety of public issues, especially free speech and pornography. His reasoning, influenced by his legal training, recognizes the liberality of the principle while at the same time improving our understanding of the general relation between moral and ethical standards and public behavior. Also of timely interest is his counsel regarding the role of tolerance in the Church. He offers clear explanations of the place of Church discipline in regard to tolerating diversity of belief within the Church. *Tolerance* is an overdue and necessary addition, by a committed LDS leader, to our overall understanding and practice of the gospel.

—Neal W. Kramer

The Revelation

How was I to know,
Lying semicomatose
There upon the table,
Realizing now the worst
Had come to pass,
Yearning for a blessing
Before the brooding darkness
Snuffed out the fading light;

How was I to know
Beyond those sterile walls
Where skillful hands
Worked their healing ways,
Beyond the kaleidoscopic
Melange of anxious faces,
Beyond the surging panic
And the pain would
Come the revelation?

How was I to know
It would come not through
A piercing of the veil,
A comforting confirmation
Of my highest hopes,

Imprinting on my soul
A transforming vision
Of that hidden sacred realm
Beyond this fragile flesh?

How was I to know
God would reveal Himself
To me in none of these?
But in a pilgrimage deep
Into the inward essence
Of familiar scenes,
Where my JoAnn, weaving
Her protecting web,
Swept away my longing
To see beyond the veil,
For in her tenderness and love
The divine disclosure came.

—Martin B. Hickman
(deceased)

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Mrs. Martin B. Hickman

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